Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East & North Africa (L E M)

—— Part One ——
Linguistics & Literature

EDITED BY

K. DÉVÉNYI · T. IVÁNYI

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 17

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 17

EDITOR

ALEXANDER FODOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

KINGA DÉVÉNYI
TAMÁS IVÁNYI

*

*

Proceedings of the Colloquium on
Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the
Middle East & North Africa
(L E M)

— Part One —

BUDAPEST, 18-22 September 1995

EDITED BY
K. DÉVÉNYI · T. IVÁNYI

MTAK

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 17

To the Living Memory of a Friend and Great Scholar

A. F. L. Beeston

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu

Horati Carmina 1/xxxii

CONTENTS

PREFACE

This volume is a collection of twelve papers presented at the *Colloquium on Logos, Ethos and Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa (LEM)*, held in Budapest between 18-22 September 1995, and organized by the Chair for Arabic Studies, Eötvös Loránd University and the Department of Modern Arabic Studies, Leeds University. After the more specialized conferences that were organized regularly since 1991, the organizers decided on a broader topic, with the aim of attracting scholars who deal with different aspects of Middle Eastern and North African culture.

The papers included here were all presented in *Section A* of the Colloquium that dealt with linguistics and literature. The second volume of the proceedings will appear as volume 18 of *The Arabist (Budapest Studies in Arabic)* and will contain papers presented in *Section B* of the Colloquium that covered popular religion, popular culture and history of the above mentioned region.

The divisions are somewhat arbitrary since there are many overlapping areas. A good example for this is the article by Madiha Doss which on the basis of its title and topic could have been included in volume two, but since its main emphasis is on the text and its analysis as a piece of folk literature, it was placed in the Literature section of this volume.

Since 1988 Professor A. F. L. Beeston had regularly participated in the conferences organized by the Chair for Arabic Studies in Budapest for our great pleasure and the benefit of all the participants. The Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography held in 1993 provided an excellent opportunity to celebrate his having been elected an honorary member of the Kőrösi Csoma Society, the society of Hungarian orientalists (the photo in the present volume was taken at this occasion). During these years exceptionally strong ties had been formed between Freddie Beeston, Hungary and Hungarian Arabists. What he appreciated most in Hungary was its long tradition of using Latin as the language of administration and culture. During our regular meetings in Budapest, Oxford and other conference venues he always entertained us with his knowledge of Hungarian words and expressions. He had originally planned to come to Budapest for the LEM Colloquium, too, and only the treatment after his operation hindered him in this. With his sudden death we have lost a great scholar and true friend.

Budapest, 25 March 1996   The Editors

I. LINGUISTICS

CHANGES IN THE PHONOLOGICAL PERCEPTION
OF CLASSICAL ARABIC

Solomon I. Sara, S.J.

Georgetown University

0 Summary

There are two intimately related dictionaries of Arabic, *Kitāb al-ʿayn* by al-Ḫalīl (101-175/719-793), and *Kitāb Ğamharat al-luġa* by Ibn Durayd (223-321/837-933). In addition, the two books also include treatises on the phonologies of Arabic of their day. The treatise in *Kitāb al-ʿayn* is, presumably, the first Arabic phonological treatise that has come down to us. It gives an overall schema of the phonological inventory of Arabic of the eighth century Baṣra. The treatise in *Kitāb Ğamharat al-luġa* provides an overall schema of the phonological inventory of Arabic of the ninth/tenth century Baṣra. This is a unique situation in two aspects. Firstly, the lexicographer, Ibn Durayd, took the eighth century dictionary of al-Ḫalīl, re-arranged it according to patterns of Arabic words in a new fashion. Secondly, he included his own phonological introduction at the beginning to give his users an explanation of the letters and their use in the dictionary.

This presentation will not dwell on the lexicological aspects, but it will discuss the phonological treatises that both authors pre-pended to their dictionaries, in order to point out some of the similarities and differences between the two. Each author offered his own system of the basic divisions of the vocal tract and the classification of the sounds of Arabic into subgroups that shared phonetic properties. The authors offer sufficient detail to provide a reasonable conjecture on how Arabic was pronounced, and what some of the divergences were among speakers from different linguistic periods. In the process one can observe what was preserved of the eighth century tradition, its theoretical framework, its terminological apparatus, and what had been changed, or so perceived, by Ibn Durayd.

1 Introduction

The symbiosis that exists between al-Ḫalīl and Ibn Durayd is their cultural heritage. They are about a century apart, and the debt of the second to the first is admitted right up front. Ibn Durayd embarked on re-doing and re-writing al-Ḫalīl's dictionary from his own perspective. *Kitāb al-ʿayn* of al-Ḫalīl is the first comprehensive dictionary of Arabic as we define dictionaries now; so is *Ğamharat al-luġa* a comprehensive dictionary by our definition. They both account for the lexical items of Arabic as comprehensively as was possible within the expanse of each authors's

knowledge of the language and culture of their respective generations. There were aspects of *Kitāb al-ᶜayn* that Ibn Durayd was not satisfied with, so he decided to rectify the deficiency by rewriting the whole dictionary.

The above episode is reminiscent of the story told about Händel's Messiah. Händel (1685-1759), composed the Messiah 1741. Mozart (1756-1791) re-arranged the Messiah for a performance in 1789 (Mackerras 1974:3-4). By musical and artistic criteria this is considered a new musical creation. Young Mozart was asked by Baron Gottfried van Swieten (1733-1803), who had come to appreciate Händel when he was a diplomat in England, for a performance of Händel's Messiah. It was performed March 6th, 1789. Mozart liked and admired the composition, but being a person of his generation, he found certain aspects of the Baroque composition not to his liking. So to bring the piece into greater harmony with the more contemporary taste and style, he re-arranged and reworked many of its parts. Sections were interchanged, transposed, lengthened or shortened, the score was adapted in many of its parts, the instruments were interchanged, and solo parts shifted. The point of all that was to make it more acceptable to the intended audience. The outcome of this effort was that now we have two unique masterpieces of music. Mozart's Messiah is Händel's Messiah without the trumpets, to put it simply.

Though the above appears like a digression, it has its parallel to the case at hand. So, a very brief summary of the structure of the two dictionaries may not be out of place. al-Halīl composed his dictionary on the basis of definite linguistic principles that he found relevant to the structure of Arabic. His guiding principles were: the number of Arabic letters, the restrictions on their combinations, the resultant small set of possible basic patterns, and the phonological matrix that defined the whole enterprise. This, in effect, stated that the inventory of native lexical items in Arabic was limited to four patterns of letters: bi-radical, tri-radical, quadri-radical and quinque-radical. To these patterns, affixes were added to specify the many forms and meanings of the derivations and inflections of the language. The number of patterns, however, was limited and finite. The permutations within these patterns, eventually, accounted for all the lexical items in the language. The governing matrix for the arrangement of the dictionary was phonological. For this purpose al-Halīl pre-pended a phonological treatise to his dictionary. In this treatise he described each Arabic letter articulatorily, beginning with the pharyngeals and ending with the labials (Sara 1993). The significance of the phonological treatise for the lexicon was that it guided the user on how the dictionary was organized, how the lexical items were created, and how they were entered into the dictionary. Consequently, the phonological analysis of Arabic had a profound influence on the creation of the lexicon. There was a harmonious integration of the phonological inventory and phonological restrictions with the structure of the lexicon.

Ibn Durayd, on his part, paid great tribute to al-Halīl and his contribution to Arabic lexicography, but he thought that the structure of the dictionary could be simplified, and its use made even easier for the contemporary user, if it were redone in a more accessible manner, and closer to the more traditional frame of reference. Ibn Durayd accepted the abstract formalisms of al-Halīl with reference to the number of radicals in the stems of Arabic words. His arrangement, however, departed from al-Halīl's in that he grouped together all the tri-radical stems, all the quadri-radical stems and all the quinque-radical stems. al-Halīl, for his part, had been more respectful of the autonomy of each letter, under which he listed all the occurring forms. In al-Halīl, each letter included all the patterns and their various permutations that began with that letter, e.g. *ktb, kbt, tkb, tbk, bkt, btk*. A second major departure was that Ibn Durayd did not follow the phonological schema of the phonological structure of Arabic that he had discussed in the beginning of his dictionary. He effectively ignored it, and it had no practical bearing on the composition of the dictionary. The dictionary is not based on the phonetic organization of the letters nor their sequencing. Unlike al-Halīl, the letters of Arabic do not have their individual chapters dedicated to them where pertinent forms are included. Rather, it is the number of radicals in the stem that is the dominant organisational principle. Consequently, all the tri-radicals are listed together, all the quadri-radicals, etc. It is a fact, that Ibn Durayd provides a phonetically/phonologically oriented organization of the letters of Arabic in the beginning of the dictionary, but what use was that mode of arrangement of letters, when he completely ignored it, and followed the traditional order of the letters of the alphabet which is *alif, bā', tā'*, etc. That was a bold departure from the linguistically motivated organization of al-Halīl's dictionary. From a historical perspective, the importance of the phonetic/phonological preface is its existence, and the information it provides about the sounds of Arabic of its time.

2 The Phonology of al-Halīl

Though necessary and interesting as the discussion of the these two dictionaries is as a context for Arabic phonology, the focus of this presentation is on the phonologies of these two authors. It is fortuitous and gratifying that Ibn Durayd considered it important to include information on the phonology of Arabic of his day. In this way, he kept the tradition alive by pre-pending his own phonological analysis. We should say "almost his own", for he says that he is synthesizing the analyses of other phonologists. In the process both authors give us a glimpse of how Arabic was spoken at their respective times. In addition, they provide us with the theoretical perspective of the linguists of their time, their terminological innovations, their organizational schemes, and, in this case, the subtle changes in the perception of how they viewed the sound system of Arabic.

2.1 al-Ḫalīl's Inventory of Letters

al-Ḫalil arranged the letters of Arabic in a manner that followed the stream of speech, i.e. it began with the throat proceeded gradually up the vocal tract and ended with the lips (al-Ḫalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* I, 48). al-Ḫalīl's inventory of letters is schematized in Chart I that provides added organization, and al-Ḫalīl's terminological specifications of the vocal tract.

2.1.1 Chart I. al-Ḫalil's Letters: Locales and Exits

letter /ḥarf/	locale /ḥayyiz/	exit /maḫraǧ/	
s	1. throat /ḥalq/	ʕ, ḫ, h, ḥ, ġ	غ، خ، هـ، ح، ع
t	2. uvula /lahāh/	q, k	ك، ق
r	3. soft-palate /šaǧr/	ǧ, š, ḍ	ض، ش، ج
o	4. apex /asala/	ṣ, s, z	ز، س، ص
	5. alveolum /niṭʕ/	t, d, ṭ	ت، د، ط
n	6. gingiva /liṯṯa/	z̧ˀ, ṯ, ḏ	ذ، ث، ظ
g	7. laminae /ḏalaq/	r, l, n	ن، ل، ر
/ṣaḥīḥ/	8. lips /šafa/	f, b, m	م، ب، ف
weak /muʿtall/	cavity/air /hawāˀ/	w, alif, y, '	ء، ي، ا، و

As more features are included in the inventory, and more of the organisational aspects of al-Ḫalīl's analysis become apparent, one notices that he was aware of more than a mere listing of the discrete elements of the Arabic writing system. He was aware of the systematic relationships that obtained among the sounds of the language in grouping themselves into natural classes that share unique features. When more of the systematic specifications discussed by al-Ḫalīl are accounted for, a sophisticated appreciation of the complexity of his system is revealed. Chart II below provides a complementary list of features to the above outlined system as al-Ḫalīl described it.

[Editorial note: For technical reasons the usual transcription system of *The Arabist* was used in this article as well instead of a phonologically more correct notation.]

2.1.2 Feature Matrix

letter	saḥīḥ / strong	muʿtall / weak	dulq / fluency	sutm / velar	ḫalq / throat	muṭbaq / covered	talq / free	murtafiʿ / high	šafawī / labial
'		+							
y		+							
alif		+							
w		+							
m	+		+						+
b	+		+						+
f	+		+						+
n	+		+						
l	+		+						
r	+		+						
ẓ	+							+	
ṯ	+							+	
ḏ	+							+	
ṭ	+					+		+	
d	+							+	
t	+							+	
z	+							+	
s	+							+	
ṣ	+					+		+	
ḍ	+			+		+		+	
š	+			+				+	
ǧ	+			+				+	
k	+			+				+	
q	+			+			+	+	
ġ	+			+	+				
ḫ	+			+	+				
h	+			+	+				
ḥ	+			+	+				
ʕ	+			+	+		+		

2.1.3 Summary of al-Ḫalīl's Phonology

In summary, then, al-Ḫalīl's analysis is a detailed description of the sounds of Arabic. The vocal tract is divided into locales within which a number of exits are specified. The process began with the throat and proceeded, in steps, towards the lips. It accounted for all the sounds of Arabic. The descriptive terminology is intuitive and original, and the list of selected features grouped the sounds into their natural classes. The phonetic/phonological schema of al-Ḫalīl, for the most part, is in use today among Arab linguists.

3 Ibn Durayd's Phonology

Ibn Durayd discussed the phonology of Arabic in the introduction to his diction-ary. In the same manner as al-Ḫalīl, he gave an articulatory description of the letters of Arabic, and gave several classificatory descriptions of these letters, as he says, syn-thesizing what other phonologists had done. Its practical purpose was to aid the user of the dictionary, but in the process, he not only accounted for the phonological tra-dition, but he added his own observations as well. Since some of the details of this analysis are given in Sara & Zawawi (1995), the following will be a summary treat-ment of his analysis in several of its aspects, to highlight the similarities and dif-ferences with al-Ḫalīl and his student Sībawayhi.

3.1 First Binary Division: *muṣmata* & *muḏlaqa*

The first classificatory division that Ibn Durayd employed is to group the seven classes of sounds under two major headings: *muṣmata* and *muḏlaqa* as in Chart III.

3.1.1 Ibn Durayd's Inventory of Letters

Chart III. Binary division of the Arabic letters

/laqab/ class	/ǧins/ type	/ḥarf/ letter
/muṣmata/ 1. 'silent'	/ḥalq/ throat	',h,ḥ,ʿ,ġ,h خ،غ،ع،ح،ه،ء
2.	/aqṣā l-fam/ end of mouth & lowest part of the tongue	q,k,ǧ,š ش،ج،ك،ق
3.	/wasaṭ al-lisān/ middle of the tongue	s,z,s ص،ز،س
4.	/adnā l-fam/ nearest in the mouth	t,ṭ,d د،ط،ت
5.	/šāḫis ilā l-ġār al-aʿlā/ nearest upper concavity	ẓ,t,d,ḍ ض،ذ،ث،ظ
/muḏlaqa/ 6. 'edge'	/aš-šifa/ labial	f,b,m م،ب،ف
7.	/asalat al-lisān/ tip of tongue	r,n,l ل،ن،ر

The above classification parallels, to a great extent, the classification of al-Ḫalīl. There are also obvious differences. Ibn Durayd is precise in his analysis of the throat letters. He specifically says that the /hamza/ ['] is the farthest sound followed by ḥāʾ [ḥ] which is the locus of the /nafas/ 'breath'. This is followed by hāʾ [h], and here he goes into the discussion of the confusions in speech due to the interchangeability of these two letters (Ibn Durayd, *Ǧamhara* I, 43). There are obvious differences between the sequencing of the exits in the two authors. ʿayn [ʿ] is not the first letter, as found in al-Ḫalīl. A second difference, which is of great significance, is that the *ḍād* [ḍ] is not listed as a soft-palatal sound as found in al-Ḫalīl, but is considered more like an alveolar sound grouped with the sounds [z, t, d]. This sound is a problematic one, since its current articulation does not correspond to what was observed by al-Ḫalīl and Sībawayhi in the eighth century. A third difference is that the labials are not listed as the last group of sounds, but are listed before the tip of the tongue sounds [r, n, l]. Finally it needs to be pointed out that Ibn Durayd has not made use of the elegant terminology devised by al-Ḫalīl in his articulatory schema of the divisions of the vocal tract into eight locales and twenty five exits as in #2.1.1 above. Those are some of the significant differences between the two authors as they perceived the pro-nunciation of Arabic of their time.

3.1.2 Exits of the Letters

/maḫraǧ/ 'exit' is a descriptive term that denotes the narrowing of the vocal tract in the production of a letter/sound. Depending on the author, each letter or group of letters were characterized by their appropriate 'exit'. Even though Ibn Durayd was following al-Ḫalīl in writing his dictionary, and accounting for the sound system of Arabic in the manner of al-Ḫalīl, he included, in addition, another analysis that was not similar to al-Ḫalīl's analysis. Ibn Durayd listed sixteen exits for the production of the letters which corresponded more closely to the listing of Sībawayhi than that of al-Ḫalīl, and which are included here in chart IV below:

Chart IV. Sībawayhi's classification according to exits

Upper Articulator			Letter	Lower Articulator
throat:	farthest	1.	', h, alif	throat: farthest
	middle	2.	ᶜ, ḥ	middle
	closest	3.	ġ, ḫ	closest
palate:	farthest	4.	q	tongue: farthest
	pre-farthest	5.	k	lower than /q/
palate:	above molars	6.	ḍ	Tongue: beginning of edge
palate:	middle	7.	ǧ, š , y	tongue: middle
palate:	above premolars canines and incisors	8.	l	tongue closest edge to tip
palate:	above incisors	9.	n	Tongue: edge
palate:	above incisors	10.	r	tongue: surface inner to /n/
palate:	base of incisors	11.	t, d, ṭ	tongue: tip
palate:	above incisors	12.	z, s, ṣ	tongue: tip
palate:	tip of incisors	13.	ẓ, ḏ, ṯ	tongue: tip
tongue:	tip of incisors	14.	f	Lip: inner lower lip
lip: upper		15.	b, m, w	lip: lower
nose		16.	n (light)	nose

The second classification of the letters of Arabic by Ibn Durayd is included as Chart V below. Even though it was not as detailed as that of Sībawayhi, it followed Sībawayhi's model and shows a great similarity to it:

Chart V. Ibn Durayd's classification of exits

Cavity		Exit	Letter
throat	1.	lower part	h, ', alif . . . . ا ، ء، هـ
	2.	middle part	ᶜ, ḥ ج ، ع
	3.	upper part	ġ, ḫ خ ، غ
m	4.	farthest	q, k ك ، ق
	5.	uvula	ǧ, š ش ، ج
o	6.	middle of tongue	y ي
	7.	side of tongue/upper incisors	s, z, ṣ ص ، ز، س
u	8.	right edge of tongue	n ن
	9.	right edge close to /n/	l ل
t	10.	close to /n/ but inner	r ر
	11.	edge of tongue, base of incisors	t, d, ṭ ط ، د، ت
h	12.	inner lower lip	f ف
	13.	between the lips	w, b, m م ، ب، و
	14.	light /n/	n ن
	15.	edge of tongue/edge of incisors	ẓ, ṯ, ḏ ذ ، ث، ظ
	16.	middle of the tongue/ right edge	ḍ ض

In the above classification, the letters are listed according to their exits. Ibn Durayd claimed that he was giving the opinion of other linguists (Ibn Durayd, Ǧamhara I, 45). The above chart reflects the classification of Sībawayhi (Kitāb II, 405). Needless to say there are some differences between the two linguists. As he did with the classification of al-Ḫalīl, Ibn Durayd was not meticulous about maintaining the original classification of Sībawayhi, according to the expected articulatory progression, from the throat to the lips, in the production of these sounds. Firstly, the [q] and [k] are two separate exits in Sībawayhi, here they are grouped as one exit. Secondly, he considers /ǧ, š/ uvular sounds which can easily lead to confusion if one considers that /q, k/ are the farthest sounds and the uvula is the farthest section of the upper perimeter of the oral cavity. Thirdly, he places /ḍ/ 16th in his listing, i.e. in the final position, while in Sībawayhi it is the 6th in the list just after /k/. This despite the fact that he calls it a middle of the tongue letter. This may be an organizational slip more than an articulatory misapprehesion. This strict organizational slip creeps up again towards the end of the listing where labial letters are listed before the lingual and dental letters. It is stated in the dictionary that Ibn Durayd dictated his dictionary from memory, so one can imagine the burden placed on memory with all the details. This may be an explanation for the variations in representing the accounts

by other linguists, as he called them. The other aspect is to consider Ibn Durayd as a faithful observer of the passing scene. He is a witness to some of the sounds of the language that are beginning to shift their articulations. A clear example of this shift is the /ḍ/ sound. He described it in two different ways. When he represents what appears to be al-Ḥalīl's position, he clearly lists it with the apicals/dentals /z, ṭ, ḍ/ without any qualification. While here, in representing what appears to be Sībawayhi's position, even though he states that the articulation is produced by the middle of the tongue, he still lists it immediately after the /z, ṭ, ḍ/ cf. Chart V. This letter /ḍ/ did change its position in time, and he may have been the first witness to record the shift in its articulation. In its current realizations, for example, it has maintained its fricative nature in the standard Arabic spoken in Iraq, but it has become an apical letter. On the other hand, it has changed its fricative nature into a stop, and it has become apical in articulation in the standard Arabic spoken in Egypt. An overall perception one obtains in reading Ibn Durayd is that in his articulatory descriptions he emphasized the active articulators more than the passive articulators, and thus many of his descriptions are at variance with his sources.

4 Features

Like his predecessors, Ibn Durayd, finds other classificatory criteria for grouping the letters together. In addition to the articulatory descriptions, groupings according to locales or grouping according to exits, the letters of Arabic with different locales and exits can still have features in common, and can be grouped together into smaller or larger natural class. Since Ibn Durayd appears to be following Sībawayhi in this respect, Charts VI and Chart VII of the commonly treated classificatory features by both authors is included for comparison purposes.

Chart VI. Partial feature matrix of Sībawayhi

Feature	Letters
mahmūs 'muted'	h, ḥ, ḫ, k, š, s, t, ṣ, ṭ, f
maǧhūr 'loud'	', alif, ʿ, ǧ, q, ǧ, y, ḍ, l, n, r, t, d, z, ẓ, ḏ, b, w, m
riḫwa 'soft'	h, ḥ, ǧ, ḫ, š, s, d, z, s, z, ṭ, ḍ, f
madd & layn 'long & soft'	w, y
mutbaqa 'covered'	ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ
šadīda 'tight'	', q, k, ǧ, ṭ, t, d, b

In order to fully appreciate how Ibn Durayd treated these features his classificatory features are listed in Chart VII.

Chart VII. Feature matrix of Ibn Durayd

Feature	Letters
mahmūs 'muted'	h, ḥ, k, ḫ, s, š, ṭ, ṣ, t, f
maǧhūr 'loud'	', alif, ʿ, ǧ, q, ǧ, y, ḍ, l, n, r, z, d, ḏ, t, ẓ, b, w, m
riḫwa 'soft'	h, ḥ, k, ḫ, s, š, ʿ, ǧ, ṣ, d, ḏ, z, ṭ, f, z
madd & layn 'long & soft'	w, y, alif
mutbaqa 'covered'	ṣ, ṭ, ḍ, ẓ
šadīda 'tight'	ṭ, š, ǧ, etc

Ibn Durayd's treatment of these features and their exemplifications do not seem to be a literal listing of his sources. It is rather a gesture towards accountability, but no systemic procedure is evident in the organization of the sequence of segments. The sequential listing of the letters is not what one finds in the other two sources. He did not seem to be interested in giving an exhaustive listing of either all the features or all the relevant letters as in the example of "*šadīda*". There are differences that call for comment. Firstly, the inclusion of [k] with the "*riḫwa*" is out of character with the rest of the included letters. The "*riḫwa*" letters are all of the fricative or continuant type, [k] is not of that type, and there does not seem to be any clear explanation for this inclusion. Similarly, the letter [š] is included in the unfinished listing of "*šadīda*". The "*šadīda*" feature in Sībawayhi includes only the non-continuant type of letters, and the inclusion of [š] among them is not easily understood or explainable.

5 Final Observations

It appears from the discussion of Ibn Durayd and his bold attempt to rewrite what was a unique and original composition that he would have been memorialized in the annals of lexicography. In addition, his phonetic/phonological discussions witness to a continuing dynamic tradition that was not slavish to an immutable doctrine of phonetics and phonology. It is quite clear that discussions took place espousing different orientations. In the report of Ibn Durayd, there is no clear favoritism towards al-Ḥalīl or Sībawayhi's approach. He gives them both equal treatment, albeit, neither complete nor exhaustive. In the process of discussing the theories of other linguists, he provides a description of Arabic that is not an exact replica of his predecessors.

He is, presumably, describing his own speech with the tools of linguistics, and if his articulation is at all representative, it shows sound shifts that will become part of the spoken Arabic in subsequent centuries. The most obvious case is that of /ḍ/. The other changes are more subtle. They need more space, and a more comprehensive and detailed analysis of the totality of his work.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

al-Ḫalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* = al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. Edited by Mahdī al-Maḫzūmī & Ibrāhim as-Sāmarrāʾī. 8 vols., Baghdad: Dār ar-Rašīd, 1967-85.
Ibn Durayd, *Ǧamhara* = Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd al-Azdī, *Kitāb Ǧamharat al-luga*. Edited by R. M. Baʿlabakkī. Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 1987.
Sībawayhi, *Kitāb.* = Abū Bišr ʿAmr b. ʿUṯmān b. Qanbar Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb.* 2 vols., Būlāq, 1316-18/1898-1900.

B. Secondary sources

Mackerras, Charles. 1974. *Haendel Mozart Messias. Archiv Produktion.* Oldenburg: Polydor International.
Sara, Solomon. 1993. "al-Ḫalīl the First Arab Phonologist". *International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies.* 8.1-59.
Sara, Solomon and Areej Zawawi. 1995. "The Phonetics of Ibn Durayd". *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* (to appear).

ARABE CLASSIQUE — ARABE DIALECTAL PRODUIT D'UNE RENCONTRE

Aziza Boucherit

Université René Descartes
C.L.L.A.S. CNRS-Paris III

Les langues, leurs variétés, actuellement en usage en Algérie sont le reflet des liens qu'elles ont tissés au cours du temps, qu'il s'agisse des liens entre arabe et berbère, arabe et français, berbère et français, ou encore, pour ce qui nous occupe aujourd'hui, entre "arabe et arabe". Et, la présence de productions où interfèrent et alternent arabe classique et dialectal atteste des contacts établis depuis des siècles entre les deux variétés et réactivés depuis les années soixante par la décision de faire de l'arabe classique la langue nationale et officielle du pays.

On se doute que cette décision eut des effets. Tout d'abord, il convient de souligner que l'ensemble des mesures visant à faire pénétrer — par le biais de l'appareil scolaire et des institutions politiques, administratives, sociales et culturelles — l'arabe classique dans le champ de la vie publique a eu pour conséquence d'accroître considérablement la présence du classique dans l'environnement linguistique des Algériens. Et du fait de la généralisation progressive de l'enseignement et du développement des médias écrits et audio-visuels le classique n'a jamais été aussi présent dans l'histoire linguistique du pays. Il est donc *normal* que le dialectal en porte les traces; à l'inverse, tout arabophone étant avant tout dialectophone, il est tout aussi *normal* que des dialectalismes colorent le classique. Ce ne sont là que les phénomènes *normaux* qui manifestent des contacts, des liens étroits entre les deux variétés et de la créativité des locuteurs qui, autant que faire se peut, adaptent les moyens linguistiques à leurs besoins.

Le produit de ces contacts peut se manifester sous la forme d'emprunts, adaptés ou non à la langue d'accueil, de mélange de formes ou encore d'alternance où chacune des langues ou variétés en présence dans le discours conserve ses spécificités.

Les usages qui en sont faits dépendent étroitement de la situation de communication et de la langue qu'elle impose, du degré de connaissance, active ou passive, qu'ils en ont. Par ailleurs, ces usages révèlent des compétences linguistiques diverses: l'emprunt peut être pratiqué par des monolingues, tandis que le mélange et l'alternance impliquent une certaine compétence dans les variétés dont disposent les communicants. De ce point de vue, il convient de nuancer les jugements plus ou moins normatifs, ou puristes, portés sur ce type de productions, en distinguant "maîtrise" et "usage". Tel locuteur ayant une maîtrise satisfaisante du classique pourra utiliser des formes mélangées ou alterner classique et dialectal pour des raisons stylistiques ou

situationnelles, tandis que chez tel autre, des hypercorrections manifesteront des manques en ce domaine.

C'est dans ce cadre général que doivent être situés les phénomènes d'interférence et d'alternance qui apparaissent dans de nombreux recueils effectués à Alger entre 1984 et 1991.

Aux fins d'illustration, j'ai retenu, pour cette communication un sermon religieux prononcé par Ali Bel Hadj à la mosquée Sunna (Bab el Oued, Alger) en avril 1991. A son propos on peut faire les observations suivantes.

1. Dans ce type de discours qui appelle l'arabe classique on constate que l'orateur utilise tour à tour le classique et le dialectal mais, proportionnellement, les séquences en classique reste beaucoup plus nombreuses que celles en dialectal. Le français est représenté sous la forme d'emprunts adapté à l'arabe (deux cas: *barlamān, barlamāniya* pour "parlement" et "parlementaire") et d'alternance séquentielle (un cas: "*n-nāyab l-ʿām / le procureur général*" où l'on note la reprise en français d'une expression qui risquait de ne pas être comprise en arabe).

2. Formellement, l'arabe classique utilisé ne répond peut être pas aux normes fixées par les grammaires arabes traditionnelles mais, comparé à l'arabe dialectal utilisé dans des situations discursives plus ordinaires, il est indéniable que l'on a affaire à une variété de langue particulière.

3. L'orateur glose le verset coranique servant de base au prêche en arabe classique et développe les commentaires appelés par ce verset en classique ou en dialectal. Mais, on l'a dit, tout arabophone étant avant tout dialectophone des dialectalismes transparaissent et à l'inverse dans ces situations plus formelles où le classique est de rigueur, le dialectal met ses "habits du dimanche". Il est alors difficile de distinguer ce qui relève de l'emprunt, de l'alternance ou du mélange car si ces notions sont en principe opératoires dans le cas de contact entre des langues structurellement distinctes, il est quelquefois délicat de placer la limite dans le cas de variétés étroitement apparentées.

De ce point de vue, l'analyse montre que dans la réalité de la communication les effets des contacts sont complexes et qu'il y a lieu de considérer des degrés plutôt que des distinctions binaires car à côté des cas d'alternance où les deux variétés restent distinctes, à côté des emprunts où il y a adaptation à une forme de base, le mélange, de nature hybride, est plus difficile à déceler.

En d'autres termes, la distinction binaire qui permet de situer les formes aux deux extrémités d'un axe est un bon principe de classement théorique mais elle ne reflète pas les pratiques réelles de la communication. Certes des différences linguistiques importantes orientent les formes vers telle ou telle variété mais l'analyse du détail des faits révèle que le contact produit de subtils mélanges.

4. Le point de la chaîne parlée où se produit l'alternance n'est pas libre au plan syntaxique, c'est un phénomène connu, mais elle n'est pas non plus tout-à-fait libre au plan de l'énonciation comme le montre les faits suivants. Si l'on prend en con-

sidération le fait que dans cet "échange" la communication se déroule de manière unilatérale et qu'à la différence du dialogue, le destinataire n'a pas la possibilité d'intervenir, on constate que le destinataire joue néanmoins son rôle dans la communication et que le fonctionnement de l'alternance linguistique peut, en partie, s'expliquer par sa présence. Ainsi, les passages en dialectal se situent, pour l'essentiel, à la fin du sermon. Cela pourrait être interprété comme l'indice d'un "relâchement" de l'orateur mais l'analyse montre que le passage du classique au dialectal a une fonction de signal: indiquer aux interlocuteurs que l'orateur délaisse l'instance de la constatation atemporelle dans laquelle la plupart des énoncés se manifestent pour instaurer une relation plus personnelle avec eux. De manière plus ou moins consciente l'orateur indique ainsi qu'il quitte le domaine de l'"éternel" pour aborder celui du "temporel". Mais ce passage au dialectal constitue aussi une mise en relief du contenu du message.

Pour terminer j'illustrerai ce qui vient d'être dit par un exemple. Dans ce discours, où il est question de justice et de la manière d'être juste et équitable quelles que soient les parties en présence, les commentaires généraux (ce que disent les textes religieux ou tel ou tel savant auquel il est fait référence) sont dans l'ensemble énoncés en classique, alors que le parallèle qui est fait avec la situation actuelle et notamment avec la manière dont la justice a été rendue lors d'un procès intenté au Front islamique du salut par les autorités algériennes est en dialectal. L'usage du dialectal devenant alors un procédé de mise en relief stylistique*.

INTRA- AND INTERCOMMUNAL APPELLATIONS IN JUDEO-YEMENI

Moshe Piamenta

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

In Judeo-Yemeni, or the Arabic dialect of the Jews of the Yemen, both urban and rural, a specific lexicon developed over the ages including epithets, additional, or synonymous popular names – word coinages not current with the Muslim majority. These were appellations of an augmentative nature, typical of entries in a dictionary. They symbolised the spiritual life of Jews in the Diaspora, the Holy Scriptures, the religious ceremonies, Jewish manners and customs, their yearning for redemption, and their nostalgy for Zion.

The tension between the devotion of the Yemeni Jews to their Law and their faith in being 'the chosen people' on one hand, and their inferior status as *dimmī*s, as protected subjects of the harsh Zaidite Islamic rule on the other hand pushing them to the edge of society, urged them to turn inward, though being essential for the general society because of their diligence in craftsmanship and skills. Moreover, their social situation communally and individually intensified their psychic tensions. Their sense of discrimination depressed them as a minority. Permanent tension between them and the Muslim majority deriving from conflicting beliefs claimed at least a verbal vent to their suppressed feelings expressed by appellations towards and against Muslims, including disgraceful ones by which they wished to prove their own pride. Cants were widespread among believers in both creeds. Reciprocal appellations will further be defined as intercommunal.

Intracommunal Jewish appellations in the Yemen are of religious and secular types coined by eloquent poets in their *dīwān*s, their collections of poems. Religious appellations refer to Holy Scriptures and places, to the Sabbath and holidays, while secular appellations become established in daily usage. Tendentious intercommunal appellations include reciprocal disgraceful ones aiming at defiling believers in the other creed. Furthermore, there are objective intercommunal appellations and an objective range of cants. The usage of tendentious cants is implicit. Yemeni Jews resort to literal manoeuvres in cants to hide their intentions. They abide by metaphor, by insertion of Hebrew words in an Arabic context, by transposition of sounds and letters, or partial transposition by change of word structure or sporadic consonants, or by usage of euphemisms.

The scientific apparatus of this paper is authentic and fully attested. Due to abundance of citations and limitation of space we have chosen not to fully cite our bibliographical references. Instead, the reader is suggested to consult our *Dictionary*

of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic through its page numbers, bracketed after each and every citation attested below.

1 Religious and secular appellations

Yemeni Jews did not discredit the usage of Arabic appellations commonly used in Islam. By regarding them as metonymical transfers, they validated their application as parallel sacred concepts in Judaism.

1.1 Religious appellations
1.1.1 Divine and Messianic appellations

Following are some exemplary divine appellations: *rabb as-simū^c* 'God, the Hearer (of Israel)' vs. *as-samī^c*, one of the Beautiful Names of Allah in Islam (233a); *^cālim al-a^clām* 'the Most Sage' vs. *al-^cālim*, or *al-^callām* in Islam (338b); *ḥūrī l-ǧinān* 'the Fair of the gardens'; *šarad ḥūrī l-ǧuzlān* 'the fair Gazelle has gone astray', fig(uratively) the Divine Presence has departed (with the destruction of the Temple) (112b).

Messianic appellations: *al-mahdī* 'the Messiah' vs. 'the rightly guided' in Islam (506a); *imām al-hudā* 'the king of the straightforward religion' (12b); *amīr al-ḥūr* 'the prince of those who have eyes with a marked contrast of white and black' (the Jews) (13b); *al-fatā* 'the Man' (366a); *al-manṣūr* 'the aided (by God)', 'the triumphant' (487b); *al-^caytamūs* 'the Bird that has a majestic splendour' (349b); *ṣāḥib al-ḵāymeh al-kaḍrā'* 'the man of the green Tent', cf. *al-kaḍr* 'Elijah' in Muslim literature (142a).

1.1.2 Nicknames and given names

The Jews are nicknamed, as previously stated, *al-ḥūr* 'the fair ones', *al-ǧamā^ca* 'the community' (73a), *āl ya^cqūb* (537a), or *šī^cat ya^cqūb* 'the descendants of Jacob' (274a), *silsilat ya^cqūb* 'the offspring of Jacob' (229a), *yūsif* 'Joseph' (Ps 80:2), *al-gazāl*, calque of Hebrew (further: Heb.) *haṣ-ṣəvī*[1] 'the gazelle' (II Sam 1:19), or as metaphor of 'the Torah' (355b); *mā bayna nūn wa-kāf* '[God has chosen the people of Israel] from amongst *n* (50 in numerology) +*k* (20) = seventy, i.e., many [nations] (501b), cf. the reference to *k* and *n* in Islam: The Imam facing the worshippers in a Friday sermon turns to them in supplication, saying: *yā man amruhu bayna l-kāfi wan-nūn*... 'You [Allah], Whose order is [summed up in two letters] *k* and *n*! attested in *fa-iḍā qaḍā amran fa-innamā yaqūlu lahu kun [kn] fa-yakūn* 'and when He decreeth a thing, He only saith unto it, Be, and it is' (Sale's translation of the Qur'ān 40:68).

Isaac, the Patriarch, is nicknamed *aḍ-ḍabīḥ* 'the Slaughtered', which is the epithet of Ishmael amongst Muslims (166a). Jacob, the Patriarch, is nicknamed *ar-rāǧiḥ* 'the Righteous, the Godfearing, the Just, the Upright' (175b). Joseph is nicknamed *mawlā*

---

[1] The Hebrew transliteration expresses Judeo-Yemeni pronunciation.

r-ruyyān (!) (Classical Arabic: *ru'yā*) 'the Dreamer' (Gen 37:19) (533a). Moses is nicknamed *ibn ^cimrān* (40b), or *walad ^cimrān* 'the son of Amram' (532a), as well as *ar-rasūl* 'the Messenger' (181b), or *an-nabiyy al-mursal* 'the delegated prophet' (477a), which appellations are of Muhammad in Islam. Moreover, according to Muslim commentators, Yāsīn is one of the nicknames of Muhammad and Moses, rather of all ten prophets revered in Islam (535a). Jewish commentators break *yāsīn* into *yā* as vocative, and *sīn* as the initial of *sīnā* '[Mt.] Sinai', or of (Heb.) *sənēh* 'fire-bush' (Exod 3:2), *of sayyid*, or of *insān* 'man' (535a). *yāsīn* is also the nickname of the recitation of (Heb.) *šəmā^c*... proclaiming the belief in the Unity of God attested in Deut 6:49, ibid.11:13-21, and Num 15:37-41 vs. *yāsīn* the name of sura 36 of the Qur'ān (534f.).

While contrasting Judaism with Islam, it is appropriate to mention at this point that a statement intended a) to call someone's attention to an issue, or b) when introducing an important conversation, or c) when dissuading someone from committing an offence, or d) when warning someone of an obstacle or pointing to his error, the person is reminded of Moses, who brought down the Torah to the people of Israel, by saying *uḍkur Mēša* 'remember Moses!' i.e., consider, regard, reconsider the matter!' or think it over! cf. *uḍkur Muḥammad* 'remember Muhammad!' or *ṣalli ^calā n-nabiyy* 'pray for the prophet!' responded to by *ṣallā-llāhu ^calayhi wa-sallam* 'God bless and grant him salvation!'. Jews respond, saying *^colow haš-šolōm* 'on him (Moses) be peace!' (168a).

Aharon (Aaron), his brother, is nicknamed *al-imām* 'the Priest'. *min nasl al-imām* 'one of the descendants of the priest' is one whose surname is (Heb.) Cohen 'Priest'.

Whereas *al-imām* in Islam is 'the prayer leader' who ascends the pulpit in the mosque and holds his sermon facing the worshippers, the *imām*, or 'Priest in the Temple, or the Cohen in the synagogue' faces the worshippers from the Holy Ark, and blesses them in the course of morning prayers (12b).

aš-šuyūḵ 'the Elders' is the nickname for the (Heb.) Sanhedrin, an assembly of 71 ordained scholars, which functioned in the days of the [Second] Temple in Jerusalem as Supreme Court and Legislature (273a).

Maimonides is nicknamed by the Jews *an-nasr al-kabīr*, calque of (Heb.) *han-nášar haġ-ġodōl* 'the great Eagle' (483b), *al-ḥokōm al-kabīr* 'the great Rabbi' (80b), and in short, *sayyidnā*, calque of (Heb.) *rabbenū* 'our lord, our master' (237b). *as-sumū^ci ibn ^caġlān* is the nickname of Rabbi Shim^con Bar-Yohai, who carried on discourses with rabbis named in the Zohar, a commentary on the Pentateuch (233a).

The poet laureate of Yemeni Jewry since the 17c. CE was Rabbi Shalom (Shalem) Shabazi. His agnomens are *abū yūdo/yəhūḍo, abū/ab šim^cōn, abbo šolem*, or *abū šolem* (244), *walad yūsif* (538a), *ibn yūsif* (40a), *ibn mašta/mušattā* – his birth-place in southern Yemen, or *al-mušattā'iyy. al-mašta'iyya*, or *bint al-mu^callim* 'the daughter of the Rabbi', Shabazi, was the nickname of his daughter *šam^ca*, a renowned righteous woman whose tomb was frequently visited (246a and 339a).

1.2 Secular appellations

Habbāni Jews in eastern Yemen use *burēh* as a pet-name for Abraham vs. Muslim *brayhīm* (29b). *hurēn* and *hurāni* are affective forms for A(h)aron in Jewish circles in al-Gades, Lower Yemen (507a). A Jew addresses an unacquainted adult co-religionist with the vocative *ʿammī* 'uncle!', and a young man with *ibn ʿammī* 'cousin!' (340a). Urban Jews denigrate rural Jews by nicknaming them *yhūd al- bawādī* 'country Jews' (23b), otherwise *yihawd bilād* (37b).

2 Appellations of Holy Scriptures

The Torah is pronounced *(sıfr) at-tawriy(y)a*, or *at-tawriy(y)āt, tawra* in al-Gades, and *tawrī* in Hujariyya, both in Lower Yemen vs. *at-tawrāh* in Cl. Arabic (54b). *al-ʿilm* is the appellation of the Torah and the Talmud (338a), cf. the appellation of the Qur'ān (as-Suyūtī, *Itqān*, 117). *al-qur'ān* is the appellation of the Torah and the Ten Commandments. In Lower Yemen (ʿAmmār) the Torah is pronounced *al-qurāh* (391a), cf. *al-qur'ān* 'the Qur'ān' in Islam.

Other appellations of the Torah: *an-niḍām* 'the Rosary' (490a), *al-firdaws* 'Paradise' (370a) and *dār al-ihsān* 'the world of beauty' (160a). *at-tāǧ* 'the Crown' is the traditional Judeo-Yemeni Pentateuch (54b). Rhyming constraints may impair syntactic structure, such as *āyāt marsūm* (!) 'written [Jewish] Law' (17a), for *ā. marsūma*, and *kutut maʿšur* (!) 'the Ten Commandments, the Decalogue' (328a) for *k. maʿsura. furūʿ aš-šarīʿa* are the Torah laws, or Halachah vs. *ʿilm al-furūʿ* lit(erally) 'the doctrine of the branches', i.e., applied *fiqh*, applied 'ethics' elaborating canonical law in Islam (371b).

The Mishna is translated as *matāni*, in the pl(ural) vs. *matnāh*, singular:sg. in Cl. Arabic (58b), cf. *al-matānī* 'the Repetition', an appellation of the Qur'ān in Islam (as-Suyūtī, *Itqān*, 117). The Halachah, or Jewish law is *sunna* vs. the Sunna, or the Law established by the Qur'ān and the usage sanctioned by Muslim tradition (233b). A command of Jewish law is *maktūm*, pl. *makātīm* (120b), and a precept of Jewish law is *fard*, pl. *furūd* vs. 'religious duty' in Islamic law (371). The Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud compiled about 375 CE is nicknamed *al-ǧəmor aš-šāmī* (243a), where the Aramaic Gemara, lit. 'Completion', the second and supplementary part of the Talmud (providing a commentary on the first part, i.e., the Mishnah) is insinuated. The Zohar, an essential in Cabbalistic literature is nicknamed either *al-azhar*, imitating the sound of (Heb.) *zōhar* 'Shining' (207a), or *kitāb al-lumaʿ*, its calque in Arabic (453b). Cabbalistic literature, dealing with Jewish mysticism is nicknamed either *kutub as-samāʿāt* after the name of the author of the Zohar, Rabbi Shimʿon Bar-Yohai, *as-sumūʿī ibn ʿaǧlān* (233a), or *kutub at-taqlīdāt* (410b).

As for the works of Maimonides, the book (Heb.) *mišnah tōroh*, otherwise (Heb.) *hay yad ha-hazzogoh*, including all Jewish oral laws, in 14 volumes is nicknamed *matnā l-ʿilm* (58b). *mōrah nəvūkīm* is the Hebrew title for his work *dalālat al-hā'irīn*

'Guide of the Perplexed', written in Judeo-Arabic and, as usual, in Hebrew characters. It is called, in short, *ad-dalāla*, whereas *dalāyil* in the pl. refers to 'Scriptures' in general (155a) by dint of metonymy. Finally, his *sēfar ham-mūswōt* 'the Book of Precepts' is nicknamed *mawsara*, relating to (Heb.) *mūsor* 'ethics, morals' (474).

Some Yemeni Jews pray according to the *baladī* 'local', i.e., Yemeni version, while others pray according to the *šāmī* 'Jerusalem (Palestinian)' version. The Yemeni version prayer-book is nicknamed *tiklāl*, pl. *t(a)kālīl*, 'inclusive, comprehensive', including also Jewish laws, marriage bonds and divorce certificate versions, ritual songs, and songs of praise (434a). An introductory chapter of a Jewish prayer is termed *fātiha*, pl. *fawātih* vs. the *fātiha*, or introductory sura of the Qur'ān (365a). *taslīh*, calque of (Heb.) *tiqqun* is 'a Jewish night-liturgy or prayer, Sabbath songs and readings etc., believed to purify the soul and cancel a bad decree' (286a)., *tafsīr at-tafāsir* 'Commentary of commentaries' is a Jewish Yemeni enlarged and more common commentary of Saʿadia Gaon's *tafsīr* 'commentary' – Arabic translation of the Bible (374).

3 Appellations of Holy places

The Garden of Eden is nicknamed *ʿadnān*, sounding like (Heb.) *ǧan ʿēdan* vs. the name of a legendary ancestor of the North Arabs (319a). The Temple in Jerusalem is nicknamed *al-quds, bayt al-quds, or al-maqdis*. Hence *al-maqdis at-tānī* is 'the Second Temple' (530 BCE-70 CE) (389a); *bayt al-maqdis* is a lit. translation of (Heb.) *bayt hammigdoš* 'the Temple' (45).

Other epithets of the Temple are:

madrasat šām 'the Temple of S(h)em', cf. *al-madrasa*, name of a mosque in Sanʿa' (148b), and referring to its brightness, it is nicknamed *rawšan* 'verandah' (192b), and *bayt as-samāwa* lit. 'the house under the open sky', fig. 'divine house', which appellation refers also to Jerusalem (45b), known in Jewish Yemeni circles as (Heb.) *yərušolāyim*, or as (undefined) *quds* (389a). The Holy of Holies in the Temple is nicknamed *al-ǧawwāniyya* 'the Innermost' (76b), which epithet refers, incidentally, to the innermost place in the Cave of (Heb.) Machpelah, or *al-haram al-ibrāhīmī* in Hebron by local Muslims. On the other hand, *al-barr(ayn)* 'the Field', (Heb.) *haš-šodah* (Gen 24:63) is the epithet for the site of the Temple in Jerusalem, and in a wider sense Judea and Galilee too (24a). The Lord is addressed with the words *mihrāb sakīntak* lit. 'the Place of worship where Your divine Presence dwells'. (Heb.) *šəkīnoh* is Cl. Arabic *sakīna* 1. 'dwelling' < *skn*. 2. 'divine Presence', i.e., Your Temple (in Jerusalem) (88b) vs. *mihrāb* 1. 'niche which shows the direction of the *qibleh*'. 2. 'a place of worship, also of the Children of Israel' (Lane 1863-93:541c). *qiblī* is 'north' for all Yemenis. Therefore, *al-qibla* is the northward direction to which Yemeni Jews turn when praying to Jerusalem through the Holy Ark in their synagogues (385b), cf. *al-qibla* in Islam – the Kaʿba, northward to Mecca, and *ūla l-qiblatayn* 'the first of

the two qiblas' – Jerusalem. *bilād al-quds(iyyāh)* is the Holy Land (37a). In the Dīwān of Rabbi Shalom Shabazi, Samarqand is figuratively the vision of the Jewish people: *ʿidnā li-maqdisnā samarqand arḍnā ṣoyyōn qaryatnā maqām al-awwal ī* 'turn our back to our Holy Temple, [to] the vision of our land, [to] Zion (Jerusalem) our City, the residence of our ancestors!'. Samarqand, used metaphorically in this context, was ruined by Genkiz Khan in 1229 CE, like Jerusalem. It was Tamerlane's capital in the 14th century CE (232a), ruined later in history to be rebuilt again.

aš-šam 'the north' has different notions communally speaking. Yemeni Jews refer by it to Jerusalem, and in a narrower sense to the Temple in it, whereas Muslims refer by it to Syria, and in a narrower sense to Damascus (242b). By extension, *dār as-salām* is Jerusalem vs. Bagdad in Islam, or, again in Islam – lit. 'the peaceful zone' an appellation for Islamic countries vs. *dār al-ḥarb* lit. 'the war zone, enemy territory', an appellation for non-Muslim, Christian countries. However, Yemeni Jews include Palestine, queerly, under *diyār al-ḥarb* (160a), or *ad-diyār ad-dākila* lit. 'the interior countries', i.e., overseas, countries abroad (146a).

4 Holiday appellations

Yemeni Jews nickname a weekday *yawm al-bayn*, pl. *ayyāmāt al-bayn* 'intervening days (between two Sabbaths)' (538b), or *bayn al-aḥlāl* lit. '[included] in (!) the weekdays', *aḥlāl* being the Yemeni pl. of (Heb.) *ḥol* 'workday, excluding the Sabbath' (103a), or *waʿd* 'weekday', pl. *ōʿād*, or *wiʿūd*, generally meaning 'week' (527a). A holiday is *ʿīd*, pl. *aʿyād*, and *tawʿīd*, pl. *tawāʿīd* (ibid.), or *yawm ṣāliḥ*, calque of (Heb.) *yōm tōv* lit. 'good day' (Esther 9:22) (538b). A holiday eve is *ʿarb al-ʿīd* < (Heb.) *ʿerav...* (320b).

Following are appellations of Jewish holidays:

ʿīd al-kāmis 'New Year's day' referring to the agricultural marking star *kāmis* lit. 'fifth', relating to the month of *aylūl* 'September' when the dhurah in the fields becomes full-grained and brilliant (137), and the first croppings are harvested (348b). *ʿīd al-ʿarša* 'feast of the booth[s]' is the feast of Tabernacles, (Heb.) Sukkoth. *ʿīd as-serāğ* 'feast of the lamp, of lights' is (Heb.) Hanukkah. Purim is either called by its Hebrew name (Esther 9:26), or translated into Arabic as a calque, *sihām*, sg. (Heb.) *pūr/sahm*, lit. 'arrow', 'lot' (236b). *ʿīd al-qarāqir* 'feast of the cups' is so called because Jews drink excessively on this occasion, falling at the end of the rainy season in the Yemen. *ʿīd al-qarāqir* was coined for the Qabīlīs (tribesmen), referring to the Hebrew citation *wə-qarqar kol bəney šēt* 'and destroy all the Children of Sheth' (Num 24:17), as Purim is a token of submission of the enemies to the Jews (394b). *ʿīd al-faṭīr* is the feast of the unleavened bread, i.e., Passover, otherwise nicknamed *ʿīd al-māyda* 'feast of the table (of the night of Passover)' (475a), or *ʿīd al-miyyā* 'the one hundredth day' since the last season of sowing wheat and barley (348b). Incidentally, the evening (not the eve!) of the first day of Passover, when after prayers in the

synagogue the Jewish community visits the residences of the chief rabbis in groups, in order to congratulate them and receive their blessing, that evening is called *laylat as-salām* 'the evening of congratulations' (457a).

Quite as the month of Shaʿban precedes Ramadan, the fasting month, and is pregnant with it, so is the Hebrew month of Iyyar pregnant with Sivan, the month of the reception of the Torah including the feast of (Heb.) *šovūʿōt* 'Pentecost'. It follows that the Judeo-Yemeni religious poetry nicknames the revelation on Mt. Sinai (Heb.) *matton tōroh* 'giving of the Law', as good tidings hidden in the month of Iyyar and as a secret – *sirr šaʿbānī* 'the hidden secret of Shaʿban' (257a). Pentecost is called *as(s)ara*, or *ʿīd al-ʿas(s)ara*, (Heb.) *ʿassārat* '(Talmudical) Pentecost' (329b), cf. *al-ʿansara*, or *ʿīd al-ʿansara* in Arabic '(Christian) Pentecost < Greek *pentecosté* 'fiftieth (day)'. It is also nicknamed *ʿīd al- kamsīn*, because the sowing of dhurah takes place within fifty days starting with the first day of Passover, and ending precisely on Pentecost (348b), which is also nicknamed *ʿīd al-kuḍayrah*, or *al-kuḍayrā'* (131a), 'feast of the greenery, verdure'.

In southern Yemen, Pentecost is nicknamed *ʿīd al-ʿušr* 'feast of doughnuts (327b), termed *zalābiyäh* by Jewish women of Ṣanʿāʾ (203b). In Aden, Pentecost is nicknamed *ʿīd an-nārğīl* 'the feast of coconuts' on which occasion the Jews prepare and eat coconut jam (476b). In Ṣanʿāʾ, *laylat al-grāyäh* 'the night throughout which reading takes place' is the first night of Pentecost, when sacred texts are read in groups in the synagogue (391a). Another appellation of this night is *laylat al-qadr* 'the night when the Gates of heaven are open' (as on every mid Jewish month, according to the Cabbalah), and the Jews stay awake throughout, praying and awaiting the Hour decreed by God to arrive. Thereupon, they express their wishes, which God fulfills, including the distribution of living provisions (457a), cf. the attestation that 'some say that the appellation of *laylat al-qadr* in sura 97 of the Qurʾān is the night wherein the means of subsistence are apportioned' (Lane, 1863-93:2494c). According to this sura, the Qurʾān was revealed in *laylat al-qadr* celebrated through the night between 26 and 27 of Ramadan. In Christianity on the other hand, *laylat al-qadr*, otherwise called *laylat al-ğitās* 'the eve of baptism' is the night preceding January 6, the day on which the baptism of Christ is celebrated (457a).

In concluding, we refer to the following appellations: *yawm al-maḥḍar*, or *yawm al-manṣib*, calques of (Heb.) *yōm ham-maʿmoḍ*, refer to the Day of the Event, to the revelation of the Torah on Mt. Sinai (97b and 487a). *yawm al-waʿd*, or simply *al-mawʿida*, is the Appointed Day, the end of days, the Day of Redemption, and the Days of the Messiah's advent (527a); *yawm al-qabūl* is the Day of Redemption, otherwise called *yawm al-muštarī* lit. 'the Day of the Buyer' – the Redeemer of the people of Israel, i.e., the Day of Redemption by the Messiah (539a). Finally, *yawm al-ḥisāb wa-d-daftar* lit. 'the Day of Reckoning and of [checking one's] "register" [by God] i.e., the Day of Judgement, doomsday (538b).

5 Intercommunal appellations

5.1 Jewish appellations for Muslims

Yemeni Jews nickname the Arabic language *lošon hağrī* 'the language of Hagar', mother of Ishmael (Gen 16) (504a). Muslims are nicknamed *ahl al-ᶜamāyim* 'the turban wearers', or *ahl aṣ-ṣiyām* 'the fasting in Ramadan' (15b). An urban Muslim of Sanᶜāʾ is a *muslim* vs. *ᶜarabī* 'a tribal and rural Muslim' (321a), whereas a *musulmānī* is a Jewish orphan bound to be kidnapped for forced conversion to Islam according to Yemeni Zaidite law (230a). In Sharᶜab, southern Yemen, the Muslim or Gentile is nicknamed *radīm* pl. *rudmān*, 'guarantor (on behalf of the Jews)' (179b), and *ğafsarī*, or *ğanīb*, 'Gentile' (69b and 75a). A Yemeni Jew addresses a Yemeni Muslim with the vocative (*yā*) *sīdī* 'Sir!' (237b). When in an official document a Jew states that the signing of it took place in the presence of one or more Muslim witnesses, his or their epithet(s) following his or their full name(s) is *ᶜazzahu*, or *ᶜazzahum allāh* 'God keep him or them honoured, esteemed!' (324b).

5.2 Muslim appellations for Jews

Urban Muslims nickname Jews *ahl as-sabt* 'keepers of the Sabbath', or *ahl aṣ-ṣalāh* 'the Jewish congregation' (15b), and in Muslim official documents – *mūsawiyyūn* 'people related to Moses' (474a). The Qabīlīs (tribesmen) nickname them *banī l-asbāt [l-aṣbāt]* 'the descendants of the tribes (of Israel)' (39b and 40a), or *banī himyar*, sg. *ibn al-himyarī* 'the descendants of (the kings of) Himyar' (39b), or *yihūd kaybar* 'the Jews of Khaybar' (140b) relating to the Jewish tribe defeated by Muhammad in an Arabian oasis. By appearance, a Jew is nicknamed *abū zinnār* 'wearing side-locks (curls)' distinguishing him from a Muslim (1b). Jews and Christians are nicknamed *ahl al-kitāb* 'the people of the Book, the Bible', and locally – *ahl al-kutba* attested in Damār (15b).

6 Disgraceful appellations

6.1 Towards Jews in the Yemen

A derogatory nickname given to Yemeni Jews is *banī mīta* 'sons of a carrion' (40a). A Yemeni proverb relating to hypocrisy and insincerity attests the attitude to Jews: *fī l-wašš yā sīdī w-fī l-gafē yā yihūdī* 'in your presence [he says] "Sir!" and in your absence – "Jew!"' (538a). When a Jew is mentioned by a party in a dialogue between Muslims, he may be detested as someone to be guarded against. This is expressed by the formula *ṣānak allah* 'God guard you!' by the interlocutor. If the word *yihūdī* 'Jew' is mentioned, one adds the formula *allah yiᶜizzak* 'may God keep you honoured, esteemed!', which formula is invoked also when mentioning something distasteful (324b). *yahūdī*, it should be noted, is not a denotation, but a cacophonic connotation. Still worse, the form *ğahūdī* is a denigration of *yahūdī* (76a). To the Yemeni the term *yahawdī* is a simple epithet of abuse bandied about among Muslims without a thought as to its meaning. Thus *kalb wa- yahawdī* means 'fighting like cat and dog' (538a). A walking or riding Muslim of al-Hawtah would tell a walking Jew facing him *šmul yā kalb* 'pass to my left, you dog!' (267a). To state an incident, a 17th century Muslim farmer hailed the Judeo-Yemeni poet laureate Rabbi Shalom Shabazi, saying: *as-silāl ᶜalayk ayyhū l-kaybarī* 'hot ashes on you, O man [of the Jewish tribe] of Khaybar!' denying him the greeting hailing Muslims only – *ᶜalayka s-salām* 'peace on you!' (227b). In Muslim dialogues, the word *ᶜibriyy* 'Hebrew' stands for the common word *yahawdī* 'Jew' (315a).

In official documents signed by the Imam Yahyā, the king would address a Jewish *ᶜāqil* elected by the notables of the community to represent Jewish interests in the Royal Court, and raise poll-tax for the Treasury (335a), as *al-kawāğa* So-and-So, a title and form of addresss for non-Muslims since Turkish rule (139a), not *as-sayyid* So-and-So reserved for Muslims (237a).

sifrat at-tawrāt 'sheep's hide of the Torah' is a cacophony of *sifr* 'Book' by a certain Muslim denigrating the Torah (224a). When a Muslim is asked about something of which he knows nothing, he says *haqq saᶜīd al-yahūdī* 'it belongs to Saᶜīd, the Jew', i.e., I don't know (222b), Saᶜīd being a common name for a Jew.

In Gurāz, northern Yemen, whoever wishes to disparage Jewish belief, resorts to the saying *al-qāt yislim ᶜalēh sabᶜīn yihūdī* 'the *qāt* (Catha edulis) is so good that seventy, i.e., many Jews would turn to Islam for it' (230a).

6.2 Disgraceful appellations towards Muslims in the Yemen

The degradation and suppression which the Jews suffered in Yemeni society under the authorities of the Zaidite Yemenis and the Sunni Turks, as well as under hostile inhabitants, made life for the Jews intolerable. They had no choice but to condemn their oppressors secretly and hesitatingly, to express their distress and cry for help in prayers and supplications, and in poetic themes of yearning to Zion and Messianic redemption. The sounds of Arabic names of persons they disgraced and hated inspired them with forming disgraceful appellations in Hebrew words, or in words of similar Hebrew roots from a traditional Hebrew stock, or in pseudo-Hebrew words inlaid in their Yemeni speech.

Following are exemplary appellations:

Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, is nicknamed *al-armanī* (!), cf. (Heb.) *rammáy* 'the deceiver, scoundrel' probably related to *al-armanī* the Syrian, an epithet of the uncle and father-in-law of Jacob the Patriarch (Gen 28:5), and of Jacob proper, matriarchally related (Deut 26:5), thus translated into Arabic by Saᶜadia: 'the Aramean' (7a). A *šarīf* nicknamed (Heb.) *šorūf* 'burnt', is of the *sayyid* class (253a), a descendant of Muhammad by his daughter Fatimah, wife of Ali of the tribe of *banū hāšim*, honoured by all, except by the Qabīlīs who hate him for his haughtiness (237a). The *imam* 'Yemeni king' nicknamed (Heb.) *mūm* defect, fault as a cacophony (474b) is

affiliated to the Zaidite sect nicknamed (Heb.) *zēdīm* 'wicked, insolent', or (Heb.) *'amolēg* 'Amalekites', i.e., wicked, cruel (210a). This sect ruled the Yemen over a thousand years, while the Ottoman Turks who ruled it twice in the meantime, and treated the Jews harshly were nicknamed *ašmōnī* hinting to the (Heb.) *ašmoh* 'guilt, sin' to mean *'uṭmānī* 'Ottoman' (9a). Gentile nations are generally nicknamed *aš-šimāl* 'the left side', based on the Aramaic phrase *siṭərā di-śəmālā* insinuating that they are of 'Evil Inclination' (267a). *al-'awāleq*, a tribe which levied local taxes from the Jews of Ḥabbān, in addition to the poll-tax levied from them by the Central government were called *'amolēq* 'Amalekites', i.e., wicked, cruel (338a). *al-akdām* who were on the lowest scale of trades, yet ranked above the Jews (122a) were nicknamed by the Jews of al-Gades in southern Yemen *kano*, derived from 'Canaan', the slave people cursed in Gen 9:25 (437b).

A small village *al-balqā [al-balaqā]* bordering on the southern edge with the Jewish quarter of Ṣan'ā' named *qā' al-yahūd* in *bīr al-'azab*, a neighbourhood in the western precincts of San'ā' (18b), included an anti-Jewish population which compelled the Chief Rabbi of the community to construct a gate named *bāb al-balqā [b. al-balaqā]* in 1932 to the south of the Jewish quarter for the sake of security. The hostile population was nicknamed (Heb.) *bolog* for *balqā'* insinuating the Moabite king Balaq who hired Balaam (Num 22 ff.), (39a and 43a).

San'āni Muslims and Jews deride speakers of the dialect of *al-yaman al-asfal* 'Lower Yemen'. *luglugī*, pl. *lagāliga* is the nickname of a Lower Yemeni such as a citizen of Ibb (450b). So is *gulgulī*, pl. *galāgila*, a Jew of Shar'ab derided by a Jew of San'ā' for pronouncing his (Heb.) shibboleth [ġ] instead of /q/ (358b). We may recall that the Jews of *al-yaman al-asfal* denigrated by the urban Jews were nicknamed *yhūd al-bawādī*, or *yihawd bilād* 'country Jews' (23b and 37b).

7 Yemeni cant

Yemeni cant called *luġa iṣtilāḥiyya* 'secret language' (450b), or 'conventional language' is conducted by vague codes. It is a language of Jewish labourers skilled in building, silver-smiths, and utensil repairers – a Yemeni language including some traditional Hebrew words. It is generally defined as *luġat al-aṣādiya* (sg. *uṣṭa*) 'secret, or private language of master-craftsmen' (9b), as *luġat al-'ammārīn* 'secret, or private language of builders' (341a), or as *luġat al-mawāgiṣa* (sg. *muwaggiṣ*) 'secret, or private language of stone-cutters, stone-dressers' (529b). The Qabīlīs would address a recognized Jew or refer to him as *uṣṭa*. An anonymous Jew would be called *uṣṭa sālim* 'Mr. Sālim', Jews being members of the community of master craftsmen and silver-smiths (9a).

The contents of Ms. Heb 24° 6395 in our sources, a ledger of an Adeni Jewish merchant, written in Judeo-Yemeni in the years 1945-48 CE (xix) were amazing by their data encoded in a secret bookkeeping technique, transacting with his brother

who had emigrated to Tel-Aviv. In order to keep his ledger in secrecy, to be encoded by his brother, he used an idiosyncratic business argot of the following complex: (a) two intertwined lexicons, Arabic and Hebrew; (b) two scripts, Arabic and Hebrew; (c) acronyms of words and dates; (d) four mixed calendars: Hebrew, Hegira, Common Era (A.D.), and Macedonian relating to Alexander the Great, an era otherwise called the Era of Contracts, (Heb.) *šəṭörōṭ*, beginning in 311 BCE.; (e) symbols of arithmetical digits and fractions in Hebrew characters, Arabic or Indian ciphers, and local symbols of fractions (ix and x). Dates were also marked by the name of the specific portion of the Torah read in the synagogue on the Sabbath preceding the day of this or that transaction.

Under the category of Jewish cants we find verbal tricks in Judeo-Arabic speech by which Jews slipped away from Muslims, cheated and thwarted them hiding their intentions. They would resort to metaphor, to inlaid ordinary Hebrew words, to fully or partly distorted words in a different structure, to substitutes of Hebrew consonants inlaid in an Arabic text, moreover to euphemisms, and to Hebrew synonyms of words similar in sound to their Arabic counterparts for fear of revealing their cunning intentions.

Following are some exemplary instances:

a) Metaphor: When a quarrel ends in blows between a Muslim and a Jew, the friends of the latter who are witnessing encourage him, saying *idkil waṣt at-tōw* 'find shelter in the (Heb.) *t*!' – acronym of the (Heb.) *tamīm* 'perfect' adduced in Deut 18:13 "Thou shalt be *perfect* with the Lord thy God", i.e., fear not your enemy! (145b).

b) Inlaying of a Hebrew word: In the previous context of urging a fellow Jew in a row, one may also say: *'awweṭ yā 'ibrī u-swōh* 'beat your adversary, you Jew, and cry loud!'. The Hebrew verb *'iwweṭ* means 'to distort', i.e., to beat (344b). When the Muslim overpowers the Jew, the latter is encouraged by the cry *wal-barīhāh* 'run away!'. (Heb.) *barīhāh* 'running away' (25b). A cry urging a fellow Jew to find shelter from an enemy, or urging to completely deny an affair in a controversial issue with a non-Jew, or to keep a secret as if one's fellow Jew has not seen anything is *al-harīm* '[flee] to the mountains!' a corruption of (Heb.) al- *hahorīm* 'upon the mountains' (Ezech 18:6) (508a).

c) Distorting of a Hebrew word: When warning a Jew to escape from an approaching enemy or authority intending to put him in jail, or when quarrelling with a non-Jew, one cries *dahhī* 'run for your life!'. The intransitive Hebrew verb *dohoh* means 'to slip, escape, go away' (145a), cf. Sa'adia's Arabic translation: VII *indahā* 'to be driven' in Deut 30:4 and Ps 36:62, and of *mundahī* 'driven' (Deut 30:4). When hushing a Jew, one says: *inšam* (imperative only) 'hush!' being either a corruption of (Heb.) *ēn šom* 'there isn't' (486b), or of Arabic *inšam* 'recover your breath!' (484a), cf. (Heb.) *nəšom. hanū'* 'mediation charges received in intercommunal transactions' is a corruption of (Heb.) *hano'oh* 'pleasure, enjoyment', used metaphorically (513a).

d) Euphemism: *bint (ḥagg) al-godaš* lit. 'girl of holiness', i.e., prostitute, public girl, (Heb.) *qədēšoh* (40a). (Heb.) *ḥokom* 'wise, sage' stands for *ḥ.k.m.*, acronym of the Arabic phrase *ḥimār kabīr mulaggam* 'big, bridled donkey' (102b). By crying out *yā ḥamīm ubūk* 'O "intimate one" of your father!' one hides the intended curse *yā-ḥa-rīm = ya(a)ḥ(a)rīm ubūk* 'damn your father!' (91a).

e) Usage of a synonym of a Hebrew word which might reveal one's intention: Since *qirš*, pl. *qurūš*, 'Maria Theresa thaler', or 'riyāl' (392b) sounds like (Heb.) *qaraš* 'plank, board', Jews would resort to its synonym (Heb.) *daf* as a cant for *qirš* (152a), which like its Aramaic counterpart *dappa* has an alloseme – 'page' of a book etc.

To sum up, the intricate life of Yemeni Jews as keepers of the glowing ember of Judaism in a remote and hostile diaspora, a life that was reflected by their devotion to religious values and by preserving themselves from the Zaidite rule, placed them in a situation wherein they were compelled to use appellations expressive of their innermost feelings and their everyday life within their community on one hand, and on the other, to secretly express the texture of their psycho-social relations with, and their definition of, the Muslim majority, which on its part vented its supremacy and arrogance in various appellations disgracing the Jewish community.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

as-Suyūṭī, *Itqān* = Ǧalāl ad-Dīn ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Abī Bakr as-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 4 vols., Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaʿat al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī, 1387/1967.
Saʿadia, *Tafsīr* = Rabbi Saʿadia Gāʾōn, *Tāg [Sēfer Keter Tōrāh]*, 2 vols. Jerusalem: Y. Hasid, 1968.
The Old Testament.

B. Secondary sources

Lane, Edward William. 1863-93. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 vols., London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. [Repr. in 2 vols., Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society Trust, 1984.]
Piamenta, Moshe. 1990-91. *Dictionary of Post Classical Yemeni Arabic*. 2 parts, Leiden, New York, København & Köln: E. J. Brill.

NEGATION IN YEMENI ARABIC

Hamdi A. Qafisheh

University of Arizona

0 Abstract

Negation in Yemeni Arabic, based on the dialect of Sanʿāʾ, includes negating perfect and imperfect forms of the verb by the particle /mā/ in pre-verbal position and the verb normally takes the suffix /-š/. /mā/ is also used in two verbal constructions joined by /wa/ 'and'. Such constructions are negated by /mā ... wa-mā .../ or /lā ... wa-lā .../. In constructions with /illa/ 'except' /mā/ is used to negate the verb, and such constructions have the meaning of 'nothing' or 'nobody ... except' or 'not ... anything or anybody except.' /mā/ also negates pseudo verbs: there is/are, 'to have', etc. /lā/ followed by the imperfect form of the verb negates an imperative. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, particles, and prepositional phrases are negated by /miš/. /lā ... wa-lā .../ or /mā ... wa-lā/ is used with the meaning of 'neither ... nor'. There will be a lot of illustrative sentences, and some proverbial phrases.

1 Introduction

1.1 Informants and Material

The native speakers ("informants") whose speech served as the basis for the data selected for inclusion in this article are unsophisticated *bona fide* speakers of *sanʿānī* Arabic. They are male and their ages range between twenty and forty. A frequency word list of approximately 2,000 vocabulary items was compiled from native speakers in different situations, such as greetings, telephone conversations, comments, interviews, etc. On most occasions the informants talked to each other either in their homes during *gāt* sessions or in such places as office buildings, coffeehouses, etc. There was a search for tales, fables, anecdotes and stories from story tellers, poets and informants. In informant interviews the question, "How do you say ...?" was avoided as much as possible for the sake of authenticity. Indeed, some of them had the tendency to emulate my dialect or other Arabic dialects, especially Egyptian and Palestinian[1]. I have run across contrast of styles in the same speakers on different

---

[1] It should be pointed out that most of my informants have come in direct contact with a number of Arab immigrants working in Ṣanʿāʾ, especially Egyptians and Palestinians. I was on the lookout for "speech emulation", e.g., one informant said, *baket šagāyir*, 'a package of cigarettes' on one occasion and *gafas šigāyir* on another occasion. The latter is the SA form. In instances such as this one, I would check with the informant again, or another informant would contribute saying, "we do not use this in our

occasions. Because of limitations of time and for circumstances beyond my control no children or female informants were interviewed[2].

A limited but careful use was made of the following secondary data, including texts, word lists, grammars[3], etc: Rossi (1938 and 1939), Nāmī (1946 and 1953), al-Akwaᶜ (1967), and Renaud (1977).

Rossi's *L'Arabo Parlato a Sanᶜa* (1939) is based on the speech of Sanᶜā' and the immediate vicinity. It presumes to some extent a knowledge of literary Arabic. There is a good selection of text materials in transcript, which covers a wide range of phrases and dialogs on common subjects, proverbs, stories, popular songs, and poetry. A lexicon lists words under various headings, followed by a voculary of about 1,000 items. The major drawback of the book is that it is too short; the grammar part is only forty-six pages long. Only eight pages are devoted to phonology. The phonology part does not discuss the following topics, which are essential features in any study of the phonology of SA: phonological processes (such as pausal glottalization, pausal diphthongization, devoicing of voiced geminates, epenthesis, etc.), consonant clusters, diphthongs, and features of /r/, /l/, /g/ and /h/. The chart (on page 1) does not includes the glides /w/ and /y/. It labels /s/, /z/, and /s/ as dentals, and the glottal stop, /h/, /h/ and /ᶜ/ as laryngeals. The morphology also suffers from an inadequate treatment of verb forms, derivation and inflection of nouns, noun modification, pronouns and particles. Moreover, the book does not include any description of syntax, which includes negation.

The Sanᶜānī Arabic of today differs from that Rossi described. Rossi (1939) lacks a modern linguistic treatment and reflects theory and practice of some fifty years ago, in addition to its shortcomings. It is not a description of the speech of present urban semi-educated *Sanᶜānīs*.

1.2 Data Treatment and Limitations of the Study

This study is a descriptive analysis of major negative forms in SA; it is essentially synchronic[4]. No attempt has been made to refer to any diachronic facts. Features that are not mentioned in this presentation may be assumed to be either similar to those in other Arabic dialects or needing further investigation, which lies beyond the

dialect". See: Cadora 1970 for a detailed linguistic study of this phenomenon.

[2] It was almost impossible for me to hold a direct conversation with a woman. Only on two short occasions was I able to talk to a wife through her husband. She was very shy and conservative in her speech. Women in the YAR have their own livingrooms and their own *qat* chewing sessions.

[3] None of those texts and grammars deals with the negation of SA. I have used a very small number of the vocabulary items in them if my informants accepted them as words being authentic SA words.

[4] I was able to stay in Sanᶜā' for approximately two months in 1985 and for another two months in 1986. The financial support for this research was provided by the U.S. Department of Education.

scope of this study, which is a sketch of the chief or salient features of negative forms in SA.

2 Negation in Yemeni Arabic

2.1 Negating Verbs
2.1.1 Perfect and Imperfect
The perfect and imperfect forms of the verb are usually negated by /mā/, which always precedes the verb; the verb normally takes the suffix /-š/:

limih mā ḥazzantš?	*Why didn't you (m.s.) chew qat?*
mā agdar aǧi sāᶜat ḥams.	*I can't come at five.*
mā sirnaš as-sūg al-yawm.	*We didn't go to the market today.*
wallahi mā fihimtš.	*Honestly, I didn't understand.*
mā yištīš.	*He doesn't want.*
mā yisbirš.	*It won't work; it is not suitable or proper.*
iblīs mā yḥarrib daymatih.	*No one harms oneself.*
itnayn mā yimšīš lahum markab.	*Too many cooks spoil the broth.*

Imperfect verb forms that denote a passive-potential sense are also negated by /mā .... -š/:

dayya mā yitǧayyarš.	*This cannot be changed.*
yitgawwa walla mā yitgawwāš?	*Can it be made stronger or not?*
mā yittammanš.	*It cannot be priced; it is priceless.*
mā yigtara'.	*It cannot be read.*
mā yistantagš.	*He cannot be interrogated.*

Two verbal constructions with a perfect or an imperfect verb joined by /wa/ 'and' are negated by /mā ... wa-mā .../ or /mā ... wa-lā .../ or /lā ... wa-lā/ ... Examples:

mā yistantagš wa-mā yithākaš.	*He can neither be interrogated nor talked to.*
mā yistantagš wa-lā yithākaš.	
lā yistantag wa-lā yithaka.	
mā yinfaᶜak ma maᶜ aḥūk wa-lā siraǧih yidī' lak.	*(lit., "What your brother has is of no avail to you; neither will his lantern give you light.") (Meaning: Depend on yourself.)*
lā sirt wa-lā ǧi't./ mā sirtš wa-mā ǧi'tš.	*I neither went nor came.*

lā yinfaᶜak mā miᶜ axūk   *Depend on yourself.*
wa-lā sirāǧih ydī' lak.

lā ragad wa-lā ḥalla aḥad yurgud.   *He neither slept nor let anybody (else) sleep.*
mā taǧaddāš wa-mā taᶜaššāš.   *He didn't have lunch; neither did he have dinner.*
lā ṣalla wa-lā ṣām.   *He neither prayed nor fasted.*
lā mē' yirūb wa-lā gaḥbeh titūb.   *A leopard cannot change his spots.*

Note that if /lā ... wa-lā/ ... is used the particle /-š/ is not used and that /lā ... wa-lā/
may precede a noun.

In constructions with /illa/ 'except' /mā / is used to negate the verb. Such construc-
tions have the meaning of 'nothing or nobody ... except' or 'not ... anything or
anybody except':

mā bigiy illa ladātih.   *Nothing remained except his personal effects.*
mā ligīš illa bagariy.   *He didn't find anything (i.e., any other kind of meat)*
                                               except beef.
mā yfarrig as-saḥāb illa   *There is nothing that disperses clouds except rain.*
l-matar
mā yiǧīš al-ḥayr illa karrah.   *(God's) blessing comes only once.*
mā tiksir al-ḥaǧar illa l-ḥaǧar.   *Nothing breaks a rock except its sister.*
mā ibsarhum illa ᶜabdalla.   *Nobody saw them except Abdalla.*
mā ibsaruw illa ᶜabdalla.   *They (m.) didn't see anybody except Abdalla.*

/mā/ may be followed by a prepositional phrase:

mā ysīruw illa fi l-layl.   *They do not go (at any time) except at night.*
mā tibsiriss illa fi   *You will not see him except in Bab al-Yaman.*
bāb al-yaman.
mā yḥinn ᶜala l-ᶜūd illa gišrih. *Nobody can do one's work as well as oneself.*

/mā/ and /lā/ are used to negate other parts of speech and express the meaning of
'there isn't; there aren't; you cannot find, etc.' /mā/ is used with 'illa' 'except' or
/ǧayr/ 'other than'. Proverbs and sayings abound with such examples:

mā malīḥ illa fīh ᶜayb.   *(lit., "There isn't anything good, but there is a defect in*
                                            it."
mā fi d-dunya illa raḥmat   *There is nothing in this world except God's blessing.*
allāh.
mā šay' sāᶜ šay'.   *Your fingers are not the same. Different strokes for*
                                            different folks.
mā aḥad hāna illa yaḥya.   *No one is here except Yahya.*

mā fi l-mudun ǧayr ṣanᶜa   *San'a is the best of cities and*
wa-fi l-bawādi ruṣābah.   *Rusaba is the best of farm lands.*

Examples with /lā/:

lā mē' yirūb wala gaḥbeh   *(lit., "No water turns into yogurt, nor does a*
titūb.   *prostitute repent." Meaning: You cannot make a silk*
                                            purse out of a sow's ear. A leopard cannot change his
                                            spots.")
lā zǧayyir ymayyiz kabīr   *(lit., "There isn't a young person who respects an*
wala kabīr yirḥam zaǧīr.   *older one, nor is there an old person who has compas-*
                                            sion for a young one.")

In classicisms /lā/ negates indefinite nouns, in which case it has the function of
literary Arabic /lā/ of absolute negation:

lā šakk   *no doubt*
lā šukr(a) ᶜala wāǧib.   *(lit., "No thanks for one's duty.") You're welcome.*
lā budd min as-safar.   *Travel is inevitable.*
lā mafarr   *no escape*

/wala/ can be used by itself in a pre-nominal position to express the meaning of 'and
not, not even, not so much as':

walad ᶜāṣi wala mābiš.   *Something is better than nothing.*
ǧarak al-garīb wala   *Out of sight out of mind.*
aḥuk al-baᶜīd.
ra's kabši wala girārat ǧarād. *One today is better than two tomorrow. A bird in the*
                                            hand is worth two in the bush.

2.1.2 Negating Pseudo-Verbs
Prepositional pseudo-verbs are negated by /mā/:

mā biš gāt hāna.   *There isn't any qat here.*
mā ᶜindahum ǧihhāl.   *They don't have any children.*
mā ᶜindiš ḏahab?   *Don't you (f.s.) have any gold?*
mā ᶜalayh duyūn.   *He doesn't have any debts (lit., "Debts are not on*
                                            him.")

Two prepositional pseudo-verbal constructions are usually negated by /lā ... wala .../
or /mā ... wala/ .../ 'neither ... nor':

la lih awwal wala tāli.   (lit., "He does not have a beginning; nor does he have
an end.") (Meaning: Everything should have a sound
beginning.)

lā li wala lak.   neither mine nor yours

lā lih dayn wala ᶜalayh dayn.   People do not owe him any money; neither does he
owe any money.

mā ᶜindih bayt wala zalat.   He has neither a house nor money.

2.1.3 Negating Imperatives

A negative command (or request), which is used to tell s.o. not to do s.th. consists
of the negative particle /lā/ followed by the imperfect of the verb.

lā traǧim an-nās   (lit., "Do not throw rocks at people if
wa-baytak min zuǧāǧ!   your house is made of glass.") (Meaning: Those who
live in glass houses should not throw stones.)

lā titzawwaǧ wa-ᶜād garguš   (lit., "Do not get married and your mother's cap is
ummak fi t-tāgah.   still in the window.") (Meaning: Haste makes waste.)

lā tsīrayn as-sūg!   Don't go (f.p.) to the market!

lā thazzinu hāna!   Do not chew (m.p.) qat here!

lā tgūli mā biš.   Do not say (f.s.): "There isn't."

ida sāhbak ᶜasal lā   Don't use up your credit all at once.
tilhasih kullih.

Two negative commands are joined by /wa/ 'and':

lā tusrug wa-lā thāf.   (lit., "Do not steal and do not be afraid!") (Meaning:
If you do not steal, you should not be (or you do not
have to be) afraid.)

lā tǧaddīhum wa-lā   Do not give them lunch and do not give them
tᶜaššīhum.   dinner!

2.2 Negating Other Parts of Speech

Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, particles, and prepositional phrases are negated by
/miš/:

huw miš mgawwit.   He is not a qat dealer.

miš ǧudweyh, al-yawm   not tomorrow, today

miš as-sabt, al-hamīs   not (on) Saturday, (on) Thursday

miš hin, antayn   not they (f.), you (f.p.)

ana miš ǧāwiᶜ.   I am not hungry.

hin miš dāhināt.   They (f.) are not smart.

huw miš ǧārig.   He is not mad.

miš hākada?   Isn't it so?

hin sārayn, miš hāna.   They (f.) left; they are not here.

hna miš mirtāhīn hānāk.   We are not comfortable there.

miš nāhiy?   Isn't it good?

miš dala-dale, fīsaᶜ   not slowly, quickly, at once

miš hākada   not in this manner

miš sāᶜat tintayn   not at two o'clock

miš sāᶜma huw   not like him

miš ᶜala sibbih   not because of him

miš min sanᶜa   not from San'a

Either /lā ... wa-lā/ or /mā ... wa-lā/ is used with the meaning of 'neither ... nor':

lā bayt wa-lā zalat   neither a house nor money

lā ᶜātiš wa-lā ǧāwiᶜ   neither thirsty nor hungry

mā šay' sāᶜ šay' wa-lā s-sabāh   (There is) nothing like anything else

sāᶜ al-ᶜašiy.   and the morning is not like the evening.

mā kull sawdeh tamrah   (lit., "Not every piece of charcoal is a
wala kull šahmeh lahmeh.   date, and not every piece of fat is meat.") Meaning: Do
not judge people by their appearance.

The negative form of /ahad/ 'somebody, someone' is /mahad/ 'nobody, no one'. It
is usually used as the subject of a sentence:

mahad ibsarih.   Nobody saw it/him.

mahad yudhul hāna.   Nobody enters here.

mahad māt min al-ǧūᶜ.   No one died of hunger.

but:

mā ibsart ahad.   I did not see anybody.

*ibsart mahad.

mā labaǧtš ahad?   Didn't you hit anybody?

*labaǧtš mahad?

When /mā/ negates a noun or a phrase and is followed by /'illa/ or /ǧayr/ 'except'
the meaning expressed in English is usually 'there isn't any + N (that can be found)
except':

mā fi l-mudun ǧayr sanᶜa.   There isn't any other city except San'a. (i.e., San'a is
the best of cities.)

mā ṣadīg illa sāʿat aḍ-ḍīg.	*There isn't any friend except at the time of distress (i.e., A friend in need is a friend indeed.)*
mā fi l-hanaš illa rāsih.	*There isn't anything in the snake except its head. (i.e., The head of a snake is its most important part.)*

/mā/ by itself may negate a noun or a phrase and expresses the meaning of 'there isn't any + N':

mā mareh thibb mareh.	*There isn't any woman who likes (another) woman.*
mā minhum ḍarar.	*There isn't any harm they can do.*

A negative response to a yes- or no-question is either /lā/ or /ʾabadan/ (lit., "never")

ant thazzin?	*Do you chew qat?*
lā.	*No.*
tišrab šigāyir?	*Do you smoke cigarettes?*
lā abadan.	*No, never.*

The phrase /miš hākaḏa/ 'isn't it so' is appended to a statement to form what is known in English as a tail question; it is usually known as a question tag; it is invariable. The phrase /miš hākaḏa/ occurs more frequently.:

al-gāt gāli, miš hakaḏa?	*Qat is expensive, isn't it?*
al-ǧihhāl sāru l-madraseh, miš sahīh?	*The children went to school, didn't they?*
ʿa-yiǧi gudweh, tamām?	*He will come tomorrow, won't he?*
ant miš ǧāwiʿ, sahīh?	*You are not hungry, are you?*

2.3 /mā gad/ + independent pronoun + /š/

The particle /gad/ in a pre-verbal position has the meaning of 'already', or it indicates the termination of an action:

gad (hiy) sārat.	*She has (already) left.*
gad antayn stabahtayn.	*You (f.p.) have already had breakfast.*
gad bigiy miʿi zalat.	*I do have money left with me.*

In an equational sentence /gad/ is used for emphasis or 'not yet'.

gad huw hāna.	*He is here.*
gad miʿi zalat.	*I do have money with me.*

When the negative particle /mā/ precedes /gad/ with a following personal pronoun, stem change takes place:

mā gad + ana	→	mā gadanāš	*I (certainly) am not ...*
mā gad + hna	→	mā gad-i-hnāš	*We (certainly) aren't ...*
mā gad + ant	→	mā gadantš	*You (m.s.) aren't ...*
mā gad + antu	→	mā gadantūš	*You (m.p.) aren't ...*
mā gad + antiy	→	mā gadantīš	*You (f.s.) aren't ...*
mā gad + antayn	→	mā gadantaš	*You (f.p.) aren't ...*
mā gad + huw	→	mā gadūš	*He isn't ...*
mā gad + hum	→	mā gadumš	*They (m.) aren't ...*
mā gad + hiy	→	mā gadīš	*She isn't ...*
mā gad + hin	→	mā gadanš	*They (f.) aren't ...*

Examples:

mā gadanāš tāʿib	*I am not yet tired. I am certainly not tired.*
mā gadantš bālig	*You (m.s.) aren't an adult.*
mā gadantīš harēweh.	*You (f.s.) aren't a bride.*

If /mā gad/ precedes the pseudo-verb /bih/ 'there is,' the resultant negative form of the whole phrase is:

mā gad bihš → mā gadbiš → mā gabbiš → [mææ gæppi'š].
There isn't anything left. It's all gone.

2.4 Assimilation of /-h/ of the third person masculine singular suffix /-ih/ on to a following negative particle /-š/:

šallaytih.	*I (you) took it.*
*mā šallaytihš → mā šallaytišš.	*I (you) didn't take it.*
ibsarih.	*He saw it.*
*mā ibsarihš → mā ibsarišš.	*He didn't see it.*
sannatih.	*She filtered it.*
* mā sannatihš → mā sannatišš.	*She didn't filter it.*
gālitlih.	*She told him.*
*mā gālatihš → mā gālatlišš.	*She didn't tell him.*

If the verb ends with a long vowel, simultaneous shortening occurs when the verb is negated:

ligīh	*He found it.*

*mā ligīhš → mā ligiss.   *He didn't find it.*
yilgāh.   He finds it.
*mā yilgāhš → mā yilgass.   *He doesn't find it.*
ligyūh.   They (m.) found it.
*mā ligyūhš → ma ligyuss.   *They (m.) didn't find it.*

REFERENCES

al-Akwaᶜ, Ismāᶜīl. 1968. *al-Amtāl al-yamaniyya.* Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜārif.

al-Maqālih, ᶜAbdalᶜazīz. 1978. *Šiᶜr al-ᶜāmmiyya fī l-yaman.* Beirut: Dār al-ᶜAwda.

ᶜĀmir, ᶜAbdallāh b. Ahmad. 1978. *Min aš-šiᶜr al-ᶜāmmī fī l-yaman.* Beirut: Dār al-ᶜAwda.

ᶜAnān, Zayd ᶜAlī. 1980. *al-Lahǧa l-yamāniyya fī n-nukat wa-l-amtāl aṣ-ṣanᶜāniyya.* Cairo: Dār as-Saᶜāda.

Cadora, Frederic. 1970. "Some Linguistic Concomitants of Contactual Factors of Urbanization." *Anthropological Linguistics.* 12/1.110-119.

Diem, Werner. 1973. *Skizzen Jemenitischer Dialekte.* Beirut: in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag/Wiesbaden.

Etienne, Renaud. 1977. *An Introduction to Yemeni Spoken Arabic.* Ṣanᶜaʾ: (unpublished).

Greenman, Joseph. 1979. "A Sketch of the Arabic Dialect of the Central Yamani Tihamah." *ZAL* 3.47-61.

Muhammad, ᶜAsma. 1990. *Amtāl ṣanᶜāniyya.* Ṣanᶜāʾ: Dār al-Kalima.

Nāmī, Yahyā. 1946 & 1953. *"Min al-lahaǧāt al-yamaniyya l-hadīta."* *Maǧallat kulliyyat al-ādāb, Ǧāmiᶜat al-Qāhira.* 8.69-84 & 15.103-113.

Qafisheh, Hamdi A. 1977. *A Short Reference Grammar of Gulf Arabic.* University of Arizona Press.

———. 1990. *Yemeni Arabic I.* Beirut: Librarie du Liban.

———. 1992. *Yemeni Arabic Reference Grammar.* Kensington, M.D.: Dunwoody Press.

Rossi, Ettore. 1938. "Appunti di dialettologia del Yemen". *Rivista degli Studi Orientali.* 17.460-72.

———. 1939. *L'Arabo Parlato a Sanᶜāʾ.* Roma: Istituto Per L'Oriente.

Serjeant, R. B. and Lewcoct, Roland (ed.). 1983. *San'a, An Arabian Islamic City.* London: World of Islam Trust Fund.

TOWARDS A GRAMMAR OF THE HEART: AL-QUŠAYRĪ'S *NAHW AL-QULŪB*[*]

Tamás Iványi

Budapest

1 The Grammarian and the Boatman

In Ǧalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī's *Matnawī* there is a famous anecdote of ancient origin, well known in the Arab world even today: 'The grammarian and the boatman'[1]. A grammarian, having embarked in a boat, boasts of his superficial knowledge of worldly (and hence secondary) things and asks the boatman whether he knows grammar. After receiving a negative answer the grammarian (man of knowledge *ᶜilm*) condemns the boatman (man of practice *ᶜamal*), saying that the other has lost half of his life. In the open sea, however, a violent storm breaks out and now the boatman, who does know how to swim, asks the grammarian whether he can swim, and after a negative answer he rightly notices that at that case the grammarian will lose his whole life.

In this story the grammarian stands for everything worldly and he is the representative of the officially recognized science. As for "swimming", it is used here as a metaphor for mystical training and experience required for the voyage to union with God. "God upholds and exalts those who have died to self, while those who rely on their own attainments and efforts are submerged in the whirlpools of illusion"[2]. As Rūmī emphasises, the great scholar, with all his pride of intellect, is unable to take a single step towards true knowledge.

Sūfī manuals usually begin with pointing to the difference between *ᶜālim* and *ᶜārif*, *i.e.* between scholars who deal with religious prescriptions (*šarīᶜa*) and the knowers of the 'true reality' (*haqīqa*).

The grammarian, on the one hand, is highly suitable to represent the scholar (*ᶜālim*). Firstly, because to scorn and ridicule him is less dangerous than to do the same with men of religion (*riǧāl ad-dīn*). Secondly, because by the 11/12th centuries grammar had become one of the recognised subjects in the curriculum of the *madrasas*, it served as the typical example of the 'superfluent casuistry' and worldli-

---

[*] The paper presented at the conference contained the linguistic analysis of al-Qušayrī's *Nahw al-qulūb*. It seemed, however, more appropriate that the publication of the manuscript should precede the presentation of the analysis which will be published later.

[1] "The story what passed between the grammarian and the boatman". Rūmī, *Mathnawī*: Persian text I, 175-176, ll. 2835-2852; Nicholson's English translation II, 155-156; commentaries by Nicholson VII, 176. For the sources of Rūmī see Firūzānfar 1971:28.

[2] Rūmī, *Mathnawī* VII, 176: Nicholson's commentary on ll. 2842-43.

ness of sciences for non-specialists. On the other hand, Rūmī's interpretation of the story makes "repentance" possible, since the sea, the symbol of *gnosis* (*maʿrifa*), purifies those who submerge in it and brings them nearer to "annihilation" (*fanāʾ*) by obliterating (*maḥw*) their original attributes.

Rūmī's commentary contains yet another interesting aspect. He uses the well-known associative technique of the Ṣūfīs based on *al-ištiqāq al-kabīr* or *al-akbar* stating that instead of *naḥw* (grammar) *maḥw* (self-effacement) is needed here. "We have stitched in (inserted) the (story of the) grammarian, that we might teach you the grammar (*naḥw*) of self-effacement (*maḥw*). In self-loss [in becoming less] ... you will find ... the grammar of grammar (*naḥw naḥw*)"[3].

2 The *Nahw al-qulūb*

Ṣārī ʿAbdallāh Efendi (d. 1660/61) quotes a small Ṣūfī treatise in his great commentary on the first part of Rūmī's *Maṭnawī*, in connection with the story of the grammarian and the boatman (Ṣārī, *Maṭnawī* IV, 89-92). This passage is Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbdalkarīm b. Hawāzin al-Qušayrī's (d. in 1072) *Nahw al-qulūb*, "The Grammar of the Hearts"[4].

This treatise represents a serious attempt to present Ṣūfī thoughts in a form analogous to an acknowledged science which had been then on the curriculum of teaching institutions for a long time. Naturally, the seriousness of the attempt does not mean that it may be considered fully successful as well. It is, however, worth studying since it reflects many interesting basic features of Ṣūfī thinking and their way of linguistic expression.

The conceptual framework peculiar to Ṣūfī thinking has two main characteristics: (i) The special emphasis laid on *opposition pairs* (antonyms, contradictions, etc.) which are later dissolved into each other; and (ii) The technique of limitedly *free association*. Limited here means limited by traditions and by *taqlīd*. All these influence the language of Ṣūfī texts, consequently Ṣūfī authors pay great attention to the linguistic formation and composition of their texts and grammar as a science in itself. These characteristics also serve the purposes of a 'mystical vagueness' on a deeper level. This kind of controversy between clear linguistic expression and more contradictory contents can well be conceived as one aspect of the opposition pair *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*.

---

[3] Rūmī, Mathnawī II, 156, ll. 2846-47. In this last passage of his commentary to the story Rūmī turns to the use of two well-known technical linguistic devices of mystical writings: (i) The use of one and the same word in two forms or meanings: *naḥw* corrected to *maḥw* then used together with it at one and the same time: *naḥw maḥw*. (ii) Intensification by way of forming a genitive construction with the same word as *muḍāf* and *muḍāf ilayhi*: *naḥw naḥw*.

[4] For the life and works of al-Qušayrī see Basyūnī 1972.

It is stated at the beginning of the *Nahw al-qulūb* that the non-mystical science is called *ʿibāra*, which may perhaps be translated here as 'interpretation based on reasoning', while mystical science is *išāra*, 'symbolic interpretation' or 'interpretation based on allusions'. The relation between the two is well illustrated by the following quotation from our text: *fa-lammā ġāba [Muḥammad] ʿani l-ism waǧada l-musammā wa-lammā aʿrada ʿani l-fiʿl ilā l-ḥarfi l-muʿammā raʾā l-maʿnā lladī lā yusammā*. That means in short that the grammarian is concerned with names, while the mystic with the essence, which is the real object of all names. Here the chain of notions leads us from *ism*, noun or name (a subject of grammar) to *musammā*, 'the named', which although could be conceived as 'the designated' is better understood as 'sense'. The expression *ḥarf muʿammā* is a kind of *ǧinās* to the word *musammā* but also to the grammatical expression *ḥarf maʿnā*. The science of *išāra*, then, brings us to some hidden meanings that have no linguistic equivalent (*lā yusammā*). That is another way of expressing the well known Ṣūfī doctrine that *ʿilm* is only the antechamber of mystical (and so real) knowledge (*maʿrifa*).

Mystical knowledge is, however, not only deeper and hence more real and justifiable than any other forms of science, for example grammar, but also bears such ethical values which the others are not supplied with. Thus, for the people of *išāra*, *maʿrifa* differs from *nakira* not only in their cognitive meaning but in their ethical value as well – the former being always the higher, the latter the lower and more despicable category: *al-asmāʾ maʿārifu wa-nakirāt w-kadālika l-ʿibād minhum maʿrūf lahu naṣīb maʿa l-qawm huwa bihi maʿrūf wa-maqām fī ṣ-ṣidq huwa bihi mawṣūf wa-minhum munkar lā naṣība lahu maʿa l-qawm wa-lā ḥazza lahu siwā l-akl wa-n-nawm*.

Thus we can see that our author uses grammar as an etalon for the categorization of segmentation of Ṣūfī knowledge. For example, as in grammar speech consists of three parts: *ism, fiʿl* and *ḥarf*, in the same way the followers of the "hints" (*išāra*) speak about *aqwāl, ʿamal* and *aḥwāl*. In this series *aqwāl* equals *ʿulūm* and is proved to be a mere introduction to Ṣūfī praxis (*aʿmāl*) refferring to a tradition of the Prophet.

3 The Manuscripts of the *Nahw al-qulūb*

Ḥāǧǧī Halīfa (*Kašf* II, 1935) knows only about one work of al-Qušayrī by the title *Nahw al-qulūb*. This is identical to the present work according to the beginning quoted by Ḥāǧǧī Halīfa. Other sources know about two works: *Nahw al-qulūb al-kabīr* and *Nahw al-qulūb al-kabīr*[5].

Our edition of al-Qušayrī's *Nahw al-qulūb as-saġīr* is based on the apparently oldest manuscript preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbe-

---

[5] See al-Qušayrī, *Miʿrāǧ* 20 (editor's introduction); al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* 17 (editor's introduction).

sitz, Orientabteilung Ms. or. oct. 3805[6]. It contains 4 folios, 7 pages, 14x19,5 cm, 9x15 cm, 21 lines. It is written with a mid-large, well readable *nashi* script with diacritical points but unvocalized, *hamza* is never marked; black ink; titles with red ink. Wagner (1976:93) supposes that this manuscript dates from the 12-13/18-19 centuries.

The text of this manuscript was strictly followed in the main text except in cases where it would yield no sense. The word *al-asl* is used to refer to the Berlin MS in the footnote. The text is published according to modern orthographic conventions. Four other versions of this text were used in this edition: three manuscripts and the above mentioned printed version.

The letter *alif* refers to the manuscript: *tasawwuf* Taymūr 196; twelve pages of 13 lines each, mid-large *nashi* script, vocalized, punctuated, copied by a certain Muhammad b. Husnī aš-Šabbī at-Tūnisī, not dated but seems to be the oldest from among the Cairene manuscripts.

The letter *bā'* refers to the manuscript: Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, b 24455; 14,5x20 cm, six pages, *nashi*, titles with red ink, copied by a certain Mahmūd al-Ğibālī.

The letter *ğīm* refers to the manuscript: Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, b 24453; *ruq'a*, black ink, copied by the same person as *bā'*, dated 3 Ramadān 1344 / 17 March 1926, it is arranged in a modern book form, with chapter titles, etc.

Both *bā'* and *ğīm* are preceded and also ended by the same small poem, written most probably by the copyist, which summarizes the epistle and glorifies the author.

The letter *sād* refers to the printed version of the text which can be found in the Turkish commentary of Sārī (*Mesnevi* III, 90-92). Since the majority of manuscripts are recent copies, it seemed important to include in the edition this printed version because it predates at least two manuscripts and only the Berlin manuscript seems to be much older[7].

---

[6] This manuscript is mentioned in *GAL* I, 433 (no. 19) and is described by Wagner 1976:92-93. Brockelmann supposes that another, Alexandrian manuscript which bears a different title is identical with the Berlin manuscript. This, however, cannot be the case because it is several times longer than the *Nahw al-qulūb*.

[7] After having prepared this paper for printing I managed to buy in Cairo the *Nahw al-qulūb al-kabīr* of al-Qušayrī, edited by Ibrāhīm Basyūnī and Ahmad ʿAlam ad-Dīn al-Ğundī, published by ʿAlam al-Fikr, Cairo in November 1995. The editors mention in the Preface (pp. 27-28) that the *Nahw al-qulūb aṣ-ṣagīr* of the same author has already been edited by Ahmad ʿAlam ad-Dīn al-Ğundī, the co-editor of the book, in 1977, Tunis & Tripoli (Lybia). The book, however, was not available for me neither in the book-market nor in the libraries of Cairo. The Preface of the *Nahw al-qulūb al-kabīr*, however, lists the MSS used by the editor of the *Nahw al-qulūb aṣ-ṣagīr* and from this it becomes clear that he had no avail to the Berlin MS (edited in this paper), and did not use the printed version, but used two other MSS which were not available for me: a relatively new Cairo MS (dated from 1900/1901) and an undated MS from Medina. It also became clear from this new Cairo edition that the *kabīr* is about six times longer: 566 lines in 68 p., ca. 5600 words, as compared with the *ṣagīr* with its 70 lines and ca. 850 words.

كتاب نحو القلوب
من كلام الإمام العارف المحقق أبي القاسم القشيري
تغمده الله برحمته ونفع بها القارئ وأعان عليها المقرئ آمين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه الإعانة والتوفيق[1] الحمد لله الذي أودع الحكمة أهلها ﴿وعلم آدم الأسماء كلها﴾[2] وأوقفه[3] على المقصود[2] من دائرة الوجود فحل[4] شكلها فبين لنبيه حروفها ووسم اسمها ورسم فعلها فمنهم من شمر لوابل القسمة وما رضي طلها[5] ومنهم من رضي بالعزيمة فلما عقد عقد العزيمة حلها فزمرة أقبلت على إصلاح اللسان[6] ليظهر فضلها وزمرة تجاوزت إلى جنان[7] الجنان فرأت[8] أغصان العصيان من شجرة الطغيان فقطعت أصلها ثم نحت نحو من أعلها لعلها تظفر بسناها[9] ولعلها[10] ويخاطبها شتاها[11] ومن لها[12] أحمده على نعمه كلها إلى[13] وجوده على دلها[14] فأهدت[15] إلى ويلها وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادة استظل ظلها يوم لا ظل إلا ظلها وأشهد أن[16] محمدا عبده ورسوله الذي أرسله إلى جنود الطغيان فغلها وإلى يوم

---

(1) "وبه الإعانة والتوفيق" ناقصة من أ؛ زيادة في ب بعد البسملة: "رب يسر يا كريم اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم"؛ الثناء كله ناقصة من ص
(2) سورة البقرة ٣١/٢
(3) في ج: ولما أوقفه
(4) في ب: وانحل
(5) في أ: بطلها؛ في ب، ج: ظلها
(6) في أ: الشأن
(7) في أ: في جنات
(8) في أ: ذوات
(9) في أ: بشياتها وحلها؛ في ب، ج: بشتاها
(10) في أ: أعلها
(11) في أ، ب، ج: شفاها
(12) في ج: حلها
(13) "إلى" ناقصة من أ
(14) في ب، ج: ذلها
(15) في أ: فاهتزت؛ في ب، ج: فأهدت إلى ويلها
(16) زيادة في أ: "سيدنا"

باب الأسماء واشتقاقها

قال أهل العبارة[37] الاسم مشتق من السمو[37] ومن[39] السمة على الخلاف فقال[40] أهل الإشارة اسم العبد ما وسمه الله تعالى[41] في سابق مشيته من سعادة وشقاوة[42] فمن[43] قدره في سابق مشيته فقد سمى[44] قدره بين بريته ولما دخل العباد[45] مكتب التعليم طالع آدم لوح الوجود فقرأ آدم[46] ﴿وعلم آدم الأسماء كلها﴾[47] وطالع[48] محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم لوح[49] الوجود[50] فقيل له بلسان الحال نحن نمن بك[51] على كل موجود ثم خوطب بقوله ﴿اقرأ باسم ربك الذي خلق﴾[52] فلما قرأ وهذب وأدب[53] قيل[54] يا محمد قد عرفتنا[55] بالأسماء والصفات فتعرف[56] إلينا بالذات ﴿اقرأ[57] وربك الأكرم﴾[58] ﴿قل الله ثم ذرهم في خوضهم يلعبون﴾[59] فلما غاب عن الاسم وجد المسمى فلما[60] أعرض

باب أقسام الكلام

قال أهل[26] العبارة أقسام الكلام ثلاثة اسم وفعل وحرف وقال أهل الإشارة الأصول[27] ثلاثة أقوال وأفعال وأحوال فالأقوال[28] هي العلوم وهي مقدمة[29] على العمل قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم[30] ﴿أمرت أن أقاتل الناس حتى يقولوا لا إله إلا الله فإذا قالوها عصموا مني دماءهم وأموالهم إلا بحقها﴾[31] ثم تجب[32] المبادرة[33] إلى صالح[34] الأعمال ثم تأتي الأحوال مواهب من الله تعالى[35] والله الموفق للسداد[36]

ليوث[17] الأوثان فأذكرها[18] صلى الله عليه[19] وعلى آله وأصحابه صلاة دائمة إلى أن[20] ﴿تضع كل ذات حمل حملها﴾[21] وبعد فإن النحو عبارة عن القصد. والناس مختلفون في المقاصد ومتفرقون[22] في المصادر والموارد[23] فواحد تقويم لسانه مبلغ عامه وواحد تقويم جنانه أكبر[24] همه فالأول[25] صاحب عبارة والثاني صاحب إشارة فنقول وبالله التوفيق ولرسوله التصديق

---

(۳۷)	"قال أهل العبارة" ناقصة من ص
(۳۸)	زيادة في ص: "عند أهل العبارة"
(۳۹)	في أ، ب: "أو من"
(٤٠)	في أ، ص: وقال
(٤١)	زيادة في أ: "به"؛ "تعالى" ناقصة من ص
(٤٢)	في أ: شقاوة وسعادة؛ في ص: شفاوة
(٤٣)	في أ: لمن
(٤٤)	زيادة في ص: "ورفع"
(٤٥)	زيادة في أ: "إلى"
(٤٦)	"آدم" ناقصة من أ، ب، ج، ص
(٤٧)	سورة البقرة ٣١/٢
(٤٨)	زيادة في ب، ج: "لوح"
(٤٩)	"لوح" ناقصة من ب، ج
(٥٠)	في أ، ب، ج، ص: الشهود
(٥١)	في أ: نطلعك؛ في ب، ج: نطن؛ في ص: نظن بك
(٥٢)	سورة العلق ١/٩٦
(٥٣)	في أ، ب، ج، ص: وأدب وهذب
(٥٤)	زيادة في ص: "له"
(٥٥)	في ص: عرفنا
(٥٦)	في أ: فتقرب
(٥٧)	في أ: واقرأ
(٥٨)	سورة العلق ٣/٩٦
(٥٩)	سورة الأنعام ٩١/٦
(٦٠)	في أ، ص: ولما

(۱۷)	في الأصل: ليوث
(۱۸)	في أ، ب، ج: فأذلها
(۱۹)	زيادة في ب: "عليه"
(۲۰)	في أ: يوم
(۲۱)	سورة الحج ٢٢/٢
(۲۲)	في ص: مفترقون
(۲۳)	في أ: في الموارد والمصادر
(۲٤)	في أ: أكثر
(۲٥)	في الأصل: فالأولا
(۲٦)	في ص: أصحاب
(۲۷)	في الأصل: الأحوال
(۲۸)	في ب، ج: والأحوال
(۲۹)	في أ: متقدمة
(۳۰)	في ص: قال عليه السلام
(۳۱)	حديث نبوي: انظر أحمد بن حنبل ٣٦/١، والبخاري: إيمان ١٧، زكاة ١، صلاة ٢٨، والترمذي: إيمان ٢، ١
(۳۲)	في أ: تجيء؛ في ص: يجب
(۳۳)	في أ: المعارف
(۳٤)	في أ: صاحب
(۳٥)	"تعالى" ناقصة من أ
(۳٦)	"السداد" ناقصة من ص

عن العقل⁶¹ في الخوف⁶² المعمّى رأى⁶³ المعنى الذي لا يسمى فصل الاسم صحيح ومعتل فالصحيح⁶⁴ ما سلم من حروف العلة وهي الألف والواو والياء فمن سلم⁶⁵ اسمه من ألف الباس⁶⁶ وواو⁶⁷ الوسواس وياء الياس فقد صح اسمه وحق له الإعراب وهي⁶⁸ البيان ثم الكشف والعيان فعلم علم⁶⁹ اليقين⁷⁰ في⁷¹ عين اليقين⁷² والله أعلم⁷³

باب موانع الصرف

موانع الصرف⁷⁴ عند أهل العبارة تسع وهي معروفة وعند⁷⁵ أهل الإشارة الجمع أن يجتنب العالم عن جمع وإجماع⁷⁶ الناس عليه وصرف وجوههم⁷⁷ إليه والوصف أن يريد⁷⁸ أن يوصف بالخير ويعرف به والتأنيث ضعف العزم⁷⁹ والرضى بالرذائل والمعرفة أن يعرف نعم الله ثم يقصر⁸⁰ عن⁸¹ الشكر والعجمة أن يذكر⁸² نعمة الله

---

(٦١) في ب، ص: الفعل
(٦٢) في أ: حل الحرف؛ في ب، ج: في الحرف
(٦٣) في أ: أي
(٦٤) في أ بدلا من "فالصحيح": قال أهل العبارة الصحيح
(٦٥) في أ بدلا من "فمن سلم": وقال أهل الإشارة من سلم
(٦٦) كذا في الأصل بدون همزة وتهمز إلباس والباس أو الباس؛ في أ، ب، ج، ص: الإلباس
(٦٧) "واو" ناقصة من ب، ج
(٦٨) في أ، ص: وهو
(٦٩) "علم" ناقصة من ص
(٧٠) في الأصل: التقيين؛ في ب، ج: المتقين
(٧١) في أ: ثم
(٧٢) "عين اليقين" ناقصة من ص؛ زيادة في أ، ب، ج، ص: "ثم حق اليقين"
(٧٣) "والله أعلم" ناقصة من ص
(٧٤) في ص: الموانع
(٧٥) في الأصل بدلا من "وهي معروفة وعند": وهي معرفة عند
(٧٦) في أ: عند جمع الدنيا واجتماع؛ في ب: عن جميع واجتماع؛ في ج: عن جمع واجتماع؛ في ص: عن جمع الدنيا واجتماع
(٧٧) في الأصل: وجوهم
(٧٨) في أ، ب، ج، ص: يكون قصده
(٧٩) في الأصل: الغرم
(٨٠) في أ: نقصه
(٨١) في ص: في
(٨٢) في أ: يهمل

عليه⁸³ بكتمان علمه والعدل عدوله⁸⁴ إلى⁸⁵ الطريق القويم والتركيب أن يشوب⁸⁶ علمه بأفعال الجهل⁸⁷ والألف ألف أنا والنون نون العظمة⁸⁸ ووزن الفعل أن يزن أعماله معتقدا⁸⁹ فيحصل العجب⁹⁰ حاصلا فمتى اجتمعت⁹¹ علتان من هذه العلل التسع⁹² لم ينصرف إلى القبول وانحرف عن باب الوصول

باب الإعراب والبناء

لما كان الإعراب بالحركات الثلاث والجزم كان مدار أهل⁹³ الإشارة برفع⁹⁴ همتهم⁹⁵ إلى الله تعالى⁹⁶ ونصب أبدانهم في طاعة الله تعالى وحفظ⁹⁷ نفوسهم تواضعا لله⁹⁸ وجزم قلوبهم عما دون الله تعالى وسكونهم إلى الله⁹⁹ والمعرب هو المتغير¹⁰⁰ من أصحاب التلوين¹⁰¹ والمبني من¹⁰² كان مستقيما في حاله¹⁰³ لا يتغير¹⁰⁴ وهم أصحاب التمكين¹⁰⁵

---

(٨٣) "عليه" ناقصة من أ
(٨٤) في أ: عدول
(٨٥) في أ، ج، ص: عن
(٨٦) في ب: يسوب
(٨٧) في أ: الجحد
(٨٨) في أ: نحن
(٨٩) في الأصل: معتقد
(٩٠) في أ: أنه عند الله حاصل
(٩١) في أ: احتمعت
(٩٢) "تسع" ناقصة من أ، ب، ج، ص
(٩٣) "أهل" ناقصة من أ، ب، ص
(٩٤) في أ: يرفع
(٩٥) في أ: للوهم؛ في ب، ج، ص: همهم
(٩٦) "إلى الله تعالى" ناقصة من أ
(٩٧) في ص: خفض
(٩٨) زيادة في أ، ص: "تعالى"
(٩٩) زيادة في أ، ب: "تعالى"؛ "تعالى وسكونهم إلى الله" ناقصة من ص
(١٠٠) في أ: المعنى؛ في ب: المقبر؛ في ج: المقرب
(١٠١) في ص: التكوين
(١٠٢) في أ: ما
(١٠٣) في ص: حالة
(١٠٤) في ج: تغير
(١٠٥) في ب: التمكين؛ في ج: اليمين

فصل الأسماء معارف ونكرات ومنهم معروف مع القوم هو به معروف ومقام في الصدق هو به موصوف ومنهم منكر له مع القوم ولا حظ له سوى الأكل والنوم

فصل المبتدأ مرفوع لتجرده عن العوامل اللفظية والفقير المتجرد مرفوع القدر وخبره مرفوع لانقطاعه عن العلائق وتعلقه بالخلائق[١٠٦]

فصل الأفعال ثلاثة ماض وحال ومستقبل وأحوال القوم مختلفة فمنهم من فكرته في السابقة ومنهم من فكرته في الخاتمة ومنهم من[١٠٧] اشتغل بإصلاح وقته الذي هو فيه[١٠٨] عن[١٠٩] الفكرة في مستقبله وماضيه وفعل[١١٠] الحال مرفوع ما لم يدخل عليه ناصب أو جازم فالناصب رؤية العبد لفعله والجازم فترته عن سلوكه[١١١] فإذا سلم العبد من الملاحظة[١١٢] والفتور ارتفع قدره عند العزيز[١١٣] الغفور[١١٤] ﴿إليه يصعد الكلم الطيب والعمل الصالح يرفعه﴾[١١٥]

فصل الفاعل مرفوع والمفعول منصوب فلما رأى العارف أن لا فاعل[١١٦] إلا الله عظم قدره ورفع ذكره وخضع بجلاله[١١٧] وتواضع عند شهود كماله ورأى نفسه مفعولا فانتصب لعبادته ﴿فإذا فرغت فانصب وإلى ربك فارغب﴾[١١٨]

فصل الحال وصف هيئة الفاعل والمفعول ومن شرطه أن يكون[١١٩] نكرة[١٢٠]

---

(١٠٦) في أ، ب، ج، ص: بالحقائق
(١٠٧) "من" ناقصة من الأصل ومن ص
(١٠٨) "فيه" ناقصة من أ
(١٠٩) في الأصل: من
(١١٠) في أ: فصل؛ في ب: فعل
(١١١) في الأصل: سكوكه
(١١٢) في أ: ملافظة
(١١٣) في الأصل: الغريز؛ "العزيز" ناقصة من أ
(١١٤) في الأصل: العفور
(١١٥) سورة الملئكة ١٠/٣٥
(١١٦) في أ، ب، ج: عارف
(١١٧) في الأصل: نجلا له
(١١٨) سورة الشرح ٧/٩٤-٨
(١١٩) في ص: تكون
(١٢٠) في الأصل: نكره
(١٢١) في الأصل: منصوب؛ "منصوبة" ناقصة من أ

منصوبة[١٢١] فالعارف متوجه[١٢٢] إلى الله تعالى في إصلاح حاله مجتهد[١٢٣] في تنكرها[١٢٤] لئلا[١٢٥] تعرف[١٢٦] فأحواله مع الله مستقيمة منتحبة[١٢٧] بستر[١٢٨] التورية[١٢٩] والنكرة محتجبة[١٣٠] ﴿يحسبهم الجاهل أغنياء من التعفف﴾

فصل التمييز تفسير ما انبهم[١٣١] وتبين[١٣٢] ما لم يكن يفهم فالقوم[١٣٣] بالعلم ميزوا الحق من الباطل وتبين لهم[١٣٤] بالسلوك الخالي من[١٣٥] العاطل ولا يكون التمييز إلا بعد تمام الكلام وكذلك[١٣٦] قيل[١٣٧] تفقهوا ثم اعتزلوا وأحكموا[١٣٨] العلم ثم[١٣٩] تميزوا فلما تمت لهم رتبة التمييز نصبهم الله لإصلاح عبادته[١٤٠] وميزهم فاستخلصهم لوداده قال الله[١٤١] تعالى ﴿ليميز الله الخبيث من الطيب﴾[١٤٢]

---

(١٢١) في الأصل: منصوب؛ "منصوبة" ناقصة من أ
(١٢٢) في الأصل: توجه
(١٢٣) في ب: مجتهدا
(١٢٤) في أ: تنكير نفسه
(١٢٥) في أ، ص: كي لا؛ في ب: لي لا؛ في ج: حتى لا
(١٢٦) في أ، ص: يعرف
(١٢٧) في ص: منتضية؛ زيادة في أ، ب، ج، ص: "وهي"
(١٢٨) في أ، ب، ج، ص: تستر
(١٢٩) في أ: الرؤية
(١٣٠) سورة البقرة ٢٧٣/٢
(١٣١) في أ، ب، ج، ص: أبهم
(١٣٢) في أ، ب، ج، ص: تبيين
(١٣٣) في الأصل: فالقول
(١٣٤) في أ بدلا من "وتبين لهم": وشب بهم
(١٣٥) في أ، ص: و
(١٣٦) في أ: ولذلك
(١٣٧) "قيل" ناقصة من ص
(١٣٨) في ص: أو احكموا
(١٣٩) "ثم" ناقصة من ص
(١٤٠) في أ، ب، ج، ص: عباده
(١٤١) "الله" ناقصة من ص
(١٤٢) سورة الأنفال ٣٧/٨

باب البدل

البدل على أربعة أقسام بدل الكل من الكل وهو بدل العارفين تركوا الكل لمن له الكل فعوضهم الكل¹⁴³ ﴿وجوه يومئذ ناضرة إلى ربها ناظرة﴾¹⁴⁴ وبدل البعض بدل العارفين¹⁴⁵ بدل¹⁴⁶ المعاصي بالطاعات في اللذة¹⁴⁷ بالمجاهدات ﴿أولئك يبدل الله سيئاتهم حسنات﴾¹⁴⁸ وبدل الاشتمال¹⁴⁹ قوم اشتملت أعمالهم على خوف ورجاء فأعطوا ما يرجون وأمنوا مما يخافون ﴿ألا إن أولياء الله لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون﴾¹⁵⁰ وبدل الغلط بدل المطرودين باعوا نصيبهم من القرب بحظوظ عاجلة ﴿بئس للظالمين¹⁵² بدلا﴾¹⁵³

فصل النعت تابع للمنعوت والوصف تابع للموصوف كذلك أعمال العبد. لا تفارقه وما حصل من خير وشر¹⁵⁴ فهو لاحقه

فصل حروف العطف¹⁵⁵ تتبع¹⁵⁶ الآخر الأول وأهل الإشارة توسلوا إلى الله¹⁵⁷ في العطف عليهم واللطف بهم ليلحقهم بأهل قربه ويجعلهم في¹⁵⁸ حزبه

(١٤٣) "فعوضهم الكل" ناقصة من أ

(١٤٤) سورة القيامة ٧٥/٢٢-٢٣؛ تليها زيادة في ص:
قلوب العارفين لها عيون   ترى ما لا يراه الناظرونا
وأجنحة تطير بغير ريش   إلى ملكوت رب العالمينا

(١٤٥) في أ، ب، ج، ص: العابدين

(١٤٦) في أ، ب، ج، ص: بدلوا

(١٤٧) بدلا من "في اللذة": في أ: "وبدلوا اللذة"؛ في ص: واللذات

(١٤٨) سورة الفرقان ٧٠/٢٥

(١٤٩) في أ: اشتمال

(١٥٠) سورة يونس ٦٢/١٠

(١٥١) في الأصل: بحظوظها علة؛ في أ: بحظوظ عادلة

(١٥٢) في الأصل: للطاغين

(١٥٣) سورة الكهف ٥٠/١٨

(١٥٤) في أ، ص: أو شر

(١٥٥) زيادة في ج: "هي"

(١٥٦) في ص: يتبع

(١٥٧) زيادة في أ: "تعالى"؛ "إلى الله" ناقصة من ب، ج

(١٥٨) في أ، ب، ج، ص: من

فصل التوكيد¹⁵⁹ هو التحقيق والقوم أكدوا إيمانهم بالتصديق¹⁶⁰ وعقدهم مع الله بالتحقيق وشمروا في ملازمة الطريق

فصل حروف الجر¹⁶¹ تخفض الاسماء فلما علم المحققون أن الأشياء¹⁶² بالله ومن الله وإلى الله خفضوا أنفسهم تواضعا لله تعالى¹⁶³ فتعززوا¹⁶⁴ بالإضافة إلى جناب¹⁶⁵ الله تعالى¹⁶⁶ أولئك الذين اصطفاهم¹⁶⁷ لقربه وجعلهم في¹⁶⁸ حزبه نسأل الله العظيم أن يجعلنا منهم وأن يلحقنا بهم إنه كريم¹⁶⁹ وهاب¹⁷⁰

وصلى الله على سيدنا¹⁷¹ محمد¹⁷² وآله¹⁷³ وصحبه وسلم¹⁷⁴

(١٥٩) زيادة في ج: "التوكيد"؛ في ص: التوكيل

(١٦٠) في أ: بالتوثيق

(١٦١) زيادة في ج: "حروف الجر"

(١٦٢) في أ: الإنشاء

(١٦٣) "تعالى" ناقصة من أ، ب، ص

(١٦٤) في ص: فعززوا

(١٦٥) في أ، ج: جانب

(١٦٦) "تعالى" ناقصة من أ

(١٦٧) زيادة في أ: "الله"

(١٦٨) في أ، ب، ج، ص: من

(١٦٩) زيادة في أ: "لطيف حليم"

(١٧٠) زيادة في أ: "محسن متفضل جواد رحيم تواب رحيم وإليه المرجع والمآب ثم كتاب نحو القلوب بحمد الله وعونه؛ زيادة في ب، ج: "ثم كتاب نحو القلوب"

(١٧١) "سيدنا" ناقصة من ب، ج

(١٧٢) زيادة في ب، ج: "نبيه"

(١٧٣) في أ: وعلى آله؛ "وآله" ناقصة من ب، ج

(١٧٤) "وصلى ... وسلم" ناقصة من ص

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* = Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbdallāh Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf az-zunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*. 7 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1992.

al-Qušayrī, *Miʿrāǧ*. = Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbdalkarīm b. Hawāzin al-Qušayrī, *Kitāb al-Miʿrāǧ*. Edited by ʿAlī Ḥasan ʿAbdalqādir. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīta, 1964.

al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* = Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbdalkarīm b. Hawāzin al-Qušayrī, *Risāla fī ʿilm at-taṣawwuf*. Edited by Maʿrūf Razīq & ʿAlī ʿAbdalḥamīd Baltaǧī. Beirut: Dār al-Ǧīl, 1990.

Rūmī, *Maṯnawī* = Ǧalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawí-i Maʿnawí*. Edition, translation and commentaries by Reynold A. Nicholson. (= *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series*, IV.) 8 vols., London: Luzac, 1924-40.

Ṣārī, *Mesnevi* = Abdullāh b. Mehmet Ṣārī, *Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī: Mesnevi Şerhi*. 5 vols., [Istanbul] 1287-88/1870-71.

B. Secondary sources

Basyūnī, Ibrāhīm. 1972. *al-Imām al-Qušayrī: Sīratuhu, ātāruhu, madhabuhu fī t-taṣawwuf*. Cairo: Maǧmaʿ al-Buḥūt al-Islāmiyya.

Brockelmann, Carl. 1898-1902. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 1st ed., 2 vols., Weimar: Emil Felber; 2nd ed., 2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943-49 (= *GAL*); *Supplementbände*, 3 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937-42 (= *GAL S*).

Firūzānfar, Badīʿ az-Zamān. 1971. *Maʾāḫid qiṣaṣ wa-tamṯīlāt Maṯnawī*. Teheran.

GAL = Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*.

GAL S = Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Supplementbände.*

Wagner, Ewald, ed. 1976. *Arabische Handschriften*. Teil 1. (= *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd. XVII, Reihe B.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

II. LITERATURE

THE ORAL AND THE WRITTEN:
## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE QURANIC TEXT

Alan Jones

Oxford University

In two recent papers (Jones 1994 and 1996), I have drawn attention to the linguistic affinity of the Qur'ān to three literary prose registers that existed in pre-Islamic Arabia: those of the *ḫatīb*, the *kāhin* and the *qāṣṣ*. I also placed the three registers, and hence that of the Qur'ān, between that of poetry, on the one hand, and that of the dialects, on the other. Little or nothing survives of these registers, but their existence is clear enough. We may thus schematize the registers of Arabic at the rise of Islam as follows:
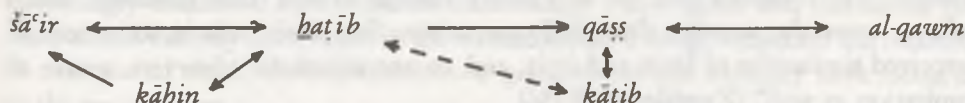
With the Qur'ān included this becomes:
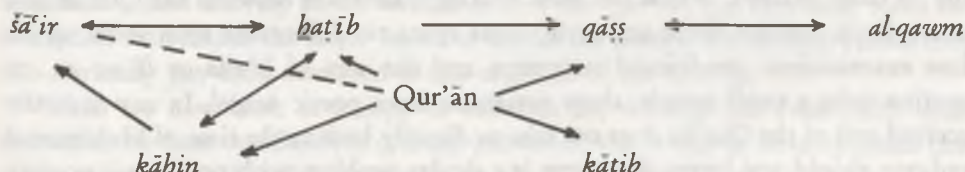
Two objections have been raised to these *schemata*.

The first is that nowhere in the Qur'ān is there any reflection of opponents ridiculing Muhammad on the ground that he is a *ḫatīb* in the same way that they claim that he is a *šāʿir* or a *kāhin*. That might be a valid objection if one were to accept Zwettler's premise that: "The single feature that we can be sure the Qur'ān shared with the mantic expressions of the *kāhin*s and, especially, the poets was .... the use of a non-vernacular classical *ʿarabiyya*, the language that had been created, conditioned and cultivated through an old-inherited and seemingly pan-Arab tradition of poetic rendition" (Zwettler 1978:159-60).

I have to say that I think that this premise is totally implausible, even if, for the sake of argument, we accept Zwettler's unproved, and unprovable[1], hypothesis that

---

[1] Rabin (1951:13) reminds us that, "It cannot be strongly enough stressed that we do not possess a single sentence in genuine dialect, apart from the Himyaritic material".

all the Arabic dialects of Muḥammad's time had lost their *i'rāb* and were consequently at no small remove from the poetic register (the only other one that he takes into consideration). The Qur'ān itself shows us that references to Muḥammad as a *šā'ir* and/or as a *kāhin* were part of his opponents' claims that he was 'possessed'. In fact, *šā'ir* occurs 4 times, in two of which it is linked to *kāhin*[2]. Even if we add the reference to *ši'r* in 36:69, this is markedly fewer than the 11 instances of *maǧnūn* and 4 of *bi-hi ǧinna*[3]. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of the meaning comes from a verse such as 34:8: *a-ftarā-hu am bi-hi ǧinna*. Here we have the two most potent objections of Muḥammad's Meccan opponents put together in the form of a question that invites the answer No: Has he invented lies against God or is he possessed?

In any case, it is surely just plain common sense that it is a more grievous accusation to say 'You are mad' than to say 'You are using high-flown language'. Zwettler half concedes this, but it is hardly enough to say: "One generally, and, I believe, correctly, assumes that [the] comparisons had their basis in some sort of perceived similarities of form and style, and, to unsympathetic observers, source of inspiration as well" (Zwettler 1978:156).

The second objection is that there is very little difference between the *'arabiyya* of poetry, on the one hand, and the Qur'ān, on the other. I am not sure that this is true on close analysis. Whilst the most striking differences between the Qur'ān and poetry lie in content, form and style, some syntactic differences soon show up on close examination: conditional structures and the uses of *la'alla* or *li-* or *an*, to mention only a small sample, show variations from poetic usage[4]. In any case, the received text of the Qur'ān does not take us directly back to the time of Muḥammad (and one should not forget that there is a similar problem with pre-Islamic poetry: it exists only in an 'Abbāsid guise).

Leaving aside the red herring about the meaning of *umm ī*[5], there is no real disagreement that during the lifetime of Muḥammad the Qur'ān, though "a scripture", was normally conveyed (*i.e.* recited and/ or transmitted) orally. There is no convincing argument against this view: even if one were to make the unlikely

[2] *Šā'ir*; 21:5; 37:36; 52:30; 69:41; *kāhin*: 52:29; 69:43.

[3] In addition to the four places [7:184; 23:35; 23:70; 34:8] where *ǧinna* means 'possession' 'madness', there are also four places where it means 'the *Jinn*'. More interestingly, there are two places [34:46 and 37:138, 1st occurrence] where there seems to be a blurring of the two meanings.

[4] For details, see my *Quranic Grammar*. *La'alla*, for example, occurs over a hundred times in the Qur'ān. It is possible to find the odd example in poetry, but its rarity contrasts sharply with Quranic usage.

[5] The notion that *umm ī* means 'illiterate' is neither early nor accurate. It can only mean 'of the *umma*'.

supposition that the Islamic community has somehow managed to suppress reports of Muḥammad reciting from sheets, as other prophets are said to have done in 98:2-3[6], delivery would still be oral.

On the other hand, it is generally agreed that at least some of the Qur'ān was committed to writing during Muḥammad's lifetime, particularly by the scribes he employed for that purpose at Medina. There is no agreement when the copying started or if the whole was copied during his lifetime, though there is a tendency to 'feel' that most of it was committed to writing in the final years.

However, there clearly was no *textus receptus* at the time of Muḥammad's death[7], nor, it would seem, after Abū Bakr's collection. It was left to 'Utmān to stabilize the text. From then on, the importance of the written text grew steadily, despite early opposition from the *qurrā'*; and, mirroring developments in other Islamic sciences, the written text became the one that formed the basis for the detailed studies increasingly demanded by the Islamic community. The original oral Recitation became almost entirely dominated by the written Book. Though recitation has retained its own special niche, the commentator or grammarian will normally have recourse to the written text.

Western scholars, too, have a predisposition for written texts that comes from their own background. It has thus been inevitable that they have directed their attention almost entirely to the written text of the Qur'ān, and that their focus has coincided with that of the major works of traditional Islamic scholarship. Hence they too normally pay little attention to the oral side of the Qur'ān.

When we now look at a copy of the Qur'ān, we find full *i'rāb* (with some anomalies by later standards, it is true). However, this is due to developments that took place well after Muḥammad's death. These developments, it should be emphasized, affect the whole of the text, not just *i'rāb*. For example, it is a matter of record that *hamza* has been added to the text in hundreds of places, the number depending on the linguistic stance of the *qāri'* concerned[8]. Confirmation of this is readily available when one compares a copy of the Qur'ān from Egypt with one from Algeria. The former gives us *mu'min*, the latter *mūmin*, and so on.

It seems unlikely that there was ever full *i'rāb*, unless our definition of *i'rāb* allows for *iskān* at the end of Quranic verses. Yet look at the written text. Those verses in which *iskān* occurs in recitation are all written with full vocalization. Look again.

[6] 2. A messenger from God reciting purified pages, 3. In which are true documents.

[7] Cf. Jones 1983.

[8] There is a good summary of the problem in Rabin 1951:130-40.

Take, for example, the famous crux from *Sūra* 85, to the general importance of which I have already referred elsewhere[9]. The text of verses 21-22 reads:

bal huwa qur'ānun maǧīdun | fī lawḥin maḥfūzun/in

The problem about the final syllable can only have arisen because the ends of the verses originally had *iskān* (and still do so in recitation):

bal huwa qur'ānun maǧīd | fī lawḥin maḥfūz

The assonance is clearly in *-ū/ī + d/t/z*, with no final vowel. (It would also be nice to know more about *huwa*, *qurān* (which would not have had *hamza*) and *lawḥ*, but we never shall.)

An altogether more important question lies behind the disagreement about the final word in 85:22. When did the differentiation between *maḥfūzun* and *maḥfūzin* become important? In the end, the *qāri's* came out six to one in favour of *maḥfūzun*, with only Nāfiᶜ in favour of *maḥfūzin*. If we accept the information about the lives of the *qāri's* at face value, it must have been before the deaths of Ibn Kaṯīr (d. 120/738) and Ibn ᶜĀmir (d. 118/736). But was it really a first century problem? I have my doubts.

Though the two variants are now perceived to focus on a grammatical problem, one may also wonder whether this was the original perception. However, it has to be said that many canonical *qirā'āt* centre on grammar and/or the written text or both.

This is less so with the non-canonical (*šawāḏḏ*) readings[10], which deserve much more attention than has normally been paid to them. Without being able to go into detail, I think that I may fairly say that a significant proportion of them are synonyms or parallel versions of what we find in the received text. A number of readings attributed to Ibn Masᶜūd, who notoriously resisted the introduction of the ᶜUṯmanic text, will readily illustrate this. First, a group of simple variations in *Sūra* 12:

ᶜattā (said to be the dialect of Huḏayl) for *ḥattā* [v. 35];

ᶜinaban for *ḥamran* and *ṭarīdan* for *ḫubzan* [36];

sanābil for *sunbulāt* [43 and 46];

for parallel phrases see, for example, 19:27:

wa-ǧā'at bi-hi taḥmilu-hu ilā qawmi-hā

(for *wa-atat bi-hi qawma-hā taḥmilu-hu*);

and 19:29:

fa-ašārat ilā man fī l-mahdi

(for *fa-ašārat ilay-hi*).

---

[9] The most convenient summary is to be found in Jeffery 1937.

[10] See Kahle 1948.

Synonyms, dialect variants and parallel texts are typical of oral material, and there, in my view, lies the primary difference between *šawāḏḏ* readings and the canonical (*mašhūr*) ones. The early (in traditional terms, pre-ᶜUṯmanic) *šawāḏḏ* readings are primarily concerned with oral texts; the later *mašhūr* readings primarily focus on written variants on a received consonantal text. There is no apparent continuity between the two. The emphasis is clearly quite different. It can hardly have been otherwise. We may accept, for example, that Ibn Masᶜūd read *fa-ṣabran ǧamīlan* for *fa-ṣabrun ǧamīlun* [12:18 and 83]. However, any grammatical reasoning on the part of Ibn Masᶜūd must have been instinctive. We have no convincing evidence of the existence of grammatical terminology during his lifetime[11].

We know that there was a long battle about *iᶜrāb*, lasting into the fourth century of Islam. Quite what was entailed can only be guessed at; but it can hardly have been confined to what happened at verse endings. I think it timely to draw attention once again to an attempt by Arberry to put pausal endings at natural pauses[12]. He gave the following transliterations of *Sūra* 101:

(a) "*ḫatīb*" form (my description)

al-qāriᶜa : mā l-qāriᶜa
wa-mā adrāk : mā l-qāriᶜa
yawma yakūnu n-nās : ka-l-farāši l-mabṯūṯ
wa-takūnu l-ǧibāl : ka-l-ᶜihni l-manfūš
fa-ammā man ṯaqulat mawāzīnuh : fahwa fī ᶜīšatin rāḍiya
wa-ammā man ḫaffat mawāzīnuh : fa-ummuhu hāwiya
wa-mā adrāk : mā hiya
nārun ḥāmiya

(b) the fully vocalized form

al-qāriᶜatu mā l-qāriᶜatu
wa-mā adrāka mā l-qāriᶜatu
yawma yakūnu n-nāsu ka-l-farāši l-mabṯūṯi
wa-takūnu l-ǧibālu ka-l-ᶜihni l-manfūši
fa-ammā man ṯaqulat mawāzīnuhu fa-huwa fī ᶜīšatin rāḍiyatin
wa-ammā man ḫaffat mawāzīnuhu fa-ummuhu hāwiyatun
wa-mā adrāka mā hiyah
nārun ḥāmiyatun

---

[11] This does not of course mean that people do not react adversely to what they perceive as 'incorrect' or 'impossible' grammar. For an illustration for present-day unlearned Yemeni's see Qafisheh 1996.

[12] This avoids dealing with the problem of *iᶜrāb* elsewhere in the verse.

All this (and more that I cannot deal with here) points to a need to pay more attention to the Qur'ān against its seventh century, oral background. Other questions then begin to open up though not necessarily to be solved.

Chief among these I would put the compilation of *sūras* and general coherence, though more detailed problems such as semantic yield are also important. With all of these we are dealing not so much with solving problems as removing ignorance.

Let me first say a few words about general coherence. It is undoubtedly true that many verses of the Qur'ān are clearer in recitation than on the printed page. Abrupt changes of subject rarely cause problems. Take, for example, the beginning of *Sūra* 6:

1. Praise belongs to God, who created the heavens and the earth and made darkness and light. Yet those who do not believe ascribe equals to their Lord.
2. [It is] He who has created you from clay and then fixed a term - and [it is] a term stated with Him. Yet you still doubt.
3. He is God in the heavens and the earth. He knows what you keep secret and what you make public, and He knows what you amass.
4. None of their Lord's signs comes to them without them turning away from it.
5. They denied the truth when it came to them; but news of what they used to scorn shall come to them.

The change from 3rd to 2nd person in verse 2 and back again in verse 4 is hardly noticeable to a listener. That may also be so with some apparent grammatical problems. There is the famous crux in 5:69 where we find: *inna lladīna āmanū wa-lladīna hādū wa-ṣ-ṣābi'ūna wa-n-naṣārā*, as opposed to the *wa-ṣ-ṣābi'īna* that we might expect and indeed do find in the other two verses in which the phrase occurs, 2:62 and 22:17. When one listens one is hardly troubled; yet it leaps out from the page. The two perceptions are quite different, and at the very least we should be aware of that.

Turning to compilation, the question of how the *sūras* came into their present form is one that most Muslim scholars are unwilling to press. Indeed they have no real need to, for they may fairly believe it to be the work of God. However, awkward problems were not always avoided[13], though the probing is never very deep. We are told, for instance, that in *sūra x* verses *y* and *z* are Medinan, whilst the rest of the *sūra* is Meccan, and so on.

Amongst orientalists it was Nöldeke who set the trend in more detailed probing, particularly in his *Geschichte des Qorâns*[14], which though now dated, is still both useful and influential. Much more striking, however, was the work of Richard Bell in his translation of the Qur'ān (Bell 1937-39). Bell was a learned and meticulous scholar, steeped in the ways of scholarly biblical criticism. In his translation he took the *sūras* apart and then more or less put them back again, with a explanation of how the 'pieces' had come together. It is a painstaking and opus, from which a great deal may be learned - though one gets the impression that Bell's own ways of thinking are ever present. Yet it is all based on a staggering misconception: "The translation goes frankly on the assumption that the Qur'ān was in written form when the redactors started their work, *whether actually written by Muhammad himself, as I personally believe,* [A.J.'s italics] or by others at his dictation". This also referred to when he describes the third period of composition as: "the Book-period, beginning somewhere about the end of the year II, during which Muhammad is definitely producing a book, *i.e.* an independent revelation"[15].

He further tells us: "The alterations, substitutions, and other derangements of the text have been indicated by the setting of the print on the page. Later additions have been set in a space or two from the margin. Where parts of the text are printed in parallel columns, that which stands on the left is taken as first, and that which is on the right as a later substitution for it. Where an addition has been made on the back of a scrap or scraps from elsewhere, these are separated from what follows by lines ..." (*ibid.*).

The results are interesting for scholars but hardly convincing. A fair example is the way he treats a passage from *Sūra* 54:

> *Application to Muhammad's own people; same time as original stories, but several times altered.*

43. Are the unbelievers of you better than these?
    > *Fourth continuation of 43a; Medinan.*
    > Or have ye an (assurance of) immunity in the scroll?
44. Or do they say: 'We as a body will get victory'?
45. The whole body (of them) will be routed and will turn the back.

---

[13] This is in contrast with the *sūra* order, which is certainly not due to Muhammad though possibly to the ʿUthmanic editors. The order, in very rough order of length, after the *fātiḥa*, appears to be deliberately neutral.

---

[14] One needs to consult the version revised by Schwally, and with a third volume on the text added by Bergsträsser and Pretzl.

[15] Bell 1937-39: I, vi-vii (Introduction).

First continuation of 43a

49. Everything have We created with a limit.

50. And Our affair is but one (flash) like a glance of the eye.

51. We have destroyed your allies, but is there any one who takes heed?

Second continuation of 43a

52. When every thing they have done is in the scrolls,

53. And every little and every great (deed) is inscribed?

Third continuation of 43a

46. Nay, the Hour is their appointed time, and the Hour is grievous and bitter.

47. The sinners are in error and madness.

48. On the day when they will be dragged into the Fire upon their faces; 'Taste the effect of Saqar.'

54. Lo, the pious are in gardens with a river,

55. In a sure seat in the presence of a kingly powerful (one).

The spark has gone, and the logic is hardly improved. Yet Bell came closer than anyone else so far to the heart of the the problems that often face us about the contents of any given *sūra*. It is not enough to indicate, as the Egyptian edition does, that the final edition of *Sūra* 73 is Medinan. It is even less satisfactory when there is no comment about 74:30 *ff.*:

30. Over it are nineteen.

31. We have appointed only angels to be masters of the Fire, and We have appointed their number simply as an affliction for those who are ungrateful, that those who have been given the Book may have certainty, and that those who believe may increase in belief; and that neither those who have been given the Book nor the believers may be in any doubt; and that those in whose hearts is sickness and the ungrateful ones may say, 'What did God mean by this as a parable?' Thus God sends astray those whom He wishes and guides those whom He wishes. No one knows the hosts of your Lord but He. This is simply a reminder for mankind.

32. No indeed. By the moon,

Here it is quite clear that verse 31 is Medinan. Various phrases, such as 'those in whose hearts is sickness' indicate that. There is also no difficulty if one reads 30 and then 32 onwards. Bell is quite right to assign verse 31 to the Medinan period, and he does so without reference to 'scraps'. The question remains: how did verse 31 get inserted? If one examines such passages in the context of oral tradition, there is no great problem. The text of every *sūra* would have remained open during Muḥammad's lifetime, but closed at his death. Every time Muḥammad recited a *sūra* changes *could* have occurred. (Changes might very well occur when another person recited, but only Muḥammad's changes would have had authority.) My Muslim colleagues need not be alarmed -I am not suggesting that we have to believe that Muhammad

was the conscious author of the Qur'ān. The sort of mechanism I envisage can be shown by the following analogy.

A large number of academics know the text of their lectures more or less by heart, and they can deliver them orally, without reference to notes. However, from time to time they will suddenly feel that they must add a piece; and if one can look at the notes of a student who is present, one will find the added piece (at least, in note form). The lecturer simply feels impelled to add the piece. Equally, pieces may be changed or substituted.

If in the case of Muhammad one wishes to call that 'divine inspiration', so be it. The inspiration is working on known, explicable lines.

I am therefore inclined to suggest that intuitive change is the basic force in the building up of *sūra*s. With that in mind one can make a good deal of sense out of the suggestions of Bell or Blachère. But *caveat lector*. One should be very cautious about imposing one's own logic on the text. That simply replaces one set of problems with another. Appreciating the situation is one thing; reconstruction is altogether more dubious. That may not satisfy our intellectual instincts to identify problems, analyse and comment; but those instincts often stop us from doing the right thing: saying 'I have no basis for going further'.

Limited space, as well as prudence, prevents me from going further. I am painfully aware that I have just scratched the surface of the problems I have mentioned. However, if I have pointed *ilā l-hudā* and not *ilā d-dalāl*, I shall have been more than fortunate.

REFERENCES

Arberry, Arthur J. 1953. *The Holy Koran, An Introduction with Selections*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Bell, Richard. 1937-39. *The Qur'ān. Translated with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs.* 2 vols., Edinburgh: Clark.

Jeffery, Arthur. 1937. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Jones, Alan. 1983. "The Qur'ān - II". *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period.* Edited by A. F. L. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, R. B. Serjeant & G. R. Smith. Chapter 7. 228-245. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

———. 1994. "The Language of the Qur'ān". *Proceedings of the 1993 Colloquium on Arabic Lexicography. The Arabist* 6-7.29-48.

———. 1996. "The Prose Literature of Pre-Islamic Arabia". *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature.* Edited by J. R. Smart. 229-241. Richmond: Curzon.

———. forthcoming. *Quranic Grammar.*

Kahle, Paul. 1948. "The Qur'ān and the ʿArabīya". *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* ed. by Samuel Löwinger & Joseph [de] Somogyi, 1.163-182. Budapest: no publisher.

Nöldeke, Theodor & al. 1909-38. *Geschichte des Qorâns.* 2nd completely rev. edition by Friedrich Schwally [vols. I-II], Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl [vol. III], Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. (Repr. in one vol., 1961, 1970. Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms Verlag.)]

Qafisheh, Hamdi A. 1996. "Negation in Yemeni Arabic". *The Arabist* 17.31-40.

Rabin, Chaim. 1951. *Ancient West Arabian.* London: Taylor's Foreign Press.

Zwettler, Michael. 1978. *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry. Its Character and Implications.* Columbus: Ohio State Univ.

MILITARY CHRONICLES OF 17TH CENTURY EGYPT AS AN ASPECT OF POPULAR CULTURE

Madiha Doss

University of Cairo

In this paper I shall be dealing with a group of Arabic chronicles dating from the second half of the seventeenth century in Egypt, when Egypt was under Ottoman rule. I have already studied lengthily, for my doctorate dissertation, one of the chronicles referred to here, a chronicle known under the title of *Waqāʾiʿ Misr al-Qāhira*. Some readers may already be familiar with an important aspect of what I shall be discussing.

Here, however, I shall be considering this chronicle, and others close to it, in the context of folk literature and as representatives of folk literature and of popular culture. My claim is that these chronicles, which have usually been considered as historical documents, could actually be counted — according to the analysis which follows — as part of folk literature. Both form and content would seem to indicate that these chronicles are very similar to epics aimed at entertaining an audience of listeners be either the militaries or other.

This paper will perhaps answer certain questions while leaving others unanswered. The part which I believe I have an answer to concerns the nature of the text(s) and the condition of its composition; the part unanswered concerns the material, historical side of my hypothesis, such as for instance being more precise about the authorship or audience of the account.

1. *Waqāʾiʿ Misr al-Qāhira* and its sister chronicles (mainly, another work known under the title of *ad-Durra al-musāna fī aḫbār al-kināna* by al-Amīr Ahmad Kathudā ʿAzabān ad-Damurdāšī), are known as the Damurdāšī group[1] and have been considered by the historians of that period as popular chronicles[2].

All of them tell very much the same story and share the same *vision du monde* which will be defined later in this study. The story is that of Egypt and more particularly the events which took place in Cairo in the middle of the seventeenth century between all the factions then present in Egypt: pashas, Mamlūks, soldiers belonging to different militia, and even Arab tribes standing in favour of one faction

---

[1] The Damurdāšī group is usually considered to consist of the various copies and versions of *Waqāʾiʿ Misr al-Qāhira* as well as the copies and versions constituting *ad-Durra al-musāna fī aḫbār al-kināna*. Cf. Crecelius (1989:7-9).

[2] Cf. Holt 1963 and Raymond 1966.

or the other. In the background also sometimes appears the local population, with the ulemas, the tradesmen, and the people of Cairo who lived as victims of the internal strife and warfare launched by the various factions.

On the level of the content, the series of manuscripts of *al-Waqā'i'* tells the same narrative as the text of *ad-Durra*, they moreover share, as I was saying earlier, the same ideology or *vision du monde*. With a sharp split dividing the society in two clans the so called Fiqārīs and the Qāsimīs; most of the conflicts told in the narrative take origin or end up serving this split: pashas or *walīs* sent from Istanbul will be in favour of one or the other of the factions, *oğaqs* will be partisans of one or the other etc. When and why the conflict started between the two parties little is known (see below) if it were not for the information given by the Damurdašī set of texts. However, it seems clear that this major split has been instigated by the conflict between two Mamlūk households of the time.

Before getting further into the analysis it would be useful to read the paragraphs at the beginning of both *al-Waqā'i'* and *ad-Durra* in order to get a feeling of the text and understand what is meant by the *vision du monde* I was alluding to as appears through the following passage extract from the Vienna manuscript (see below):

كانت أهل مصر من قديم الزمان فرقتين، عسكر ورعية، راية بيضا وراية حمرا، البيضا
تبعي والحمرا كليبي، زغبي وهلالي، قلاووني وبيبرسي، إلى دولت آل عثمان — نصره
الله تعالى —، فقاري سعد، قاسمي حرام، فرقتين في بعضهم، وعلى العرب واحدة.
الفقاري يهوى الجراقات والقاسمي يهوى العمارات. وكانت أهل مصر المحروسة
يعرفون الفقاري والقاسمي في المواكب — إما الموكب المحفل الشريف وإما موكب
الباشا — بالمزاريق ...

"The people of Egypt from times immemorial have been split into two clans, [both] militaries and civilians, a white flag and [vs?] a red flag, the white one Tab'ī, the red one Kulaybī, Zuġbī and [vs?] Hilālī, Qalāwunī and [vs?] Baybar-sī, up till the rule of al-'Utmān — may God help him — Fiqārī, Sa'd; Qāsimī, Harām, two clans within themselves, but against the Arabs united. The Fiqārī enjoys modes of music [*ğarāqāt* Dozy 1881 I, 187]; the Qāsimī enjoys the silk strings decorating the cavalrymen. And so the people of "Misr al-Mahrūsa" could recognize the Fiqārī from the Qāsimī in the processions — either the procession of Holy Pilgrimage or the procession of the Pasha — by the spears".

In this text as in others of the Damurdašī group, the conflict between Qāsimīs and Fiqārīs is said to have started as early as the beginning of Ottoman rule in Egypt. According to other sources, probably more reliable, the split was a recent one (1640

A.D., according to al-Ğabartī, *'Ağa'ib* I, 38-45). In a recent research[3], Sabri shows that by dating it at an earlier stage the conflict is thus exhalted and given a more noble lineage.

On the other hand, one can see how the present split is associated with previous ones which took place between tribal groups. So for instance, the Qāsimīs are associated with the Harām tribe while the Fiqārīs are associated with the Sa'd tribe. On the other hand, the Hilālīs and their opponents the Zuġbīs are put in parallel to the present parties in conflict.

2. The particular chronicle of *Waqā'i'* is represented by a set of five different copies of a text. Not exactly one and the same text, however, since between one and the other of the manuscripts there are a number of differences, in spite of the fact that they all bear the same name of the supposed "author" or "scribe". This common name found on all of the extant copies would permit us to admit that all the group could have been written or at least copied by the same person. al-Hağğ Mustafa b. al-Hağğ Ibrāhīm is that common name found in all of the copies known to me, only one of them (the Vienna version), and that is the one I have used to edit the text, adds to the previous name: al-Maddāh al-Qinālī. The mention of the *kunya*, as well as al-Maddāh, "the panegyrist" seems to indicate the profession of the "author" or of the scribe.

Considering the differences which appear between one copy and the other(s) may already raise questions about the nature of the text and the conditions of its composition.

Briefly, these discrepancies (between the manuscripts) vary from very slight ones (orthographic, such as for instance, the proper name Ismā'īl written with a long or a short vowel), to major differences concerning the total structure of the account. To have an idea of these discrepancies, one could consider two texts relating the same event as can be observed in the following:

Vienna copy

"He left, heading the holy pilgrimage on the second year after a hundred and returned on the third, mistreated and robbed, soldiers of his and men from the militias (*oğaqs*?) were killed. So Darwiš bēk went to his rescue and met him at al-'Aqaba and accompanied him back to Cairo. And the reason was that 'Alī pasha had charged Ibrāhīm bēk as-Sağīr, son of Dū l-Fiqār bēk and Darwiš bēk to order the Arabs [bedouins] of ad-Dašiša in order for them to carry the grains to the two Holy sites [Mecca and the tomb of the Prophet]. The *sangāqs* started off in the early morning from behind of [the tomb of] Qa'itbāy, they suddenly pierced at them, the Arabs thought they were enemy troops, and so

---

[3] Sabri 1995:29-36 where the Qāsimī Fiqārī split is discussed.

they fought them. Men were killed from the Ġuzz [Turks] and the Arabs, at sunrise they discovered that these were *sanğaq*s and fled. The soldiers looted the Arabs' homes, the *sanğaq*s drove the camels. At that point the Arabs assembled and watched (lied in an ambush) for the pilgrims at aš-Šurafā' pass (strait), when Ibrāhīm bēk Abū Šanab appeared they waged war to him. So then happened what was to happen at aš-Šurafā'."

Taymūr copy

"Ibrāhīm bēk departed, heading the holy pilgrimage on the third year after a hundred. He accomplished the pilgrimage and returned; the Arabs (bedouins) attacked him at aš-Šurafā', people were killed, militia men, men of wisdom as well as pilgrims, they also robbed some of the pilgrims. He sent a message to ʿAlī pasha to inform him of what had happened to him; ʿAlī pasha sent Darwīš bēk who went to meet them at al-ʿAqaba. They entered Cairo safely, it was lost for those who had gone. It was said that this had been a plot from the Fiqāriyya since the treasury [*daftardāriyya*] was in the hand of Murād bēk, the command of the pilgrimage was with Ibrāhīm bēk. But the truth is different: ʿAlī pasha had ordered the Dašīša Arabs to carry the grains to the two Holy sites for [?] the *sanğaq*s, Darwīš bēk and the son of Zayn al-Fiqār, Ibrāhīm bēk. They reached the Arabs moving on the hills, behind of [the tomb of] Qā'itbāy. Suddenly they pierced at them with the call of aš-Šāfiʿī, the Arabs thought they were enemy troops so they pierced at them and fought the *sanğaq*s for about an hour. Men died from the two sides, that was until the Arabs realized that it had been *sanğaq*s and so they fled. So the *sanğaq*s looted their houses and their camels. That happened on the beginning of Muharram at the start of the fourth year after a hundred. It is then that the Arabs gathered their forces and prepared the ambush on the way of the pilgrimage, and happened what was to happen."

Even a rapid reading of the two passages can show a number of variations between the texts, such as the dating of the event, or the fact that the second passage offers an interpretation of the narrated incident (according to which it could have been instigated by the Fiqāris). Above all, one will notice that the two texts are phrased in a different way although demonstrating a similar level of language.

As to the extant copies known they are as follows:

On the one hand, the version of the National Library of Vienna (cod. H.O. 38) which stands alone. On the other hand, a group of four copies sharing grossly a common structure of account and formulation, of these, three belong to Cairo's Dār al-Kutub, an old manuscript (cod. G. 8505) and two recent ones (cod. Tārīḫ Taymūr 1402 and cod. Tārīḫ 4048).

Within this set of manuscripts the differences concern only details: the presence *vs.* the absence of religious formulas in one text or the other, lexical or orthographi-

cal variations, but all the copies follow the same ordering of the account. The fourth copy belongs to the Royal Library of Copenhagen (cod. CLIX). It would seem that this manuscript was copied from a different source than the previously mentioned ones since this copy is the only complete one. The general presentation of this manuscript would seem to indicate that it is the most recent one.

To make the story even more puzzling I should add that the sister text I have referred to earlier (in 1.), *ad-Durra* by al-Amīr Ahmad Kathudā ʿAzabān ad-Damurdašī, shares the same features as the text I was mainly concerned with both in form and content. The same level of language, the same *vision du monde*, the same degree of importance given to very much the same events.

3. Faced with this multiplicity of copies and with the wide differences appearing between one of the copies and the others plus the presence of such a close sister text, I have come up with a double hypothesis:

The first is that the chronicle of *al-Waqāʾiʿ* was originally an oral account, the variations found within copies of a "single" text being one of the characteristics of oral literaure. As Guillaume (1987) puts it, the variation found between copies "is not accidental (due to copyists' errors, etc.) but structural, since the written word is not, as usually the case, the place where the narrative is elaborated, [...] rather the written word is only a way by which the narratve is stocked". The narrative is elaborated during the live performance, writing is only a way of preserving the text so as to prevent it from being forgotten. The multiplicity of forms by which a text appears may thus be a sign or an indication of vocal or oral origin.

The second hypothesis is that the Damurdašī group (the Damurdašī and Qinālī series of texts) constitutes in fact one and a single narrative, transmitted in different manners and then eventually transcribed by different individuals. Instead of trying to decide on *one* original text, which would be *the* older, *the* most authentic, would it not be wiser to follow Cerquiligni's (1989) advice where he warns the philologist from searching for a "unique authentic text". Why not, as he recommends, admit to a generalized authentic?

My hypothesis seems also enhanced by the internal observation of the text, by that I mean the observation of a) indications as to the oral nature of the text, and b) linguistic signs of the orality of the text.

3.1 Indications as to the oral nature of the text

It should be remarked that the chronicle does not bear a title. *Waqāʾiʿ Misr al-Qāhira* is a formula found in the first lines of all of the extant copies. Unlike a written text, this one appears as an *aide-mémoire* without a specific title.

The qualification of al-Maddāh, the panegyrist, found in the Vienna copy may be an indication of the profession of Mustafā b. al-Ḥaǧǧ Ibrāhīm, that of a bard who either composed or recited the story telling the events happening in Cairo in the days

of agitation when Mamlūks were at war against each other and the characters of the Qāsimī clan – to whose ranks Qinālī seems to belong – lived, fought and died like heroes or traitors.

Another indication is the presence of formalistic expressions, a feature of folk literature. So for instance standard epithets and clichés are attached to the characters of the narrative. The mention of Ismaʿīl b. ʿIwaḍ, an important character of the narrative, is most often followed by the formula *qālib sukkar saġīr as-sinn kabīr al-miqdār* "a small lump of sugar, young in age but of great value". To the same person is also attached the epithet of generosity *fāʿil al-ḫayrāt*, and that of pleasant appearance *ḍāḥik as-sinn*. Ibrāhīm bēk Abū Šanab, another character of the narrative is usually described in a pejorative manner: so he is qualified as being coward and double faced *bi-waġhayn*.

Formulas do not just appear in the forms of clichés but also in that of entire passages which are almost textually repeated. One of these passages repeated all through the text is the one recounting the episode of the enthronement of the new pasha, after the deposition of his predecessor:

(... قابجي باشا. حضر صحبة عبد الله باشا) طلع بندر الاسكندرية، أتى ساعي خبـر به، نزلت له الأغاوات والجواويشية والملازمين، لاقوه وإلى ثغر رشيد جابوه. أقام بها الأيام المعلومة، نزلوه في السفاين على وجه بحر النيل المبارك، أرسوا به تحت ناحية الوراق. بات تلك الليلة إلى الصباح. فطر، وعدّا على الصماط. خلع قفطين القدوم، وأخذ التقادم، وزار حضرة الإمام الشافعي ليلا، وعاد بات في الريدانية، وعند الصباح دخل مصر في موكب عظيم. طلع إلى قلعة الجبل، عملوا له شنك، الإنكشارية مدافع من الأبراج، أقام يتعاطا الأحكام ...

"He arrived at the chief town of Alexandria, a messenger came to announce him. The *aġas*, the soldiers and the lieutenants met him and to the port of Rosetta led him. He stayed there for the customary period. They flew him down the blessed Nile river, until they arrived to the port of al-Warrāq. There he spent the night and on the next morning, after having eaten he crossed to open the banquet. He offered the customary kaftans and received the presents in honour of his arrival. Then by the evening he visited his Highness al-Imām aš-Šāfiʿī, returned, spent the night at al-Raydāniyya and by the next morning, in a great procession, he entered Cairo, and walked up to the Citadel. There the canons were activated by the corps of the Inkišāriyya from the towers. He started giving the orders..."

The repetition of a passage within a text is among the features indicating an oral strategy (Zumthor 1982).

Actually, repetition in itself is usually recognized as a factor of orality. Since on the level of communication, repetition is what prevents a message, mainly based on linearity, from being partly lost. Since one cannot "look back" as in a reading process, repetition makes the message more "resistant". On the other hand as has been shown by Lord (1981), repetition is a functional part of the narrative since it gives the oral poet a pattern to follow (in Lord's case the pattern is rythmic since he deals with oral poetry and the works he based his observations on were sung epic poetry).

Enhancing the theory of oral or vocal origin we can also notice that on some occasions the recurrent passage is even told using some rhyme in the verse as it is the case in the passage we read: *lāqūh wa-ilā taġr rašīd ǧābūh*.

These episodes are very similar to a refrain reappearing as many times as a new pasha was welcomed to Egypt during the period narrated, and that is 25 times. The fact that this refrain/passage is historically justified, does not diminish the folk quality of the document. Although the historical genre of this chronicle follows the so-called Sultan-Pasha framework which supposedly constitutes the *raison d'écrire* of these narratives, as noticed by Hathaway, the mention of pashas does not really command the narrative and "as the chronicler nears his own time, he tends to include more and more events in each pasha's term, with the result that the viceroyalty begins to lose its coherence" (Hathaway 1990:58). One can indeed see in the repetition of the passage concerning the enthronement of a pasha not just in its historical function but as part of the oral narrative strategy.

Some sequences of the text are loaded with suspense and other dramatic features in the aim of entertaining the audience. In the prelude to a confrontation between two Mamlūk warriors, Ġarkās Muḥammad, the one we are siding with, wakes up in the morning with a bad premonition, he addresses his war companion, Sulaymān bēk: "Today is a bad omen for us", but his companion discards this presentiment: "How can a one day old newborn kill a two days old?" In the course of the battle, Sulaymān bēk is hurt, a horse is presented to him, but Sulaymān feels that the horse would not bear carrying him with all the weight of harness he is wearing. He refused to ride because his destiny was to be killed on that day (p. 329).

3.2 Linguistic signs of the orality of the text

The hypothesis of an oral origin of the chronicle is enhanced because the texts exhibit various features of orality which I will try to set forth in this section.

3.2.1 Pronoun ambiguity

According to our modern habits a good writer is supposed to be as "explicit" as he can, and to leave little work to his potential reader. The writer must take into account the "readability" of his text. This is a fundamental condition in order for the reader to learn something he did not know beforehand.

Some passages of the text are difficult to understand because of the ambiguity of pronominal reference. The following examples are but a few among many in which it is almost impossible to understand the passage out of its context:

wa-narği ilā ʿUtmān bēk Dū l-Fiqār aḫad iqlīm al-Mansūra wa-arsal lahā Sāliḥ Kāšif min taḥt yadih awwal sana wa-fī t-tāniya tazawwağ bi-hānim bint ʿIwad bēk

"To come back to ʿUṭmān bēk Dū l-Fiqār, he took over the region of Mansūra and sent Sāliḥ Kāšif to represent him the first year and on the second he married the daughter of ʿIwad bēk."

Without reading the following pages, it is unclear whether the master or the follower got married. The context as well as the proper intonation accompanying it would probably have removed the ambiguity from these written sentences.

In another example the reference of the pronoun is absent from the text; only common knowledge of the political and historical situation could provide the absent information:

narği li-firqat al-qāsimiyya, tafarrağū ʿalā dālika l-mawkib, nazarū fīh, lam wağadū ahad minhum, li-kawnih lam ʿarraf ahad minhum, li-kawn anna marādih yuzhir al-fiqāriyya ilā ahl Misr

"Coming back to the Qāsimī's, they saw this procession, they watched it, and found none of them [of their own clan] among its ranks, since *he* had informed none of them, since *his* will was to parade the power of the Fiqārī's."

Although the name of the person to whom *he* and *his* refer, which I have emphasized in the text, is not explicitly revealed, it should have been clear to anyone that it was Zayn al-Fiqār, the leader of the victorious Fiqārī faction.

It can be assumed that for the listener or the reader of the account during this period, the references were clear since the text is part of a living situation.

3.2.2 Asyndetic constructions have been observed to be a factor common to Middle and to colloquial Arabic (Hopkins 1984:228-236), but this feature has not been linked to the factor of orality. In what follows, I shall be more concerned with studying the asyndetic relation which can be observed in the junction between phrases, as well as the ellipsis (absence or omission) of argumentative elements.

i) ellipsis of the junction between phrases:

aqāmū ḥaṭṭūh fī-s-siğn, ḫallas minhu l-muta'ḫḫir wa-l-mutʿa talāq al-qādirīn

"They put him in prison, he extorted from him the arrears and the compensation[4] as is practiced by the rich in their divorce".

The original text, unlike the translation, does not exhibit a link between the two elements of the phrase, the comparison is not expressed explicitly by the preposition *as*. One is to believe that the intonation, of which any written text is necessarily deprived, originally expressed the semantics of the comparison.

ii) ellipsis of argumentative elements:

nahnu kayfa namluk al-bāb min al-qāsimiyya? Ahmad Bağdādlī bašodabašī wa-Gālib Halīl kathudā l-waqt wa-Murād Ğāwiš bayt al-māl, wa-l-bākğiyya min tarafihim?

"How can we take over the military corps from the Qāsimiyya *if* Ahmad Bağdadli is *bašodabašī* (chief of a military corps company), *if* Gālib Halīl is *kathudā* (lieutenant), *if* Murād Ğāwiš is in charge of tax collection, and *if* the chief of the guard is on their side"[5]

The last example I shall give of asyndesis is, I believe, a very good illustration of the ambiguity which can result from a text closer to the code of speech than to the code of writing. Indeed, vocal communication relies on intonation as a vital element in the production of meaning; punctuation contributes only to a small degree to substitute for the role of intonation. The text of al-Qinālī does not, of course, even bear the marks of punctuation. In some cases, the intelligibility of the text depends on restoring the intonation which we suppose accompanied the phrase, as is the case in the following example:

kānat ahl Misr min qadīm az-zamān firqatayn ʿaskar wa-raʿiyya rāya baydā wa-rāya hamrā

"The people of Egypt, military as well as civilian, has been divided since early times into two factions, the red flag and the white flag".

In the original Arabic text, *ʿaskar wa-raʿiyya* can be interpreted not as an intermediate group of words defining more precisely the constitution of the people of Egypt, but as the two factions dividing the country. In the translation, the meaning is obtained by means of the punctuation marks.

3.2.3 Word order can also be a sign of orality in a written text. In the following examples focalization is no doubt one of the factors justifying the word order followed. I have intentionally preserved in the translation of these sentences, the word order of the original text:

ahad as-sandūq sāhibuh wa-tawağğah

"He took the chest, its owner, and left"

rattab al-harb ʿIwad bēk

"He prepared the battle, ʿIwad bēk"

---

[4] *Mu'ahhir* is the term used to designate the sum of money to be paid to the woman in the case of an eventual divorce; *mutʿa* designates the sum of money payed to the divorcee in compensation of the pleasure one has had with her.

---

[5] In the conflict between the Qāsimī and the Fiqārī clans, the latter are plotting to take over the Janissary military corps, an obstacle remains: the main officers of the Janissaries are from the opposite clan.

fatahu bāb al-hadīd as-saqqāyin

"They opened the al-Hadīd Gate, the water-sellers".

In all of the preceding examples the same word-order is followed, that is V-O-S. It is as if the sentences had been composed first as verbal phrases formed by a verb and an object, the subject then coming as an afterthought responding to a need for further precision. This structure is reminiscent of the oral behaviour in which information adds up as one talks, in some cases, by the addition of details while the utterance takes place.

3.2.4 In some cases, the notion of "sentence" is impossible to apply to the utterances of the *Waqā'i*, just as is often the case in oral productions:

nahnu qāsidīn as-sulh ʿalā kulli hāl ahyar min aš-šarr yatawallad minhu al-fasād

"We ask for reconciliation, in any case better than evil, it engenders corruption".

The phrases which constitute this utterance come as a series of successive elements, each dependent upon the previous. The notion of sentence is impossible to apply to it.

So from what has preceded it seems possible to prove that the text of *al-Waqā'i* was orally transmitted and that in putting it down in a written form the oral features were not obliterated.

Waqā'i *Misr al-Qāhira* is not a text written using the dialect, rather it is written in a variety of language where features of literary Arabic appearing do not respect the grammatical norms of this level. This variety is known as Middle Arabic; the particularity of this text, however, resides elsewhere, *i.e.* in the oral nature of its writing as I have tried to show. It shows a sample of layman writing much more authentically than does another better known text of the same period *Hazz al-quhūf fī šarh qasīd Abī Šādūf* whose author aš-Širbīnī, was an Azharī capable of imitating and reproducing the local speech of the Mansūra area peasants while also mastering the literary language and the art of writing, while Mustafā Ibrāhīm is an amateur, non-professional writer who writes as he would speak, using the same strategies, and very much the same means.

4. *al-Waqā'i* as folk literature in the social life of the period

If the chronicle considered was, as I have tried to show, of oral origin, one could then ask for whom and by whom it was performed. Who was al-Hāġġ Mustafā b. al-Hāġġ Ibrāhīm? Was he a bard or a panygerist as the title of al-Maddāh would suggest? If so, the question still remains partly unanswered. Because then, for whom was al-Qinālī a *maddāh*, a panegyrist? Perhaps for the benefit of the Mamlūk emirs who represent the heroes of the narrative such as Ismāʿīl b. ʿIwad or Kuġuk Muhammad, the fair and righteous man whose deeds remind us of some episodes of the 1001 Nights? In her recent research, historian Nelly Hanna shows how various forms of cultural activities developed around individual Mamlūk households (Hanna forthcoming).

In any case al-Qinālī's inclination evidently went in favour of the Qāsimī rather than the Fiqārī group, and in this his attitude did not differ from that of the historian al-Ġabartī.

We can also say that he was close to the ʿAzab military corps, the second in importance after the Inkišāriyya since he informs us that he was a follower of Hasan Aġa ʿAzabān. It is also known that the ʿAzab corps were in favour of the Qāsimīs in the great split we mentioned above. If close to the ranks of the ʿAzab, his role was perhaps that of following the activity of the men of these corps and of telling their deeds and exploits in order to strengthen their courage and boost their morale for coming fights. So he might have been a military bard, and for that matter let me quote what Lord (1981) observed in the situation he studied, "that the singers do not seem to form a special class. They can belong to any group in society. The oral singer in Yugoslavia, is not marked by a social distinction; he is not an oral poet because he is a farmer or a shopkeeper or a bey. He can belong to the "folk, the merchant class or the aristocracy".

al-Qinālī was perhaps an oral poet close to the military ranks and following their movement, telling his stories to militaries who gathered in cafés "situated near the citadel of Cairo which got much business from the soldiers"[6]. These soldiers and militaries would gather in the cafés and be entertained hearing the heroic acts of their seniors in the *oġaq* told by the storyteller. The audience could have been constituted by military men or generally by broader groups of the population of Cairo, artisans of the Qāsimī rank who used to gather in the cafés and listen to the stories telling of the exploits of heroes, men such as Ismāʿīl b. ʿIwad who lived courageously and to whose death the poet could even claim to have been present at.

I have tried to answer the questions concerning the nature of the chronicles considered, their condition of production and the nature of the language used in them.

Another question, which will remain unanswered, concerns the audience of the chronicle. If it is to be considered as a piece of popular literature then one should expect to be able to define the public or audience to which it was addressed. This public or audience could have been very close to the military society since the story tells about the conflicts which most often turn into armed conflicts between the partisans of the two clans.

The view I suggest for the Damurdāšī chronicles should not be seen as an attempt to empty these chronicles from their historical interest or undermining their value as sources for the understanding of Egypt, as it has been said by Crecelius – historian

---

[6] Hattox 1982:155 ff. See also Wiet 1969:101 where it is said that in the area of Bayn al-Qasrayn: "De nombreuses réunions s'y tenaient pour écouter la lecture de pièces biographiques ou historiques, ou encore des récitations de poèmes...".

of Ottoman Egypt –: "The Damurdashi group of manuscripts written by the semilit-erate men of the Odjaqs are actually a major source for al-Jabarti's history, and for the history of Ottoman Egypt" (Crecelius 1989:8). As he puts it, these sources "ought to be given greater importance". Viewing the function of these texts as elements of folk literature could add to the information we have on the period of the second half of the 17th century, since this understanding can shed light on the inclination of the people at whose intention these texts were composed and told, their views and their passion.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

al-Ǧabartī, *ʿAǧāʾib* = ʿAbdarrahmān al-Ǧabartī, *Tarīḫ ʿaǧāʾib al-ātār fī t-tarāǧim wa-l-aḫbār*. 3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Ǧil, n. d.
ad-Damurdāšī, *Durra* = al-Amīr Aḥmad Katḫudā ʿAzabān ad-Damurdāšī, *ad-Durra al-muṣāna fī aḫbār al-kināna*. MSS.
Waqāʾiʿ Miṣr al-Qāhira. MSS.

B. Secondary sources

Cerquiligni, Bernard. 1989. *Eloge de la variante*. Paris: Seuil.
Crecelius, Daniel. 1989. "A Source for al-Jabarti's history of the late 17th and early 18th centuries". *ARCE Newsletter* 145.7-9.
Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne. 1881. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. 2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill.
Guillaume, P. 1987. "Le roman de Baïbars et la littérature populaire arabe". *Journées d'études arabes, octobre 1986, Langues et cultures populaires dans l'aire arabo-musulmane*, Paris: Association française des Arabisants avec le concours de L'Institut du monde arabe.
Hanna, Nelly. forthcoming. "Culture in Ottoman Egypt". *Cambridge History of Modern Egypt*, XI.
Hathaway, Jane. 1990. "Sultans, Pashas, Taqwims, and Muhimmes: A reconsideration of Chronicle-writing in Eighteenth Century Ottoman Egypt". *Eighteenth Century Egypt The Arabic Sources*. Edited by Daniel Crecelius, Los Angeles: California State University.
Hattox, Ralph. 1982. *Coffee-houses and urban society in the Mamlūk and Ottoman lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University Microfilms International.
Holt, P. M. 1963. "The career of Kuçuk Muhammad (1676-94)". *BSOAS* 26.269-287.
Hopkins, Simon. 1984. *Studies in the Grammar of early Arabic, based upon papyri datable to before A.H. 300/A.D. 912*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Lord, Albert B. 1981. *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Raymond, A. 1966. "Une 'révolution' au Caire sous les mamelouks, la crise de 1123/1711". *Annales Islamologiques* 6.95-120.
Ṣabrī, Aḥmad al-ʿAdl ʿAlī. 1995. *Supremacy of the Qazdagli Household on Egypt (1662-1768)*. M.A. Thesis, Cairo, Ain Shams University, Faculty of Arts, History Department (in Arabic).
Wiet, Gaston. 1969. "Fêtes et jeux au Caire". *Volume commémoratif du millénaire du Caire. Annales Islamologiques* 8.
Zumthor, Paul. 1982. "Le discours de la poésie orale". *Poétique* 52.387-401.

THE VICISSITUDES OF TWO LINES OF POETRY

Seeger A. Bonebakker

University of California

All of us are familiar with the phenomenon of the author of a collection of poetry, or prose and poetry — a so-called *adab* book — making changes in a line of poetry. The fact is even more common among the *rāwīs*, the earliest transmitters of poetry. Such changes may result in what in western textual criticism is known as the *lectio facilior*, "the easier reading".

Sometimes such interventions may be useful in the sense that they give us an indication of how the line of poetry should be interpreted, but it goes without saying that caution is necessary. The *rāwī* or the collector may have misinterpreted the line; or, what is worse, he may not understand the line and wilfully change a word or two to make the text intelligible to himself, or even to make it conform to his taste. This is, I think, what happened to two sets of two lines which I intend to discuss in this short note.

I

A. There exists a contemporary collection of poems by Ibn Rašīq (390-456 or 463 / 1000-1063/64 or 1070/71) which goes under the title *Dīwān Ibn Rašīq*. It quotes the following two lines (*basīt*) (Ibn Rašīq, *Dīwān* 24, no. 4):

أمرتَني بركوب البحر مُجْتَـهـدا   وقد عصيتُك فآخْتَرْ غيرَ ذا الداء

ما أنت نوح فتُنْجِيني سفينتَه   وما المسيح أنا أمشي على الماء

B. Among as-Silafī's (*ca.* 478/1086-576/1181) biographies of Spanish scholars and poets[1] we find a different text. The poem is again attributed to Ibn Rašīq:

أمرتني بركوب البحر مُغْتَـرِرا   عليك غيري فأمُرْه بذا الراء

ما أنت نوح الخ

The second line is the same in all versions I am going to quote. Its Biblical and Quranic allusions speak for themselves and need no further explanation. I will therefore limit myself from now on to a discussion of the first line.

---

[1] In the partial edition by Iḥsān ʿAbbās: as-Silafī, *Muʿgam* 98, no 62.

C. In Ibn Dihya's (d. 633/1236) *Mutrib* we find these two lines in the following form and once more attributed to Ibn Rašīq (Ibn Dihya, *Mutrib* 65):

وأمر بعض الملوك ابن رشيق بركوب البحر فخاطبه بهذا الشعر:

أمرتني بركوب البحر في عـجَـل   غيري فديتُك فاخـصُـصـْه بذا الراء

Ibn Dihya does not specify to whom these lines were addressed. The editors quote, in a footnote, texts which claim that they were the poet's reply to a request by al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād (d. 487/1095)[2]. Also interesting is another footnote by the editor which explains: *ar-rā' ay ar-ra'y.*

D. Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681/1282) quotes the poem in the following form[3]:

أمرتني بركوب البحر أقطعه   غيري لك الخَـيْـر فاخـصُـصـْه بذا الداء

In Ibn Ḥallikān there is question of an invitation by al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād addressed, *not* to Ibn Rašīq, but to two other poets, to the blind poet Abū l-Hasan ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī[4] (420/1029-488/1095) who left Qayrawān, lived in Ceuta, later in Spain[5] and died in Tangiers[6], and to Abū l-ʿArab aṣ-Siqillī (423/1032-after 507/1113). The above reply is attributed to al-Ḥuṣrī; Abū l-ʿArab sends his own reply. al-Ḥuṣrī's story ends as follows:

ثم دخل الأندلس بعد، ذلك وامتـدح المعتمد وغيره

It is worth noting, however, that in the edition by Ihsān ʿAbbās of the *Wafayāt* (III, 333-334) the reading بذا الراء is adopted[7].

---

[2] See *EI²*, VII, 766a-768a.

[3] Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbdalhamīd, III, 21-22 (no. 423); ed. Ihsān ʿAbbās, III, 333-334 (no. 450).

[4] See *EI²*, III, 640a-641a; Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1144), *Dahīra*, VII, 245-283; ʿImādaddin (d. 597/1201), *Harida* II, 186-187 (no 40): *higā'* poem on Abū l-ʿArab aṣ-Siqillī; aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), *Wafi* XXI, 249-251. The monograph on al-Ḥuṣrī mentions the second of the two lines (al-Marzūqī & al-Ǧīlānī 1963: introduction, 41), but the section on al-Ḥuṣrī's poetry does not have either of the two lines.

[5] After 450 according to al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1096), *Ǧaḏwa* 296.

[6] Abū l-Hasan ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī is not to be confused with Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī, the author of the *Zahr al-adāb.*

[7] aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) quotes the story from Ibn Ḥallikān (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* XXI, 250-251) and in his *Nakt* 214. The editors read in both cases *bi-da d-da'i.*

The second poet, Abū l-ʿArab aṣ-Siqillī, according to Ibn Ḥallikān[8], replies in the following way. He argues that the sea belongs to the Rūm and the mainland (*barr*) to the Arabs. This reply is worth quoting:

{لا تعجبن لرأسي كيف شاب أسىً   واعـجب لأسود عيني كيف لم يشبِ}

البحر للروم لا تجري السفين به   إلا على غَـرر والبَـر للعـرب

E. We find the two lines of the *rā'* poem in ad-Dahabī's (d. 748/1374), *Siyar* (XIX, 26-27) in the biography of al-Ḥuṣrī:

وكان المعتمد بن عبّاد بعث إليه خمس مئة دينار ليفِـد عليه فكتب:

أمرتني بركوب البحر أقطعه   غيري لك الخير فاخـصُـصـْه بذا الرائي

F. In the *Tirāz al-maǧālis* (22i) by a much later author, Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ḥafāǧī (d. 1069/1659)[9], the *qiṭʿa* is attributed to Ibn Rašīq:

أمرتني بركوب البحر مجتهدا   وقد عصيتك فاختر غير ذا الراء

We have two more versions found in relatively modern collections which offer no further information. They attribute the lines to Ibn Hamdīs and Abū Ishāq (*sic!*) al-Ḥuṣrī.

G. In a modern collection (al-Azharī 1986 I, 13) we find the same lines, this time attributed to Ibn Hamdīs (447/1055-527/1132) with the following introduction:

كلَّـف، بعض الأمراء ابن حمديس أن يسافر بحرا ... فامتنع وكتب، إلى الأمير:

أمرتني بركوب البحر مجتهدا   وقد عصيتك فاختر غير ذا الراء

In a footnote the author observes that the two lines are not part of the *Dīwān;* but the *Dīwān* (533-534) quotes two other poems by Ibn Hamdīs in the same vein as we shall see later.

H. Ibn al-Ḥatīb (d. 776/1375) attributes the lines to Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī[10]:

قل للذي بركوب البحر يأمرني   إليك غيري فاخصصه بذا الداء

---

[8] Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbdalhamīd III, 21; ed. Ihsān ʿAbbās, III, 333-334.

[9] See *EI²* IV, 912a-913a.

[10] Ibn al-Ḥatīb, *Sihr* text, 172 and cf. Introduction 190.

The translation (164, no. 671) agrees with this version. In the *fihrist al-qawāfī*, however, we find *bi-ḏā r-rā'ī*.

I. But a third late text must also be considered, since its author is a famous scholar. This text is the *Tāǧ* (I 256b-257a) by az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) which in the entry *rā'- wāw-yā'* states the following:

وأنشد. شيخنا:

أمرتني بركوب البحر أركبه   غيري لك الخير فاخصصه بذا الراء

قلت أما الشعر فلأبي الحسن على بن عبد الغني الفِهْري المقرئ الشاعر الضرير ابن خالة أبي

اسحاق الحصري صاحب زهر الآداب وأما الرواية فإنها فاخصصه بذا الداء بالداء المهملة لا

بالراء كما زعمه شيخنا فيُرَدُّ عليه ما زاده

Possible translations of I

Before going any further we must decide which of the nine versions has the original text. This is not particularly difficult when it comes to the last word in the first line, *ar-rā'ī* or *ad-dā'ī*. The disaster — the *dā'* — would refer to the dangers of the sea journey, and it is therefore easy to see that somebody would have preferred this as a better reading. On the other hand I do not find that the other variants, such as *fa-ḥsushu* change the meaning of the line materially.

1. The only variant of real importance, therefore, is the reading *bi-ḏā r-rā'ī* which could, of course, simply be translated as 'this idea'. Indeed, the editor of the *Mutrib* believes that *hāḏā r-rā'ī* stands for *hāḏā r-ra'yi*, 'this view'[11] which, with some stretching of the usual translations ('opinion, view'), one could translate as 'this idea', 'this project'.

But I feel that one should also look for other interpretations of *ar-rā'ī* which I strongly believe is the original reading.

2. It should be noted that both Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān* and Zabīdī's *Tāǧ* quote the following observation by Abū l-Haytam (d. 276/889)[12]: *ar-rā' zabad al-bahr*, but then quote a line intended as a *šāhid* for the term *rā'* in the sense of 'foam on the mouth of a horse'[13]. Does this mean that there is sufficient reason to consider seriously that *rā'* stands for 'foam of the sea?' Would Ibn Rašīq or al-Ḥuṣrī, or whoever composed

---

[11] See Wright 1962 II, 376B.

[12] For Abū l-Haytam (d. 276/889) see *GAS* VIII, 160-161. He seems to have been used by al-Azharī in his *Tahḏīb*. The same observation appears in al-Ḫalīl, *Ḥurūf* 29: *al-qurāḍ aṣ-saġīr [wa-r-raǧul aḍ-ḍa'if] [wa-r-rā' zabad al-bahr aydan]*, but the last of the three interpretations appears only in two late manuscripts of this brief treatise and may therefore be an addition of much later date.

[13] *Zabad* is a common term for 'foam, froth, scum' that applies also to the foam of the sea, cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* III, 193a.

---

these two lines, have been aware of this meaning which clearly belongs in the *ġarīb* category? If so, would they feel inclined to use *rā'* in the sense of 'foam' in a playful poem, a poem intended as a joke[14]? Perhaps they would, but only if the joke were addressed to a poet-scholar (an *adīb* in the wider sense of the word) who was thoroughly familiar with the dictionary. If that were the case, we could consider the following translation: "Find somebody else to venture on that foam".

3. One could also argue that Ibn Rašīq (if he is indeed the author of the lines) vented his anger over the unwelcome invitation by vituperating the five *rā*'s in the first hemistich, if one reads *muġtariran*; or the two *rā*'s of *rukūb al-bahr*[15] if one adopts one of the other readings, the more so since, whatever reading is correct, the second hemistich is a reply to the first and because this first hemistich, taken by itself, states the problem clearly. Unless *ra'y* is intended as a synonym of *mar'an* 'view' or rather '[frightening] view' — for which I have no evidence — I would translate the first line of as-Silafī's version as follows:

"You ordered me to ride on the sea making me suffer [its] perils.

Find someone else! then order him to submit to [all these words with] the letter *rā'*!", or:

"Find someone else; then order him to venture on that foamy sea!"

The theme of the poem is not unique; our *qit'a* appears in the context of poems on the same theme by Ibn Hamdīs (*Dīwān* 533)[16]:

لا أركب البحر خوفا   على منه المعاطب

طين أنا وهو ماء   والطين في الماء ذائب

and:

وأخْفَر لولا آية ما ركبته   ولله تصريف القضاء كما شاء

أقول حَذَارا من ركوب عُبابه   أيا رب إن الطين قد ركب الماء

Ibn Hamdīs also lists, on this theme, a second *qit'a* by Ibn Rašīq[17]:

البحر صعب المذاق مُر   لا رجعت حاجتي إليه

أليس ماء ونحن طين   فما عسى صبرنا عليه

---

[14] The foaming of the sea appears as a simile in a line by Ibn Hamdīs, *Dīwān* 141, l. 2, no. 88.

[15] There would be four if one reads *arkubuhū* with I.

[16] For the reference to an *āya* in the following poem, see Qur'ān 16:14, 17:66, 45:12.

[17] See Ibn Ǧubayr (539/540-634 / 1146-1218), *Riḥla* 315; al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), *Nafḥ* I, 33. This same *qit'a*, as well as the preceding one by Ibn Hamdīs, appears in an-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), *Nihāya* I, 255. Both Ibn Ǧubayr and al-Maqqarī give the line anonymously. In al-Ḫafāǧī's *Tirāz* and Ibn Hamdīs's *Dīwān*, however, it is explicitly attributed to Ibn Rašīq.

Further examples on the same theme by Ibn Ḥamdīs and Ibn Rašīq may be found in al-Ḥafāǧī (d. 1069/1659), *Tirāz* (220-221) and Ibn Ḥamdīs, *Dīwān* (8, no. 6).

By Abū l-ʿArab we have the poem already quoted; but in as-Silafī's collection of biographies (*Muʿǧam* 137-138) we have again by Abū l-ʿArab[18]:

وكم سهم بغي لم أخف أن يصيبني   أصيب ممّن رماني به النحرُ

for which one should perhaps read: ... ممّا رماني به البحرُ followed by similar *qitʿas* on the theme of the first reading. What is interesting is that all three poets, Ibn Rašīq, Abū l-ʿArab and Ibn Ḥamdīs are credited with poems about the miseries of sea travel.

Yet this may not exhaust the translations of *ar-rāʾī* that could be suggested. I observed earlier that other variants such as *fa-ḫsushu bi-dā r-rāʾī* 'choose him for', 'select him for ...' do not help us to determine the correct interpretation. I am not aware of any symbolic meaning of the *rāʾ*, but this letter, as we will see next, is used in similes for something curved, by which 'the waves' may be intended. In Dozy 1925:493a one finds that the *rā* stands for 'something bent' (*allusion à ce qui est courbe, [le] saumon*). Could 'something bent' be a proverbial phrase indicating something unpleasant? Or could the *rā* be taken as a simile describing the — curved — waves of the sea? The term *rukūb ʿubābih* 'riding his waves, billows, or surges' (cf. Lane 1863-93:1932)[19] in the poem by Ibn Ḥamdīs lends perhaps some support to this interpretation; but one could claim as well that it supports the interpretation of the *rā* as referring to *rukūb al-baḥr*[20].

II

We have a similar case in a poem found in aṭ-Taʿālibī (d. 429/1038) *Mutrib*[21], where we read the following. The theme is now different, but in some respects more difficult. The poem is attributed to Ibn al-Muʿtazz:

---

[18] See also as-Silafī, *Muʿǧam* 68: One ʿAbdalḥamīd b. Muḥammad al-Balaǧī meets as-Silafī in Alexandria; after stating that he was born in 487, and was *ḫatīb* in Tilimsān, he mentions that he met Abū l-ʿArab in Majorca; the note on p. 137-138 mentions that al-Walīd b. Ismāʿīl al-Ġāfiqī met Abū l-ʿArab in Spain and heard him recite two lines of poetry, the first of which was the line quoted here.

[19] See az-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ* III, 300b-301a: *wa-fī t-Tahdīb: al-ʿubāb muʿẓam as-sayl wa-qīla ʿubāb as-sayl irtifāʿuhu wa-katratuhu aw ʿubābuhu mawǧuhu.*

[20] An interesting example of curves appearing on the surface of the sea in a different way is Ibn Hāniʾ, *Dīwān* 818 quoted from an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* II, 257.

[21] aṭ-Taʿālibī, *Mutrib* 87, ed. al-Mallūḥī, I, 127.

A.

ولابن المعتزّ في غلام لابس أزرق:

وبنفسجي الثوب قلب محبّه من رآه
الآن صبرت البدر حين لبست ثوب سمائه

In the older edition of aṭ-Taʿālibī's work the editor offers in a footnote the following explanation:

قوله من رآه لعله من عند راء لفظة أزرق فيبقى رق

The editor of the later edition does not agree; he repeats the explanation of the old edition, but adds: *wa-arā annahu min raʾyihi.*

If one follows the suggestion by the first editor a better solution would be to think of the letter *rāʾ* as the first letter of *riqq*, 'slavery'[22], that is: "... the heart of his lover partakes of his status as a slave".

I did not find these two lines in the partial edition of the *Dīwān* of Ibn Muʿtazz by Lewin, nor in the old Cairo edition[23].

B. However, Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tašbihāt* 98, likewise attributes the lines to Ibn al-Muʿtazz, but he reads: *qatl muhibbihī min dāʾihī* for *qalb muhibbihī min rāʾihī*. Of course this may be an error on the part of a copyist. If one reads *min daʾihī* the phrase could mean: "The death of his lover will be brought about by love sickness for this beloved dressed in blue". Another variant is *ulbista lawn samāʾihī*.

The following quotations show more such variants in the second line; they do not significantly change the meaning of the *qitʿa* and can therefore be disregarded. Invariably the lines are attributed to Ibn al-Muʿtazz.

C. A late author, al-Muḥibbī (1061-1111), *Nafḥa* I, 303, reads *qatl* for *qalb* and *wa-ba-nafsaǧī l-lawni*, but lets the line end on *min rāʾihī*. The context deals with the colour of the sky. A footnote refers to Ibn Bassām (*Daḫīra*, ed. al-ʿAbbādī & al-ʿAzzām, I/2 37) where it ends on *min dābihī (= min daʾbihī)* and *min sahābihī* thereby completely altering the sense of the two lines. Both variants clearly show that even in the Middle Ages the first of the two lines was considered unintelligible by some philologists.

---

[22] So far I have not found the poem in other texts by aṭ-Taʿālibī.

[23] But in the appendix of the edition of as-Sāmarrāʾī (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Šiʿr*) we find the following: *wa-qāla fī ǧulām ʿalayhi dībāǧ ǧarmī* ... Follows the text as in aš-Šarīšī (see below).

D. The edition by Iḥsān ʿAbbās of the *Daḫīra* of Ibn Bassām again reads *qatlu muḥib-bihī min rāʾihī*[24].

E. In aš-Šarīsī's (d. 620/1222) *Šarḥ* (ed. Ḥafāğī I, 62) the author quotes the first line in the following way:

قال ابن المعتز في غلام عليه ديباج بنفسجي:
وبنفسجي الثوب قتل محبّه من حاله

omitting the second line.

F. In aš-Šarīsī, *Šarḥ* (ed. 1306, I, 43) we find[25]:

وبنفسجي الثوب قتل محبّه من دائه
لأن صرت البدر إذ ألبست لون سمائه

Possible translations of II

One could suggest the following translations of the second example, some of which may be worth considering, while others may be too far fetched to be worth mentioning:

1. Again I feel that one must think first of *min rāʾihī* as another way of writing *min raʾyihī*, a *ḍarūra*, the pronoun of *raʾyihī* referring to *banafsaġiyyi t-tawbi* and interpret:

There is this beloved clad in a violet coloured garment (or: Oh you, my friend draped in a garment colour violet!) From (that is: as a result of) seeing him [thus attired], the heart of his lover [feels/thinks][26].

Now you have become the full moon [your face being like the full moon] since you are cloaked in its blue sky, or:

The heart of his lover, following what it sees, [thinks, that is: says, prompted by his imagination]

Now you have become...

But taking into account the perplexity of the mediaeval scholars over the idiom *min rāʾihī*, there are other possibilities that may have to be considered.

2. Again: min *rāʾihī* stands for *min raʾyihī*, that is: *min raʾyi qalbi muḥibbihī*.

---

[24] Vol. III, 231 of the same edition quotes the second of the two lines in the context of verses on the moon contrasting with the bluish sky.

[25] I owe these references to my colleague, Prof. G. J. Kanazi.

[26] Or, reading *ulbista*, "Now you have become/have been transformed into the moon since you have been made to wear (*i.e.*: you are dressed in) the colour of its sky".

Oh, you (my friend) dressed in a garment colour violet on whom the heart of his lover depends! (that is: the heart of his lover cannot live without seeing him)

Now you have become the full moon since you are cloaked in its blue "sky", or:

The heart of his lover, following what it sees, [thinks, that is: says, prompted by his imagination]

Now you have become...

3. Keeping in mind that blue is a colour associated with sadness:

There is this beloved dressed in a violet coloured garment. The heart (that is: the mood) of his lover, as a result of seeing his [blue] garment [becomes sombre and thinks][27].

Since you have become the full moon being cloaked in its blue sky [I have lost you forever].

4. Ibn ʿAbdrabbih (*ʿIqd* VI, 475) quotes a line by an anonymous *muḥdaṭ* poet in which the 'lock of hair', the *sudġ*, is compared to the *rāʾ*[28]:

ماء النعيم يوجهه متحيّر   والصدغ منه كعطفة الراء

With this in mind we could translate our line:

... The heart of whose lover belongs to, depends on, (that is: the lover admires) his lock of hair [and thinks]:

Now you have become ...

5. A free translation following the same interpretation would be:

... The heart is in love with him because of his lock of hair [and thinks]:

Now you have become ...

6. Finally one may think of the *rāʾ* as a letter that a slave born in a foreign country cannot pronounce and therefore neglects or replaces with other letters. This would yield the following:

... The heart of whose lover is attached to his slave's *rāʾ* which has become a cause of endearment (or: which he has come to like),

or even:

... The heart of whose lover is attached to [something missing that is:] the letter *rāʾ*. [Not seeing his slave he thinks]:

Now you have become ...

Strange though this last interpretation may seem at first, it is nevertheless supported by examples in Ibn Bassām's *Daḫīra* (I, 308-309), Ibn Ḥallikān's *Wafayāt* (ed. ʿAbdal-ḥamīd, V, 61-62, VI, 226 = ed. ʿAbbās, VI, 8-9, VII, 227), and aṣ-Ṣafadī's *Nuṣra* (240).

---

[27] For *min* in the sense of 'as a result of' see Nöldeke 1963:143b, additions to 54, 1, fn. 56.

[28] al-Azdī (*Ġarāʾib* 150-153) mentions *ar-rāy*, a fish found in the Nile. As far as I know there are no similes relating this fish to part of the human face. For Persian literature, see Zand 1977.

I limit myself to an example by ar-Ramādī where the *rā'* stands apparently for the slave himself[29]:

<div dir="rtl">

الهجر يجمعنا فنحن سواء   لا الراء تطمع في الوصال ولا أنا

فيكيت مُنْتَحِبا أنا والراء   فإذا خلوت كتبتها في راحتي

</div>

and a line on the next page of the *Daḫīra* by Abū l-Qāsim b. al-ʿArīf (d. 395/1004)[30] said to be inspired by ar-Ramādī and again addressed to an *altaġ* (I quote the second of three lines):

<div dir="rtl">

فكلانا معذَّب دون ذَنْبٍ   هجرك الراء مثل هجري سواء

</div>

Since I do not find enough evidence to support any of the above interpretations, I have been wondering if, after all, the reading *qatlu muḥibbihī min dāʾihī/min rāʾihī* is not the correct reading. As I argued above, if one adopts this reading the line could mean:

... the death of whose lover will be brought about by sickness caused by him (or by his *rāʾ* which is dear to him). "Now ... etc.", the death of the lover being, as it were foreshadowed by the blue colour of his beloved's garment, since blue is the colour of sadness.

The correct interpretation of the two sets of two lines may yet be determined when we are lucky enough to chance upon convincing parallels or a convincing explanation. The number of collections of poetry available has increased dramatically in the last decennia, but it seems hardly worth while to make an exhaustive search for the sake of two fragments that cannot be said to represent the most attractive in Arabic poetry. The above therefore may only serve, at this time, to add to our inventory of medieval themes.

A brief glance at the indexes of Ibn Bassām's *Daḫīra* reveals that the influence of Ibn al-Muʿtazz in Spain was considerable[31]. Could the following lines by ar-Ramādī quoted in Ibn al-Kattānī's (d. before 420/1030) *Tašbīhāt* (134, no. 251) have been inspired by the line attributed to Ibn al-Muʿtazz?

---

[29] Ibn Ḫallikān, ed. ʿAbdalhamīd, V, 62, VI, 226; ed. ʿAbbās, VI, 9, VII, 227; as-Ṣafadī, *Nuṣra* (238) by an anonymous:

<div dir="rtl">

تيقنت أن الوصل لي منك واصل   ولما رأيت الشيب راءَ بعارضي

</div>

Explained (*Nuṣra* 240) in the following way:

<div dir="rtl">

وشبه الوصل بواصل وشبه الشيب بالراء مراده أنه يجفوه جفاء واصل الراء.

</div>

On the same page the *Nuṣra* quotes the above line by ar-Ramādī which, he says, is *fī maliḥ*.

[30] Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1012), *Tariḫ* I, 134-135.

[31] According to the *Fihrist* of Ibn Ḫayr (d. 575/1179), 404-405 the poetry of Ibn al-Muʿtazz was introduced in Spain by Abū ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Qālī al-Baġdādī. See also, *e.g.* al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149), *Ġunya* 165.

<div dir="rtl">

فات العراقي في السناء   يا ثوبه الأزرق الذي قد

بُكْسَى بياضا من الضياء   يكاد وجه الذي يراه

يَقطع في زرقة السماء   كأنه فيك بدر تم

</div>

Ibn Bassām (*Daḫīra* I, 506, III, 231, see above D) thinks so. He quotes the first of the two lines by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (*faqa* for *fata*) and then cites the first and last lines of the above poem. It is strange, however, that Ibn Bassām attributes ar-Ramādī's lines to *Eastern* poets, to Baššār(?)[32] b. Burd (d. 167/783)[33] or to Ibn ar-Rūmī (d. 283/896)[34]. We find them in the edition of Ibn ar-Rūmī by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, but only in a section on poems not found in the *Dīwān* itself[35].

The authorship of I and II

Can we trust aṭ-Ṭaʿālibī, as-Silafī, Ibn Diḥya, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḫafāǧī against other authors I quoted when they attribute the first set of two lines to Ibn Rašīq? I have no doubt that we can, but answering this question in detail would require more space than can be justified for a brief note and needs a separate communication. The authorship of the second set of lines has, as far as I know, not been disputed. Again I would need more space to argue that the poet was indeed Ibn al-Muʿtazz[36].

---

[32] Not in the partial editions known to me.

[33] Unless Abū Ḥafṣ b. Burd is meant which is less likely since the alternative is Ibn ar-Rūmī.

[34] *Dīwān* I, 137, no 100 (first and third lines; taken from Ibn Bassām's *Daḫīra*).

[35] Ibn al-Kattānī, *Tašbīhāt* 142 (no. 275) also offers an example of a lady clothed in a *banafsaǧī* garment:

<div dir="rtl">

كالسوسن الأرج النقي الأبهج   أقبلت في ثوب عليك بنفسجي

</div>

showing that the colour of the violet may also be associated with brightness.

[36] I also feel that to justify to the full extent some of the arguments I have suggested in support of different interpretations of the two *qiṭʿas* would require extensive footnotes or appendices: Again these have to wait for another occasion.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

al-Azdī, *Ğarā'ib* = ʿAlī Ẓāfir al-Azdī, *Ğarā'ib at-tašbīhāt*. Edited by M. Z. Salām, Cairo 1971.

al-Azharī, *Tahḏīb* = Abū Manṣūr Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Azharī, *Tahḏīb al-luġa*. Edited by ʿAbdassalām Hārūn *et al.*, 15 vols., Cairo 1964-67.

aḏ-Ḏahabī, *Siyar* = Šams ad-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad aḏ-Ḏahabī, *Siyar aʿlām an-nubalā'*. Edited by Šuʿayb al-Arna'ūt, Beirut 1401/1981-1413/1993.

al-Hafāǧī, *Tirāz* = Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hafāǧī, *Tirāz al-maǧālis*. Cairo 1284/1868.

al-Halīl, *Hurūf* = al-Halīl b. Ahmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-Hurūf*. Edited by Ramaḍān ʿAbdattawwāb, Cairo 1969.

al-Humaydī, *Ğadwa* = Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad al-Humaydī, *Ğadwat al-muqtabis fī ḏikr wulāt al-Andalus*. Edited by Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Kawtarī, Cairo 1953.

Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, *ʿIqd* = Abū ʿUmar Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*. Edited by Ahmad Amīn & Muhammad Saʿīd al-ʿIryān, 8 vols., Cairo 1948-53.

Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tašbīhāt* = Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Kitāb at-Tašbīhāt*. Edited by ʿAbdul Muʿīd Hān, Cambridge 1950.

Ibn Bassām, *Ḏahīra* = Abū l-Hasan ʿAlī Ibn Bassām aš-Šantarīnī, *aḏ-Ḏahīra fī mahāsin ahl al-Ğazīra*. Edited by ʿA. al-ʿAbbādī & ʿAbdalwahhāb al-ʿAzzām, Cairo 1358/1939-1364/1945. Also edited by Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1979.

Ibn Dihya, *Mutrib* = ʿUmar b. al-Hasan al-Kalbī Ibn Dihya, *al-Mutrib fī ašʿār ahl al-Maġrib*. Edited by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī *et al.*, Beirut 1374/1955.

Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīh* = Abū l-Walīd ʿAbdallāh b. Muhammad Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīh ʿulamā' al-Andalus*. Edited by ʿI. al-ʿAttār al-Husaynī, Cairo 1373/1954.

Ibn Ğubayr, *Rihla* = Abū l-Husayn Muhammad Ibn Ğubayr, *Rihla*. Edited by W. Wright & M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1907.

Ibn Hallikān, *Wafayāt* = Ahmad b. Muhammad Abū l-ʿAbbās Ibn Hallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*. Edited by ʿAbdalhamīd, Cairo 1367/1948. Also edited by Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1971-1976.

Ibn Hamdīs, *Dīwān* = ʿAbdalǧabbār Abū Muhammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn Hamdīs, *Dīwān*. Edited by Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1379/1960.

Ibn Hāni', *Dīwān*. Muhammad Ibn Hāni'b. Saʿdūn al-Andalusī, *Dīwān*. Edited by Zakī ʿAlī, Cairo 1352/1933.

Ibn al-Hatīb, *Sihr* = Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad Lisānaddīn Ibn al-Hatīb, *Kitāb as-Sihr wa-š-šiʿr*. Edited by J. M. Continente Ferrer, Madrid 1981.

Ibn Hayr, *Fihrist* = Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn Hayr al-Išbīlī, *Fihrist mā rawāhu ʿan šuyūhihi*. Edited by Francisco Codera, Saragossa 1893.

Ibn al-Kattānī, *Tašbīhāt* = Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad b. al-Husayn Ibn al-Kattānī, *Kitāb at-tašbīhāt min ašʿār ahl al-Andalus*. Edited by Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1966.

Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* = Abū l-Fadl Ğamāladdīn Muhammad b. Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*. Beirut 1374-1376/1955-1956.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān*. Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān*. Cairo 1891. Also edited by B. Lewin, Istanbul 1945-1950.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Šiʿr* = Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Šiʿr*. Edited by Y. A. as-Sāmarrā'ī, Baghdad 1978.

Ibn Rašīq, *Dīwān* = Abū ʿAlī Hasan Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī, *Dīwān*. Edited by ʿAbdarrahmān Yāǧī, Beirut 1962.

Ibn ar-Rūmī, *Dīwān* = Abū l-Hasan ʿAlī Ibn ar-Rūmī, *Dīwān*. Edited by Husayn Nassār, Cairo 1393/1973.

ʿImādaddīn, *Harīda* = ʿImādaddīn Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Kātib al-Isfahānī, *Harīdat al-qasr wa-ǧarīdat al-ʿasr*. Edited by Muhammad al-Marzūqī *et al.*, Tunis 1966-1971.

ʿIyāḍ, *Gunya* = ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Qādī, *al-Gunya*. Edited by M. Z. Ǧarrār, Beirut 1402/1982.

al-Maqqarī, *Nafh* = Abū l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maqqarī, *Kitāb Nafh at-tīb min ġusn al-Andalus ar-ratīb*. Edited by Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968.

al-Muhibbī, *Nafha* = Muhammad al-Amīn b. Fadlallāh al-Muhibbī, *Nafhat ar-rayhāna*. Edited by ʿA. M. al-Hilw, Cairo 1387/1967.

an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Ahmad b. ʿAbdalwahhāb an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*. Edited by Ahmad Zakī *et al.*, Cairo 1923-.

aṣ-Safadī, *Nakt* = Salāh ad-Dīn Halīl b. Aybak aṣ-Safadī, *Nakt al-himyān*. Edited by Ahmad Zakī Bey, Cairo 1329/1911.

aṣ-Safadī, *Nusra* = Salāh ad-Dīn Halīl b. Aybak aṣ-Safadī, *Nusrat at-tā'ir ʿalā l-matal as-sā'ir*. Edited by ʿA. Sultānī, Damascus 1391/1971.

aṣ-Safadī, *Wāfī* = Salāh ad-Dīn Halīl b. Aybak aṣ-Safadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*. Vol. XXI. Edited by Muhammad al-Huǧayrī, Stuttgart 1988.

aš-Šarīšī, *Šarh* = Abū l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. ʿAbdalmu'min al-Qaysī aš-Šarīšī, *Šarh al-maqāmāt al-harīriyya*. Cairo 1306/1888. Also edited by ʿA. Khafāǧī, Cairo 1372/1952.

as-Silafī, *Muʿǧam* = Ihsān ʿAbbās, ed., *Ahbār wa-tarāǧim Andalusiyya mustahraǧa min Muʿǧam as-safar li-s-Silafī*, Beirut 1963.

aṭ-Taʿālibī, *Mutrib* = Abū Manṣūr ʿAbdalmalik b. Muhammad aṭ-Taʿālibī, *Man ġāba ʿanhu l-mutrib*. Beirut 1309/1891. Also edited by ʿAli al-Mallūhī, Damascus 1987.

az-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ* = Abū l-Fayd as-Sayyid Muhammad Murtadā al-Husaynī az-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ al-ʿarūs min ǧawāhir al-Qāmūs*. Edited by ʿAbdassattār Ahmad Farrāǧ *et al.*, Kuwait 1385/1965-.

B. Secondary sources

al-Azharī, Muḥammad Ḥasan as-Sammām. 1986. *Ǧamāl al-ḫawāṭir*. Beirut.

Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne. 1927². *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. 2 vols., Leiden & Paris.

EI² = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden 1960 ff.

GAS = Sezgin, Fuat. 1967-84. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden.

Lane, Edward William. 1863-93. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 vols., London & Edinburgh.

al-Marzūqī, Muḥammad & al-Ǧīlānī b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Yahyā. 1963. *Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī*. Tunis 1963.

Nöldeke, Theodor. 1963. *Zur Grammatik des Classischen Arabisch*. Edited and enlarged by Anton Spitaler. Darmstadt.

Wright, W. 1962. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Cambridge.

Zand, M. 1977. "What is the Tress Like" in M. Rosen Ayalon, ed., *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, 463-479. Jerusalem.

IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ ON THE PERCEPTION AND INFLUENCE OF POETRY

László Tüske

Budapest

The famous book of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-ʿAlawī[1] (d. 334/933) from tenth-century Isfahān, titled *ʿIyār aš-šiʿr* (The Standard of Poetry)[2], has a special place in the history of Arab criticism[3]. In this work Ibn Ṭabāṭabā analyses the main elements of literary communication: the author, the literary work of art and the perceiver (actually, the *sāmiʿ*, hearer). Ibn Ṭabāṭabā describes the literary process as a complete unit and at the same time he demonstrates its main elements in progress, *in statu nascendi*. He is the first author in the history of medieval Arab criticism who studied systematically the perception of literary work and its effect on the perceiver. The purpose of this paper is to outline Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's concept of this perception and his ideas on the effect of the literary work.

The book has a short theoretical introduction[4], and, for the greatest part, it contains practical criticism and stylistics (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 25-219). If we are to understand Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's idea, we have to follow the main issue of the theoretical introduction.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's work is poetics, a systematic doctrine of poetry in the classical meaning of the word. This conception states that "poetry cannot be anything except: 1) poems which 'narrate' (*yuqtaṣṣ*) things (*ašyāʾ*) already present (*qāʾima*) in men's souls and minds (*an-nufūs wa-l-ʿuqūl*)..., 2) poems which 'give' wisdom (*ḥikma*), and 3) poems which contain truthful descriptions (*ṣifāt ṣādiqa*), suitable similes (*tašbīhāt muwāfiqa*) and appropriate parables (*amṯāl mutābiqa*), or poems which contain these elements"[5]. Keeping in mind these general statements concerning the content, the author defines poetry as: *kalām manẓūm bāna ʿan al-manṯūr ... bi-mā ḫuṣṣa bihi min an-naẓm* (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 5). This definition and its background constitute the most important side of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's concept in examining the author's activity.

---

[1] On his life and activity see Sezgin 1975:634-645, Scarcia Amoretti 1972, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* edited by al-Ḥāǧirī & Salām, Preface, and edited by al-Mānīʿ, 10-34.

[2] There is only one copy of this work in the Library of the Escorial (No. 327, 22-57). al-Ḥāǧirī and Salām edited it from a photocopy in 1956. The revised version was produced by Salām in 1980 from the same source. The last and the most reliable edition by al-Mānīʿ appeared in 1985.

[3] For an evaluation of this work see Heinrichs 1973.

[4] We used al-Mānīʿ's edition. Further references are to this edition. The introduction covers pp. 5-24.

[5] Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 202. I used Abu Deeb's translation (Abu Deeb 1990:366).

First of all he makes an important distinction at this point between two preliminary conditions of poetry, seated in the personality or subjectivity of the author. These are natural disposition (*ṭabʿ*) and the knowledge of the whole Arabo-Muslim literary culture, named in this context as 'the tools of poetry' (*adawāt aš-šiʿr*), mastered by the intellect (*ʿaql*) of the poet.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā does not deal with natural disposition at length; it can be regarded as a kind of natural sense (talent) or literary taste (*dawq*). It is an inborn faculty of the author, but it may be acquired by studying as well (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 6). This idea, however, gives us a free hand in the interpretation of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's concept: it seems to us that this inborn capability is *restricted* to the natural sense of rhythm, does not mean an imaginative faculty[6], and does not include at all the poem's mythical formation, its inspiration, the urge or devotion that sets a poet to work. We do not find in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's work the usual stories about the inspiration of poets by demons (*ǧinn*)[7]. Naturally, the question arises: what is the cause of this lack? Although Arabic literary traditions have preserved the testimonies of pagan poets about these phenomena[8] and it is probable that our author knew of these data, he excluded them from his investigation. I think that this is a conscious step, and it seems to be dictated by his own understanding of poetics. The exact answer needs more investigation concerning the ideological issues of Islam and the *Weltanschauung* of medieval Muslim civilization. Leaving now aside these general elements, let us examine our text for an answer. If we follow the way of expression present in the concept of *ṭabʿ* (also meaning 'natural disposition, the sense of rhythm'), we can detect a kind of literary phenomenon known in the history of literary criticism: the usage of this word vaguely reminds us of the two main constituent elements of literary theory, *i.e.*, *ingenium*, and its opponent, *studium*. The traditional pre-Islamic concept states that the poet's inspiration comes from outside of himself, and now, in this work, we read that the source of this operation is in the inner, inborn world of the poet. This is a new concept, a new understanding of poetry. Poetically it is expressed in Abū Nuwās's poem: "*gayra annī qāʾilun mā atānī * min zunūnī mukdibun li-l-ʿiyānī // āhidun nafsī bi-taʾlīfi šayʾin * wāhidin fī l-lafzi šattā l-maʿānī // qāʾimun fī l-wahmi hattā idā mā * rumtuhu rumtu muʿammā l-makānī*"[9]. The answer may be that it was a conscious decision not to mention inspiration.

As to the second preliminary condition, it includes the knowledge of Arabic vocabulary, the grammatical, historical and genealogical traditions as well as the poet's familiarity with the whole of Arabic poetry (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 6-7), inherited from the pre-Islamic and the early Muslim centuries. It contains elements of the cultural background of poetry, structural requirements, language, imagery etc. This enumeration demonstrates a kind of "classicism", the basis of which is a belief that the great age of poetry is in the past and that it contained all the models of poetic excellence. To sum up the second preliminary condition of poetry, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā says: *ǧamʿ hādihi l-adawāt kamāl al-ʿaql ... wa-īṭār al-hasan, wa-iǧtināb al-qabīh wa-waḍʿ al-ašyāʾ mawāḍiʿahā* (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 7).

The distinction between *ingenium* and *studium* reminds us of the Hellenistic concept of *dynamics* and *techne*, or *natura* and *ars*, as sources of poetry and shows that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, consciously or not, belongs to this tradition in the study of the poet's activity. The poet's natural sense of rhythm together with literary education and qualification are the main sources of a poetic work. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's opinion follows the scheme of the well-known philological tradition embodied in the works of Ibn Qutayba (*Šiʿr*, author's introduction), Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar (*Naqd*) and others.

As an inevitable consequence of the preliminary factors, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā presents the poet as a conscious worker and gives dominance to functions of intellect, *ʿaql*, in his activity. The poet works out the poem in details, fits words together according to his intention (*irāda*) under the continuous control of intellect. The poetic tools, metre, rhythm and rhymes, of traditional Arabic poetry become formal elements of a *pattern-store*; the genres, motifs, images become *matter* for the poetic intention. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā describes the literary composition as a unity of matter, pattern and poetic intention. This structure of the construction in poetry is identical with that of the painter's and the goldsmith's. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā uses the method of weaving, building and goldsmith's work in order to illustrate his main issue: poetry belongs to the special human activity of the arts, it is a *ṣināʿa*, and the poem is an artefact (Grunebaum 1952:325).

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā examines the poem (*qaṣīda*) on different levels. He says that the poem *ʿalā tahsīl ǧinsihi wa-maʿrifat ismihi mutašābih al-ǧumla mutafāwit at-tafsīl* (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 10). This statement shows us that our author recognized the poem as an entity, as an independent unit. Further, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā says, that poems differ from each other *ka-htilāf an-nās fī suwarihim... wa-kadalika al-ašʿār mutafādila fī l-husn ʿalā tasāwihā fī l-ǧins* (*ibid.*). These statements deserve consideration in many respects. The most important for us is that in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's opinion the poem is a *unity* which appears in different forms and shapes. The relative evaluation examines the inner relations in a given poem (like harmony, symmetry, appropriateness etc.) between the poetic instruments. This is the question of the relationship between concepts (*maʿānī*) and expressions (*alfāz*). Ibn Ṭabāṭabā says: *li-l-maʿānī alfāz tušākiluhā fa-tahsunu fīhā wa-taqbuhu fī gayrihā* (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 11). This idea reminds us

---

[6] Grunebaum (1952:323) stressed the importance of this question: "medieval Muslim thought never abandoned Aristotelian psychology, which assigns imagination a comparatively low place, ranking it with the animal faculties".

[7] See in this respect Goldziher 1896 "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiǧāʾ-Poesie", esp. I-II, pp. 2-25.

[8] See the story of ʿAbīd b. al-ʿAbraṣ (*Dīwān* 1-2).

[9] Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 18, *wa-muʿāti t-tarfi*, ll. 4-6.

of the concept of "classical" art. We can read in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā that the poet, compos-
ing a new work of art, connects contents and appropriate expressions. There work
two registers in the process of poetic work: the register of content, concepts (*maʿānī*,
res), and the register of expressions (*alfāẓ*, *verba*). We are familiar with this Horatian
idea in the history of literary criticism from the antiquity, and we know that the
theory of imitation (or the lack of originality) is among the distinctive features of the
pre-romantic concept of art. Medieval Muslim and Christian poets were expected to
imitate the classical pattern in classical matter and in classical literary forms[10]. Ibn
Ṭabāṭabā, turning himself and his readers to the past, fits into this tradition, or we
can say that his activity shows parallel features.

The linguistic tools of classical Arabic poetry are description (*wasf*), simile (*tašbīh*)
and proverb (*ḥikma*). The word *ḥikma* means 'wisdom, sentence, gnome, proverb'
and expresses the concise reflections of mankind about themselves and the surround-
ing world. In this context, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā enumerates the main linguistic tools of poet-
ic work, therefore the word *ḥikma* does not mean 'maxims, gnome etc.' but it de-
notes a vehicle, a *proverb-like* structure of poetic expression, a characteristic syntax
of poetic sentence. Actually, the usage of *ḥikma* in poems reminds us the well-known
problem of "molecular structure" in Arabic literature, initiated by Kowalski in the
thirties of the century[12]. Now, these linguistic-rhetorical tools belong to the formal
elements of a poem, and their main concern is to guarantee the structural connection
between concepts and expressions.

On a different, conceptual level, there works a special dichotomy in the descrip-
tion of these rhetorical instruments, too. It seems, on the one hand, that Ibn Ṭabāṭa-
bā stresses *wasf* and *tašbīh* as representing mankind's environment, *Lebensraum*. They
also might be used to reflect the outward appearance of the world. On the other
hand, he does not completely preclude the possibility of understanding *ḥikma* as
giving exact summary of ethical norms and maxims. As for description and simile,
Ibn Ṭabāṭabā stresses the importance of truthfulness and agreement between the real-
ity of the outward world and the poetic world created by these tools and instru-
ments. The value of traditional literature lies in its truthfulness. Poets in the past

[10] See Quintilianus, *Institutio* (chapter II) 68 ff. about imitation.

[11] See Grunebaum 1955, Trabulsi 1956, Heinrichs 1973, ʿAbbās 1978, Gelder 1982, and other works
about the beginning of Arabic literary criticism.

[12] See: Heinrichs 1968:14.

"*kānū yuʾassisūna ašʿārahum fī l-maʿānī llatī rakkabūhā ʿalā l-qaṣd li-ṣ-ṣidq fīhā
madīḥan wa-hiǧāʾan*" (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 13). On the other side, he gives us a cata-
logue of the ethical values. It is a full list of positive and negative ethical categories.
Ibn Ṭabāṭabā examines their place and the role they play as dominant elements in
constituting the panegyric and satirical genres of Arabic poetry. We can also observe
that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, dealing with the linguistic tools of poetry, and, more closely, with
the initial moment of poetic activity, speaks about the virtues and their opposites[13].
In Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's opinion, as we have seen, the poet constructs his poem on the basis
of ethical categories, to compose a panegyric or satirical poem, he uses description,
simile and proverb-like sentence-structures (the truthful methods of poetry construc-
tion), and builds up his artefact under continuous intellectual control. Also, in the
last analysis, we find here "ein Beispiel für Ethisierung der Poesie" (Rundgren 1970-
71:99). The examination of the elements of the poet's activity, and the genre-founda-
tion show us that in this system of ideas truth and ethics are the main sources of
poetry. We can also state that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā have laid the foundation of a literary
theory which includes the main points of the author's activity and shows us a com-
prehensive, logical system of ideas. According to this theory, the poet constructs a
perfect poem, by an active intellect, on the basis of morality and truth, and following
the patterns of the traditional art. This concept corresponds with the literary theories
of antiquity and that of the Christian Middle Ages (Curtius 1954:527-529). This con-
cept of art opposes the so-called "inspired" art, which does not recognize the meticu-
lous work of the artist, but originates the poetry in the poet's supernatural inspira-
tion.

Turning now to Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's opinion about the reception of the poem, we read
that the "keen wit", the understanding mind evaluates the poem: "*wa-ʿiyār aš-šiʿr an
yurada ʿalā l-fahmi t-tāqibi fa-mā qabilahu wa-stafāhu fa-huwa wāfin wa-mā maǧǧahu
wa-nafāhu fa-huwa nāqiṣ*" (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 19). Ibn Ṭabāṭabā reports to us that
there is an analogy between the function of understanding (*fahm*) and the function
of organic senses. He enumerates the organic senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste and
touch), to illustrate his thesis. Two principles serve as the background for this
analysis. The first is that the sense reacts upon the impression which corresponds to
its own nature; and the second is that the effect can be either pleasant or disagreeable.
Moreover, the good or bad effect in the senses depends on the nature of the impres-
sion: if it is agreeable, the effect is likewise good, pleasing; if it is unpleasant, the
effect too is unfavourable and bad. This theory has been well-known and held valid
for the organic senses from the antiquity. As far as we know, it is Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's
effort in the Muslim Middle Ages, to extend this pattern to the territory of the
understanding (*fahm*) and, more precisely, to analyse the influence of a poem in this

[13] See Rundgren 1970-1971:98-99.

framework. I think that this idea corresponds with the psychology of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's cultural environment, and, as the terminology used in the source matter shows us, this idea or its main tenets were accepted by his successors, as well[14].

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā introduced the function of understanding, and rendered it in a way of epistemology, but, unfortunately, he did not explain its nature, its structure and its relations to other functions of the human psyche. Is it the *sensus communis* or is it an other element in the human entity? The question is unanswerable at the present stage of our work. The only thing we know is that *fahm* is the receptive element of speech in the human being, and, secondly, that the cognitive ascertaining or judging of a poem fulfils its valuation. Our author says in this concern that "*al-fahmu ya'nasu min al-kalāmi bi-l-ʿadli ṣ-ṣawābi l-ḥaqqi wa-l-ǧāʾizi l-maʿrūfi l-maʾlūfi wa-yataṣawwafu ilayhi wa-yataǧallā lahu wa-yastawḥiṣu min al-kalāmi al-ǧāʾiri l-ḫaṭaʾi l-bāṭili wa-l-muḥāli l-maǧhūli l-munkari wa-yanfiru minhu wa-yaṣdaʾu lahu*" (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 20). These lines give us a sketchy picture of the connection between understanding and speech (*kalām*) on a general level, and at the same time they show that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā insists on truth and gives it a favoured and distinguished position.

But, naturally, understanding refuses those poems which do not have the above-mentioned formal, conceptual and structural peculiarities. Every-day speech relies on truth, but qualified speech, poetry, complies with further requirements as well. The question arises how a given poem gets formal, conceptual and structural features? The main element in the creative process is temperance. Symmetry plays a dominant role in poetry; as Ibn Ṭabāṭabā expresses: "*ʿillatu kulli ḥasanin maqbūlin al-iʿtidālu kamā anna ʿillata kulli qabīhin manfiyyin al-idtirābu*" (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 21). It is significant that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā speaks about beauty and ugliness in this respect and only in this place. He does not analyse their nature at all but repeats the traditional opinion: the criteria of beauty are temperance, harmony and symmetry. Reading again the description of composition, we see that in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's concept the mind (intellect, *ʿaql*) penetrates matter, it imposes form (*i.e.*, order, proportion, quantity and quality) upon it, and in this process concepts do get appropriate expression. At the end of composition, inasmuch as the objects which the perceiver discerns harmonize in form, or, in our terminology, make a perfect form, they are beautiful. When understanding accepts the poem, it identifies and weighs construction, proportion, the actual form of concept, and realises in it the perfection or the shortcomings of the ideal form. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā says that a poem which stirs pleasure and joy, is a perfect work (*wāfī*), and, on the other hand, a poem which incites unpleasant experiences is an imperfect work (*nāqiṣ*). The criteria of truth, ethical good and unity, which we detected in the progress of constructing a work of art, get a new dimension at the moment of perception, a new couple of parameters, the perfection – imperfection

---

[14] See below at the problem of *aryaḥiyya*.

dichotomy. We do see that these are the latent principles of the theory of art in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's work. In this theory truth, goodness, unity and perfection, the terms of ontology, are the most important points of orientation. It can also be said that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's principles of literary theory rest upon ontology, not aesthetics proper.

To sum up the statements about the progress and conditions of perception, we repeat, that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā connects perception to cognitive intellect, understanding (*fahm*). By analogy with the organic senses, understanding perceives the speech which is harmonious with its own temper, and refuses the effects which are inconsistent with it: "*wa-n-nafsu taskunu ilā kulli mā wāfaqa hawāhā wa-taqlaqu mimmā yuḫālifu-hā wa-lahā aḥwālun tatasarrafu bihā fa-iḏā warada ʿalayhā fī ḥālatin min ḥālātihā mā yuwāfiquhā ihtazzat lahu wa-ḥadaṯat lahā aryaḥiyya wa-tarab*" (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 21). Two points merit our attention in this text. First, that perception demands an appropriate subjective condition in the reader; also, in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's opinion, the reader's wish and temper contribute to the influence of a given poem. The other point is that the effect of a poem results in a change in the soul, temper moves from its previous state to pleasure, joy, or to the opposite state, that of disgust and aversion. Consequently, the perceiver can or cannot appreciate the ethical message of a give poem according to this pleasure or the lack of it.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, analyzing the perception and influence of the work of art, demonstrates its cognitive and ethical sides. A question arises at this moment: What is the basis of these ideas, what is the source of the cognitive, intellectual view of poetry? As for the structural aspect, we have already stressed that poetry in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's system belongs to the artificial activities like the work of a painter or that of a goldsmith. This structural analysis can explain construction, rules and formulas of a literary work, but not its nature in the progress of perception. It needs a more generalised and metaphysically valid argumentation. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's words which give a general view of poetry can be traced back into the Muslim past, referring to a well-known and important case of perception, that of the holy Qur'ān. It seems to me, that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā drew a parallel between the effect of the Qur'ān and that of poetry. The Qur'ān is the guidance, the command and the leading speech for mankind. The cognitive intellect has a distinguished role in its acceptance, in the perception of this divine message. The perceiving soul understands it by the cognitive function of the mind. It is known in the Muslim tradition that sometimes this acceptance results in an unusual psychological state. A report says that a Bedouin collapsed when hearing the Prophet's recitation. This effect is reported as a kind of purification which changed the mind of the hostile Bedouin, and changed his directions, wishes, emotions, too. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā did not refer to the Qur'ān in his argumentation. The Qur'ān and its role, however, always need to be investigated in Muslim intellectual activities. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā wrote his work in the beginning of the tenth century. This century was the formative period of the Muslim dogma, and the emergence of the concept of the Qur'ān's inimitability (*iʿǧāz al-qurʾān*) happened at this time as well.

The common analysis of poetry and the Qur'ān was legitimated by the fact that both of them were regarded as special manifestations of the same Arabic speech (*kalām*). Ibn Ṭabāṭabā says that poetry contains the main ethical principles and values of mankind, and demonstrates it in a magic, bewitching form. This double character appears in the so-called prophetic words: *inna min aš-ši'r ḥikmatan* and the other one: *inna min al-bayān la-siḥran*[15]. It seems to me that these statements and the traditional perception of the Qur'ān are the central points of universe for Ibn Ṭabāṭabā in his poetics and literary criticism.

The poem results in pleasure and joy. We have seen that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā uses different words to denote pleasure and joy of the perceiving intellect. These are: *aryaḥiyya*, *tarab* or *irtiyāḥ*, *iltidād*. We find these expressions at other authors, like al-ʿAskarī (*K. aṣ-ṣināʿatayni*, 143), al-Qāḍī al-Ǧurǧānī (*Wasāṭa* 4, 19, 27, 100), ʿAbdalqāhir al-Ǧurǧānī (*Asrār* 247 and *Dalāʾil* 21), al-Marzubānī (*Muwaššaḥ* 70, 422), Ibn Ḥaldūn (*Muqaddima* III, 1318) etc., too. According to al-Asmaʿī *aryaḥiyya* is *ḥiffa*, while according to al-Ǧawharī (*Ṣiḥāḥ* I, 371) *aryaḥī* means *al-wāsiʿ al-ḥuluq*, and other authors repeat these explanations and interpretations. And these explanations constitute the essence of this experience. It seems that for Ibn Ṭabāṭabā *aryaḥiyya* has a sensual and an intellectual reference at the same time. But the perceiving soul exceeds the sensual stage at the very moment of perception. Acceptable poems open the way to the very essence of a human being. This happens by a magic, bewitching and pleasure-inciting power, the sensual-oriented side of poetry. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā says: "*aš-ši'ru l-laṭīfu ... māzaǧa r-rūḥa wa-lāʾama l-fahma wa-kāna anfaḏa min nafṯi s-siḥri wa-aḥfā dabīban min ar-ruqā wa-ašadda itrāban min al-ǧinā*" (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 23). The result of this state is that the very essence of the perceiver changes: "*fa-salla s-sabāʾima, wa-ḥallala l-ʿuqada wa-sabbaḥa š-šaḥīḥa wa-šaǧǧaʿa l-ǧabāna*" (*ibid.*). Pleasure originates in recognizing harmony, unity, and truth; and the mind dominated by rationality, through this recognition and perception, wishes and longs for good and beneficence.

Is then *aryaḥiyya* an aesthetic or a purely cognitive state of the soul? The answer could be very important. As for aesthetics we can say that *aryaḥiyya* is not one of its categories because the progress of perception is dominated by the cognitive function of the human soul. As for the pure cognitive function, we can say that *aryaḥiyya*, by reason of sensual references, is not one of its categories either. Ultimately, *aryaḥiyya* is a kind of enthusiasm, the intellect's appetitive activity.

The history of literary criticism shows various patterns of critical and poetical interests that are regarded as types, because they recur constantly, and independently, in different literatures. A few arise out of philosophical issues, others represent theoretical cross sections of criticism, where the evaluation of works and authors is distinguished from analytical description on one side, and literary theory on the

---

[15] Ibn Ṭabāṭabā uses these sentences in his argumentation, *ʿIyār* 22-23.

other, and considered as a type of judicial criticism. We have already stated that Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's present work is poetics *par excellence*, his main issue being to give a concise description of the nature and work of the Arabic poem. Dealing with the literary phenomena in question, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā uses a vague framework of ideas which are congenial with that of the late Hellenistic and Christian Middle Ages. The intellectual and cultural environment of tenth-century Iṣfahān, the historical fact that his work is among the first poetics of Arabic literature, and that it demonstrates a "frustratingly inconsistent"[16] form of descriptive *and* philosophical, prescriptive *and* regulative statements demand our interest and necessitates a further comparative analysis of his views as to what poetry is, and as to what poetry should be.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

ʿAbīd b. al-ʿAbraṣ, *Dīwān*. = The Dīwāns of ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ and ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufail. Edited by C. J. Lyall. Leiden & London 1913.

Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*. = Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan b. al-Hāniʾ, *Dīwān*. Edited by Aḥmad ʿAbdalmaǧīd al-Ġazālī. Beirut n. d.

al-ʿAskarī, *K. aṣ-ṣināʿatayni*. = Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, *Kitab aṣ-ṣināʿatayni*. Edited by ʿA. M. al-Baǧawī & Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1971.

al-Ǧawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ* = Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Ǧawharī, *Kitab aṣ-ṣiḥāḥ*. Edited by Aḥmad ʿAbdalġafūr ʿAṭṭār, 6 vols. & introductory vol., Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1956-57.

al-Ǧurǧānī, *Asrār* = ʿAbdalqāhir al-Ǧurǧānī, *Asrār al-balāġa*. Edited by Hellmut Ritter. Istanbul 1954.

al-Ǧurǧānī, *Dalāʾil* = ʿAbdalqāhir al-Ǧurǧānī, *Dalāʾil iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān*. Edited by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Šākir, Cairo 1992³.

Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddima* = Abū Zayd ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*. Edited and ann. by ʿAlī ʿAbdalwāhid Wāfī, 3 vols., Cairo: Laǧnat al-Bayān al-ʿArabī, 1957-58.

Ibn Qutayba, *Šiʿr* = Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba ad-Dīnawarī, *Kitab aš-šiʿr wa-š-šuʿarāʾ*. Cairo n.d.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* = Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār aš-šiʿr*. Edited by Ṭāha al-Ḥāǧirī & Muḥammad Zaġlūl Salām, Cairo 1956; revised edition by Muḥammad Zaġlūl Salām,

---

[16] Hamori (1984:385) uses these words speaking of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā.

Cairo 1980, (repr. Beirut 1982); also edited by ʿAbdalʿazīz Nāṣir al-Mānīʿ, Cairo 1985.

al-Marzubānī, *Muwaššaḥ.* = Abū ʿUbaydallāh Muhammad b. ʿUmrān al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwaššaḥ.* Edited by ʿA. M. al-Biǧāwī. Cairo 1965.

al-Qāḍī al-Ǧurǧānī, *Wasāta* = al-Qāḍī al-Ǧurǧānī, *al-Wasāta bayna l-Mutanabbī wa-ḫuṣūmihi.* Edited by Muhammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm & ʿA. M. al-Biǧāwī. Cairo.

Qudāma, *Naqd* = Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar, *Kitāb naqd aš-šiʿr.* Leiden 1956.

Quintilianus, *Institutio* = M. Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* X. Edited, transl. with and intr. by Franz Loretto. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1974.

B. Secondary sources

ʿAbbās, Iḥsān. 1978. *Tārīḫ an-naqd al-adabī ʿinda l-ʿarab.* Beirut.

Abu Deeb, Kemal. 1990. "Literary Criticism". In: Ashtiany, J., T. M. Johnstone, *et al.*, eds., *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. ʿAbbasid Belles-Lettres.* 339-387. Cambridge.

Curtius, E. 1954. *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter.* Bern.

Gelder, Geert Jan van. 1982. *Beyond the Line. Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem.* Leiden.

Goldziher, Ignaz. 1896. *Abhandlungen zur Arabische Philologie,* I. Leiden.

Grunebaum, G. E. von. 1952. "The aesthetic foundation of Arabic literature". *Comparative Literature* IV. 323-340. Oregon: Eugene.

————. 1955. *Kritik und Dichtkunst: Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte.* Wiesbaden.

Hamori, A. 1984. Review of Gelder 1982. *JAOS* 104.385-387.

Heinrichs, Wolfhart. 1968. *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik.* Beirut.

————. 1973. "Literary Theory — the Problem of its Efficiency". In: G. E. von Grunebaum, ed., *Arabic Poetry — Theory and Development.* 19-60. Wiesbaden.

Rundgren, Frithiof. 1970-71. "Arabische Literatur und orientalische Antike". *Orientalia Suecana.* 19-20.80-124.

Scarcia Amoretti, B. 1972. "Ibn Ṭabāṭabā". *EI²* III, 950b-951a.

Sezgin, Fuat. 1975. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums.* II. *Poesie.* Leiden.

Trabulsi, A. 1956. *La critique poétique des arabes.* Damascus.

RHETORIC AND IDEOLOGY IN ABŪ ḤAYYĀN'S *KITĀB AL-IDRĀK*

Giuliano Lancioni

Rome

The *Kitāb al-idrāk li-lisān al-atrāk* (literally, 'the book of the grasp of the language of Turks') is an outstanding work from many points of view. On the one hand, it can be regarded as the first true grammar of the Turkish language (previous books which include grammatical notes are mainly lexicographic in character)[1]. On the other hand, it is the only case of a work written by a major Arab grammarian (Abū Ḥayyān al-Ǧarnāṭī, the teacher of Ibn ʿAqīl and Ibn Hišām) which is not concerned with Classical Arabic. The importance of such a choice is hard to overestimate. Arab grammarians did not confine themselves to the study of Arabic language for lack of knowledge of other languages: many of them, including prominent scholars like Sība-wayhi or az-Zamaḫšarī, came from a Persian stem, and had a good command of Farsi[2]. Rather, this self-limitation stems from an epistemological choice. The aim of *naḥw* and *taṣrīf* was mainly to get a better understanding of the Qurʾān and to choose among alternative readings: far though the vertiginous theoretical constructions of Arab grammarians went, this basic assumption always lay in the background. Consequently, only the data relevant to the reconstruction of the Purest Arabic language (*al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥa*) were taken into account: the rejection of suspicious material went so far to give *ḥadīt* only a marginal role (mainly limited to cases where no evidence from more reliable sources was available) owing to the risk of linguistic contamination through the chain of transmitters[3].

Why did a grammarian as Abū Ḥayyān so blatantly deviate from this basic theoretical tenet? The sources, as usual, give an anecdotal account, and explain everything by appealing to the curiosity of the author towards foreign languages, an account strengthened by Abū Ḥayyān's own statements[4].

Modern scholars, both Easterners and Westerners, generally accept this explanation with unbelievable lack of criticism; the only exception is Mansuroğlu (1977-88) who views the *Idrāk* as an answer to the desire, widespread among Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ*,

---

[1] Even Kašġarī's *Dīwān*, in spite of many scattered grammatical remarks (especially in the introductory section devoted to word structure), remains basically a Turkish-Arabic dictionary, or rather a lexicographic encyclopedia.

[2] az-Zamaḫšarī composed one of the first Arabic-Persian dictionaries (*Lexicon*), see Haywood 1965: 107, 118-19, for a discussion.

[3] See Bohas, Guillaume & Kouloughli 1990:18 ff.

[4] See Abū Ḥayyān, *Idrāk* 5.

to understand the language of the Egyptian ruling class: under this view, the *Idrāk* would be just a little more than a practical handbook.

Both views are trivially true, both do not really explain anything: obviously, Abū Ḥayyān could not write his treatise if he had no interest and curiosity for foreign languages; obviously as well, the *Idrāk* has a teaching function too. But the latter is mainly confined to the lexicographic section, whereas the *taṣrīf* and *naḥw* sections are grammatical treatises on their own: their concern is much more theoretical than a practical handbook could ever need.

Further, two statements by Mansuroğlu are likely to be false: that the knowledge of Turkish[5] could be useful to Egyptian *'ulamā'* getting in touch with the ruling class, and that the grasp of such a knowledge was so important to urge a famous grammarian as Abū Ḥayyān to write a grammar of the Turkish dialects spoken in Egypt.

First, there is no evidence that Turkish was used as a medium of communication outside the Mamlūk barracks (and even there, most curriculum studies were held in Arabic): *'ulamā'* speaking Turkish were so rare that this ability is explicitly noted in the texts[6]. Second, if the demand for Turkish handbooks was really so large, it is not clear why no other Arab grammarian but Abū Ḥayyān wrote Turkish grammars: for instance, Ibn ʿAqīl who, as both a pupil of Abū Ḥayyān's and a leading *'ālim* in the Egyptian judiciary (he reached the office of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* in 759/1358, even if for just a few months), seems the ideal candidate for such a task, never did.

The hypothesis I propose in this paper gives a rather different account. I think that the production of *Idrāk* can only be explained within the cultural policy of the Mamlūk regime. The essential reason of this cultural policy was a need for legitimacy: Mamlūks had the usual legitimacy problems which every non-Arab ruler (that is, virtually every ruler in Abū Ḥayyān's times) met, with the addition of the obvious lack of a viable genealogy (Mamlūks were kidnapped from their lands and eradicated, so the genealogical artifacts built for other non-Arab rulers were impossible for them) and the contemptuous attitude most Egyptian *'ulamā'* shared towards Turks. The latter aspect is convincingly shown by Haarmann's seminal article about the Arab image of the Turk (Haarmann 1988b). The sources depict Abū Ḥayyān as an independent man, who fiercely refused every compromise with the power and obtained appointments owing to his intellectual capacities only. But many episodes in his life and career are clearly counterfactual to this image, and show the tight ties Abū Ḥayyān had with the Mamlūk court. In the next sections, I shall examine the

---

[5] The label 'Turkish' is used here to refer to the bundle of dialectal varieties spoken by Turks in Mamlūk Egypt, that is mainly (but not only) Qipčaq and Turkmān.

[6] See Haarmann 1988a.

sources and their contradictions, and shall propose an alternative explanation for some doubtful episodes.

The sources

The main primary source for our knowledge of the life and career of Abū Ḥayyān is *Nafḥ* (I, 823-862), the history (and literary history) of Muslim Spain by al-Maqqarī. al-Maqqarī includes a biography of Abū Ḥayyān in the fifth book of his work, entirely dedicated to the scholars who travelled eastwards to fulfil their intellectual achievements, *ar-rāḥilūn min al-Andalus ilā l-Mašriq*; as Glazer points out in his introduction to *Manhaǧ* (Abū Ḥayyān's commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*), al-Maqqarī gives much room to this biography, which shows to be the longest among the *tarāǧim* of grammarians.

al-Maqqarī's compilation is based on several previous sources, among which are Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Kutubī (who on its turn draws extensively from as-Ṣafadī), Ibn Rāǧiḥ, and so on. Many of these sources are still extant, notably the *Durar* by Ibn Ḥaǧar, and the *Fawāt* by al-Kutubī. Additional information is provided by az-Zarkašī's *Ta'rīḫ* and as-Suyūṭī's *Buġya*.

Just a few information come from Abū Ḥayyān's own works. His *muqaddimāt* are usually scanty, the rare autobiographical statements are scattered.

Secondary literature is not much extended. The most dedicated Western scholar to the study of Abū Ḥayyān's work is Glazer, the editor of Abū Ḥayyān's unfinished commentary on the *Alfiyya*, who, in the introduction of his edition and in a couple of previous articles as well (Glazer 1941 & 1942), devoted himself to the respectable task of separating Abū Ḥayyān from the shadow his more celebrated pupils, Ibn ʿAqīl and Ibn Hišām, cast upon him. Glazer is also the author of the article "Abū Ḥayyān" in the new edition of *Encyclopedie de l'Islam*, which is basically a *résumé* of the introduction to *Manhaǧ*.

A monograph on Abū Ḥayyān has been more recently published by the Iraqi scholar al-Hadīṯī (1966); this work is useful in that it gathers what the sources relate on the grammarian, which al-Hadīṯī groups in chapters devoted to single aspects, but it shows unfortunately almost no critical attitude. Moreover, nor Glazer nor al-Hadīṯī give much room to the *Idrāk*, since both are mainly interested in Abū Ḥayyān's works on Arabic language. al-Hadīṯī also co-edited with Ahmad Matlūb the *Tuḥfa*, a shorter treatise by Abū Ḥayyān on lexicographic rarities in the Qur'ān; the short introduction to the treatise does not add significant information to our knowledge. Another grammatical work by Abū Ḥayyān, the *Taḏkira*, has also been edited; in this case too, the 22-page general introduction (fifteen more pages are devoted to the description of the manuscripts and principles of the edition) is a summary of the data supplied by primary sources.

On the Turkish side, we first have the remarkable edition of the *Idrāk* by Cafe-roğlu, which is much better than the former edition by Mustafa Bey (1309/1891, for which see the note in the quoted article "Ebū Ḥayyān" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*). If the critical apparatus of the edition is noteworthy, however, Caferoğlu adds just a few more remarks in his introduction: so, he says nothing about such a crucial matter as the process by which Abū Ḥayyān adapted the tools provided by *ʿilm an-naḥw wa-t-tasrīf* to the description of the far different Turkish language. In general, the Turks who studied Abū Ḥayyān did it in a way which is exactly specular to the approach of Arab scholars: they were uniquely interested in the works the grammarian wrote on Turkish (apart from the *Idrāk*, three lost treatises are mentioned in medieval bibliographies, and some remarks can be found in the *Manhağ*).

In fact, it was the Turks who first re-discovered the works of Abū Ḥayyān, whom Arab scholars almost forgot[7]. Köprülüzade, whose importance for contemporary Turkish culture is hard to overestimate (Caferoğlu, himself a pupil of Köprülüzade's, dedicates to the latter his edition of *Idrāk*), in his History of Turkish Literature gives Abū Ḥayyān a key role in the history of Turkish literary self-consciousness (Köprülüzade 1926:366 ff.). This way, most Turkish studies on Abū Ḥayyān shared this 'nationalist' attitude, which led them to overlook other works by Abū Ḥayyān. Thus, Mansuroğlu (1977-88) only examines works about Turkish. The leading interpretative hypothesis in the article, as already mentioned, is that Abū Ḥayyān answered to a demand for Turkish-learning material. The core of the article (apart from the introductory, not too accurate and sometimes mistaken, biographical section, and the final notes on the editions of the *Idrāk*) is devoted to an analysis of the historical and sociolinguistic background of the emergence of Turkish language in Egypt.

We may conclude these remarks on the sources by stating that doubtless Abū Ḥayyān has not yet obtained the interest he deserves. Most scholars who studied him often show an unbelievable carelessness. Let us just see a couple of cases.

Mansuroğlu (1977-88: I, 30) closes the introductory biographical sketch by stating that "Abū Ḥayyān died in the Matahšara borough of Granada". Now, this statement holds two mistakes: first, the name of the borough in the source is Matahšaras, and not Matahšara (which moreover gets no diacritics); second, and worse, Abū Ḥayyān was born in Granada, and, after he fled al-Andalus, never came back. He definitely died in Cairo.

Another incredible mistake can be found in Glazer's introduction to the edition of *Manhağ*. After telling the break in the relationship among Abū Ḥayyān and Ibn Taymiyya, an episode to which we shall return below, he makes some hypotheses

---

[7] Although we should not forget the pages Goldziher devoted to Abū Ḥayyān in his study on the Zāhirī *madhab* (Goldziher 1884:187-193).

about the date of the break. Since Abū Ḥayyān is reported by Goldziher to have answered a pilgrim who called him to declaim his *madīḥ* of Ibn Taymiyya that he deleted the poem from his *dīwān*, and since the latter episode took place during Abū Ḥayyān's pilgrimage to Mecca in 737/1336, Glazer concludes that "it must have taken place some time before 1336" (Abū Ḥayyān, *Manhağ* xx). The statement is trivially true, since Ibn Taymiyya died in the Citadel of Damascus in 1328, and the quarrel presumably took place before his death.

Finally, an omission should be signalled in the otherwise magnificent study by Haarmann on *awlād an-nās* (Haarmann 1988a), the descendants of Mamlūks who were themselves banned from entering the army. Haarmann dedicates a part of the article to the few *'ulamā'* who mastered Turkish: Abū Ḥayyān, whose *Idrāk*, apart from three other lost treatises of his on aspects of Turkish language, should be regarded as having some knowledge of Turkish, is missing from the list. Curiously enough, two Egyptian *'ulamā'* are said in footnotes to have been pupils of Abū Ḥayyān.

This carelessness does not seem to be casual: the sensation is that the fact that Abū Ḥayyān was not just an Arab grammarian, not just the author of the first grammar of Turkish, not just the only dissenting commentator of Ibn Mālik, not just a Zāhirī scholar who fled eastwards and became a Šāfiʿī, makes people disoriented and creates a feeling of annoyance.

The sources and their contradictions

If we give a closer examination to the biography of Abū Ḥayyān provided by the primary sources, some important facts remain unexplained. Let us briefly examine the biographical data, focusing on the problematic points.

Atīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Ḥayyān Abū Ḥayyān al-Ġarnāṭī al-Ġayyānī an-Nafzī al-Andalusī (other *kunan* include an-Naḥwī, and, significant enough as we shall see, aš-Šāfiʿī) was born (and did not die) in Granada, or in its township (both possibilities are related by al-Maqqarī, depending on whether Matahšaras is regarded as a borough of Granada or a town on its own), in 654/1256.

After some years of study under some of the most renowned Zāhirī scholars in al-Andalus, Abū Ḥayyān left his motherland in 679/1280. The sources provide various reports to explain this departure: they share the composition of a libel by Abū Ḥayyān against a teacher of his, and the subsequent flight of the young student (he was only 24). Whatever the contingent reason which led Abū Ḥayyān, both the desire to acquire a better instruction and to look for fortune have probably been decisive. al-Andalus in the end of 13th century, with its restricted bounds and the inescapable pull of the *Reconquista*, was by no means a land of opportunity, and

travels in the Mašriq are a commonplace in the biographies of Hispano-Arabic
scholars.

After about ten years of wanderings that led him as far as Ethiopia and gave him
the possibility to fulfil the *ḥaǧǧ*, Abū Ḥayyān finally settled in Egypt, where he had
shortly passed by some years before. In the few years elapsed from his arrival at
Cairo till 698/1298, he succeeded in a remarkable career: first, he got a position as a
head teacher at the *qubba* Manṣūriyya, by reading the Qur'ān in the Aqmar mosque
as well, then he obtained a post to teach philology at the Ibn Ṭulūn mosque.

The sources offer no convincing explanation for this extraordinary career. They
account for everything by appealing to the ability of the young scholar, and to the
fame that preceded him when he arrived at Cairo. Both reasons are insufficient, and
moreover doubtful: Abū Ḥayyān had probably composed none of his most impor-
tant treatises before his arrival in Egypt (he was not thirty years old); besides, he was
not yet regarded as an authority, if he had to pursue his grammatical studies under
the Egyptian *naḥwī* Ibn an-Naḥḥās even after his nomination at the Manṣūriyya (Ibn
an-Naḥḥās held the position at the Ṭulūniyya which Abū Ḥayyān was appointed to
after the death of the former).

It is highly unlikely that a young, unknown foreigner could pursue such a career
without being sponsored by the establishment. As Escovitz showed in his seminal
study on the office of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* under the Baḥrī Mamlūks (Escovitz 1984), both
the Manṣūriyya and the Ṭulūniyya were among the leading teaching institutions in
Mamlūk Cairo. Many of the jurists who were charged with the office of *qāḍī l-quḍāt*
worked there before their appointment to the highest office; some of them held the
teaching position even later[8]. The appointment to these positions was strictly under
state control: support by the establishment was a *conditio sine qua non* to hope for
a teaching career in high-level institutions.

Another unexplained event in the life of Abū Ḥayyān is strictly tied to his career.
Some time after his settlement in Egypt, the grammarian passed from the Ẓāhirī
madhab to the Šāfiʿīs: the sources relate the information without comments. The date
of the conversion is not easy to fix: the *terminus ante quem* is 1312, date of the
composition of the *Idrāk*, in whose introduction Abū Ḥayyān is referred to with the
nisba aš-Šāfiʿī.

I think that the conversion is to be placed in the first years Abū Ḥayyān spent
in Egypt, immediately before his fist appointment at the Manṣūriyya, if we just have
a look at the developments of appointments to teaching institutions in Egypt (we
shall follow the reconstruction in Escovitz's article).

---

[8] Teaching was an obligatory stage in a top judge's career: "All the judges held teaching posts before
and after they were appointed" (Escovitz 1984:173).

The office of chief judge, originally an ʿAbbāsid institution, was created in Egypt
in the second half of 4th/10th century under the Fāṭimids, among other decisions to
mark the proclamation of the caliphate (the provincial chief judge in Egypt was
before, at least formally, dependent from the *qāḍī l-quḍāt* in Baghdad).

The Mamlūks introduced a novelty in the mechanism: the sultan az-Ẓāhir Baybars
al-Bunduqdārī (658-676/1260-1277) replaced the single chief judge, always a member
of the leading *madhab* in Egypt, the Šāfiʿīs, with four chief judges, one for each of
the four *madāhib* represented in the Near East (Šāfiʿīs, Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs, and
Ḥanbalīs). Subsequently, positions in most juridical and academic institutions were
occupied according to the share of each *madhab*.

Shares were not equal, anyway: research by Escovitz shows that "of the four
madāhib, the Šāfiʿīs were the most successful in acquiring posts, the Ḥanafīs second
(but not nearly so successful), the Mālikīs third, and the Ḥanbalīs were far beyond
anyone else" (Escovitz 1984:173). Vacancies were usually filled according to *madāhib*,
so that only candidates belonging to a certain *madhab* were eligible to positions
granted to that *madhab*. This way, the passage of Abū Ḥayyān from the Ẓāhirīs to
the Šāfiʿīs finds a natural explanation: belonging to one of the four official *madhab*
was a precondition to get a state-controlled position; Abū Ḥayyān, as a Ẓāhirī, had
no chance to enter the system; thus, he converted, and choose the most promising
madhab, the one that controlled more positions[9].

An interesting episode gives some ground to my hypothesis. According to al-Maq-
rīzī (quoted by Escovitz), in 767/1365-66, the Mamlūk *amīr* Yalbuġā al-Ḥassākī al-
ʿUmarī established seven teaching posts in the Ibn Ṭulūn mosque, which were
granted to the Ḥanafīs. This decision is said to have caused a wave of conversions
to the Ḥanafī *madhab* among the Šāfiʿīs. The formal character of Abū Ḥayyān's
decision is further shown by the otherwise curious statement of Ibn Ḥaǧar that "Abū
Ḥayyān was a Ẓāhirī even in grammar".

In the light of this situation, Glazer's statement that "the real reason for this [that
is, the conversion of Abū Ḥayyān] is still unknown"[10] is incredibly naive. *Mutatis
mutandis*, it amounts to wonder why a young foreigner without means tears the
membership card of a small party of his remote motherland to enter the ruling party
of the country.

Of course, becoming a Šāfiʿī was not enough for a career. Abū Ḥayyān needed
some powerful support, too. He found it in the person of the *amīr* Sayf ad-Dīn

---

[9] It cannot be excluded that a renowned scholar could be appointed to an important academic posi-
tion outside this mechanism. Escovitz quotes no case, since his research is limited to judges who occupied
the office of *qāḍī l-quḍāt*, who were by definition inside the four-*madhab* system. Anyway, it is highly
unlikely that a young scholar as Abū Ḥayyān could overcome his belonging to the 'wrong' *madhab*.

[10] Glazer's Introduction in Abū Ḥayyān, *Manhaǧ* xx.

Argūn an-Nāṣirī, *nā'ib* (that is, roughly viceroy) of Egypt, who accepted Abū Ḥayyān among his intimates.

The client ties with Argūn help to explain the relationship among Abū Ḥayyān and Ibn Taymiyya, another black spot in traditional reports. Abū Ḥayyān was for some years a public supporter of Ibn Taymiyya, after the latter's triumphal re-entrance in Cairo with an-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third and definitive ascent to the power. His enthusiasm went till the composition of a *madīḥ* in his honour.

Some years later, the two definitively broke. The sources give anecdotal explanations, which is understandable; modern scholars accept that, which is much less understandable. Ibn Ḥaǧar (*Durar* IV, 308) attributes the quarrel to the reading of Ibn Taymiyya's *Kitāb al-ʿarš*, which convinced Abū Ḥayyān of the error of Ibn Taymiyya's anthropomorphism (*tašbīh*). al-Maqqarī, on the other hand, says that "among the causes" of Abū Ḥayyān's rage was Ibn Taymiyya's alleged statement that "Sībawayhi lies" (*Nafḥ* I, 857).

Now, things must be more complex: both explanations should lead us to a poor idea of Abū Ḥayyān. If we think of the relationship among the Mamlūk power and Ibn Taymiyya's religious reform, a more reasonable account can be found.

Episodically persecuted in the convulse first decade of fourteenth century, Ibn Taymiyya was finally freed from accusations by the sultan Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn after the latter's third access to the power (709/1310) and became an intimate of his. The *amīr* Sayf ad-Dīn Argūn, the protector of Abū Ḥayyān, was among the most convinced supporters of Ibn Taymiyya, which helps to explain the enthusiasm of Abū Ḥayyān, or at least its public manifestations.

For some years, an-Nāṣir Muḥammad endorsed Ibn Taymiyya's movement for the restoration of orthodoxy: it was doubtless a good chance to enhance the Mamlūks' public image as pious Sunnīs, an important element of their self-legitimisation policy, as we shall see. But eventually the Ḥanbalī reformer fell in disgrace, probably after his involvement in the plots managed by Ḥumayda, *amīr* of Mecca, with the *īlḫān* Ḥudābanda, discovered in 716/1317[11].

In the following eleven years, Ibn Taymiyya suffered an alternation of imprisonments and conditional releases, until his death in the Citadel of Damascus in 728/1328. It can be reasonably assumed that the fall of Ibn Taymiyya was the true cause of Abū Ḥayyān's change of attitude, whatever the accidental reason could be. If the quoted episode of the pilgrim asking Abū Ḥayyān for his panegyric to Ibn Taymiyya is real, we may conclude that the grammarian made a safe choice by deleting it from his *dīwān*.

Summing up the previous discussion, we may trace a sketch of the biography of Abū Ḥayyān, which allows to give the traditional story a more logical succession.

---

[11] See Laoust 1960-.

Thus, Abū Ḥayyān arrived at Cairo as a young, foreign scholar; he quickly entered the entourage of Sayf ad-Dīn Argūn and, approximately in the same time, passed to the Šāfiʿī *madhab*, which assured him a relatively rapid career. He went on sharing the Mamlūks' choices of cultural policy, by first strongly supporting Ibn Taymiyya's movement, and leaving him (under some occasional quarrelling) after he fell in disgrace.

A sketch of Mamlūk ideology

The legitimacy of rulers has always been a key question in Islamic political thinking. At least in theory, the caliph, as the leader of the *umma*, had to fulfil mostly religious requirements, but also, under the theoretical conception of the caliphate, to belong to the family of the Prophet, or at least to his tribe.

After the end of the real political control by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the split among authority and power became apparent. The caliphs progressively lost the effective control over the state, whereas they were still considered the only legitimate source of power. This new situation was embodied in the institution of sultanate, first established by the Seljuk Tuġril Bey in 1055[12]. Turkish rulers had always to accept the paradoxical situation of the true holder of power who receives his formal legitimisation from a weaker, theoretical ruler: their lack of legitimacy could not allow them to assume directly the caliphate, as others (*e.g.*, the Fāṭimids) could.

Mamlūks felt in a particularly strong way the problem of their legitimisation. As military slaves who reversed in a palace coup their legitimate masters, the only legitimacy of their power was the capacity of holding it, an unbearable situation in the long run. So, they soon introduced the fiction of a formal investiture: after the Mongols took Baghdad in 1258 and killed the last ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mustaʿsim billāh, the Mamlūk az-Zāhir Baybars hosted an ʿAbbāsid *amīr*, al-Mustanṣir billāh b. az-Zāhir, who settled in Cairo as the legitimate caliph, and granted to him the title of universal sultan of Islam. These ʿAbbāsid shadow-caliphs continued to formally invest the Mamlūk sultans till the fall of the dynasty.

On the other hand, the Mamlūks lost no occasion to stress their behaviour as legitimate Muslim rulers. They fought the enemies of Islam (first the Mongols, whose rush was stopped at ʿAyn Ǧalūt, then the Franks in Palestine, whose last stronghold, Accra, fell in 690/1291); they always behaved as pious rulers, by supporting Sunnī Islam and granting privileges to the *'ulamā'*.

These measures, however, did not ensure full legitimacy to the Mamlūks. The worst obstacle was the pious attitude most Egyptians, and virtually all the *'ulamā'*,

---

[12] See Lapidus 1988: ch. 9.

had towards the Turks. Haarmann (1988b) shows very clearly the strength of anti-Turkish biases in Mamlūk Egypt.

Egyptian *'ulamā'* built what we can call an anti-Turkish ideology. The core of this ideology is represented by a bulk of negative features attributed to the Turks: they are depicted as savage people, uncouth, without any historical background (which was readily granted to other non-Arab peoples, *e.g.* the Persians), alien to the country, not able to speak Arabic in an acceptable way, and so on.

Even if this anti-Turkish ideology was not directly translated into opposition against the Mamlūk rulers, it was however intrinsically dangerous for them: a sultan who is generally regarded by the intellectual class of his country as the leader of a mass of barbarian, violent foreign slaves, has not much chance to really obtain legitimacy for his power.

The Mamlūks had therefore to develop an alternative ideology, which could on the one hand further legitimate the religious rightfulness of the power, and on the other hand spread a more positive image of the Turks and their culture. The issue comes to a fuller development with the definitive seizure of power by Muhammad b. Qalāwūn an-Nāsir.

The latter, in fact, had for the first time a chance to organize the country having neither internal troubles which deprived him twice of the power, nor the external pressure which Mongols and Franks caused to his predecessors. Muhammad immediately began a program of radical restructuring of the Mamlūk state, together with a cultural policy on his own. The latter is remarkably witnessed by the architectural policy of the period. A tireless builder, Muhammad an-Nāsir enlarged the area of Cairo to unprecedented dimensions, writing in stone the signs of his glory.

The religious ideology of the Mamlūks was shortly embodied in the reform movement of Ibn Taymiyya. As we saw before, Muhammad an-Nāsir supported from some years the Hanbalī theologian. Even if it is difficult to reach a conclusion about the true aims of this support, the Mamlūks were likely to try to enhance their image as champions of Sunnī Islam. Perhaps, if Ibn Taymiyya showed himself more prone to compromise with the power, the religious history of Mamlūk Egypt could have run another way.

Anyway, many episodes, like the remembered equalisation of the four main *madā-hib*, reveal the project of Mamlūks to break the compactness of Egyptian *'ulamā'* as an opposition group, although in a masked way. The transformation of a reactionary Hanbalī movement in a, more or less officially, state-backed view of Islam seems to fit in this project.

The other aspect of Mamlūk ideology is the reaction to the anti-Turkish bias which was widespread among Egyptian intellectuals. This reaction is clearly witnessed from both the curriculum of Mamlūk education, in which literary culture took an important weight, far more than what the formation of a military elite could require, and the cultural activities of the *awlād an-nās*, the descendants of Mamlūk soldiers,

who were rigidly excluded from the army[13]. The latter became to assume a growing role in fourteenth-century Egyptian culture. Many of them entered the *'ulamā'* institutions, and contributed to the fight against the anti-Turkish ideology by depicting Turks in a more favourable way in their works.

The *Idrāk* can be considered a contribution to the pro-Turkish, Mamlūk ideology. In its deliberately linguistic-theoretical shape, it seems addressed to the *'ulamā'* more than to people wishing to learn the language. Under this aspect, it clearly differs from other previous or contemporary works which had more practical aims. The quoted hypothesis by Mansuroğlu, according to which the *Idrāk* is a product of the need of Egyptian intellectuals to master the Turkish language, can be applied to the lexicographic part only, which, much more accurate though, does not essentially differ from other Turkish-Arabic word-lists. But the same cannot absolutely be said for the *tasrīf* and *nahw* sections.

Abū Hayyān himself is aware of that. In the introduction to the *Idrāk*, he says: "The aim of this book is to fix (*dabt*) a large part of the language of Turks, lexicon, morphonology and syntax. I have fixed this language letter by letter and have ordered the treatment of the lexicon according to the letters of the alphabet in the Turkish language: I give the Turkish form and let it be succeeded by its analogous in the Arabic language; then, I make it be followed by morphonology (*tasrīf*), and then by syntax (*nahw*). Lexicon is taken from people I trust, masters in the art of translation: the amazing arrangement and the marvellous abridgement are mine. In morphonology and syntax, I have imitated nothing: rather, I brought them from power to reality by enquiring and asking" (Abū Hayyān, *Idrāk* 6-7).

What are the ideological aims of Abū Hayyān? We must keep in mind the linguistic side of the anti-Turkish ideology: Turks are regarded as barbarians in the etymological sense, their language is not given any dignity. The answer to this bias is indirect, yet powerful: by describing within a theoretical approach the structures of Turkish morphonology and syntax, Abū Hayyān supports the view that Turkish is a language on its own, which has the same expressive power than Arabic. Thus, the *Idrāk* addresses itself more to *'ulamā'* then to learners. It is more a scholarly demonstration than a handbook for students.

The rhetoric of the *Idrāk*

If the *Idrāk* is the vehicle of an ideology, its formal shape and its descriptive means are to be regarded as the rhetoric that expresses that ideology. We are accustomed to speak of rhetoric in a narrower meaning, but in a broader sense we can

---

[13] See Haarmann 1988a.

label rhetoric every means of expression of an ideology. This use of the term is close to the definitions given by Eco (1975).

The rhetorical means employed in the *Idrāk* show the typical features of acculturation: Abū Hayyān fits his description of Turkish within the categories elaborated by Arabic *ʿilm an-nahw wa-t-tasrīf*, rather than creating new categories, more appropriate for a language deeply different from the original pattern.

This choice can be disapproved of, but Abū Hayyān had in fact simply no alternative. He had a theoretical instrument at his disposal, namely the grammar as had been elaborated in about six centuries of Arabic linguistic thinking, and an ideological aim, namely showing that Turkish is a language with the same expressive power than Arabic. Given these data, he could do nothing but try to describe Turkish with the tools provided by Arabic grammar: if he chose to formulate new theoretical principles, expressly designed to describe Turkish language, he would demonstrate exactly what his opponents claimed, namely that Turkish is *not* on the same plane as Arabic.

Let us see some samples of Abū Hayyān's descriptive strategy. The first section of *tasrīf*, after a short description of the letters (*hurūf*, that is, consonants, or more properly graphemes) of the Turkish language, is dedicated to the patterns (*awzān*) of Turkish words (Abū Hayyān, *Idrāk* 101-104). These patterns are described by employing the metalinguistic forms of *faʿala*. This way, all possible patterns of Turkish words, from two to six letters, are catalogued, with a taxonomy that strictly parallels Arabic *tasrīf* works like Ibn ʿUsfūr's *al-Mumtiʿ*. Abū Hayyān reaches the goal to show that Turkish words are not arbitrary, but fit into a (relatively) small number of patterns; the strangeness of some of these patterns (the structure of Turkish words needs metalinguistic forms like *faʿullulul* and *faʿillilal*) is not relevant to this goal.

Next follows a series of small chapters, each devoted to a category of flexional or derivational morphology. The chapters are organised in a way which strictly corresponds to the subdivisions of Arabic *tasrīf*. Thus, categories like *ism al-makān* (place-nouns), *tafʿil* (comparatives), or *masdar* (verbal nouns) are given a role which is perhaps not fully justified by their usage in Turkish (Abū Hayyān, *Idrāk* 107-109). But even in this case, one must keep in mind the ideal reader, an Arab scholar who looks for the morphological categories of Arabic and discovers, perhaps to his dismay, that all these categories can be found, and aptly translated, in Turkish.

If we pass to syntax, the process of adaptation is more complex, given the deep difference in syntactic structure between the two languages. We shall only examine the treatment of the relative order of verb and agent-subject (*al-fiʿl wa-l-fāʿil*) (Abū Hayyān, *Idrāk* 129-130).

Within the concept of Arabic grammar, the underlying order (at the level of base-form, *asl*) of verb and subject cannot be but one and the same. Since one of the basic principles of Arabic grammar states that the regent (*ʿāmil*) always precedes the governed word (*maʿmūl*), the verb must precede its subject.

Given this underlying order, utterances that happen to show a different ordering must be explained by some reordering operation. If Turkish *usually* shows subject-verb order, the natural explanation is that Turkish-speaking people prefer, by what nowadays would be called a stylistic rule, the anteposition of the subject. In fact, Abū Hayyān defines the anteposition (*taqdīm*) of the subject to the verb 'more eloquent' (*afsal*), which puts it on a stylistic, rather than structural, plane.

This attitude should not be blamed. Modern generative linguistics shares it, when it assumes that Universal Grammar invariably has subject—verb—object order at an adequate level of representation (D-structure in most analyses). Under the most rigid, and highly influential, version of this assumption, proposed by Kayne (1993), SVO order is a theoretical necessity, established by tree structure requirements.

Now, any analysis of Turkish within Kayne's framework (no extensive one has been put forth, for the tremendous difficulties it would show) should assume that the underlying order of Turkish sentences is SVO, and that actual sentences are obtained by upward movements of the object (and of the subject too, since the verb is assumed to move upwards to some higher functional projection).

As one can see, the change in the attitude to regard one's linguistic habits as universal is slight, if any. If we think that generative linguistics is one branch of social sciences more open to cultural diversity, we can measure the difficulty to escape the traps of acculturation and inculturation.

Conclusions

Let us briefly sum up the main conclusions reached in this paper.

First, I have proposed to re-interpret the known data about Abū Hayyān's life and works in the light of his ties with the Mamlūk power. This interpretation offers a natural explanation for many otherwise unclear episodes reported by the sources.

Then, I tried to consider the *Idrāk* within the cultural policy of Mamlūk sovereigns, especially Muhammad b. Qalāwūn, by showing the ideological aims of such a policy and the function of the treatise as a rhetorical support for such an ideology.

Finally, a sketch has been given of the tools Abū Hayyān employed. They show typical acculturation features, as the adaptation of patterns and structures created for the analysis of Arabic language to a very different context.

A conclusive remark is in order about the success of Abū Hayyān's work, and indirectly the success of the Mamlūks' cultural policy. As far as we know, the path began by Abū Hayyān has not been continued. No other major Arab grammarian studied foreign languages (except for lexicographic works), nor the pro-Turkish ideology seems to have gained much support to the Mamlūks. The reasons for that can be many; I think that a key reason is the internal troubles that immediately followed the death of sultan Muhammad b. Qalāwūn (741/1341). A cultural policy

is possible and effective only if the power can hold the control. The decadence of Baḥrī Mamlūks is likely to have hindered further developments of this policy.

The fact that Arabic grammar ignored the possibility to be applied to other languages was probably one of the causes of its decadence. It is a pity for the history of culture, since Arabic grammar in the 13th-14th centuries was still in a powerful age. As many studies are clearly showing,[14] the so-called Late Arab Grammarians are to be regarded among the most important representatives of the Arabic linguistic thinking.

An age which produced such grammarians as Ibn Yaʿīš, Ibn Mālik, Abū Ḥayyān, Ibn ʿAqīl and Ibn Hišām certainly had remarkable chances of development. If the *Idrāk* had been followed by other works in the same spirit, the importance of Arab grammarians in the history of linguistics could have been far greater.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

Abū Ḥayyān, *Idrāk* = Abū Ḥayyān al-Ġarnāṭī, *Kitāb al-Idrāk li-lisān al-atrāk*. Edited by Ahmet Caferoğlu, Istanbul, 1931.

Abū Ḥayyān, *Manhaǧ* = Abū Ḥayyān al-Ġarnāṭī, *Manhaǧ as-sālik*. Edited by Sidney Glazer, New York, 1947.

Abū Ḥayyān, *Tuḥfa* = Abū Ḥayyān al-Ġarnāṭī, *Tuḥfat al-arīb bi-mā fī l-Qur'ān min al-ǧarīb*. Edited by Ḥadīǧa al-Ḥadīṯī & Aḥmad Matlūb, Baghdad, 1397/1977.

Abū Ḥayyān, *Taḏkira* = Abū Ḥayyān al-Ġarnāṭī, *Taḏkirat al-nuḥāt*. Edited by ʿAfīf ʿAbdarraḥmān, Beirut, 1406/1982.

Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Durar* = Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAskalānī, *ad-Durar al-kāmina*. Hyderabad, 1350/1931.

Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Mumtiʿ* = Ibn ʿUṣfūr al-Išbīlī, *al-Mumtiʿ fī t-taṣrīf*, 2 vols., Beirut 1390/1970.

Kašġarī, *Dīwān* = Maḥmūd Kašġarī, *Dīwān luġat at-turk*, 3 vols., Istanbul, 1333-1335 A.H.

al-Kutubī, *Fawāt* = Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Šākir b. Aḥmad al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*. Edited by Naṣr Abū l-Wafā' al-Ḥūrīnī, 2 vols., Būlāq, 1299/1882.

al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ* = Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Kitāb nafḥ aṭ-ṭīb min gusn al-andalus ar-raṭīb*. Analectes sur l'Histoire et la littérature des

Arabes d'Espagne pulbiés par R. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl et W. Wright, 2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1855-1860.

as-Suyūṭī, *Buġya* = Ǧalāl ad-Dīn ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Abī Bakr as-Suyūṭī, *Buġyat al-wuʿāt*. Cairo 1908.

az-Zamaḥšarī, *Lexicon* = Abū l-Qāsim Ǧārallāh Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar az-Zamaḥšarī, *Samachscharii Lexicon Persicum*, ed. Wetzstein, Leipzig, 1884.

az-Zarkašī, *Ta'rīḫ* = Badr ad-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbdallāh az-Zarkašī, *Ta'rīḫ ad-dawlatayn*. Tunis, 1289/1872.

B. Secondary sources

Bohas, G., J.-P. Guillaume & D. E. Kouloughli. 1990. *The Arabic Linguistic Tradition*, London & New York.

Eco, Umberto. 1975. *Trattato di semiotica generale*, Milano. (English translation: *A Treaty of Semiotics*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1976).

Escovitz, Joseph H. 1984. *The office of* Qāḍī al-quḍāt *in Cairo Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag.

Glazer, Sidney. 1941. "The Alfiyya-commentaries of Ibn ʿAqīl and Abū Ḥayyān". *Moslem World* 31.400-408.

Glazer, Sidney. 1942. "A Noteworthy Passage from an Arab Grammatical Text". *JAOS* 62. 106-108.

Goldziher, Ignaz. 1884. *Die Ẓāhiriten. Ihr Lehrsystem und Ihre Geschichte*. Leipzig: Schulze.

Haarmann, Ulrich. 1988a. "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria". *JSS* 33.81-114.

————. 1988b. "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity: The Arab Image of the Turk from the ʿAbbāsid to Modern Egypt". *IJMES* 20.175-196.

al-Ḥadīṯī, Ḥadīǧa. 1966. *Abū Ḥayyān an-Nahwī*. Baghdad.

Haywood, John A. 1965. *Arabic Lexicography. Its history, and its place in the general history of lexicography*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Kayne, R. 1993. *Antisymmetry in syntax*. Ms. New York.

Köprülüzade, Mehmet F. 1926. *Türk Edebiyati Tarihi*. Istanbul.

Laoust, H. 1960-. "Ibn Taymiyya". *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*. Nouv. édition, III, 976-979. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Lapidus, Ira M. 1988. *A History of Islamic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mansuroğlu, E. 1977-88. "Ebu Hayyān". *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, islâm âlemi, tarih, coğrafya, etnografya ve biyografya lugati, 15 vols., Istanbul, I, 30-32.

FIRĀSA AND INTELLIGENCE:
THE SILLY AND THE INTELLIGENT IN ARAB PHYSIOGNOMY

Antonella Ghersetti

University of Venice

Contact with the cultural heritage of the classical world created a great interest in physiognomy in the Arab one and this was a stimulus that fell on fertile ground. In fact disciplines of divination based on induction and the spirit of observation, as *qiyāfa*, were already well known and came from a long tradition[1], as one can see from the famous episode of the sons of Nizār b. Maʿadd[2]. *Firāsa*[3] (physiognomy), though, was something that the Arab world always saw as a foreign branch of know-ledge and it was thus not by chance that the recognised authorities of this science were Greek. Polemon of Laodiceia (Stegemann 1952), who died in 114 A.D., and Aristotle himself, are quoted by Ḥaǧǧī Ḥalīfa (*Kašf* IV, 388) and, with Eleos, by Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī[4]. al-Ǧāḥiẓ repeatedly mentions Polemon in his *Ḥayawān* (III, 146, 269, 284). What was attributed to Aristotle were two treatises on physiogno-my, the contents of which are in large part taken and quoted in the *firāsa* works: *Sirr*[5] and *Physiognōmonika*[6].

The term *firāsa* itself, used to translate the Greek *physiognōmonika*, brings out the inductive character which it has in common with the typically Arab *qiyāfa* men-tioned above and is an interesting clue to how physiognomy was perceived and as-similated into the Arab culture. It, in fact, stands for acute observation, the capacity to grasp the recondite and what is inaccessible to the senses (*idrāk al-bāṭin*) thanks to attentive consideration of exterior aspect[7]. *Firāsa* was used, in the scientific sense,

---

[1] See the definitions given by Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 12-15 (page numbers always refer to the Arabic text) and the essay of Fahd 1966:370-379.

[2] Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Adkiyāʾ* 91-92; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ* I, 427-431; al-Masʿūdī (*ibid.*, 473) presents *qiyāfa* as a typically Arab science.

[3] See Fahd 1966:379-389; *idem.*, 1965:937-938; Mourad (1939) traces a concise history of physiognomy in the Arab culture.

[4] Quoted by Rescher 1914:53.

[5] About this text see the article of Grignaschi (1982), containing a rich bibliography. The "long version" of the *Sirr* has been edited by Badawī 1954 I, 67-171.

[6] For the transmission of the text to the Arab world see Grignaschi 1974.

[7] See the definitions given by Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* VI, 160 and az-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ* IV, 207.

to define the physiognomic among the natural sciences and in the mystical sense to indicate the capacity inspired by divine grace to read into the hearts of men[8].

The science of physiognomy was of interest and was a subject of study for Arab writers of various disciplines. For the theologian Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, who died in 1209, it was the subject of a systematic treatise, *Firāsa*. One work on this argument[9] has been attributed to the legalist aš-Šāfiʿī, who died in 820, and who is considered an authority in his field. And obviously, another attribution of this kind has been erroneously given to such a prolific *polygraphe* as al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *i.e.* *ʿIrāfa* (clearly spurious). Finally, there is an excellent work of synthesis on ideas of physiognomy to be ascribed to Šams ad-Dīn al-Anṣārī, who died in 1327. In the works of philosophy, medicine and religion, there are also passages devoted to the discipline of physiognomy. The famous Andalusian mystic, Ibn ʿArabī, who died in 1240, and who is considered one of the greatest in this field[10], gives us a systematic treatment of it in a part of his *Tadbīrāt* and of his *Futūḥāt* (II, 235-241), and Muhammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī, who died in 925, dedicates the second book of his treatise on medicine, *Ṭibb*, to physiognomy.

Even in less specialised and more accessible works, one finds physiognomy called in. One finds references to physiognomy in encyclopaedic books such as an-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* (III, 149 ff. & 353-357) or in the *Mustaṭraf* by al-Ibšīhī (II, 191-192), as well as in story collections like the *Adkiyā'* and the *Ḥamqā* by Ibn al-Ǧawzī[11]. Even in treatises for scribes (*kuttāb*) one finds some notion of physiognomy in the description of the ideal scribe: excellent examples are the prescriptions of aš-Šaybānī (*Risāla* 9)[12], later to be taken up by al-Qalqašandī (*Ṣubḥ* I, 67). This leads us to think that there was some notion of this discipline as a common heritage among the learned.

Often enough, listing of the physiognomical meaning of physical characteristics is linked to the question of intelligence (*dakā', fiṭna, fahm, ʿaql*). This is a question that nearly always finds its canonical place among the subjects treated in the *adab*

---

[8] The mystical interpretation is based on the famous *ḥadīṭ*: *"ittaqū min firāsat al-mu'min"* (at-Tirmiḏī, *Ǧāmiʿ* V, 298).

[9] But compare Mourad 1939:57-61.

[10] See Rescher 1914:53. To Ibn ʿArabī is also attributed the *Qabs*, in all probability apocryphal. The texts contains a chapter on physiognomy, see Ghersetti 1994.

[11] According to az-Ziriklī (1980: III, 316) *Luqat al-manāfiʿ fī t-ṭibb* by the same author (*GAL S* I, 920) is devoted to *ʿilm al-firāsa*.

[12] The treatise has been erroneously attributed to Ibn al-Mudabbir. See also Ghersetti 1992a.

---

works, also for its doctrinal importance in that it is strictly connected with intelligence as a gift of God and a guide to the strait and narrow way[13].

We consider it interesting to give the following brief review of the physical indices of intelligence (and of its opposite) as seen by the physiognomical tradition in the Arab world, with an indication of traces in *adab* works of the classical and post-classical periods.

The physical type of the intelligent person (*ar-raǧul al-fahim*) that we find repeated with slight differences in ar-Rāzī, in the Arab Pseudo-Polemon, and the aforementioned *Qabs*, more or less faithfully reflects the Aristotelian concept of the proper mean, the Greek *mesotēs*, as an expression of ethical virtue. The physical characteristics of the man gifted with a good intelligence and a good nature, in fact, refer, also in the stylistic and lexical choices, to the concepts of measure and balance between the two extremes. This surely Aristotelian concept probably comes through the *Physiognōmonika*, the Pseudograph of the Aristotelian school, translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq. The quotation that follows, taken from *Qabs* fol. 21 v. is a physiognomical portrait of the intelligent man.

"If the proportioned state of the body corresponds to the same balance of temperament, and the temperament corresponds to the soul, then one can say that the following are the signs of the intelligent man. He should have flesh that is soft, tender and not abundant, he should be neither corpulent nor fragile, his face should not be fleshy and his shoulders should slope properly. He should not have too much flesh along his backbone and his complexion should be between the white and the red, luminous, with a fine skin. He should have neither too much nor too little hair and it should be neither too wiry nor too black. His eyes should be black with shades of blue, and soft[14]. His stature should be between the short and the tall, his hands and feet well-proportioned and neither big nor small, neither fleshy nor too fleshless, his head well proportioned and neither great nor small, his neck not thick and his hair tending towards the red and between curly and straight, his face round and his nose straight[15]."

---

[13] All the following works include almost one chapter about intellect and intelligence (but also one about silliness): an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* III, 230 ff.; ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt* 4 ff.; Ibn ʿAbdalbarr, *Bahǧa* I, 532 ff.; al-Ibšīhī, *Mustaṭraf* I, 33-41; Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, *ʿIqd* II, 104-116; Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* I, part 1, 393-396.

[14] The colour of eyes should be black mixed with blue: although all the colours are to be blamed, this mixture seems to be acceptable. This explanation is given by Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 64. Up to this point see the descriptions of the intelligent man in ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 174 and Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 160. Compare also Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognōmonika* 98.

[15] For this description, attributed to the "good-natured man" see ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 175. Compare Pseudo-Aristotle *Physiognōmonika* 100, with slight omissions.

In *Sirr* (123) and in Ibn ᶜArabī's two treatises, there is a very similar description attributed to the man of good intelligence and good nature[16] and this is developed to the point of including characteristics that are pertaining to the *hakīm* in the source from where we quoted the aforementioned passage. The affinities between physical build and moral attributes as a theoretical premise is clearly lifted from Aristotelian sources for the theory of the temperaments, duly elaborated and systematically set out by Galen in his treatise *Oti tais tou sōmatos krasesin ai tēs psychēs dynameis epontai*, translated into Arabic[17] by the nephew of Ḥunayn, Ḥubayš b. al-Ḥasan ad-Dimašqī at the end of the third/ninth century. A balanced nature and a constitution fitted to it thus become a sign of good intelligence.

Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, describing the balanced temperament (*al-mizāǧ al-muᶜtadil*) points out how eucrasia, which lies in the just mean between the two poles, assures optimal functioning in the psychological faculties (*Firāsa* 37-38), and Ibn al-Ǧawzī considers it axiomatic that there is a correspondence between a balanced temperament and a good intelligence[18]. Even from a preliminary linguistic analysis, what emerges is a semantic isotopy in both measure and equilibrium in both lexical and syntactical choice. Attenuation in the use of litotes, e.g., "he should not have a fleshy face" or "neither fat nor thin" points to the proper mean between the two poles, another example being "between the white and the red" thus giving yet greater emphasis to the Aristotelian concept of virtue as equilibrium and the proper mean, and a large part of the physiognomical descriptions in question come under this heading.

It must also be said that many of the characteristics that are signs of a good intelligence, listed as a catalogue of physical signs, also recall the concept of equilibrium and measure that stand out in the passage we have quoted. For example these point to a good intellect and a good nature: well proportioned eyebrows, an averagely broad and prominent forehead, an averagely large nose, a tone of voice that is neither too high nor too low, and a neck of average proportions. Then there are other physical signs that reveal intelligence: abundance of flesh, little fat at the stomach and a thin face[19]. These, in fact, are also connected with a warm temperament, one of

whose characteristics is brilliant intellectual capacities, with its variants in warm and dry and warm and moist. There are, however, three characteristics that recur constantly even outside this particular scheme: broad shoulders, tender flesh and soft and thin hands (sign of rapidity of intelligence)[20]. Finally, physiognomy does not neglect the correlation between the physical and the intellective which is connected to differences of sex and race. Men, it would appear, have a more perfect intelligence than women[21] and the intelligence quotient would appear to vary according to race. The Egyptians, it seems, are not particularly perspicacious whereas the Macedonians are[22]. The geographical area in which one is born[23] appears also to have its influence on human psychological and intellective capacity. This latter theory finds its origin in the works of Hippocrates in particular as the *auctoritas* quoted by al-Masᶜū-dī (*Murūǧ* I, 528-530) evaluating the correlation between environment and temperament[24].

Then, there are signs of intelligence that have nothing to do with the physical sphere, but rather with the behavioral one. These too hark back to the concept of measure: a proper speed of speech, sobriety in the way of being seated and in conversation and gesture, are signs of a good intellect[25]. In the anecdotic and aphoristic literature the action and speech of the intelligent man are also connected to the concept of moderation: whoever it is that has a good intellect knows how to hold his tongue, to know his station in society, to recognise his own mistakes and to be prudent in both act and word[26]. He is in charge of his own passions and above all has a way of behaviour that is measured and consonant with both situation and environment[27].

In the quantitative sense, indices of stupidity are far more numerous than those for intelligence, both in the physiognomical works and those which take them up,

---

[16] Ibn ᶜArabī, obviously considering it from a doctrinal viewpoint, attributes to the Prophet the aspect corresponding to the best constitution and the well-proportioned temperament (*Futuḥāt* II, 238 and *Tadbīrāt* 163).

[17] Under the title *Kitāb fī anna quwā n-nafs tābiᶜa li-mizāǧ al-badan*. Ed. in Badawī 1981:182-186.

[18] "The sages say: a well-proportioned constitution and the corresponding body indicate the faculty of intellect and a good intelligence" (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Aḏkiyāʾ* 18).

[19] See the following sources (quoted, for brevity, in one and the same list even if not every source presents the complete catalogue): *Sirr* 120, 121, 122; Ibn ᶜArabī, *Futuḥāt* II, 238, 239; *Idem., Tadbīrāt* 164-166; *Qabs* fol. 22 r.; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Aḏkiyāʾ* 18; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 155, 156; ar-Rāzī, *Tibb* 169; Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 31-32, 34-36, 72.

[20] Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 72, 74; *Qabs* fol. 22 r.; ar-Rāzī, *Tibb* 169, 171, 172; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 155, 156, 157.

[21] Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 25; according to al-Ǧāḥiz (*Bayān*, I, 139; *Faḫr* I, 196-197) women are silly by nature.

[22] Polemon, *Firāsa* 237-239. See also al-Ǧāḥiz, *Hayawān* V, 35.

[23] According to Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (*Firāsa* 58) the dwellers of the eastern areas have a better physical constitution and mental faculties than those of the western areas have (!).

[24] Hippocrates in his treatise *Peri aerōn* theorizes the influence of environment on the nature of the human being. The hippocratical theory is referred to by Galen who, in his *Oti tais tou sōmatos*, quotes many passages from the book of Hippocrates.

[25] Ibn ᶜArabī, *Futuḥāt* 239; *Idem, Tadbīrāt* 166, 167; compare *Sirr* 121.

[26] Ibn Qutayba, *ᶜUyūn* I, part 1, 393 (compare Ibn ᶜAbdrabbih, *ᶜIqd* II, 104, Ibn ᶜAbdalbarr, *Bahǧa* I, 532).

[27] See Ghersetti 1992b:71-73.

such as the *adab* encyclopaedias, where one usually finds, alongside the signs and at-
tributes of intelligence, those of stupidity[28]. Here the concept of stupidity, such as
ḥumq, *ǧahl* and *qillat al-fiṭna*, to be found in the literature, mirrors those of intelli-
gence in sense of measure and expediency and substantially deals with congruity be-
tween *modus operandi* and situation or context. This, in fact, in the classical diction-
aries, is presented as stagnation of the intellect and is better defined as dissonance,
often for lack of measure, between an evaluation of reality and reality itself, or be-
tween conduct and the exigencies of the situation[29]. The concept of excess, be it to-
wards the positive or the negative, and of disharmony has brought much to the
physical and behavioral indices of stolidity mentioned in the works on physiognomy.
Many of them, in fact, are to be found as signs of the dyscrasic temperament, that
is the one which lacks harmonic proportion in its parts.

The following passage, taken from Ibn al-Ǧawzī (*Ḥamqā* 19-20), gives us the com-
plete catalogue of the signs of stupidity, bringing together descriptions to be found
in various sources. We shall point out those passages that recur in the sources of
physiognomy we have consulted.

"The sages say this: that if the head is small and is not well-formed, this is a
sign of bad conformation of the brain. Galen says that smallness of head never
fails to be a sign of bad conformation of the brain[30]. If the neck is short, this
is a sign of a weak and scarce brain[31]. Whoever has a disproportionate physi-
cal build is one of little value, both in his intentions and his intellect, (just as
whoever has a large paunch[32], short fingers[33], a round face[34], tall stature,
a small head, and forehead, face, neck, and feet, fleshy[35], or a face like a semi-

circle. In the same way, if the head and forehead are round[36], but the face
large and with a look of stupidity and shiftiness in his eyes, he belongs to
those furthest from the good)[37]. If the eyes protrude the person is insolent
and talks too much[38] and if they look you up and down, then he is cunning
and thieving[39]. If the eyes are large[40] and tremulous, then he is lazy, vain
and a lover of women[41]. Blue eyes with an admixture of saffron yellow are
signs of ignoble customs[42]. Cow-eyes[43] are signs of stupidity. Whoever has
bulging eyes with falling eyelids is stupid[44]. Whoever has eyelids that are not
of one piece or that are variously coloured, but not for reasons of illness, is sly
and stupid (Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 62). Hair on the shoulders and neck
is a sign of stupidity and stubbornness, and if there is hair on the chest and the
stomach, it is a sign of little sagacity[45]. Whoever has a long neck creates noise
and confusion, is stupid and is a coward[46]. Whoever has a large and full neck
is slow on the uptake (*ibid.*). Whoever has fleshy lips is stupid and dense[47].
Whoever has a decidedly round face suffers from pride[48]. Whoever has large
ears, likewise, and he is long-lived[49]. A lovely voice is a sign of stupidity and

---

[28] In literary works this is perhaps due to the comical value of the anecdotes illustrating sayings and
actions of silly people.

[29] See Ghersetti 1993: esp. 92-94.

[30] For the relation between form and size of the head (seat of the brain that controls the intellectual
functions) see also Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 39-40. See Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 167; *Idem, Futūḥāt* 239.

[31] But compare *Sirr* 121; Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 167; *Idem, Futūḥāt* 239 and ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 170.

[32] *Baṭal* must probably be read *baṭn*, as in the corresponding passage of Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (*Firāsa*
38). See also *Sirr* 122; Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 167; *Idem, Futūḥāt* 239.

[33] *Sirr* 122; compare Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 74; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 157; ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 172;
Qabs fol. 22 r.

[34] ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 168; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 153; *Qabs* fol. 21 v.

[35] Compare *Sirr* 120, 122; Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 166, 168; *Idem, Futūḥāt* 239; *Qabs* fol. 22 r.; Faḫr ad-
Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 68, 74; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 153; ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 168, 172.

---

[36] *Liḥiya* must probably be read *ǧabha*, as in the corresponding passage of Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī
(*Firāsa* 38).

[37] The passage between brackets is the same as Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 38. There is a great
similarity also with the description of the "man of thick nature" in ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 176.

[38] Compare Aristotle, *Sirr* 119; Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt*, p. 165 and *idem, Futūḥāt* 238; Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-
Rāzī, *Firāsa* 62.

[39] *Sirr* 119; compare Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt* 238; *Idem, Tadbīrāt* 165.

[40] The size of the eye means abundance of the humid substance of brain, which is a cause of silliness
(Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 62).

[41] Compare *Qabs* fol. 21 v.; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 152 and ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb*, 164-165; Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-
Rāzī, *Firāsa* 65.

[42] Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 63; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 151; ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 165; *Qabs* fol. 21 v.

[43] Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 64; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 152; ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 165; *Qabs* fol. 21 v.

[44] Compare Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 62; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 152; ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 166.

[45] Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 164; *Futūḥāt* 238; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 150; ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 163; *Qabs* fol.
21 v.

[46] *Sirr* 121; Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 167; *Idem, Futūḥāt* 239 and ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 170.

[47] *Sirr* 120; Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 166 and *Futūḥāt* 239; Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 67, 68; ar-Rāzī,
Ṭibb 168; compare Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 153.

[48] ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 168; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 153; *Qabs* fol. 21 v.

[49] *Sirr* 121; Ibn ʿArabī *Tadbīrāt* 165 and *Futūḥāt* 238; *Qabs* fol. 21 v.; Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa*
70; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 154; ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* 169. Compare an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* III, 149.

scarce intelligence[50]. Abundant and solid flesh are signs of sensations and density of intelligence[51]. Idiocy and stolidity are to be found for the most part among those who are tall of stature. Among the infallible signs there is also length of beard, because who has a long beard does not lack in stupidity. And this is taken back to the Torah: the beard comes out of the brain and if somebody has an excessively long beard, it is a sign of little brain - and who has little brain has little intellect and who has little intellect is stupid. Some sages say that stupidity is what fertilises the beard: who has a long beard is very stupid. One who saw a man with a long beard says, 'By God, if that (the beard) came out of a river, the river would dry up'. al-Ahnaf b. Qays said, 'If you see a tall man with a long beard, know that he is an imbecile, even if he were Umayya b. ʿAbdšams'[52]."

This description covers all the characteristics that ar-Rāzī, in his *Firāsa*, ascribes to the dyscrasic temperament and which, as we have pointed out earlier, denote a lack of equilibrium and also excess in one sense or the other, be it a large stomach, short fingers, a round face, shortness of stature, a head that is either very large or very small, or fleshiness in the face, eyes or feet[53]. Other characteristics are strictly associated with the bad cerebral conformation, the brain being held to be the seat of the intelligence. One example: if the forehead is low, it corresponds to a smaller brain, which can only implicate scarce intellective faculties[54]. Many and varied are the characteristics to be considered as signs of stupidity, in analogy with the somatic features of certain animals: the fixed look the animals have, eyes similar to a goat's or a crab's, a nose that is large and reminiscent of the bovine species[55], for example. The theory according to which the similarity of somatic features between man and the animals implicates a similarity in character traits, finds a systematic exposition in the treatise of Polemon of Laodiceia[56]. Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, although he considers

---

[50] *Sirr* 121; compare Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 166 and *Futūhāt* 239; *Qabs* fol. 21 v., 22 r.; Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 71 (at 45-46 a "physiological" explanation of this statement); Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 155; ar-Rāzī, *Tibb* 169.

[51] *Qabs* fol. 22 r.; Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 72; ar-Rāzī, *Tibb* 169.

[52] Concerning the long beard as a sign of silliness see the sources quoted in Ghersetti 1993:90.

[53] Even in handbooks for *kuttāb* these features are quoted; according to their prescriptions scribes musn't have disproportionate limbs, a very big head or a long beard, since these are signs which cannot be associated with intelligence (aš-Šaybānī, *Risāla* 9, quoted by al-Qalqašandī, *Subh* I, 67).

[54] Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 60; ar-Rāzī, *Tibb* 168; *Qabs* fol. 21 v.; but compare an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* III, 149, 356.

[55] Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 165 and *Futūhāt* 238; Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 66; Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* 152; ar-Rāzī, *Tibb* 164, 165; *Qabs* fol. 21 v.

[56] Polemon, *Firāsa*; the second chapter is devoted to animal psychology.

this criterion among the last of the hierarchy of signs, nonetheless calls it in fairly often where it is useful as a physiognomic explanation.

Alongside the physical signs, what has also to be taken into consideration are the behavioral ones where, likewise, the concepts of lack of measure and disharmony are *Leitmotifs*. Too rapid speech, for example, is a sure indication of stupidity[57], just as is inappropriate intervention in a discourse, or loquacity or too hurried answers[58]. These are all traits tied to a distorted (excessive or dyscrasic) use of the faculty of speech. Also connected to this same semantic isotopy are the concepts of incongruity and inadequacy in any given context and these constitute the phenomenology of the best-known definition of stupidity such as "putting things in the wrong place". The catalogue of the actions of the silly person is in fact characterized by lack of measure. In what the *firāsa* works and the works of *adab* bring us (these works seem to us to contain a certain conceptual coherence) one can isolate, in the concept of intelligence, as presented in the sources taken into consideration, a dichotomy of structure. In this the positive pole – that of a good intelligence – is represented by all that is inspired by eucrasia and measure both in the sphere of physical constitution and in that of behaviour, while the negative pole – stupidity – is represented by all that is inspired by dyscrasia and excess, in both the physical and the behavioral.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* = Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-firāsa*. Edited with intr. and notes in: Mourad 1939.
al-Ǧāhiz, *Hayawān* = al-Ǧāhiz, *Kitāb al-hayawān*. Edited by Muhammad ʿAbdassalām Hārūn, 7 vols. in two, Cairo n.d.
al-Ǧāhiz, *Bayān* = al-Ǧāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-t-tabyīn*, Beirut, n.d.
al-Ǧāhiz, *Fahr* = al-Ǧāhiz, *Fahr as-sūdān ʿalā l-bīdān. Rasā'il*, ed. by ʿAbdassalām Muhammad Hārūn, 4 vols., Cairo 1964, I, 173-226.
Galen, *Oti tais tou sōmatos krasesin ai tēs psychēs dynameis epontai*. In: *Scripta minora*, ed. I. Marquardt *et al.*, vol. 2, repr. Amsterdam 1967.

---

[57] Aristotle, *Sirr* 121 (compare Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* 166); Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūhāt* 239; Fahr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Firāsa* 71; ar-Rāzī, *Tibb* 169; Ibn ʿArabī, *Qabs* fol. 21 v.-22 r.

[58] These two are among the most widespread definitions of "silliness" which can be found in *adab* works. See Ghersetti 1993:88-89.

Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* = Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbdallāh Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf az-zunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*. Edited by G. Flügel, 7 vols., Leipzig & London 1835-58. Repr. New York 1964.

Hippocrates, *Peri aerōn* = Hippocrates, *Peri aerōn ydatōn topōn*. Edited with an English translation by W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates* I, 70-137, London & Cambridge 1962.

Ibn ʿAbdalbarr, *Bahǧa* = Ibn ʿAbdalbarr, *Bahǧat al-maǧālis wa-uns al-muǧālis*. 2 vols., Cairo 1967.

Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, *ʿIqd* = Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*. Edited by ʿAbdalmaǧīd at-Tarḥīnī, 9 vols., Beirut 1983.

Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt* = Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*. 4 vols., Cairo 1329.

Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt* = Ibn ʿArabī, *at-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya fī iṣlāḥ al-mamlaka al-insāniyya*. Edited in: Nyberg 1919.161-172.

Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Adkiyāʾ* = Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Kitāb al-adkiyāʾ*. Beirut 1990.

Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Ḥamqā* = Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Aḫbār al-ḥamqā wa-l-muǧaffalīn*. Beirut 1985.

Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* = Abū l-Faḍl Ǧamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*. 15 vols., Beirut 1956.

Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* = Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba ad-Dīnawarī, *ʿUyūn al-aḫbār*. 2 vols., Beirut n.d.

al-Ibšīhī, *Mustaṭraf* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḫaṭīb al-Ibšīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaẓraf*. 2 vols., Beirut 1986.

ʿIrāfa = Pseudo-al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *Bāb al-ʿirāfa wa-z-zaǧr wa-l-firāsa ʿalā madhab al-fars*. MS Leiden cod. 198 gol. Edited with a Russian transl. by K. Inostrantsev, Saint Petersburg 1907.

al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ* = Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ ad-dahab wa-maʿādin al-ǧawhar*. 2 vols., Beirut 1982.

an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* = an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*. 14 vols., Cairo n.d.

Polemon, *Firāsa* = Polemon, *Kitāb fī l-firāsa*. Edited with a Latin transl. by G. Hoffmann. In: Foerster 1893 I, 95-294.

Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognōmonika*, in *Minor Works*. Edited & translated by W. S. Hett, Cambridge 1963, 81-137 (Greek text and English translation).

Pseudo-Polemon, *Phys.* = Pseudo-Polemon, *Physiognomonia* (Latin transl.). In: Foerster 1893 II, 147-160.

Qabs = Pseudo-Ibn ʿArabī, *Qabs al-anwār wa-bahǧat al-asrār*. MS Leiden or. 5.

al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ* = al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*. 14 vols., Cairo 1914-19, repr. 1965.

ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt* = ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut, 1406/1986.

ar-Rāzī, *Ṭibb* = Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī, *Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb al-manṣūrī*. 2nd Book, edited by M. R. aṭ-Ṭabbāḫ, *Ǧumal aḥkām al-firāsa*, Aleppo, 1929; Latin transl. by Gerardo of Cremona = Foerster 1893 II, 163-179.

aš-Šaybānī, *Risāla* = aš-Šaybānī, *ar-Risāla al-ʿadrāʾ*. Edited by Zakī Mubārak, Cairo 1931.

Sirr = Pseudo-Aristotle, *Sirr al-asrār*. In: Badawī 1954: I, 67-171.

at-Tirmidī, *Ǧāmiʿ* = at-Tirmidī, *al-Ǧāmiʿ aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*. Vol. V. Cairo 1975.

az-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ* = Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī az-Zabīdī, *Šarḥ al-Qāmūs al-musammā Tāǧ al-ʿarūs min ǧawāhir al-qāmūs*. 10 vols., Benghazi n.d.

B. Secondary sources

Badawī, ʿAbdarraḥmān. 1954. *al-Uṣūl al-yūnāniyya li-n-naẓariyyāt as-siyāsiyya fī l-islām*. Cairo.

———. 1981. *Dirāsāt wa-nuṣūṣ fī l-falsafa wa-l-ʿulūm ʿind al-ʿarab*. Beirut.

Fahd, T. 1965. "*Firāsa*". *EI²*. II, 937-938. Leiden & Paris.

———. 1966. *La divination arabe*. Leiden.

Foerster, R., ed. 1893. *Scriptores physiognomonici graeci et latini*. Leipzig.

GAL = Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 2 vols. & 3 suppl., Leiden 1937-49.

Ghersetti, Antonella. 1992a. "*Kuttāb* e *kitāba*: il modello e l'antimodello nella letteratura del primo periodo abbaside". *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 31.51-70.

———. 1992b. "La conception d'intellect dans le *Kitāb al-adkiyāʾ* par Ibn al-Ǧawzī". *QSA* 10.63-73.

———. 1993. "I paradigmi della stupidità: *ḥumq wa-ḥamqā* nella letteratura d'*adab*". *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 32.83-95.

———. 1994. "Una tabella di fisiognomica nel *Qabs al-anwār wa-bahǧat al-asrār* attribuito a Ibn ʿArabī". *QSA* 12.15-47.

Grignaschi, M. 1974. "La «physiognomonie» traduite par Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq". *Arabica* 21.285-291.

———. 1982. "Remarques sur la formation et l'interprétation du *Sirr al-asrār*". *Pseudo-Aristotle. The Secret of Secrets. Sources and Influences* ed. by W. F. Ryan & C. B. Schmitt. 3-33. London.

Mourad, Y. 1939. *La physiognomonie arabe et le* Kitāb al-firāsa *de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*. Paris.

Nyberg, H. S., ed., 1919. *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*. Leiden.

RE = Paulys *Real-Encylopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaften*. Neue Bearbeitung. Herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Karl Mittelhaus, Konrat Ziegler. Stuttgart & München: J. B. Metzler & Alfred Druckenmüller, 1894-1980.

Rescher, Oskar. 1914. "Notizen über einige arabische Handschriften aus Brussaer Bibliotheken". *ZDMG* 68.47-63.

Stegemann, Willy. 1952. "Polemon". *RE* XXI, 2, col. 1320-1357.

az-Ziriklī, Ḫayr ad-Dīn. 1980. *al-Aʿlām, qāmūs tarāǧim min ašhar ar-riǧāl wa-n-nisāʾ*. 10 vols., Beirut.

THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNITY
IN FRANCOPHONE MAGHREBIAN LITERATURE

Scott Homler

University of Minnesota

Maghrebian francophone literature evokes the possibility of a representative subjectivity by scrutinizing strategic ideological communities and by critiquing socioethnic categorizations upon which social life appears to be ordered. The voice of the narrative is constructed through its conscious differentiation and assimilation of other subject positions. Nevertheless, one must conscientiously question narrative's ability to achieve the kind of reflection prerequisite to imagining a literature of the people. Post-colonial writing has come to terms with the temptations of such theoretical proposals, even though the questions of community, representation and public responsibility remain critically unresolved.

Some Maghrebian francophone literature has demonstrated a kind of theoretical affiliation with a European tradition of philosophy and criticism which has condemned the absolutism of the knowing subject. This modernity is considered to have superceded the strategically necessary subjective community essential to successful resistance against colonial rule. A citation from a presentation given by Beida Chikhi in 1991 at the Université Mohamed V in Rabat, encapsulates the position that in Maghrebian literature and culture, the ideal of an oppositional community has given way to the location of revolutionary exploration within the individual subject itself:

> "In opposition to reductive and recuperative ideologies, the modernity of Maghrebian texts consists in taking a position of "auto-reflection" and "auto-comprehension" opening onto the debut of a new "I" which speaks in its own name and no longer in the name of the community for which it could only be the spokesman, as was the case in the realist works of the revolution".

The ease with which the subjective and the personal assimilate hermetically here suggests the possibility of an absolute determination and seizure of meaning in a subject rendered transcendent of its *nationalist* historical context. Chikhi's comments suggest that contemporary writing in post-independence countries strikes out a resounding affirmation of difference which articulates the potential for universality from its own subjective position. The danger lies in equating the philosophically engendered subject of the narrative with the socially-situated subjectivity of post-colonial experience. Can narrative tending toward universality achieve the kind of representative transcendence that allows for more than a particular insight into the cultures of colonialism and post-colonialism?

In opposition to a post-colonial literature which depicts the subject's introspective journey into self awareness, the literature of radical difference deploys a plurivocalic

and multi-cultural subjective experimentation which bases its own universalizing tendencies on the principles of openness and multiplicity. In the Maghreb, the works of Abdelkebir Khatibi epitomize this trans-lingual, trans-cultural genre. He argues in *Maghreb Pluriel* that the idea of an authentic and ontological plurality of being particular to the Maghreb is founded on a historical, linguistic and cultural heterogeneity which distinguishes North Africa from both Western and Oriental civilizations. Through the subjective rise to consciousness of this difference, the pluralized subject purports to integrate historical and psychological aspects of culture and to address the concerns of a heterogeneous community in reconstruction. This accumulation of diverse experiences into a unique subjective perception draws reference to a historical identity which, as numerous literary examples demonstrate, needs to prove its contemporary relevance.

Sharing this vantage point, Abdallah Memmes describes the act of writing "Meaning and Interculturality" as one in which multiplicity is a presupposition to Maghrebian subjectivity:

"Whether on the scriptural or on the thematic level, the procedure is the same: the approach at hand is one of a collection of subversive practices, to combat the systems of uniformizing order and to substitute the hegemonic and coercive unity they impose, in order to realize from the starting point of heterogeneity a liberating unity." (Memmes, 101).

According to Memmes, several writers from the Maghreb have used this approach to subvert and reinvent the autobiographical genre, so that the "I" slips into the collective deictic "we" and a representation of the community's life and development is realized. What's more, this strategy of reinvention purports to achieve pluralism from within subjectivity; the enunciation of plural existence by the "I" immediately and immanently dispels otherness from the harmony of a shared cultural experience. Memmes' formulaic conception of the Maghrebian narrative would equate autobiographical writing in the Maghreb with writing the story of a community's rise to collective expression. The writing of community becomes therefore a writing of pluralized modernity, inclusive of difference and capable of expression in the singular voice of the people.

Despite Memmes' wishful pluralizing of the unified subject, inner limitations, ideological biases and mythological foundations present persistant obstacles to ultimate self-knowledge in subjectivity when it is forced to confront, through its very openness, a recalcitrant social reality vocalized from within the heterogeneity of the people. While the representative transcendence of a particular subjective perspective seems possible in the writing of Mouloud Feraoun or Mohamed Dib, radical disruptions on the levels of family, community, and ideology disorient the subject perspective in its attempt to make sense of its social world. I believe that it is through the exploration of this disorientation of community that the subject questions the foundations on which society and the subject are mutually constructed. And this explora-

tion through the contradictory formations of communicative subjectivity permanently discredits the absolute status of the representative popular narrative. But as it denaturalizes the collective, popular object of the writing of communities, it forces a reckoning between oppositional forces, communities of disunity, and contradictory ideals of belonging. This collection of tensions necessitates a rethinking of the foundations upon which narrativity in Maghrebian fiction rests. Subjectivity can not be conceived as lying outside of the social realm; nor can it truly maintain political integrity by remaining open to extreme heterogeneity. In the final analysis, subjectivity is characterized by an ambivalent perspective on community, articulated imperfectly throughout its obstacle-ridden trajectory through incommensurable strands of identity.

By treating six literary texts written by six different authors from the Maghreb, this analysis creates a community linked by its common interrogation on the possibility of community. In creating this space of analytical difference, I will demonstrate how the texts collectively argue the construction of community and how the formation of subjectivity is challenged by its approach to that otherness which, in various guises, emerges from its conceptions of popular unity.

The stable construction of a narrative community is disputed in one of the earliest, "revolutionary", texts. In Kateb Yacine's *Nedjma*, the errant narrative reveals the personal histories of four protagonists whose family backgrounds are characterized by the enigma of uncertain paternity and violence. The novel is simultaneously the representation of a pervasive symbolic and political stagnation which preempts identity reconstruction according to any prior conceptions of community and genealogy. This stagnation comes in spite of the urgently required popular solidarity against the colonial occupation. In the poetic reconstruction of a meeting between an unnamed peasant and Lakhdar, a student militant in flight, the novel offers an example of the multi-layered schism which divides the Algerian people: "I called to him, but he didn't come. He made a sign. /He signed to me that he was at war./ At war with his stomach. Everybody knows ... /Everybody knows that a peasant has no mind./ A peasant is only a stomach. A catapult." (Kateb Yacine 54). Lakhdar is incapable of communicating with his interlocutor linguistically, which is not in itself remarkable in the multilingual Maghreb. But in an ironic reflection of both the peasant's body language and the received message, Lahkdar parodies their mutual unease, both with each other and with the world in which they live : "Me, I was at war. I entertained the peasant. /I wanted him to forget his hunger. I played the fool. I played/ the fool before my father the peasant" (54). The experience of conflict with the world is the only point of commonality, even if Lakhdar recognizes the outward signification of age and generational continuity. Radically different perspectives on "war", the incommensurability of individual experiences of "war" and the absence of a common idiom with which to construct a composite simulacrum of the object in question defy

any genuine notion of paternity and invite a closer view of the barriers which impede the transmission of cultural meaning on identity in *Nedjma*.

Lakhdar's inability to communicate with his "father" suggests that generational, geographical, linguistic and class barriers prevent a concerted popular movement against the foreign oppressors. Another of the protagonists, Rachid, is susceptible to psychic and hallucinatory mental peregrinations, which reveal to him both the enigmas of his own identity and the profound fracture in the affiliations of his tribal ancestry. In one of the most poignant critiques of attempts to re-establish cultural continuity through the mythical historic links of tribal genealogy, he has a vision in which the critical schisms of distinct communities are revealed:

"And the old legendary Keblout appeared to Rachid in a dream ... He, the ancestor with the face of a ferocious beast, with somber and crafty eyes, passed his superb gaze over his tribe, with his cane in hand; with this gaze, he ironically recounted the history of each one ... he alone had lived their existence to its full extent." (134)

The history of tribal disloyalty and irrevocable fragmentation is revealed to Rachid, but the evocation here of a legendary tribal figure serves not to remind him of his forgotten tribal identity; rather, it demonstrates on a psychological level that the contemporary absence of community has origins which precede the current conflict. The emphasis on a "lived history" reinforces the relation between experience and belonging. This relationship is further strengthened by the camaraderie which unites the four protagonists. Individually, they experience a personal exile whose debut stems from the disruption of their paternal origins: "Who among us has not seen his origins blur like a stream in the sand, who hasn't closed his ears to the subterranean gallop of the ancestors, who hasn't run and frolicked on the tomb of his father" (97). Collectively, with the story of each one comprising part of a cyclical and interwoven unity, they bear witness to a generalized environment of alienation in a nation racked by the factionalism of a colonial war.

Kateb Yacine's *Nedjma* weaves personal, mythological and historical identities together in order to highlight collective and communicative fragmentation on several levels. This composite form of representation loosens the narrative integrity of subjectivity but seeks to reconstruct an entity, the female figure of Nedjma, around which narrative instances are generated. Nedjma's own enigmatic origins offer the possibility of a necessarily partial reflective plenitude for the alienated protagonists.

Tahar Ben Jelloun's *Moha le fou, Moha le sage*, similarly constructs a subversive figure which serves as the wandering witness to the fragmentation of cultural continuity. Moha also vocalizes the collective concerns of a people victimized by post-independence transitions of power. While tracing the forgotten origins of a collective consciousness, Moha receives and transmits the personal histories of marginalized elements of contemporary society:

"Neither Aïcha, the little maid, wrenched from her village, nor Dada, the black slave woman bought in Sudan at the beginning of the century, had the right to speak in the house of the patriarch. Mute, excluded, both of them. Nevertheless, they spoke. Aïcha spoke at night in the wood, and Dada in the evening on the roof of the house. Their words will reach the ears of Moha. It is again he who relates them." (Ben Jelloun 39)

Moha le fou, Moha le sage argues blatantly that even if they are deemed socially acceptable, permissible in Islam, or politically necessary, the abuse of children forced into servile labor, the virtual enslavement of women, and the torture of political dissidents are symptoms of a single social disorder. It is only by collecting these stories, and by transmitting them through the ambivalent optic of the madman/wiseman that a concerted resistance is possible.

Ben Jelloun's interpretation is dependent however, on the retrieval from a mythic past of a unified popular ideal, in which language is the hybridized vehicle of expression of the body. The contemporary dislocation of social unity can only be corrected by remembering the future possibility of a harmony whose promise is already present in the world, on a corporal, natural and social level:

"I sing of a people which is absent for the moment behind the wall. A people which will one day push the wall forward. I say a people and not a dream or an image, a living people, which knows patience and furor, an unpredictable people. It descends on the streets with its naked kids and its trees suspended in the sky" (Ben Jelloun 49).

The primary element of popular renewal is "absent" but "present", tangible yet incomplete in its potential. It speaks in a singular voice which has not yet been integrated behind the concrete action that only a figure like Moha can usher into linguistic form.

In the Manichean imaginary of Ben Jelloun's fictive world, post-independence Morocco effectively silences popular opposition in the name of a degenerative social order whose tenets are no longer an orthodox Islam, national pride and humanism. Rather, they have given way to the vice, greed and injustice which are inevitable in a society which forgets to recognize value in its weakest members: the poor, women, and especially children. Ultimately, however, it is not so much that human behavior fails in the face of absolute ideals which remain resolute to enslave humanity in its fallibility. At issue is whether a reason which fails to recognize the ethical, corporal and mystical composition of human society can ever be anything but abusive. The "people" in Ben Jelloun's writing presupposes this preexistent integrity which society has distorted beyond recognition and which can only be regained through the re-emergent plural conscience.

As it attempts to narrate the composite experience of victimization in post-independence Morocco, *Moha le fou, Moha le sage* frequently degenerates into the caricature. While Ben Jelloun strives to create a revolutionary prototype, Moha is

easier read as an essentialized Jeremiah crying in the wilderness of a post-colonial world that has lost its ideals. It is in critiquing the absolutism of such myth, even in its popular and folkloric simulacra, that Mohamed Khair-Eddine's *Agadir* narrates a similar condemnation of the generalized disintegration of Moroccan society. *Agadir* stages the collision of popular, historical and mythic identity in order to confront the impossibility of ever rebuilding a society constructed on received notions, but it is at the same time a deconstruction of its own subjective position on society. In a society founded on precariously crafted mythologies of identity, colossal catastrophe not only destroys but it also unearths the inner workings of mythologies. In the text, subjectivity itself is revealed to be the most important of those mythologies according to which the experience of belonging is purveyed.

The narrator is a minor functionary sent to the cataclysmic scene of a city ravaged by earthquake in order to reestablish official order. As he receives the survivors' documentation of their ruined possessions and property, he notes that their "descriptions are without analogy, but all interconnected by an intrinsic line, shall we say by a similar motif" of *reparable* loss (Khair-Eddine 19). The claims which pass through his hands range from the loss of shops, homes and family members, to the banal job application totally unrelated to the catastrophe. The narrator dismissively critiques the survivors for not simply abandoning their former lives, for they act as if their city were "the cradle of civilization and the matrix on which its history will form" (15). It is evident that the narrator's pessimism was already predetermined by the particular culture of the Moroccan civil service, and he quickly reveals what the actual mission is: "I must admit that I'm not looking for truth. I received orders to that effect. What counts is to arrive at conclusions which will hold" (49).

But it is from this conscious abdication of total restitution that the narrator's own immediate identity and local position (*demeure*) begin to reveal their innate disorder. The text dissolves first-person narrative by disregarding the distinction between direct and indirect discourse, but it also explodes its own generic continuity, by interweaving the novelistic, the poetic and the theatrical. The supreme subject position, which narrates his own inner psyche as he chops through the claims of the dispossessed, gives way to a double allegory in which the "I" imperfectly operates as one among many diverging positions in a theatrical dramatis personae. The cast of voices represent historically and socially typical subject positions, including "the judge" (*le caïd*), "the messenger" (*le chaouche*), the "king" (*le roi*), "the peasants" (*les paysans*) and "the student" (*l'étudiant*). Contradiction and deception typify the exchanges, and dominant themes include steadily disempowered fixations like justice, memory, popular unity and the monarchy which, having been unearthed from the unconscious sublayer of social construction, are forced to articulate the legitimacy of their particular positions.

The "I" reemerges in several points in the text, but just as it loses itself in the polyphony of social and historical personifications of larger social segments, the no-

tions of belonging and existence on which its distinct self is attached are increasingly constricted: "Was I born? I was born, therefore, I live, so it's me that was born ... No, I didn't see myself being born" (86). The search for the origins of civil society gives way to the narrative fixation on the origins of the particular persona which the "I" has become. Memory is tested as an adequate process for the verification of existence and as a viable ideology for the constitution of social belonging. The common ideal of a rural, tribal heritage and an original wisdom, which can be reintegrated through the activation of a continuous, intergenerational memory, becomes nothing short of nightmarish, as the "I" is haunted by his buried father through the marshes and slime of his ancestral homeland.

It is nevertheless in the penultimate section of *Agadir* that the threatened narrative subject emphatically plots out the architectural design of the new city, in which its citizens will "DEFINITIVELY CONTRADICT THE POSTULATE WHICH AIMS TO DEGRADE US AND ACCORDING TO WHICH GOD IS GOD THE BOSS AND US WHAT ARE WE EXCEPT THE VERTEBRATES OF A REPUGNANT AND DECONSTRUCTIBLE RACE..." (124). The narrator suggests that both the social and the psychological ruins which litter the subjective landscape can only be overcome by radically reorienting thought on humanity. Human existence is unmistakably animal, and the human animal is quite definitely amoral: "GOD WOULD BE THE MONUMENTAL ZERO OF MY EYE WHERE EVERYTHING COLLAPSES" (126); any effort short of a reconsideration of human collectivity according to this ultimate recognition will simply rebuild society on the same faulty foundations.

Building a rationally ordered community in *Agadir* seems to lie outside the realm of human possibility. Inevitably human community is constructed, but the text suggests that the impediment to a more *natural* existence stems from a characteristic linguistic egocentrism: "And then each one speaks especially about his own life. Each one regrets his past life" (126). While the individual claims lodged against an indifferent social order remain disjointed, the cooperative potential of consciousness is also denied the possibility of transcending the limitations of its present existence.

The narrator in *Agadir* has no prior faith in either human community or in the stable rationalism of the individual subject. In this respect, he is quite different from the protagonist and autobiographical "I" in Driss Chraibi's *Le Passé Simple*. Written in Morocco just prior to its independence, the text depicts a similar breakdown of cultural continuity, this time located squarely in the domestic sphere. On behalf of his weaker family members, the narrator, Driss Ferdi, the western-educated second son of a traditional Moroccan patriarch, launches a counterattack against the tyrannical authority of his stoic, bourgeois father. While Driss perceives himself as the subversive liberator of the oppressed, the genuine breakdown is in the construction of the self as a representative of others. Whereas Driss anticipates a degree of solidarity from his mother and brothers, their skepticism merely aggravates his already impa-

tient pathos and his disgust at their inertia. He challenges his mother verbally to speak her defiance against the patriarch and overcome her wretched status:

"... Do you prefer to remain a wreck? Because, if so, tell me and instead of treating you like some sort of imbecile, I'll treat you like a wreck ... Did you never think that I wasn't proud of you? You could have been a mother, and you're only a wreck. Or do you think that, from the moment you threw me outside with three or four hundred grammes of placenta, I would continue to spend my life blessing you? No way! So? So?" (Chraibi 153).

Driss eventually abandons the struggle to emancipate his mother. According to his perception, his mother has passed the point in which she can communicate her feelings. Because she has been reduced to her reproductive capacity, the only gesture available to her now is involuntary procreation. In fact virtually the only family member with whom Driss communicates his collectively-conceived struggle is his father, his declared opponent. The text opens up the dual possibility, first that Driss is the only one whose education provides the terms and understanding for concerted action against tyranny, and second that Driss has ultimately mistaken the collective will for a highly personal one. Active and passive resistance may simply be unrecognizable and incommunicable. But the text also jeopardizes its own privileged narrative position by denying the Western educated, humanist-oriented subject the ultimate liberty to coopt incommensurably divergent life experiences.

The inadequacy of the interpretive function of subjectivity is also at issue in Abdellatif Laâbi's *Le Chemin des Ordalies*. When the narrative subject reemerges from prolonged detention, he only partially recognizes the society which inspired his embittered revolutionary idealism. While the text seems to want to maintain an ideal of collectivity, pertinent to particular shared experiences, there is an increasingly evident mistrust of ideological platforms whose defense slips into its primary *raison d'être*:

"What was I and what have I become? What have we done? How much of it was error and how much blindness? What must be let go in order to safeguard something, the most precious of our selves, of our dreams, the most precious of this "for what, for whom" have the sacrifices been accorded, the blood been spilled?" (Laâbi 188).

While Laâbi's narrator recognizes the flaw of ideological forces to unify the inner lives of individuals, it is loss of personal control over the actions required to support doctrine that inspires the most profound regret. It is the return to an awareness of the complexities of the social world which places the subject as a redemptive figure into question. While in detention, his world is constricted in both time and space, and the solidarity that prisoners of conscience feel is easily mistaken for a generalized spirit of solidarity which would link them directly with political and social forces in the outside world. At the same time, the text refuses to idealize and totalize the self-effacing capacities of martyrs for a particular cause. The suffering of the individual

torture victim may be a consequence of pervasive oppression, and it certainly has wider social implications. But Laâbi refuses to repeat the violation by collapsing one man's particular trajectory into a collectivity "whose vultures attack their victim before he has even breathed his last breath" and "who won't pass up the opportunity to deform your words, to keep what suits it, and what it wants to keep, hold them back or drop them after taking them out of context, from their logical development" (197).

Whereas Laâbi ambivalently questions whether an individual case of resistance and suffering truly represents anything greater than personal tragedy, he nevertheless resurrects the ideal of community. Despite his pessimism concerning the utility of his own sacrifice, the narrator nevertheless repeats in a fairy-tale text-within-the-text an allegory of the inner self which attains a sublime state through selfless love. The model for an idealized social body of resistance is implicitly restored. A second recognition of community counteracts the skepticism with which fraternity is conceived according to ideological lines. Even as the narrator argues that one must "dig and dig this hard rock of [social] reality ... to place ourselves into question...to spring up on the other side of the tunnel or the Cavern of our Ideas" (191), community in *Le Chemin des Ordalies* is preserved directly along affective lines: family and close friends, but also a kind of love which characterizes the affective solidarity of resistance writers.

The experience of incarceration indelibly imprints a strategic conception of community on the narrator. This conception allows the inevitable contradictions of pessimism and faith in social ideals to co-exist. Shared experience invites a close affiliation between the narrator and others who have similarly suffered, even as the text expresses a loss of faith in "brotherhood". The unity achieved through shared experience translates itself into an indistinct usage of the pronominal designations "I" and "you" in several texts. The "I" in Abdelhak Serhane's *Les enfants des rues étroites* closely follows the experiences of another, presumably very like him. The "I" attempts to recall and interpret what the other sees, what his position is vis-à-vis other people and what the other person must certainly feel. While they are both spectators at a public story-telling (*halqa*), the "I" narrates his interlocutor's experience, communicates that experience to him and proposes a simultaneous, yet distinct similitude in the representation of their existence:

"You went back to your place in order to listen to the rest of the story. I still couldn't see the expression on your face. Drowned in the overexcited crowd, I could distinguish the worn collar on your jacket. This detail opened wide before my eyes two great parentheses where the itinerary of our two lives were traced in parallel in an ink of misery." (Serhane 37)

The text demonstrates a consciousness of its own narrative production. But it does not incite its own closure according to this model of affective and dual subjectivity. Rather, its several loosely connected stories exhibit radical variations in the collective

conception of subjectivity. The public storyteller promises that the power of his words, are "capable of healing your pain and precipitating you into the absence of people without history ..." (Serhane 37). The particular language arena of the *halqa* speaks of a transcendence toward a community fixed outside historical time. But when the narrator's gaze is attracted to a veiled woman being seduced by men on either side of her, the sexual and the discursive compete for attention in a contrived doubling of the spectacle: "While the two men resolved their differend with punches, the storyteller gathered his belongings and grabbed the woman by the arm and they both disappeared down an obscure alley" (Serhane 56). The woman's presence in the *halqa* is remarkable not only because it disrupts Moroccan gender decorum. She also objectifies the participant observer position so key to *halqa*'s communicative approach to narration. Finally, her presence subverts the narration by usurping its audience, leaving the storyteller with no other option than to interrupt the scene of social and discursive interaction.

Communicative exchange is key to subjective transcendence of social realities. Another scene constructs a public forum in a train compartment heading West on the Marrakech-Oujda line where "ten people, stacked up like sardines in a can, occupied eight places" (113), debate political and social issues, share advice and criticism concerning the behavior of their fellow travelers. As various positions articulating poignant feelings on topics ranging from the price of bread to the causes of juvenile delinquency, the text asserts that "Something new was being born. Discourse (*la parole*). People were talking, saying what they thought of the concerns of the day. What was happening? Had they conquered fear?" (121).

In a world where power is derived from deceit and misrepresentation, silence and balking signify an abdication of social responsibility. Serhane depicts a social world in which truth is paid for in cash. The individual must satisfy the demands of an all-encompassing and monstrous administration. The language appropriate to discuss feelings of disgust and impatience must be stifled, and he who can adapt his language to meet the demands of the appropriate social situation will succeed in furthering his particular objectives. In this generalized environment of egocentrism, the contrived communication forum, experimental in form and closed in scope, does seem to give rise to a less encumbered communicative community of heterogeneous subjective positions.

But community discourse is ephemeral in Serhane's text. Permanent communities inevitably produce individuals who feel alienated from them. Exploring the position of the subject in the social world necessarily confronts the dynamics of the particular groups which share its historical and social reality. In the interest of conceptualizing a principle of radical difference, reference must be made to the effects on the subject exacted by these other popular formations. Heterogeneity as a principle in thought requires an openness to the expression of multiple opinions, but some will inevitably argue for the formation of exclusive communities, and others will seek to undermine

the premise of social unity. If it is naive to assume that absolute unity ever exists in a society, it is equally invalid to claim that the pressure of multiplicity leaves no marks on particular groups. The principle of heterogeneity risks becoming an absolutist discourse, especially in its tendency to conceive of marginality as a site of primary and permanent subversion. The words of Abdellatif Laâbi show how writing in the Maghreb has in some respects passed through the period in which ideological presuppositions overrule more tempered approaches to the heterogeneity within society:

"We're past the time of the lightening-bolt discourse which can set the plains on fire, past the slap-dash analyses whose conclusions are already programmed in their premises." (Laâbi 194)

Communities may achieve their autonomy through the articulation of their experience, but discourse is rarely able to adapt painlessly to social and historical transitions. Ideologies which manipulate communities unfailingly alienate their others, and they indirectly contribute to their own demise and to the eventual generation of more socially apt discourse.

REFERENCES

Ben Jelloun, Tahar. 1978. *Moha le fou, Moha le sage*. Paris: Editions du Seuil. Translations from the French are mine.

Chikhi, Beida. 1991. "L'Identité culturelle à l'épreuve de la modernité dans les nouveaux textes maghrébins". *Identité Culturelle au Maghreb, Série: Colloques et Séminaires*. Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1991. Translation from the French is mine.

Chraibi, Driss. 1954. *Le Passé Simple*. Paris: Editions Denoël. Translation from the French is mine.

Kateb Yacine. 1956. *Nedjma*. Paris: Editions du Seuil. Translation from the French is mine.

Khaïr-Eddine, Mohamed. 1967. *Agadir*. Paris: Editions du Seuil. Translation from the French is mine.

Laâbi, Abdellatif. 1982. *Le Chemin des Ordalies*. Paris: Editions Denoël. Translation from the French is mine. Text in all capitals in the original.

Memmes, Abdallah. 1992. *Signifiance et Interculturalité: Textes de A. Khatibi, A. Meddeb et T. Ben Jelloun*. Rabat: Editions Okad. Translation from the French is mine.

Serhane, Abdelhak. 1986. *Les enfants des rues étroites*. Paris: Editions du Seuil. Translation from the French is mine.