THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 47

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Papers Presented to Tamás Iványi On His Eightieth Birthday

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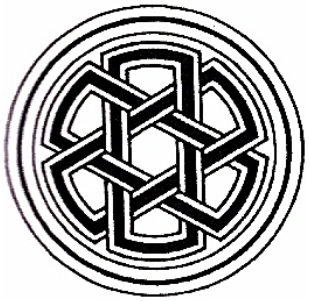

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CONTENTS

TAMÁS IVÁNYI: A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

"Provided It Has Nothing To Do With Fish."
(P.G. Wodehouse, *Leave It to Psmith*)

The above citation comes from a novel whose absurd sense of humour has long been appreciated by Professor Tamás Iványi since well before he became a professor. He will undoubtedly recall its original context: It is the only proviso in a hilarious classified ad posted by Psmith, the smart and excentric protagonist of the novel, in which he announces his (almost) universal aptitude in dealing with even the most intractable tasks. Although I am unaware of any particular aversion to pisciculture on Professor Iványi's part, the citation is fitting here in quite a number of ways. For a start, it evokes not just Professor Iványi's penchant for Wodehouse's novels but also his dry wit worthy of a Psmith. Like the latter, Iványi is pleasantly excentric, and behind the tongue-in-cheek, ironic façade he is also extremely helpful to students and colleagues alike – perhaps even about questions having to do, however remotely, with fish. For he is knowledgeable in myriad subjects having to do with Islam and the Arabic language, and the inscription also alludes to this remarkable intellectual versatility. Indeed, as a student of his I could not fail to observe, as all my fellow-students did, his trademark breadth of learning in Muslim culture, the product of an intellectual curiosity that ranges from Arabic and Semitic linguistics and general linguistics to Arabic literature to prosody to Muslim intellectual history to Islamic law and jurisprudence to Islamic mysticism to popular religion – and on, and on. His erudition, coupled with attention to even minute data, is rarely matched in these days of narrow disciplinary specialisation and properly belongs to a bygone era. His insatiable appetite for reading across a wide variety of disciplines, both as a pastime and for scholarly pursuits, has remained unchanged to this day, a fact that will impress even during a brief conversation with him.

Born in Budapest in December 1944 as the third of three brothers, Tamás Iványi lost his father when he was still in primary school. A knack for mathematics seems to have run in the family, since both his siblings chose, and came to be quite successful in, careers that needed an obvious aptitude for that discipline: László was a renowned architect, while György worked as a noted expert of civil engineering. As a primary school pupil, Tamás Iványi too was attracted to, and excelled in, the study of mathematics, an interest that he has not altogether abandoned ever since. Anyone familiar with the elegantly logical rules of syntax and word-formation of Classical Arabic will appreciate the extent to which a proclivity to mathematics can be a tremendous boost to learning Arabic, as later proved to be the case with

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Professor Iványi's career. Mathematics, in which he showed remarkable talent, was only trumped by a newfound interest in the Arabic language during his final year in primary school, when an older friend of his brothers made an impromptu demonstration of the art of writing the beautiful Arabic script to him during a family holiday at a lakeside resort. István Boga (1934–2006), the friend responsible for introducing Iványi to the captivating world of the Arabic language, later left Hungary to settle and marry in Morocco, but their friendship, made all the more powerful by a shared love of all things Arabic and Islamic, would remain firm. In fact, it was with the assistance of Iványi that Boga at a much later date published or re-published a number of his language manuals in Arabic, including a Hungarian-Arabic dictionary, within a book series that Iványi edited. At any rate, having observed that brief show of the use of Arabic writing, Iványi was instantly hooked and, determined to learn the language as soon as possible, he set about the daunting task.

The summer over, he enrolled in the intensive Arabic course of the nationwide Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge (a prominent academic society known in Hungary under the acronym TIT), where Arabic was taught by the nationally famous Arabist and journalist Alajos Chrudinák. Iványi continued his Arabic studies uninterrupted right to the moment he could apply for admission to Eötvös Loránd University. People familiar with Iványi from that early period recall that it was a matter of hours for the eager if still very young scholar to memorise the intricate syntactic system of Arabic verbs and verbal participles. Meanwhile he pursued his secondary school studies at the reputable Kölcsey Ferenc Gimnázium, an institution located in the Sixth District of central Budapest and renowned for its consistently high academic standards ever since its inception in 1898. His secondary school was by any measures a particularly inspiring intellectual environment, the circle of his schoolmates including among others the renowned late Sinologist, Koreanist and linguist Ferenc Mártonfi (1945–1991), as well as the writer and translator György Dalos (b. 1943). However, for all his precocious learning that included a thoroughgoing study of Latin, Greek and classics, Iványi was not just a denizen of the rarefied milieu of academia: In the summer of 1963, just prior to beginning his undergraduate studies, he sought and got temporary employment as an unskilled labourer at the reconstruction works of Erzsébet Bridge, today a major artery of traffic over the Danube in Budapest.

As a result of his early introduction to the Arabic language, his familiarity with both written and spoken Arabic was already well-established by the time he applied for admission to university. Indeed, an anecdote fondly recalled by childhood friends tells of a class excursion during which Iványi recorded an appreciative note in Arabic in the visitors' book of a museum, a rather unusual thing for a teenager to do that, perhaps being considered an *ipso facto* suspicious act under a slightly paranoid communist régime, almost led to his dismissal from secondary school. Disciplined though he was, any punishment he received was more than offset by his successful application later on to Eötvös Loránd University. His unproblematic admission was

due partly to his already considerable knowledge of Arabic and partly to the fact that he had finished third in that year's national students' competition in history, which accorded the first ten contestants in each subject automatic admission to university in their chosen field. Given the breadth of his interests, it is hardly surprising that despite his demonstrated proficiency in historical studies, Iványi insisted on pursuing studies in other subjects as well and ended up with a degree in general linguistics as well as in Arabic, with a minor specialisation in African Studies into the bargain. As part of the latter specialisation, he studied Bantu linguistics from the late comparative linguist László Dezső (1927–2016), and he still fondly recalls his study of Swahili under the guidance of Edgar Kadenyi, a Kenyan medical student. Iványi also eagerly joined the so-called Scientific Students' Association in Oriental Studies, an institution that has long constituted a competitive and highly inspiring environment to young scholars with outstanding academic talent and scholarly ambitions. The list of his professors in Arabic philology is virtually a who's-who of this academic field in 1960's Hungary, including Károly Czeglédy (1914–1996; then head of the Department of Arabic and Semitic Philology), Julius (a.k.a. Abdul-Karim) Germanus (1884–1979), Alajos Chrudinák (1937–2020), Ernő Juhász (1939–2004), Abdel-Moneim Moukhtar (1929–2006), Csilla Prileszky (1939–1995) and Alexander Fodor (1941–2014).

Having completed his studies at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) between 1963 and 1968, Tamás Iványi graduated with honours in July 1968, his MA thesis addressing an important issue of Arabic grammar, the usage of the ubiquitous particles *an* and *anna* in Classical Arabic. After graduation he completed a full academic year of language training in Baghdad in 1968–1969, an exceptionally fruitful and inspiring year that left him with an abundance of keen observations on Arab culture in everyday settings, a cultural milieu for which his love is all too apparent to any interlocutor to this day. A long visit that he undertook in the company of the young ethnographer László Törő to aš-Šikk (also known as al-Qaṣaba), an agricultural village located by the Tigris directly north of the Little Zāb confluence, proved a particularly enthralling experience. It is hardly surprising that he feels an enduring intellectual and emotional attachment to Iraq and its unique culture and dialects in particular, although circumstances allowed him to return there only on a couple of occasions, specifically to attend the al-Mirbad International Poetry Festival along with a few colleagues.

After completing his linguistic training in 1969, Iványi was hired by the Institute for Intercultural Relations to work as an interpreter in Arabic, a job that, while not a permanent position and an employment having only marginal academic relevance, did provide not just a passable income but also a prime opportunity to practise Arabic as a living language, to gain a vast assortment of cultural insights, and to experience contemporary Arab culture in its manifold aspects. His tasks as an interpreter offered opportunities to interact with diverse groups of professionals, such as Middle Eastern agricultural experts as well as a team of ballet dancers touring the stages of Egypt,

an experience that left him with an appreciation of cultural variety and helped discard any trace of a scholarly perspective based on Orientalist clichés.

While codicology is not one of his academic specialisations, he does have considerable experience in this field as well. Between 1968 and 1971 he participated in a major project aimed at cataloguing the Franciscan Library in Gyöngyös, a collection established in mediaeval times and expanding ever since that for administrative purposes came to form part of the holdings of the National Library. While only partly relevant to Iványi's expertise in Oriental languages and cultures, this certainly was a prime opportunity to hone his skills in codicological issues and handling manuscript and printed book collections. From December 1970 to March 1974 Professor Iványi was employed by the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (then known as the Oriental Library). In this position, he was responsible for the library's customer services as well as for the management of the Arabic books collection and the whole Oriental journal collection. In his last year spent as a member of staff at the library, he spent months surveying, on behalf of the Oriental Collection, the African Studies library of the prominent politician and diplomat Endre Sík (d. 1978), a widely recognised specialist of African history. (Alas, the Oriental Collection eventually did not decide to buy this important personal collection.)

The year 1973 marked the start of Iványi's long and ongoing career as an exceptionally popular professor teaching countless cohorts of students various aspects of Muslim culture and the intricacies of the Arabic language. The academic year 1973–1974 he spent as a lecturer at József Attila University (JATE) in Szeged at the invitation of Professor András Róna-Tas (today a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and an internationally recognised expert on the languages and cultures of Central Asian Turkic-speaking peoples). While in Szeged, Iványi taught various courses on the Arabic language, general linguistics and the Arabic sources of early Hungarian ethnohistory, subjects that have remained at the forefront of his teaching and publication activity. The next academic year saw him return to his *alma mater* and take up teaching in March 1974 at the Department of Arabic and Semitic Philology of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), an academic home in which he has remained since, and which continues to benefit enormously from his vast and nonpareil expertise even after his official retirement in 2010. It would be a demanding task beyond the scope of this brief biographical précis to offer an exhaustive list of the subjects to which he introduced generations of students, and an understatement to say that he has been a decisive intellectual influence upon the later careers of those students, including the author of these lines. His trademark style, displaying a striking erudition coupled with an unfailing intellectual rigour and delivered in a characteristically reserved demeanour, is a rare combination that perhaps provides adequate explanation for the enthusiasm his former students tend to continue to feel for him even decades after graduation. The fact that he is an exceptionally dedicated educationist has been manifested in more than one way. This includes the more than

24 textbooks and coursebooks that he has written and/or edited for the purposes of use in a variety of university courses. It is no exaggeration to say that the teaching of Islamic and Arabic culture at the Department of Arabic and Semitic Philology at Eötvös Loránd University would now be inconceivable without the tomes that he has contributed.

Although palpably averse to seeking administrative positions, Professor Iványi could not escape the responsibility of becoming Head of the Department of Arabic and Semitic Philology between 2006 and 2010, a task to which he managed to apply his seemingly effortless effectiveness and a refreshing lack of bureaucratic inflexibility. His retirement in 2010 did not bring his teaching to an end, since his expertise in a range of subjects is practically indispensable, and at any rate unmatched, among the faculty. It is an immense bonus and an honour to the Department that he generously volunteers to impart that expertise to students despite the ludicrously frugal compensation of a retired lecturer's work. Ever since his retirement, Professor Iványi has continued teaching a wide variety of courses on many aspects of Islam, Muslim cultures and Arabic linguistics. Students continue to flock to his courses, not surprisingly given the unique opportunity to learn from a professor of unique erudition and often first-hand experience in such fields as popular religion, Sufism, Salafism, linguistics, literature and Islamic law.

Professor Iványi obtained his doctorate in Semitic Philology with the grade *summa cum laude* on 8th June 1974. The subject of his doctoral dissertation stays within one of his enduring interests, linguistics, treating as it does the issue of the semantic analysis of theme-rheme structures in Arabic. Since a list of Tamás Iványi's publications follows this biographical note, we shall not dwell here on this aspect of his academic career. The list is a more eloquent witness to both depth and breadth of scholarship than a brief summary could ever be. One aspect, however, deserves emphasis in this context: the effort to make available to the Hungarian-speaking public the major sources of Muslim culture as well as the results of recent scholarship has always been a prominent part of his scholarly endeavours, in the form of both publications and lectures. Since 1991, he has been secretary general of the Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Society, the umbrella organisation of Oriental studies in Hungary, which plays a dual role within the country of maintaining rigorous standards of scholarship in the study of Asian and African cultures, as well as disseminating the results of academic learning in this field to the general public. Given the prominent role of Oriental studies in Hungarian culture and historiography, this is far from being a peripheral responsibility. He was founder and, ever since, director of the College of Oriental Languages programme of the Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Society, an important forum for the teaching of Asian languages outside the formal tertiary education system. Since 1995 he has been a member of the editorial board of *Keletkutatás*, the leading Hungarian-language scholarly journal of Oriental studies in Hungary. He is also member of the editorial board of *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic*, the journal in which this collection of essays celebrating his

eightieth birthday appear – in all likelihood the first-ever issue of the journal that he played no part whatsoever in editing. Indeed, as recently as 2021 he was the editor responsible for that year's issue, dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Alan Jones of Oxford University, a colleague as well as a close personal friend of Iványi. Professor Iványi has also organised or co-organised a number of important international and domestic academic meetings, including the mammoth thirty-fifth International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS) in the year 1997 and the fourteenth and twentieth congresses of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (UEAI) in 1988 and 2000 respectively, both of which were held in Budapest.

In recognition of his wide-ranging scholarly and educational accomplishments, he was decorated with various awards and honours, including the Pro Universitate award of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in September 1989 for his exemplary service as an educationist and researcher, and the prestigious national Hungarian Order of Merit (Knight's Cross) in July 2019 for his outstanding teaching and research career and his role as secretary general of the Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Society.

As colleagues and as editors of and contributors to this volume, we wish Professor Iványi good health and ample energy to continue to regale us with the characteristic voice of his delectable wit and vast scholarship.

Zoltán Szombathy

PUBLICATIONS OF TAMÁS IVÁNYI

A. Books

1976

Arab–magyar kisszótár [*Arabic–Hungarian Pocket Dictionary*]. Budapest: KKI, 460 p. (Together with Sándor Fodor)[1].

1977

Magyar–arab kisszótár [*Hungarian–Arabic Pocket Dictionary*]. Budapest: KKI, 460 p. (Together with Sándor Fodor).

1979

Az arab világ [The Arab World]. (= *Keleti népek és műveltségek*.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

1981

Goldziher Ignác: "A hadísz kialakulása" [Ueber die Entwickelung des Ḥadîth]. *Az iszlám kultúrája. Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*. (= *Társadalomtudományi könyvtár*). Ed. Simon Róbert, 181–490. Budapest: Gondolat, 1981. (Translator.)

Goldziher Ignác: "A *hiǧāʾ* költészet előtörténete" [Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie, I. Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiǧâʾ-Poesie]. *Az iszlám kultúrája. Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*. (= *Társadalomtudományi könyvtár*). Ed. Simon Róbert, 597–703. Budapest: Gondolat, 1981. (Translator.)

Keleti nevek magyar helyesírása [Spelling of Eastern Names in Hungarian]. Editor in chief L. Ligeti. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981. Chapter 2: "Sémi nyelvek" [Semitic Languages], 99–190.

1984

Minhádzs at-tálibín [Textbook of Arabic language]. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

1985

Abú-Hámid al-Garnáti utazása Kelet- és Közép-Európában, 1131–1153 [The Travels of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṭī in Eastern and Central Europe, 1131–1153]. Közzétette O. G. Bolsakov és A. L. Mongajt. Budapest, 193 p. (Translation of the Arabic texts related to Hungary and the Hungarians in two works by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṭī.)

1986

Az arab írás [Arabic Writing]. (With Kinga Dévényi) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

[1] The Hungarian Arabist Sándor Fodor (1941–2014) was known in international scholarly circles as Alexander Fodor.

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Líbiai kalauz. (A Guidebook to Libya) (Co-edited with Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

1987

Let's write Arabic. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1987.

„Kiszáradt a toll...": Az arab írás története ["The pen has dried up": The history of Arabic Writing]. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

1988

Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic 1 (1988). (Co-edited with Alexander Fodor and Kinga Dévényi).

Arab 1 [Arabic 1]. (With Kinga Dévényi and Abd el-Moneim Moukhtar). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

Arab 2 [Arabic 2]. (With Kinga Dévényi and Abd el-Moneim Moukhtar). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

Arab–magyar szótár = Qāmūs ʿarabī–mağarī [*Arabic–Hungarian Dictionary*]. Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, xxxiv, 272 p. (Together with Sándor Fodor and Ernő Juhász).

Magyar–arab szótár = Qāmūs mağarī–ʿarabī [*Hungarian–Arabic Dictionary*]. Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, xi, 304 p. (Together with Sándor Fodor and Ernő Juhász).

Keleti vallások: gólyavári füzetek [A series of ten booklets on Oriental religions edited with Géza Bethlenfalvy]. Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1988–1991.

1989

Arab 3 [Arabic 3]. (With Kinga Dévényi and Abd el-Moneim Moukhtar). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

1990

Arab 4. *Nyelvvizsga előkészítő* [Arabic 4: Preparatory for the language examination]. (With Kinga Dévényi and Abd el-Moneim Moukhtar). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

Gyöngyszemek klasszikus arab szövegekből = Durrat al-ġawwās wa-rawʿat al-iqtibās min al-adab al-ʿarabī al-qadīm [Pearls from Classical Arabic Texts]. (= *Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára,* 20.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1990, 31, 177 p. (Editor.)

1991

Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Grammar, Budapest, *1–7 September 1991.* (Co-edited with Kinga Dévényi). *The Arabist. Budapest Studies in Arabic* 3–4.

1992

Jobbról-balra arabul [From Right to Left in Arabic]. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

On Chinese Phonology. By Ferenc Mártonfi. Budapest: Csoma de Kőrös Society, 164 p. (Editor.)

1993

Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicography and Lexicology. Part One. (Papers in English). (Co-edited with Kinga Dévényi and Avihai Shivtiel). Budapest: ELTE Chair for Arabic Studies, Csoma de Kőrös Society.

1994

Goldziher, Ignaz, *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs: An Essay in Literary History*. (Edition and translation, with Kinga Dévényi). Philadelphia & Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1994.

Waqāʾiʿ muʾtamar tārīḫ wa-mabnā l-maʿāǧim wa-l-qawāmīs al-ʿarabiyya. (Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicography and Lexicology.) Part Two. (Papers in Arabic). (Co-edited with Kinga Dévényi and Avihai Shivtiel). Budapest: ELTE Chair for Arabic Studies, Csoma de Kőrös Society.

1995

Indul a karaván: alapfokon arabul [The Caravan Takes off: Elementary Textbook in Arabic]. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

1996

Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa (LEM): Part One: *Linguistics and literature*. (Co-edited with Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: ELTE Chair for Arabic Studies, Csoma de Kőrös Society.

1997

Halad a karaván: középfokon arabul [The Caravan Moves on: Intermediate Textbook in Arabic]. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

1998

Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS). Part One: *Linguistics, Literature, History*. (Co-edited with Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: ELTE Chair for Arabic Studies, Csoma de Kőrös Society.

2001

Essays in Honour of Alexander Fodor on His Sixtieth Birthday. (Co-edited with Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: ELTE Chair for Arabic Studies, Csoma de Kőrös Society.

2002

Halad a karaván: középfokon arabul [The Caravan Moves on: Intermediate Textbook in Arabic]. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság. 2nd improved edition.

Az élet álom: Szúfi szentek élete és memoárjai [Life is a Dream: Lives and Memoirs of Sufi Saints]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 30.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 226 p.

2004

Goldziher Ignác: *Az arab irodalom rövid története: (A kezdetektől a XIX. századig)* [A Short History of the Arabic Literature, from the Beginnings to the 19th

Century]. (Co-edited from Goldziher's Hungarian manuscript with Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

2005

Égi utazás: szúfi szentek felemelkedése [Heavenly Journey: The Ascension of Sufi Saints]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára,* 31.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 231, 3 p.

Meditáció és extázis a szúfizmusban [Meditation and Ecstasy in Sufism]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára,* 32.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 225 p.

2006

Indul a karaván: alapfokon arabul [The Caravan Takes off: Elementary Textbook in Arabic]. (With Kinga Dévényi). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság. 2nd improved edition.

Arab nyelvtudomány = Fī ʿilm an-naḥw al-ʿarabī [Arabic linguistics]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 36.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság.

Szúfik és fundamentalisták [Sufis and Fundamentalists]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 37.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 186 p.

Egyiptomi arab [Egyptian Arabic]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 38.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 193 p.

A muszlim nő otthon: "Lásd ez az én birodalmam" [Muslim Women at Home: "Behold, this is my realm"]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 39.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 226 p.

2007

Omán: egy civilizáció dióhéjban [Oman: A Civilisation in a Nutshell]. Budapest: Sémi Filológiai és Arab Tanszék, 145, 4 p.

A szúfi nagymester, Ibn ʿArabī: Iszlám misztika tankönyv az "Ibn ʿArabī" c. előadáshoz, 2007. ősz [The Sufi Grandmaster, Ibn ʿArabī: Islamic Mysticism Textbook for the Lecture 'Ibn ʿArabī,' Autumn 2007] (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 41.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 237, 3 p.

Szúfi szertartások [Sufi Rituals]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 214 p.

2008

Arábiai mozaikok: iszlám tudománytörténet tankönyv az "Arábia" c. előadáshoz, 2008 tavasz] Fusayfusāʾ min al-Ǧazīra al-ʿArabiyya. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 44.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 292 p., [10] t.

A szúfi út: ṭarīqa: iszlám misztika tankönyv "A szúfi út" c. előadáshoz, 2008. ősz [The Sufi Path: Ṭarīqa: Textbook on Islamic Mysticism for the Lecture 'The Sufi Path,' Autumn 2008]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 45.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 221 p.

*A törvény (*šarīʿa*) az iszlámban: iszlám tudománytörténet tankönyv "Az iszlámjog" c. előadáshoz, 2008. ősz* [The Law (Sharia) in Islam: A Textbook on the History of Islamic Science for the Lecture 'Islamic Law,' Autumn 2008]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 46.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 240, 4 p.

2009

al-Zawāğ*: Házasság az iszlám világban: iszlám tudománytörténet tankönyv "A nő az iszlámban" c. előadáshoz, 2009. tavasz* [Zawāğ: Marriage in the Islamic World: A Textbook on the History of Islamic Science for the Lecture 'Women in Islam,' Spring 2009]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*, 47.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 252. 2 p.

2011

Dervisek és dervisrendek [Dervishes and Sufi Orders]. (*Keleti Nyelvek Kincsestára*,) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 222, 2 p.

B. Articles and book chapters

1973

"Párhuzamosság az irodalmi arab nyelvben: A tartalom és forma néhány kérdése" [Parallelism in Literary Arabic: A Few Issues Concerning Content and Form]. *Keletkutatás* 37–44.

1974

"A határozottság fogalmának kritikája a klasszikus arab nyelvben: Ismert és új információ, mint nyelvelemzési szempont" [The Criticism of the Concept of Definiteness in Classical Arabic: Known and New Information as an Aspect of Linguistic Analysis]. *Keletkutatás* 19–32.

1976

"Arab nyelvű források" [Arabic sources] *Bevezetés a magyar őstörténet kutatásainak forrásaiba* [Introduction to the sources of research on Hungarian prehistory] ed. by P. Hajdú, Gy. Kristó and A. Róna Tas, I,2, 211–237. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.

1976–77

"Uszáma ibn Munqidz: A példázat könyve" [The *Kitāb al-iʿtibār* of Usāma ibn Munqiḏ]. *Keletkutatás* 269–282.

1977

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"maulid". 145–146.
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"miszrá". 450.
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"munádzsát". 705.
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"qiráa". 269–270.
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Kinga Dévényi

الذوق الصوفي عند الجُنَيْد البَغْدَادِيّ (ت: 298هـ/ 910م)
الفناء والتوحيد والميثاق

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الملخص:
أسس الجنيد البغدادي فلسفته الصوفية على الآية القرآنية (وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى شَهِدْنَا) [سورة الأعراف، الآية: 172]، فمن خلال تأملاته للآية القرآنية السابقة ذهب إلى تأسيس ذوقه الصوفي القائم على الربط بين المصطلحات والمفاهيم التالية: **"الفناء"**، و**"التوحيد"**، و**"الميثاق"**. ومن الملفت للنظر أن الجنيد يقسم مفهوم **الفناء** إلى أربعة مستويات: فناء لغة الإنسان مع بقاء نطقه، فناء الرسم، فناء الحس، وصولا إلى فناء الأنا. ومن الملاحظ أيضا أن الجنيد لا ينحو منحى فلاسفة الإسلام الذين حاولوا إثبات مبدأ التوحيد عقلا، بل نعتقد باعتماده على الذوق تجاه هذه القضية خاصة حين قال: **(إذا تناهت عقول العقلاء في التوحيد، تناهت إلى الحَيْرة).** لنجده بعد ذلك يؤسس لذوقه الصوفي الخاص لمفهوم التوحيد مقسما إياه إلى أربع مستويات؛ أعلاها المستوى الرابع؛ الذي وصفه بلغة ذوقية إشارية رمزية حين قال: **شبح قائم بين يديه ليس بينهما ثالث. والعلم في ذلك أنه رجع آخر العبد إلى أوله، أن يكون كما كان إذا كان قبل أن يكون... الآن كان إذ كان قبل أن يكون؛ وهذا غاية حقيقة توحيد الموحد للواحد بذهاب هو.** ومن الملاحظ أيضا: أن توحيده هو الفناء عينه، حيث تفنى شخصية الموحد في الوحدة الشاملة التي يغيب فيها الوعي بالتمييز بين **"الأنا"** و**"الهو"**، ويكون الله كما كان في الأزل. **وأخيرًا**: يأتي مصطلح **"الميثاق"** ليمثل الجسر الرابط بين مفهومي **"الفناء"** و**"التوحيد"**؛ شبه المترادفين في المعنى؛ ليمثل الميثاق عودة الروح إلى المنبع الأصلي للحالة البشرية كما كانت في **"عالم الأزل"**، قبل أن تتواجد في **"عالم الزمن"**، وبذلك: **يرجع آخر العبد إلى أوله، أن يكون كما كان إذا كان قبل أن يكون**.

الكلمات المفتاحية:
الجُنَيْد البغدادي، الفناء، التوحيد، الميثاق، الذوق الصوفي.

THE CONCEPT OF TASTE *(ḎAWQ)* ACCORDING TO THE SŪFĪ MYSTIC AL-ĞUNAYD: PASSING-AWAY *(FANĀʾ)*, GOD'S ONENESS *(TAWḤĪD)*, AND COVENANT *(MĪṮĀQ)*

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Abstract:

Al-Ğunayd's Ṣūfī philosophy is based on the Quranic verse 7:172. Through his contemplation of this verse, al-Ğunayd formed his view on the concept of taste *(ḏawq),* which is based on the relation between 'passing-away', 'God's oneness', and 'covenant'. It is noteworthy that al-Ğunayd divided the stages of passing-away into four levels: the passing-away of human language while retaining speech; the passing-away of form; the passing-away of the senses; and ultimately the passing-away of the self. Al-Ğunayd did not follow the Islamic philosophers who attempted to prove the principle of God's oneness rationally, as is evidenced by his saying: "When the minds of the rational individuals reach God's oneness, they reach bewilderment." Instead of rationality, he regarded the idea of 'taste' relevant concerning God's oneness. He formulated his own concept of *ḏawq* dividing it into four levels, with the highest level being described in symbolic language as "a specter standing before him, not a third between them [...] and the knowledge in this is that the end of the servant returns to his beginning, to be as he was before he was [...] now he is as he was before he was, and this is the ultimate reality of the *tawḥīd* of the person who declares God's oneness, through the disappearance of his distinction between 'Him' and 'Me'. It is noteworthy that according to al-Ğunayd, God's oneness equals passing-away, since the personality of him who reaches union is annihilated in God's oneness, in which the distinction between self and other disappears, and God becomes as He was in eternity. Finally, the term 'covenant' represents the bridge linking the concepts of 'passing-away' and 'God's oneness', which are in fact synonyms. 'Covenant' represents the return of the soul to the source of the human condition, as it was in the 'world of eternity', before it existed in the 'world of time', and thus the end of the servant returns to his beginning, to be as he was before he was.

Keywords: al-Ğunayd al-Baġdādī, passing-away, God's oneness, covenant, Ṣūfī concept of taste, *ḏawq*

1- التعريف بالجنيد البغدادي

هو الجنيد بن محمد أبو القاسم الخراز[1]. وُلد ببغداد في أواخر عهد المأمون عام (215هـ/ 830م)، إلا أن أصل أسرته كان من نهاوند في فارس. عاصر أحداثًا جسيمة من العصر العباسي الثاني، فبين ولادته ووفاته اعتلى عرش الخلافة العباسية اثنا عشر خليفة، مات أغلبهم مقتولاً. وكان الجنيد طفلاً حينما بدأت محنة خلق القرآن وما جرّته على الناس من العذاب، وكذلك شهد الجنيد ثورة الزنج ودخولهم البصرة وتوالى القتال ضدهم كما عاصر ظهور القرامطة بالكوفة والفتنة التي عمّت البلاد بسببهم[2]. عاصر الجنيد أهم أئمة علماء المسلمين، وكذلك عاصر أبرز رموز التصوف في عصره من أمثال الحارث المحاسبي (ت: 243هـ/857م)، وأبو سعيد الخراز (ت: 286هـ/899م)، وسُمْنون المحب (ت:298هـ/910م)، والحلاج (ت:309هـ/922م)، وأبو بكر الشبلي (ت:334هـ/ 945م)، وغيرهم. بدأ الجنيد حياته الصوفية تحت رعاية خاله سرى السقطي (ت:253هـ/ 867م)، الذي كان أيضًا صوفيًّا مشهورًا. وتذكر بعض المصادر أن الجنيد عاش أربعين عامًا متخفيًا بتصوفه، مواظبًا على عمله التجاري. وبعد ذلك، بدافع إلهام داخلي حصل له، بدأ ينشر أفكاره في بغداد داعيًا لإصلاح أمور الأمة. فانتشر صيته في البلاد الإسلامية وعلا اسمه. ونظرًا لمكانته الكبيرة المعترف بها بين المتصوفة لقِّب الجنيد من طرف معاصريه بألقاب متعددة مثل "**سيد الطائفة**" و"**طاووس الفقراء**" و"**شيخ المشايخ**" و"**تاج العارفين**" وقد التفَّ حوله جماعة من مريديه عُرفت باسم "**الجنيديَّة**"، فأصبح صاحب مدرسة صوفية كبيرة. ولأهمية مكانته عند الصوفية يرِد اسم الجنيد في معظم سلاسل الطرق الصوفية التي تأسَّست فيما بعد.

وقد حظيت شخصية الجنيد باهتمام واضح من طرف المؤرخين للتصوف الإسلامي، كيف لا وهو الجامع بين الشريعة والحقيقة والواضع الأول للمريدين أصول الطريقة[3]. حتى أن البعض قد بالغ في وصف الجنيد باعتباره "**المُصنف الأول للتصوف في المشرق العربي**". ولقد بقي لنا أكثر من اثني عشر كتابًا من مؤلفاته، ومن بين تلك الكتب مراسلات له مع صوفيين آخرين، ومن هذه الكتب نذكر: "**كتاب التوحيد**"، و"**كتاب الفناء**"، و"**كتاب دواء الأرواح**"، و"**آداب المفتقر إلى الله**"، و"**كتاب الميثاق**"، و"**كتاب دواء التفريط**".

ومن الملفت للنظر أن مصنفات الجنيد تؤسس لمجموعة عديدة من المصطلحات والمفاهيم الصوفية التي ساعدت في: "**ارتقاء الذوق الصوفي**"، والتي يصعب رصدها في النصوص الصوفية السابقة عليه، مثل: "**الحقيقة الحقة**"، "**الإخلاص**"، "**العبادة القائمة على الحب**"، "**الفناء**"، "**التوحيد**"، "**الميثاق**".

كما حاول الجنيد تأسيس فلسفته الصوفية من خلال التوازن الظاهري ما بين: الشريعة الدينية والحقيقة الصوفية [**الروحية**]، فالأولى تعتمد على الالتزام الكامل لكل ما جاء به الوحي للنبي صلى

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[1] عبد الرحمن السلمي، طبقات الصوفية، ص155.

[2] انظر: حلية الأولياء 274/10، تاريخ بغداد 249/7، وفيات الأعيان 373/1، شذرات الذهب 228/2.

[3] محمد جلال شرف، دراسات في التصوف الإسلامي، ص293.

الله عليه وسلم، أما الثانية فلها قيمة روحية متجددة. ومن هذا المنطلق رفض الجنيد موقف بعض الصوفية (المنتسبين للتصوف ويقولون بإسقاط التكاليف الشرعية عند الوصول لمرتبة الولاية) الذين كانوا يقولون بأن الشريعة ليس لها معنى بالنسبة للصوفية ولكن معناها الهام للعامة من الناس، وقد رفض وانتقد الجنيد موقف هؤلاء[4].

ومن أبرز ما يتميز به الجنيد في مقالاته فن التعبير عن طريق الإشارة والترميز في لغة مكثفة، وعبارة مكتنزة، تستوجب دراية بطريقته الخاصة في التفكير، وأسلوبه المميز في التعبير. وتعتبر قضية التوحيد من أبرز القضايا التي اهتم بها الجنيد فقد أصبحت موضوع مناقشات عنيفة بين المتكلمين، خاصة المعتزلة والحنابلة. إلا أن الجنيد رأى أن العقل البشرى عاجز أمام هذه القضية فقال عبارته الشهيرة: **إذا تناهت عقول العقلاء في التوحيد، تناهت إلى الحَيْرة**[5]. فكان يرى أن قضية التوحيد يجب مقاربتها عبر الحال الصوفي الذي **يقود إلى الفناء عن ذاته والبقاء في الله**. وفى هذا الصدد يذكر الجنيد الميثاق الأول المذكور في الآية القرآنية (وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى شَهِدْنَا) [سورة الأعراف، الآية: 172] وكما سنرى لاحقا كيف ربط الجنيد ببراعة جديدة لم يسبقه إليها أحد بين مفهوم التوحيد وعلاقته بالميثاق وأثر هذا الأمر بتطور المقامات والأحوال.

وبصفة عامة فقد تباينت وتضاربت المصادر والدراسات الصوفية بشأن الجنيد، فهناك بعض المصادر وصفته على أنه يمثل النمط المعتدل للتجربة الصوفية القائمة على الكتاب والسنة في مواجهة التصوف المفرط في السكر الروحي والاتحاد. وهناك من وصفه بأنه تعمد الكتابة بطريقة غامضة ومبهمة لكي تكون أفكاره بعيدة الفهم عن العلماء الذين يميلون إلى الفهم الظاهري[6].

2- المقامات والأحوال عند الجنيد

رغم احتمالية وجود تعريفات لمصطلح (**الحال**) سابقة على الجنيد إلا أننا نعتقد بأنه هو أول من عبر بدقة عن المعنى الصوفي لمصطلح (**حال**). فقد قال: **الحال نازلة تنزل بالقلوب فلا تدوم**[7]، وفى موضع آخر يقول: **الحال نازلة تنزل بالعبد في الحين، فيحل بالقلب من وجود الرضا والتفويض وغير ذلك، فيصفو له في الوقت حاله ووقته ويزول**[8]. وفى موضع آخر نجد تعريف الجنيد لمصطلح الحال عندما يقول: **الحال نازلة تنزل بالعبد في الخير فيصفو له في الوقت حاله ووقته**[9]. إن السطور السابقة تعبر وبحق عن التعريفات الدقيقة لمصطلح (**حال- أحوال**) وستبقى التعريفات السابقة هي المضمون الأساسي لمفهوم الحال عند الصوفية اللاحقين للجنيد. وإذا كان الجنيد قد قدم المعنى

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[4] Hernandez 1999:168.

[5] القشيرى، الرسالة القشيرية، جـ2، ص583.

[6] Knysh 2000:54.

[7] السراج الطوسي، كتاب اللمع، ص66.

[8] السراج الطوسي، كتاب اللمع، ص441.

[9] عبد الملك الخركوشي، تهذيب الأسرار، ص389.

الاصطلاحي لمفهوم الحال بهذا الشكل، فماذا قدم بخصوص المقامات؟ ولعل العبارة التالية تعبر عن موقفه من المقامات حين قال: **المقامات بالشواهد، من قام بشواهد الأحوال فهو رقيق، ومن قام بشاهد الصفات فهو أسير، ومن قام بشاهد الحق فهو أمير**[10]. ويعني النص السابق أن يتخلى العبد عن القيام بالشواهد حتى يقوم بشاهد الحق لا بشاهد نفسه. أي أنه يسقط من حساباته أهمية ودور المقامات في أن تبلغ المريد العبد إلى هدفه المنشود، ولعل أبرز دليل على ذلك نصه المعنون بـ **"كنت بلا أنت"** ونجد في هذا النص قوله: **اعلم أنك محجوب عنك بك، وأنك لا تصل إليه بك، ولكنك تصل إليه به، لأنه لما أبدى إليك رؤية الاتصال به، دعاك إلى طلب له فطلبته، فكنت في رؤية الطلب برؤية الطلب والاجتهاد لاستدراك ما تريده بطلبك، كنت محجوبًا**[11]. ليس هذا فحسب بل حتى التوبة قد لا يعدها الجنيد من المقامات في حين يعدها من الأحوال على حد قول الهجويري حينما قال: **(يجب ألا تكون التوبة من كسب العبد [مقام]، لأنها موهبة [حال] من مواهب الحق سبحانه وتعالى وهذا القول يتعلق بمذهب الجنيد)**[12].

وبالتالي نجد أن الجنيد يعتمد على الأحوال في الوصول إلى الله لا على المقامات. وهنا يتشابه مع معاصره أبى يزيد البسطامي (ت: 261هـ/874م أو 264هـ/77-878م) كما سيتشابه معه أيضا في الاعتماد بشكل أساسي على مفهوم الفناء للوصول إلى الله. ولكن ثمة فارق جوهري لمفهوم الفناء بين البسطامي والجنيد. فإذا كان البسطامي ربط **الفناء بالشطح والمعراج والاتحاد** فإن الجنيد سيربط حديثه عن مفهوم **الفناء** برؤيته **للتوحيد** القائم على **الميثاق الأول** وسنرى تفاصيل ذلك لاحقا. وما يهمنا الآن هو اعتماد الجنيد على الأحوال لا على المقامات.

والسؤال الذي يطرح نفسه علينا: إذا كان الجنيد قد اعتمد على الأحوال، وقدم لنا وبدقة المعنى الاصطلاحي لمفهوم الحال، فهل عرف التنقل من حال إلى حال ولو بشكل نظري؟ ولعل الإجابة على هذا السؤال ستكمن في نص الجنيد المعنون بـ **(مقام الاصطناع)** فقد قال: **اعلم أن دليل الخلق برؤية الصدق وبذل المجهود لإقامة حدود الأحوال بالتنقل فيها، لتوديه حال إلى حال، حتى يؤديه إلى حقيقة العبودية... وهذا مقام الاصطناع قال الله عز وجل لموسى عليه السلام (وَاصْطَنَعْتُكَ لِنَفْسِي) [طه/41] فمن أين وإلى أين، فمنه وإليه وله وبه فني، وفني فناؤه لبقاء بقائه بحقيقة فنائه. فتلألأ سناء عطائه برد صفاته عليه لاستجلاب الخلق إليه وإحسانهم عليه**[13].

والجدير بالذكر أن الجنيد قد صور أثر عملية التغيير التي تتم في أعماق الصوفي نتيجة التبديل في المقامات والأحوال قائلا: **مفارقة الأخلاق الطبيعية، وإخماد الصفات البشرية، ومجانبة الدواعي النفسانية، ومنازلة الصفات الروحانية، والتعلم بالعلوم الحقيقية، واستعمال ما هو أولى على الأبدية**... وقد علقت الدكتورة سعاد الحكيم على النص السابق قائلة: أسطر ثلاثة أجملت عمليتي

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[10] عبد الملك الخركوشي، تهذيب الأسرار، ص82.

[11] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص264.

[12] الهجويري، كشف المحجوب، ص541.

[13] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص263-264.

التخلي والتحلي الصوفيتين، هذا الإجمال الذي سوف نحظى كقراء بتفصيله في موسوعة الغزالي في إحياء علوم الدين[14].

والسؤال الذي يطرح نفسه علينا: هل رسم لنا الجنيد ملامح الطريق الصوفي (المقامات والأحوال)؟ وهل أشار إلى عددها وترتيب مراحلها؟ إذا كان الجنيد قد عرف المعني الفني لمفهوم المقامات والأحوال وقدم التعريف الفني الدقيق لمفهوم الأحوال فإنه في الوقت نفسه لا يرسم لنا ملامح الطريق الصوفي (المقامات والأحوال) بدقة ولا يشير إلى عدد خطاها أو ترتيب مراحلها. وهذا الأمر لم يفعله أيضا أي من صوفية القرن الثالث الهجري، نظرًا لتداخل المنطلقات والمراحل في هذه المرحلة التأسيسية للتصوف. ومع ذلك نجده يشير أحيانا إلى بعض الترابط بين المراحل المختلفة والتي يسميها (**الطريق إلى الله**) وقد عبر عن أولها حين قال: **الطريق إلى الله مسدود على خلق الله (عز وجل) إلا المقتفين آثار الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم والتابعين لسنته**[15]. كما عبر عن ثانيها قائلا **على حد قوله (الجلوس بين يدي الله)**. وقد عبر عن ذلك حين سئل: **من أين استفدت هذا العلم؟ فقال: من جلوسي بين يدي الله ثلاثين سنة**[16]. وأحيانا نجده يقدم ترابط لبعض المراحل الروحية كما قال حين سئل: **كيف الطريق إلى الله تعالى؟ فقال: توبة تحل الإصرار، وخوف يزيل الغرة، ورجاء مزعج إلى طريق الخيرات، ومراقبة الله في خواطر القلوب**[17]. إن النص السابق يشير إلى ترتيب بعض المراحل الروحية في الطريق إلى الله. فيبدأ بالتوبة ثم يقدم الخوف على الرجاء ثم المراقبة. ولكن هذه المراحل لا تعبر عن تجربة الجنيد الروحية فلا نجد بداخلها مفهومي "**الفناء والتوحيد**" اللذين سيشكلان الركيزة الأساسية والإبداعية لخبرة الجنيد الروحية.

وقد استنتجت الباحثة سعاد الحكيم من خلال دراستها لمفهوم الفناء عند الجنيد أن طريقه قد يقاس بأربع مراحل. وذلك أن الفناء هو محور العمل الصوفي ومعيار التوحيد عند الجنيد. فلذلك تعتقد بإننا إذا استطعنا تحديد مراحل الفناء نكون فى الوقت نفسه نحدد عدد خطى الطريق[18].

3ـ حال الفناء ومستوياته المتعددة عند الجنيد

قدم لنا الجنيد في كتابه (الفناء) معاني متعددة ونقاطًا مختلفةً يفهم منها معنى الفناء[19]، ولفهم طبيعة هذا المصطلح المتغيرة في تصوف الجنيد قد نرجع أيضا إلى رسائله لإخوانه وكتبه المتعددة لنستطيع رصد مستويات هذا المصطلح. والجدير بالذكر أن الباحثة سعاد الحكيم ذهبت إلى أن درجات الفناء

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[14] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص40.

[15] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص152-153.

[16] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص174.

[17] أبو نعيم، حلية الأولياء، جـ10، ص269. وانظر أيضا: السبكي، طبقات الشافعية، جـ2، ص264. وانظر أيضا: ابن الجوزي، صفة الصفوة، جـ2، ص420.

[18] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص37 بتصرف.

[19] مجدي إبراهيم، التصوف السني حال الفناء بين الجنيد والبغدادي، ص395.

عند الجنيد أربع؛ فالإنسان يفنى أربع مرّات، أو على الأصح يتذوق أربع **"فناءات"**، يكون في الخطوة الرابعة منها **"تحت العرش". سئل الجنيد: أين موطنك؟ فقال: تحت العرش**[20].

ويمكن تسمية **الفناء الأول** بـــ**"فناء لغة الإنسان مع بقاء نطقه"** وفى ذلك يقول الجنيد: **وتفانت اللغات من وصفي، فلا صفة تُبدي ولا داعية تُحدي، كان الأمر في إبدائه، كما لم يزل في ابتدائه. نطقت بغيبتي عن حالي، ثم أبدى عليّ شاهد قاهر وظاهر شاهر. أفناني بإنشائي كما أنشاني بديا فى حال فنائي فلم أوثر عليه لبراءته من الآثار، ولم أخبر عنه إذا كان متولّيًا للإخبار**[21]. ويبدو ارتباط المعنى السابق للفناء بمفهوم الميثاق وسنرى لاحقا كيف يتم هذا الربط.

أما **الفناء الثاني**: فيمكن تسميته على حد تعبير الجنيد بـــ **"فناء الرسم"**، وقد عبر الجنيد في أكثر من موضع عن هذا النوع من أنواع الفناء منها قوله: **أليس قد محي رسمي بصفته، كما قال: وهو أولى وأغلب وأحق بالغلبة والقهر وصحة الاستيلاء على ما يبدو عليه حتى يمحي رسمه عامة ويذهب وجوده، إذ لا صفة بشرية ووجود ليس يقوم به تعاليًا من الحق وقهره، إنما هذا تلبس على الأرواح ما لها من الأزلية**[22].

أما **الفناء الثالث** فقد أسماه الجنيد بـــــ **"فناء الحس"** وهذا النوع يعبر عن تجربة خاصة لدى الصوفية بعد إحكامهم لمقامي التوكل والرضا، بحيث يستقبلون كافة الأمور بمذاق الرضا فلا يجدون البلاء من جنس البلاء. وقد عبر الجنيد عن هذا المستوى بقوله: **ولا أجد نعيمًا من جنس النعيم، ولا أجد التعذيب من جنس التعذيب**[23].

أما **الفناء الرابع** فهو ما يمكن تسميته **"فناء الأنا"**. وفى هذا المستوى يفنى العبد عن ذاته فلا يكون موجودًا لنفسه ولا تكون نفسه موجودة له، بل يكون موجودًا بوجود الله له، وهنا يجب أن تنمحي الأنا ليبقى الإنسان على صيغة ذات- أي روح- وفى هذا السياق يقول الجنيد: **أعلم أنك محجوب عنك بك**[24]، كما يقول: **فأنا أضر الأشياء عليّ**[25].

4- التوحيد بحال الفناء (الفناء في التوحيد)

قبل الحديث عن الفناء في التوحيد نجد الأولوية في الحديث بداية عن التوحيد عند الجنيد حتى نستطيع أن نفهم كيف يتم التوحيد بالفناء. لقد كان الغالب على تصوف الجنيد الكلام في التوحيد بل إن أشرف المجالس وأعلاها عنده، هو الجلوس مع الفكرة في ميدان التوحيد على حد قول أبى القاسم القشيري[26]. ولم ينفصل تأثير علم الكلام على الجنيد في بعض عبارته عن التوحيد خاصة في قوله **التوحيد إفراد**

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[20] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص37 بتصرف.
[21] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص41.
[22] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص 248.
[23] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص247.
[24] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص264.
[25] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص42.
[26] محمد جلال شرف، دراسات في التصوف الإسلامي شخصيات ومذاهب، ص247.

القدم عن الحدث[27]. وقد شـــرح الهجويري هذا القول قائلا: **لا يجوز لك اعتبار القديم أن يكون محلا للحادث، ولا للحادث أن يكون محلا للقديم، ويلزمك أن تعرف أن الله قديم، وأنك حادث، وأنه لا شيء منك متصل به، وأن لا شيء من صفاته مزدوج بك، وأنه لا تجانس بين القديم والحادث، ذلك أن القديم كان قبل وجود المحدثات فلا حاجة به إليها**[28]. والجدير بالذكر أن الجنيد قد قســم التوحيد صــراحة إلى أربعة أوجه وأسـماه؛ ***توحيد العوام***، ***وتوحيد أهل الحقائق بعلم الظاهر***، ووجهان منها ***توحيد الخواص من أهل المعرفة***[29]:

- **الأول**: توحيد العوام ومعناه الإقرار بالوحدانية بذهاب رؤية الأرباب والأنداد والأضـــداد والأشـكال والأشـباه والسـكون إلى معارضـات الرغبة والرهبة ممن سـواه فإن له حقيقة التحقيق في الأفعال ببقاء الإقرار.
- **الثاني**: توحيد أهل الحقائق بعلم الظاهر فالإقرار بالوحدانية بذهاب رؤية الأرباب والأنداد والأشكال والأشباه مع إقامة الأمر والانتهاء عن النهي في الظاهر، مستخرجة ذلك منهم من عيون الرغبة والرهبة والأمل والطمع، فإقامة حقيقة التحقيق في الأفعال لقيام حقيقة التصديق بالإقرار.
- **الثالث**: وهو الوجه الأول من توحيد الخواص فالإقرار بالوحدانية بذهاب رؤية هذه الأشياء مع إقامة الأمر في الظاهر والباطن بإزالة معارضـــات الرغبة والرهبة ممن ســـواه، مستخرجة ذلك من عيون الموافقة بقيام شاهد الحق معه، مع قيام شاهد الدعوة والاستجابة.
- **الرابع**: **شبح قائم بين يديه ليس بينهما ثالث. والعلم في ذلك أنه رجع آخر العبد إلى أوله، أن يكون كما كان إذا كان قبل أن يكون، والدليل على ذلك قوله تعالى (وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْـهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِـهِمْ أَلَسْـتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى) [سـورة الأعراف، الآية: 172]، فمن كان قبل أن يكون؟ وهل أجابت إلا الأرواح الطاهرة العذبة المقدســـة، بإقامة القدرة النافذة والمشـــيئة التامة، الآن كان إذ كان قبل أن يكون؛ وهذا غاية حقيقة توحيد الموحد للواحد بذهاب هو.**

والسؤال الذي يطرح نفسه علينا: كيف يتم التوحيد بتحقيق حال الفناء عند الجنيد؟ يشير الجنيد إلى أن الحق سبحانه وتعالى يبدو لعباده في صورة الرعاية لهم بعد أن محي اسم وجودهم وعلومهم وهم لا يسـتطيعون أن يصـفوا ما شـاهدوا وعملوا يقول الجنيد: **وجدهم بالحق بهم وما بدا عليهم بقول وسـلطان غالب لا ما طالبوه فأذكروه وتوهموه بعد الغلبة، فيمحقها ويفنيها، فإنه غير متشـبث بهم ولا منسـوب إليهم، فكيف يصـفون ويجدون ما لم يقوموا فيحملوه**[30]. وفى موضـع آخر يعبر الجنيد عن فكرته بصورة أوضح في نصه المعنون بـــ **"في التوحيد"** يقول: **وبذهابه عن الوصف وقع في حقيقة الوجود له، ومن حقيقة الوجود وقع في حقيقة الشـــهود بذهابه عن وجوده، وبتفقد وجوده**

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[27] القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ص136.

[28] الهجويري، كشف المحجوب، ص334-335.

[29] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص260-261.

[30] مجدي إبراهيم، التصوف السني، ص395-396.

صفا بوجوده وبصفائه غيب عن صفاته، ومن غيبته حضر بكليته، فكان موجودًا مفقودًا ومفقودًا موجودًا، فكان حيث لم يكن، ولم يكن حيث كان. ثم بعد ما لم يكن حين كان كان، فهو هو بعد ما لم يكن هو، فهو موجود موجود بعد ما كان موجودًا مفقودًا[31]**، لأنه خرج من سكرة الغلبة إلى بيان الصحو، وترد عليه المشاهدة لإنزال الأشياء منازلها ووضعها مواضعها لاستدراك صفاته**[32].

إن التوحيد الذي يسعى إليه الجنيد هو الذي يصل إليه السالك في نهاية الطريق، بعد أن يكون قد قطع جميع مراحله، وهو توحيد ينبعث من قرار تجربة صوفية خالصة. إن توحيده هو الفناء عينه، حيث تغيب شخصية الموحد في الوحدة الشاملة التي يغيب فيها الوعي بالتمييز بين **"الأنا"** و**"الهو"**[33]، فلم يعد التوحيد عند الجنيد مجرد أمور كلامية مجردة بل صار تجربة روحية، وحالة وجدانية متحققة، فتوحيد الخاصة ليس كلامًا منطوقًا على اللسان واعتقادًا مستكينا في الضمير إنما هو حال يذاق، إنه الاستغراق الكلي في الله، **فقد سئل الجنيد عن التوحيد، فقال: معنى تضمحل فيه الرسوم، وتندرج العلوم، ويكون الله كما لم يزل**[34].

ولكن العبد الفاني عن نفسه، والباقي بربه، ذلك الشبح القائم بين يديه حسب وصف الجنيد تجري عليه تصاريف تدبيره، ليس في حالة سلبية محضه، كما قد يتبادر إلى الأذهان، لأن بقاءه بالله يشعره بنوع من الفاعلية لا عهد له به، إذ يرى نفسه منفذًا للإرادة الإلهية عند وصوله إلى الحالة التي يكون فيها الحق سمعه وبصره على حد تعبير الحديث القدسي الشهير الذي أجاد الجنيد توظيفه في هذا السياق. وفى هذا الحال يصبح الوجود الذاتي المتعين وجودًا أتم وأكمل، وهكذا يتضح ترادف مصطلحي **التوحيد والفناء** عند الجنيد. فنظريته في **التوحيد** هي نفسها نظريته في **الفناء**.

ويتصف حال المريد في هذا النوع من الفناء بصيرورة التحول من الفناء إلى البقاء وخروجه من السكر إلى الصحو. فالله يختار خاصة الخاصة لغرض الفناء ثم عودتهم إلى البقاء على اعتبار أنهم منفذو إرادة الله على الأرض ويؤدون دورهم في مساعدة وهداية المؤمنين وقد وصف الجنيد هؤلاء الخاصة بعدة ألفاظ منها: (**اختيار المؤمنين**)، و(**صفوة من العباد**)، و(**الأنقياء**)، و(**الخلصاء من الخلق**)، (**الأصفياء المستخلصين**)، و(**النجباء**). وقد ورد قوله عنهم: **جعلهم أئمة هداة نصحاء، أخيارًا أبرارًا أتقياء خلصاء سعداء نجباء سادة أجلة عظماء حلماء كرماء أولياء جعلهم الله أعلاما من الحق منشورة ومنارًا للهدى منصوبة، ومناهج للبرية مضروبة، أولئك علماء المسلمين**

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[31] المفاهيم عند الجنيد لا تتحدد علاقاتها وفق قواعد المنطق الشكلي، فنحن نعثر على مفاهيم متناقضة مثل (غيبة وحضور، جمع وفرق، فناء وبقاء، صحو ومحو) فالأمر ليس تلاعب بالألفاظ، لكن ليس للمصطلح عند الجنيد وجود ثابت، ومن ثم فإنه لا يمكن القول بأن ما هو موجود موجود وفقا لقواعد المنطق، فالشيء موجود وغير موجود، أي هو موجود من جهة بمقدار ما لا يوجد من جهة أخرى. فالإنسان موجود مفقود: موجود بمقدار ما يصير نحو الحق ومفقود بمقدار ما يبقى فى إنيته. لمزيد من التفاصيل انظر: محمد بن الطيب، وحدة الوجود في التصوف الإسلامي، ص55.

[32] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص259.

[33] Corbin 1968:273.

[34] القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ص299.

وأمناء المؤمنين وأجلة المتقين، فبهم في نوائب الدين يُقْتَدَي، وبنورهم في ظلمات الجهل يُهتدي. جعلهم الله عز وجل رحمة لعباده وبركة على من شاء من بريته[35].

5- تداخل المصطلحات (الميثاق والفناء والتوحيد)

الميثاق في اللغة: من "وثق" بفلان "يثق" به ثقة، وموثقًا، ووثوقًا، ووثاقة: ائتمنه فهو واثق به وفلان موثوق به. ووثق الشيء وثاقة: قوى وثبت وصار محكمًا. و"أوثق" العهد: أحكمه و"واثق" فلانا: عاهده. و"الثقة": الائتمان و"الموثق" العهد و"الميثاق" العهد المحكم والجمع مواثيق[36]. وقد وردت كلمة ميثاق في القرآن الكريم حوالي أربعًا وثلاثين مرة (مفردة) والجمع غير ذلك[37]، مثل قوله تعالى: (الَّذِينَ يَنْقُضُونَ عَهْدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ مِيثَاقِهِ) [38]، وقوله: (وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا مِيثَاقَكُمْ وَرَفَعْنَا فَوْقَكُمُ الطُّورَ) [39]. وقد ورد مصطلح الميثاق في القرآن للدلالة على ما أخذ الله على النبيين من عهد وميثاق في قوله تعالى (وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِيثَاقَ النَّبِيِّينَ لَمَا آتَيْتُكُمْ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَحِكْمَةٍ ثُمَّ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مُصَدِّقٌ لِمَا مَعَكُمْ لَتُؤْمِنُنَّ بِهِ وَلَتَنْصُرُنَّهُ)[40]. وبالرغم من تعدد الآيات القرآنية المرتبطة بالميثاق إلا أن الصوفية قد ركزت على الآية الكريمة (وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى شَهِدْنَا أَنْ تَقُولُوا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِنَّا كُنَّا عَنْ هَذَا غَافِلِينَ)[41]. وقد ورد تفسيرها في تفسير "ابن عباس" على النحو التالي: (وإذ أخذ ربك يا محمد يوم الميثاق من بني آدم من ظهورهم ذريتهم) يقول ذريتهم من ظهورهم مقدم ومؤخر (وأشهدهم) استنطقهم (على أنفسهم ألست بربكم قالوا بلى شهدنا) علمنا وأقررنا بأنك ربنا فقال الله للملائكة اشهدوا عليهم وقال لهم ليشهد بعضكم على بعض (أن تقولوا) لكي لا تقولوا (يوم القيامة إنا كنا عن هذا) الميثاق (غافلين)[42]. في حين ذهب تفسير مجاهد إلى أنها تعبير عن لقاء فعلي بين الله وجميع الخلق قبل أن تتلبس أرواحهم بأبدانهم، أي وهم في صلب آدم، فأخذ عليهم الميثاق بأن الله ربكم لا إله سواه[43].

وبالعودة إلى الجنيد نراه يعتقد أن الفرد البشري يصل إلى الله من خلال إحساسه التعودي بأن الله يحتوي ذاته. لقد أثبت الجنيد أنه من المستحيل بالنسبة له أن يؤكد وحدانية الله بوعيه في ذاته لأن هذا سيحجبه في ذاته، فالحل بالنسبة للجنيد أن يغيب حواسه في نفسه (**الفناء**) وهكذا قد تصل النفس إلى حضرة الله، وهذا يحدث فقط عنده من خلال الذوبان التام لوعي الذات، وبهذا يصل إلى تأكيد وحدانية

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[35] الجنيد البغدادي، رسائل الجنيد، ص20.

[36] المعجم الوجيز، مادة "وثق".

[37] عبد اللطيف أحمد العبد، الميثاق (ضمن موسوعة التصوف)، ص737.

[38] سورة البقرة، الآية:27.

[39] سورة البقرة، الآية:63.

[40] سورة الأحزاب، الآية:7.

[41] سورة الأعراف، الآية:172.

[42] ابن عباس، تنوير المقباس من تفسير بن عباس، ص141.

[43] راجع: تفسير الطبري 124/4.

الله (**التوحيد**) وعلاوة على هذا فإن الجنيد يضـع مفهوما لوعي الذات على أسـاس أنه حالة موجودة، ولكنها عودة إلى المنبع الأصـلي للحالة البشـرية التي كانوا عليها قبل الخلق في يوم (**الميثاق**) حيث يقول الجنيد: **أولئك الذين أوجدهم لديه في كون الأزل عنده ومراكب الأحدية لديه؛ حين دعاهم فأجابوا سراعًا، كرمًا منه عليهم وتفضلاً؛ أجاب به عنهم حين أوجدهم، فَهْم الدعوة منه؛ وعرّفهم نفسـه حين لم يكونوا إلا مشـيئة أقامها بين يديه؛ نقلهم بإرادته، ثم جعلهم كذَرّ، أخرجهم بمشـيئته خلقًا، فأودعهم صـلب آدم- عليه السـلام-، فقال جل وعز: (وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ)**[44]**، فقد أخبر جلّ ذكره أنه خاطبهم وهم غير موجودين إلا بوجوده لهم، إذ كانوا واجدين للحق من غير وجودهم لأنفسـهم، فكان الحق بالحق في ذلك موجودًا بالمعنى الذى لا يعلمه غيره، ولا يجده سـواه. فقد كان واجدًا محيطًا شـاهدًا عليهم، برَّأهم في حال فنائهم، الذين كانوا في الأزل للأزل، أولئك هم الموجودون الفانون في حال فنائهم الباقون في بقائهم؛ أحاطت بهم صـفات الربانية وآثار الأزلية، وأعلام الديمومية. أظهر هذه عليهم لما أراد فناءَهم، ليديم بقاءهم هناك، وليفسّـحهم في علم الغيب غيبه، وليريهم غوامض مكنونات علمه ويجمعهم به**[45]. ثم يسـتطرد الجنيد قائلا: **ثم فرّقهم، ثم غيّبهم في جمعهم، وأحضـرهم في تفريقهم، فكان غيبهم سبب حضورهم، وحضورهم سبب غيبهم. اختطفهم بالشواهد البادية منه عليهم حين أحضرهم، واستلبهم عنها حين غيّبهم. أكمل فناءهم في حال بقائهم، وبقاءهم في حال فنائهم**[46].

وطبقا للجنيد فإن هذا الميثاق المسجل في القرآن الكريم يميز النمط التام والحقيقي للوجود البشري كأنه وجود بلا ذات في الله (أي أن هذا الوجود متواجد في الله خاليًا من الذات البشـرية). وفى الآية السابقة يخبرنا الله بأنه تكلم للناس في وقت لم يكونوا فيه موجودين؛ لأنهم في (**عالم الأزل**) موجودين في ذاته، وهذا الوجود ليس نفس النمط الوجودي الحالي (**عالم الزمن**) بل هو نمط لوجود البشـر عندما أراد الله فقط أن يخبرهم بوعيهم بوجود الله وأنهم واعون بوجودهم قبل أن يوجدوا، وهذا يدفعهم لرؤية أنفسهم في بداية عدم وجودهم كما أنهم غير واعين بمستقبل وجودهم في هذا العلم[47].

> **خلاصـة القول**: بداية البشـر كانت في الفناء التام قبل أن يوجدوا ثم تم إيجادهم في وجود يختلف عن هذا الوجود لأخذ (**الميثـاق**) فتحول الفنـاء بعد أخذ الميثـاق إلى **"وعي بالشـهادة"** ثم فقد هذا الوعي مرة أخرى بالانتقال من عالم (**الأزل**) إلى عالم الوجود (**الزمن**) أي العالم الأرضـي ثم بالفناء مرة أخرى يتم الانتقال من عالم الزمن إلى عالم الشـهادة (**الميثاق**) وهكذا تصـبح النفس في حالة تنقل دائم حتى تفنى عن هذا العالم لتصل إلى (**عالم الشهادة**).

وهكـذا يرتبط التهكم الوجودي عنـد الجنيـد بحلم العودة إلى الوطن المفقود ومحـاولـة رفع كـل الحجب والعلائق التي تفصـله عن هذا الحلم، وتلعب فكرة الميثاق من حيث كونها مبدءا قرآنيا الدور

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[44] سورة الأعراف، الآية:172.

[45] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين ص229-230.

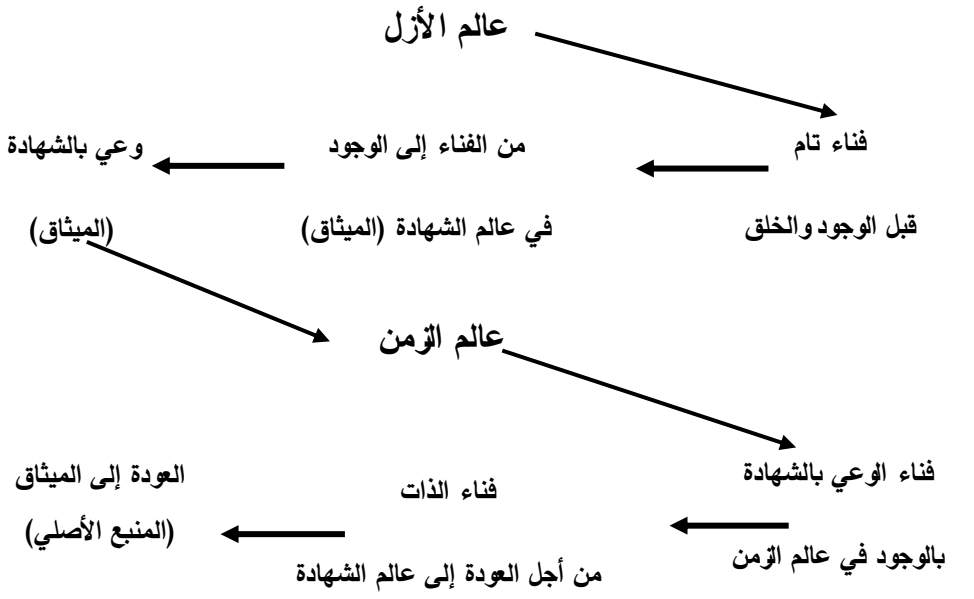
[46] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص230.

[47] Karamustafa 2007:17–18.

الأساسي في الانتقال إلى التوحيد، فعلى ضوء هذه الفكرة تقوم فكرته عن التوحيد من حيث هو كامن في فطرة الإنسان ولهذا كان الميثاق ضروري الارتباط بآية العهد التي تجلت في قوله تعالى: (وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ) [سورة الأعراف، الآية: 172] ولهذا فعندما يقول الجنيد معبرًا عن الميثاق الأزلي بأنه: **لابد أن يرجع آخر العبد إلى أوله فيكون كما كان قبل أن يكون**[48]، وفى نفس المعنى يقول: **أفنائي بإنشائي كما أنشائي بدنيًا فى حال فنائي**[49].

ومن أجل توضيح أكثر للعلاقة المتشابكة والمعقدة بين (**الميثاق**)، و(**الفناء**)، و(**التوحيد**). يرى الجنيد أن النفوس البشرية كان لها وجود سابق على وجودها المتصل بالأبدان، وكانت صافية مطهرة على اتصال مباشر بالله، لا يحجبها عنه حجاب إذ الحجب كلها وليدة الاتصال بعالم المادة والأجساد وقد عبر الجنيد عن تلك الحجب بكلمتي (**الرغبة والرهبة**) المتصلين بما سوى الله. وفى هذا المقام القديم أقرت النفوس الإنسانية بوحدانية الله عندما خاطبها بقوله: (**أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ؟**) فأجابت بلسان الحال بقولها: (**بلى**) فأقرت بالتوحيد الإلهي، لأنها لم تر سوى الله في الوجود فاعلاً، ولم تكن لها صفات عينية لأن الصفات العينية تظهر في النفوس عند تلبسها بالأجسام[50]. وقد كانت هناك ولا أجسام لذلك قال الجنيد: **خاطبهم وهم غير موجودين إلا بوجوده لهم إذ كان واجدا للخليقة بغير معنى وجوده لأنفسها بالمعنى الذي لا يعلمه غيره ولا يجده سواه.**

شكل يوضح حركة النفس بالفناء بين عالم الأزل وعالم الزمن



[48] السراج الطوسي، كتاب اللمع، ص 60. وانظر أيضا: سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص42.
[49] سعاد الحكيم، تاج العارفين، ص248.
[50] محمد بن الطيب، وحدة الوجود في التصوف الإسلامي، ص51.

6 - خاتمة:

- من المرجح أن يكون الجنيد هو أول من قدم التعريف الاصطلاحي الدقيق لمصطلح (**الحال**)، كما أنه أدرك عملية التحول والتنقل من حال إلى حال.
- قد نرى بأن معنى **الفناء** القائم على **الميثاق** عند الجنيد، قد يختلف في الشكل والمضمون عن معنى **الفناء** القائم على **الشطح والمعراج** عند البسطامي. فالمصطلح (**الفناء**) واحد من حيث المعني الأساسي (**اللغوي**) لكنه مختلف من حيث معناه العلاقي (**السياقي**) الذي يمكن اكتشافه ضمن المنظومة الشاملة المعبرة عن خصوصية التجربة الصوفية لكلا منهما.
- قد يكون من المفيد الإشارة إلى أن بعض الباحثين قد نفوا عن تجربة الجنيد الصوفية منزعها تجاه (**وحدة الوجود**)، حيث تعتبر في نهاية المطاف تجربة (**وحدة الفاعل**) لا وحدة الوجود، فهي لا تنفي تعدد الموجودات وإنما تنفي تعدد الفاعلين، وتكشف عن "**توحيد فعلي**" لا "**توحيد وجودي**"[51].
- لقد عبر الجنيد بصورة ذوقية إبداعية عن العلاقة المتكاملة بين المصطلحات الثلاثة "الفناء والتوحيد والميثاق" ودورها في الرجوع من **عالم الزمن** بالعودة إلى المنبع الأصلي **عالم الأزل**؛ كي ينتقل الإنسان من كينونته الحالية إلى كينونته الأولى التي كان عليها في يوم الميثاق، وبذلك: **رجع آخر العبد إلى أوّله، أن يكون كما كان إذ كان قبل أن يكون.**

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THE SULTAN AND HIS ṢŪFĪ LODGE: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ḪĀNAQĀH OF SIRYĀQŪS

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Abstract:
Among the many monuments built by the great 8th/14th-century Egyptian Mamluk sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the Ṣūfī lodge (*ḫānaqāh)* of Siryāqūs only survives in the name of a modern settlement. Based on mediaeval – if possible, contemporary – sources, this article explores the beginnings of the history of this particular institution, focusing on the context and motivation of its construction.

Keywords: Sufism, Mamluk Sultanate, religious patronage, Cairo, mediaeval Egypt, 14th century

Nowadays, to the north of Cairo, the great Ring Road *(aṭ-Ṭarīq ad-Dāʾirī)* marks the boundary between the gigantic metropolitan area of the Egyptian capital and the more rural Lower Egypt. The transition is strikingly immediate: it is this area where the dull brownish greyness of the sprawling residential and industrial areas gets interspersed with the greenery of agricultural plots, to soon give way to the fertile lands and myriad villages of the Nile delta.

One of the settlements of this transitional region bears the name al-Ḫānka, the name being a derivation of the classical *ḫānakāh*, or often *ḫānaqāh*, in mediaeval sources.[1] It is a word of Persian origin – a compound of *ḫāna* ('house') and *gāh* ('place').[2] The Persian name is no accident: it was in Ḫurāsān that the Ṣūfīs adopted this institution, previously used by Karrāmī missionary ascetics, and thus *ḫānaqāh* became a term that denoted "a dwelling occupied by Ṣūfīs; used for meetings, as residences, for study, and for communal prayer under the supervision of a Ṣūfī

[1] In 14th-15th-century Mamluk sources the two versions seem to be interchangeable, many times both appear in the same work. In the present article, for the sake of unity, the version *ḫānaqāh* will be used.

[2] Homerin suggests other Persian etymologies: "place of the table" or "place of recitation" (Homerin 1999:59).

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master" (Ephrat, Pinto 2021:106).[3] The main difference between *ḫānaqāh*s and other Ṣūfī venues like *ribāṭ*s and *zāwiya*s during the Mamluk period was that the former were official institutions, created by *waqfiyya* documents. Such lodges were not centred around a particular sheikh or *ṭarīqa* and were only open to a select group of Ṣūfīs, who had well-defined duties and received a salary as stipulated in the founding document (Fernandes 1988:18–19).

In al-Ḫānka city, which is also the seat of the administrative centre *(markaz idārī)* of the same name within al-Qalyūbiyya governorate, there is no trace of a Ṣūfī *ḫānaqāh*. In terms of its historical monuments, only the square-shaped mosque of the sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy (r. 825/1421–841/1438), finished in 841/1437, is worth mentioning.[4] Nonetheless, the town indeed owes its name and its origins to an institution of this kind: the *al-Ḫānaqāh an-Nāṣiriyya*, referred to in medieval sources mostly as *ḫānaqāh Siryāqūs*.[5] The lodge itself, built in 725/1325, witnessed the end of Mamluk rule at the hands of the Ottomans in 923/1517, as evidenced by Ibn Iyās's chronicle (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ* V, 174), but the date of its disappearance remains to be established. Apparently, it still flourished about a century later, but was in ruins by the late 19th century, with no living memory of it among the locals in the 1980s (Williams 1986:118).

In this article, I attempt to explore the beginnings of the history of this particular institution, the context in which it was built and the role it enjoyed during the lifetime of its founder, based on mediaeval – whenever available, contemporary – sources.

1 The first ḫānaqāhs in Egypt

It was during the Seljuk period that the *ḫānaqāh* as an institution spread westwards from Ḫurāsān throughout the vast Sunni empire of the Turks, now under the patronage of the rulers who supported the mystics' communities through rich endowments (Firouzeh 2021:167). Even though the relatively short-lived Seljuk Empire gradually collapsed, the spread of Ṣūfism and by extension the *ḫānaqāh*s, was encouraged by their successors: the first Ṣūfī lodges of Syria were founded by the Zangids in the mid-12th century (Homerin 1999:62, Ephrat, Pinto 2021:107–108).

[3] In the Maġrib, such lodges were usually known as *zāwiya* ("corner"), a word that in the Eastern parts of the Islamic world, including Mamluk Egypt, usually denoted smaller, informal gathering spots (Firouzeh 2021:161) linked to a certain sheikh or *ṭarīqa* (Fernandes 1988:13–16).

[4] The date of its completion was recorded by contemporaries (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* VII, 343, Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XIV, 267).

[5] For brief overviews of its history, see Williams 1986. It is centred on the two endowment documents related to the lodge, while the historical part is rather sketchy and is based on only a few much later sources.

Unsurprisingly, the fundamentally Sunni phenomenon could not gain a foothold in Egypt until the fall of the Fāṭimid caliphate. It was the first Ayyūbid sultan, the famed Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, who, having successfully toppled the Ismāʿīlī dynasty, founded the first *ḫānaqāh* in the Egyptian capital (569/1173) – a step that fit well into his project of Sunni restoration (MacKenzie 2016:142). The ruler did not erect a completely new building; instead, he transformed a symbolic place: the residence of the last few Fāṭimid viziers, the real holders of power in the waning decades of the dynasty. This palace was known by the name of one of its previous owners, the amīr Saʿīd as-Suʿadāʾ (d. 544/1149), and although the new *ḫānaqāh* was known officially as aṣ-Ṣalāḥiyya after the founder, the name of Saʿīd as-Suʿadāʾ remained prevalent.[6] Endowing it with a generous trust *(waqf)*,[7] the sultan also appointed a richly salaried official as the head of it, who received the title of *šayḫ aš-šuyūḫ* or grand master, to serve as a mentor to the mystics and also as a liaison between the Sufis and the ruling class.[8] This was a highly prestigious position, held by many respectable *ʿulamāʾ* over the centuries, but rarely by Ṣūfīs (Geoffroy 1996:56).

Interestingly enough, it seems that neither Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn nor his successors wished to adorn their capital with further lodges during the eight decades of their rule. In fact, minor Ṣūfī institutions were also quite rare, as only three *ribāṭ*s and three *zāwiya*s are known from the Ayyūbid era, of which only the *zāwiya* of the Sheikh Abū l-Ḫayr was a royal foundation (MacKenzie 2016:141–142).

The famous mid-15th century *Ḫiṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī enumerates a total of 22 *ḫānaqāh*s in Cairo and its vicinity (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 280–302). It has to be pointed out that al-Maqrīzī's list is not complete; it does not include buildings mentioned elsewhere in his book, like the Ṭaybarsiyya, built in 709/1309 on the bank of the Nile by the *amīr* ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn Ṭaybars al-Ḫāzindār (d. 719/1319),[9] which is only recorded in the chapter devoted to the Friday mosque next to it (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 102). Another example is the lodge built by the *nāẓir al-ḫāṣṣ* aṣ-Ṣāḥib Karīm ad-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Hibat Allāh al-Kabīr (d. 724/1324)[10] in the Lesser Qarāfa cemetery, which is entirely absent from the work. Nonetheless, the lack of other Ayyūbid and early Mamluk *ḫānaqāh*s is noticeable: while rulers built religious

[6] For an overview of its history, see Fernandes 1988:21–25. The building still exists in a heavily modified form.

[7] For its provisions, see al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 282. The *waqfiyya* itself does not survive (Fernandes 1988:22).

[8] Hofer uses the term Chief Sufi (Hofer 2015:35), as opposed to the "rank-and-file" (Hofer 2015:62).

[9] For lesser-known personalities mentioned in the article, I deemed it useful to include a reference to the earliest available biographical entry – or entries, in case of works by contemporary authors – on them, indicating their number as well. For Ṭaybars's biography, see Ibn Ḥağar, *Durar* II, 229 [no. 2054].

[10] For his biography, see aṣ-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī*, 193–194 [no. 350], an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XXXIII, 35–43, aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* III, 142–154 [no. 1030]; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* XIX. 66–77 [no. 7218].

buildings, Ṣūfī lodges were not among them. Apparently, the only Cairene lodge from the 7th/13th century was the Bunduqdāriyya, built in the Ṣalībā district by the amīr ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn Aydikīn al-Bunduqdār (d. 684/1285)[11] shortly before his death.[12]

The second major *ḫānaqāh* in Cairo was built by the amīr Rukn ad-Dīn Baybars al-Ǧāšnikīr al-Manṣūrī, who later became sultan. Before his ascension to the throne, he held the rank of *ustādār* ('major-domo') and ruled the sultanate in tandem with the *nāʾib as-salṭana* ('viceroy') Sayf ad-Dīn Salār al-Manṣūrī during the second reign of the adolescent an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (between 698/1299–709/1310).[13] The all-powerful *amīr* designed a complex that included a *ḫānaqāh*, a *ribāṭ* and a funerary *qubba*. For this – perhaps in imitation or even as a form of competition with Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn – he chose the former palace of the viziers in Fāṭimid Cairo, close to the Saʿīd as-Suʿadāʾ lodge. The complex was adorned with a great amount of freshly excavated ancient Egyptian spolia, and also included the grand window *(šubbāk)* of the ʿAbbāsid palace in Baghdad, brought to Cairo as a prized bounty in the mid-11th century. According to al-Maqrīzī, it was "the most majestically built, most spacious and most masterfully designed *ḫānaqāh* in Cairo", also adding that ever since its construction, there had been no need of maintenance or renovation (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 275).

The splendid complex was grandiose, but not merely in its dimensions. According to the *waqfiyya*, 400 Ṣūfīs were to reside in the *ḫānaqāh* in addition to the 100 soldiers and Mamluks' sons *(abnāʾ an-nās)* who would dwell in the *ribāṭ*. They were provided with regular meals, bread, meat and sweets produced by the kitchen of the complex. Baybars also established hadith lessons and continuous Quran recitation in the dome. The immense costs were to be covered by a charitable trust that provided revenues from several properties in Cairo, Lower and Upper Egypt and Syria as well (Fernandes 1988:25–29).

Baybars al-Ǧāšnikīr usurped the throne with the title of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar in 708/1309, but next year he was defeated and executed by the deposed an-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The sultan shut the freshly built complex down, while abolishing the *waqf* dedicated to its support. He also had the usurper's name chiselled out from the inscriptions of the buildings – the results of which are still visible today (Hofer 2015:54; Williams 2008:211).

2 A display of royal competition?

As seen in the previous section, Cairo did not have many functional *ḫānaqāh*s at the dawn of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign (709/1310–741/1341), and the biggest

[11] For his biography, see aṣ-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī*, 17–18 [no. 26]; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* IX, 275 [no. 2113]

[12] For its description, see Williams 2008:113.

[13] For its description, see Behrens-Abouseif 1998:104–107 and Williams 2008:210–212.

and most recent one had just been closed at the orders of the sultan himself – to be reopened in early 726/1326, with the reinstatement of all its *waqf*s (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 286). By this time, the sultan had already built his own lodge: the Nāṣiriyya of Siryāqūs (725/1325), which has been interpreted as an act designed to outdo the former usurper (Hofer 2015:2).[14]

One can accept that a certain kind of retaliatory competition could have been among the motives of the sultan, when he opted to build his own *ḫānaqāh*, but I would argue that this had not been the main reason behind it – if the sultan had merely wanted to surpass his predecessor, he would not have waited 15 years, given that he had ample opportunities and funds to do so whenever he wished.[15] Due to internal stability, external peace and favourable economic conditions, the sultan was free to spend the immense revenues of the treasury on construction projects, pomp and leisure, and he indeed did so (Levanoni 1995:156–173).

The question arises: why did the sultan then decide to build this *ḫānaqāh*? The immediate reason is reported to be an oath made during the sultan's illness (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 294), but it also seems worth pointing out that the choice must have been impacted by an architectural trend. During the first decades of an-Nāṣir's third reign, several high-ranking members of the court decided to sponsor the creation of Ṣūfī lodges: the *dawādār*, Bahāʾ ad-Dīn Arsalān an-Nāṣirī (d. 719/1319)[16] built one on the bank of the Nile (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 295–296), followed by the *nāẓir al-ḫāṣṣ* aṣ-Ṣāḥib Karīm ad-Dīn al-Kabīr (d. 724/1324), who erected his in the Lesser Qarāfa cemetery.[17] We can also add the funerary *ḫānaqāh-madrasa* of the *ustādār* ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sanğar al-Ğāwalī (d. 745/1345)[18], built in 723/1323.[19] As for that of the *mihmāndār* and *naqīb al-ğayš* Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b.

[14] Homerin argues that closing the complex might have been a form of torture on behalf of the vengeful an-Nāṣir, as this way "the sultan had denied his foe the prayers and blessings believed to help the recently deceased" (Homerin 1999:83), while regarding the reopening, Williams suggests "either a high degree of solicitude for Sufis, or an expectation of benefits now and hereafter" (Williams 1986:116) as a motivation.

[15] The third reign of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad is generally regarded as the golden age of the Egyptian Mamluk Sultanate. Nonetheless, throughout her work, Levanoni compellingly argues that in fact the seeds of later political instability and economic decline were in many ways sown by the sultan's policies (Levanoni 1995).

[16] For his biography, see aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* I, 449–451. [no. 230].

[17] aš-Šuğāʿī, *Tārīḫ*, 92.

[18] For his biography, see aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* II, 467–470 [no. 738]; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* XV, 292–293 [no. 5218].

[19] For its description, see Behrens-Abouseif 1998:101–104 and Williams 2008:46–48. According to both, the double-domed building, where the patron and the *atābak* Sayf ad-Dīn Salār are buried, was built in 703/1303–4.

Aqūš al-ʿAzīzī (d. 732/1332)[20], known as the Mihmāndāriyya,[21] built in 725/1325 close to the Bāb Zuwayla (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 288), we cannot be sure whether this preceded the Siryāqūs lodge. The *amīr* Baktamur as-Sāqīʾs (d. 733/1333)[22] *ḫānaqāh* was opened soon after, in 726/1326, at the foot of the mountain next to Birkat al-Ḥabaš, on the edge of the Qarāfa (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 296–298). The sultan's favourite wife, Umm Anūk Ḫawand Ṭūġāy (d. 749/1348) also built a burial dome-Ṣūfī lodge complex in the Northern Qarāfa at an unknown date.[23]

Based on all this, it is safe to say that building Ṣūfī lodges – as parts of larger complexes – had already become fashionable among the members of the Egyptian elite when an-Nāṣir Muḥammad decided to build his *ḫāqanāh* in Siryāqūs. Baybars al-Ǧāšnikīr's splendid complex was undoubtedly the direct originator of this popularity.[24] This trend was not begun, but was later supported, by the sultan, who, in order to attract more mystics to Cairo, helped the creation of more lodges by the elite (Fernandes 1988:32).

I am of the opinion that an-Nāṣir's lodge in Siryāqūs was not first and foremost intended to be a testament to his triumph over a long-gone rival (in fact, I would rather consider the magnanimous gesture of reopening of the latter's *ḫānaqāh* as such) – instead, it could be interpreted as an example of a fashionable form of religious patronage in which the sultan wished to take part, perhaps out of personal conviction.

3 The location

Al-Maqrīzī provides the location of the Nāṣiriyya *ḫānaqāh* as follows: "outside of Cairo, to the north of it, about one *barīd*[25] away, where the Israelites' desert *[Tīh Banī Isrāʾīl]* begins, at Samāsim Siryāqūs" (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 293–294). An earlier source – the 14th-century an-Nuwayrī, who was a contemporary of the construction and the opening of the lodge – in fact refers to the location of the *ḫānaqāh* as the "lands of Samāsim, near Siryāqūs" *(arāḍī Samāsim bi-l-qurb min Siryāqūs;* an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XV, 136). One might speculate that the name has a connection to the sesame plant (Ar. *simsim*, plural *samāsim*); however, I could not

[20] I have not found any biographical entry devoted to him. His death is mentioned in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 155.

[21] For its description, see Williams 2008:97–98.

[22] For his biography, cf. aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* I, 709–714. [no. 407], aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* X, 122–124 [no. 2334].

[23] For its description, see Williams 2008:248.

[24] It might be worthy to note that both Karīm ad-Dīn and Baktamur as-Sāqī began their careers in the retinue of Baybars al-Ǧāšnikīr, one as a scribe and the other as a Mamluk.

[25] *Barīd* was also a measurement of distance that in Mamluk times equalled 4 *farsaḫ*s or 12 miles. See for instance the contemporary al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik* II, 304.

to find any evidence for this.[26] It seems that as-Samāsim was the name of a plain in the area of Siryāqūs, spacious enough for housing major encampments (al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 240, 347). Be that as it may, most of the contemporary authors who recorded the foundation of the *ḫānaqāh* referred to its location simply as Siryāqūs.

Before an-Nāṣir Muḥammad's time, Siryāqūs itself had never been of particular importance. It is hardly even mentioned in earlier works. The settlement is listed in Ibn Mammātī's 12th-century *Qawānīn ad-dawāwīn* (Ibn Mammātī, *Qawāwīn*, 145) as one of the places belonging to the aš-Šarqiyya region, and while it has its own entry in Yāqūt's *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, it merely states that "it is a small town (*bulayda*) in the vicinity of Cairo in Egypt" (Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam*, 218). It is also mentioned to have had a Christian monastery dedicated to Anba Hor (Abū al-Hūr), famous for the miraculous treatment of the scrofula (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 433).

The township of Siryaqūs still exists and is actually a part of the al-Ḫānka administrative division – however, it lies about five kilometres away to the west from al-Ḫānka city itself, on the bank of the Ismāʿīliyya canal. The distance can be seen in a more striking manner if we look at old maps of the area – for instance, the earliest modern one, found in the famed *Description de l'Égypte* (Jacotin 1818:24). It is evident that already around 1800, Siryāqūs and al-Ḫānka were two separate settlements with agricultural lands between them. Thus, we can assume that the modern town of al-Ḫānka, the inheritor of the name of al-Nāṣir's *ḫānaqāh*, is on the field originally called Samāsim, a dependency of neighbouring Siryāqūs.

With this clarified, the question still arises: why would the sultan choose such a relatively unknown and insignificant place for his *ḫānaqāh*? One thing is certainly common among the lodges listed in the previous chapter: all were built in the urban area of Cairo (including the cemeteries). It is all the odder, then, that the sultan would choose a place so far from the city.

It is worth examining why an-Nāṣir chose Siryāqūs to be the location of the *ḫānaqāh*, instead of founding such a representative institution in a more traditional, urban milieu, like those before him. If we take another look at the map of the area, the most striking feature of it is the sizeable lake to the south of al-Ḫānka and to the east of Siryāqūs, called Birkat al-Ḥāǧǧī.[27] This name, along with the variant Birkat al-Ḥuǧǧāǧ has been in use since the Middle Ages. It appears that in the Mamluk period, Birkat al-Ḥuǧǧāǧ was the version predominantly used.[28] As the name suggests, it was an important stop – in fact, the first major resting place – for pilgrim caravans headed towards Mecca from Cairo. In my experience, the overwhelming majority of records of the lake are in fact connected to the annual pilgrimages.

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[26] The word written as سماسم can have several other meanings as well: a small wolf; a kind of swallow-like bird; a kind of red, stingy ants, but these are less likely. See Lane, 1869 – 1893. IV, 1420.

[27] Today, Birkat al-Ḥāǧǧ [sic!] is a suburb of Cairo with no trace of the lake whatsoever.

[28] The earlier name Ǧubb ʿUmayra and the combined form Birkat al-Ǧubb is also found in the sources.

In his *Ḫiṭaṭ*, the prolific al-Maqrīzī, dedicated a section to the most important lakes in and around Cairo (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 269–292). Regarding Birkat al-Ḥuğğāğ, the author opted to list some quotations from earlier works to provide glimpses into the history of the area of the lake, instead of weaving a unified narrative (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 288–289). The relevant part starts with a citation of Ibn Muyassar's chronicle, regarding the long reign of al-Mustanṣir. According to this, the caliph would visit this 'place of splendid recreation' *(mawḍiʿ nuzha bahiyya)* every year, where he and his retinue would engage in lewd and depraved festivities, even mocking the rituals of the pilgrimage.[29]

It is not known whether later Fāṭimid rulers followed in al-Mustanṣir's footsteps, although it is unlikely, as almost all of them became puppets in the hands of powerful viziers, who relegated them to the background, curbing their extravagant ceremonies and lavish expenditure. Nonetheless, the place did not lose its appeal to later rulers: quoting al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, al-Maqrīzī mentions that Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn and his son, al-ʿAzīz ʿUṯmān both enjoyed visiting the area to hunt and to play polo (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 289).[30] Whether this was a conscious revival or continuation of Fāṭimid tradition or simply an obvious choice due to the area's proximity to Cairo and its pleasant climatic conditions, cannot be decided.

Al-Maqrīzī's other works contain additional snippets that fill the great lacunae between the events. For instance, in the chronicle dedicated to the Fāṭimids, the son and successor of al-ʿAzīz, the famous al-Ḥākim is recorded to have visited the area several times – along with other sites around Cairo – to hunt (al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* II, 31), while the history of Ayyūbid and Mamluk times mentions an occasion when aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars went to the lake to shoot with crossbows (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* II, 41).

Thus, it is clear that by the time of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, the area of the Birkat al-Ḥuğğāğ had had a long – if not necessarily continuous – history of visits by rulers for leisurely purposes: mostly hunting, but also sports and exercise. More frivolous activities are only attributed to the long-gone Fāṭimids, who were considered heretical usurpers in Mamluk times, but one can surmise that at least a few of the later Sunni sultans also indulged in otherwise reprehensible activities.

4 The royal resort at Siryāqūs

According to al-Maqrīzī, in Ṣafar 722 / February–March 1322, an-Nāṣir Muḥammad went to the Birkat al-Ḥuğğāğ to hunt for cranes. This particular trip had lasting consequences for the area, as the sultan decided to build enclosures *(ḥawš*, pl. *aḥwāš)* for horses and camels, along with hippodromes *(maydān,* pl. *mayādīn;* al-Maqrīzī,

[29] The prelude of the great Fāṭimid crisis (*aš-šidda al-ʿuẓmā*) also happened on one such occasion, when racial tensions between different factions of the army erupted into violence. This is elaborated in al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* II, 265.

[30] A specific occasion in 577/1181 is mentioned in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 185.

Ḫiṭaṭ III, 289–290). In the chapter dedicated to the hippodromes (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 345–350) the one built near Birkat al-Ḥuǧǧāǧ is called *maydān Siryāqūs*. It is in this section that the reader can learn that the project entailed much more than large grounds for riding beasts: the sultan "built majestic palaces and several dwellings for the *amīr*s, and planted a large garden in it, to which he brought all kinds of fruit-bearing trees from Damascus, along with gardeners from Syria, to plant and graft the trees. Grapevines and quince and all other kinds of fruits prospered in it. When it was completed in [7]25/1325, he went out along with the *amīr*s and the notabilities and settled in the palaces there, while the *amīr*s and notabilities settled in their dwellings in the places built for them. He would go there every year until he died, staying there for days, playing polo. His sons who ruled after him did this [as well]" (Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 348–349).[31] In other words, a resort was built on the hippodrome grounds, thus creating a permanent base for visits by the ruler and the courtiers. By this act, the role of the Birkat al-Ḥuǧǧāǧ – or rather the neighbouring village of Siryāqūs – as the preferred leisure ground was cemented and institutionalized.[32]

It seems that the idea of building palaces near the hippodromes only gradually took shape. Regarding the starting date, the contemporary Egyptian al-Fāḍirī laconically recorded that the palace at Siryāqūs was laid out in Rabīʿ II 723 / April-May 1323 (al-Fāḍirī, *Tārīḫ* I, 257). The Damascene author Ibn ad-Dawādārī mentions the beginning of the works: "this year [= 723/1323] the construction began in Siryāqūs. He [i.e. the sultan] built the palace, the *ḥānaqāh*, the baths, the gardens, the nice lookouts (*manāẓir*), the hippodrome and other things here. This took place at the end of Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa this year" (Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* IX, 313). Al-Maqrīzī also reports that it was only at the very end of 723/1323 that the construction of the palaces started (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 67).

The scale of this ambitious plan is well demonstrated by the fact that it also entailed the excavation of a whole new canal.[33] The main purpose of the new al-Ḫalīǧ an-Nāṣirī was to provide a navigable waterway to the area of Siryāqūs, "to carry the necessary crops and other things there" (Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 258).[34] The construction of the canal was recorded by several contemporary authors, including the Aleppine Ibn al-Wardī and Ibn Ḥabīb, the Damascene Ibn ad-Dawādārī and the Cairene an-Nuwayrī, who all give differing versions regarding the dates. Ibn Ḥabīb

[31] See also Williams's translation with minor omissions (Williams 1986:110).

[32] In fact, the hippodrome of al-Qabaq near the Bāb al-Naṣr was demolished, while the *maṣṭaba* next to the Birkat al-Ḥabaš was abandoned, as they became obsolete after the completion of the Siryāqūs complex (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 258).

[33] Regarding the Nāṣirī canal, see Levanoni 1995:163–164.

[34] Interestingly enough, the canal did not in fact reach Siryāqūs, as stated by the contemporary al-Fāḍirī (*Tārīḫ* I, 260), as it merely brought additional water from the Nile at Fam al-Ḫawr (near the Northern end of the Rawḍa island) to the ancient Great or Ḥākimī canal (*al-Ḫalīǧ al-kabīr / al-ḥākimī*) from the west, in the place known as *arḍ aṭ-Ṭabbāla* (around the present-day Ġamra metro station).

only records the year 724/1323–4 (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taḏkira* II, 145), Ibn al-Wardī gives the month as Ǧumādā II (= May/June 1324; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīḫ* II, 266), while according to Ibn ad-Dawādārī, it happened in Šaʿbān (July/August 1324; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* IX, 315). An-Nuwayrī, while providing more details, lists the construction among the events of the following year (an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XV, 135–136). According to the *Ḫiṭaṭ*, the construction works were carried out between 1 Ǧumādā I–30 Ǧumādā II 725/15 April–13 June 1325 (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 258).[35]

The chronology of the events we can establish from the information reviewed above is that an-Nāṣir Muḥammad decided to build hippodromes and animal enclosures in the area between Siryāqūs and the hunting grounds of the Birkat al-Ḥuǧǧāǧ in the spring of 722/1322. This must have been a great success, adding to the appeal of the area, as in 723/1323 the sultan decided to develop the area into a special resort with palaces and gardens for himself and his retinue, with the works starting at the end of the year. This entailed an expansion of the canals to the west and northwest of Cairo starting from 724/1324. The *ḫānaqāh*, however, is rarely (if at all) mentioned in connection with these events.

5 The foundation of the *ḫānaqāh* and the opening festivities

It appears that erecting a *ḫānaqāh* had not been a central idea to an-Nāṣir's project in Siryāqūs – in fact, the function of a Ṣūfī lodge, no matter how majestic the building, did not really befit a place of royal recreation. Due to the lack and/or silence of contemporary records, we must again turn to the *Ḫiṭaṭ* as to what exactly drove the sultan to create a Ṣūfī lodge near this new resort. As the author reports, during the construction of the enclosures, an-Nāṣir fell ill on one of his hunting trips. The abdominal pain was so severe that the sultan swore an oath: he would build a place of worship on that certain spot if God healed him. When the ruler recovered after a few days, he returned to the area with architects and outlined the location of a *ḫānaqāh*, "about a mile from the district of Siryāqūs" (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 294). In his *Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī gives the distance more realistically as "'about a farsaḫ", and also provides a date – confirming that the *ḫānaqāh* was a late addition to the Siryāqūs project, as the works started in Rabīʿ II 725 / March-April 1325 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 80).

Even though the lodge was quite large – described as spacious and lofty *(fasīḥa, mušayyada*) by Ibn Ḥabīb (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taḏkira* II, 149) and simply as large *(ʿaẓīm)*

[35]As to why the Syrian writers recorded the previous year, a plausible explanation can be that they either confounded or linked the construction of the Nāṣirī canal with the extension of the older Ḏikr canal, that indeed had happened a year earlier. The Nāṣirī canal then superseded the Ḏikr canal which had disappeared by al-Maqrīzī's time (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 257).

by the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, 61)[36] – and was meant to contain a hundred *ḫalwa*s for a hundred mystics, along with a Friday mosque, a place to accommodate guests, baths and a kitchen, it is said that the construction was carried out in a mere 40 days (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 80).

The grand opening of the *ḫānaqāh* took place in early Ǧumādā II 725 / end of May 1325, according to most authors, even though there are differences as to the exact day: Ibn Kaṯīr writes the "beginning" of Ǧumādā II (Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya* XVIII, 255), Ibn al-Ǧazarī and al-Fāḫirī record the 6th (Ibn al-Ǧazarī, *Tārīḫ* II, 72; al-Fāḫirī, *Tārīḫ* I, 263), an-Nuwayrī the 9th of Ǧumādā II (an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XV, 136). Ibn ad-Dawādārī gives the date as the 9th of Ǧumādā I, wherein the month seems to be erroneous (Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* IX, 319). In the *Ḫiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī brings up a third date, the 7th of Ǧumādā II (*Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 294), but in the *Sulūk*, a more nuanced description seems to reconcile some of the inconsistencies. According to this narrative, the sultan himself went to the new *ḫānaqāh* on the 6th of the month, and the opening festivities were held on the 9th (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 81).[37]

The description of the ceremonies is basically the same everywhere. At the order of the sultan, all the chief judges, members of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the sheikhs of all *ḫānaqāh*s, *ribāṭ*s and *zāwiya*s of Cairo along with al-Fusṭāṭ and al-Qarāfa and their Ṣūfīs were present, who were joined by an-Nāṣir, the viceroy, and the high-ranking *amīr*s and officials.[38] At the ceremony, the sultan listened to 20 hadiths from the *Tusāʿiyyāt* of the qāḍī Badr ad-Dīn Ibn Ǧamāʿa, recited by his son, ʿIzz ad-Dīn Ibn Ǧamāʿa. The ruler then presented several of the notabilities with honorary robes, then offered a luxurious feast to the guests with all kinds of meats, sweets, and drinks, and finally distributed about 60.000 dirhams worth of silver and gold to the Ṣūfīs (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 294; *Sulūk* III, 81).

Initially forty mystics were placed in the new *ḫānaqāh*, but later their number was increased to hundred, as reported by an-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya* XV, 137).[39] The gradual increase in the number of the residents might explain the amazing speed at which the building was erected; I am inclined to think that the complex was not in fact finished after only two months of work, and was only completed later. The Ṣūfīs

[36] It seems that the Maġribī traveller, who arrived in Egypt in 726/1326, either did not see the building – which he tellingly calls *zāwiyat Siryāquṣ* [sic!] – or was not particularly awed by it, as the brief mention he dedicated to it is only an excuse to extol the virtues of the Marīnid ruler Abū ʿInān and his *zāwiya*.

[37] The *waqfiyya* itself, which, among its provisions, includes the appointment of al-Aqṣarāʾī as grand sheikh, is dated 7th of Ǧumādā II. (Williams 1986:112); however, it is entirely possible that the document was issued before the ceremony itself.

[38] No governors or vassals were invited; nonetheless the subordinate ruler of Ḥamāh, Abū l-Fidāʾ decided to offer suitable gifts for the *ḫānaqāh*, e.g. books, carpets and the like (Abū l-Fidāʾ, *Muḫtaṣar* IV, 94).

[39] The *waqfiyya* that made provisions for settling an additional 60 mystics in the *ḫānaqāh* was issued on 12 Jumādā I 726 / 16 April 1326 (Williams 1986:114).

were paid a monthly stipend of 40 dirhams and were entitled to have three *raṭl*s of bread every day, along with a daily meal *(simāṭ)* served for both those living there and the visitors (an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XV, 137).[40]

In the end, the *ḫānaqāh* accommodated 100 mystics – a mere quarter of the capacity of al-Muẓaffar Baybars's lodge. Again, should al-Nāṣir Muḥammad have intended to compete with his predecessor, he would have certainly built an institution of equal size if not bigger. There were also some differences regarding the governing rules: the Ṣūfīs of Siryāqūs were not allowed to live outside the lodge, which at this point would not have been feasible anyway, as there were no dwellings in the vicinity. This might have been a reason why resident mystics were employed for tasks within the lodge instead of outsiders. Guests were welcome only for three days, and unlike Baybars's *ḫānaqāh*, foreigners did not enjoy special privileges (Fernandes 1988:31). Such features do not suggest an attempt to outshine the rival complex.

6 The sultan, the lodge and the first sheikhs

At the opening ceremony, a certain Maǧd ad-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Mūsā b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Aqṣarāʾī al-Ḥanafī (d. 740/1339)[41] was appointed as the head of the new *ḫānaqāh*. This new function came with the title of *šayḫ aš-šuyūḫ*, indicating a position similar to that of the leader of the prestigious Saʿīd as-Suʿadāʾ lodge. He was also to receive enviable wages: out of the 7000 dirhams that the *ḫānaqāh* received each month, 2000 was his due (an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XV, 137). If there is one domain in which al-Nāṣir's lodge undoubtedly surpassed that of Baybars, it was the salaries and remunerations provided to the residents (Fernandes 1988:71) – however, this might have also been a necessity due to the remoteness of the location, which could have made procuring everyday goods more expensive.

The new grand master was a personal acquaintance of the great biographer aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) – in fact, the latter was initiated into Ṣūfism by him in 738/1337–8. Aṣ-Ṣafadī's biography of al-Aqṣarāʾī, full of hyperbolic praise, does not contain much exact information about him, apart from the fact that he used to live in Alexandria, then came to Cairo, where he became the sheikh of Baktamur as-Sāqī's *ḫānaqāh* in the Qarāfa (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* V, 474). This, however, is an error on aṣ-Ṣafadī's part, as Baktamur's *ḫānaqāh* was opened later than the Nāṣiriyya in

[40] For a detailed listing of the buildings along with the offices, duties, and salaries of the residents, see Williams 1986:111–116.

[41] For his biography, see aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* V, 473–476. [no. 1888]. He is mentioned in passing among an-Nāṣir Muḥammad's great *ʿulamāʾ* as "the grand master of the recitators" (*šayḫ šuyūḫ al-qurrāʾ*) by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla* 64), but I am inclined to think that the word *al-qurrāʾ* is merely a corruption of *al-fuqarāʾ* ("the poor"), a term often used to denote the Ṣūfīs – which may be a sign of the traveller's lack of information regarding the Nāṣiriyya.

Siryāqūs.[42] Al-Aqṣarāʾī in fact had been the master of another lodge built a few years earlier: that of Karīm ad-Dīn, also in the lesser Qarāfa (aš-Šuǧāʿī, *Tārīḫ*, 92; Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Durar* IV, 373).[43] From this position, he was transferred to the new lodge in Siryāqūs. It seems that the ruler was satisfied with his services, as in 727/1327, when the head of the Saʿīd as-Suʿadāʾ lodge became chief *qāḍī* and grand sheikh in Damascus, al-Aqṣarāʾī was given his *mašyaḫa* as well. This new position appears to have been nominal, with presumable financial advantages, as the new grand sheikh was ordered to appoint a certain individual as his deputy at the Saʿīd as-Suʿadāʾ (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 100), which most probably means that he was not involved in the direction of the urban *ḫānaqāh*.

Al-Aqṣarāʾī died on 17 Rabīʿ II 740 / 22 October 1339, in his seventies (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* V, 476; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 289). The special position of the lodge for an-Nāṣir Muḥammad is evident from his personal involvement in appointing the grand master's successor, even if we have conflicting narratives regarding that event. The contemporary biographer aš-Šuǧāʿī simply states that after the sheikh's death the sultan appointed his servant, Rukn ad-Dīn al-Malaṭī. This, however, caused dissatisfaction with the Ṣūfīs, who did not wish to accept the lowly servant as their master – upon which an-Nāṣir said that the deceased al-Aqṣarāʾī himself had recommended al-Malaṭī as his heir, and offered the possibility to leave for those who did not like the decision (aš-Šuǧāʿī, *Tārīḫ*, 67). A more detailed and quite different version is preserved by al-Maqrīzī, whose source in this case is not identified. According to this, a few days after al-Aqṣarāʾī's death, the sheikhs Šams ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Qawām ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī arrived at Siryāqūs with a group of Ṣūfīs from the Saʿīd as-Suʿadāʾ *ḫānaqāh*. The sultan himself rode to the gate of the lodge on 28 Rabīʿ II / 2 November, where the mystics came forth to greet him. There he asked them to elect a new sheikh, but as they refrained from nominating anyone, the ruler decided himself. His choice was a certain ar-Rukn or Rukn al-Dīn al-Malaṭī (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 277). Either way, the sultan was visibly involved in the selection of the new leader of his lodge.

Al-Malaṭī seems to have been low-profile compared to his predecessor. Very few details are known about him – I have not even found information regarding his full name. Whether or not the ruler chose him at the behest of al-Aqṣarāʾī, one thing is certain: he was not a temporary solution, as he remained in his position until an-Nāṣir's death about two years later. The sheikh was then sent off to India on an official mission in 744/1343 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III, 398), only to return ten years later, in 754/1353. He was soon reinstated as grand sheikh with some opposition by influential courtiers (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* IV, 175), but it is unclear how long he held

[42] On 8 Raǧab 726 / 10 June 1326 (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 287).

[43] Ibn Ḥaǧar also specifies that already in Alexandria he used to serve as the head of a local Ṣūfī lodge, founded by a certain Bīlīk al-Muḥsinī.

on to it or even when he died – similarly to how the records of the Nāṣiriyya *ḫānaqāh* become sporadic and sketchy after the death of the founder.

Epilogue

Interestingly enough, the Siryāqūs resort, to which the *ḫānaqāh* was a late and outlying addition, disappeared well before the lodge, without any trace. The later Qalāwūnid sultans and even the first Circassian ruler, aẓ-Ẓāhir Barqūq, maintained the custom of regularly visiting al-Nāṣir's resort in the autumn months. However, after Barqūq's last visit in 800/1397 it was abandoned (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* V, 407), became dilapidated and in early 825/1422, less than a hundred years after the construction began, the formerly glorious complex was sold for a mere 100 dinars to be reused as building material (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* III, 349).

As for the *ḫānaqāh*, its importance seems to have diminished after the death of the founder – at least we might infer from the relative lack of records that the sultans did not pay as much attention to it as an-Nāṣir had. However, the institution flourished and soon became a nucleus for a settlement. Already al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) reports that the first station *(markaz)* of the royal post on the road between Cairo and Bilbays was relocated from the remote and isolated al-ʿUšš to the vicinity of the *ḫānaqāh* in Siryāqūs, where several markets had sprung up (al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf,* 272). Thus, the main road between Egypt and Syria was diverted to pass through the settlement around the lodge, which quickly developed into a bustling market town with several houses, caravanserais, inns and baths as attested by al-Maqrīzī's description (*Ḫiṭaṭ* IV, 294). This rapid growth created the settlement, which the sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy deemed worthy enough to adorn with a Friday mosque – the one that stands as the lone reminder of al-Ḫānka's golden age.

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CAMELS AND HORSES IN AL-AṢMAʿĪ'S MONOGRAPHS

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Abstract:
In this study, two works of al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/831), *Kitāb al-ẖayl* and *Kitāb al-ibil*, will be examined. Due to the similar subject matters– description of an animal species – the structure of the two works is also very similar. For both animal species, the most important topic is birth and reproduction, which is why *al-Aṣmaʿī*'s two books begin with this issue. The most suitable time for conception is determined based on experience, tradition, and observation, ensuring that the female animal can conceive and give birth to a healthy calf or foal. The fertility and abundant milk-production of camels, and the speed and endurance of horses, are thought to be ensured by their nobility, that is, the careful selection of pedigrees and ancestors, through the knowledge of genealogy.

Keywords: camel, Arabian horse, al-Aṣmaʿī, Arabic poetry

Medieval Arabic literature abounds in descriptions of animals, a large part of this corpus having been created in the late pre-Islamic era and transmitted through oral tradition and collected in the poetic anthologies of the early Abbasid period in the 2nd–3rd/8th–9th centuries. The relevant verses were also used in other, lexicographical works, sometimes under the titles *Kitāb al-ẖayl* or *Kitāb al-ibil*. In these works of lexicography, in addition to material collected by themselves among the Bedouins, the authors, such as Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/831), also drew on collections of pre-Islamic or early Islamic poetry whenever they wished to explain the meaning of a rarely used word (Baalbaki 2014:3, 6–7). The camel was frequently described in the *qaṣīda*s of many pre-Islamic poets, whose works can be found in the collection of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (al-Anbārī, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*), including Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd (d. 38/569), Baššāma b. al-Ġudayr al-Uḏrī (al-Murrī) (d. 14/608)[1],

[1] His name is Baššāma b. ʿAmr, al-Ġudayr being his nickname (*laqab*). He was a pre-Islamic poet from the Ġaṭafān tribe who owned a lot of camels. When the number of his camels reached one thousand, he spotted out the eyes of a camel bull, as was customary at

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Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (d. 88/609), al-Muṯaqqab al-ʿAbdī (d. 36/587), ʿAlqama al-Faḥl (d. 20/603), while descriptions of the horse are found in the poems of Ṭufayl al-Ġanawī (d. 13/610), Labīd b. Rabīʿa (d. 41/661), Imruʾu l-Qays (d. 38/540), Abū Ḏuʾayb Ḫuwaylid b. Ḫālid al-Huḏalī (a *muḫaḍram* poet) (d. 33/654), and Zayd al-Hayl aṭ-Ṭā'ī (a *muḫaḍram* poet) (d. 9/630).[2]

Among the poetic images depicting animals, descriptions of camels (typically *nāqa*, 'female camel' and *ibil*, 'camels' in the plural) and horses (*faras*, 'mare', and *ḫayl*, 'horses' and 'riders') stand out. These animals are revered by the Arabs as *ḥayawān anīs* ('living beings with souls').[3]

In what follows, two works of al-Aṣmaʿī will be examined with an eye to the terminology: the *Kitāb al-ḫayl* and *Kitāb al-ibil*.

Due to the analogous subject matter, the structure of the two works is very similar. Both descriptions begin with mating, pregnancy, and birth. The description of the camel begins as follows: "*The most appropriate time for a female camel to become pregnant is when she misses a year (rests) after her previous pregnancy, and mating takes place then*" (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 43):

أجودُ وقتٍ يُحْمَلُ فيه على الناقةِ أن تُجمَّ سنةً ويُحْمل عليها

In the case of the horse, the most suitable time for a mare to conceive, as al-Aṣmaʿī puts it at the very beginning of the book again: *"[For all odd-toed ungulates] the most appropriate time (for a mare) to become pregnant is the seventh day after giving birth"* (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ḫayl* 48).[4]

أجودُ وقتِ الحَمْلِ عليها بعد نِتاجها بسبعةِ ايّامٍ

The topic of mating and parturition is much more elaborately detailed in relation to camels than to horses, including elements such as the pregnancy probe (*bawr*), premature birth (*iʿǧāl*), and over-carrying (*idrāǧ*), which are missing from the description of horses. After describing the calves/foals at birth, the text traces their growth, followed by an anatomical description in the case of the horse (absent in that

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the time. See his description of the camel in al-Qināwī. 1949:74–75; and on the tradition see ʿAlī 1980: VI, 79.

[2] Zayd b. Muhalhil b. Zayd b. Munhab b. ʿAbd Raḍā. He got his nickname (Zayd al-Ḫayl), because of the great number of his horses. Six of his horses are known by name from his poems: al-Haṭṭāl, al-Kumayt, al-Ward, Kāmil, Du'ūl, Lāḥiq. The Prophet Muḥammad changed his name to Zayd al-Ḫayr, when he converted to Islam, alluding with this to the value of horses.

[3] Contrasted with wild animals such as the lion or hyena, which are called in Arabic *ḥayawān ābid* (untamed, wild).

[4] The first estrus after parturition (so-called 'foal-estrus') occurs five to eleven days after her giving birth. The mare is then in conceptional ability again. According to the European tradition, the optimal day for mating during the initial estrus is the ninth day following parturition (referred to as the 'foal one ninth'). See Bodó and Hecker 1998:216–217.

of the camel).[5] Conversely, there is ample description of motherhood, suckling, and lactation (milk secretion) concerning camels. Within the anatomical description of horses, the author summarises the diseases of the legs and hooves as the most significant problems and does not address other diseases. In the case of camels, diseases are described after the animal's general characteristics, and the author mainly mentions internal problems caused by exhaustion and external injuries due to saddle sores or other bruises. He lists twenty-five diseases that can affect camels.[6] After this, the two descriptions converge again, various desirable and undesirable characteristics being listed in the text. In the description of gaits, we find terms used for both camels and horses, just as in the description of colours that follows. The description of horses ends after the discussion of gaits, while two additional chapters complete the discussion of the camels due to the unique characteristics of the breed: the period between two waterings (*ẓim'*), and the types of marks (camel brands, *taznīm*) and skin twists used as markings.

Terminology related to watering	(al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil,* 148–155)
Time elapsing between two waterings	الظِمءُ
A camel, which is left by the water and drinks whenever it wants to	الرَغْرَغَةُ
A camel cow that drinks every day	رافِهَةٌ
Daily watering	الرِفْهُ
Those who water their camels every day	المُرْفِهُونَ
An animal watered in the evening one day and in the morning the next day	العُرَيْجَاءُ
Watering every day at noon	الظاهِرَةُ
Watering every two days	الغِبُّ
Watering every fourth day	الرِبْعُ
Watering every fifth day	الخِمْسُ
The camels arriving for the fifth day's watering	جاءتْ الإبلُ خَوامِسَ

[5] al-Aṣmaʿī's explanations of the camel's body parts can be found in Ibn Sīda, *Muḫaṣṣaṣ* II, 47–54. Among these we find some names common to horses as well, such as *ǧirān* (throat, front-upper part of the neck in camels, fold of skin at the horse's throat), *dasīʿ* (the junction of the neck and withers in both species), *birka* (the front part of the camel's chest that touches the ground when lying down, or the whole breast in reference to the horse), *mirfaq* (the elbow in both species), *ġurābān* (the upper part of the rump on both sides of the tail in both species), *ʿaǧb* (tail bone in both species), *ʿasīb* (coccyx in both species) *ḏirāʿ* (forearm, part of the leg above the cannon [*waẓīf*] in both species), etc.

[6] Among them are the illnesses caused by inner and outer parasites, tremor (*raǧaz*) asthma (*rabw*) and a kind of infectious disease that resembles malleus (*ṣād, ṣayd*). Due to the mastitis occurring in dairy camels, the injury caused by the rope or a stringy piece of wood binding the udder, is discussed elsewhere in the text, as part of the description of the state after calving, as is the cutting off non-milk-producing nipples.

Watering every sixth day	السِدْسُ
Camels watered every six days	سَوادِسُ
Watering every seventh day	السِبْعُ
Camels watered every seven days	سَوابِعُ
Watering every eighth day	الثِمْنُ
Camels watered every eight days	ثَوامِنُ
Watering every ninth day	التِسْعُ
Camels watered every nine days	تَواسِعُ
Watering every tenth day	العِشْرُ
Camels watered every ten days	عَواشِرُ
The camels asked for water while on the way.	طَلَقَتْ الإبلُ طلقاً إلى الماء
Asking for water on the first night	طَلَقٌ
Asking for water on the second night	قَرَبٌ
The camel went to the water, drank, and knelt	قد عَطَنَتْ
The camel kneeling after drinking at the water	هي عَطُونٌ
Camels watered for the second time	إبلٌ عالةٌ
He drank little	نَشَحَتْ
Little, non-thirst-quenching drink	الشرابُ النَشُوحُ
The camel is being held back from the water	قَصَبَ يَقْصَبُ قُصَوباً
The camel is being held back from eating	ظَلَّ عاذِباً

Markings and camel brands[7]	(al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 156–160)
Slitting the camel's ear as a mark; the slit part of the ear bends down, dries up, and becomes like an earring	التَزْنِيمُ
A burned line, as a brand on the camel's thigh	الخِباطُ
A hooked stick-shaped mark anywhere on the camel's body; a mark made with a hot iron upon a camel	المِحْجَنُ
A hook-shaped stick mark that looks like a hook hanging from the edge of a camel's saddle	الخُطَّافُ
Three stick-shaped markings, which relate to their lower part and diverge at their upper part	المُشْطُ
A brand made with a hot iron stick on the nose of a camel	الخِطامُ
A she-camel marked with a nose brand	ناقةٌ مَخْطُومَةٌ
Two circular marks on the neck	المُحَلَّقُ

[7] Among the markings, the tribal mark (*wasm*) is always placed in the same place on the camel (on the thigh), while the marks of the subtribes and families (*šāhid*) can vary on the upper arm, neck, and nose, in addition to the permanent tribal mark.

Marking at the very bottom of the neck	اللِحاظُ
The marking on the jaw	اللَهازُ
A camel marked on its jaw	مَلْهُوزٌ
A small incision made with a large knife or sharp stone on the thigh or upper arm; the cut piece of skin curls up, dries up, and becomes like a skin wart	الحَزَّةُ
A large incision made with a large knife or a sharp stone, after which the skin is folded up and allowed to dry	الجَرْفَةُ
An incision made on the hind leg (lower thigh: *sāq*) or upper arm (*ʿaḍud*) with a large, broad-bladed knife	القَرْعَةُ
A mark on the camel's face, a dry piece of skin the size of an olive	القَرْمَةُ
Splitting the camel's ear	التَرْعِيلُ
A she-camel with split ears.; the dried part of the ear remains hanging	ناقةٌ رَعْلاءُ
Splitting of the front part of the ear; the split ear part is left to dry	الإقْبالةُ
Splitting of the back of the ear; the split ear part is left there to dry	الإدْبارةُ
A female camel whose ears have been split in front and behind as well	الناقةُ مُقابَلَةٌ مُدابَرَةٌ
The she-camel that has the back of its ear slit as a mark	المُدابَرَةُ
Splitting the camel's ear in its middle part	الخَرْقُ
An opening cut in the camel's ear	الشَرْقُ
A slit-eared she-camel	شَرْقاءٌ
A mark reserved for kings	الصَيْعَرِيَّةُ

In the terminology related to camel and horse, there are common names with either the same or the opposite meaning. Examples include *haǧīn* (camel of noble descent or horse of low descent), *ḥadūda* (breeding animal: camel and horse), *ḥūš* (wild animal: camel and horse), *kumayt* (dark chestnut horse and dark red, reddish-brown camel), *ʿanaq* (quick lively gait of camel and horse), *hamlaǧa* (light quick gait of camel casting its front legs ahead while walking and sliding its cushioned soles on the ground; and slow, sluggish gait of horse, much disliked by the Arabs), *ḫināf* (shovelling gait of the horse, with the hooves turned outwards while walking, and sideways gait of the camel), *munāqala* (the gait of the camel and horse avoiding stones), *aṣfar* (yellow colour of the camel and horse), *adham* (black colour in the camel combined with a lighter belly and groin; pure black in the case of the horse),

aḥwā (a dark brown colour in the horse; a greenish colour mixed with black and yellow in the camel), *aḥḍar* (an earth-coloured, greenish-coloured camel; a black, greenish-coloured horse).

There are words and expressions within the terminology of the camel or the horse which have also been adopted as technical terms in Arabic prosody: *qāfiya muqayyada* ('unframed', 'fettered', bound rhyme), *qāfiya muṭlaqa* ('unleashed' rhyme). The name *daḫīl*, known in horse racing (a third horse placed between two horses bet for a race, on which no one may bet) (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿiqd al-farīd* I:151), also appears in prosody as the name of a variable letter wedged between the rhyming letter and the foundation (*taʾsīs*). The term used in prosody for the letter before the rhyming letter is *ridf*, which originally meant the seat behind the camel-rider on the camel's back.

Before reviewing the thematic elements of the descriptions of the camel and horse, we must also briefly summarise the reasons of the marked cultural significance of these two species of animals for the Arabs.

1 The Origins of Camel- and Horse-Breeding among the Arabs: The Literary Sources

According to some of the classical Arabic sources (Ibn al-Kalbī, Ibn al-Aʿrābī and ad-Damīrī) recounting North Arabian traditions, the forefather of the Arabs is Abraham's son Ismāʿīl, who was the first to tame the wild horses that God led to his tent and thus turned them into Arabian horses. The story of Ishmael (Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm), known from the Bible, was taken over by Arab traditions and supplemented by the idea that he was the first to speak Arabic, as well as a monotheist (*ḥanīf*) and the domesticator of the horse (ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt* 442; Ibn al-Aʿrābī, *Asmāʾ* 78; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ansāb* 28–32). According to this tradition, the first Arabian horses came from the wild horses of the Arabian Peninsula (*al-ḥūšiyya*). These wild horses had once belonged to Wabār b. Umaym b. Lawḏ b. Sām b. Nūḥ but became wild after his death. We find the same story about the camels having been the property of Wabār, becoming wild after his death, and later joining the tame camel herds (Editor of *EI*[2] 1971:637, Pellat 1971:666).[8]

According to another group of classical Arabic sources, which rely on South Arabian tradition, the first Arab tribe to have a horse was the South Arabian al-Azd (a subgroup of the Kahlān), who received a stallion named Zād ar-Rākib ('provision of the traveller') as a gift from King Solomon, which became the ancestor of the horses of the Arabs. The legendary 'Awağiyyāt, as well as Dāḥis and al-Ġabrāʾ, were also descended from Zād ar-Rākib. Perhaps the start of horse breeding was associated with Zād ar-Rākib and was not important because it was the first horse to come to the Arabs.

[8] For more information cf. Kutasi 2012:23–29.

The descent of the Arabian horse from wild horses might be connected to a historical event, the destruction of the dam of Maʾrib in the 6th century, after which some Yemeni horses might have escaped towards the desert, becoming wild over time, and appearing among the nomads of the Nağd region. The Banū Taġlib were the first horsemen in Arabia, nomads living in eastern Arabia, well to the east of Nağd (Viré 1965:785). According to Ibn al-Aʿrābī *(Asmāʾ* 264, 101, 35) they were the first tribe to have a foal from Zād ar-Rākib, namely al-Huğayš, who became even faster than Zād ar-Rākib. Al-Huğayš's foal in turn was ad-Dīnārī (Bakr b. Wāʾil's horse), and the latter's offspring was Aʿwağ (al-Akbar), owned by Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr, then passing to the Bahrāʾ tribe.

According to Arabian folklore, which is also referred to in the Qurʾān (Q 88:16), the camel descended from malevolent *ğinn* (*šayātīn*), who lived in Ḥūš (the wilderness) beyond the sandy desert of Yabrīn[9] and inaccessible to mortals. Occasionally these spirits appear in the form of a camels. The homeland of the *ğinn* is called Ḥūš in the same way as the abode of Wabār mentioned earlier, from which the ancestors of the Arabian horses and the Arab camels descend. The word itself is probably connected to *waḥš* ('wilderness') and *waḥšī* ('wild').

The Qur'ān (Q 7:73–79, Q 11:64–65, Q 26:155, Q 27:48–49, Q 54:28) mentions a story about the Prophet Sāliḥ that is not found in the Bible. The she-camel in the story, the first camel that came to the people of Prophet Sāliḥ, the Ṯamūd tribe, as a divine sign. God made a pregnant she-camel emerge from a cleft in the rock to prove to his people that Sāliḥ was indeed God's messenger. The camel lived with the tribe for thirty years, then God warned the prophet in a dream that the camel would be slaughtered by a child with red hair and blue eyes, which indeed happened so. The unbelieving members of his tribe killed his she-camel and its calf during the evening watering.[10] On the third day after the ominous deed, God destroyed them in an earthquake by way of punishment.[11] The prophet Sāliḥ's camel was given a place in heaven after his death by the grace of Prophet Muḥammad.

[9] Yabrīn is the name of a settlement in Saudi Arabia in the middle of the desert, 210 kilometres south of the country's capital, Riyadh. It was once inhabited by the ad-Dawāsir tribe, thought to descend from the last king of Ma'rib and part of the al-Azd tribe that sources claim owned the ancestor of the Arabian horses, Zād ar-Rākib. The tribe is the maternal ancestors of some members of the Saudi royal family. Since 1940, the village has become inhabited again, mainly by the ad-Dawāsir tribe. The tribe keeps the best dairy camels in Saudi Arabia, a breed called *dawsir* after the name of the tribe. These are large, black-coloured camels.

[10] Obviously not identical with the calf that the she-camel carried in her belly when she emerged from the rock cleft. A she-camel can give birth to eight to ten calves in thirty years.

[11] In ad-Damīrī's description, the killers of the camel died of a peculiar disease in three days, during which the colour of their faces first turned red, then black, and finally their hearts stopped. The calf managed to escape. See ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt* 331–332.

2 Thematic Elements Appearing in the Poems

2.1 Thirst and hunger

Due to the camel's extraordinary efficiency and its tolerance of thirst, it is indispensable for those who live in desert areas or undertake long desert journeys between two larger settlements. Adaptation to life in the desert has reshaped the camel's body in such a way that it can last up to ten to twenty-one days without drinking, provided it can graze on the salty plants of the desert. In connection with this unique ability, as we have seen, al-Aṣmaʿī devotes a separate chapter in his book on the camel to the different periods between two waterings (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 148–155). Starting with the camel left at the water source, which drinks whenever it wants to (*ar-raġraġa*), arrives at ten days as the longest period between two waterings. This is valid for the desert environment, but if the camel can graze on green plants, it can last up to three to six months without water (Zāyid, Ġādirī and Šaraḥya 1991:150).

The camel depletes ('dehydrates') the moisture content of its body tissues to preserve the water content of its intestines, so that they can continue to carry out their digestive processes, and then, during rehydration, it is able to quickly transfer the absorbed amount of water (up to two hundred litres in three minutes) into its blood circulation.

كَمْ قَدْ حَسَرْنا مِن عَلاةٍ عَنْسَلِ
حَرْفٍ كقَوْسِ الشَوْحَطِ المُعَطَّلِ

How many times have we chased to death his tall, light she-camel, which has become emaciated, its muscles dried up, it has become (indestructible) like a bow made of šawḥat[12]*, or like a stray camel without its owner* (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 103).

كأَنَّهُ مِنْ طوُلِ جَذْعِ العَفْسِ
ورَمَلانِ الخِمْسِ بعد الخِمْسِ
يُنْحَتُ مِنْ أَقْطارِهِ بِفَأْسِ
مِنْ أَرْضِهِ إلى مَقِيلِ الحِلْسِ

It [i.e. its body] is as if a piece had been cut out of its sides with an ax from the long, exhausting starvation and the fast walking, from the watering every five days, from its feet to the place where the saddle-cloth attaches (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 112).

[12] A species of tree common in the mountain-range extending from near ʿArafāt to Naǧrān in Yemen; see Lane 1872:1513.

مَسْتَهُنَّ أيام الحَرور وطُولُ ما خَبَطْنَ الصُوىَ بالمُنْعَلاتِ الرَواعِفِ

They were emaciated by the hot, windy days and the long journey, during which they drummed with bleeding bandaged feet (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 48).

The camel's red blood cells are oval-shaped, without a nucleus, so they do not burst under the influence of a large amount of suddenly absorbed water, but only their shape changes to a spherical form. Kidney function starts normally operating one hour after rehydration.[13] No other animal's body can do this. In a dehydrated state, the blood sugar level increases tenfold,[14] without the sugar appearing in the urine. The camel stores sugar in its blood rather than losing water in the urine, so the amount of insulin in its blood increases along with the sugar. During dehydration, water is not obtained from the hump,[15] the fat stored there is mobilized only when replenishing energy or in case of illness and is used to cool the body. For the only source of water, the amount of water stored in the alimentary canal. Camels lose much less blood plasma than other animals during dehydration. Water from fat metabolism, which results in weight loss, is also used during dehydration in vital processes.

Al-Aṣmaʿī, when describing the very thirsty camel (*baʿīr haymān wa-nāqa haymā wa-ibil hiyām*) mentions that its spleen (such a camel is called *ṭaḥil*) or its lungs (such a camel is *ṭanā*) stick to its side. This condition results from excessive dehydration of body tissues.[16] He calls *huyām* the disease caused by thirst and accompanied by fever (al-Aṣmaʿī*, Ibil* 129–130).[17]

ذاتُ هِدْمٍ عارٍ نَواشِرُها تُصْمِتُ بالماء تَوْلَباً جَدِعَا

Its forearms are worn and hairless: I fasted it with water, which made it look like a malnourished one-year-old donkey mare (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 68).

ظَلَّتْ بِمُنْدَحِّ الرَحَى مُثْوِلُها

[13] Concentrated camel urine contains twice as much salt (about 7%) as seawater (3.5%). see Yagil 1985:33.

[14] It increases from 150mg% to 1300mg%.; see Yagil 1985:35.

[15] The Arabic language has at least thirty terms to describe the hump, even though al-Aṣmaʿī lists just fifteen hump-related terms in his book.

[16] Arabian horses can reduce the water content of their body tissues by 12% in the event of a water deficit (Sneddon 1993:201–213). Their bodies become lean and dry like wood. In the poems, similarly to the emaciated camel, the poet compares the horse to worn wooden tools:

بِعِجْلِزَةٍ قد عترز الجري لحمها كميت كانّها هِراوة مِنْوال

I was sitting on a hard-fleshed horse, whose muscles had been dried by so much running, on a dark brown that was like the wood and spindle of a loom [in colour and material] (Ibn Qutayba*, Maʿānī* 50).

[17] This illness is in fact caused by parasites of blood transmitted by flies. Among symptoms of the disease are fever, diarrhoea, and emaciation (Saʿūd 2003: 80–81).

ثامِنَةً ومُعْولاً أَفِيلُها

They became bloated bellies, and their stature became like that of an eight-year-old camel. Their young, weaned calves are foaming at the mouth with thirst (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 95).

The fact that the camel can eat even in a dehydrated state, since that it constantly regurgitates the bites, it has already swallowed, so its mouth does not dry out. Its production of saliva is continuous.

The members of the camel family, since they ruminate even though they are not ruminants but pseudo-ruminants,[18] are named accordingly in the literature: the male animal is called a bull (*baʿīr, faḥl*[19]*, faḥīl*), the female is called a cow (*nāqa*), and the offspring is called a calf. [20] Contrasted with equids and non-ruminant herbivores, whose male is a stallion (*ḥiṣān*), whose female is a mare (*faras, ḥiğr*), and whose offspring is a foal.[21]

The camel can ruminate while standing, lying down or walking. In the heat of summer, it usually ruminates at noon and at night, and during the rest of the day it eats for eight to twelve hours (Yagil 1985:47, Zāyid, Ġādirī and Šaraḥya 1991:132). It does not graze like other animals, by systematically grazing on everything in a certain area; its 'tastes'[22] plants as it moves further and further away, always only nibbling on one plant or another, instead of grazing on all of them (Iqbal and Khan 2001:59, Yagil 1985:57). The camel can graze even when the other animals are already lying down or looking for shade (Yagil 1985:47).

يَعْشَى إذا أَظْلَمَ عَنْ عَشَائِهِ

[18] The order Artiodactyla includes two groups, the true ruminants (Ruminantiae) (*al-muğtarrāt al-ḥaqīqiyya*) and the pseudo ruminants (Tylopoda) (*al-muğtarrāt al-kāḏiba*). Pseudo ruminants have a four-part compound stomach like the genuine ruminants, the difference being that the third part, the leaf stomach or omasum (*al-waraqiyya*) is underdeveloped, elongated, and does not work as intensively as the corresponding part of ruminants. The main digestion takes place in the first part of the stomach, the rumen (*al-kirš*). This part of the stomach contains a large amount of gastric juice, 98% of which is water.

[19] The word *faḥl* means any kind of male animal, not just the bull camel. *Faḥīl* is the name of the bull camel used for breeding. A male camel can also be referred to as *ğamal*.

[20] The camel calf that has not yet been named is called *salīl*. The male camel calf is *saqb*, the female is *ḥāʾil*. A camel calf that can stand and walk is *rāšiḥ*. While it is still stumbling, it is called *muṯfil*; when it can walk beside its mother, it is called *ḥuwār ğādil*. The ten-month-old male camel calf is *afīl*, the female *afīla*.; while a one-year-old camel calf separated from its mother is called *faṣīl* or *faṭīm*. See al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 55–56.

[21] The newborn colt is called *muhr*, the filly's name is *muhra*. The foal is called this until it stops feeding on its mother's milk, i.e. for one year. The Bedouin let the foal suckle for a year, after which it is separated from its mother. A one-year-old weaned foal is called a *filw*. When it reaches the age of two, it is called a *ḥawlī*. See al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ḫayl* 48–49.

[22] It means that the camels like to browse rather than graze.

مِنْ ذُبَّحِ السَلْعِ وعُنْصَلائِه
والمَرْوَ يَهْدِيهِ إلى أَمعائِهِ
يُلَفِّفُ الحَيَّةَ في غِشائِهِ

He can barely see when the night falls on him during his dinner of Capparaceae and Astaraceae. He is guided by the marw's smell (Maerna crassifolia), the leaves of which cover the snake [lying beneath] (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 111).

Food is digested in the rumen. In accessory sacs in the rumen, it can store liquid, the composition of which is like camel saliva. This alkaline liquid can neutralize the acidic products formed during the rumen's digestion process, so this greenish-coloured liquid with a strong smell is potable for humans when necessary (Wilson 1984:73, Yagil 1985:26).

Horses graze slowly, although they prefer certain plants, stopping in one place and eating a lot of grass. The main digestion process takes place in their caecum, they can run even when full, so they do not need to rest for digestion either. The large intestine of horses can store large amounts of water. Arabian horses can last up to seventy-two hours (i.e. three days) in desert conditions with a minimal amount of water (Sneddon 1993: 201–213).[23] In his book al-Aṣmaʿī does not mention the horse's endurance of thirst, drinking water or camel milk and tying them to dairy camels, topics that are treated in the section *Kitāb al-faras* of Ibn Qutayba's *al-Maʿānī al-kabīr* (Kutasi 2012:106–173).

2.2. Noble lineages and reproduction

The Rwala Bedouins of the modern era divide camels into two groups: noble (*ḥurr*) and common (*ʿāḍī*). A camel is considered noble only if both of its parents are proven by eyewitnesses to be noble. Even then, a camel can be recognized as noble if only the mother's nobility can be proven by eyewitnesses, since the identity of the father is uncertain. If a she-camel of good constitution, but of common descent, is mated by a noble camel bull, the daughters will be recognized as noble from the fifth generation, and the male offspring from the ninth generation (Musil 1928:332). Noble origin is regarded as a guarantee for the survival of good qualities:

[23] Based on the water and energy circulation of mammals, three ecotypes can be established: 1. The humid temperature type, which uses a lot of water and energy to maintain its vital functions, and whose kidneys have a weak concentrating ability. Such are cattle, elephants or moose, and horses in general. 2. The semi-arid ecotype, with a medium water requirement, with a good concentrating ability of the kidney, like the donkey, sheep, and Arabian horse. 3. The dry ecotype, with low water and energy turnover, with extreme concentrating ability of the kidney, such as camel, goat, gazelle and oryx. See Sneddon 1993.

غَرْزٌ له بُوقاتُ فِيقاتٍ بوُقْ
أَعْمِدْ بَراعِيسَ أبوها ذُعْلُوقْ

The udder has plenty of milk ducts inflated with the remaining milk. Trust the abundant milking she-camels fathered by Ḏuʿlūq (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 70).

إن سَرَّكَ الغَزْرُ المَكوُدُ الدائمُ
فاعْمِدْ بَرَاعِيسَ أبوها الرائِمُ

If a female camel that always gives a lot of milk has been weakened, then choose the perfect sized one instead, the abundant milker, who is descended from ar-Rāʾim (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 80).

مَنْ هَمَزْنا عِزَّهُ تَبَرْكَعَا
على اِسْتِهِ رَوْبَعَةٌ ورَوْبَعا

The (camel calf) from which we asked for a greater effort collapsed, the camel heifer and camel bull calf suffering from breeding paralysis (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 67).

لما خَشِيَتْ نَسَبَيْ إضوائها
مِنْ قِبَلِ الأُمِّ ومِنْ آبائِها
نَظَرْتَ والعَيْنُ مِنْ اِسْتِمائها
أَرْمَكَ مَبْنِيّاً على بِنائِها

If you fear that the offspring will inherit the weaknesses of the parents from the mother's or the father's side, then observe [your camels] and choose the best of them, the dark red colour, like the stature of the best (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 67).

كانَتْ نَجَائِبُ مُنْذِرٍ ومُحَرِّقٍ أُمَّاتُهُنَّ وطَرْقُهُنَّ فَحِيلاً

Munḏir's and Muḥarriq's excellent, noble camels were their ancestors and breeding bulls (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 94).

The gestation period of female camels is thirteen months. Camel cows give birth to their first calf at six or seven years of age. Camels usually conceive every second year, so they can give birth to eight to ten calves during their twenty-five or thirty-year lifespan. A bull camel inseminates 150 to 200 female camels during the mating season (Hussein 1988). In Kenya today, the recommended number of calves is only six, because female camels, considered old by this time, give birth to weak and sick calves. Twelve-year-old breeding bulls are taken out of the herd and either let back after they have matured or are slaughtered (Kuria *et al*. 2016).

The breeder selects camel bulls based on the characteristics suitable for his purpose, preferring bulls with a proven ability to pass on its qualities to its offspring,

and then he inseminates the female camels of the herd. Inbreeding, which used to be a practice, is now being avoided and its consequences widely known.

فَتَعْرُكُكُمُ عَرْكَ الرَّحا بثفالِها وتَلْقَحْ كِشافاً ثمَّ تَحْمِلْ فتُتْئِمِ

Your war, at the height of the battle, is like the battle of the millstone with the grains of grain. It crushes them into powder and collects them under an unfolded skin. This is how war breaks down warriors, and how it exhausts the unplanned, annual pregnancy of she-camels, which eventually give birth to twins (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 43).

نَجائِبُ لا يُلْقَحْنَ إلّا يَعَارَةً عِراضاً ولا يُشْرَيْنَ إلا غوالِيا

Noble camels, which can only be fertilized with the owner's permission, are forcibly taken, and cannot be sold except at a high price (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 43).

سوفَ يُدْنِيكَ من لَمِيسَ سَبَنْتا ةٌ امارَتْ بالبولِ ماءَ الكِراضِ

أَضْمَرَتْهُ عِشْرِينَ يوماً ونِيَلت حِينَ نِيلَتْ يَعَارةً في عِراضِ

He brings you close to his young strong female camel with a soft touch, which sprays her urine full of cervical fluid as she walks around. Twenty days of being forced to kneel before the camel bull for mating had emaciated her (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 44).

ولو تقولُ دَرْبِخُوا لَدَرْبَخُوا

لفَحْلِنا إن سَرَّهُ التَنَوُّخُ

قاعَ وإنْ يُتْرَكْ فشَوْلٌ دُوَّخُ

If you tell them to humble themselves, they will humble themselves to our bull, who is happy to make the females kneel. The bull knelt on them and, if they let him, would subdue all the females in his charge (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 44).

طَبٌّ إذا أرادَ منها عِرْسَا

حتى تَلَقَّتْهُ مَخاضاً قُعْسا

When a gentle, experienced bull camel approaches it [the she-camel] for mating, the pregnant she-camel will welcome him with her head and neck folded on her back (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 45).

إذا سَمِعْنَ صوتَ فَحْلٍ شَقْشاقْ

قَطَعْنَ مُصْفَرّاً كَزَيْتِ الانفاقْ

When they hear the grunting sound of a bull camel, they drip their urine, yellow and stringy, as if it were oil (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 46).

إذا ما دعاها أَوْزَغَتْ بِكْراتُها كإيزاغِ آثرا المُدىَ في الترائبِ

عُصارة جَزءٍ آلَ حتى كأنما يُلِقْنَ بِجاديٍّ ظُحورَ العَراقِبِ

When it [the camel bull] called them, their virgin she-camels sprayed their urine up to the front of their chests as if they were the marks of long knives. Their urine became thick and flowed like blood when a long knife was cut on their chest. They turn a saffron colour (from their urine) on the back of their hocks (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 46).

سَدِيسٌ لَدِيسٌ عَيْطَمُوسٌ شِمِلَّةٌ تُبارُ إليها المُحْصَناتُ النَجائِبُ

A young, six-year-old, fleshy, perfectly formed, fast-moving she-camel, tested by reputable, noble camel bulls (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 48).

Turning to horses, the Arabs also distinguish between a noble horse (*aṣīl, ʻatīq*) and a horse of lowly descent (*haǧīn, birḏawn*), but the concept of nobility has a different meaning than for camels. A noble Arabian horse is one whose all ancestors come from at least five generations of desert-dwelling Arabian ancestors and are bred by desert-dwelling Bedouins. Arabian mares of the desert are also called *banāt ar-rīḥ* 'daughters of the wind', while those raised in oases are called *banāt al-māʾ* 'daughters of water'.

A foal of a noble Arabian mare that is mated by a stallion of unknown or non-Arabian origin will have her offspring being considered ordinary horses. Likewise, if a mare of common or uncertain parentage is impregnated (by chance) by a noble Arabian stallion, her offspring will be regarded as common. When breeding noble horses, Arabs follow inbreeding and lineal breeding, which means that the foal of the mare selected as the founder of the family inherits the characteristics of its mother and creates a bloodline that carries the characteristics of the founding mare in all its members. Offspring always come from relatives. During lineal breeding, the selected stallion, when it grows up, is further bred with its own daughters and their daughters. In the short term, this type of breeding does not constitute inbreeding, but if applied over a long period of time, the offspring will show less and less of the original pattern, and characteristic genetic diseases often occur (Bodó and Hecker 1998: 118–119, Hecker 1994:50–52). An abundant literature has been produced about the nobility of Arabian horses in the Middle Ages, the best-known of which are Ibn al-Kalbī's *Ansāb al-ḫayl* and Ibn al-Aʿrābī's *Asmāʾ ḫayl al-ʿarab*. Al-Aṣmaʿī, however, has little to say about the nobility of horses in the book discussed here.

أحْوَى من العُوج وَقاحُ الحافر

Dark brown, a descendant of 'Awağiyyāt, with hard hooves (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ḫayl* 49).

وِراداً وحُوّاً أشْرَفَتْ حَجَباتُها بناتُ حِصانٍ قد تُعُولِمَ مُنْجِبِ

They are red and dark brown; their croups stand high; they are obviously mares descended from noble horses (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ḫayl* 50).

There are significantly fewer poetic descriptions of the mating and pregnancy of horses in al-Aṣmaʿī's book than of the similar behaviour of camels. Horses have a gestation period of eleven months.

باتَتْ يُقَحّمُها ذو أزْمَل وسَقَتْ له الفَرائِشُ والسُلْبُ القَياديدُ

They [the mares] spent the night so that the loud-voiced [stallion][24] *jumped on their backs, and those with new-born [foals] and those long-bodied [mares] having had a miscarriage were made pregnant [by it] one after another (*al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ḫayl* 48).

If the mare desires the stallion, its state is referred to as *istawdaqat* (she is in estrus), and a mare in this condition is called *wadīq*. If it rejects the stallion and attacks it, the relevant verb is *aqaṣṣat*[25] (she pushed him away), such a mare being called *muqiṣṣ*[26] (rejector). If the mare's belly grows, it is described with the verb *aʿaqqat* (it became pregnant), is the adjective being *ʿaqūq* (pregnant). If a mare's teat becomes shiny as a harbinger of pregnancy, the relevant verb is *almaʿat* (shined) and the adjectival form is *mulmiʿ*.[27]

A verse by al-Aʿšā reads:

مُلْمِعٍ لاعَةِ الفؤادِ إلى جَحْ شٍ فلاهُ عنها فَبِئْسَ الفالي

A shining one, which lovingly turns to its freshly weaned foal – what a separator![28] (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ḫayl* 48).

2.3. Dairy camels

In relation to camels, the subject that al-Aṣmaʿī treats most extensively is milk production and related topics (birth, udder formation, udder binding, mastitis, udder mutilation, copious milking, milk retention, nursing). In his book on horses, this subject is completely missing, since Arabian horses were only bred for riding, and their milk was not regularly drunk, only in times of necessity.

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[24] A good stallion approaches the mares in the estrus firmly, but not aggressively, so as not to scare them away; see Horváth 2003:444.

[25] There are mares that, despite showing signs of estrus, refuse to tolerate the stallion trying to mount them, but instead kick to drive it away; see Horváth 2003:447.

[26] The word (pl. *maqāṣṣ*) means 'with a foal growing in its belly' or 'a foal growing in its belly'. It is also referred to as *muqiṣṣ* until the stallion impregnates it, whereupon it becomes *muʿiqq* (pregnant, conceived). In reference to donkeys, *iqṣāṣ* means the first period of pregnancy and *al-iʿqāq* the last stage. See al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ḫayl* 352.

[27] In estrus the mare's teats swell, the skin on them tightens and therefore shines. In the same way, her coat also becomes shiny during this period.

[28] [*Falā* means separated, and *fālī* is the divider.]"

The milk production of the camel cow starts after the birth of the calf and lasts for 305–500 days. During a lactation period of eight to eighteen months, it can produce 10,000 to 12,000 litres of milk, 35 to 40 litres per day. Lack of water intake for a week reduces the amount of milk produced, but water deprivation for a shorter period has no such effect (Fábri, Varga and Nagy 2014:487):

تَمْشي مِنَ الرِدَّةِ مَشْيَ الحُفَّلِ

مَشْيَ الرَوايا بِالمَزادِ الأَثْقَلِ

Because of her swollen udder, she walks like camel cows that give a lot of milk, like water-carrying camels laden with water pots full of water (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 55).

نَعُوسٌ إذا دَرَّتْ جَروُزُ أذا غَدَتْ بُوَيْزِلُ عامٍ أو سَدِيسٌ كبازِلِ

She has so much milk that she falls asleep while milking. When she eats, she leaves nothing behind. She is almost nine years old, her sixth molar has already erupted, her set of teeth is complete, like a nine-year-old (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 76).

وإنْ لم يَكُنْ إلّا الأَماليسَ رُوِّجَتْ بها حالِقًا ضَرَّاتُها شَكِراتِ

Only female camels with full udders and those whose udders are not yet full roam the barren, stark land (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 77).

لها شَعَرٌ داجٍ مُقَلِّصٌ وجِسْمٌ خُدارِيٌّ وضَرْعٌ مُجالِحُ

It [the she-camel] has thick hair, long legs and a raised belly, its body is pure black, and its udder gives milk even in lean times (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 80).

فَلَيَأزِلَنَّ وتَبْكَأَنَّ لَبُونَه ولَيُصْمِتَنَّ صَبِيَّهُ بِسَمارِ

He will surely suffer from deprivation and his female camel will give little milk two-three months after giving birth. Silence his son [crying from hunger] with thin, greenish milk (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 90).

أَنْتَ سَقَيْتَ الصِبْيَةَ الأصاغِرا

كوُماً بَراعِيسَ معًا خناجِرا

تَرَى عُرُوقَ بَطْنِها البَواجِرا

مِثْلَ حَفافِيثَ رَأَيْنَ ذاعِرا

You watered the young, the smaller ones, a herd of camels, including the perfectly beautiful female camels along with the abundant milkers. You see the milk veins on the big bellies, coiling (under their skin) like hissing, evil snakes (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 99).

Conclusion

For both animal species, the most important theme is birth and the reproductive process, which is why both of *al-Aṣmaʿī*'s books begin with this topic. The most suitable time for conception is determined since experience, tradition, and observation, ensuring that the female animal can conceive and give birth to a healthy calf or foal.

The birth of a foal is the birth of a new hope, when the whole family watches with anticipation the first signs of a noble Arabian horse's characteristics. The birth of a foal is cause for a family celebration, after which they monitor its development day by day and look for the excellent qualities of its parents and ancestors to manifest in its movements and the development of its body.

The birth of a camel calf is a little different, since in addition to the desirable and expected qualities of camels, the sheer number of offspring is also important. In addition to fertility and copious milk, special attention was also paid to the moment of insemination of camel cows and, later, to their maternal abilities. More than half of al-Aṣmaʿī's book on the camel deals with these topics. During mating, it can already be determined whether a camel cow will be fertile, whether it will accept the bull properly, whether it will be pregnant or just undergo pseudo-pregnancy. In the latter case, it only shows the signs of pregnancy without being in that condition. Barren camel cows have their tails broken so that they cannot spray their urine and mislead the camel bulls (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 46). When it gives birth to its calf, people watch if it will be healthy and produce enough milk to support its young as well as its owners, if its milk dries up quickly or it remains lactating during the udderfeeding period. The milk production of a she-camel after miscarriage can be maintained with an artificial calf (*al-baw*), or if an orphaned calf is brought to it, the calf is smeared with the secretions of the camel cow's vagina and the placenta so that it can smell it as its own (al-Aṣmaʿī, *Ibil* 71).

By studying the camels' body shapes and behaviour, breeders observe them, look for the best-natured, fastest individuals with the most abundant milk production and breed them further. Descriptions of body shapes and descriptions of the nature of camels therefore form the second most detailed part of the book on camels, next to milk production. In the case of horses, instead of describing the body shapes, the description of the quality of the legs and hooves is given the most space within the book. Horses were bred for endurance and speed, thus their legs', and hooves' health and strength are extremely important.[29]

[29] Ibn Qutayba (*Maʿānī,* Chapter "*Kitāb al-faras*") provides a more extensive description of horses, detailing the beautiful shape of the head, posture, and all other characteristics of Arabian horses.

Thus, the fertility and abundant milk production of camels, as well as the speed and endurance of horses, are ensured by their nobility, the careful selection of their parents and lines of descent, or in other words, the knowledge of genealogy.

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TRADERS TEACHING ISLAM: COMMENTS ON THE ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LITERATURE USED IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Abstract:
Southeast Asian Islam in widely known for its syncretism. If we examine it more closely, however, we find that it is based on writings very rarely considered to be unorthodox. The Southeast Asian tradition of examining books on Islamic law and Sufism to establish which among them are considered to be important works in the Middle East too is deeply rooted on the islands. On the other hand, if we take another look on the corpus of such books, we will find that many important works are missing. The reason for this is to be found in the type of people who spread Islam in the archipelago centuries ago. Most of them were traders and not Islamic scholars, and they used the advantage of their prestigious Middle Eastern origins to grab important positions at local courts, spreading their teachings during the process. These, however, were not the teachings of learned religious experts, but mainly the practical knowledge of religion of the average Muslim trader. This also shaped the corpus of the so-called *kitab kuning* – normative books about Islam – that would be taught and studied in religious schools and at courts. The present essay surveys Muslim traders' activity in the Southeast Asian archipelago and examines how their involvement shaped the corpus of Islamic books used there.

Keywords: Southeast Asia, Islam, *kitab kuning*, trade, *pesantren*

There is no shortage of academic publications on the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia. Virtually every work mentions that the first people to spread the religion were traders who, arriving in the context of the maritime trade, introduced Islam to the coastal areas of the islands (Robson 1981:271, Prange 2009:29–31, Taib Osman 1980:2). Another important subject, namely the corpus of the so-called *kitab kuning* ('yellow books' in Malay, the usual designation of the widely consulted books on Islamic doctrine and law) has been also discussed extensively. These academic works identify the particular books that were consulted and taught, the territories and the historical periods in which they were used by local populations interested in

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learning about Islam.[1] However, few authors have been concerned with the connections between the two aforementioned topics: the question of, the way the personal identities and professions of the first Muslim arrivals influenced the corpus of books that has come to be used.[2] In what follows we will examine the typical types of Muslim newcomers spreading Islam in the region, the kinds of Islamic books – mostly written in Arabic – that they would carry with themselves. Based on this survey, we hope to be able to draw some conclusions about the connections between these two aspects.

1 A Religion of Traders

It has been observed that the first step in the spread of Islam is usually trading (Robson 1981:271), an interesting link that was even religiously sanctioned in the form of a tradition of the prophet Muhammad, which states: 'Convey something from me, even if it were a single sentence' "*balliġū 'annī wa-law āya*" (al-Buḫārī *Ṣaḥīḥ* 493, *Kitāb Aḥādīṯ al-Anbiyā'* 3461). This means that a Muslim should always try to teach the people around him about the tenets of Islam. The main motivation behind this was encouraging conversion. Long-distance traders were very important in this process, because during their long journeys they had access to those regions of the world which could not be reached by other Muslims, making the mercantile community one of the most significant factors in conversion. This is even truer around the Indian Ocean, where because of the monsoon season, some merchants would be stranded for months in a city or village, waiting for the favourable winds before they could set sail again for home or for an ever farther destination. During this time there were many opportunities for converting people. We have ample evidence of this process in Southeast Asia. Written sources and archaeological evidence too attest to the presence of Arab traders in the region, who were interested and involved in the spice trade, certainly by the beginning of the 3rd/9th century (Prange 2009:29–31). From this time on, the connection between the two worlds is constant, with the Southeast Asian Archipelago in particular attracting traders from elsewhere. Among these people we find not only Arabs (as a matter of course) but also Muslims of other ethnicities, including Indians (mainly from Gujarat and Bengal), Persians and Chinese (Azmi 1980:137–139, 143, Hirth-Rockhill 1911:18–19, Taib Osman 1980:5, Hakim 2018:41–42, Robson 1981:272–274). By the

[1] In this topic the best-known author is Martin van Bruinessen (Bruinessen 1990:226–269, Bruinessen 1994:121–146), but other researchers have also published valuable works, such as Nor bin Ngah 1980:10, and Feener 1998:580–581.

[2] I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Tamás Iványi for initially identifying the problem. His original inquiry into why these books were specifically employed in Southeast Asia, and the potential deviation from their original purpose and genre, served as the inspiration for writing this article. The ensuing discussion will delve into the conclusions drawn from this investigation.

4th/10th century some Muslims even lived in Southeast Asia for longer periods, as evidenced by the first Muslim gravestones which are without doubt the last resting places of merchants and their family members arriving from lands to the west. In Kedah in the Malay Peninsula a Muslim gravestone was found with the date 291/903 (Azmi 1980:143). Northwards from there, in Pattani, there are two other tombstones from the 4th to 5th/10th to 11th centuries (Hassan H. 1980:49). In today's Indonesia the oldest known Muslim gravestone can be found in a village called Leran in Java, dated to 474/1082, which belongs to a woman called Fāṭima bt. Maymūn (Sunyoto 2018:56–61). According to historical research, this woman came from Lūristān, a region situated in present-day Western Iran, and she was possibly a member of a trader's family originating in that province. Another person from today's Iran, Šayḫ Šams ad-Dīn al-Wāṣil was also buried in Java near Kediri in the 6th/12th century (Sunyoto 2018:62–67). According to the inscription on his grave, this man was a *qāḍī*, a quite surprising fact if we consider that there were not too many Muslims yet in this place. It is possible of course that he was the most learned person among the traders staying here concerning religious matters. It is interesting to know that the *Serat Jangka Jayabaya*, a Javanese literary work written some 500 years after this, mentions a sage coming from the west, from the country of Ngerum (Rūm in Arabic), who was teaching divination and astrology to the Hindu king of Kediri.

In this early period the Muslim population was comprised of foreigners only, while the conversion of the local populace took place a few centuries later. The latter process was still managed by merchants, not infrequently by means of intermarriage (Hakim 2018:18). Because long-distance trade is dependent on considerable wealth, the riches of the traders were certainly attractive to the locals. We should also bear in mind that a foreigner from a faraway land also brings news, making him a crucial agent in keeping contact with the outside world (Harnish-Rasmussen 2011:20–22). Merchants have tended to be men, and children born from marriages with local women have always inherited the religion of their fathers. Probably these children were the first Muslims born in Southeast Asia. This was usually followed by the conversion of a local ruler, who without doubt acknowledged the great socioeconomic advantages of links to the ever-growing community of Muslim traders in the Indian Ocean. This way the king, as a member of the Indian Ocean Islamic trade network, also had his share of its wealth-generating potential, not to mention the new political legitimacy that he acquired. The earliest testimony of this phenomenon comes from Marco Polo, who in 690/1291 visited the city of Perlak, situated on the northern tip of Sumatra Island. He states (Coedès 1975:202) that while its citizens used to adhere to idol worship, by his time most of them followed Islam because of the influence of Arab traders. Not much later, in 696/1297 the ruler of neighbouring Samudera-Pasai died, whose gravestone leaves no doubt that at least in the years preceding his death he was already a Muslim (Prange 2009:35). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Samudera-Pasai about 50 years later, informs us about a Muslim state whose ruler employed advisors mainly from Iran (Hassan H. 1980:53). From

this point conversion progressed rapidly, and the ruler of the city of Malacca, situated in the Malay Peninsula, converted to Islam in 817/1414, after which Malacca became the hub for Islamic missionary work (Azmi 1980:146). We should keep in mind, however, that because of its strategic position on the trade routes, Malacca is one of the most important commercial cities in the region, and the spread of the new religion almost certainly went hand in hand with trade. The next place to adopt Islam was the central island of Java. The Portuguese sailor Tomé Pires wrote in his memoirs at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, that about 70 years earlier (i.e. around the middle of the 9th/15th century) the Muslims here were all Arab, Persian or Indian merchants, who could easily marry Javanese women because of their immense wealth. Because Javanese trade completely depended on them, they could easily replace the Hindu kings even in politics. The crucial role of traders in Javanese Islam can be traced through the stories of the so-called 'nine saints' (*wali sanga* in Javanese). Although the legends rarely state it explicitly, it is quite certain that they were traders, which we can see in stories of their long journeys. Malik Ibrahim came from somewhere in the Middle East, lived for a long time in Gujarat and finally he settled down in Java (Rahimsyah 2011:5–11). Sunan Ampel came from Champa (in today's Central Vietnam), from where he moved to Sumatra and then to Java (Sunyoto 2018:191–203). Sunan Giri was Javanese, but at one point he was sent to Malacca and to Sumatra as well, after which he became a merchant and travelled all across the archipelago (Rahimsyah 2011:25–39, Sunyoto 2018:214–227). Sunan Gunung Jati came from Egypt, then he moved to Gujarat, from where he moved on to Sumatra and it is only after this that he settled in Java (Rahimsyah 2011:81–91). Later on, he even spent a considerable time in China before he returned to Java. Summarizing these data, in the case of Sunan Giri even the legends specify that he was a trader, but all the other *wali*s too must have moved all the time from one place to another because of the same reason.

Moving eastwards from Java, we again have strong evidence that Islam was introduced to Sulawesi by traders. The first mosque was built in the southern part of the island in the middle of the 10th/16th century by the king of Gowa (Pabbajah 2012: 407). He was not a Muslim himself and probably neither was the majority of the population in his kingdom. The construction of the mosque was requested by the Malay merchants living there, and the king, who saw the growing importance of Islam, granted this to them. The first Muslim ruler in the island was the king of Tallo, who converted in 1014/1605 and by the laws of the local centralised religious traditions he was followed in this *en masse* by all of his subjects (Pabbajah 2012: 407). The important role of traders, however, is also attested outside of the coastal areas. Later on during the colonial era beginning in the 11th to 12th/17th to 18th centuries trade slowly came under the control of the European nations. This meant that the merchants living on the coastline were forced to do business with the regions far away from the sea in their own islands, thus introducing Islam to the inner areas

too (Geertz 1971:13, 41–42). We can say that even there, Islam advanced by way of commerce.

The role of Arabs in this process increases dramatically in the 11th/17th century because of a great wave of immigrants coming from the Arab world (Taib Osman 1980:5–6). Among them we find professional traders as well as adventurers who wanted to try their luck in this rapidly Islamising word. Among Muslims, Arabs tend to have a certain prestige, which in this case was also strengthened by the fact that most of the time the locals considered them to be descendants of the prophet Muhammad. This esteem provided by *sayyid* status was certainly very much sought after by many Arabs who could in this way easily secure high governmental or religious positions in different local kingdoms. Their real expertise in Islamic sciences was less important because they were highly respected by default just because of their descent. By this means some of them could also end up occupying the throne. A second wave of Arab immigrants originating from the Ḥaḍramawt region in Yemen hit the archipelago in the 13th/19th century (Berg 2011:217–218, Geertz 1976:125). Just as before, they were mostly traders who married local women. In this new, fully Islamised, society not only their wealth but their descent too helped them to get high positions and favourable marriages. Although many people disliked them because of their greediness, they were still treated with high respect. Even Ahmad Dahlan (d. 1341/1923), the founder of Muhammadiyah (which is one of the biggest and most successful Islamic organisations today in Southeast Asia) was sometimes working as a merchant (Koentjaraningrat 1990:79).

2 The Written Tradition

As we could see, Islam in Southeast Asia was mainly "the religion of traders". They were the people who introduced it to the region, and even later, when most of the people had converted, it was still them who had the strongest connections to it. Besides this there was, and still is of course, a school system, whose purpose is to teach the religion. This system has various names; in Java it is called *pesantren*, while in the Malay Peninsula it is mainly referred to as *pondok* (Taib Osman 1980:7).[3] We do not know exactly when this school system appeared, but without doubt it has ancient roots. Although the first school bearing the designation *pesantren* was only built in 1155/1742 in Tegalsari in Java (Bruinessen 1994:129), popular memory knows of much older institutes as well, which might have had different names but certainly served the same purpose, namely to teach Islam (Rahimsyah 2011:13–21).[4] In these schools the students learn from one or more

[3] The combined name *pondok pesantren* also exists.

[4] It is also worth mentioning that the *pesantren* system has most probably even older roots than the arrival of Islam, and it goes back to the old *āśrama* system, which had the purpose

lecturers about Islam and the Islamic sciences using books that arrived from the Middle East (books called *kitab kuning* in Indonesia and *kitab Jawi* in Malaysia). The majority of these books are written in Arabic, and most of the time are also taught in Arabic. As for the few books in another language, they are usually just translations of an Arabic original (Nor bin Ngah 1980:10).[5]

It is worth to know exactly which books are traditionally considered to be the most important texts in these schools.[6] The earliest known titles come from around the year 1600 (Bruinessen 1994:132–133). Even in these early times we can see that *Iḥyā' ʿulūm ad-dīn*, written by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111), was already the most important textbook. Besides this, Southeast Asian students knew and studied a book of Abū Šakūr as-Sālimī (late 5th/11th century) titled *at-Tamhīd fī bayān at-tawḥīd* which is mainly concerned with doctrine, and the Islamic law book of Abū Šuǧāʿ al-Iṣfahānī (d. 500/1107) called *at-Taqrīb fī l-fiqh*. There were other works used too in addition to these, but they are mostly unidentified. Their titles strongly suggest that they were works on Sufism. Later on, during the 11th/17th century the corpus widened and the *at-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ an-nabī*, which is a book about Islamic mysticism written by Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1029/1620) became very popular (Bruinessen 1994:133). In the 12th/18th century the brief *uṣūl ad-dīn* work of Abū Layṯ as-Samarqandī (d. 373/983) appears too. In Southeast Asia it is referred to under two different names, to wit *Asmarakandi* (coming from the name of the author) and *Usul 6 bis* (because it has six chapters and all of them starts with the *bismillāh*) (Bruinessen 1994:133). The list of books taught starts to broaden considerably in the 13th/19th century. From this century the most important Islamic law books are the *al-Muḥarrar fī fiqh al-imām aš-Šāfiʿī* by Abū-l-Qāsim ar-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī (d. 623/1226), the *al-Muqaddima al-ḥaḍramiyya fi fiqh as-sāda aš-šāfiʿiyya* by ʿAbd Allāh Bā-Faḍl al-Ḥaḍramī (10th/16th century), the *Fatḥ al-muʿīn* by Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī (d. 975/1567) and the *Minhāǧ aṭ-ṭālibīn wa ʿumdat al-muftīn* by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Šaraf an-Nawawī (d. 676/1277). This book is still the most important one in the topic of Islamic law. A work of Abū-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Miṣrī (d. 818/1415) called *Sittīn* and written about fundamental doctrinal questions, was also quite popular in the *pesantren* (Bruinessen 1990:247–248, Bruinessen 1994:134).

Among the *kitab kuning* we find books of local origin as well. The earliest known works are from Aceh, which is situated on the northern tip of Sumatra Island, and most of these works are about Sufism. The first known author is Hamzah Fansuri (d.

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of teaching Hinduism, meaning that the *pesantren* is just an alteration of the *āśrama*, with only the religion to be taught being changed (Sunyoto 2018:424–427).

[5] According to the fieldwork of Martin van Bruinessen in the 1980s, among all of the books found by him in various *pesantren* and *pondok* 55 percent were in Arabic (Bruinessen 1990:229). Unfortunately, he does not specify if the remaining ones were translations or original works.

[6] In the following only the most important ones will be mentioned.

998/1590), whose thought is clearly influenced by Ibn ʻArabī (Bowen 1993:111–113). The next author worth mentioning is Syamsuddin Pasai (d. 1040/1630), who was followed by Abdurrauf Singkil (d. 1104/1693) (Bowen 1993:111–113). Both of them were members of the Šaṭṭāriyya Sufi order and in their books, they further elaborated the work started by Hamzah Fansuri. Thus, we can see that, as with the books arriving from the Middle East, so too with those written in Southeast Asia, one of the most popular topics was Sufism. The other most prominent subject was Islamic law. Already during the time of the Acehnese mystics we find at the sultanate court the Gujarati scholar Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), who was an ardent enemy of mysticism, sometimes even ordering the burning of books on Sufism.[7] The real development of Islamic law in Southeast Asia started a century later, among the Malays. The first famous scholar in the field was Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (d. 1227/1812) who, having lived through almost the entire 18th century died in the 102nd year of his life.[8] He was the official Islamic law expert at the court of the Banjar Sultanate in the southern part of Kalimantan Island. The other two people important in the field were Abdus Samad al-Palembangi (d. 1203/1789) who was from South Sumatra (Nor bin Ngah 1980:12) and Daud b. Abdullah al-Pattani (d. 1296/1879) from the Malay Peninsula (Hassan H. 1980:55–56). These authors wrote mainly about Islamic law, but even they have a few works on Sufism too.

The works taught in the religious schools are mainly about Sufism, Islamic law and doctrine, be they books from the Middle East or written by local scholars. It is far more interesting however to examine the range of topics that were absent from the curriculum for a long time. One of the most striking hiatus is the almost total dearth of Quranic commentaries. The only *tafsīr* used was the universally known *Ǧalālayn*, beside which we can sometimes find the commentary of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 719/1319) too (Bruinessen 1994:134–135). Towards the end of the 13th/19th century, with the development of long-distance transportation between Southeast Asia and the Middle East, Indonesians and Malays became aware of the importance of *tafsīr*. In spite of this fact not much has changed. Although during the 14th/20th century some schools adapted the works of aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and Ibn Kaṯīr (d. 774/1373) to their curriculum (Bruinessen 1990:253–254), these books are read and understood by just a few people even today.[9] Another, even more noteworthy, phenomenon is the absence of *hadīṯ* literature. Until the end of the 13th/19th century

[7] This behaviour was not tolerated for long by the sultan, who became angry and banished him in 1054/1644 (Bowen 1993:111).

[8] His life and efforts are discussed in detail by Halidi 2016:20–45.

[9] During a personal discussion in July 2023, I asked a man who graduated from a *pesantren* in Singkawang in Kalimantan about the kind of books that he had been taught. He could not remember any titles except one, which was the *tafsīr* of Ibn Kaṯīr. Even about this one he only remembered the name of the author but not the contents of the book. It is worth mentioning that despite of this fact my interviewee considered himself to be very religious and played recordings of Islamic prayers in Arabic on his computer loudly every day.

Southeast Asian Islamic scholars never read any *hadīṯ* compilations, their only knowledge about this topic coming from the quotations appearing in the *fiqh* books (Bruinessen 1990:229). By the end of the 13th/19th century however, because of the aforementioned development of international relations, the importance of *hadīṯ* also became better understood, urging some scholars to start reading *hadīṯ* compilations. In spite of this, these works still did not enter the *pesantren* curricula for a considerable time (Bruinessen 1994:134–135). The first school to introduce them in its curriculum only became known at the beginning of the 14th/20th century.[10] Since then the most widespread such works are the two classical collections of Muslim b. al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ (d. 261/875) and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870), but the *Riyāḍ aṣ-ṣāliḥīn* by an-Nawawī and the *Bulūġ al-marām* by Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) are also popular (Bruinessen 1990:254–256).[11]

3 Shortcomings of the System and Reasons Thereof

Before we draw conclusions from the facts outlined above, we should assess the degree of success of the Islamic education discussed here. In many places in which there were no religious schools, the teacher would usually be only a merchant passing by (Bruinessen 1994:129–130). Because such men are usually not religious scholars, the quality of this kind of education is dubious at best. Villages from which at least one person could complete the pilgrimage to Mecca and could for a while study there from a master were in a better position. After their return, these people usually started teaching in their homes and if they became successful, they even set up a new school (Bruinessen 1994:129–130, Mansurnoor 1990:42–43). The existence of these schools, however, did not automatically mean (and to a certain degree still does not mean) that the education was of a good quality. While the majority of the books taught were written in Arabic, most of the time even the teacher could not speak or even read Arabic well. The famous Medinan Sufi mystic Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690) wrote a commentary to his book *at-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ an-nabī* specially addressed to his Southeast Asian students, because he noticed that many of them misunderstood the teachings in it (Bruinessen 1994:133). In the Javanese schools during the colonial period the teacher usually had no better knowledge of the Arabic language than did his own students, so it was common practice that they used only a summary of the work written in Javanese (Geertz 1971:70). In Kelantan in the Malay Peninsula, it was only by the end of the 13th/19th century that the religious teachers learnt Arabic properly and started to teach from the original books instead of from Malay summaries (Hassan A. 1980:191–192). In Northern Sumatra some of

[10] This school was founded in the Javanese village of Tebuireng (Bruinessen 1994:144).

[11] According to data from the previously mentioned fieldwork of Bruinessen, only 8 percent of the books taught in the 1980s were *hadīṯ* compilations (Bruinessen 1990:229).

the schools began to have teachers with a better understanding of the Arabic language only as late as the 1350s/1930s (Bowen 1993:52).

We can understand now that the existence of Islamic books in Arabic does not necessarily mean that the people also understand the knowledge contained in them. It must be because of this reason that the aforementioned Acehnese mystics and Malay religious scholars wrote their books mainly in Malay and not in Arabic. We know that all of them lived in Mecca or in Medina for a long time and studied from the best masters (Bowen 1993:111–113, Feener 2009: xxiii, Halidi 2016:26–42, Hassan H. 1980:55–56) so their Arabic must have been perfect. In spite of this fact, they all decided to write in Malay, obviously for the sake of their intended readers who could not read Arabic. On the island of Lombok, it became obvious to everyone that the language of Islam *par excellence* is not Malay but Arabic only during the 1390s/1970s (Harnish 2011:86). Those rare local scholars who decided to write in Arabic could not remain popular for long. The best example is Nawawi Banten (d. 1314/1897), whose Arabic works were widely known and taught in most of the religious schools during the 14th/20th century (Bruinessen 1990: 248–250), but nowadays he is barely known even among the *pesatren* students. Recently however, Arabic language proficiency became much better, and teachers have started to teach from the original works (Bruinessen 1990: 238–239). The most important books taught in the *pesantren* today are the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm ad-dīn* by al-Ġazālī, the *Minhāǧ aṭ-ṭālibīn* by an-Nawawī, the *at-Taqrīb fī l-fiqh* by al-Iṣfahānī, the *Fatḥ al-muʿīn* and the *Hidāyat al-aḏkiyā'* by al-Malībārī (d. 975/1567), the *Safīnat an-naǧā* by Sālim b. Samīr al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 1270/1854) and *al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭā'iyya* by Ibn ʻAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1310) (Feener 1998:580–581, Bruinessen 1990:245–260).[12] While these are taught in Arabic nowadays the quality of this education is still doubtful.[13]

Why are these books in particular used for educational purposes? For example the *Minhāǧ aṭ-ṭālibīn* is a very useful manual on Islamic law indeed, but it is just one volume long, and in reality is only an extract of the multivolume *Rawḍat aṭ-ṭālibīn* by the same author. While the latter was really written for the experts of Islamic law, the *Minhāǧ aṭ-ṭālibīn* is much easier to understand, treats everything in a short and totally clear manner, making it more useful not for experts but for other people

[12] Besides these there are many commentaries of the above works within the curriculum, but here I did not mention them, and neither did I mention the *hadīṯ* compilations used.

[13] During January 2019 I met in Yogyakarta (Central Java) a director of a *pesantren* who based an argument on the analysis of a grammatically incorrect Arabic word. The books taught are also not always complete. In July 2023 I met a person in a village not far from Sukabumi (West Java) whom I asked which books he had learnt from in the *pesantren*. He was very happy to bring me his "books" whose titles were existing works on Islamic law indeed (for example *Fatḥ al-muʿīn* or *Safīnat an-naǧā*) and were really in Arabic, but they were only extracts from the original books. All of them were brochures in style and none of them were longer than 30 pages. Their contents were only quotations from the original works.

interested in the topic. While we can find books on religious law and Sufism too in the schools, most of the other existing works only contain short introductions and basic prayers for the common people (Bruinessen 1994:147–148). How is it possible that, while the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm ad-dīn* is, strictly speaking, not a work of *fiqh* and al-Ġazālī wrote more elaborate works about Sufism too, it is still this book that is the base for understanding Sufism in Southeast Asia and many decisions concerning religious law are also based on it? Why could the local Islamic scholars not learn proper Arabic for many centuries, while in theory they were teaching and working from books written in Arabic?

In my opinion the answer lies in the type of the people who spread Islam in the region. As discussed earlier, the religion was introduced by traders whose main purpose was not religious proselytization but simply to get rich. Because of the aforementioned tradition of the prophet Muhammad, they also did some missionary work of course, but as they were not religious experts, their knowledge was inadequate. Most of them had no real expertise in Islamic law or science. The case of Šams ad-Dīn al-Wāṣil, who is designated as a *qāḍī* on his gravestone, is particularly interesting. He might be an exception, but it is also possible that because during his lifetime there were not many Muslims in Java yet, the word *qāḍī* only means 'wise man' and is used to refer to the advisor of the king who came from a faraway country. These people, if they were shrewd enough, could easily get into the inner circles of royal courts and get high positions as well. Because they advertised themselves as sages of foreign knowledge, they needed some genuine intellectual material too, which was however not the elaborate knowledge of a religious scholar but the practical needs of a trader which they found useful in everyday life. For instance, basic, easy-to-understand doctrinal questions and extracts from books on religious law, and those works that a merchant could understand too and if needed explain to the locals. The importance of Sufi books might seem strange at first, but in reality, it fits the picture perfectly. First of all, it is worth mentioning that traders as such are usually interested in mysticism (Prange 2009:37). Secondly, mysticism and the different mystical systems and explanations were always very popular in Southeast Asia, so it is quite evident that some traders wanted to impress the locals by teaching derived from books on Sufism.

To summarize the issue, Islam was first introduced by traders coming from different parts of the Islamic world (Arabia, Iran, India and China) who started their "missionary work" according to their personal needs. Later on, when Islam had spread widely, Arabs, belonging as they did to the most prestigious ethnicity among Muslims, became more influential in the region. It must be for this reason that the first wave of Arab immigrants arrived in Southeast Asia during the 11th/17th century. By this time most of the archipelago was already Muslim, if not yet in common practice, at least nominally. In my opinion, this period must have seen many Arab newcomers who were less successful at home yet could see a good opportunity

in the east, and tried their luck in the archipelago.[14] In the Malay-Indonesian world they were held in a much higher esteem just because of their descent.[15] These adventurers then established themselves at one of the royal courts, and following the already existing tradition, started to teach the books already known by the locals, and also brought new books with themselves which fit into the tradition, thus enriching the corpus. They of course married local women, and their children would be regarded Arabs because of their fathers. It the beginning of the 13th/19th century Raffles mentions that all the "Arabs" in Java have a religious occupation (Raffles 1830a:83). He adds however that most of them are not real Arabs but people of mixed descent between Arabs and Javanese. These people were very keen to look like Arabs and always wore Arabic clothes and tried to grow long beards (Raffles 1830b:3–4). This fact can also provide us with an answer for why the teachers of Islam did not know Arabic. They had a high and prestigious position, they were believed to be Arabs, but in reality, they were locals. Although there were genuine Arabs among their ancestors, by this time they had been living in Southeast Asia for many generations, and most of their ancestors were locals too.[16] The old knowledge (which had already been fragmented) was lost. It was only the advent of the modern era and the rapid development of transportation and communication which came with it that opened up new opportunities. In the 13th/19th century a new wave of Arabian immigrants tried to take advantage of the situation, but this was a different age in which, because of the influence of modernist thinking, the need for a more precise study of the religion already arose (Taib Osman 1980:6). This facilitated a better education in the Arabic language, and served to enrich the corpus of religious books by introducing new works to the schools. The number of people who could travel to the Ḥiğāz or to Egypt also grew rapidly. These people could learn in Arabic universities from Arab teachers, and after returning home they started to teach what they had learnt abroad (Koentjaraningrat 1990:379, Budiwanti 2000:10–11, Mansurnoor 1990:230–231). This started a new process, which is still going on today. The

[14] A good example is the reason for the failure of the rebellion in Banten in West Java during the 11th/17th century. The Dutch sent a fake "Arab" (who was in reality from Europe but could talk Arabic fluently) to negotiate with Abidin, the leader of the rebels. While Abidin had previously been a very ardent enemy of the colonialists, he immediately gave himself up following the advice of this "Arab" (Raffles 1830b:190–191). It is easy to see that among these circumstances a real Arab could rightly expect a much better quality of life here than in his homeland.

[15] This sentiment can be felt even today. Many of my Arabic friends living in Indonesia told me that a lot of Indonesians ask their advice concerning questions about religious law, in spite of the fact that they themselves have no knowledge whatsoever about the topic. Most of the time they are only traders, English teachers or even just university students, but the locals see them as religious experts ('*ālim*).

[16] The Arab Indonesians of today have completely Indonesian somatic features, and their facial features usually do not resemble the stereotyped 'Arabian looks'. Despite of this, they are all very proud of their descent and usually fond of talking about it.

circle of those who know the Islamic sciences deeply and have access to a great variety of sources is constantly widening. But this is still a relatively new phenomenon and can only be felt in the cities. Besides this the old tradition, which still uses the books brought by the first traders and adventurers and tries to subordinate all new material to the first few works, is still strong today, and this is the way in which most of the traditional religious schools operate even nowadays. We cannot say for certain where this new process will lead in the future, but it is certain that a centuries-old tradition cannot easily fade away among a people who regard the values and lifestyle of their elders as a model worthy of following.

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE LOCAL ELITES OF THE MEDIAEVAL COASTLANDS OF THE NORTHERN LEVANT: SOME REMARKS

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Abstract:
The period of the Crusades has drawn a considerable amount of scholarly attention and many aspects of this period have been studied thoroughly, but, certain subjects, like the place of the natives in the society of the Latin states received less attention. This is even more true about the Syrian coastal region, where not only academic research, but also the surviving sources are extremely scarce. Supplementing them with results of recent archaeological fieldwork, however, can hint at the possibility of the existence of a local elite that even might have been wealthy enough to sponsor the decoration of churches.

Keywords: Syria, Crusades, local elite

The advent of the Crusades and the establishment of the four Latin states brought the Levant, which had been a backwater region since the 8th century, back into the international spotlight. This was reflected, amongst other things, in a much more varied material culture and a very intense architectural activity. This left a strong mark even in the rural areas, compared to the previous centuries. The interaction with the Europeans not only brought with it an increased attention to the region from local, mainly Arabic, sources, but also resulted in the appearance of a new group of sources, i.e. those written in Latin. This represents an enormous change, especially with regard to rural areas, because while the earlier urban-centred Arabic historiography neglected them, the much more rurally oriented Latin sources, especially the charters, convey a wealth of information. However, we still have huge gaps in knowledge of important aspects of medieval life, especially on such regions as the Syrian coastlands, the northern part of the Levant, which, being as it was far away from Jerusalem and the most important holy places, received less attention. Here only scattered data survive on the ethnic, religious, and social composition of the contemporary population, and almost nothing on such important issues as the existence and role of a possible local elite of the indigenous population. No wonder that this subject was only occasionally and briefly touched upon in the early work of

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scholarship on the 12th and 13th century history of the region (Cahen 1927:327–345). Besides drawing on the parallels in neighbouring areas with more historical sources and studies, only the re-examination of the architectural-archaeological material and new archaeological discoveries can be expected to expand our knowledge on this subject regarding the Syrian coast.

1 Historical Data

Despite the nearly complete silence of the written sources there is sporadic textual evidence that shows us that the Crusader rulers did employ former local strongmen in key positions immediately after the conquest. The most famous examples in our region involved Muslim persons, which tells a lot about religious tolerance. In 1106 the sons of Ḫalaf ibn Mulāʿib, the former ruler of Afāmiya, were installed by Tancred in charge of many places in the region of the town (Asbridge 2000:60). After the surrender of Ǧabala in 1109, the same regent of Antioch, Tancred, was prepared to grant fiefs to Faḫr al-Mulk ibn ʿAmmār, its former lord, who chose exile instead (Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ḏayl*, 163; transl. 90). Ibn Muḥriz, the ruler of al-Marqab, was compensated by the Franks with the castle of al-Maynaqa (Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓāhir, *Tašrīf* 86). Not everybody received the treatment expected, and relocation of the Muslim population together with their leaders from certain strategical regions is also attested to in the sources. The Muslim commander of Qalʿat al-Ḥuṣn chose to surrender to Tancred of his own will, expecting better conduct from him than from Bertrand of Tripoli, but in the end he and his people were replaced by a Frankish garrison (Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḫ* 182; transl. 144). The same happened in 1118 to the Banū Sulayʿa who were given three villages belonging to Antioch in exchange for their former livelihood after they surrendered Qalʿat al-Mahāliba. After the disastrous defeat of the Frankish forces at Sarmādā the following year, they returned to their original homeland and making use of the Antiochene war of succession, they fell on the Frankish garrison in 1136 (Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḫ* 170; transl. 134). By this time we do not hear of Muslim overlords enfeoffed with important strongpoints. Ǧabala, the town with the largest concentration of Muslim inhabitants in the Syrian coast had his own *qādī* throughout the period of Crusader rule, and the one who was responsible for surrendering the town to the troops of Saladin in 1188 is said to have been a close associate of prince Bohemond III (Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* X, 48).

The category of lesser officials in the Crusader states was well studied in a fundamental article by Jonathan-Riley Smith (1972:1–26), and this subject was further elaborated upon in his book on the feudal nobility in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Riley-Smith 1973:21–98). At the top of this hierarchy stood the *raʾīs* of the indigenous communities. He was also the head of the jurisdiction of the natives and thus the president of the *Cour des Syriens* established for the non-Frankish inhabitants of the Latin states. In our region we hear at least of one example. In 1174 a certain ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, the *raʾīs* of al-Marqab (the Crusaders' Margat) and his son

George made a donation to the Hospitallers of al-Marqab in 1174 (*Cartulaire* I, no. 457). They were certainly local Christians, possibly of the Greek Orthodox denomination (Major 2015:154). Greek Orthodox Christians lived in considerable numbers in the diocese of Bāniyās with an *Ecclesias Graecorum* mentioned in a charter of 1225 (RRH, no. 971) and were represented by a *Cour des Syriens* in al-Marqab (*Cartulaire* I, no. 457). Father and then son in all possibility presided over this Cour, and it is also possible that the charter attests to the presence of a 'dynasty' of the local elite (Riley-Smith 1972:5). As he is seen in the course of donating three-quarters of the *casal* Meserafe (in all possibility Mušayrifa to the north of al-Marqab), he was in all likelihood a wealthy person.

Given that we have very little indirect evidence for the existence of villages with European settlers in the Syrian coastal region (Major 2015:159–161), it is very likely that in this area most of the *ruʾasāʾ* of the 'rural elite' were of indigenous origin. From another charter we have the impression that local Christians might have featured in considerable numbers in the knightly class of society too. Given their names, the *"...militibus Margati: dominus Zacarias; ... dominus Georgius; dominus Theodorus.*", witnesses to a charter in 1187 (*Cartulaire* I, no. 783) seem to have been Oriental Christians. So was a certain David the Syrian who even possessed a *cavea*[1] which might have been the fortified cave monastery known today as Dayr Mār Mārūn in the northern region of the Biqāʿ valley.

Besides the Greek Orthodox, another Oriental Christian group, that of the Armenians, is also relatively well attested to in the region. After taking al-Marqab in 511/1117–1118) the prince of Antioch garrisoned it with Franks and Armenians (Muḥyī d-Dīn, *Tašrīf* 85). That it is not only the Franks who were permanent residents is proven by the passage relating to *Suriani vel Armeni suburbia* in a charter of 1193 (*Cartulaire* I, no. 941). Excavations of the SHAM project in 2010 unearthed several coins of Armenian origin and a round stone object with a faint Armenian inscription scratched onto it. A part of the letters seems to indicate a date which can be decoded as the year 1195.[2] Later, in 1225, we hear of *ecclesias Armeniorum* in the diocese of Valenia (Bāniyās) being on equal footing with the Greek Orthodox church and ordered to obey the Latin bishop as they had no bishop of their own (RRH, no. 971). As the Armenians were antagonists of the Greek Orthodox, those living in the suburb of al-Marqab and serving in the castle certainly had their own leaders and their own place of worship.

Another officer was the dragoman, a term derived from the Arabic *turǧumān*, and also denoted in the Latin documents with the term *interpres* (Riley-Smith 1972:15). While some were only interpreters, many were special officers of their lords and could amass considerable wealth and status. *Interpres* Bernard might have been one

[1] *Cartulaire* I. no. 144. See also Richard 1994:187–193.

[2] The deciphering of the inscription was done by Dr. Hamlet Petrosyan from the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

of them, who was witnessing a charter between the bishop of Valenia and the Templars in 1163 (RRH. no. 381). While the majority of these important officers were Franks, there is mention of natives occupying this post (Riley-Smith 1972:18).

The next category of lesser officers were the scribes, who were employed in the cadastral departments and were involved in tax collection as well. Such a native Muslim person in the Principality of Antioch was the paternal uncle of Ḥamdān ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm at-Tamīmī al-Aṯāribī, who was appointed to be the head of the of the *dīwān* in Frankish-occupied Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. Ḥamdān himself was enfeoffed by the Frankish lord of Aṯārib with the village of Maʿrabūniyya, which he revitalized after bringing in further settlers (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġya* VI, 2926–2932). Most of the *scribani* seem to have been locals in the Crusader states and some are documented to have been very rich. The fief of al-Marqab is also reported to have had such a position (Riley-Smith 1972:23).

Merchants could amass both wealth and respect and thus could be considered as part of the elite. The most remarkable group of merchants recorded in the second half of the 13th century was a company organized from Mosul with twenty-three members, five of whom resided in Antioch. One of them, the indigenous Saliba, was a Latin Christian and a burgess of Acre. On his deathbed he became a *confrater* of the Order of St John and from his will it is apparent that he was a rich man (Riley-Smith 1973:79–80). He was certainly a member of the native-born elite and was financially capable of being a donator for long-lasting projects.

2 Possible Parallels Nearby

The northern part of Lebanon, which formed the southern region of the County of Tripoli, and which suffers from a similar paucity of written documentation on the Syrian coast, possesses the highest number of medieval rural churches and chapels in the Levant, many of which are in a concentration hard to explain just by the sheer number of the Christian denominations present. One of the best examples is the village of Baḥdaydāt, where there are no less than three churches in a circle with a diameter of a mere 130 metres. The construction of two churches in areas where two different Christian denominations live beside each other was not infrequent, and neither was the joint use of places of Christian worship. However, this concentration of individual chapels needs some extra explanation. The Byzantine world had a rather well documented tradition of private churches constructed and used by well-to-do families of the local elite. Recent research has convincingly proved that in certain places a considerable number of architectural examples for this tradition survive from the 11th century (Ousterhout 2017:49, 372, 477). A large number of the numerous rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, which formerly were considered to be an integral part of the monastic landscape, turned out to have been in fact private foundations often belonging to a large rock-cut residence of the local military elite. These spectacular structures were constructed at a time when the Christians of the

Levant and adjacent regions were witnessing a period called the Syrian Renaissance that lasted until the second half of the 13th century (Immerzeel 2009:25-26). This is reflected on many levels of the material culture with special regard to the medieval wall paintings, in which a certain Syrian style developed and its often-rustic characteristics became widespread in the northern coastal regions of the Levant. The highest concentration of remains of this are found in Northern Lebanon and the church of Mār Tāwudrūs in Baḥdaydāt is the best-preserved example of an almost intact village church. Recent research here has identified the two donors painted on the side walls of the naves as members of the local community, one a priest and the other a lay person (Helou 2019:237–240). While previous research tended to see Latin patronage behind many of the donor presentations in Lebanon (Immerzeel 2009:157–169), recent revision of the subject sees nearly all to be stereotypic depictions of indigenous patrons from the local communities, especially in the rural hinterland of the coastal cities (Helou 2019: 244–245). Many are identified as having been connected to funerals and it is very likely that, especially in places of large church-concentration, some of the churches could have been constructed by local chieftains as family shrines. Like Lebanon, which has a large number of double-naved churches and chapels, Cappadocia has a considerable number too. Many of the lesser size naves of these churches are thought to have been used for funerary purposes (Ousterhout 2017:49), and some of the numerous examples in the Levant might have been serving the same purpose for the family members of the local elite.

3 Archaeology

Field surveys and excavations on the Syrian coast identified or unearthed in the recent decades a number of sites that seem to be worthy of discussion in the context outlined above. The largest 12th-century Crusader castle of Northern Syria, the so-called Qalʿat Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (Crusader Saône) has no less than four churches identified hitherto. The earliest church was attached to the Byzantine *castron* and later had a larger Latin church added to it that must have served the inhabitants of the upper castle. The lower castle had a Latin parish church, recently excavated, and a relatively well-preserved church that was identified by Denys Pringle as the church of the local Armenian population (Pringle 2001:105–113) **(fig. 1)**. This was clearly built by the community itself or possibly by its leaders, who also might have been responsible for the painted decoration the scanty remains of which were detected by the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission in 2018 **(fig. 2)**.

Remains of a medieval church stood opposite the main gate of Qalʿat al- Ḥuṣn (Crusader Crac, recently Crac des Chevaliers), from which a number of heavily damaged and incomplete murals were detached. A previous study tended to assign a greater role to the work of Western masters in its execution (Folda 1982:192–196); however, recent and ongoing, laboratory-backed research by the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission suggests a rather Oriental way of execution in the wall

paintings. One thing is already very clear: while the masters of the castle churches in both al-Marqab and Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn were Western artists, the rest of the chapels are all painted more or less in the so-called Syrian style. The identity of the painters, however, does not necessarily define the religious affiliation of the community and its leaders. In the Crusader period church of Mār Sābā in Eddé Batroun, Lebanon, the crucifixion and dormition scenes in the main nave of the basilical church were painted in the Comnenian stylistic tradition by masters trained in Cyprus (Immerzeel 2012–13:84–86), while the inscription over them was in Syriac. To add to the complexity of the picture, the southern aisle preserved traces of murals in the Syrian style characteristic of the 13th century. The region of Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn is almost exclusively Greek Orthodox to this day and there is no indication of it having had other denominations nearby. While we might count with the considerable presence of European settlers in the immediate vicinity of the mighty castle of the Order of St. John, there are no explicit documents referring to them. However, there is reference to the Syrian Christians of Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn as early as the Hospitallers were given the site in 1142 together with the exemption from taxation of the *Suriani of Cratum* on everything they sold or bought on its territory (*Cartulaire* I, no. 144). Muslim sources on the Mamluk siege of the castle in 1271 mention peasants having taken refuge in the outer enceinte of the Hospitaller castle, who were then set free to continue tilling the lands (Ibn Šaddād, *Tārīḫ Lubnān* 117). They were in all probability the local Christians of the suburb that fell in the early days of the siege. It is very likely that the church in the suburb below the castle belonged to these native Christians and the execution of its murals could have been sponsored by members of the local Christian elite, regardless of the ethnicity of the painters themselves.

From the end of the 12th century al-Marqab became the administrative centre of the Hospitaller palatinate of northern Syria. Besides its castle of the knights of St. John it had an inner suburb enclosed within the same defensive circle, and a large outer suburb on the western slopes of the mountain below the castle. This settlement of more than ten hectares was identified and partially excavated by the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission in 2010 and 2011. Based on the archaeological finds, the suburb was established after 1188, when the campaign of Saladin destroyed the nearby town of Bāniyās (the Crusaders' Valenia). It seems that the new settlement was actually established by the inhabitants of Valenia, which seems to have remained abandoned during most of the 13th century (Major 2016:117–130). The outer suburb had a wall with a small fortification at its entrance, houses with a high quality of execution, and the well-preserved bathhouse which was formerly thought to have been a Mamluk construction had evidently been constructed during the Crusader era. The excavations unearthed the remains of two churches decorated with murals (Márk 2016:250–252). Both had a rather short nave as the terraces of the steep mountainside have an axle of north-south, while the apses of the churches had to face east. The northern chapel was almost completely destroyed by recent agricultural activity, and even its shape cannot be reconstructed with certainty

(fig. 3). It was rather small, but the high-quality mural fragments found there show the traces of two painted layers **(fig. 4)**. The church was surrounded by a cemetery which contained the remains of more than 30 individuals **(fig. 5)**. Most of the graves seem to have been used by families who cut shallow grave-shafts into the hard local basalt cinder. The graves often contained a complete skeleton of anatomical order, with the skull and long bones of more than one previous 'inhabitant' of the grave, whose remains were exhumated and the bones of considerable size reburied at the feet of the next occupant of the grave. The southern church was also a relatively small one, covering less than 20 square meters. The church had two naves, the northern one being a roughly 2.4 m wide narrow one ending in a small semi-circular apse **(fig. 6)**. This preserved the lower part of a *déesis* mural with Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist **(fig. 7)**. This subject is characteristic of Oriental Christian iconography (Dodd 2004:34–36), and the way of the execution can also be identified as representing the Syrian style. The narrow northern nave could have been an area related to funerary liturgy and its decoration may have been sponsored by a donator of the native Christian elite.

Conclusion

The indigenous Christian communities of the Crusader states seem to have had their local elite on which we do find a few references even in the Syrian coastland. Whether any of them achieved the level of influence and potential for architectural and artistic patronage their counterparts in the neighbouring regions like Lebanon did, is still an open question. However, recent archaeological research has already identified a number of sites that might have owed their existence to the presence of a local elite.

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Fig. 1. Interior of the Armenian church in Qalʿat Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn. (Photo by B. Major, 2019)

Fig. 2. Remains of a painted surface. (Photo by B. Major, 2019)

Fig. 3. Remains of the northern church in the outer suburb of al-Marqab, with the graveyard around it. (Photo by B. Major, 2011)

Fig. 4. Fragments of the medieval murals excavated on the area of the northern church.
(Photo by B. Major, 2016)

Fig. 5. Detail of the northwestern area of the excavated cemetery.
(Photo by B. Major, 2011)

Fig. 6. The little apse of the northern nave of the southern church in the outer suburb of al-Marqab. (Photo by B. Major, 2018)

Fig. 7. The *déesis* fragment. (Photo by Zs. Márk, 2018)

ACQUISITION BY USE IN ISLAMIC LAW: *IḤYĀʾ AL-MAWĀT* IN THREE LEGAL OPINIONS FROM LATE OTTOMAN EGYPT

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Abstract:
This article presents three legal opinions by the Ḥanafī mufti Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī in late Ottoman Egypt (the so-called "khedivate") to explore the legal problem of what Muslim jurists call "reclaiming unused land," literally bringing "dead" land back to life (*iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*). At the core of this legal problem is a norm which we can call "acquisition by use." This norm prescribes that the use of unused land gives ownership rights to the user with certain conditions. The logic behind this principle is that the community's interest in increasing the agricultural productivity of a given plot of land outweighs the government's interest in maximizing the land-tax (rent) that can be yielded by the plot in question. The paper concludes that the norm of *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* in its Ḥanafī interpretation served as a battleground for land ownership between the khedivial government and individuals.

Keywords: Islamic law, land tenure, unused land, environment, Egypt

1 Introduction

There is a growing ecological awareness among contemporary Muslim leaders. In Indonesia, for instance, religious scholars issue judicial opinions (sing. *fatwa*, pl. *fatāwā*) about waste handling and climate change awareness (*The Economist* 2022). When producing such opinions, Muslim leaders around the world are able to draw upon a rich storehouse of legal opinions and decisions issued and compiled by Muslim jurists in the past, pertaining to how humans interact with nature.

One of these topics is what Muslim jurists call "reclaiming unused land," a subject that relates to the various legal issues attendant on bringing "dead" land back to life (*iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*). For the purposes of this paper, I call the legal norm at the core of this topic "acquisition by use." Experts of Islamic law usually translate the term *iḥyāʾ* into English as "revival" and/or "reclaiming" (Johansen 1988:12, 19; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ* [Fadel and Monette] 620). But I hope to show that when using the term *iḥyāʾ* (or in earlier times *ʿimāra*) in this context Muslim jurists in fact understand

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it to mean "use" – which is to say any type of human work and material investment needed to make a piece of land productive. The plural Arabic term *mawāt* (as in the sense *arāḍin mawāt*, a pluralization of *arḍ mayyita*) has been usually translated as "uncultivated," "waste," "deserted," "abandoned," "waterless," or "barren" lands, but Fadel and Monett in their recent translation of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'* employ the term "unused" (Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'* 620). I find this a more apposite translation because jurists understand the term *mawāt* in a sense of inactive potential, waiting to be activated. Importantly, in this context *mawāt* is a legal *terminus technicus* indicating a special status of a piece of land. Hence, I suggest denoting the legal norm underlying the problems associated with *iḥyā' al-mawāt* as "acquisition by use."

Most Muslim jurists, except the Ḥanafīs and the Šīʿīs, consider that use confers the right of private ownership (*milk* or *milkiyya*) over the piece of land in question, with some conditions. This Muslim norm of acquisition by use, in fact, contains the same idea that French (colonial) agriculturalists called *mise en valeur* ("making productive"). Making land productive was a popular justification – within an agenda of *mission civilisatrice* – for French control and settlement in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonies and protectorates. We can find the same idea in the Zionist settler movement in mandate Palestine. And we find a similar idea, though without the civilizational-racist discourse, in everyday use in the early and later Muslim empires, including the Ottoman Empire. For instance, this idea seems to have constituted the premise behind the claim that the collective work of a tribe needed for reclaiming land gave each member title to a share in collectively owned land, a claim to which Iraqi tribes often referred to during the nineteenth-century land reforms (Jwaideh 1984). On a similar note, in early nineteenth-century Syrian *šarīʿa* court records there are cases in which the ownership of land ensues simply from the fact of "working it" (Reilly 1987:157).

Although such legal views were widespread in Muslim empires, they were not universal. One notable dissenting view is to be found in Šīʿī legal thought; another, which is the focus of the present paper, is to be found in the Ḥanafī legal tradition, where many jurists maintain that land acquisition by use is not automatic. They argue that the most important condition for acquisition by use is prior permission from the imam (the head of the Muslim community). Thus, the Ḥanafis, typically, side with the government as opposed to all other Sunni jurists who give primacy to cultivators and landowners in this matter (Linant De Bellefonds 1986:1053–1054; Delcambre 1991:869–870).

In this essay, I argue that the norm of *iḥyā' al-mawāt* in its Ḥanafī interpretation served as a battleground for landownership claims between the government and individuals in nineteenth-century Egypt. My examples are three legal opinions issued by the office of the Ḥanafī chief mufti Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī (1827–1897) (Peters 1994). In his time, the governors of Egypt used land that they claimed to be unused or barren as a resource with which to establish political alliances, to finance their military adventures, and in general to increase the income

of the treasury and their own purse for financing industrialization (Barakāt 1977; Cuno 1992; Mestyan 2020). The three *fatāwā* show us more than just Ḥanafī support for the government: they also offer us a glimpse into the legal ecology of villages, an attempt to deploy the norm of acquisition-by-use retrospectively (and into the mufti's opposition to this attempt), and the way in which the mufti interpreted this Muslim norm to stop foreigners' land speculations.

2 The Emergence of the Concept of *Iḥyāʾ al-Mawāt*

Let us start with a brief history of this legal problem. It is a story about how jurists translated into the language of legal theory the cultivators and landowners' interest in establishing property claims against the government's interest in increasing the area of government land to achieve higher treasury income from their rent. For jurists, the core theoretical problem was whether the legal status of *mawāt* is an exception among the other ownerless assets falling under the Muslim fisc (*bayt al-māl*), whose assignment depends on the imam's decision.

In the earliest periods of Islam, this conflict played out in the interpretation of Prophetic sayings. Mālik b. Anas, the eighth-century maker of Muslim legal norms in Medina, implicitly articulated the view that *mawāt* is an exceptional case and while the imam can distribute such lands, individuals by their own work can also claim ownership rights. His *Muwaṭṭaʾ* quotes a saying of the Prophet and another one by the caliph ʿUmar about this issue. The Prophet says that "anyone who puts unused land to productive use shall become its owner" (*man aḥyā arḍan mayyitatan fa-hiya la-hu*) and adds that "but no right will grow out of an unjust root" (*wa-laysa li-ʿirqin ẓālimin ḥaqqun*). The text continues with Mālik's explanation of the term "unjust root": as he notes it "refers to anything that was dug, taken, or planted without right." The term without right, presumably, means the lack of permission from the imam. But Mālik implicitly argues for the exception of *mawāt* land among the other ownerless assets falling under the Muslim fisc because the text subsequently quotes the caliph ʿUmar who utters only the first half of the Prophet's sentence "anyone who puts unused land to productive use shall become its owner" (*man aḥyā arḍan mayyitatan fa-hiya la-hu*). And based on this short version, Mālik now gives his ruling: "The rule among us is in accordance with that." Clearly, *Muwaṭṭaʾ* portrays Mālik b. Anas as a jurist who acknowledged the acquisition of ownership right by the use of individuals and is silent about any further conditions (I used the translation of Fadel and Monett in Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ* [Fadel and Monette] 620; and I compared it with the original in Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ* III, 567–570).

The problems associated with *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* and the norm of acquisition by use was an important topic in Mālik's time, during the consolidation of the Abbasid empire. Another legendary jurist in the very same century, Abū Yūsuf (or the later compilers of a *Kitāb al-ḫarāǧ* under his name), devotes even more space to this problem. The *Kitāb al-ḫarāǧ* reports the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa in Iraq that unused

land becomes property by use *only* if the imam had previously given permission. Although Abū Ḥanīfa makes no explicit reference here to Mālik b. Anas, he is in clear disagreement with the latter. And in this instance, the text portrays Abū Yūsuf as agreeing with Mālik against his own teacher Abū Ḥanīfa. Abū Yūsuf's argument against Abū Ḥanīfa is that, if no one's interest is hurt, the Prophet's permission is valid until the Day of Resurrection (*wa-ammā anā fa-arā iḏā lam yakun fī-hi ḍarar ʿalā aḥad […] inna iḏn Rasūl Allāh […] ǧā'iz ilā yawm al-qiyāma*). Furthermore, if there is a disadvantage for someone, then the only question is what are those cases in which there is an "unjust root," so to speak. Thus, he quotes even more sayings in which the Prophet offers further specifications. For instance, we learn that someone who demarcates a parcel of land with stones but then fails to cultivate the plot for three years loses the right to ownership. Abū Yūsuf also explains that in addition to being uncultivated, *mawāt* is also ownerless land, including those lands whose original owners fled or died and no one can claim them (a typical case after conquest). If someone cultivates such a piece of land and pays the correct type of land tax "the imam has no right to take away anything from anyone unless with a solid and known legal cause" (*laysa li-l-imām an yuḫriǧa šay'an min yad aḥad illā bi-ḥaqq ṯābit maʿrūf*). That is, the imam cannot "nationalize" the Muslim settlers' cultivated lands (acquired by use after conquest) into government ownership and impose a higher tax. The imam can, however, assign available *mawāt* to soldiers as their private property (assessable for *ʿušr* tax) or leave such land with the conquered unbelievers through a treaty which also guarantees the preservation of its status as personal property (but subject to the higher *kharāǧ* tax). (Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-ḫarāǧ* 275–286, esp. 278).

We find a subtle supporting argument for Abū Ḥanīfa's point in the ninth century in the writings of the *ḥadīṯ* collector Muḥammad al-Buḫārī. Unlike Mālik b. Anas, al-Buḫārī attributes the saying "anyone who puts unused land to productive use shall become its owner" (*man aḥyā arḍan mayyitatan fa-hiya la-hu*) to ʿUmar, and not to the Prophet. The Prophet in his version only adds that "but no right will grow out of an unjust root." Next, al-Buḫārī provides a variant of the saying from the Prophet: "The one who cultivates ownerless land has the most right [to own it]" (*man aʿmara arḍan laysat li-aḥadin fa-huwa aḥaqqun*) (al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīh* 562). This means that al-Buḫārī's material has the perhaps unintended consequence of supporting Abū Ḥanīfa's point: As there is no evidence that the Prophet gave permission, the imam's permission should be supreme.

By the thirteenth century, the jurists' treatment of the topic becomes quite elaborate. In this century, the Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Qudāma dedicates a whole sub-book (*kitāb*) to the problem of *iḥyā' al-mawāt* in his great summarizing work *al-Muġnī*. His discussion covers many situations, considering, for instance, whether it is possible to reclaim roads as *mawāt* (the answer is no), as well as the numerous rules concerning mines in reclaimed land. Ibn Qudāma explains the exceptional nature of this source of ownership in legal theory. He admits that *mawāt* are always originally

ownerless lands, and that therefore these belong to the Muslim fisc (*māl bayt al-māl*). Since the things belonging to the Muslim fisc, in Ibn Qudāma's wording, are "the property of all Muslims," the decision about their use belongs to the imam. This, however, is not the case with *mawāt*, Ibn Qudāma carefully adds, because of the Prophet Muḥammad's original permission (it appears that he either follows Abū Yūsuf or independently reaches the same argument) (Ibn Qudāma, *Muġnī* VI, 147–184).

Only the Ḥanafī jurists among the Sunnis maintained that the permission of the imam is compulsory for reclaiming land as a source of property right. Indeed, one might say that it was their insistence on this point, among others, that made them distinctively Ḥanafī. The eleventh-century Ḥanafī author as-Saraḫsī provides the argument for many similar later jurists. He highlights the clear disagreement between Abū Ḥanīfa and others. While acknowledging the Prophet's permission, as-Saraḫsī cleverly makes a logical distinction between cause (*sabab*) and condition (*šarṭ*). He admits that the *cause* of ownership is the act of *ihyāʾ* because the Prophet permitted it. However, the *condition* of ownership is the imam's permission (*šarṭ al-milk wa-huwa iḏn al-imām*) and this is so because otherwise there would be lots of controversy (*munāzaʿa*) among the people, which might even lead to *fitna* (as-Saraḫsī, *Mabsūṭ* III, 16–17).

But what is *mawāt* exactly? The definition of this legal category shows, first, the impact of rural custom on legal terminology and, secondly, the development of property law. Ibn Qudāma still defines *mawāt* land in practical terms as "the obliterated (*dārisa*) land which is in the state of desolation (*ḫarāb*)." (Ibn Qudāma, *Muġnī* VI, 147). The Ottoman Ḥanafis are more eloquent. For instance, the seventeenth-century jurist al-Ḥaṣkafī defines *mawāt* in the following poetical way: "Life [can be defined by] two features: sensation (*ḥāssa*) and growth (*nāmiya*), and in this case growth is what should guide us. [A piece of land] is called 'dead' because of the nullity of gaining benefit from it and because it is worthless [i.e. nothing grows on it]." (al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Durr* 671). The early nineteenth-century Syrian Ḥanafī jurist Ibn ʿĀbidīn emphasizes that: "*Mawāt* is like the clouds or the dust, which have no soul." (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd* V, 277). (The eighteenth-century Egyptian Mālikī jurist Dardīr had already used this last metaphor, a point that needs further study.)

By the time of al-Ḥaṣkafī, jurists also reached some agreements on this legal problem. For instance, all agree that the imam's permission is needed if the user (the would-be owner) of the land is a *ḏimmī*. Also, a further condition for land qualifying as *mawāt* is that the piece of land in question should be at more than "shouting distance" from the last house of the village (meaning that if one shouts next to the last house no one can hear the shouting in the *mawāt*). And importantly, al-Ḥaṣkafī emphasizes and Ibn ʿĀbidīn follows him that a piece of land also gains the status of *mawāt* if "it has no owner." That is, in this Ottoman Ḥanafī interpretation any ownerless land – even if not actually barren or neglected – is legally "dead" and

therefore its acquisition by cultivation is dependent on the imam's permission (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd* V, 277–281).

As to *iḥyāʾ*, the central concept in defining what counts as "reviving/reclaiming" and "use" is the idea of benefit (*nafʿ*) and similar concepts such as exploitation and gain (*intifāʿ*). *Iḥyāʾ* in this case is an act which creates the conditions of "activating" the land in question for creating gain. The inverse ideas of benefit and gain figure in many definitions of *mawāt*. For instance, al-Ḥaṣkafī is clear: "*mawāt* is called as such because of the nullity of gaining benefit from it" (*buṭlān al-intifāʿ bi-hi*). Ibn ʿĀbidīn comments on this remark that "it is like the animals: if they die, they cannot provide gain anymore", and notes among the ways of returning the *mawāt* to being beneficial the acts of building, cultivation, irrigation, digging a well and so on (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd* V, 277).

In the nineteenth century both Ottoman metropolitan and provincial thinkers used the idea of benefit extensively as a Muslim ideology of reform. Let us just mention the imperial Ministry of Public Works in Istanbul, which was first called *Nezaret-i Umur-i Ticaret ve Nafiʿa*, the Department of Commercial and Beneficial Issues. The idea of *nafʿ* was central in justifying Ottoman imperial industrial developmentalism, for instance, during the introduction of steamships and the reviving of land in nineteenth-century Basra province (Cole 2021). This use of the term *nafʿ* for justifying modernization was not a novelty, however, but a logical consequence of the previous interpretation of land use as a source of benefit for the whole community.

3 The Problem of *Iḥyāʾ al-Mawāt* in the Ottoman Khedivate of Egypt

In the khedivate of Egypt in the nineteenth century, the problems associated with *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* were of utmost importance as landownership was the currency paid for political loyalty and for investing in agro-industrialization. In 1858 in reaction to the preparations for an Egyptian land code, Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī, an Egyptian scholar, summarized that "there are three types of land in Egypt, and in similar regions that had been conquered without treaty (*ʿanwatan*): 1) fully taxed land (*ḫarāǧī*) […] which is in private ownership; 2) *mawāt* land […] which can be allocated to the one who reclaims it either in private ownership or in usufruct; 3) land which belongs to the *bayt al-māl*" (al-ʿIdwī, *Tabṣirat al-quḍāt* 84).

Al-ʿIdwī defined, somewhat confusingly, the legal category of *mawāt* as being under the authority of the imam but not belonging to the *bayt al-māl*. Perhaps this was because in the mid-century the khedives of Egypt assigned immense amounts of land to family members and loyalist followers as property, with the text of the orders usually referring to "reform" or "revival" (*iṣlāḥ*, the administrative synonym of *iḥyāʾ*) for the common benefit (*intifāʿ*) as the reason of donation. The *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* norm was a major justification in acquiring ownership of land among the khedivial elite. With the passing of the 1858 land laws in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire at

large, the mid-nineteenth century was furthermore a time when foreigners' (non-Ottoman subjects) access to land ownership became a momentous legal question. (Mestyan 2020, Ghalwash 2023).

The office of the government-backed Ḥanafī mufti of Egypt was the main constitutional authority over land tenure until 1858, and possibly even later. The long-time postholder in the nineteenth century, Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī, included a long section on land tenure and a short section on issues related to *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* in his published legal opinions in the 1880s (Peters 1994). The fact that he listed only twelve legal opinions about acquisition by use should not mislead us as he selected only cases which corresponded to a norm.

How did the old norm of land acquisition by use figure in Egypt in a moment of large transformation in ownership practices? Let us examine three of al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī's legal opinions.

1) The first item is a legal opinion dated 19 Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1268 (11 March 1852):

> (A question was posed] concerning two men who exchanged land for cultivation. One of the exchanged properties is in the vicinity of fallow [*būr*] land which is *ḥarīm al-balad*. The one who took it reclaimed some part of this mentioned [*ḥarīm*] land by making it a threshing floor for the harvested products. [The question is] if the exchange was legally invalid and all returned to its original state [is it possible that] what resulted from reclaiming the mentioned [*ḥarīm*] land during the exchange should not be admitted [as private property] and its neighbour has no right to it because it belongs to the community?
>
> (He answered:) the right to exploitation in *ḥarīm al-balad* is for its [i.e. the village's] people. No one among them can prohibit another one from exploiting it without a legal reason. God Almighty knows best. (al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī, *Fatāwā* V, 310)

This *fatwa* provides us a glimpse into the interaction of law, village community, and nature. In this case, the question was about the conflict of two norms. One of these is the norm that we have been discussing, namely acquisition by use. The second norm, deriving from village practice, was that *ḥarīm* land is for the benefit of the local community. We can find this type of legal status (variously categorized as *ḥarīm al-balad*, *ḥarīm al-biʾr*, *ḥarīm al-ʿimāra*) often in connection with *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* cases. In this context, *ḥarīm* derives from a very ancient meaning of the discarded waste (*nabīṯa*) which remains on the sides of a well or a river, or the resting place of animals (*ʿaṭn*) next to a drinking well (al-Ḫalīl, *ʿAyn* III, 222). By extension, *ḥarīm* is a type of addition to a place. *Ḥarīm* is also often the piece of land which surrounds and "defends" a well in a way that no one can erect another well nearby which would take away its water. At-Timurtāšī, the sixteenth-century scholar in Gaza, who wrote the source text of both al-Ḥaṣkafī and Ibn ʿĀbidīn, has an extended

discussion on the *ḥarīm* of various water-sources (at-Timurtāšī, *Matn Tanwīr* 216). In our case, in short, the question was whether reclaiming *ḥarīm* land – in this case by using it as a threshing floor – gave ownership right. In this case, al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī decided that the *ḥarīm* norm is stronger than the acquisition-by-use norm; that is, the village community's interest is stronger than the individual's interest.

2) The second case relates to a question of land tenure in which we can see the khedivial *šarīʿa* administration at work. This legal opinion is dated 11 Ḏū l-Hiğğa 1273 (2 August 1857).

> (A question was posed) concerning a man who took possession of a piece of Egyptian *mawāt* without permission from the executive authority. He reclaimed a part of this land and he had to pay the *ḫarāǧ* tax accordingly. Next, it appeared that apart from what was taxed there was another part cultivated and another part still unused. The executive authority wanted to deprive the mentioned man of the mentioned land so as to tax it and to reclaim the remaining unused part. However, the man argued that he owned the land, and [had inherited it] from his father, by means of a certificate of a pious endowment, and that his father got it from the Awlād ʿAlī Bedouins, who in turn received it by an order of the executive authority in 1225 [1810–11] with the condition that they should reclaim and cultivate it. But they did not perform any act of reclaiming or cultivation because the borders mentioned in the copy of the certificate are only [known] by dictation (*imlāʾ*) and not by the fact of the order, nor by the fact of taking possession. The Ruznāma [bureau] – which is the place to preserve and register the orders concerning land allocations – searched but did not find [mention of] the allocation of the mentioned land to anyone. And the claimant also searched for the order but did not find it. What is the legal verdict in such a case? Is it possible for the executive authority to deprive the man of the mentioned land and tax it or not? If this person created a pious foundation from either the government's *ḫarāǧiyya* lands or from unused lands, is that a permissible act of pious foundation and would it be valid [in court] or not?
>
> His Eminence, the present mufti of Alexandria answered this question: We should know whether the proof of private property rights of the Awlād ʿAlī in this mentioned land is conditioned by the authority's act of donating it to them specifying their names or [whether] it was assigned as property to unknown persons by specifying the borders and by making the land's reclaiming and cultivation a condition. If this is the case, and there was one condition from among these [which was not fulfilled] it did not become their private property. And if it was not their private property the founder could not make a pious foundation of it. If there was no acquisition of private property rights the creation of a pious foundation was not valid. The executive authority can take it and its appropriation is correct. [This is our opinion] concerning the donated

land. And as regards the creation of a pious foundation of *ḫarāğiyya* or unused lands, we say: if a person created a pious foundation of *ḫarāğiyya* land, which is not unused, and without the land having been allocated by the imam, it is not valid. Even such an allocation [by the imam] is valid only if the land was unused or it was the private property of the sultan. His Excellency Qāsim b. Qutlūb Aġa said: "The person for whom the sultan allocated a piece of land from *bayt al-māl* lands owns its usufruct and even can rent it out but [the person's relation to the piece of land] ceases when he dies or by [the sultan's] allocation of the same plot to another person because it is the sultan's right to take it from him." And so on. This concerns the *ḫarāğiyya* land good for cultivation. As to the unused land, the creation of a pious endowment of it is valid only after it has been reclaimed by the permission of the imam. Even its reclaiming without permission does not make it private property, and the one who does not own the land cannot designate it as a pious foundation. God knows best. This was written by Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bannāʾ al-Ḥanafī, the mufti of Alexandria.

(He answered:) Our scholars explained that a Muslim or a *ḏimmī* owns a piece of unused land if he reclaims it by making it suitable for cultivation, provided that the imam permitted this. This is the opinion of the greatest imam [i.e. Abū Ḥanīfa] and he is the favoured one, and it is the agreement of the authors of the fundamental [Ḥanafī] works. The two [jurists – presumably Mālik and Abū Yūsuf who both disagree with Abū Ḥanīfa or the two students of Abū Ḥanīfa: Abū Yūsuf and Šaybānī], however, say that such land can be owned by the simple fact of reclaiming without the permission of the imam if the person is a Muslim. But all agree that a *ḏimmī* needs permission. If the one who took possession admitted that the piece of land in question was unused land and that the executive authority had given it to the Bedouins on the condition that they reclaim it but no such thing happened until it was transferred to his father, the founder, then the creation of a pious endowment [with the apport] of this land was not valid. Its transfer by sale was not valid given the conditions of the executive authority's permission about the known and specified piece of land for the Bedouins. It did not become private property if its transformation into private property was conditioned by reclaiming and not by the mere order. The reclaiming of some of this land by the one to whom it was transferred occurred without permission from the executive authority. Thus, it did not become the property of the one who reclaimed it. This is the opinion of the favoured imam [Abū Ḥanīfa]. And thus, it cannot become a pious foundation. The case is as stated: a pious foundation is conditioned by the existence of private property, and it does not exist in this case. And if neither the status of private property nor the status of pious foundation is valid the piece of land belongs to the *bayt al-māl*; and the executive authority has the right to use it

> for what is the most beneficial for the Muslim community. God Almighty knows best." (al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī, *Fatāwā* V, 310–311)

In this case, we find the two Ḥanafī conditions of private ownership concerning unused land playing in favour of the government, namely a) the permission of the imam or his representative, and b) the act of reclaiming. While both are necessary conditions the imam's permission must precede the act of reclaiming and then the reclaiming must occur. The Bedouins had a permission from the imam but did not acquire ownership rights because they did not cultivate the land, and the man a generation later did not acquire ownership rights either because neither was his land in private ownership nor had he permission from the imam. A subtle legal question that al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī answers in the negative in this case is whether the original permission of the imam can be somehow transferred together with the land, thus whether a new person who properly cultivates the land can be imagined as stepping in the shoes of the original grantee. A further point that the mufti of Alexandria also emphasizes, again indirectly, is that *ḫarāǧī* land is government land and the imam or his representative ("the executive authority," *walī al-amr*) cannot assign it as private property. (Possibly he was opposing the actual ongoing land alienations by the khedives who did exactly this). That is, the muftis argued for retaining this land for the Muslim community. The unarticulated consequence is that the cultivated parts of the land in question could be taxed higher (with the *ḫarāǧ* value) because the whole became *bayt al-māl* land again.

3) A third case pertains to ecological issues, with implications even for our contemporary world. This legal opinion is dated 13 Šaʿbān 1285 (29 November 1868), which is interesting as it is a decade after the enactment of the 1858 Land Law which presumably transferred property questions from the *qāḍī* courts to administrative councils (*maǧālis*):

> (A question was posed) by the Foreign Affairs Department about what is in this copy. [The question is the following:] is it possible that if a person or persons own lands next to the seashore in the Egyptian Domain they do not have right to possess the mentioned seashore? And [is it possible] that they do not have right of ownership to the shores of the salty lake which borders their lands, [either]? And [is it possible] that the owners of the mentioned lands have no right to ownership of a piece of land from which the sea's water has disappeared? Because such shores should belong to all Muslims if needed for the common good by the government or if needed for a road or for the making of some boats or for landing small boats on them and for similar issues. So, would the legal authority over them belong to the executive authority? And what is the size of the shores needed [for such purposes]? Do we measure it by the need of the public? And if [such lands are] allocated and these are *mawāt* lands but not needed for public benefit [is it possible that] no one has the right to take possession or reclaim them by cultivation or by construction

except with the permission of the executive authority? And if allocated with the permission of the executive authority but three years pass without reclaiming them [is it possible that] the one who received the permission has no right of ownership over such lands? [Is it possible that the right of ownership] is for another person who does reclaim them with the permission of the executive authority while there is no new permission for the first person?

(He answered): Yes, the mentioned persons have no right to claim ownership over the mentioned shore of the sea. They have no right to claim ownership over the shores of the salty lake around their lands. Neither can they have any claim in case of the disappearance of the seawater from these lands, if these are, as mentioned, needed for the general interest, or needed for the mentioned necessary issues. And the legal authority over them and the legal ability to use them lies with the executive authority like in all cases involving the community's rights. The size of such shores is [ascertained] by the measure of the need of the public. And if these lands are *mawāt* lands and are outside of the town, and do not belong to it, and are not needed for the general interest, and are not the property of anyone, and there is no special right to them, no one can claim the right of private ownership. They can be only reclaimed with the permission of the executive authority. This is the favoured opinion, and this is the guiding norm if the person who revives the land is Muslim. And even if he is a *ḏimmī*, the permission is a [necessary] condition for private ownership. If the person in question is under a limited protection treaty he cannot possess [land] anyway. If the executive authority allocated the lands with the condition that the land be reclaimed, and three years go by and the land remains unused, the executive authority has the right to issue a permission to another person even if a demarcation by stones had already happened. [This new permission can be issued] because of the absence of private ownership for the first person permitted. [As to] the three years, it is narrated about ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb – may God bless him – that he said: 'there is no right following from demarcation by stones after three years [without the land being reclaimed].' 'Demarcation by stones' can happen by erecting a stone sign or by a harvest of the herbs and weed growing on it and by clearing its grass and leaving it to grow around it or by burning the weed and other things on it. But all of these do not help in acquiring private ownership because [demarcation] is just the first step towards this right. The right [to reclaim] cannot, however, be taken from the person [who received permission] for three years and no one should reclaim these lands until the passing of three years. This is the religious practice (*diyāna*). But in the legal rule (*ammā fī-l-ḥukm*), if someone else revives it before the passing [of three years] conforming to the condition [by the executive authority] he will own it. (al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī, *Fatāwā* V, 314–315)

In this case, a change in nature and the available land surface evidently created a competition among individuals and the government. It is possible that the individuals were either local Christians or foreign subjects; this would explain why the enquiry was made by the Foreign Ministry, as well as al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī's reference to *ḏimmī* persons. The rights to available new land after the withdrawal of the sea was a thorny question which could be solved in favour of the government only by the introduction of the idea of general interest which overrides all other claims. The rejection of "demarcation by stones" (or by weeding, etc.) (*taḥǧīr*) as a source of ownership shows that muftis did acknowledge that *iḥyāʾ* of unused land can be a gradual process, in which the first step may be demarcation but which in itself is insufficient to establish private ownership. Al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī however insists that the three-year period should be respected before the government can do anything.

Yet the ending of the fatwa is curious: the mufti contrasts the term *diyāna* with the term *ḥukm* (*wa-hāḏā min tarīq ad-diyāna ammā fī-l-ḥukm fa-iḏā*… 'and this is the religious practice. But in the legal rule, if…'). This is a confusing contrast since in 1868 there were two types of legal forums in Egypt: the *qāḍī* courts and the administrative councils, both of which applied *šarīʿa* norms and the government's administrative orders, and both of which used the term *ḥukm*. Presumably, the mufti meant by the term *ḥukm* a government regulation or decision. He explains that what is in the *ḥukm* allows an individual, other than the holder of the permission, to claim ownership by use within the three years period. Importantly, this last sentence also implies that – as opposed to the previous case – the mufti acknowledges that the administrative regulation allows that a new individual may execute the permission of the imam instead of the original grantee even within the three years prescribed by the previous muftis. He subordinated the government's interest in higher tax to the norm of acquisition by use.

Conclusion

When writing new histories of the world that consider humanity's interaction with nature, we can learn a great deal from Muslim legal sources. Muslim societies were predominantly agricultural until the 1950s, and indeed in many regions have remained so up to the present day. The issues related to reclaiming unused land include people's relationship to nature, the value of agricultural work to society, ideas about the future welfare of the community, the uses of law in everyday village life, and a detailed attention to what produces benefit (*nafʿ*) – in the sense of the joining and exploitation of the creative forces of nature and the human being.

We can see that Ḥanafī jurists provided a normative ideology for the expansion of central authority in matters of land tenure, but that this ideology was not entirely bound to the government. The first case analysed shows the village community's supremacy, the second case is a clear decision upholding the interests of the government, and in the last opinion it is unclear which party emerges as the winner

– the only certain issue in the *fatwa* is that the mufti prohibits foreigners' acquisition of newly available shore-lands without the government's permission. But we must also recognize that the mufti's insistence that *mawāt* and *ḫarāğiyya* lands belong to the *bayt al-māl* cannot be entirely taken as a pro-government position. The things in the *bayt al-māl* are – in most interpretations – the property of all Muslims (Mestyan and Nuri 2022), and thus the mufti regards this issue as being of crucial importance (retaining property for future generations). The government is only important as much as it represents the imam. The "general interest" of the Muslim community is another type of justification, in addition to the *bayt al-māl*. This "general interest" is more easily translated into the nineteenth-century European idea of "public interest." The *mawāt* cases of al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī testify that the merging between the idea of the Muslim community as proprietor and the idea of the public had started before the British rule in Egypt in terms of land tenure.

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PERTEVNIYAL'S MOSQUE REVISITED

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Abstract:
The present paper is an expanded effort to sketch the background to the building of Pertevniyal's mosque in Istanbul (1869–1872) within its contemporary setting and subsequent historical and ideological developments, in order to make the considerable changes and variations in its appreciation understood.

Keywords: Pertevniyal's mosque in Istanbul; Rifāʿī mosque in Cairo; Ottomanism; Ottoman Renaissance; Tanzimat, Islamic architecture; Ottoman architecture; Second Siege of Vienna (1683)

The present paper is an expanded reformulation of some statements made in a recent publication on the relationship between two Circassian princesses and their mosques founded in 1869 in Cairo and Istanbul respectively (Ormos 2022). They are intended to clarify the background to the building of Pertevniyal's mosque in the Aksaray quarter of Istanbul, the historical setting, her choice of site and style. A deeper acquaintance with the highly volatile circumstances, the continuously changing position of the Ottoman Empire within the contemporary political setup and its unsteady relationship with Western Europe, will assist the modern observer to better comprehend the highly controversial ways of defining the mosque's place in the history of Turkish and Islamic art, as well as to obtain a deeper understanding of the relative positions of the Rifāʿī and Aksaray mosques in the evolution of modern architecture both in the Ottoman Empire and in Egypt, as well as in the historical setting of both countries. At the same time, it will no doubt help us understand some of the changes in the relationship between Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire in the course of recent centuries. This paper is dedicated to Tamás, teacher, friend, older brother, colleague, to whom I owe more than I can express and who has been a rock of orientation and comfort for me ever since we first met in 1973 – in other words, for the whole of my adult life.

Pertevniyal's choice of the mosque's site was significant. It was the area where the Janissary corps, whom her late husband Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) had abolished in 1826, used to be garrisoned (Yolac Pollock 2015). In fact, a month after

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the annihilation of the Janissaries Mahmud II also destroyed the Bektashi order of dervishes, who were closely associated with them. Pertevniyal's choice was guided in part by her wish to honour her late husband by setting a memorial to the "Auspicious Incident" (*Vaka-i Hayriye;* وقعة خيرية), as this measure came to be called by Ottoman historians. Driven by the aim of achieving parity with the West or rather of surpassing it, Mahmud II, a gifted politician, realized early on that only substantial reform could even raise a hope of attaining the desired aim. He regarded himself as others also regarded him, as Peter the Great of Russia in his role of Europeanizing his country (Fadeeva 1985:31–32). He followed in the footsteps of Selim III (r. 1789–1807), who embarked on a grand program of transformation (*Nizam-i Cedid* "New Order"). Selim's reforms ushered in a new epoch and paved the way for the *Tanzimat* era (1839–1878).[1] One of the most important ideas, whose role in modernizing the country Mahmud II grasped very early on, perhaps indirectly influenced by the French Revolution, was the equality of peoples and races in the Ottoman Empire, as Ottoman subjects possessing equal rights and obligations. In the middle of the nineteenth century, this idea came to be called the doctrine of "Ottomanism" (*Osmanlılık*). It meant that the Ottoman Empire was conceived as a single uniform society ruled by the Ottoman dynasty, in which every citizen was equal and possessed the same rights and obligations, irrespective of race, religion and nationality, and owed political loyalty to the Ottoman state. In practice, the traditional Ottoman system treated non-Muslim minorities as foreigners. The relationships of the *millet* chiefs with the Ottoman government were principally through the Minister of Foreign Affairs; it was only in 1878 that the situation changed, and relationships were put in the hands of the Minister of Justice (Davison 1963:132, n. 46). However, no matter how much lip service the ruler and the chief state officials paid to the *šarīʿa,* this doctrine openly contravened it and was heavily opposed by large segments of the Muslim population, as became subsequently apparent (Fadeeva 1985:4).[2] It found its first realization in the decrees and politics of Mahmud II and came to full fruition after his death in the *Tanzimat* era. It became more and more popular with the non-Muslim sections of the society as a consequence of their relatively close connections with Western Europe, where modern nations emerged one after the other in the wake of the French Revolution. In the nineteenth century the Sublime Porte was confronted with the complex problem of the presence of ethnic and religious communities in the Empire which had perceptibly overtaken the ruling ethnic group in economic, social and cultural terms, while forced to live in a subordinate position. This situation was made even more delicate by their close ties to the great powers of Western Europe, who made every effort to protect them

[1] On the *Tanzimat,* see Kramers 1934/1993; Davison 2000. On the date of its end, see the latter reference.

[2] On the many-sided role of equality in promoting economic development and progress in the Ottoman Empire, see Fadeeva 1985:26–44, 56–96.

from the Ottoman state, i.e. their own country. Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Âli Pasha (1815–1871) remarked around 1860 that while two thirds of the state's revenue were generated by non-Muslims, who provided the state with much profit in other fields too, they were exploited and not given due respect, being treated as second rate subjects. It is no wonder then – he continues – that they cannot be considered reliable citizens (*Stambul,* 84–85; Fadeeva 1985:88). The ruler and the chief officials strove hard, without however succeeding in achieving complete implementation of this doctrine; it was often obstructed by local authorities among others (Fadeeva 1985:4, 72–78). The promulgation of corresponding laws and regulations resulted in bloody clashes between Muslims and Christians, even pogroms against the latter, as well as armed rebellions against the government. And yet a full implementation of this doctrine would have brought great advantages to the Muslim population. In the traditional system, for example, non-Muslims were not allowed to fight in wars, i.e. to participate in the *ğihād,* which meant that they were exempted from military service. In this way the human toll of protracted wars, especially those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was borne by Muslims alone, mainly those living in the core areas. (Millions of nomadic Arabs, Kurds, mountain dwellers of Albania, Montenegro, etc. were not called up for military service because of the limited sovereignty of the state over them. Fadeeva 1985:74, 86, 115, 230). In consequence, the relative number of Muslims diminished in comparison to non-Muslims. During the expansion of the Empire the number of Christians came considerably to surpass that of Muslims. This was again the case in the era of the great wars in the nineteenth century: in 1875–1876 the number of Christians was higher than that of Muslims (Fadeeva 1985:123).[3] This was a delicate question as the figures fluctuated significantly. Another result of this situation was the increasing backwardness of Muslims as compared to non-Muslims; Christians were more educated and more developed economically and socially than their Muslim fellow-citizens. They were quicker to adopt modern ideas in various fields because they were in contact with Western Europe. The overall result was that a relatively backward minority ruled over a more developed but underprivileged majority, which – in addition – enjoyed the ever greater protection of Western powers. The situation was delicate and called for urgent reform. With the growing impact of European nationalism, Christians were irritated by the arbitrary actions of the Ottoman administration and by their own underprivileged position, while Muslims resented European interference in the affairs of the Empire in favour of Christians. The continuous great territorial losses were not only humiliating for the Empire but posed grave economic, social and even theological problems. Muslim believers who did

[3] This situation changed appreciably after the Treaty of Berlin (1878), with the loss of Serbia, Romania, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Major resettlements of Muslims took place in these years, while many Armenians and Greeks left the country. Fadeeva 1985:193–195.

not want to live under the rule of infidels poured into the remaining core territories in great numbers, where they had to be accommodated and cared for, representing a great burden on state and population alike. For instance, after the Treaty of Berlin (1878) and its sequels their number reached approximately 150 thousand in Istanbul alone (Fadeeva 1985:132).

In the course of his efforts at reform, Mahmud II had to drastically curb the influence of the main conservative power centres. These were the corporate body of religious scholars, the *ulema,* the mystical religious orders of the *dervishes* and the Janissary corps. They were closely interconnected and exerted a strong influence on the population, especially on the less educated strata, which made up its overwhelming majority. The *ulema* and the *dervishes* were deeply integrated into the Ottoman state, providing its main support. (Three great rulers – Mehmed II, Selim I and Süleyman the Magnificent – were members of religious orders themselves.) These bodies were the main strongholds of the opposition against Western ideas and the Westernization of the country in general. There were two main reasons behind their fierce opposition. Notwithstanding the ubiquitous official declarations paying due tribute to the *šarīʿa,* the new laws and decrees openly contravened it, and this was evident to all observers at the time, while religious law had not ceased to occupy a central place in the minds and life of the population. Many believers openly accused the Sultan of infidelity when referring to him as *Padishah Giaour* or *Ghiaour-Padishah* (Farley, *Turks,* 185–186; Macdonald, *Turkey,* 37–38; Fadeeva 1985:46, 49–50, 53). These bodies were not ready to relinquish their power over the faithful. As a whole, the general population opposed Westernization because it considered its features alien, even inimical, to the religion of Islam, to the traditional values, habits and ways of life. Thus, it is wholly understandable that the dissolution, i.e. annihilation, of a powerful military body with deep roots in the population and closely intertwined with other equally influential power centres, was an undertaking fraught with extreme danger, even on a personal level, for the ruler. The decrees and rulings issued by Mahmud II already contained the basic elements of the *hatt-ı şerif* of Gülhane of 1839, which officially initiated the reforms of the *Tanzimat* after his death, although their roots could be traced back to the Westernization efforts of the eighteenth century. This was then further developed by the *hatt-ı hümayun* of 1856. From the reforms of Mahmud II emerged the doctrine of Ottomanism (*Osmanlılık*) in the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have already seen. The social basis of the reforms was limited; there was considerable opposition to them, and many contradictions accompanied their application. They were never fully implemented. The head tax (*ğizya/ḫarāğ*) levied upon non-Muslims was never abolished. Equality meant obligatory military service for Christians and Jews alike but even the basic details could not be agreed upon: whether they were to serve in detached special units under their own commanders or intermingled among their Muslim fellow-citizens under the command of Muslims. As for Muslims, even the idea of serving under Christian commanders seemed an abomination. Even the staunchest promoters

of reforms, such as (Mehmed Emin) Âli Pasha (1815–1871) or (Keçecizade Mehmed) Fuad Pasha (1814–1869), insisted that power must remain in the hands of Muslims, irrespective of equality and reforms.[4] Ottomanism was based on the concept of equality of all citizens and national as well as patriotic loyalty to an Ottoman nation and an Ottoman fatherland. However, this attitude was unacceptable to the Muslim "majority" of the Empire, and the "minorities" rejected it too, preferring their own particular nationalisms, while drifting towards separation. Ultimately, Ottomanism was unrealizable, of limited duration and impact (Lewis 1961:2, 214, 218).

The 1870s saw an abandonment of the *Tanzimat*.[5] With the disappearance of highly influential reformers of the 1850s and 1860s such as Âli Pasha and Fuad Pasha, traditionalist circles gradually overcame the promoters of reform. Ottomanism, which had served as the founding doctrine of the *Tanzimat,* retained its place to a certain degree in the arsenal at the disposal of the ruling strata, but it lost meanwhile its former appeal and influence. The emerging nationalism of the Turks and other nationalities of the Empire was its main antagonist in the ideological struggles of the period. On the other hand, Ottomanism impeded the development of Turkish nationalism ("Turkism"), which was a complex and protracted process. However, the application of the concepts of "nation", "national" and "nationalism" to the Ottoman Empire is not without problems because they meant something different both in Western and Central Europe and could be applied to the Ottoman Empire only with difficulty for differences in history, social and religious conditions (Lewis 1961:338–339). In actual fact, these were concepts imported from Western Europe. The victory of traditionalism over the reforms of the *Tanzimat* was partly due to the fact that the implemented reforms fell short of expectations. Towards the end of the 1860s the tenets of Panislamism gained a certain popularity; with the death of the great reformers, Âli Pasha and Fuad Pasha, they became very influential, partly as a reaction to the Westernizing measures of the *Tanzimat* reforms. The growth of Panslavism among the Slavic peoples in European Turkey, the results of European expansion and the humiliating territorial losses in the Balkans greatly fostered the spread of Panislamism, which was not home-grown but imported from outside and served to support and develop the central power, especially that of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876). When the failure of the admission of Christians to the army became evident, and Ottomanism as a whole did not fulfil the great expectations attached to it, the government made substantial efforts to base central power on the Muslim population of the Empire instead. The period between 1871 and 1876 can be regarded as a period of transition, in which the three doctrines of Ottomanism, Panislamism and nationalism ("Turkism") simultaneously defined the

[4] On Fuad Pasha, see Lewis 1961:115–116.

[5] The year 1878 is often regarded as its end, although opinions differ on this point; see n. 1. above. Cf. also Fadeeva 1985:98–99.

ideology and politics of the Sublime Porte. Then under Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) Panislamism became the official ideology of the Empire (Lewis 1961:334–337; Fadeeva 1985:130–201). In general, the doctrines of Ottomanism, Panislamism and nationalism ("Turkism"), which after all were mutually exclusive, developed in a fine interplay.

Pertevniyal's choice of a style for her mosque, Ottoman Renaissance, was significant. In fact, it can be said to have been an application of Ottomanism to architecture, thereby also making a tribute to her late husband, in so far as the mosque combined Ottoman motifs, including some from Bursa, and other Islamic (Seljukid, Mughal) elements, with a vast array of European features such as Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, Classical, *Empire* and "Moorish". By freely picking its constituent parts from a wide range of Western European styles along with components of Islamic provenance, Ottoman among them, this style defined Ottoman architecture as a full-grown genre possessing equal rights within the dominant Western European art scene (Ersoy 2015:131–184, 198–199, esp. 132–133). In other words, Ottoman Renaissance was the architectural equivalent of the concept based on the equality of religions and races as prescribed by the doctrine of Ottomanism. From another point of view, this attitude was tantamount to the claim that there was no "limited or partial Westernization" (cf. Lewis 1961:228–229, 262). This was a long way from the Second Siege of Vienna of 1683, when the Ottoman Empire was at the height of its territorial extension. Not only had the Ottomans reached the gates of Vienna; shortly before that date Poland had been forced to cede Podolia and Western Ukraine to the self-assured Sultan. Ever since first crossing the Bosphorus, the classical area of Ottoman expansion had been in the West (Lewis 1961:25), sometimes disturbed and impeded by developments on the Eastern borders. After the failure of the Siege territorial recession began, which was slow and intermittent, yet continuous and inexorable. There was a gradual swing in the balance of power in favour of Western Europe. This progressive decline and recession culminated in the Empire's ultimate fall and abolition in 1922.[6] The failure of the Siege itself was

[6] A new school has emerged recently which rejects the "Ottoman decline paradigm" as obsolete and unfounded, branding it a "myth" and replacing it with other theses, e.g., the assumption of repeated cases of "crisis and adjustment". There can be no doubt that the precise course of the history of the Ottoman Empire and its interpretation have been enriched with many important details by the proponents of this thesis, yet they fail to account for the gradual shrinking of the Empire after the Siege of Vienna of 1683, the continuous and humiliating military defeats resulting in losses of important territories one after the other, the almost uninterrupted defeat and withdrawal of the Imperial Ottoman forces, the growing gap between the performance of the Ottoman army and that of Western forces, ultimately leading to total collapse after World War I. In actual fact, it was due to internal quarrels among European states and Western geopolitical interests that the Ottoman Empire survived for so long and did not collapse a century earlier at least; one or more European states were always interested in preserving "the Sick Man on the Bosphorus" for geopolitical reasons and thus

certainly not the direct cause of decline – after all, the Christian victory came within a hair's breadth – but it was a conspicuous sign of an epochal change of direction in the course of Ottoman history caused by numerous factors. If Vienna had fallen it would have meant a great blow to the Christian cause and represented a temporary setback, yet it would not have altered the course of history and could not have saved the Ottoman Empire because its decline was caused by a complex network of factors.[7]

The end of territorial expansion was not simply a minor wavering in the successful propagation of the true faith. Rather, it was a deadlock that posed an existential threat, boding ill for the future of the Empire. In fact, the Ottoman military-political system was based on the continuous availability of new territory which the Sultan could give to new members of the army and state servants as temporary land grants (fiefs): they became their usufructuaries without possessing them (Ágoston 1992:23, 27; cf. Lewis 1961:26). It is hardly an exaggeration to say that constant expansion was "the very *raison d'être* of its statehood", as has been claimed (Lewis 1961:26).[8] Military campaigns also meant great opportunities for looting and the seizure of booty, which Ottoman soldiers saw as their due and prerogative; they would sharply protest, even enforce these rights by revolt, when they were not available.

A decline in this system was bound to result in far-reaching and complex difficulties in the military, economic and political fields as well as in the administration, ultimately leading to collapse. It was around this time, too, that the Empire began to lag behind Western Europe in warfare, and the gap was widening. A "revolution in warfare" was under way in Western Europe, affecting various fields of military affairs in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. The Ottomans were not able to keep up with the ascendant Christian side.[9] The Ottomans employed irregular forces in great numbers from among Southern Slav and Tatar marauders, who could be regarded as "masters of senseless destruction and devastation on a world scale" inflicting much more suffering and misery upon their victims than was necessary or usual in Western Europe at the time, where a growing tendency to employ regular

actively interfered to save it (see below). Cf. Ágoston 2021:12–14. There is an informative entry on the "Ottoman decline thesis" on *wikipedia*, which can be consulted *with due caution*.

[7] For a tentative list of these, see Lewis 1961:21–39.

[8] The Ottoman Empire, which depended on continuous territorial expansion, was *in this respect* not unlike Nazi Germany in the twentieth century, whose economy also depended on the continuous opening up of new economic resources by conquering new countries, one after the other. Therefore, it was not sheer imperialism and Aryan ideology that induced Hitler to invade his neighbours one after the other, wage war against them and annex them, instead of being content with his not inconsiderable achievements in stabilizing the German economy after seizing power; it was first and foremost a question of compelling economic necessity. This basic feature of Nazi German economy was discovered only recently. Aly 2005.

[9] On this subject, cf. Ágoston 2021:288–298.

forces could be observed, thus turning warfare into something calculable (Ágoston 1992:112).

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire came to face a general crisis as a result of natural catastrophes, population growth, a slump in corn production, difficulties in the allocation of provisions, inflation in consequence of changes in the international economy (the so-called "Price Revolution"), territorial uprisings and military revolts.[10] Decline can also be understood in a relative sense. However, even in this respect the Ottoman Empire does not come off well. For instance, despite net growth Ottoman finances were inefficient as compared to the fiscal possibilities of the Habsburg and Romanov Empires. In the early 1760s Ottoman and Russian revenues were on the same level in terms of tons of silver; ten years later Russian revenues were already ten times larger. It was not only a question of mere numbers or quantities but that of effectiveness, organization. In the 1760s Russia was able to keep an army twice the size of that of the Ottoman Empire, although the level of state revenues was similar in both countries (Ágoston 2021:333). The problems affecting the Ottoman Empire were enhanced by a great shift in the international trade routes, beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century. None of these existential problems could be solved.

Around the time of the Peace of Zsitvatorok (1606) the military balance began to shift definitely to the West's advantage. It was on this occasion that the Sultan for the first time officially acknowledged the Habsburg emperor as his equal. This was no longer a truce dictated in Istanbul to the "King of Vienna", but a treaty negotiated on the frontier and agreed with the "Roman Emperor" (Lewis 1961:36). One of the first conspicuous signs of the new situation was Raimondo Montecuccoli's not overwhelming yet convincing victory over the Ottoman army at Szentgotthárd (St Gotthard) in Western Hungary in 1664. After the Siege of Vienna of 1683, the Ottoman armies began a pattern of retreat and the territory of the Empire gradually but continuously diminished, right up until its final collapse at the end of World War I. The terror of European Christianity mutated into the sad figure of the "Sick Man on the Bosphorus" and a clutch of Oriental stereotypes from the titillating world of The Thousand and One Nights. Neither was taken seriously any longer because they did not pose a threat: fear was gradually replaced by fascination, even (Williams 2014; Bremm 2021:354–362). In fact, it was because of internal quarrels and divisions among Western European states that the Ottoman Empire did not collapse at least a hundred years earlier in the nineteenth century; some states were always interested in preserving it for geopolitical reasons. For instance, in 1839–1841 the great powers saved the Ottoman Empire from Muhammad Ali, its rebel governor in Egypt, whose army was on the threshold of conquering Istanbul, and in 1854–1856 British, French and Sardinian armies rescued it again, this time from Russia. Decline was slow, with

[10] Fodor–Oborni–Pálffy 2000:23; cf. Lewis 1961:28–30. On the "Price Revolution" see, e.g., Andrews–Kalpaklı 2005:310.

occasional setbacks, lasting for several centuries, but its tendency and basic characteristics were unambiguous. It was continuous, inexorable and had a highly demoralizing effect. This was the beginning of a development which would ultimately lead to a situation where, a century after Kemal Atatürk, as a complete reversal of the earlier attitude, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs would declare in its official "Synopsis of Foreign Policy" around 2020 that "Turkey is determined to become a full member of the European Union as part of its *bicentennial effort to reach the highest level of contemporary civilisation*" (Marshall 2016/2019:184; emphasis added). The "bicentennial effort" represents a claim that it has been Turkey's aim for two centuries to align itself with Western Europe and to join it. This was a long way from Süleyman the Magnificent or the Second Siege of Vienna. Indeed, this standpoint corresponds to the claim mentioned above that there is no "limited or partial Westernization" (cf. Lewis 1961:228–229, 262).

The Ottomans appeared in Asia Minor around the end of the thirteenth century, and then in Europe in 1354. In 1453, twenty-one-year-old Sultan Mehmed II seized Constantinople and Western Europe fell into a state of shock. The ascending Empire was expanding inexorably; no Christian state in Europe could resist its explosive growth and advance, so that it became the most powerful country in South-Eastern Europe and the Middle East around the beginning of the sixteenth century. For a long time, Europe had been a vast area to be conquered and "opened up" (*fatḥ*) before the expansion of Islam. After conquest, immense amounts of war booty were taken from the new territories to Istanbul, the glamorous capital of the Empire, and subsequently these territories were brutally subjugated and exploited.[11] Heavy taxes continued to flow to the capital, serving to embellish it as well as keep the Empire running. The circumstance that the Empire succeeded in seizing big and rich territories relatively quickly and easily, allowed it to enrich itself without great effort by imposing heavy taxes on them, and in this way the necessary stimuli to managing their economy in a rational manner, guaranteeing in-depth, many-sided and long-term development in general, were missing (Fadeeva 1985:19). It is an open question awaiting further research whether the Ottoman authorities, as a rule, were characterized by unchecked rapacity, conducting a ruthless and wasteful exploitation of resources, as is often claimed. On the other hand, it has been maintained that the Ottomans established themselves in the conquered territories for long-term residence, and therefore it was not in their interest to destroy a country's resources but to ensure that long-term exploitation could be continued and on occasion they also behaved as good and responsible masters (Lewis 1961:33 *vs.* Pálffy 2000:40; 2009:21). Ottoman officials were appointed haphazardly and for relatively short periods. They cared little about their offices, exploiting them to enrich themselves as much and as quickly as possible because they never knew when they would be transferred to another post in a distant

[11] On the brutal exploitation in occupied Hungary, cf., Káldy-Nagy 1970:87, 148–150, 173, 174.

corner of the Empire. There was little money available for public investment. Much of what the Ottomans built was temporary and makeshift. Istanbul was a dazzling metropolis, but poverty, neglect and decay were rampant everywhere in the provinces. The overall contribution of the Ottomans to European culture seems on the whole rather meagre; in contrast, the Ottoman Empire appropriated goods, men and professional knowledge from the Christian world in "hardly imaginable measure", without reciprocating them to any extent worth mentioning. A modern historian attributes to the Ottoman Empire a "parasitic existence" with respect to cultural exchange. He also describes the close proximity of the Ottoman Empire as a "continuous extreme nuisance" to its neighbours, and the local Beys, with their marauding troops, as more of a "plague" than normal neighbours (Bremm 2021:399).[12] As far as Hungary is concerned, the impact of Turkish rule, or rather its devastations, are best illustrated by Prince Eugene of Savoy's warning to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1717 not to travel southwards from Buda by land in winter but "to stay till the Danube is thaw'd that I may have the conveniency of going by Water" because "I shall be oblig'd to travel 3 or 4 days between Buda and Esseek without finding any house at all" on a distance of 160 miles (260 km) on her way across Hungary to Constantinople.[13] It is worth mentioning in this context that it has

[12] There is a Hungarian proverb, with variants, which is also quoted in the popular poem *A fülemile* [The Nightingale; 1854] by János Arany, one of the greatest Hungarian poets: *"Rossz szomszédság: török átok."* ["Bad neighbourhood is a Turkish curse." Here *szomszédság* "neighbourhood" or "neighbourship" means the "relationship among neighbours".] Some scholars assume a Turkish origin of the poem's subject – this assumption is not valid for the proverb. Arany *összes* 219–223, line 17; 481–482 [textual commentary, including origins]. Incidentally, I owe my acquaintance with this critical edition of Arany's poems to Tamás, on whose desk I first saw it long ago. It greatly impressed me with its 160-page-strong close-spaced textual commentary, so I followed suit and acquired a copy of my own in due course. Interestingly, I have just come across a *politically correct* version of this proverb in a modern dictionary, where *török* [Turkish] has been replaced with *örök* [everlasting]. Országh–Futász–Kövecses 1998:1365. I have never encountered this version before. A rich modern collection of Hungarian proverbs knows only the "Turkish" version, which it describes as "well known". Szemerkényi, *Szólások,* 1319. A brief Google search showed that the PC version is not unknown, though.

[13] *Esseek* is Hungarian *Eszék* (modern *Osijek* in Slavonia/Croatia; German *Essegg*). Wortley Montagu, *Letters,* I 295. Cf. Bremm 2021:247. – The devastations in Hungary in this period were not due to Ottoman rule alone but to the circumstance that for two hundred years occupied Hungary had been a buffer zone, the most important continental scene of the contest between the two world powers of the period, which meant protracted conflict, continuous warring, manhunts and intermittent skirmishes along the borders, causing great destruction and devastation. This state of affairs was, however, the direct outcome of Ottoman intrusion into Hungary. The results were altogether very severe and partly irreversible. On the other hand, the Ottomans never managed to impose their full sovereignty over the occupied areas of Hungary but had to share it with the Habsburg rulers and the Christian landowners, who had fled to the unoccupied areas of "Royal Hungary" under

recently been claimed that even the modern poverty of the Middle East is in fact a heritage of its Ottoman past.[14]

For the West, the idea of Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1683 was a deadly nightmare, because on this occasion, too, just as at the First Siege of Vienna in 1529, the very survival of the Christian West was at stake.[15] In 1529 the Ottoman Empire was at the height of its power under Süleyman the Magnificent, while his opponents were Emperor Charles V and his younger brother King Ferdinand I of Hungary and Bohemia and Archduke of Austria. Contemporaries saw the wars between the "world empire of terror" and the West as a life-and-death struggle to save Western civilization from annihilation. Often these wars, which represented an existential threat to the West, were fought out with extraordinary bitterness and the utmost cruelty.[16] On a number of occasions, many countries and many rulers dispatched soldiers, military units and even whole armies to participate in these wars. This is a clear proof that these countries and their rulers did not perceive them as local affairs but as an existential threat to the Western world as a whole.[17] "Royal Hungary" (by succession under Habsburg rule at the time) was seen as a defence line of Habsburg and German territories, therefore these areas and their rulers contributed large sums

Habsburg rule, from where they also extracted taxes from their possessions, establishing a "condominium" (joint sovereignty) in the occupied areas. Many earlier Hungarian institutions continued to execute their functions in the areas under Ottoman occupation because the Ottomans were unable to replace them. Double taxation was a heavy burden, with corresponding negative results: many areas became devastated and depopulated, because peasants fled from them. Industrialization and the development of a bourgeoisie suffered greatly. This entailed grave demographic, economic, social and cultural consequences. The ethnic composition of the country changed considerably: for geographical reasons, the great loss of population affected mainly the Magyar segment of the inhabitants, in contrast to minorities. This ordeal, beset by wars, brought much suffering upon Hungary. The effects of this complex situation determined the fate of Hungary in the following centuries to a great extent. Fodor–Oborni–Pálffy 2000.

[14] Acemoglu–Robinson 2013:55–56, 61, 120–121, 213–218.

[15] Huntington 1997/2002:146, 210. The Siege of Vienna of 1529 (also known as the First Siege of Vienna) undertaken by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (the defenders were "hopelessly overborne by numbers") was the first effort of the Ottoman Empire to capture the Imperial City, which was to be followed by several similar endeavours, none of which was crowned with success. For instance, Turkish sources claim that in actual fact, Sultan Süleyman's ultimate goal was the conquest of Vienna when he died at Szigetvár in 1566. On the First Siege of Vienna see, e.g., Bremm 2021:69–81. On the relationship between Turkey and Europe in general *("La Turquie en Europe")*, cf. Osterhammel 2009/2020:148–150.

[16] As one aspect of this struggle, Muslim pirates based in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli in the Western Mediterranean abducted innumerable Christians and sold them into slavery; their number was close to one million between 1530 and 1640. Bremm 2021:163–168.

[17] Even though Christians, both individuals and armies, fought on the side of the Ottomans on occasion. The opposite did not happen, as far as I am aware: Muslims never fought on the Christian side.

to support Christian military activities in "Royal Hungary"; it would not have been able to withstand Ottoman pressure alone.[18] In 1683, on the Christian side, were fighting forces from Bavaria, Salzburg, the Upper Rhineland, Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, an army from the Holy Roman Empire under Duke Charles Alexander of Lorraine and, above all, a Polish army under John III Sobieski, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. Enormous subsidies came from the Pope personally, and from the Catholic church in Bohemia and Bavaria. Both sides fought with the utmost exertion of their power; conquerors and defenders alike knew what was at stake. The Ottomans' reputation for merciless savagery engendered fear in Europe. The relief army of the Christian powers arrived at the very last moment, when everything already seemed lost. Victory was indeed a miracle; the Christian armies defeated the Ottomans by a hair's breadth. It is easy to understand that many saw heavenly intercession in the victory. The subsequent enthusiastic elevation of 1683 by contemporaries can be explained by the terror of the preceding events. The Ottoman army under Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa crossed the Austrian border on 11 July and soon enormous columns of fire indicated the devastations of his Tatar vanguard all over Lower Austria, just as in 1529. On its way to Vienna the Ottoman army captured Hainburg (47 km / 29 m from Vienna), burnt it down and, in accordance with traditional Ottoman custom, the Grand Vizier distributed among the soldiers of his army lavish awards and gifts of honour for the heads of killed denizens of the conquered city (Bremm 2021:257). Once again, thousands of the Emperor's subjects were carried off in chains into slavery. Soon an apocalyptic scene of columns of fire all around Vienna signalled that its outskirts were ablaze: the Siege began on 15 July. It lasted 61 days and ended with the Battle of Vienna on 12 September.[19] The Ottomans suffered very heavy losses during the battle, while those of the Christian relief armies were relatively light. The situation looked quite different for the defenders. More than half of the Viennese garrison and an unknown number of citizens perished, either in the course of the military actions or in consequence of the dysentery raging in the beleaguered city. The Siege meant enormous hardships for the defenders that could be overcome only with the utmost exertion of their powers. Their situation seemed hopeless until the very end; Vienna could fall at any moment. Relief arrived as if by miracle, at the very last minute. The Siege showed clearly that the defenders were ready to risk their lives rather than succumb to the enemy.[20] They knew perfectly well what awaited them in case of defeat. Occupied Hungary was quite close to Vienna; the distance between the two capitals is about 240 km (150 m).

[18] It may serve as a minor though excellent example for the extent to which the finances of states and cities were exploited by the defence against the Ottomans that the northern spire of St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna was never completed because all available funds had to be diverted to the completion of the city's defence system against the Ottomans under Ferdinand I after the Battle of Mohács (1526; Böker 2007:131, 318).

[19] For a map of the battle, see Bremm 2021:270.

[20] For the details of the battle, see Bremm 2021:247–274.

Therefore, they must have possessed ample reliable information about what defeat and Ottoman rule would have meant for them. We are in the year 1683 and the Battle of Mohács, when Hungary fell, took place in 1526. One cannot say that it was wholly unfounded fear of the unknown on the part of the Viennese. If they had had positive information about life under Ottoman rule there can be no doubt that they would not have preferred to die rather than submit to it. The victory of 1683 has been called a watershed, the threshold of an epoch in European history. Its renown reverberated all across the Christian world (Bremm 2021:273–274). On the other hand, it sounded the alarm bell for the Ottoman Empire.[21] This victory heralded the dawn of a new epoch; it was a turning point in the history of the Empire, the moment from when its decline became evident, first in warfare, then in other fields too.

This event has been regarded ever since as a cornerstone of Austrian and German history, an event which has played a decisive role in shaping collective memory and imagination in both countries. Saint Florian, who suffered martyrdom in 304 in the river Enns, a southern tributary of the Danube in Austria, was often invoked for protection from aggressors, such as the marauding Hungarians in the tenth century, in addition to being the popular patron saint of firefighters, especially in the Baroque period, as the widely current supplication goes: *"Heiliger Sankt Florian, verschon' mein Haus, zünd' andre an!"* [Saint Florian! Spare my house; set others on fire!].[22] His monastery nearby, where he had originally been buried before being translated to Rome and subsequently to Krakow, was an important place of pilgrimage in Upper Austria. In 1512, when Ottoman pressure in the Balkans was becoming unbearable, Emperor Maximilian I sought protection with the relics of the monastery. Shortly after the victorious Siege of Vienna, in 1684 Emperor Leopold I embarked on a pilgrimage, together with his family, to thank the saint for his assistance in the miraculous deliverance of both Vienna and Christianity. On this occasion it was decided to rebuild the complex, considerably enlarging it in sumptuous Baroque style, as a memorial to the victory over the Ottomans. Indeed, the monastery devoted the majority of its not inconsiderable income to this project for more than fifty (!) years. It was decorated with frescoes conjuring up the victorious Siege of 1683, rendering it a *lieu de mémoire,* a "memorial site" of symbolic importance, a crystallization point of collective memory and identity (Pierre Nora). Memory is "past in the present", producing identity and continuity by helping us to perceive the present, giving it meaning and assigning it its proper place between past and future. A "memorial site" is a place in which the collective memory of a nation is embodied in condensed and crystallized form. Cultural memory is directed to fixed points in

[21] On the details, see Bremm 2021:247–274.

[22] *Lexikon* 2015:VI, 250–254; Bálint 1977:I, 351–356. The attitude expressed in this popular supplication is called "St Florian's Principle" in German-speaking lands.

the past, which are distilled into symbolic figures to which memory adheres.[23] One remarkable and highly unusual item conjuring up the victorious Siege, as well as other victories gained over the Ottomans, is the magnificent, richly carved, gilded and painted bed of the great military commander Eugene of Savoy, decorated with the picturesque, colourful figures of two captured Turks in vanquished postures as bed posts, in addition to martial trophies of the prince (Williams 2014:31). It is also significant that St Florian Monastery appears in the section "Sworn Enemy" (*Erbfeind*) in the pioneering three-volume publication on German memorial sites (Lepetit 2001/2009). However, such an attitude may change with the passage of time, as indeed happened in Hungary. With the brutal memory of the 150-year long Ottoman occupation fading away, the attitude of the Hungarian public towards the Ottoman Empire underwent a complete reversal in the nineteenth century when the leaders of the revolution and war of independence of 1848–1849 against the House of Habsburg found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Later on, in connection with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, university students staged political demonstrations in Budapest in support of the Ottoman Empire, and their delegation travelled to Istanbul to present to Abdülkerim Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army, a ceremonial sword which was procured by public subscription for this occasion. These actions ran counter to the official policy of the Monarchy, which supported Russia in the conflict. In appreciation of these gestures, Sultan Abdülhamid II returned to Hungary thirty-five illuminated medieval manuscripts which the victorious Ottoman army of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent had seized and taken to Istanbul as booty after the conquest of Buda, the Hungarian capital, in 1541. These events garnered great publicity and enormous public support (Ormos 2009:535). The situation in Austria was different. For political reasons, the feverish atmosphere of 1683 was revived around 1860–1890 (Lepetit 2001/2009). In 1894 the so-called "Turkish Monument" (*Türkendenkmal*) also known as "The Monument of the Liberation from the Turks" (*Türkenbefreiungsdenkmal*) was erected in the transept of St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna to commemorate the two-hundred-year anniversary of the deliverance from the impending catastrophe of a Turkish victory in 1683. It was destroyed in World War II; some of its figures were re-erected in the aftermath of the war. It is a remarkable phenomenon, though, that the memory of the Turkish menace of 1683 should be so vivid, despite the fact that in the meantime the figure of "the fearsome Turk", with a reputation for merciless savagery, had been transmuted into the benevolent exotic "Other" from the enchanted Orient of The

[23] François–Schulze 2001/2009. Pierre Nora's term *lieux de mémoire* is actually a metaphor originating from the *loci memoriae* of Roman mnemotechnics. François–Schulze 2001/2009:17–18.

Thousand and One Nights. This was the titillating world of *turquerie,* a world of unbridled sensuality, the "refinements of an indolent voluptuousness".[24]

About a week before the Siege of Vienna, Emperor Leopold I fled headlong, with his family and the imperial court, to Passau on the Danube; his departure filled the Viennese with despair because it signalled the hopelessness of the situation. Once in Passau, he and the empress would climb the hill to the monastery of the Capuchins every day, as a pilgrimage, to pray for deliverance to the miracle-working image of the Holy Virgin known as *"Maria Hilf [=Maria, hilf!]"*. As the Christian armies defeated the Ottomans in 1683 only by a hair's breadth, victory was generally attributed to the intercession of the Holy Virgin, in particular to her miracle-working image at Passau. It came to be worshipped as "the miracle-working state image of the House of Habsburg" (*habsburgisches Staats-Gnadenbild*), which acquired a central role in shaping the identity of Catholics in Central and South-East Europe, especially in German-speaking communities ("*Donauschwaben*"). It was the image *par excellence* to which subsequent generations would turn in times of greatest peril (Metz 2014; cf. Török 2014). The Roman Catholic Church exalted the Christian victory of 1683 at Vienna when Pope Innocent XI elevated "The Feast of the Most Holy Name of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (*Festum Nominis Beatae Mariae Virginis*) to universal validity by including it in the General Roman Liturgical Calendar in 1684. Earlier it had been a local festival of minor significance in Spain (Schott 1966:1034–1036). During the Siege, *"Maria, hilf!"* was chosen as the battle cry of the Christian armies. (It was subsequently modified to *"Jesus und Maria, hilf!"* as a mark of respect for Protestants.) Thus the "Feast of the Most Holy Name of the Blessed Virgin Mary" on 12 September became popular among Roman Catholics in Central Europe. Many girls are baptized in its honour and this name-day is still commemorated on 12 September as a memorial to the Siege of Vienna of 1683, especially in areas with German-speaking populations and their descendants.[25] The position of this feast in the liturgical calendar is somewhat peculiar, coming as it does four days after one of the two greatest feasts of the Virgin, the feast of her birth, on 8 September.[26]

A remarkable case demonstrating the role that the victories of 1529 and 1683 played in the life and minds of the denizens of Vienna is connected to the finials installed on the spire of St Stephen's Cathedral. The earlier finial was heavily damaged by lightning in 1514 and was replaced by a new one before 1519; this was a mighty gilt brass knob topped by a gilt eight-pointed brass star facing a brass

[24] Williams 2014; Bremm 2021:354–362. The expression in quotation marks occurs in a letter by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Alexander Pope dated 1 September 1717, which the modern editor of her letters considered spurious and omitted. Wortley Montagu, *Additional Volume,* 28. Cf. Wortley Montagu, *Complete Letters,* I, xviii, 371.

[25] Such as the family of the present author. On the subject, see Bálint 1977:II, 272–273; Parsch 1938:III, 612–613.

[26] Bálint 1977:II, 263–270; Parsch 1938:III, 603–608; Schott 1966:1029–1032.

crescent, which revolved around the star with the wind. It was called *Mond* ("moon") or *Mondschein* ("moonlight") in popular parlance. It is claimed that the glittering knob was the symbol of the sun, while the star and crescent represented its satellites. Thus, the whole complex could be seen as a symbol of the universe, although it is also maintained that it referred to the alternation of day and night. After the First Siege of Vienna in 1529 the finial came to be perceived as an Ottoman symbol and the citizens of the capital petitioned the Emperor to have it replaced. It was in the aftermath of the victory over the Ottomans in the Second Siege of Vienna of 1683 that it was taken down on 15 June 1686, after the recapture of Buda, and the following inscription was etched into the crescent: *Haec Solymanne Memoria tua A^o^ 1529* ("This is, O Süleyman, your remembrance of the year 1529").[27] A hand with an obscene gesture (the "fig sign", in other words a symbol of the female genitalia) was also added to the etching, and the orientation of the finial was significantly modified. Originally the centre of both star and crescent had been on the same axis, with the crescent revolving around the star; in its new position the crescent was located at the bottom topped by the star above, thus displaying the defeat of Islam. This new version was never returned to the spire, though; it was replaced by a cross and subsequently by a new and different cross, which bore the inscription *"Luna deposita et Crux exaltata"* among others. It is indicative of its role in popular memory, however, that in 1997 it should have been chosen to appear on the back cover of the official catalogue of the exhibition commemorating the 850th anniversary of the foundation of St Stephen's Cathedral.[28]

Western fears of Ottoman expansion were not unfounded. Since the seizure of Constantinople, the classical area of Ottoman expansion was Europe (Lewis 1961:25). The fall of Constantinople caused real terror all over Latin Christianity at the time.[29] Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481) aimed to re-create the Roman Empire; Sultan Süleyman saw himself as the new Alexander, the single and only ruler of the whole world, where he would carry the sword and faith of Islam among the infidels. On a symbolic level this was clearly demonstrated by his crown, made in Venice, which resembled the papal tiara topped by the crown of Charles V

[27] The interpretation of this Latin sentence is ambiguous. In the present writer's view *haec* (referring to *luna* or *res*) is the subject and *memoria* is the predicate in this sentence, meaning that it is the crescent moon's deposition as displayed in the finial or the object itself that is remembered about Süleyman['s deed] in the year 1529. Cf. Hornby 2005:957 (*memory,* 5). Another possibility is that *haec* is a reference to the obscene gesture meaning that it is this gesture (*ficus* or perhaps *res,* or else *signum,* or *gestus,* in these latter cases concord is by *attraction*) that is remembered about Süleyman['s deed] in the year 1529. German *Feige* ("fig") possesses this meaning: *seit dem Mittelalter war, aus Italien her, eine trotzige, höhnende gebärde (als imago vulvae) bekannt.* Grimm, *Wörterbuch,* III, col. 1444.

[28] Kassal-Mikula–Pohanka 1997:188–189, 230–233; Seipel 2003:413–414. On obscene anti-Islamic imagery in and on medieval churches, see Lange 2004.

[29] Bremm 2021:8–9, 84. On the "world empire of terror", see Bremm 2021:19.

(Ágoston 2021:79–81; Bremm 2021:50, 90–92). In the decades around 1560 the Ottoman military was the strongest army in the world, and the Empire aimed at achieving world supremacy, although Christian victories in Malta (1565) and especially at Lepanto (1571) signalled the end of Ottoman invincibility at sea. At Lepanto the Christian fleet under its commander, the strikingly handsome twenty-four-year-old Don Juan de Austria, illegitimate son of Charles V and half-brother of Philip II, annihilated the Ottoman fleet (Bremm 2021:123–136, 145–182). It was at the Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) that the Sultan for the first time officially acknowledged the Habsburg emperor as his equal, as we have seen above. These were clear signs of decline. The Ottomans' arrival at the gates of Vienna marked the greatest territorial expansion of the Empire. Vienna was not only an important city in Western Europe, which would guarantee Ottoman sovereignty in Hungary among other places; the Ottoman ruler also strove to wrest the "Golden Apple of Vienna" from the Habsburgs also because it possessed great symbolic value. The fall of Vienna would be followed by the conquest of Germany and then the fall of Rome.[30] It was the key fortress on the way to world power and the resurrection of the Roman Empire under Ottoman aegis.

It was a long way from Vienna to Pertevniyal's mosque in Aksaray. However, it was at Vienna that all began.

Excursus

In recent times a new approach to the relationship between Christian Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire in the era of the Renaissance has been introduced into scholarly discussion. It aims at replacing the traditional concept of antagonistic opposition with a new approach, one that perceives "the Ottoman Empire as an integral element of the geo-political and cultural continuum within which the Renaissance evolved" as a result of "the development of a co-extensive cultural and intellectual context" (Contadini–Norton 2013b:xv; Norton 2013:6–7). Under the title "The Renaissance and the Ottoman World" a collection of articles was published in 2013 in support of the contention that, along with Western Europe, the Ottoman Empire was an active participant in the unfolding of the Renaissance (Contadini–Norton 2013a). In this volume the reader will find a most welcome list of a vast array of carpets, manuscript- and book-bindings and other objects decorated with Ottoman

[30] Bremm 2021:57, 173, 257–258. The symbol of the "Red/Golden Apple" is of Byzantine provenance and originally denoted the metal ball in the hand of Emperor Justinian's statue in front of the Church of Hagia Sophia, the lucky charm of the Byzantine Empire. For the Ottomans it always referred to the actual great and important Christian metropolis which they were aspiring to conquer, whose possession meant honour, prestige and fame; it came to symbolize world domination. They called Constantinople, Rome, Cologne and Vienna the "Red/Golden Apple". Cf. Fodor 1999:120–131; Ágoston 2021:79.

and Middle Eastern patterns and designs. It is convincingly shown that certain workshops on both sides of the Mediterranean were aware of the activities on the other side of the sea, even on occasion borrowing patterns and designs from each other. Middle Eastern carpets and fabrics were also highly appreciated and eagerly sought in Western Europe. However, this is not enough to prove the claims voiced above: the Renaissance was about much more than carpets, book-bindings and decorative patterns. And we do not even know what these objects meant to their owners, how they perceived them, whether they were even aware that the carpets or designs displayed in Western European homes were of Middle Eastern origin. Anna Contadini has to acknowledge: "But no evidence has come to light that might indicate that the aesthetic appreciation of Middle Eastern artefacts was conceptualised in ways connected with the world of ideas and scholarship, or that the Renaissance scholar perceived the desk rug and the astrolabe that adorned his studio as products of a culture the alterity of which demanded intellectual attention" (Contadini 2013:27). When a Western European carpet weaver borrowed an Ottoman pattern or design, he might have done so in appreciation and admiration of Ottoman handicraft, trying to emulate it in a spirit of cordial, noble competition. However, this was not necessarily the case. Daniel of Morley (*fl*. 1170–1190) declared in connection with the learning of the Arabs: *Mutuemur ergo Domino iubente et auxiliante a philosophis gentium sapientiam et eloquentiam, et sic eos in infidelitate sua spoliemus, ut eorum spoliis fideliter ditemur*. "Therefore, by God's command and with His help, let us borrow wisdom and eloquence from the philosophers of the pagans and in this way rob them in their unbelief so that, as true believers, we can enrich ourselves with the spoils."[31] This attitude may well have characterized some carpet weavers, too, and on both shores of the sea.

It is claimed that "the ex-patriot [*recte:* expatriate] communities of Italian merchant-bankers resident in Ottoman lands helped *integrate the Ottoman state into a wider network of Western European humanist scholarship"* (Norton 2013:6) and that "rulers in the East and West … read the same books" (Norton 2013:4; 20). These claims remain unproven. (On the misleading use of the word "book" see below.) It brings before the reader's eye a vision of eager Muslims avidly devouring printed copies of Boccaccio's *Decameron* in Ottoman provincial towns. As a matter of fact, we do not know of contemporary Western books or works being translated into Ottoman Turkish and circulating in the Ottoman Empire. In the same vein, we are not aware of Ottoman works or books being translated into Italian and French and acquiring great popularity in the West in this period. The existence of trade and political connections between Venice and Istanbul, Amalfi and Istanbul, even France and the Ottoman Empire, is well known. But these are not enough to create a *co-extensive cultural area*. The two sides were aware of the existence of each other.

[31] Richter-Bernburg 2011:280 (translation mine – I.O.). I am indebted to Lutz Richter-Bernburg for drawing my attention to this source.

However, they represented different cultures which had little interconnection. It has also been claimed recently that the period of the late Renaissance (approximately the middle of the fifteenth century through the first two decades or so of the seventeenth, also known as the long sixteenth century or the early modern period) was characterized by a feverish sexual activity both in Western Europe (Italy, especially Venice and Florence; England, especially London) and in the Ottoman Empire, accompanied by a corresponding literary output, and that the reason behind this phenomenon was a similar or even identical historico-social setup, the only difference being that in Western Europe this meant overwhelmingly heterosexual activity, while in the Ottoman Empire it was a predominantly homosexual affair between men and younger men: loving a woman was considered a deviance, even perversity (Andrews–Kalpaklı 2005:18–22, 38–58, 326 and *passim*). A contemporary admirer remarked of the poet ʿAzizi (d. 1585), for instance: "He was a lover of women, but then only God is without fault" (Andrews–Kalpaklı 2005:44. Sadly, no explanation is offered for this odd difference between the two cultures.) This is a highly intriguing thesis presented in a similarly intriguing book representing a claim that the Renaissance was a shared project of Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire – or else that there was a "zone of convergence" between the two –, yet it seems rather vague in its present form, and it is certainly in need of further detailed examination. The authors themselves acknowledge the existence of "the abyss of … faith and culture that separated" the two worlds and also state that "the Ottomans were the enemies of the Europeans for many years and their religion (Islam) was perceived by Europeans as inimical to Christianity" (pp. 5, 11). The author of the present lines wonders whether the two aforementioned Ottomanists should be counted *mutatis mutandis* among "the many influential 'Turks' who want to see themselves as participants in the modernizing project of the West" and as such "have a stake in the project" (p. 11).[32] Eventual further extensions towards Mughal India, China and Japan should also be carefully examined before their thesis can be accepted as a proven fact. On the other hand, if we expand our "co-extensive cultural sphere" to include China, Japan and Mughal India, and start speaking of a "co-extensive cultural sphere" with these extensions, which could be defended to a certain extent too (cf. the case of Chinese porcelain or the Manila galleon route, for instance), then with the loss of reasonable differentiation and gradation our discussion and argumentation will be so general and vague as to result in a loss of relevance. After all, we can also claim that the whole earth is a "co-extensive cultural sphere" with man as its central phenomenon, yet such a generalization and expansion of interpretation cannot possibly serve any reasonable purpose.

In the present volume (Contadini–Norton 2013a) we often encounter the figure of Sultan Mehmed II but little else in this context and it is not proven how far his interest in classical philosophy extended. Some statements are made in this regard,

[32] Quotations slightly adapted.

but their reliability is open to doubt.[33] And even if they were true and Mehmed II was indeed a great expert on classical philosophy, as is sometimes claimed, he would have remained an isolated figure and his attitude would have had little relevance for the great majority of his subjects. The fact that the ruler's library contained manuscripts on classical philosophy, even in great numbers, does not prove that he actually read them, and what is even less certain is that great numbers of his subjects were familiar with them. The level of familiarity with classical philosophy – even among experts – in the Ottoman Empire, is aptly illustrated by the explanation of the outstanding polymath Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa (1609–1657) that Aristotle's *Organon* was a device the great philosopher used to make music with to accompany his teaching activities while walking around with his students in accordance with the peripatetic method.[34] Mehmed II's cooperation with Gentile Bellini was a remarkable and important phenomenon, yet it remained confined to a very narrow circle around the ruler; it did not represent a widespread interest among Ottoman subjects in Bellini's activities or Italian Renaissance painting in general. There were indeed contacts between Western Europeans and Ottomans, notwithstanding the mainly inimical relationship between the two parties, but the *proportions* are important and must be kept in mind: in the period in question their relationship was characterized by a largely antagonistic opposition. The situation was not much different at the time of the Crusades: there did in fact exist contacts of varying intensity between the two sides, but one could hardly point to "the development of a co-extensive cultural and intellectual context" (Norton 2013:6–7) in Crusader times, even if Christians and Muslims seemed to get on quite well in the tranquil periods between wars, as witnessed by the Muslim traveller Ibn Ǧubayr (1145–1217), for instance. If we disregard the obligatory curses of the Muslim author against unbelievers, the coexistence of Christians and Muslims he describes in Syria, Palestine and Sicily seems to be fair and fruitful for both sides. In one case he even mentions that Muslims are much better off under their Christian lords in the coastal area of Syria (*Sāḥil aš-Šām*) than their brethren under their Muslim lords in the Islamic territories (Ibn Ǧubayr, *Riḥla* 302).

The contributors to this volume (Contadini–Norton 2013a) fell prey to delusion. We live in a globalized shrunken world which indeed presents "a co-extensive

[33] The present author is reminded here of his grandfather, a doctor at a provincial hospital with wide general interests. At some point he met the keeper of manuscripts at the Hungarian National Library. She invited him and his wife to the National Library and showed them one or two illuminated manuscripts from the collection of King Matthias of Hungary (d. 1490). My grandfather was very proud of this and mentioned it to his colleagues more than once. Today he is remembered at his hospital as an authority of international renown on medieval manuscripts.

[34] Akasoy 2013:245. As is well known, *Organon* (Gr. "tool, device") is the title posterity gave to Aristotle's works on logic. Our author apparently mixed it up with the musical instrument "organ".

cultural and intellectual context" (Norton 2013:6–7). These scholars grew up and were socialized in it; for them it represents the natural state of affairs. Now they involuntarily project it into the past, into the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, unaware that even a few decades ago the world used to be a bigger place. I can remember that in my childhood the Middle East meant mythical, distant lands somewhere beyond the legendary seas.

I wonder if the inhabitants of Vienna would not have regarded it as faintly insulting to see the Siege of 1683 (in which they took up arms preferring death to submission to the Ottomans) referred to as a "time of tension and the realities of military engagement" (Contadini 2013:28).[35] And would the artisans, cruelly and forcefully deported from Shiraz and Cairo to Istanbul in 1473 and 1517 respectively, have felt that "removal" or "transfer" was an adequate description of their plight (Ohta 2013:228)?

In the article "The Role of the Book in the Transfer of Culture between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean" the reader would expect, in accordance with the thesis of the volume, an account of the bilateral transfer of culture in the Renaissance between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean by means of the printed word: books printed in Venice and read in the Ottoman Empire, and books printed in the Ottoman Empire and read in Venice. However, we get nothing of the kind. "Books" in this context is taken to refer mainly to *manuscript codices* (also a few printed books towards the end), and the transfer operates strictly in one direction, and certainly not in the way one would expect at first sight.[36] In fact, the article deals with travel accounts, descriptions etc. about the Eastern Mediterranean written by Venetian travellers etc. for Venetians and Italians in general and read by them in Italy. It is no mean achievement, furthermore, that the author (Deborah Howard) manages to write an article of eleven pages with *this* title in *this* volume without mentioning the fact that there were no books printed for Muslims by Muslims in the Ottoman Empire in the period under discussion because printing by Muslims for Muslims was forbidden, although the technique and the know-how were at hand: soon after Gutenberg (c. 1450), as early as in 1493, the first Hebrew press was founded in Istanbul, while in 1567 the Armenians and in 1627 the Greeks followed suit. The first press operated by Muslims for Muslims was established by the Hungarian renegade Ibrahim Müteferrika, and that was not until 1727. (He was not allowed to produce religious books.) His press printed seventeen titles until it was shut down in 1742, after fifteen years of operation. Regular printing did not commence in Istanbul before 1756. These data alone plainly contradict the basic claim of the whole volume. The case of

[35] The existence of which, it must be admitted, the modern author does not want to deny.

[36] In its generally accepted first meaning the word "book" refers to a *printed* book. It is also used in the above meaning, yet the title is misleading in its present form; nobody will think of manuscript codices when first seeing this title. Its occurrence here is definitely bizarre: the reader realizes fairly soon that the title in this form is nothing less than a dazzling *refutation* of what the whole volume actually claims. Cf. Hornby 2005:165.

printing shows clearly the great cultural difference between Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire in the period in question: printing was present and available in Istanbul for nearly three centuries without its significance being recognized. All told, the volume in question fails to convince the unbiased reader.

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LAPIS LAZULI BETWEEN LEONTIUS MECHANICUS AND AL-BĪRŪNĪ

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Abstract:
While the vividly blue semiprecious stone from Badaḫšān (in modern Afghanistan) had ever since the Neolithic been a much sought-after commodity throughout the Near and Middle East, it has only since c. 600 CE been known under its present name. In this study, the history of the lexeme at the root of modern 'lazuli' will be traced from its earliest Greek attestations through Arabic and Persian to c. 1050 CE.

Keywords: Abū Hiffān, Andreas Caesariensis, *Cyranides*, Dioscurides, al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad, Īšōʿ bar ʿAlī, al-Layṯ b. al-Muẓaffar, *lāzaward*, MS Aya Sofya 3704, MS Leiden Col. or. 289, MS Paris Arabe 2849, Vrtʿanēs Kʿertʿoł.

Ever since the Neolithic, lapis lazuli, the strikingly blue opaque semi-precious stone, has been mined in, and traded far and wide from, the mountains of Badaḫšān in present-day Afghanistan.[1] Archaeological evidence—of objects preserved—possibly predates the earliest written attestations by a good two thousand years,[2] but that differential pales when compared to the millennia separating ancient written testimony from the first textual witness of the—native?—name the stone has been

[1] See, e. g., Lo Giudice *et al.* 2017; Delmas and Casanova 1990 [chemical analysis of archaeological samples from Shahr-i Sokhta appears to suggest lapis lazuli quarries in the Pamirs and the Chaghai hills in Pakistan in addition to those in Badaḫšān]; Herrmann 1968, esp.22–29.

[2] The few—and very eclectic!—references given here, first to the archaeological, then to the written evidence will, it is hoped, lend sufficient support to the above chronological sketch: Massa & Palmisano 2018, esp. 76f; Zöldföldi 2011; *eadem et al*. 2012; Casanova 2001, esp. 150–153; Rothman & Peasnall 1999, esp. 106, 110f; Winter 1999; Tosi & Vidale 1990; Lechevallier, Meadow, Quivron 1982, esp. 99f, 102f, 105; Herrmann 1968, esp. 29–37; de la Vaissière & Ward 2005, esp. 18–21. For written testimony which may not refer to the rock itself, but to other natural or man-made materials of comparable color, see the *electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*, s. v. *zagin* (earliest attestations as of 2900 BCE); DCCLT, s. v. *uqnû*; Thavapalan 2020, 310–325 (and 508b [index], *s. v*. Lapis lazuli); Puhvel 1997, 308–311, s. v. *ku(wa)nna(n)-*; Watson 2018, esp. 318, 2.4c; Harrell, Hoffmeier, Williams 2017, esp. 18ff; Basello 2012, esp. 31–36, 38–41, *XVIII-XX* (figs. 33–35).

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known by for the last 1500 years. Here, focus will be on the early history of the lexeme behind *lazuli* in Arabic—with side glances at testimony from other languages of Western Asia and Europe.[3]

To the best of my knowledge, Leontius Mechanicus is the earliest approximately datable source of 'lazuli' in any language;[4] by introducing it as 'the so-called' (τῷ καλουμένῳ λαζουρίῳ), Leontius at the same time suggests its relative novelty.[5] The context, directions for the manufacture of a celestial globe, also clarifies the meaning of the term; reference is to the deep blue pigment, not to the rock from which the pigment was prepared. The same usage will be seen in the witnesses here presently to be called in. As regards the dating of Leontius, Fabio Guidetti in his recent edition and study, which is here relied upon, situated him in Alexandria at a time when its scholarly and 'academic' life still flourished, thus advancing the conventional dating into the seventh century by some decades to the middle of the preceding, sixth century. Even if, for whatever reasons, Guidetti's argument were not accepted, the next witness to λαζούριον in chronological sequence, Andreas of Caesarea, still firmly anchors its introduction into the Greek world in the late antique, pre-Islamic period.[6] Andreas also appears to confirm, if only second hand, on the basis of hearsay, the identification of classical σάπφειρος as lapis lazuli with his comment 'from which they say lazuli originates' (ἐξ οὗ φασι καὶ τὸ λαζούριον γίνεσθαι), obviously, like Leontius, referring to the 'ultramarine' pigment prepared from it. Now the date of Andreas's writing is not quite certain either, but Eugenia Constantinou persuasively argues for 611, during the interval between Caesarea's

[3] The fluid classical Greek nomenclature of lapis lazuli, oscillating between κυανός (vel sim.) and σάπφειρος, will not as such be discussed here. For a chronologically broader presentation of the Arabic evidence see Ullmann 1973[–1983], 35–38, s. vv. *lāzaward, lāzawardī, lāzawardiyya*.

[4] Barring confirmation by new, indisputable testimony, λαζουρό- in the transmission of—purportedly—John Chrysostom's (344/7–407) commentary on Psalm 103 will not be taken into account here; regardless of how it might possibly be emended, the passage concerned emphasizes an auditory, not a visual sensation, notwithstanding the verb employed (ἰδεῖν). 'Some people', he claims, took verse 12b, ἐκ μέσου τῶν πετρῶν δώσουσι φωνήν ([By them shall the birds of the sky lodge:] they shall utter a voice out of the midst of the rocks) to refer to water, not to birds: Τινὲς μὲν τὰ ὕδατά φασι· καὶ γὰρ πάνυ τερπνὸν καὶ λαζουρὸν τὰς χειμάρρους ἰδεῖν καὶ ἠρέμα ὕδωρ ψοφοῦν καὶ ταῖς ψηφίσιν ἐγκροῦον· (…for it is quite pleasant and †λαζουρὸν to see the brooks and [note] water softly murmuring and pushing pebbles around); see Malingrey 1987, esp. 355:39f (cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, [*Commentary on Psalms*], esp. *Praefatio*, p. XIIf).

[5] Leontius, ed. Guidetti, esp. 114f (text and trl.), 214–217 (comm.), 68–72 (introd.); cf. ed. Maass, esp. 565:10ff. On the trade and import of this exotic commodity see Lazzarini 2003, esp. 173ff.

[6] Andreas Caesariensis, *In … Apocalypsin*, I 244, pt. 23, ch. 67, ad 21,19c; see Constantinou 2008, esp. II 223.

first capture by the Persians in 609/610 and its conflagration in 612.[7] Unfortunately, other than Leontius and Andreas, there is a dearth of even plausibly datable attestations of 'lazuli' in pre-seventh century writings. In some manuscripts of the notoriously 'open', thus difficult to date *Cyranides*, the term χρυσοσάπφειρος is understood to be more precise than simple σάπφειρος, 'gold' taken to indicate the characteristic pyritic veins in it (Σάπφειρος λίθος, ἢ κυάνεος· […] ἔχων καὶ φλεβία χρυσᾶ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρυσοσάπφειρος παρά τισιν ὀνομάζεται· ἀφ' οὗ ποιοῦσιν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὸ λαζοῦριν τὸ ἄριστον, ὃ καλοῦσιν φυσικόν).[8] The anonymous writer's attribution of this coinage to 'some', as he seems to suggest, contemporaries of his would put him into chronological proximity to the only other ancient author to use χρυσοσάπφειρος, Alexander of Tralleis (*floruit* c. 565),[9] thus offering a welcome addition to the late antique corpus. On the other hand, neither does the vulgarism λαζοῦριν permit of precise dating, nor the adjective ὑπολαζούριον (*sc*. στρουθίον, vel sim.),[10] in which the 'naturalization' of λαζουρ- as a color term suggests a 'late' date—but the question remains of the point of reference of 'late'.

Further, the wording of *Cyranides* already implies semantic generalization of λαζοῦριν (vel sim.) to include pigments prepared from other materials than lapis lazuli. Such blanket usage, apart from actual color resemblance, may have facilitated the confusion between lapis lazuli and azurite (from λίθος Ἀρμένιος, 'Armenian stone') as it later frequently occurred among Arabic authors (see below). Well before the first written testimony to 'lazuli', Armenian azurite had been in medicinal and artistic use;[11] by the time of the physician and medical author Aetius of Amida (no later than mid-sixth century),[12] painters' demand for it is reflected in his standing phrase Ἀρμένιον, ᾧ οἱ ζωγράφοι χρῶνται (or even more succinctly, Ἀρμένιον τὸ τῶν ζωγράφων—vel sim.).[13] In Armenia itself, however, the earliest record of a noteworthy blue pigment only dates to the mid to late 7th century (if it does indeed), and the substance in question is 'lazuli' (*lažowrd*: լաժուրդ); apparently by the time of writing it figured as a matter of course on a painter's palette. The witness, Pseudo-

[7] Constantinou 2011, 16, summarizing the detailed exposition in *eadem* 2008, I 4–10.

[8] *Cyranides* I 18, ed. Kaimakis, 85:8–11; cf. Panayiotou 1990, esp. 321f, *s. v*. λαζοῦριν (ignore his remarks on the derivation of the Greek word from Arabic; see below!). In the Arabic translation the apparently incomprehensible σάπφειρος is simply transcribed (*ṣ'frṣ*), while its alternative name (ἢ κυάνεος) is rendered as an adjectival phrase: *samāwī ṣāfī l-lawn* ('cerulean' as an Arabic approximation of κυαν- will be encountered again). In *Cyranides* I 5, 'golden veins' identify κυανός as lapis lazuli (Εὔανθος λίθος […] ἢ ὡς κυανὸς ἔχων χρυσὰς ἴνας).

[9] See Nutton 1996.

[10] *Cyranides* III 2, ed. Kaimakis 192:2; variants in app. *ad locum*: ὑπολαζουρίζον, ὑπολάζουρον.

[11] See, e. g., Dioscurides V 90; Galen, *SM*, Kühn XII 211:6; Rogić *et al*. 2011:269–289.

[12] See Jones & Martindale 1980: 20, *s. l.* Aetius (of Amida) 5.

[13] Aëtius I, Pr:107, II, P:52, 47:1, 13, 20, III, P:35, 32:1, VII, 40:26, 80:26, 114:82, VIII, 1:10 (and elsewhere, without reference to painters).

Vrtʿanēs Kʿertʿoł,[14] deserves all the more credit since in his argument against 'iconomachs', he illustrates his point with reference to a variety of painting materials, without highlighting lapis lazuli: 'milk, eggs, arsenic, lapis lazuli, verdigris, cinnabar and similar substances'.[15]

Above the bold guess was submitted that the first Greek witnesses of 'lazuli' were altogether the very earliest attestations of the word. Given the obvious derivation of the Greek forms from an Iranian lexeme at the origin of the Neopersian *lāžvard* (vel sim.), the question of its origin and diffusion cannot be avoided.[16] The mines of Badaḫšān are located in or at least close to, what in late antiquity and early Islam was the linguistic domain of East Middle Iranian Sogdian.[17] Thus at first sight, it would stand to reason to search for a Sogdian cognate of *lāžvard*. The evidence, however, is, at the most positive reading, inconclusive. In Sogdian, the phonetically ambiguous Sanskrit name of the elephant king in the *Vessantara Jātaka*, Rājyavardhana, appears 're-etymologized', to quote Pavel B. Lur'e, as *r'čβrt, r'zβwrt*, plausibly on the basis of the word for lapis lazuli, as Emile Benveniste suggested.[18] Nicholas Sims-Williams views the plurality of Sogdian forms as indicating a non-Sogdian loan, most likely from a dialect in Badaḫšān. The apparently sudden appearance in Greek of the East Iranian name of lapis lazuli across thousands of miles in the sixth and seventh centuries may best be related to the sufficiently well-documented farflung Sogdian trade of the period. It took oral communication to pass on the name of the merchandise sold, and since in Middle Persian lapis lazuli was still designated by the Old Persian term, Sogdian traders are prime candidates for having been involved. While they themselves may not have crossed the borders of the Roman Empire, they or some fellow traders did not only sell lapis lazuli to Armenians but communicated its 'native' name to them as well. However, an examination of the precise relation between the Armenian *lažowrd* and the Greek λαζουρ- cannot here be undertaken.

In view of the lacunary transmission of Middle Iranian and limitrophe languages, it may not be cause of concern[19] that after the earliest attestation of 'lazuli' in Greek more than two centuries elapsed before *lāzaward* appeared in Arabic. While it is in the nature of things that its first occurrence cannot be dated to a precise year, it is

[14] Traditionally the epistle against iconoclasts was attributed to Vrtʿanēs (fl. 604–07) but has repeatedly been athetized and dated considerably later; see Jurczyk 2018, esp. 100ff., 135, 138, 152.

[15] The translation is adapted from Jurczyk 2018 and Samuel 1912, esp. 292; Daniel Kölligan's armenologist forthcomingness is gratefully acknowledged.

[16] See Bailey 1955, esp. 21ff.

[17] For a convenient summary see Plahter 2010, esp. 68f, 72.

[18] *Vessantara Jātaka*, ed. Benveniste, 91, annotation to line 68; Bailey 1955, esp. 21ff; Mayrhofer 1986–2001, III 427, s. v. *rājāvarta*; Lurje [Lur'e] 2010, 328, s. v. *r'z-bwrt*; *idem* 2020, paras. 20, 111.

[19] As Nicholas Sims-Williams assures me (personal communication, May 2022).

possible to delimit quite narrowly the space of time of its import into the material as well as literary culture of Islam. In the foundational Arabic dictionary, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, which was devised and begun by al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791 at the latest) and completed by his student al-Layṯ b. al-Muẓaffar (d. c. 185/800), the lemma *ʿawhaq* does not yet, in contrast to corresponding entries in later works, feature the Iranian loan *lāzaward*; instead, the proffered definition reads *lawnun ka-lawni s-samāʾi mušrabun sawādā* (a color like the color of the sky, saturated in darkness).[20] Of subsequent lexicographers, who all drew on *K. al-ʿAyn*, the earliest, if al-Azharī's (282–370/895–980) quotation be trusted, was Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muṯannā (c. 110/728 – c. 210[207–213]/825);[21] his entry: *al-ʿawhaq al-lāzawardu l-laḏī yuṣbaġu bih* (…lapis lazuli which is used as a dye) at the same time casts light on the material culture of the period: lapis lazuli served, ground up, as pigment, not as hard stone for jewelers or lapidaries.[22] A similar, at that roughly contemporaneous, witness to the use of 'lapis lazuli' in interior decoration is to be found in *Aḫbār Abī Nuwās* by Abū Hiffān (d. 258/872);[23] in the relevant passage, "the deposed one" (i. e. the caliph al-Amīn, d. 198/813) wants to show off to his boon companions and poets his sumptious new palace with decorations in white, gold and lapis lazuli.[24] A

[20] *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, eds. al-Maḫzūmī & as-Sāmarrāʾī, I 97; the problematics of—culturally predicated—color perception and nomenclature will not be discussed here. – Barring new, incontrovertible evidence to the contrary, the occurrence of *lāzaward* in the quotation, under al-Ḫalīl's name, in *Maqāyīs al-luġa* by Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) will not be accepted as genuine, but as an inadvertently 'modernizing' rephrasing (*al-ʿawhaq … wa-huwa ayḍan lawnu l-lāzaward*; ed. Hārūn, IV 171) or a secondary gloss erroneously inserted into the text itself. Other than Ibn Fāris, al-Azharī more correctly credits his corresponding quotation from *al-ʿAyn*, notably without reference to *lāzaward*, to al-Layṯ (see note 22). – A further chronological outlier among attestations of *lāzaward* will not be accepted as evidence either: a 'cloak of lazuli[-colored] silk' (*ḫirqat ḥarīr lāzaward*) is featured in a patently anachronistic report by a presumed *mawlā* of ʿUṯmān's (killed 35/655) and *via* a similarly inadmissible *isnād* related by Ibn Abī d-Dunyā (208–281/823–894), for whose own time the witness is dispensable; see Ibn Abī d-Dunyā, *Muḥāsabat an-nafs*, 129.

[21] See Weipert 2007.

[22] al-Azharī, *Tahḏīb*, I 91; *ibid*., p. 92, on authority of Ṯaʿlab (200–91/815–6 – 904), Ibn al-Aʿrābī (150–231/767–846) is quoted to the same effect (see Weipert 2016). For the present argument, the numerous later witnesses do not carry sufficient weight; cf. Ibn Durayd (223–321/837–933), *Ǧamhara* II 1174: *wa-l-ʿawhaqu ayḍan ṣibġun yuqālu innahu l-lāzaward*.

[23] *Apud* Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šuʿarāʾ*, 209; cf. Bencheikh 1980.

[24] As a color term 'lazuli' gained currency in descriptions of architectural decoration during the third/ninth century, as witness, e. g., aṭ-Ṭabarī (224–5–310/839–910), *Annales* III 2, 1332:3, *s. a*. 229/843–4 (on the authority of ʿAzzūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Anṣārī as eyewitness; reference is to teakwood painted 'lazuli' and gold in a recently erected domed hall in al-Wāṯiq's palace complex at Sāmarrā). In 246–247/860–862, al-Mutawakkil's rebuilding of the nilometer on ar-Rawḍa involved painting the background of the relief inscriptions in the shaft 'lazuli' (Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt*, III 112–115, esp. 113:9f, no. 355: Ibn ar-Raddād, Abū r-Raddād ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd as-Salām). Al-Azraqī (d. 251/865[?])

reference to a lapis lazuli jewel (*al-ḥanẓa al-lāzawardiyya*) from no later than 219/834 would seem to indicate that *lāzaward* was not exclusively known as a pigment, but also as a solid gemstone, whatever the mineralogical identity of the intended material.[25]

Admittedly al-Ḫalīl's, or al-Layṯ's, lack of positive testimony about *lāzaward* does appear unfit to base an argument on, even though they were by no means averse to including loanwords as lemmata or to introducing Persian terms as glosses when they saw fit. For supportive evidence just a very few examples may be adduced here, such as the entries *anbiğ*, the fruit of an Indian tree, and *anbiğāt*, honey-preserves of lemon, myrobalans and 'similar' fruits; *ḫawḫa, a Ḥiğāzī* term for a specific kind of opening in walls, which "the Persians call *banğaraqāt*;"[26] *kāġa/iḏ*, the unique—*ḫurāsānī*—combination of *ġayn* and *kāf* in a triliteral root.[27]

As just alluded to, arguments *e silentio* are notoriously weak, but al-Ḫalīl's or rather al-Layṯ's silence is, as it were, made even more audible, or more difficult to ignore, by the testimony of roughly contemporaneous translations from Greek, in case the above-quoted witnesses (Abū ʿUbayda and Abū Ḥiffān), and others like them, were rejected because of their 'late' attestation. Just like in poetry and in prose other than translated or derived from translations, the appearance of *lāzaward[ī]* also marks a cesura in translations from Greek.

Its textual loci were the responses to two of the challenges to Syriac and Arabic translators, the opaque terms κυάνεος (vel sim.)[28] and 'Armenian stone' (azurite:

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mentions 'the color of lazuli' along with other hues of 'marble' (*ruḫām*) in his description of the paneling of the arched gateways of the Meccan *ḥaram* (*apud* al-Fākihī, *Aḫbār Makka* [composed 272–275/885–889], II 191:1). Considering the material as well as aesthetic value of *lāzaward* (not to mention its metrically convenient syllabic structure), it cannot come as a surprise to encounter it in verse from the middle of the 3rd/9th century on; see, e. g., Ibn ar-Rūmī (223–283/837–896), *Dīwān*, II 194:1; al-Buḥturī (206–284/821–897), *Dīwān*, I 407 [last verse]; Ibn al-Muʿtazz *apud* Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, I 335. From among these pioneers' numerous followers just the—to the best of my knowledge—earliest two are to be mentioned here: al-Mufağğaʿ al-Baṣrī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUbaydallāh (d. 327/939; see Yāqūt, *Iršād* V 2336, no. 973) *apud* as-Sarī ar-Raffā' (d. 362/972–3), *al-Muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb*; aṣ-Ṣanawbarī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī (d. 334/945) *apud* al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022), *Nūr aṭ-ṭarf wa-nawr aẓ-ẓarf*.

[25] Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl *apud* Ibn Abī Šayba (d. 297/909–10) via the latter's father (156/773–237 /851 or 239/853) as transmitter; the person thus praised was Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 196/811); see Ibn Abī Šayba, *Masā'il Ibn Abī Šayba*, 116f, no. 44.

[26] See *Loġatnāme-ye Dehḫodā*, s. v. *panğare*, with witness texts; cf. Vullers 1855, 265a, s. v. *banğare*, 375a-b, s. v. *pa/inğare* (cf. Steingass 1892, *q. vv*.). In Persian, the predominant meaning appears to have been 'grilled window'.

[27] *al-ʿAyn* VI 153, s. radice *nbğ*; IV 317, s. radice *ḫwḫ*; IV 356, s. litteris *ġk*: *bāb al-ġayn wa-l-kāf wa-huwa muhmalun illā l-kāġaḏa wa-hiya ḫurāsāniyya* (on *kāġaḏ* cf. Richter-Bernburg 2022, esp. 374, n. 16).

[28] The Syriac equivalents of the Greek, *qūnā'ā* and *qūnā'ā*, questionably said to denote lighter and darker values respectively, covered a bewildering gamut of hues, as detailed by

λίθος Ἀρμένιος [vel sim.]).[29] The lexeme *lāzaward[ī]*, signifying shades of blue with or without a material substrate, helped meet this challenge, yet as shown below, earlier approximations, such as *lawn as-samā'*, *asmānǧūnī* and *kuḥlī*, were not replaced entirely nor was the diffuse meaning of Greek κυάνεος necessarily captured by the relatively precise *lāzaward[ī]*.[30] Similarly, the available textual witnesses for 'Armenian stone' in Arabic suggest that a comprehensible rendition rather than merely the literal translation of the name only became possible when *lāzaward* was sufficiently well known and seemed to fill the need. The drawn-out process of adoption of *lāzaward* can perhaps be most amply illustrated by the several versions of the much revered *Materia medica* by Dioscurides (fl. 65–75 CE)[31] and its secondary transmission by way of quotations in later authors, but the Arabic Galen,[32] Aristotle and other writings will be shown to provide analogous evidence.

In the very opening lemma of Dioscurides (I 1), *Iris illyrica*, κυανίζον[τα, scil. ἄνθη] represents one hue in the 'rainbow' of its flowers' variants. In the 'old' Arabic version (henceforth *Vetus translatio* [*VT*]),[33] this became *fuqqāḥun yaḍribu ilā lawni s-samā'*;[34] in subsequent revisions and quotations *lawn as-samā'* ('cerulean') was

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Īšōʿ bar ʿAlī (and repeated by Ḥasan bar Bahlūl); see Payne Smith 1879–1901, II 3542, s. v. *qūnā'ā*; cf. Brockelmann 1928, 674b, 678b, s.vv. *qūnā'ā*, *qūnāʿā*. Even if Īšōʿ bar ʿAlī's authorship were questioned, 'his' note adequately reflects the wide range of meanings of the two terms.

[29] For pre-Islamic references see above, with ns. 11, 13; for a much larger canvas of mostly Arabic sources than here sketched see Käs 2010, 219–222, 395–400, 944 – 948, 957–960, 1006, s.vv. *armāniyā*, *ḥaǧar armanī*, *lāzuward*, *līnaǧ*, *masḥaqūniyā*.

[30] See below, n. 41, and Galen, *SM*, X 13 (ed. Kühn XII 276) in Ḥubayš's Arabic translation, *apud* Ibn al-Bayṭār, IV 153:-8: the discoloration of the bile of animals because of hunger or thirst can tend toward lapis lazuli (*yaḍribu lawnuhā* […] *wa-marratan ilā l-lāzawardiyya*). Movaffaq Haravi has the genuinely Iranian, not Arabic-mediated form *lāžvardi* in the corresponding and other passages (ed. Seligmann, 98:3, 259:4f; ed. Tehran, II 77:5, 94:2–5); the roughly contemporaneous *Ḥodudo l-ʿālam*, of 372/982, offers *lāǧvard*, an alternative, but also non-Arabic reading (ed. Bartol'd, fol. 22v:4; trl. Minorsky, [2]112, no. 24).

[31] For biographical information see Touwaide 2000; for the Arabic reception of his work, the foundational *Fī hayūlā ṭ-ṭibb* ("De materia medica"), see Chipman 2014.

[32] For recent surveys of Galen (129 – c. 216 CE) see Nutton 1998; Boudon-Millot 2013. Relevant Arabic passages will be discussed below.

[33] Ullmann 2009b, 69–78 and *passim*; he dates this version to c. 184/800, *ibid*. 149.

[34] Ullmann 2009b: 174, s. v. *arǧuwān*, 233, s. v. *smw*; *VT*, fol. 12v:4. It would seem that the Arabic nominal clause *lawn as-samā'* was not a calque of Syriac *gūn šəmayyā* (R. Payne Smith 1879–1901, I, col. 682, s. v. *gūn*), but a rendering of *qūnāʿā* (vel sim.), as witness *qūnāṯā* (*ibid*., II, col. 3542, q. v.) and *šūšanē qūnāṯā* (J. Payne Smith 1903, 496a, s. v. *qāwnā*). For *(habbāḇā ḏə) qūna'* in Sergius's Syriac version of Galen's *SM*, VI 1, no. 39, Ḥunayn's (or his school's) Arabic has the equivalent Persian loan, *(an-naw') al- asmānǧūnī (az-zahra)* (hunaynnet).

retained in this passage,[35] whereas the eventually current synonym *asmānǧūnī* came to be adopted for the heading of the entry.[36]

At the next occurrence of κυαν- in Dioscurides, under the lemma τέρμινθος (I 71, the terebinth tree[37]), the translators appear to have followed precedent: *wa-lawnuhū mā'ilun ilā lawni s-samā'* (with minor syntactic variations in mss. and quotations).[38] Unfortunately, the corrupt and lacunary condition of the unique manuscript of *VT* does not permit of indubitably attributing to it either the passage on the terebinth or

[35] The following list, although incomplete, may still prove the point: Iṣṭifān, fol. 2v:-7, *minhā bayāḍun … wa-lawnu s-samā'* (quoted by ar-Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, VII 10, s. v. *al-īrisā*); an-Nātilī, fol. 3v:-6f; Ibn Ǧanāḥ, 200 (if Ibn Ǧanāḥ's quotation be trusted, the Arabic translation of Ahrun also read: *al-īrisā huwa uṣūlu s-sawsani l-laḍī 'alā lawni s-samā'* [*ibid*.]); Avicenna, *Qānūn*, I 255:-10; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Ǧāmi'*, I 97:-3f. — The present focus on the early rendition of 'cerulean' iris in Dioscurides and later revisions is not to suggest that in the course of the third/ninth century alternative translations of κυάν- generally superseded *lawn as-samā'*; a scan of *al-Ḥāwī* would promptly dispel such a notion.

[36] Ar-Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, VI, 207: *wa-ammā aṣlu s-sawsani l-asmānǧūnī* ilkh (but see VII, 10:-9, as in n. 35); in the Paris ms. of Iṣṭifān's version with Ḥunayn's annotations (see Ullmann 2009b:2–26, 319), the entry is not immediately glossed, but corresponding to the Greek simply reads *īris, huwa naw'un mina s-sawsan, waraquh* ilkh (fol. 2v:-9), while *VT* right away glosses *al-'rsy* as *aṣl as-sawsan*. Both versions omit the reference to Illyria as habitat in the opening sentence but preserve it further down. An-Nātilī, fol. 3v:-9, does not use *asmānǧūnī* in the heading either: *Fī aṣl as-sawsan al-ma'rūf bi-l-īrisā* nor in the opening sentence: *inna l-īrisā naw'un mina s-sawsan* ilkh, whereas it became common in later authors; see Movaffaq Haravi, fol. 19r:4f (ed. Seligmann, 23:5f; ed. Teheran, I 37:4f): *iresā biḫ-e sowsan-e āsmān gun-ast*; Ibn Ǧanāḥ, 200: *wa-l-īrisā huwa s-sawsanu l-asmānǧūnī*; Avicenna, *Qānūn* I 255:-14: *huwa* [yaʿnī *l-īrisā*] *aṣlu s-sawsani l-asmānǧūnī*; Ibn al-Bayṭār, I 71:6: *īrisā huwa s-sawsanu l-asmānǧūnī*. Although the history of Arabic *asmānǧūnī* cannot be comprehensively discussed here (cf. Ullmann 2009a: 2476, n. 110), a few remarks may be in order. Quotations in ar-Rāzī's *al-Ḥāwī* and other medical writings show the wide-ranging application of *asmānǧūnī*, extending far beyond the hue of blue iris and pimpernel. A closer examination of its apparently indiscriminate use, masking the indeterminacy of κυαν-, would be well worth the effort. As for early attestations of *asmānǧūnī*, suffice it to point to the report of an event in 85/704, featuring a *yāqūta asmānǧūniyya* and which aṭ-Ṭabarī relates on the authority of al-Madā'inī (d. 228/842–3; *Annales*, 1163). A 'minimalist' reading would yield al-Madā'inī's death as *terminus ante quem* for the Arabic attestation of *asmānǧūnī*, which at any rate would not run counter to the testimony of Ḥunayn's (and his circle's) translations and other writings; see Galen, *SM*, liber VI, 1, no. 39 (ed. Kühn XI 829) (= ar-Rāzī, *Ḥāwī* VI 133 [cf. *ibid*. 43]); Ullmann 2002: 371. Most probably, however, *asmānǧūnī* was borrowed at the latest in the second half of the second/eighth century since Arabic /ǧīm/ was still the voiced velar plosive, /g/, instead of the voiced affricate, /dʒ/; the word stayed alive in Persian, i.e., was not merely reintroduced from Arabic, as witness, e. g., Movaffaq Haravi, as above.

[37] To be precise, κυανίζουσα [scil. ῥητίνη, the gum-resin of the tree], which Wellmann athetized but which the—direct or indirect—*Vorlage* of the Arabic evidently also had.

[38] Iṣṭifān, fol. 17v:-2; an-Nātilī, fol. 19v:3; Avicenna, *Qānūn*, I, 323:-7; *al-Ḥāwī* apparently lacks a corresponding entry.

every other occurrence of *lawn as-samā'* ('cerulean') for κυαν- in revisions or putative new versions of the Arabic Dioscurides,[39] although the cumulative evidence appears to confirm such attribution: Whereas in *VT*, the color of the blue pimpernel (κυάνεον […] ἄνθος; Lysimachia foemina) is rendered as *lawn as-samā'* in two entries (see preceding note!), the corresponding passages in Iṣṭifān's and an-Nātilī's versions as well in indirect transmission have *lāzawardī*.[40] Elsewhere too, in the Arabic Dioscurides[41] and in other (medical) texts later than *VT*, *lāzawardī* came to

[39] The entry terebinth is not extant in *VT* (see Ullmann 2009b: 70); in a correct text, the next regular occurrence would have been fol. 62r:4 (Diosc. II 176, anemone), but the *muḍāf* following *lawn, as-samā'*, is wanting. In the next passage preserved (*ibid*., fol. 63r:1, 6, *re* Anagallis [pimpernel; Diosc. II 178]), *as-samā'* is twice corrupted to *as-summāq*. *Ibid*., fol. 65r:6f (Diosc. II 182, ὀθόννα, possibly the sap of the greater celandine), the blue pimpernel again occurs; the wording as restored by Ullmann 2009b: 233, s. v. *smw*, reads *'uṣāratu anaġalīsa l-laḏī fuqqāḥuhū <fī> lawni s-samā'*. Regrettably, in what should have been the next occurrence (Diosc. II 183, Myosotis [forget-me-not]), a homoioteleuton in Greek—μελανίζοντα and κυανίζοντα —likely caused the loss of the comparison of the plant's blue flowers—*not* its black leaves—to those of the pimpernel (*VT*, fol. 65v:1). The further Dioscuridean series of κυαν-, III 6, 9, 21, V 74, 90, 92, 98, 130 is not extant in *VT*; in book III the text is truncated (fols. 68r, v, 71v), book V copies, with few exceptions, Iṣṭifān (Ullmann 2009b: 78). Neither for him nor his 'successors', however, was *lawn as-samā'* any more the only answer to the challenge of κυαν-, as will shortly be shown. The κυανοειδῆ leaves of 'black chameleon' (Diosc. III 9; cf. Dietrich, *Triumphans*, II, 353–355) 'tend toward cerulean' (*ilā lawni s-samā'*); Iṣṭifān, fol. 58r:7; Ibn al-Bayṭār, I, 37:-6. An-Nātilī incongruously adds *lawn as-samā'* to the description of the *yāqūtī* ('hyacinthine') flower of the plant, and qualifies as *asmānǧūn* (*sic* in ms) one of the hues its leaves can assume (fols. 109v:-1, 110r:-7). In *VT*, as mentioned above, the list of 'minerals' in Diosc. V transmits Iṣṭifān's version, yet *lawn as-samā'* ('cerulean') reoccurs in sections 74 (calamine: *... šabīh bi-lawni s-samā'*), and 90 ('Armenian stone': *lawn as-samā'* in marginal correction) (fols. 116v:-6, 122v:8 [*VT*, fol. 163r:6 (deest fol. 169r:11)]); Ibn al-Bayṭār, IV, 30:17, copies Iṣṭifān on calamine, but IV, 91:8, on 'Armenian stone', diverges slightly: *lawnuhū ka-s-samā'i mušba'ā*. An-Nātilī in his turn additionally keeps 'cerulean' in V 92 ('Indian blue': *ilā lawni s-samā'*) and, likely combining *VT* and Iṣṭifān, in V 98 (vitriol: *lawn al-lāzaward aw lawn as-samā'*; fols. 198v:1, 203v:6, 15, 204v:13).

[40] Iṣṭifān, fols. 53v:-9 (*[zahruhū] lāzawardī*), 54r:1 (*ka-lawni l-lāzaward*), 54v:13 (*lawn al-lāzaward*); ar-Rāzī, *Ḥāwī* VI, 43; an-Nātilī, fols. 102v:-9f, 103r:6f, 104r:-4 (s. lemmate *anāġalis*, *al-Qānūn* I, 263:8–13, Avicenna peculiarly deviates from his teacher an-Nātilī [Ullmann 2009b, 322ff], reading *[zahratuhū ...] asmānǧūnīya* and *al-azraq [az-zahr]*); Ibn Ǧanāḥ, I 237f, no. 32; Ibn al-Bayṭār, I 86:2, 10, 95:8 [same as in Iṣṭifān]. The Paris ms. of Iṣṭifān includes, from its *Vorlage*, a gloss by Ḥunayn (192–260/808–873) à propos of *āḏān al-fa'r* (fol. 53v: left margin -10 etc.); he records seeing, on a visit along the 'Blind Tigris' (Diǧla al-'awrā', today's Šaṭṭ al-'Arab), a ground-hugging plant with small *lāzaward<ī>* flowers.

[41] As indicated in n. 39, the relevant passages are: II 183 (*lawnuhā lāzawardī*; Iṣṭifān, fol. 55r:1; an-Nātilī, fol. 104v:-5; Ibn al-Bayṭār, I 17:12 [*lawnuhā* deest]); V 90 ('Armenian stone' mistranslated as *lāzaward*: Iṣṭifān, fol. 122v:8 (*VT*, fol. 169r:10); ms. Bodl. Arab. d. 138, fol. 203v: -3; an-Nātilī, fol. 203v:5; Ibn al-Bayṭār, IV 91:7 [citing the—justified—

be used regularly,[42] but apparently at some lag after *asmānǧūnī* and *kuḥlī*—which easily agrees with the length of the interval between *VT* and the approximate date an-Nadīm assigns to Iṣṭifān's Dioscurides, al-Mutawakkil's reign (232–247/847–861; Ullmann 2009b, 23). As alluded to above, an acquaintance with 'lapis lazuli' in whichever shape—rock, pigment, or merely color—seemed to facilitate the proper identification of 'Armenian stone'.[43] But lingering doubts were articulated long before Ibn al-Bayṭār (as in n. 41), if at times only indirectly. Thus ar-Rāzī feels the

rejection of this identification by *ba'ḍ 'ulamā'inā*, *ibid*. 9]; V 130 ('magnetic rock': *lāzawardī* of color; Iṣṭifān, fol. 129r:-4; an-Nātilī, fol. 210v:9; ms. Bodleian Arab. d. 138, fol. 207a; Ibn al-Bayṭār, IV 161:17). Al-Bīrūnī, rightly taking exception to this coloristic misdescription, says he never saw nor heard of, lapis lazuli-colored magnetic rock; *al-Ǧamāhir*, 347:6f. Possibly contaminating Dioscurides and Galen (see above, n. 34; al-Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, VI 43, 133), al-Bīrūnī's entry on the pimpernel reads *zahruhū lāzawardiyyu l-lawn*; *aṣ-Ṣaydana*, 19:-1.

[42] In the earlier of the two Arabic versions of Galen's *SM*, which has been attributed to al-Biṭrīq, the respective colors of the red and the blue species of pimpernel are reportedly called *wardī* and *lāzawardī* (hunaynnet *ad SM* VI 1, no. 39), which together with the use of *zahr* instead of *fuqqāḥ* for 'flower' demonstrates that the phrase was interpolated at some time no earlier than the middle of the third/ninth century. In support of this dating, Ḥunayn himself may be cited, as he adopts *lāzawardī* instead of *asmānǧūnī* fairly late in years; see, other than his note in the Paris Iṣṭifān and ar-Rāzī's quotation on the blue pimpernel (both as in n. 40), *lāzaward* as an ingredient of compound medicines in his *Iḫtiyārāt* and *al-Aqrābāḏīn al-kabīr* (*al-Ḥāwī*, II, 341); regardless of the (mineralogical) identity of the *signifié*, the lexeme of the *signifiant* is an indicator. However, Ḥunayn may well have been preceded by his senior colleague and erstwhile teacher Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh (d. 243/857), whom ar-Rāzī quotes concerning *ḥaǧar al-lāzaward* in compound medicines (*al-Ḥāwī* II 449 from *al-Ǧawāmi'* and IV 486 without title of work). — The earliest expressly dated attestation of *lāzaward [ī]* in medical writing is found in ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Firdaws al-ḥikma* of 235/850, ed. aṣ-Ṣiddīqī, 364:19–23 (ed. al-Ǧundī 364, 258:-2 – 259:2). Here, concerning the origin of colors, the pair *al-lāzawardī wa-l-kuḥlī* exemplifies the effect of the mixture of 'whiteness and greenness' (*al-bayāḍ wa-l-ḫuḍra*); in the following exposition, however, the author solely refers to *al-kuḥlī*, without any further mention of *lāzawardī*. It would seem that either of two possibilities may have to be entertained: the author' insufficient familiarity with this new, 'exotic' term or the posterior interpolation of a marginal gloss into the text. – The translator of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, whom its editor is inclined to identify as Usṭāṯ (ed. Filius, 9–14), appears to waiver; he 'conservatively' renders τὰ δὲ ἐπάνω […] κυάνεον as: *wa-a'lāhu ilā s-sawādi mā huwa* (ed. Filius, 56, *ad* 615b29 [p. arab. 216:-10]), yet shortly afterwards (616a15 [p. arab. 217:8f]), in τὸ δὲ χρῶμα καὶ κυανοῦν ἔχει he again, as twice before, opts for *wa-lawnuhū miṯlu lawni l-lāzaward* (see 592b27, 593b11 [pp. arab. 170:-9, 172:2]). – In close proximity (616a18 [217:10f]) to one of the above-mentioned passages the *ilā … mā huwa* syntagma reoccurs for the compound ὑπόχλωρον: *[fa-ammā…fa-]ilā l-ḫuḍrati mā huwa* (cf. Ullmann 1994, 6, 36).

[43] Thus, it cannot come as a surprise to see *lāzaward* in *al-Ḥāwī* included in prescriptions both ante- and postdating Ibn Māsawayh and Ḥunayn, right down to ar-Rāzī himself (I 343). Cf. Käs 2010, as in n. 29; Ibn Ǧanāḥ, I 243 and 532, nos. 37 and 354 (with caveat against linguistic derivation of *lāzaward*).

need to defend his equating 'Armenian stone' with *lāzaward* with reference to 'several authors of books on stones' (*al-Ḥāwī* II 343); in keeping with his cavalier handling of sources, he elsewhere has Ḥunayn identify 'Armenian stone' as the inferior part of lapis lazuli and Pseudo-Theophrastus point out that because of the similarity in color, 'decorators' substitute 'Armenian stone' for lapis lazuli.[44] Without crediting the quotation, as was his habit, Avicenna also mentions this practice, but he clearly distinguishes between the two kinds of stone, marking 'Armenian stone' as inferior in color and consistency.[45] Yet again, in al-Bīrūnī's quotation from Pseudo-Theophrastus on 'Armenian stone' (*ḥağar armanī*) in *aṣ-Ṣaydana*, 201, no. 302, the meaning appears reversed: because of the identity of color of the two 'stones' *lāzaward* was called *armīnāqūn*—cognizant of the derivation of the word, al-Bīrūnī leaves it here, other than in *al-Ǧamāhir*, 310, uncommented.[46] There he appears to be more reserved about the alleged Armenian origin of lapis lazuli, as that was only based on the 'similarity' of azurite to it. Still, he reports that lapis lazuli was imported to 'the land of the Arabs' (*arḍ al-ʿArab*) from Armenia, but to Ḫurāsān and al-ʿIrāq from Badaḫšān.

The above assertion that the opacity of the Greek κυαν- presented a challenge to translators into Syriac and Arabic is supported by the uncertain, as if groping variance of its Arabic renditions, which persisted throughout consecutive textual revisions. As for *kuḥlī* ('stibnite-colored') as an approximation of κυαν- in Dioscurides, the manuscript of *VT* regrettably again lacks attestations in the passages where Iṣṭifān, an-Nātilī and Ibn al-Bayṭār concur in their witness.[47] Obviously their

[44] The Latin translation of *al-Ḥāwī* by Farağ b. Sālim (completed February 1279; ms. Paris 6219, II 23, IV 186) offers a better text of the two passages than the Arabic prints (*dixit quod lapis armenicus est inferior pars lapis lazuli* […*huwa* bṭb'nt *al-lāzaward*; II 341]; *lapis armenus secundum <th>)eofrastem eius color assimilatur colori lapidis lazuli et pictores pingunt cum ipso loco lazuli* [*ḥağar armīnī qāla lwfṭws (?) inna hāḏā ḥağaru l-lāzaward, wa-fīhi quwwatun mushilatun muqayyi'a, wa-yanfa'u min <…> wa-qāla Būlus (!) inna l-ḥağara l-armīniyya lawnahū lawnu l-lāzawardi yasta'miluhu l-muzawwiqūna badala l-lāzaward <…> wa-huwa layyinun* ilkh; VI 127]. Obviously, further textual criticism is required.

[45] Given ar-Rāzī's loose way of quoting in *al-Ḥāwī* and the poor state of the printed text, the question of Avicenna's proximate source will be left open at this point; in the Būlāq *Qānūn* (I 497), the passage reads *ḥağar fīhi adnā lāzawardiyya laysa fī lawni l-lāzawardi wa-lā fī ktināzihī bal kāna fīhi ramliyyatun mā* ilkh (Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī, XXII 204, in his turn depends on Avicenna, again in poor textual condition).

[46] *aṣ-Ṣaydana*, 201, no. 302: [Pseudo-]*Ṯāwufrasṭus: lawnuhū lawnu l-lāzawardi bi-ʿaynihī wa-li-hāḏā qīla li-l-lāzawardi armīnāqūn*.

[47] At II 176 (anemone), the text of *VT* is lacunary; κεφάλια μέλανα ἢ κυανίζοντα· ῥίζα κτλ reads *wa-raʾsuhū aswadu ʿalā lawn <…> wa-aṣluhū* ilkh (fol. 62r:3f); Iṣṭifān: *ruʾūsun lawnuhā aswadu aw kuḥliyyun ilā s-sawād* (fol. 53r:-5f; in Ibn al-Bayṭār, II 85:-2, the published text has *wa-* instead of *aw*) and an-Nātilī: *ruʾūsun lawnuhā aswadu aw kuḥlī* (fol. 102r:16f) fundamentally agree with each other (Avicenna, *al-Qānūn* I 433:19, in turn quotes an-Nātilī). At III 6 (cornflower) and 21 (eryngo), the relevant passages are altogether omitted

agreement is to be expected, given the later writers' dependence on Iṣṭifān. In book V, of which the bulk has not been transmitted in *VT*, Iṣṭifān's version, including later adaptations, presents all three alternative renditions of κυαν-, *lawn as-samā'*,[48] *kuḥlī*[49] and *lāzaward[ī]*,[50] which would seem to imply a somewhat haphazard process of work, yet apparently with *lāzaward[ī]* coming last.

During the course of the third/ninth century, both the semi-precious stone and the color term *lāzaward[ī]* won rights of citizenship in Islamicate civilization and in Arabic—subsequently also in Persian—letters. Around the turn of the fifth/eleventh century, the completion of the process found a beautiful reflection in Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb ad-Dīnawarī's scale of tones of blue,[51] which al-Bīrūnī transmitted a few decades later;[52] in his terms, saturation *increases*—the reverse of modern usage—from 'blue cerulean' to 'azure', 'indigo' and finally 'stibnite'.[53]

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in *VT* (fols. 68r:1 etc., 71v:1 etc.), whereas Iṣṭifān (fols. 57r:8, 59r:-2), an-Nātilī (fols. 108v:8, 113v:-7) and Ibn al-Bayṭār (IV 33:19, IV 13:11) all have *kuḥl[-ī]*, notwithstanding some textual corruption. In any case, the rendition of κυαν- by *kuḥl[ī]* in Dioscurides supports Bar Bahlūl's quoting *kuḥl[ī]* for Syriac *gūn šəmayyā* (*Lexicon*, col. 467, from Ḥənanīšōʿ bar Sərōšway [c. 900?]). Outside the area of translation from Greek and Syriac, or perhaps generally of 'scientific' writing, *kuḥlī* was not necessarily accepted, as witness al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, II 96f; according to him the word 'is not used orally nor do the Arabs record it with colors' (*lā yulfaẓu bih, wa-l-ʿarabu lā taḏkuruhū bi-l-alwān*). But see below!

[48] See above, n. 39

[49] 'Indigo', Diosc. V 92: *kuḥlī al-lawn* (Iṣṭifān, fol. 122v:15 [*VT*, fol. 169r:-2]; Ibn al-Bayṭār, I 70:-6 (ms. Bodl. Arab. d. 138, fol. 204r:2: *mā kāna lawnuhū ramādī* [sic]).

[50] On the identification of Armenian azurite (Diosc. V 90) as lapis lazuli see above, esp. n. 41. Κύανος (V 91, copper sulphate) was difficult to identify; Iṣṭifān transcribes it as *qw'nṣ* (fol. 122v:10), which is perceptively glossed as *lāzaward nuḥāsī* in the margin (*VT*, fol. 169r:-8, has a mangled transcription only; in V 74, on calamine, the 'mineral' name κύανος, transcribed as *qw'ṯws* [*qw'bys* in margin], is glossed as denoting 'a kind of vermillion [*zinǧafr*]' (Iṣṭifān, fol. 117r:10; Ibn al-Bayṭār, IV 31:8f [corrupt]). Finally, in V 98, on copper vitriol, the color term κυάνεον is rendered as *lawn al-lāzaward* (Iṣṭifān, fol. 123v:8 [*VT*, fol. 170r:7]; Ibn al-Bayṭār II 150:11). An-Nātilī, as if reverting to an earlier version, adds *aw lawn as-samā'* (fol. 204v:7). As seen above (n. 41), the newfound response to the challenge of κυαν- proved so tempting that magnetic rock (V 130) was assigned the color of lapis lazuli as well.

[51] On this author see Orfali 2016; his best-known work, on dream interpretation, was completed in 399/1009. 'Tones' is used here since they are introduced as gradations of *al-akhab*, which, being predicated of lead, must imply greyness, whatever the precise extent of its meaning.

[52] In *al-Ǧamāhir*, 149:4f (dedicated to sultan Mawdūd [r. 432–440/1041–48/49])

[53] *Inna li-l-akhabi marātiba tatafāḍalu bi-š-šabʿi mina l-lawn, fa-awwaluhu l-āsmānǧūniyyu l-azraq, ṯumma l-lāzawardī, ṯumma n-nīlī, ṯumma l-kuḥlī, fa-huwa ašbaʿuhā*; on 'indigo' see Ullmann 2009a, 2068, s. v. *līlanǧ*.

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ZAYDĪ RULE IN GĪLĀN AND DAYLAMĀN UNDER ḤASAN-I ṢABBĀḤ

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Abstract:
The present paper seeks to shed light on the role of Zaydī imams in Gīlān and Daylamān on the eve of the foundation of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state. Though being a very fragmented force divided by several splits and regional disputes, Zaydīs remained present at the very beginning of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī period before and after 1100 in Gīlān and Daylamān, and they were very much opposed to the emerging Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state. Being an early Šīʿī branch, Zaydīs had established themselves in Gīlān before 800 and remained there until the first half of the 16th century. This paper's aim is to give an overview of this highly complex Zaydī local political network of Northern Iran constituted of local nativist converts and imams of ʿAlid descent.

Keywords: Gīlān, Daylamān, Zaydīs, Ismāʿīlīs, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh, Salǧūqs

1 Zaydī Communities in Northern Iran after 1095

The present brief paper discusses the Zaydī component of Daylamān at the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlī period and the role the Zaydīs played during the formative years of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state before 1124, the year when Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh, the founder of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state, died.

Following the death in 1092 of Niẓām al-Mulk and Malikšāh, the two key figures of the Salǧūq administration, the relative unity of the mighty Salǧūq empire immediately collapsed. The contending sons of Malikšāh – Maḥmūd, Barkiyāruq, Muḥammad and Sanjar – all attempted to seize the sultanate with other forces, with leading characters of the central administration becoming deeply involved in the strife between these Salǧūq princes. The political strife of the Salǧūq family clearly displayed the very tenuous and fragile situation of Malikšāh 's legacy (Hillenbrand 1995:281–296).

In the Caspian provinces there emerged two local powers following the sudden end of Malikšāh's rule: the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state in 1095 after the secession from the Egyptian Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī caliphate of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Šīʿī followers of Ḥasan-i

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Ṣabbāh, directed from Alamūt in Rūdbār, and the Twelver Šīʿī nativist Bāwandid kingdom around Šāhriyārkūh and Firīm in south-eastern Ṭabaristān. These two groups can be characterised as old-and-new formations as both the Ismāʿīlīs and the Bāwandids can hardly be termed newcomers in Northern Iran at the end of the 11th century. For example, in the case of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī -controlled area of Girdkūh the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* itself appeared as early as the 10th century, according to Daftary (2007: 112).

As regards other local powers in the Caspian provinces, one should mention the Zaydīs, another early branch of Šīʿī Islam, followers of which came to Northern Iran as early as the 8th century and flourished in Northern Iran in the 9th to 10th centuries[1]. Here we can mention two major subgroups of the local Zaydī powers: the Bādūspānids, a nativist and somewhat obscure Iranian dynasty with their Zaydī religious background in Rūyān[2] (a border region between medieval Daylamān and Ṭabaristān), as well as the other various independent and very fragmented Zaydī rulers with their ʿAlid descent (both Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid) in Daylamān and Gīlān, ancestors of whom settled in the 8th to 9th centuries; these Zaydī rulers, albeit in a very fragmented way, were still the masters of much of Gīlān and Daylamān in much of the 11th century. It is very possible that the majority of the population in Daylamān, the future heartland of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, belonged to the Zaydī community before 1095, though the political disintegration very much weakened the Zaydī resistance against the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.

As for the Bādūspānids, they gradually gained power after 1170 at the expense of the weakening Bāwandids, but their pre-1170 history is very obscure and scarcely known. Besides the Bādūspānids, several other Zaydī clans also existed in Daylamān, but they failed to build a strong local unified kingdom in the late 11th century, and so remained an amalgam of petty and marginal kingdoms whose presence nevertheless could be felt as late as the early 16th century.[3] A limited Zaydī military and political revival took place in the mid-12th century, which was mainly sponsored by the Twelver Šīʿī Bāwandids in order to counterbalance the growing Nizārī Ismāʿīlī influence in Northern Iran, but these later events are beyond the scope of the present paper.

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[1] A very good and detailed modern work on the Zaydī movement of Northern Iran and their contacts with their neighbours was written by Ḥaqīqat, whose focus is on the pre-Nizārī-Ismāʿīlī period; see Ḥaqīqat 1383/2004.

[2] Bādūspānids claimed that they were descended from the Sasanians, but this may be a rather legendary claim, and the dynasty cannot be older than the 11th century according to Madelung. He states that Bādūspānids were adherents of the teaching of the Northern Iranian Zaydī imam Muʾayyad (d. 1020). See Madelung 1988.

[3] As for the local nativist dynasties of Zaydī background, articles and genealogical studies produced by Rabino di Borgomale eight or nine decades ago are still considered seminal, indeed the best works. See Rabino di Borgomale 1918; 1920; 1927; 1936.

In Gīlān, on the Caspian littoral, Zaydī influence remained stronger and showed more resistance to Ismāʿīlī missionary activities. Regarding the Zaydī *daʿwa* in early Islamic Gīlān and Daylam, it was especially in the town of Hawsam (modern Rūdsar) where local Zaydī imams of ʿAlid descent established their centre of religious power. It was here that Nāṣir Uṭrūš had been active converting local Gilites in the 9th century.[4] Hawsam became a centre of learning of the Nāṣiriyya branch of the Zaydīs and at the same time it was the capital of a local ʿAlid clan, one established around 932 by Abū l-Faḍl Ǧaʿfar b. Muḥammad, himself a grandson of Nāṣir Uṭrūš's brother Ḥusayn Šāʿir and, through his mother, a descendant of Nāṣir himself. This family later embraced the regnal title aṭ-Ṭāʾir fī'llāh, though none of these Zaydīs founded their own Zaydī imamate.

In the 12th century Lāhīǧān replaced Hawsam as the seat of Zaydī ʿAlid rulers, and the town — where the Daylamī Būyid dynasty had first appeared on the political scene — remained in the hands of different Zaydī clans for several centuries.

After 980 two towering figures of Zaydī scholarship and politics emerged in Gīlān: Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad biʾllāh and his brother Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā an-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, who were recognised as sources of Islamic jurisprudence; they belonged to the entourage of the renowned Būyid vizier aṣ-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād and his Muʿtazilite chief judge ʿAbd-al-Ǧabbār in Rayy. At a later point Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad biʾllāh attempted to claim the Zaydī imamate at Hawsam but he eventually failed to have his imamate acknowledged and retreated to Langā, the heartland of the areas of the Qāsimī Daylamīs, setting up his residence between Hawsam and Čālūs.

According to Madelung, one can see a sharp division among the Zaydīs of the Caspian province who evolved into two main branches in the early 11th century: the Qāsimī and the Nāṣirī Zaydīs. The Nāṣirīs, in eastern Gīlān and Daylamān, elected their imams from the descendants of an-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq and his brother Ḥusayn aš-Šāʿir al-Muḥaddiṯ, founders of Zaydī rule in Gīlān in the 9th century. Madelung notes that Nāṣirī Zaydīs had positions much closer to other Šīʿī groups such as the Ismāʿīlīs and Twelver Šīʿīs in terms of law, ritual traditions, and practices, than did other Zaydīs, who followed Qāsimī Zaydī religious law and who strongly opposed any contacts with the Ismāʿīlīs. This deep division very much helps explain the different attitudes of diverse local Zaydī rulers towards the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in Daylamān (Madelung 2002:122–131).

It is important to note again that the Zaydī imams and, likewise, the Zaydī Bādūspānids did not represent a significant military force and were in a deeply fragmented state by the time of the establishment of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state at the end of the 11th century. It appears that the once powerful Zaydīs (especially in the 9th to 10th centuries) in Daylamān and Gīlān were greatly divided politically, and this fact contributed notably to the success of the Ismāʿīlīs, led by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ

[4] His complete name was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Uṭrūš an-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq.

(Hodgson 1955:78; Madelung 1967:882–883). This Zaydī fragmentation was partly due to political strife among rival Zaydī clans, but it owes much to the concept of decentralised leadership of numerous Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid Zaydī imams as well, preserving traces of an early Šī'ī non-imāmī idea of a broader ʿAlid kinship eligible for the imamate.

Among the minor political centres of the Zaydīs in Daylamān with Ismāʿīlī connections one need mention first Hawsam and its environs. During the first years of rule by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, the town of Hawsam (modern Rūdsar) in Daylamān was disputed by two groups of Zaydīs, the descendants of a certain Nāṣir and the descendants of another man called Ṭāhir, who had theological and political quarrels with each other.

According to our sources, around 1040–1 the Nāṣirī Zaydī scholars of Hawsam chose a Nāṣirī Zaydī prince, a certain Ḥusayn b. Ǧaʿfar Nāṣir as their imam (Madelung 1987:153–154, 323). His kingdom eventually came to extend from Ḫānakǧā on the Safīdrūd River to the borders of Ṭabaristān, and Ḥusayn b. Ǧaʿfar Nāṣir was able to control the area of Rūyān and presumably the fortress of Alamūt too. Ḥusayn was married to a daughter of a Bāwandid *iṣfahbad*, perhaps Ḥusām ad-Dawla Šāhriyār, founder of the new Iṣfahbadiyya branch of the Bāwandids in Ṭabaristān, who sent his daughter, rich gifts, and a slave girl. The fact that the Zaydīs tried to build up dynastic contacts with the Bāwandids has more serious ramifications in the decades of Ismāʿīlī dominance in Daylamān. Twelver Šīʿī-Zaydī dynastic marriages became very frequent in the 12th century, and various Zaydīs became vassals of the Bāwandids, who acted as their protectors. Although Ḥusayn b. Ǧaʿfar Nāṣir later came into military conflict with his Bāwandid father-in-law, Zaydī-Bāwandid contacts usually remained strong, and on different occasions one can detect very close cooperation between the *iṣfahbad*s of Ṭabaristān and various Zaydī clans in Daylamān (Hodgson 1955:78; Madelung 1987:153–154, 323).

The years directly preceding the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī takeover of Alamūt thus saw a chaotic political situation in Daylamān. The above-mentioned Nāṣirī Zaydī imam, Ḥusayn b. Ǧaʿfar Nāṣir, died in 1079–80. After his death, a Qāsimī Zaydī ruler, Yaḥyā Hādī Ḥuqaynī, a son of Mahdī Ḥuqaynī, from the other main branch of the Zaydīs in the Caspian provinces, made a claim for the Zaydī imamate in western Ṭabaristān with the active backing of a group of Qāsimī Zaydī theologians. The city of Langā rejected his claim, and in the eastern parts of Gīlān a scion from the family of the renowned Nāṣir Uṭrūš, called Abū r-Riḍā Kīsumī, was elected by local Zaydī communities as their imam. Owing to endless quarrels between their respective supporters, the two Zaydī imams eventually divided up their lands. Before 481/1088, however, the rule of Hādī Ḥuqaynī was seriously challenged from another direction — it was the Salǧūqs who attacked him and tried to suppress his imamate. Major financial problems forced the Zaydī Imam to expropriate some of his subjects' estates, which pointed to the rapid decline of his influence in Hawsam (Madelung 1967:882–883).

2 The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Response to the Zaydī Resistance

The Ismāʿīlīs led by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ successfully exploited the fragmented political landscape of Daylamān after 481/1088. At the time of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's arrival from Egypt in Iran, in around 473/1081, the fortress of Alamūt was in the hands of an ʿAlid, Ḥusayn Mahdī, who had it as a fiefdom from the Salǧūq sultan Malikšāh. A Zaydī according to our sources, Ḥusayn Mahdī was a descendant of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūš (d. 304/916), the capable ʿAlid ruler of Ṭabaristān, also known as an-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq. Ḥusayn Mahdī belonged to the Nāṣirī Zaydī line, who were more inclined to maintain friendly relations with the Ismāʿīlīs; and this fact perhaps helps to explain why Ḥusayn Mahdī and his entourage showed more sympathy towards Ismāʿīlī guests in his fortress. An Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, Ḥusayn Qāʾinī, working under Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, became a boon companion of the Zaydī commander of Alamūt, and this friendship proved to be decisive since it resulted in the mass arrival of other Ismāʿīlīs in Alamūt.

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ directed his movements from Firīm, Ṭabaristān, i.e. from another stronghold of northern Iran which belonged to the age-old Bāwandid dynasty. He arrived in Alamūt on 6 Rajab 483/4 September 1090, and entered the fortress disguised as a man called Dihḫudā; he did not reveal his identity to Ḥusayn Mahdī, but as time passed, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ became more and more confident in Alamūt as a large number of the soldiers serving in Alamūt began to show sympathy with the Ismāʿīlīs. Subsequently, the Ismāʿīlīs conquered the fortress of Alamūt in a relatively peaceful way (Rašīd ad-Dīn says that they came into the possession of the castle by bribery). It was Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ who, using the resources of the area of Girdkūh and with the help of Raʾīs Muẓaffar, commander of the castle at Girdkūh, succeeded in persuading Ḥusayn Mahdī to sell his stronghold to the Ismāʿīlīs.[5]

After the conquest of Alamūt in the Rūdbār area in Daylamān, some Zaydī resistance to the Ismāʿīlīs continued, albeit on a limited scale, but they apparently failed to halt the Ismāʿīlīs in Daylamān. Hādī Ḥuqaynī was among the fiercest Zaydī opponents of the Ismāʿīlīs in Daylamān (Madelung, 1987:145, 167, 325, 326). As a petty religious leader, he issued a legal decree prohibiting the Zaydīs from coming into contact with the Nizārīs, mocking the latter as heretics. He was later killed by Ismāʿīlīs in 490/1097. The family of Hādī Ḥuqaynī remained in Daylamān, however, and continued their resistance against the Ismāʿīlīs. The possible son of Hādī Ḥuqaynī, Kiyā Buzurg ad-Dāʿī ilā l-Ḥaqq Riḍā b. Hādī,[6] maintained his influence around Hawsam and later joined the Bāwandids in their resistance to the Salǧūqs in 521/1127 (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīḫ-i Ṭabaristān* II, 66, 69, 87–88, 96, 143). However, there seems to have been a continual quarrel among different factions of Qāsimī Zaydīs and other Nāṣirīs as after the death of Hādī Ḥuqaynī a Nāṣirī rose to power

[5] For the Ismāʿīlī conquest of Zaydī-ruled areas of Daylamān, see Lewis, 1967:41–44.

[6] Not to be confused with the Ismāʿīlī Kīyā Buzurg Ummīd, the second *dāʿī* of Alamūt.

in Hawsam, called Abū 'r-Riḍā Kīsumī; yet the extent of his rule in Gīlān and in Daylamān is not well-known.

Our Caspian sources from Tabaristan remain largely silent about the Zaydī rulers following the death of Abū 'r-Riḍā Kīsumī. More useful are the Zaydī sources, which provide us with some biographical details about the Zaydī imams, their doctrinal background and occasionally some historical facts pertaining to their rule. Thus, we know from these Zaydī sources of the 12th to 15th centuries (mainly preserved in Yemen)[7] that in 1108–09 a great-grandson of a Qāsimī theologian, Muʾayyad, a certain Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, rose up and claimed the imamate in the city of Ḫānakjā. The complexity and controversy of Zaydī history from the beginning of the 12th century are clearly seen in the fact that this Qāsimī Zaydī imam enjoyed the support of a respected descendant of Uṭrūš, a Nāṣirid called Nāṣir Riḍā. Besides some attempts at reconciliation between the two groups of Zaydīs in Daylamān, the possible alliance of Nāṣirī and Qāsimī Zaydī forces in Daylamān might perhaps be seen as a sign of their weakening positions vis-à-vis the Ismāʿīlīs.

Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad quickly gained recognition in eastern Gīlān as far as Hawsam and also in the area of Daylamān, which had not yet been lost to the Ismāʿīlīs. According to Zaydī sources, he led military campaigns against the Ismāʿīlīs to reconquer former Zaydī areas in Daylamān. The *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya* of al-Maḥallī, an important Zaydī biographical work of the 13th century, refers to his campaigns against the Ismāʿīlīs in Daylamān and attempts to glorify Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad for attacking the Ismāʿīlīs. The unconfirmed reports of the *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya* of al-Maḥallī[8] claim that Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad fought numerous 'wars' with the Ismāʿīlīs, successfully retaking 38 fortresses and even besieging Alamūt, or else the valley of Alamūt, while building camps around the fortress. Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad ordered the execution of captured Ismāʿīlīs but he then greatly feared Ismāʿīlī revenge — and for fourteen years he did not leave his house except to pray (Madelung 1987: 333–334).

It is not known exactly when, where, or how the fortresses were captured or how the Qāsimī Zaydī imam besieged Alamūt; and there is no hint in other sources of an independent Zaydī raid against Alamūt either. However, the beginning of his rule might have coincided with a Salǧūq attack on Alamūt. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, this attack was organised by a coalition of local princes, including the Bāwandids, and there were armies from 'Gīl and Daylam' as well as '*other servants'* at the siege (Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Ǧāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ* 124). Zaydī sources do not mention other forces participating in the attack against Alamūt in around 1109. The other possible date of

[7] For the history of Zaydī studies see Schmidtke 2012:185–199 and Madelung 1987.

[8] The *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya* ('Rosegardens') is indeed a very important collection of biographies of Northern Iranian Zaydī imams written in the 13th century by al-Maḥallī. This work was recently published in Yemen. As for the life of Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad and his wars waged against the Ismāʿīlīs see al-Maḥallī, *Ḥadāʾiq* 203–218. These events are also mentioned by M. K. Raḥmatī in his *Zaydiyya dar Irān* (Tehran 1392/2013):56, 97.

his attack against Ismāʿīlī areas was in the period of the Salǧūq military leader Anūštigīn Šīrgīr's expeditions against Alamūt, which ended in 1118, but which lasted nearly seven years.[9] It is clear from our sources that Šīrgīr for years systematically laid waste to extended areas inhabited or cultivated by the Ismāʿīlīs and that he was on the verge of capturing Alamūt when his master the Salǧūq sultan Muḥammad II (1105–1118) suddenly died, causing the immediate withdrawal of Salǧūq forces from the walls of Alamūt (Bundārī, *Zubdat an-nuṣra* 123, 144–147). In our non-Zaydī sources there is no mention of any Zaydī participation in these raids. Given the high number of 'thirty-eight fortresses retaken' by Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, this may mean that his anti-Nizārī campaigns were very much linked to the intensive military activity led by Anūštigīn Šīrgīr — and that he recruited and despatched Zaydī Daylamī military forces to the aid of the Salǧūqs during these years. Šīrgīr was indeed successful and he did recapture some fortresses in Rūyān from the Ismāʿīlīs. Otherwise, there is no exact mention of the specific strongholds retaken by the Zaydīs from the Ismāʿīlīs.

In 1118 Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad and his anti-Ismāʿīlī Zaydī movement came to an end after new dissent broke out within the Zaydī community of Gīlān and Daylamān in1117. An ʿAlid, Ḥasan Ǧurǧānī, appeared from Gurgān in the last years of Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad's rule, challenged his power and easily conquered both Hawsam and Lāhīǧān from him. With some Gilite military aid and using resources from the confiscated property of the local Zaydī population, Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad succeeded in driving out his rival temporarily, but his quarrels with Ḥasan Ǧurǧānī seriously weakened his ability to resist the Ismāʿīlīs. No doubt, the renewed conflicts within the fragmented Zaydī community greatly facilitated Ismāʿīlī expansion in Daylamān. The shift of the Zaydī political centre from Hawsam to Lāhīǧān is clearly linked to the weakening Zaydī position in Daylamān, though Hawsam may have remained under Zaydī influence until 1117, the start of the war between Ḥasan Ǧurǧānī[10] and Abū Ṭālib Aḫīr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad.

Despite the troubled and often chaotic political events created by different Zaydī clans, the area populated by the Zaydīs in Gīlān served as a basis for the more powerful Twelver Šīʿī Bāwandid rulers. We learn from Marʿašī that the Bāwandid

[9] Anūštigīn Šīrgīr was the Salǧūq governor of Sāwa in Central Iran.

[10] It is important to note that Ḥasan Ǧurǧānī was possibly also killed by the Ismāʿīlīs. Zaydī sources, and Madelung, attribute his death to local people of Tanhīǧān, who arrested him at the instigation of Gilite and Daylamite Zaydī religious authorities. See Madelung 1987: 156–157, 160. On the other hand, Rašīd ad-Dīn enlists a certain Ḥasan Girdkānī (or Gurdkānī), who was killed by the Nizārīs in Tamīǧān (instead of Tanhīǧān) in Ǧumādā I 527/April 1133. Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Ǧāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ* 143. The names of Gurdkānī and Tamīǧān suggest some deterioration in the manuscripts used by Rawšan, the editor of the Rašīd ad-Dīn text I have in this context. In this case there is clear reference to the alleged Ismāʿīlī perpetrators of the murder of Ḥasan Ǧurǧānī, which is further confirmed by Ǧamāl ad-Dīn Abū l Qāsim ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī Kāšānī in his *Zubdat at-tawārīḫ* 182.

iṣfahbad, Ḥusām ad-Dawla Šāhriyār, spent his last years in Hawsam after 1110. When his sons, Naǧm ad-Dawla Qārin and ʿAlāʾ ad-Dawla ʿAlī, started waging war on each other, Ḥusām ad-Dawla retreated first to Āmul and then to Hawsam, the old Zaydī centre in Daylamān, where he built a *ḫānqā* for himself and engaged in pious devotion and farming (Marʿašī, *Tārīḫ-i Tabaristān* 99; Goto 2011: 76). The local Gilite and Daylamī aristocracy obeyed the ageing Bāwandid *iṣfahbad* and acknowledged his suzerainty over Hawsam, according to Ibn Isfandiyār (Ibn Isfandiyār *Tārīḫ-i Ṭabaristān* II, 37–38; Madelung 1984). Due to the Ismāʿīlī conquest of Hawsam in 503/1110 as well as the close dynastic and religious-political contacts of the Zaydī family of Mahdī Ḥuqaynī with the Twelver Šīʿī Bāwandids (Madelung 1967: 882–883) one need not wonder why Ḥusām ad-Dawla Šāhriyār received a warm welcome from the Zaydīs of Gīlān.

Thus, in addition to Alamūt, the Zaydīs gradually had to give up many territories in neighbouring areas in Daylamān which had belonged to them before 1088. The Ismāʿīlīs succeeded in overrunning the fortress of Lamasar in 1101 or maybe slightly later, and also overran an important fortress located nearly 30 kilometres downriver from Alamūt and according to one of our principal sources, Rašīd al-Dīn, the Ismāʿīlīs swiftly attacked and apparently took it over with relative ease, defeating the Zaydī rulers Rasāmūǧ and Lāmsālār and his relatives (Hourcade 1985).[11]

3 Zaydī-Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Reconciliation and Coexistence

As for early Ismāʿīlī policy in Daylamān, despite tense relations and constant warfare, there are sporadic signs of a more reconciliatory approach as well on behalf of the Ismāʿīlīs and the Zaydīs towards each other (though more rarely from the latter). The general assumption is that the Ismāʿīlīs' main aim was to extend their power — although due to the Salǧūq threat they occasionally allied themselves with the Zaydīs. In order to strengthen their positions against the Salǧūqs, the Ismāʿīlīs not only conquered local fortresses or ousted their former owners from such places, but they sometimes also supported these local kingdoms that had some inclinations to anti-Salǧūq resistance.

Signs of this *Realpolitik* can be seen in the case of Lamasar before its conquest. According to Rašīd ad-Dīn, in 1093 (Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Ǧāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ* 113–114), Rasāmūǧ and Lāmsālār visited Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in Alamūt and forged an alliance with the Ismāʿīlīs. However, this alliance proved tenuous as only one year later the same Rasāmūǧ broke the treaty. The content of this agreement between the Zaydī forces in Lamasar and the followers of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in Alamūt is not known, but if there was some mutual consensus to build friendlier contacts this could only have been a sign of a local alliance being formed against the Salǧūqs. We are not informed about the religious background of Rasāmūǧ and Lāmsālār or whether they were

[11] See the next note as well.

Nāṣirī or Qāsimī Zaydīs, as their attitude towards the Ismāʿīlīs proved be contentious. Regarding the possible date of the conquest of Lamasar, Hodgson suggests it took place as early as 1096, based on Rašīd ad-Dīn's account. On the other hand, Ǧuwaynī records the conquest as having occurred in 1101.[12]

Another sign of the more peaceful approach of the Zaydīs in relation to the Ismāʿīlīs was a gesture made by a local Zaydī *qāḍī* of Langā named Marwān, who was a Nāṣirī Zaydī according to our data as quoted by Madelung (1987: 145, 167; 1967: 882–883; Madelung 2004). He was in correspondence with the Ismāʿīlīs. Yet this Zaydī *qāḍī*, with his milder attitude, greatly enraged Hādī Ḥuqaynī, who ordered his execution. Soon after this incident, Hādī Ḥuqaynī, the belligerent local opponent of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, fell victim to a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī ambush (Madelung 2004).

In general, we can see that the Zaydīs were in a very fragmented state upon the arrival of the Ismāʿīlīs in the area of Rūdbār and other parts of Daylamān. The fractious nature of the Zaydī polity greatly facilitated the emergence of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state at the end of the 11th century. But they were not the only new power who exploited the new political reality following the deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and Malikšāh — for there then appeared a significant new neighbour on the eastern fringes of the Nizārī state: the Bāwandids. After 1124 we witness the division of the Zaydīs who had to choose between the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and Bāwandid alliance, both of them being superior to the petty local Zaydī rulers. Most of the Zaydīs sided with the Twelver Šīʿī Bāwandids, but a branch of the local Bādūspānid princes became the vassal of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.

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[12] According to Ǧuwaynī, Lamasar was conquered by the Ismāʿīlīs in the night of 24 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 495 (10 September 1102) see: Ǧuwaynī, *Tārīḫ-i Ǧahāngušā* 208–209; Hodgson 78, n. 57.

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POETIC HYPERBOLE AS A LEGAL PROBLEM: DEBATES AMONG PREMODERN MUSLIM JURISPRUDENTS

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Abstract:
Hyperbolic expression was a subject keenly discussed by premodern Muslim literary critics, and these debates have received considerable attention among contemporary students of mediaeval Arabic literature. Since an exaggeration is technically an untrue statement, the issue was widely perceived as having a marked ethical dimension, on which Muslim jurisprudents also expressed a variety of different opinions. This essay explores such controversies among premodern Muslim jurists in particular, as well as the ways in which these debates relate to those among the littérateurs.

Keywords: *ġuluww*, hyperbole, Islamic law, literary criticism, *mubālaġa*, Shafiʿite school, truthfulness

To choose a fitting topic for a volume honouring Professor Iványi is an easy task for a former student of his, given the extraordinary breadth of Iványi's range of expertise within Arabic studies. As someone who had the good luck to study various aspects of both Arabic literature and Islamic law under his guidance, I choose to address here an issue that cuts across these two disciplines: poetic hyperbole as a juridical problem.

A predilection for hyperbolic expression is a notable characteristic of Arabic poetry in the pre-Islamic period (Brown 2003:41–42; Ayoub 2019:7) as well as in the formative period of Islamicate culture, in which von Grunebaum (1967:2) perceives an "obsession with hyperbole" and the ubiquity of "verbal excesses in praise and lampoon".[1] The unprecedented profusion of rhetorical devices in the 'modern' Arabic poetry of the 3rd/9th century could not fail to attract growing critical attention onto this topic, with the technical vocabulary to describe these devices developing gradually in subsequent centuries (Gruendler 2017:137, 141). As could

[1] It is worth noting too that hyperbole continues to play a central role in many genres of Arabic dialectal poetry; see Ayoub 2019:6.

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be expected, then, the issue of hyperbole in Arabic literary criticism has been the subject of ample commentary. The most useful study to date is one by Amidu Sanni (2004), to which I owe my understanding of the main outlines of this debate among the premodern literary critics. In this essay my goal is to supplement the existing scholarship with an overview of juridical assessments of the literary uses of hyperbole. In so doing, I wish to illustrate whether and how jurists' views differed from those of literary critics.

1 The Problem of Hyperbole

Hyperbole appears quite early as an item in the constantly expanding list of figures of speech in Arabic theoretical works on literary rhetoric (Badawi 1978:43–44). Indeed we already find *iġrāṭ fī ṣ-ṣifa* (hyperbolic description) discussed at quite some length in Ibn al-Muʿtazz's (d. 296/908) seminal *Kitāb al-badīʿ* (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Badīʿ* 65–68).[2] One finds quite a variety of Arabic terms – such as *mubālaġa*, *iġrāṭ*, *tablīġ*, *īġāl*, *iṭrāʾ*, *taqaṣṣī*, etc. – used in reference to hyperbole.[3] Beyond this terminology, hyperbole was further subdivided by some Arab literary specialists into yet more categories. Ibn Ḥiǧǧa (d. 837/1434) presents a tripartite system by distinguishing three subcategories: *mubālaġa*, *iġrāq* and *ġuluww*. The distinction appears to be one of degree rather than of kind, since he defines *mubālaġa* as "an exaggeration in describing something so that it is possible and can plausibly occur", *iġrāq* as "an exaggeration in describing something so that it is possible yet cannot plausibly occur", and *ġuluww* as "an exaggeration in describing something so that it cannot possibly occur". He further notes that quite a few authors fail to differentiate between these subcategories, although the difference is, in his words, "as clear as the morning (*miṯl aṣ-ṣubḥ ẓāhir*)".[4]

Whatever their terminology, literary critics and jurists alike obviously treated praise-poetry as an ethical issue independent from, even if affected by, the aesthetic considerations.[5] The crux of the problem with panegyrics was the inevitable tendency of the genre to contain exaggerated, and therefore technically untrue, statements. If taken literally, the latter would constitute lying (*kaḏib*), an intensely

[2] Indeed, even in somewhat earlier works; see Sanni 2004:169.

[3] Halldén 2005:22 mentions *iṭnāb*, a term that often means "verbosity", as an Arabic equivalent of "hyperbole".

[4] Ibn Ḥiǧǧa, *Ḫizāna* III, 135, 142. *Pace* Ibn Ḥiǧǧa, the distinction probably appeared far more opaque to many learned men in the premodern Muslim intellectual milieu, at any rate to those in preceding centuries; see Sanni 2004:166–168, 170–174.

[5] This despite some literary critics' explicit rejection of intermixing religious and aesthetic criteria in assessing literary works; see for instance Jacobi 1972:90.

negative quality in Muslim ethics that many scholars would detect in virtually all fictional genres.[6]

2 Hyperbole in Literary Criticism

For premodern Muslim literary critics, poetic hyperbole is closely associated with the issue of the facticity or otherwise of a poem, and more particularly with that of 'lying' (*kaḏib*).[7] Given that hyperbole by definition overstates the true facts, this is reasonable enough. Most literary critics, however, point out that poetry (and literature in general) is not supposed to be based on truth or judged according to its facticity.[8] Others disagreed and disapproved of exaggerations and all forms of 'lying' in literature.[9] Here is Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 400/1010) describing the intrinsic tendency of poetry to contain lies:

> Most [poetry] is built upon lies and impossibilities entailing implausible attributes (*al-kaḏib wa-l-istiḥāla min aṣ-ṣifāt al-mumtaniʿa*), as well as extraordinary descriptive terms and mendacious words [...]. It is especially so with pre-Islamic poetry, which is the most powerful and masterful kind of verse, of which only good phrasing and sound meanings are required. This is what made the utilisation of lies [...] acceptable in it (al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn* 136–137).

[6] Beaumont 1994:48. Arab critics' views on 'truth' and 'lying' in both poetry and prose were in fact far more complex and nuanced, but there is no space here to discuss this issue. See for instance Gruendler 2003:247–248; Toral-Niehoff 2015:60–61; and on the routine association of poetry with lying, see Yosefi 2016:136–137; Sanni 1990:342, 350 (note 16). It is interesting to note in a modern treatise on the television show *Šāʿir al-milyūn*, the popular poetic contest in Arabic dialectal poetry broadcast in the Arab Gulf states, that the sin of "distorting and misrepresenting facts (*tazwīr al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-taḥrīfuhā*)" is attributed to dialectal poetry in particular. According to the treatise, calling dialectal verse and its masters 'poetry' and 'poets' is *ipso facto* mislabelling them. See al-Ġāmidī 1429/2008:25–26.

[7] For instance, Ibn Ḥiğğa (*Ḫizāna* III, 133) begins his discussion of *mubālaġa* with affirming that most authorities approve of this literary device because of the adage "the best poetry is that which is the most mendacious (*aḥsan aš-šiʿr akḏabuhu*)". Cf. also Ibn Rašīq, *ʿUmda* 348; Sanni 1990:342. Of course, despite the centrality of truth to discussions of poetry, and poetic hyperbole in particular, a whole range of other considerations were at play in assessing poetical performances. Gruendler points out (2008:340) that the poet's public role "was far too sophisticated to fit the narrow moral categories of sincerity or mendacity."

[8] This issue is subtly but definitely different from that of lexical accuracy (*ḥaqīqa*) discussed by al-Ğurğānī and other premodern Arab literary critics, on which see Key 2018:220–228.

[9] For more on these debates, see for instance Ibn Rašīq, *ʿUmda* 339–341, 347–348; Ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr* 148–150; and Bürgel 1974:56–66; Jacobi 1972:92–95; Yosefi 2016:137–139, 145–148.

Four centuries later we find al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418) arguing along the same lines and pointing out that hyperbole fully qualifies as lying, since whatever it states is by definition untrue.[10] However, he makes a subtle distinction between mild and inordinate hyperbole:

> When the hyperbole goes beyond the bounds of plausibility and runs the course of sheer lying (*al-kaḏib al-maḥḍ*), then it is censured (*maḏmūma*) in religious law even though poets will treat such things as permissible and will not strive to avoid committing them. God the Most High reports about them [Q. 26:225]: "hast thou not seen how they wander in every valley and how they say that which they do not..." (al-Qalqašandī *Ṣubḥ* II, 210–214).[11]

Al-Qalqašandī's younger contemporary, the Egyptian man of letters Šihāb ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ibšīhī (d. 850/1446) observes that God praises certain people in the Quran, and draws a conclusion from this:

> On these grounds, praising a man on account of his existing praiseworthy characteristics is licit. As for the Prophet's saying "when you see those who praise, throw dust in their faces"[12]: according to al-ʿUtbī[13] this refers to invalid praise and lying. As for praising a man for traits that are in fact present in him, there is no harm in it. The Prophet was praised by Abū Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās, Ḥassān, Kaʿb and others, and we have not heard that he threw dust in the face of anyone praising [him]... (al-Ibšīhī, *Mustaṭraf* 303).

Another near-contemporary from the Mamluk domains, Ibn Ḥiǧǧa al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), rated the literary device of *mubālaġa* highly and defended it against its detractors by pointing out its use in the Quran[14] and many hadith texts, an argument hard to refute. He was far less supportive of more extreme types of exaggerations (i.e. those termed *iġrāq* and *ġuluww* in his scheme), but still regarded them as permissible if some qualificatory word (*qad*, 'perhaps'; *lawlā*, 'were it not that';

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[10] Indeed, the issue of hyperbole constituted the central point of mediaeval Muslim discussions of lying in poetry; see Gruendler 2003:109.

[11] Cf. Ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr* 154.

[12] The Prophet's words appear both directly and as reported speech in variants of hadith no. 3002 in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* II, 1365; and also see al-Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-kubrā* X, 410. For a brief discussion of this and related hadiths, see Sharlet 2011:9. Another well-known hadith likens explicit praise to cutting a man's throat (or similar variants); see al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 1517–1518 [hadiths no. 6060 and 6061]; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* II, 1365 [hadiths no. 3000 and 3001]; al-Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-kubrā* X, 410. On the mediaeval Muslim courtly audience's variegated reactions to, and interaction with, recitals of panegyrics, see Gruendler 2008:328–330.

[13] Probably the Malikite jurist and traditionalist Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUtbī (d. 254/868).

[14] A topic already discussed by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ar-Rummānī (d. 384/994) in his *an-Nukat fī iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān*; see Rippin 1983:39.

kāda, 'almost') kept them, however tenuously, within the bounds of possibility.[15] He noted that the Quran does not contain examples of *iġrāq* and *ġuluww* devoid of such qualifications. Accordingly, he classifies *ġuluww* into two categories, acceptable (*maqbūl*) and unacceptable (*ġayr maqbūl*), depending on the presence or absence of these modificatory phrases. He even regards some examples of extreme poetic hyperbole (*ġuluww*) in praise poetry as evidence of the unbelief (*kufr*) of the poet. However, he makes one single exception to this principle, saying that *ġuluww* is not a hazard – indeed, the very term is an oxymoron – in panegyrics on the Prophet.[16]

3 Juridical Views on Hyperbole

Bearing in mind that men of letters and jurists were partially overlapping categories, it is unsurprising that literary critics' discussions of hyperbole seeped over into Islamic law. One reason for the impact of literary debates upon legal thought is that truthfulness, a major issue in literature, is an obvious concern for jurists as well. No wonder that, in his short précis on the Satan-inspired wrongdoings of the poets, the Hanbalite Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1200) mentions among other sins "lying in praise[-poetry] beyond all limits (*al-kaḏib fī l-madḥ ḫāriğan ʿan al-ḥadd*)" (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Talbīs* 180).

Since some of the companions of the Prophet were noted for their poetic skills, and he was the object of considerable praise-poetry by these men, the issue of the ethical aspects of panegyrics inevitably arose in the early Muslim community, providing valuable legal precedents for later juridical thought. The authoritative hadith collections offer some guidance regarding the issue of hyperbole in poetry. Thus, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* has a short section within the chapter *Kitāb az-zuhd wa-r-raqāʾiq* titled *Bāb an-nahy ʿan al-madḥ iḏā kāna fīhi iṭrāṭ wa-ḫīfa minhu fitna ʿalā l-mamdūḥ* (On the Prohibition of Praise If It is Extravagant and There Is the Risk of Enticement for the Object of Praise). The section contains three hadiths, two of which exist in several variants (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* II, 1365–1366 [hadiths no. 3000 to 3002]). Al-Buḫārī's collection has a section called *Bāb mā yukrahu min at-tamāduḥ* (On the Objectionable Kinds of Praising One Another) within the chapter *Kitāb al-adab* (al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 1517–1518 [hadiths no. 6060 to 6061]). Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī's (d. 458/1066) *as-Sunan al-kubrā* includes a subchapter under the title *Bāb aš-šāʿir yamdaḥu n-nās bi-mā laysa fīhim ḥattā yakūna ḏālika kaṯīran ẓāhiran kaḏiban maḥḍan* (On a Poet Who Praises People by [Attributing to

[15] Cf. Ibn Rašīq, *ʿUmda* 350–351; Sanni 2004:168, 171.

[16] Ibn Ḥiğğa, *Ḫizāna* III, 135, 142–143, 149, 153, 155–156. Other scholars might see the latter point as considerably more complicated. Thus, the Ottoman-era scholar Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl an-Nabhānī (d. 1350/1932) argues in his *Ǧawāhir al-biḥār fī faḍāʾil an-nabī al-muḫtār* that the veneration of the prophet Muḥammad must be strictly distinguished from the corresponding beliefs and practices of Christians and Shīʿa Muslims, since poetic hyperbole must in no way be mixed with positive doctrine. See Pagani 2022:528.

Them] What is Not in Them, If This Becomes Frequent, Conspicuous, Pure Lying) (al-Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-kubrā* X, 410).

Literature is not a separate subject discussed for its own sake by premodern Muslim jurists. Furthermore, the accepted principle, whether explicit or implicit, was that it is only in formal and stylistic features that prose and poetry differ (von Grunebaum 1952:336), and thus different moral standards do not obtain in assessing them. That said, poetry *did* occasion a number of specific moral qualms, duly debated by jurists. It must be borne in mind that in the mediaeval Muslim context "poetry, in particular the elaborate *qaṣīda*, was a living art form with a purpose, and not (only) the venerated artifact and ingredient of the educated canon it was to become to subsequent centuries", to borrow the apt words of Beatrice Gruendler (2008:329).[17] She further notes that hyperbolic praise was one of the most efficient means of spurring the audience towards the desired responses (Gruendler 2008:349). The typical context in which the use of hyperbole by poets is discussed is that of testimony (*šahādāt*) in legal proceedings, i.e. the issue of deciding if a particular person is fit to act as a witness. Some, but not all, juridical works devote a separate section to the issue of *šahādat aš-šuʿarāʾ*, the testimony of poets. The lawfulness of a poet's testifying may hinge upon a number of poetic practices (such as his habit of composing invective poetry or his use of certain motifs of love poetry), of which hyperbole in praise-poetry is one.

Instead of offering a systematic overview of each legal school's opinions, in the following paragraphs I will concentrate on the Shafiʿite juridical tradition because of limits of space, but also because jurists of this school seem to have discussed this issue in most detail.

3.1 The Shafiʿite Tradition

Aš-Šāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) *Kitāb al-umm* already contains a short section on the problem of *šahādat aš-šuʿarāʾ*. He sets out the main principles that we find in all subsequent Shafiʿite *fiqh* works (and often elsewhere too). Regarding hyperbole, the two pertinent principles are that poetry is not objectionable in and of itself but it may be made so by the presence of certain features, and that one of the latter is the poet's excessive lying in his panegyrics (*bi-an yamdaḥa fa-yukṯira l-kaḏib*).[18] This can indeed lead to the rejection of his testimony. Aš-Šāfiʿī then goes on to specify further:

> [...] and if [the poet] is content with praising people for traits that are not in them to the extent that it becomes frequent, evident and overt, indeed pure lying (*kaḏiban maḥḍan*), his testimony is to be rejected [...]. If, however, he

[17] Cf. Sharlet 2011:7–8.

[18] Cf. al-Bayhaqī, *Maʿrifa* XIV, 339; al-Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-ṣaġīr* IV, 181; al-Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-kubrā* X, 401; Ibn al-Munḏir, *al-Išrāf* X, 283; al-Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* XVII, 202–203; Ibn Qudāma, *Muġnī* X, 160.

> praises someone truthfully and duly respects truth, or exaggerates (*yufriṭu*) in a way that does not really constitute lying, his testimony should not be rejected.[19]

Within the more general issue of testimony, the Shafiʿi jurist Muḥammad b. Dāwud aṣ-Ṣaydalānī (d. 427/1035–1036) gives a balanced consideration to poetic lies and hyperbole (*al-kaḏib fī waṣf aw madḥ wa-iṭrāʾ*). He points out that exaggerations and embellishments are an intrinsic feature of good poetry, even though these are technically lies. He then asserts that lying in poetry is of two possible types, namely exaggeration (*mubālaġa*) or pure lying (*kaḏib maḥḍ*) that cannot be reduced to exaggeration. The latter type has caused disagreements among jurists, some of whom (to wit, most Hanbalites and Shafiʿites, and some Malikites) say that this is to be regarded as lying in a legal sense, while others (some Shafiʿites including aṣ-Ṣaydalānī himself) contend that it does not qualify as lying in a strict sense. The former justify their position by pointing out that poetry is to be treated exactly as any other type of discourse, while the latter point out that, unlike a liar, a poet does not intend his poetry to be taken as literally true, and thus the element of intentional deception is absent (ʿAfīf 1438–1439:463–467).

The Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ǧuwaynī (d. 478/1085) gives aṣ-Ṣaydalānī's opinion serious consideration and stresses the latter's distinction between intentional lying and unintentionally counterfactual tropes, as well as another important distinction between habitual and occasional exaggerations. Here is the relevant passage, which is worth quoting at some length because of its unusual lucidity in presenting the main dilemmas:

> What is ought to be investigated is whether the poet reaches the point of lying in his descriptions, or in his praise and hyperboles (*iṭrāʾ*). Now, what most of our fellow[-Shafiʿites] opine is that whoever composes such works is a liar, and that it is tantamount to his lying either occasionally or habitually. However, aṣ-Ṣaydalānī said: "It is not the same as lying, for a liar is one who gives [genuine] information and passes a lie off as the truth, while poetry is just an art (*ṣināʿa*) and the poet's purpose is not to be believed in what he says. Therefore, he is not a liar." Those who hold the former opinion say: "An occasional case of this [i.e. untrue hyperboles and panegyrics] may be tolerated and need not affect the acceptability of the [poet's] testimony, but lots of it must lead to the rejection thereof." The corollary (*qiyās*) of what aṣ-Ṣaydalānī said is that no distinction is to be made between a little and a lot [of using such motifs], for it is not [serious] information from an informant needing verification (al-Ǧuwaynī, *Nihāya* XIX, 25).

[19] aš-Šāfiʿī, *Umm* VII, 513; part of which is cited verbatim in al-Bayhaqī, *Maʿrifa*. XIV, 339 and in slightly modified form in al-Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-kubrā* X, 410.

Al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) offers a characteristically nuanced assessment of hyperbole in his various works. In the *Waǧīz*, al-Ġazālī does not mention hyperbole – whether in panegyrics or in other contexts – as one of the legal grounds for disqualifying a poet as a witness.[20] In *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn*, he discusses it the context of the section on the potential harms of poetry as well as in the section on lying. In the former context, he states:

> In general, the reciting and composition of poetry is not prohibited if there is no objectionable passage (*kalām mustakrah*) in it. The Prophet said: "There is wisdom in poetry."[21] How nice are praise, reproach and love as themes of poetry, but lying may spoil them. God's Messenger ordered Ḥassān b. Ṯābit to lampoon the infidels and to make unsparing praise, for even if it is untrue (*kāna kaḏiban*) it does not share the prohibited nature of [genuine] lying. Like this [verse] that a poet said: "If there had been nothing but his own soul in his hand, he would give it away generously, so let anyone asking [favours from] him fear God!" This is just a description of extreme generosity, so if the object of the verse is not generous [the poet] will be a liar, and if he is generous, then exaggeration (*mubālaġa*) is just part of the mastery of poetry and it is not meant to be believed literally (al-Ġazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* 1016).

Then in the section on lying, al-Ġazālī further elaborates on the moral nuances of technically untrue exaggerations. His arguments here are not specifically about poetry, but they are clearly relevant to that context as well:

> A kind of lying that does not justify [a verdict of the perpetrator's] sinfulness (*fisq*) is the common phenomenon of exaggeration (*mubālaġa*), such as saying "I asked you such-and-such a thing [a hundred] times", or "I told you so a hundred times". It is not supposed to specify the exact number of times but to convey [a sense of] exaggeration. Thus, if his request took place only once, the man is lying, but if his request took place an unusual number of times, the man committed no sin even if the number was less than a hundred. Between these two [cases] are various gradations in which a man who nonchalantly utters exaggerations risks becoming a liar (al-Ġazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* 1032).

Further on in the same work on Islamic ethics, al-Ġazālī treats praise (*madḥ*) in a separate subsection as one of the "banes of the tongue" (*āfāt al-lisān*), and gives several reasons for this remarkable perspective. The very first of these is that praise always "involves the risk of exaggeration, which leads to lying (*qad yufriṭu fa-yantahī bihi ilā l-kaḏib*)" (al-Ġazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* 1053). Apart from this statement, the rest of the subsection is unconcerned with hyperbole. Ever the nuanced thinker, al-Ġazālī concludes it by stating that praise may in fact be commendable rather than

[20] al-Ġazālī, *Waǧīz* 2:248, cited in ar-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAzīz* XIII, 9–10.

[21] See al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 1535 [hadith no. 6145]; and cf. Sanni 1990:345.

objectionable if one carefully avoids the potential moral risks inherent in it (ibid., 1054–1055).[22]

Roughly a century later, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226) states that a poet's panegyrics should be investigated and if it is plausible to regard the contents as mere hyperbole, then it is licit practice (*ǧāʾiz*). If, however, it cannot be regarded as merely exaggeration (*mubālaġa*) but it is sheer lies (*kāna kaḏiban maḥḍan*), then most Shafiʿites (probably including aš-Šāfiʿī himself) opine that it is like any ordinary tendency to lie, and if it becomes a habit, the poet's testimony should be rejected "just as if he habitually lied in what is not poetry (*ka-mā iḏā akṯara l-kaḏib fī ġayr aš-šiʿr*)". The Shafiʿite authors Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Qaffāl (d. 365/976) and aṣ-Ṣaydalānī, however, argue that it is not like ordinary lies, "because a liar passes off his own lies as true and spreads them, whereas a poet's purpose is not to be taken at face value in his poetry but [to demonstrate] his mastery (*ṣināʿa*)" (al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAzīz* XIII, 17–18). This argument is taken virtually word by word by two preeminent Shafiʿite scholars, Muḥyī d-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Šaraf an-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) (an-Nawawī, *Rawḍa* XI, 229) and Kamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā ad-Damīrī (d. 808/1405) (ad-Damīrī *Naǧm* X, 308).

Later Shafiʿite authors tend to expand upon the views of their predecessors rather than offer entirely new perspectives. One passage that deserves consideration here appears in Ibn Ḥaǧar al-Haytamī's (d. 975/1567) listing of grave sins (*kabāʾir*).[23] The sixtieth item on the list is extravagant praise-poetry about a person whose behaviour does not justify it (*al-iṭrāʾ fī š-šiʿr bi-mā lam taǧri l-ʿāda bihi*). It is worth quoting the relevant passage:

> This [being a grave sin] is further proven by what [Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān] al-Fawrānī [d. 461/1069] says in the *ʿUmda*: "If [the poet] exaggerates in his praise of a man, stating what has never been [observed of the latter's] behaviour (*mā lam taǧri bihi l-ʿāda*), then this is explicit lying (*kaḏib ṣarīḥ*) and impudence (*safah*), and on these grounds the testimony [of the poet] must be rejected. Al-Aḏruʿī says: Linking it to past behaviour (*taqyīduhu bi-l-ʿāda*) is a good point. The sheikh Abū Muḥammad says: If [this poet] does not utter a lot of genuine lies (*al-kaḏib al-maḥḍ*) his testimony is valid." Then it is said in the *ʿUmda*: "If [the poet] mentions a simile comparing a man to a lion or to the full moon, it does not adversely affect [his fitness to testify]; likewise a prose writer who mentions something that might actually happen, such as saying 'I keep mentioning you throughout the night

[22] For more on al-Ġazālī's views on poetry, see Ouyang 1997:33–35.

[23] The concept of *kabīra* (grave sin) is a legally important one, even though its definition is controversial. Although the issue is complicated, the general Shafiʿite principle is that a man who commits a *kabīra* is thereby to be considered a *fāsiq* (sinful, immoral) person and should not be allowed to give testimony. For an authoritative discussion of this, see ar-Ramlī, *Nihāya* VIII, 294–295.

and the day', or 'I leave no gathering devoid of your mention', or 'You are dearer to me than my own soul'. This does not disqualify [his testimony], since he does not intend to lie, all this being mere ornament of speech, so it is just like invalid oaths (*laġw al-yamīn*)." [...] It is probable that one ought to discriminate among the objects of praise (*bayna mamdūḥ wa-mamdūḥ*). If [the poet] exaggerates (*bālaġa*) in his description of a man who has generosity or knowledge or valour, or any trait that he actually possesses, and praises it excessively (*aġraqa fīhi*)[24], it does no harm. However, if [the object of praise] is utterly devoid of that trait – such as a sinful or ignorant or niggardly man being presented as the most knowledgeable or just or generous of all men, the mendacity of which is shown by experience – then this [poet] has cast away the shroud of modesty and manly virtues, as has the man who has made panegyrics his trade and spends most of his time cultivating it; unlike a man who only occasionally composes a panegyric about individuals who have done him favours. The latter can be excused for excessive hyperboles (*al-iġrāq fī ṯ-ṯanā'*), since it serves only to demonstrate [poetic] mastery and fine verse-making. [...] [Al-Aḏruʿī] also says: "If a poet makes his praise excessive (*yamdaḥu wa-yuṭrī*), then if it can be interpreted as a kind of exaggeration (*mubālaġa*) it is permissible, otherwise it is sheer lying (*kāna kaḏiban maḥḍan*) according to most of our fellows [i.e. Shafiʿite scholars] (Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Zawāǧir* II, 215).[25]

After this passage Ibn Ḥaǧar mentions the littérateurs' debates on the merits and demerits of hyperbole vis-à-vis straight descriptions, an issue that we have briefly mentioned above. Inclusion of these debates in Ibn Ḥaǧar's text shows the continuing impact of literary critics' voices upon legal thought.

3.2 The Other Schools of Law

There is no space here for a comprehensive summary of the views of the other legal schools. However, a few glimpses into Hanbalite and Malikite opinions will perhaps reveal a number of characteristic patterns.

The most conspicuous feature of Hanbalite discussions of the issue seems to be their brevity and lack of specification. Thus, Naǧm ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥamdān al-Ḥarrānī (d. 695/1295) simply says that "if a poet engages in a lot of lying in praising, condemning or obscenity, he is immoral; otherwise, he is not (*wa-in akṯara š-šāʿir al-kaḏib fī madḥ aw ḏamm aw fuḥš fasaqa wa-illā fa-lā*)" (Ibn Ḥamdān, *Riʿāya* II,

[24] This edition reads *aʿraqa* and *iʿrāq*, an obvious error instead of the correct *aġraqa* and *iġrāq*.

[25] For the latter observation cited from al-Aḏruʿī, cf. a very similar phrasing in ar-Ramlī, *Nihāya* VIII, 299, which expands on a laconic statement in an-Nawawī, *Minhāǧ* 568 [*wa-yubāḥu qawl šiʿr wa-inšāduhu illā an yahǧuwa aw yufḥiša...*].

1271). Many later Hanbalites do not even make stipulate the frequency of employing untrue poetic statements as a criterion of the poet's moral standing. The Damascene Hanbalite jurist Šams ad-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Mufliḥ al-Maqdisī (d. 763/1362) briefly states in the chapter on testimony that "if a poet uses exaggerations in his praise for a gift (*in farraṭa šāʿir bi-l-midḥa bi-iʿṭāʾihi*)" he is to be regarded as a *fāsiq* – and therefore unfit for testifying in court (Ibn Mufliḥ, *Furūʿ* III, 638). This general attitude (and the perfunctoriness of discussing the issue) is echoed later on by Hanbalite jurists of the late mediaeval and early modern periods. Thus, Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn an-Naǧǧār al-Futūḥī (d. 972/1564) offers what is practically a rephrasing of Ibn Mufliḥ's words, stating that no testimony should be accepted from a poet who exaggerates in panegyrics in exchange for money (*šāʿir yufriṭu fī l-madḥ bi-iʿṭāʾ*) (Ibn an-Naǧǧār, *Muntahā* V, 363). Hanbalite jurists of the early modern period seem to do little more than repeat, or briefly comment on, these passages, such as Ibn Abī Taġlib aš-Šaybānī (d. 1135/1723) and Muṣṭafā b. Saʿd ar-Ruḥaybānī (d. 1243/1827), two Hanbalite jurists of Damascus. Both use Ibn Mufliḥ's original words in slightly modified forms but keep the message intact (Ibn Abī Taġlib, *Nayl* II, 477; ar-Ruḥaybānī, *Maṭālib* VI, 519): no testimony may be accepted from a poet exaggerating in his panegyrics in hopes of an award (*šāʿir yufriṭu fī madḥ li-iʿṭāʾ*). The latter also adds that the famous Quranic passage condemning the poets (26:224–226) refers specifically to those who know no bounds and lie (*man asrafa wa-kaḏaba*), an interpretation that had already appeared verbatim in a much earlier Hanbalite work by Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 620/1223) (Ibn Qudāma, *Muġnī* X, 158).

Malikite authors seem to lend even less attention to the issue of hyperbole in praise-poetry, even though they are of course quite preoccupied with the problem of lying. One finds the versified popular romances of Dilhimma (Ḏāt al-Himma) and ʿAntar forcefully disapproved in various Mālikite fatwas (e.g. by Abū ʿAbdallāh b. ʿArafa and Abū ʿAlī b. Qaddāḥ) precisely because they contain "lies" (*kaḏib*), i.e. fictitious events and characters (al-Wanšarīsī *Miʿyār*: XI, 172). Perhaps because of this general suspicion of 'untrue' speech, the Malikites show a slight but palpable dislike of poetry in general that seems to go back to Mālik b. Anas himself and is often expressed in the form of warning against wasting time, or at any rate too much time, on poetry.[26] According to a report, Mālik also declared that a poet who composes panegyrics but does not threaten to make invective if he is not recompensed for his efforts is an acceptable witness, but poets engaging in this dirty type of blackmail are not (al-Barāḏiʿī, *Tahḏīb* III, 584; Ibn al-Munḏir, *Išrāf* IV, 283).[27] Some Malikite scholars, such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr an-Namarī (d. 463/1070), say practically nothing on excessive praise and declare praise-poetry unproblematic. He

[26] E.g. Ibn Rušd, *Bayān* XVIII, 29–30.

[27] Also cf. al-Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* XVII, 210. The same principle is formulated in different words in ar-Rūyānī, *Baḥr* XIV, 325.

states that a poet who composes panegyrics (*man madaḥa min aš-šuʿarāʾ*) but refrains from satire and love poetry addressed to specific, named women can be accepted as a witness. He does not say anything else on poets, nor does he make distinctions between different types of panegyric (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Kāfī* II, 396). On the other hand, the Malikite jurisprudent Ibn Rušd al-Ǧadd (d. 520/1126) does make an implicit distinction when interpreting the well-known Quranic condemnation of poets (26:224–226) as a reference to excessive hyperbole (*ġuluww*): "[the poets lie because] in praising (*yamdaḥūna*) and condemning (*yaḏummūna*) and describing the inclinations of their souls they exaggerate (*fa-yuġlūna*)" (Ibn Rušd, *Bayān* XVIII, 29).[28]

Modern Muslim juridical thought shows some continuity with such premodern precedents, especially with regard to the importance of the truthfulness of artistic works. Thus, one finds a modern juridical work on the actors' profession stating that, even though acting is in principle permitted (*mubāḥ*) entertainment, it is associated with a great number of additional features that make it prohibited (*al-fiʿlāt al-muḥarrama wa-l-aqwāl al-munkara*). One of these features is the propensity of acting to involve lying and fabrications (*al-kaḏib wa-l-iḫtilāq*) (Abū Zayd 1411: 45, 47).

4 Conclusions

One can perceive interesting similarities between juridical and literary assessments of hyperbole among premodern Muslim intellectuals. For instance, many jurists' division of poetical 'lies' into mere exaggeration (*mubālaġa*) and 'sheer lying' (*kaḏib maḥḍ*) offers a clear parallel into some critics' tripartite division of hyperboles into *mubālaġa*, *iġrāq* and *ġuluww*, the two latter subcategories being not just untrue but implausible or inconceivable as well. Be that as it may, both perspectives – i.e. that of the literary critics and that of the jurists – show an evident preoccupation with the truth value of poetry.

In contemporary Western thought, truthfulness is not generally regarded as a proper criterion of the worth of a literary work. Truth does, however, retain some residual importance, especially in potential legal contexts, as evidenced by the appearance of such disclaimers as "Any resemblance to real persons, living or dead, is purely coincidental", in the imprint page of a volume of fiction. That said, the premodern Muslim approach now probably appears rather unfamiliar to the average western man. What to make, then, of all those debates about poets 'lying' whenever they use a hyperbole?

In his ethnography of speaking, Dell Hymes describes speech events in various ways, including analysis in terms of conflicting expectations and hierarchies of

[28] The interpretation that associates these Quranic verses with untrue panegyrics seems to go back to Qatāda; see ar-Rūyānī, *Baḥr* XIV, 324; al-Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* XVII, 208.

speech function (Hymes 1962:38). This means that participants of a speech event will often have different perceptions as to the proper speech function to attribute to a text. The perception of exaggeration in literary texts as a form of lying can perhaps be understood as an example of this kind of ambiguity and tension. We have seen that some jurisprudents emphasise the referential (informative) function of all texts, including poetic texts, while other jurisprudents recognise the primacy of a poetic (aesthetic) and/or expressive (emotive) function when it comes to assessing poetic texts in particular. As Hymes further points out (1962:30–31), some functions of speech are closely associated with certain genres, literary or otherwise. Predictably enough, the expressive/emotive and poetic/aesthetic functions are particularly prominent in Arabic praise poetry. However, a jurisprudent who consciously refuses to recognise any speech function other than the referential/informative will of course disregard differences in speech functions altogether and insist on assessing all texts in terms of truth and lies. As the debates among the jurists clearly show, the refusal to consider speech function was deliberate rather than naïve. I am afraid one can only speculate as to the reasons.

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PHARAONISM AND CONTEMPORARY EGYPT: A NEW 'CIVILIZATIONAL STATE' *IN STATU NASCENDI*[1]

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"Egyptians are religious by nature."[2]

Abstract:
In April 2021, Egypt held an extraordinary event in Cairo, the 'Golden Parade of the Pharaohs', during which the government ceremoniously moved twenty-two ancient mummies from the Egyptian Museum to the recently established National Museum of Egyptian Civilization. The unprecedentedly spectacular event can be interpreted not only from the perspective of culture or tourism but can actually be perceived as a manifestation of the new Egyptian ideological discourse. At the centre of this is the structure of a civilizational state with its specific cultural, historical, and political tradition. The domestic political, economic, social, and cultural measures of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi's[3] government, which came to power after the revolutionary period of 2011–2013, show that instead of following the example of a Western state based on liberal values, it is working on Egypt's statehood by relying on its own religious and moral traditions. In doing so, it practically joins the recently emerging civilizational states around the world, which believe that their systems represent civilizations and must preserve faith, tradition, and heritage (Coker 2019). The article discusses some central cultural, social, and political initiatives, which in their final result sought to contribute to the formation of a highly centralized, hierarchically constructed and morally grounded – Egyptian – 'civilizational state'.

[1] This paper forms part of a more comprehensive research project, which discusses the peculiarities of the transitional – twenty-first century – Egyptian state structure highlighting the political institutions of the pre-modern empire and the modern nation-state. It is an improved version of a presentation given by the author on 13 October 2023 in Dunaszerdahely (Slovakia), at the 21st International Vámbéry Conference, entitled *Pharaonism and Modern Egyptian Identity.*

[2] In Egyptian public discourse, the statement that "Egyptians are religious by nature" appears frequently. For the Egyptians, who strive to create a kind of modernity out of a premodern society, this statement falls under a sometimes negative and sometimes positive evaluation, and inevitably recalls the relationship between political and religious forces. It appears in this sense, e.g. in the introduction to Dalia Ziada's article; see Ziada (2002).

[3] No transliteration is used in the article for names.

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The main hypothesis of the present article is that, following the 'two revolutions' between 2011 and 2013, the Egyptian government—parallel to the top-down establishment of social stability—has moved to create a 'civilizational state'. Subsequent to the showdown with the Muslim Brotherhood from the mid-2010s, it has become clear that, with the steps taken to ensure the stability of the formally democratic Egyptian state and an increasing reference to and reliance on ancient Egyptian roots, a new 'imperial' autocratic state is in the making, similar to others in the 'second/third world'.

In recent years, the Egyptian state has initiated a nationalist discourse known as Neo-Pharaonism, advocating for a renewed identification with the Pharaonic era. Neo-Pharaonism constitutes a multifaceted phenomenon, encompassing not only the establishment of new museums dedicated to Egyptian archaeology and museology, as well as related parades and shows, but also extensive efforts to attract tourists through the restoration of Pharaonic sites. While these elements are integral to Neo-Pharaonism, the primary focus is on the redefinition of Egyptian identity, anchored in the rich tapestry of its ancient civilization. This redefinition aims to inspire imagination and foster commitment, concurrently raising awareness about Egypt's re-articulated mission. It sheds light on the historical narrative shaping the current Egyptian leadership's mindset when formulating and implementing government tasks, and on the way this narrative is presented and embraced by the population.

1 After the military takeover

The military takeover, which followed the presidency of Mohamed Mursi, affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, was declared by General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi on 3 July 2013 (Kirkpatrick 2018:Ch 22). General el-Sisi stood alongside representatives of various Egyptian communities, the Sheikh al-Azhar, the Coptic Pope, as well as members from legal, trade union, women's, and youth organizations. The military intervention, grounded in perceived security concerns and the national interest, was justified not only by the revolutionary sentiments of June-July 2013 and the enduring spirit of the 25 January 2011 revolution but also by the economic shortcomings of the Mursi government and the opposition from the now-deposed Muslim Brotherhood.

The public celebrated the alignment of the populace with the military, apparently viewing Abdel Fattah el-Sisi as a capable, decisive leader ready to act. His images adorned billboards throughout the country. The public was portrayed as holding deep admiration and respect for him, with positive notes widely disseminated in the

media, and songs composed portraying him as the groom with Egypt as his bride and the Egyptian men and women as their children (Naguib 2020). Except for Gamal Abdel Nasser, no Egyptian president appears to have been as universally accepted and recognized in a patriarchal manner.

In contrast, the Muslim Brotherhood resisted the military takeover, orchestrating attacks against the armed forces, Christian, and even Muslim institutions. Consequently, a dichotomy of 'with us' versus 'against us' permeated domestic political thinking, leading to the eradication of all forms of resistance. Journalists and civilians who criticized this process faced similar consequences. A curfew and a state of emergency were imposed, accompanied by strict media censorship, including full control over electronic media. NGOs faced restrictions in their activities, and the number of arrests soared to 60,000. The 'military republic' that emerged after the July 2013 takeover governed the country with robust domestic security forces, even more potent propaganda, consolidation of power centres under the presidency, and the suppression of dissenting voices through threats of imprisonment (Milton-Edwards 2016:48–50).

The pivotal moment in a political context occurred with the afore mentioned constitutional amendment in 2019. Abdel Fattah el-Sisi initiated changes to the conditions for the presidency, specifically the eligibility criteria for presidential candidacy. These alterations were structured to allow el-Sisi to hold the office until the age of 80, barring any other disqualifying conditions. The original democratic principle stipulated a four-year presidential cycle, with the option for one renewal. However, the amendment extended the term to six years, resulting in an elongated current term for the President, who initially received authorization for four years. Consequently, el-Sisi gained the opportunity to seek re-election, potentially allowing him to remain in office until 2036.

2 El-Sisi's political orientation

In his presidential election campaign, el-Sisi proposed to establish a 'new republic' (*ǧumhūriyya ǧadīda*) to universally address the political, economic, religious, and social crisis of the 2010s. Upon entering office, he called for short-term sacrifices in exchange for long-term stability (Bower 2023). This seemed like a deal that most of the electorate accepted. Although very little was known about the details, the fact that all measures taken were centralized in the presidential office was clearly reflected in el-Sisi's unequivocal response to a general question related to religion raised by a journalist: "the president is responsible for everything within a country, even for the situation of religion". "Yes", he repeated after a short break – "even for religion" (El-Sherif 2014).

Consequently, el-Sisi took into consideration the deep religiosity of the country. In a paper written in 2006 while in the US for military training under the title *Democracy in the Middle East* (ElSisi 2006), he briefly summarized the points to be

taken into consideration when a Western (liberal) democratic order is introduced in Middle Eastern states. He explains that in order to govern Middle Eastern societies according to democratic principles, secular democratic principles should first be adjusted to Islam. Though not explicitly stated, it is clear that he speaks of the applicability of the democratic procedures. He states that although the order thus established will resemble Western democracies in its balanced nature, it will not be secular because state and religion cannot be separated in Islam. He emphasized that when the tasks and obligations of legislation, execution, and jurisdiction are established, the values rooted in Islamic traditions should prevail. This is a hybrid solution since it instrumentally uses the procedures of liberal – secular – democracy, but at the same time – at least according to its underlying intent – it maintains and preserves the moral strength of Islam. Thus, this model suggests the practical implementation of a specific variant of democracy, which, however, cannot be called liberal anymore.

The latent criticism of Western democracy goes as far as wishing to limit the Western role in East-West practical relations to financial, economic, and military issues, excluding the political and democratization efforts of the West. This criticism claims that the central element of the West's approach, liberal democracy, does not correlate with the spiritual-intellectual mindset of Eastern societies. As a result, it considers Western intervention harmful and damaging.

While Western democracies are founded on the cooperation of individual citizens, Eastern societies lack this concept of citizenship. To elevate the general level of public education, substantial and meaningful education and training over an extended period would be necessary. Democratic transition conditions can only be established through education and cultural development.

El-Sisi's concept highlights the differences between the supposedly rational Western civilization, built on free and independent individuals, and the Eastern civilization, which operates within communities of varying sizes and based on personal relations of trust. This concept directly relates to the sphere of civilizations and sets the stage for the emergence of a new model, potentially a 'civilizational state'.

The following section of the paper will delve into the social initiatives and the civilization-rebuilding project of the envisioned 'civilizational state'.

3 Social initiatives and civilization rebuilding project

Over the past decade (2013–2023), in addition to national security measures and substantial economic investments, significant social and civilizational programs have been initiated to strengthen and maintain political stability. These initiatives materialized in the form of the previously mentioned renewal of religious discourse, the Egyptian National Dialogue, and the Egyptian Family Home programs. There

has also been an increasing reliance on the ancient Pharaonic (Nile Valley) culture in contemporary Egyptian publicity and discourse.

3.1 Social initiatives

The three social programs are closely connected to the religious life and political behaviour of the Egyptian community, as well as to the mutual recognition of the various religious communities comprising the society as a whole. The key stakeholders in these initiatives are the President, the state, religious institutions, and the people. However, it is important to note that the political parties and the modern professional/vocational organizations established after gaining independence, do not engage in discussions on social issues as organized entities. Instead, their participation is through the individual involvement of their members.

In the modern sense, the party system, and the bottom-up articulation of the interests of different social groups are superseded by the government, with the President playing a central role. The government, particularly the President, conducts institutionalized/official (imperial) hearings to gather information on changes in public will and sentiment.

3.2 The renewal of religious discourse (taǧdīd al-ḫiṭāb ad-dīnī)

Between 2011 and 2013, Egyptian political life was marked by a sense of insecurity, characterized by the dual threats of religious fundamentalism and the potential return of military dictatorship, alongside a yearning for a liberal nation-state. In the tumultuous aftermath of the 2011 Egyptian Arab Spring revolution, the military played a crucial role in maintaining order. In 2012, Mohamed Mursi, the presidential candidate of the Muslim Brotherhood, won the election and assumed control. However, his one-year rule resulted in a catastrophic situation, attributed not only to the incompetence of the government but also to activities within the opposition.

On July 3, 2013, citing the ‘demand of the people’ and to prevent a looming civil war, the military, under the leadership of General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who was the Minister of Defence in the Mursi government, expelled Mursi and assumed power. A temporary president was appointed, and a roadmap was proposed, outlining the steps to navigate out of the crisis. The initial task was to confront the Muslim Brotherhood, who viewed the takeover—referred to by many as ‘the second revolution’—as a betrayal, leading to protests against the perceived ‘military coup’.

In the pursuit of restoring rule and order, the el-Sisi government took decisive actions against the Muslim Brotherhood, banning the organization and imprisoning its leaders and numerous members. However, the el-Sisi government, particularly President el-Sisi himself, recognized the profound religiosity within Egyptian society. Anticipating a potential vacuum left by the absence of the Muslim

Brotherhood from the organized and acknowledged political scene in 2015, the government initiated the 'renewal of religious discourse'.

This program was grounded in the observation that institutions of religious education and places of religious practice, such as mosques, provided ample opportunities to disseminate and acquire knowledge that supported radical views and interpretations. To counter the threat arising from the literal interpretation of religious and *šarīʿa* texts by extremist Islamists, the government conducted searches of mosque libraries, corrected religious texts and curricula, and removed books by known Islamist authors from bookstores and libraries. While these administrative measures achieved varying degrees of success, the government's attempts to fully co-opt religious institutions faced consistent challenges, largely due to the renewed, traditionally rooted, if adapted to modern rationality, religiosity of the Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar aš-Šarīf.

The tension between the government and religious institutions has been evident to the public for years. In this struggle, President el-Sisi appears to increasingly advocate for a rigid, narrowing, and simplified religiosity. In contrast, Ahmad al-Tayyib, the Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar, advocates for a pluralist, *wasaṭī* (moderate, as compared to extremist) interpretation of Islam. This approach aims to preserve and maintain Islamic values by drawing on both traditions and the modern world, referencing common ideals of humankind and modern international agreements.

The presidential office's objectives are evident in its efforts to bring certain forms of imam training under its authority, establishing a system parallel to the Azhar. Simultaneously, the Document on Human Fraternity, signed by the Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar and Pope Francis on February 4, 2019, in Abu Dhabi, along with related international initiatives, has paved the way for peace among religions. This offers a fresh alternative to the somewhat 'worn out' efforts of intra-religious dialogue.

The outcome manifests in a form of double talk, notably observed on the occasion of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, where the President and the Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar express their perspectives with politeness yet consequence. The government signals an expectation of increased commitment and support, while al-Azhar, in line with its self-identification, positions itself as a proponent of "humanitarian values … and a model of moderate Islam" (Barak 2016:4), as outlined in the so-called Azhar documents.[4]

3.3 The National Dialogue (al-ḥiwār al-waṭanī)

At the *ifṭār* dinner marking the end of Ramadan fasting in late April 2022, President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, unexpectedly and under increasing pressure, called for a

[4] The so-called *al-Azhar Documents* (*Waṯāʾiq al-Azhar*) was a series of theoretical views published since 2011, by the leading scholars of al-Azhar and the representatives of secular intellectuals elaborated together concerning significant social issues.

National Dialogue to involve the entire society. Concurrent with the call, forty political prisoners were released, with assurances of further small groups being freed through an expedited procedure.

The call for dialogue received widespread coverage in the media, emphasizing that over the past eight years (2014–2022), President el-Sisi had confronted serious challenges, including terrorism, economic crisis, inflation, and the global pandemic. Despite these challenges, there were significant investments and infrastructure developments aimed at realizing the vision of the new republic set during his presidential election. President el-Sisi clarified that the success of the dialogue depends on the Egyptian society, particularly the fresh perspectives and strength of the youth. Although 2022 and 2023 were mainly focused on organizational aspects, initial steps were taken.

Initially, some opposition parties viewed the National Dialogue as a governance manoeuvre, perceiving it as an attempt to align with external expectations, especially to meet the requirements related to the IMF loan planned for the end of 2022. There were even suspicions that the dialogue was a tool to manage legal representatives, with the release of those held without charges coinciding with the launch of the dialogue.

The majority of opposition parties quickly joined the initiative, with the exception of the Muslim Brotherhood, which was excluded from participation due to its terrorist activities in 2013, leading to its ban. The government allocated funds, establishing a comprehensive network wherein any Egyptian citizen could submit political, economic, and social questions or proposals. These submissions would be evaluated and collected by various sub-committees and could potentially be formulated into law. The proposals approved by experts would then be presented to Parliament with the support of the President, with a primary focus on engaging the youth and encouraging their participation in public policy.

State-controlled media closely follows the development and establishment of the institutions of the National Dialogue, featuring experts in the committees and publishing their interviews and photos—sometimes inundating the media, sometimes remaining quiet for weeks.

In May 2023, discussions on the political, economic, and social issues of the first package commenced, with the results submitted to the Presidency in August. However, due to the upcoming presidential elections,[5] further work in the National Dialogue was postponed (*Ahram Online* 2023).

[5] In 2019, the Egyptian constitution was amended, 1) the duration of the presidential term was increased from four years to 6 years, and the number of terms of office was increased from the original two to 4. El-Sisi's first presidency was between 2014-2018, the second lasted from 2018 to 2024 with the amendment of the constitution. In the second half of 2023, the presidential election due in 2024 was announced for December 2023. President el-Sisi won the election, his third presidential term lasts from 2024 to 2030.

3.4 The Egyptian Family House initiative (bayt al-ʿāʾila al-miṣriyya)

One of the most sensitive issues regarding Egyptian security is the peaceful co-existence of Muslims and Christians. Terrorist attacks, potentially targeting the Orthodox Coptic community and institutions, pose a serious existential threat to the minority religious community. In January 2011, Ahmad al-Tayyib and then Coptic Pope Shenouda III raised the idea of a long-term cooperation and confidence-building program. Their joint proposal was approved by the Egyptian government in the second half of 2011, resulting in the idea of a common Egyptian family home. The program itself was named "The House of the Egyptian Family" (*bayt al-ʿāʾila al-miṣriyya*).

The Egyptian Family House with the cooperation of Muslim religious personalities, the religious representatives of the Christian minorities, and secular intellectuals, appears to be a genuine civilian initiative with the declared aim of settling the relations among the different religions and religious communities peacefully.[6] Ahmad al-Tayyib expressed, "It is impossible that everyone in this world should belong to the same religion".[7] He believes that conditions can be established under which people can live together in peace.

The project signifies the desire for and expectation of mutual understanding and acceptance. Instead of engaging in theoretical religious debates, it advocates for the promotion of peaceful programs based on tolerance. The project primarily utilizes tools of education and information, with a focus on understanding each other's worlds and rituals, presenting humanitarian values, and sharing one's own

[6] See Fahmi 2016:201–205.

[7] In recent years, inter-religious dialogue has played an increasingly prominent role in Middle Eastern politics, and it has become a matter of public discourse that a 'new Abrahamic religion' is being created from the convergence of the three historical Abrahamic religions (Judaism - Christianity - Islam). The Sheikh of al-Azhar, Ahmad al-Tayyib, strongly rejected this idea in a solemn meeting of the Egyptian Family House (aṭ-Ṭayyib 2021, translation of L.T. from the original Arabic):

"Al-Tayyib said, "*The call to bring together the heavenly religions under the shadow of the so-called Abrahamic religion is rejected, and it is a confiscation of religious freedom, differences in belief, and human freedom to choose, and it is a call that is far from being understood*."

Then he added: "*It is impossible to unite created people (*ḫalq*) on one religion, based on the nature that God created people with differences in colours, beliefs, minds, and languages, ('And if your Lord had willed, He could have made people one nation, and they would not continue to differ'* [Q. 11:118]*), and this difference will remain among people until the Day of Resurrection*." He continued: "*This claim is like the claim of globalization, the end of history, (universal ethics), and others, although on the surface it appears to be a call for human unity, unification, and the elimination of the causes of its disputes and conflicts. However, it is itself a call to confiscate the most precious things that human beings possess, it is (freedom of belief), freedom of faith, and freedom of choice*."

worldview. As a result, active participation in the daily lives and celebrations of others becomes a natural aspect, resembling the dynamics of a family home. This approach helps prevent extremist religious forces or political actors from exploiting religious differences to create conflict between communities.

4 The civilization rebuilding project: Ancient Egyptian culture in contemporary Egypt

In recent years, the Egyptian state has invested significant efforts in promoting and preserving the cultural and historical memories and artifacts of the Pharaonic era. The goal is to generate and sustain national (Egyptian) and international interest in ancient Egypt. This effort encompasses the historical, cultural, and academic / scientific achievements of the Pharaonic era (*al-ʿahd al-firʿawnī*). In Arabic, this phenomenon is collectively termed *firʿawniyya*, signifying "the interest in Pharaonic civilization/culture and related activities", or, in a similar sense, Pharaonism. The term Neo-Pharaonism is employed to describe modern Egyptian architecture dating from the first half of the 20th century that incorporates symbols from the ancient Pharaonic culture (Gershoni – Jankowski 2004, Reid 2015).

The acknowledgment and embrace of ancient Pharaonic culture initially gained prominence during the search for an indigenous identity spurred by the 1919 Egyptian revolution and the establishment of the quasi-independent Kingdom of Egypt in 1922. The discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922 provided an additional boost. However, starting from the 1930s, references to the Pharaonic past were somewhat relegated to the background, persisting through the eras of the liberal kingdom, the Nasserist republic, and the presidencies of Sadat and Mubarak. The resurgence of Pharaonism in the second and third decades of the 21st century can be viewed as a renewed effort or experiment to explore the connection between contemporary Egypt and the ancient Nile Valley. This resurgence aims to leverage this historical linkage for legitimacy purposes.

As a result, various pharaonic presentations were arranged throughout 2021.[8] The series of events commenced with the transfer of twenty-two royal mummies from the Egyptian Museum on Tahrir Square to the newly inaugurated National Museum of Egyptian Civilization in Fustat on April 3rd, 2021. President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi oversaw the parade and personally received the royal mummies. In another nationally broadcast event on August 6th, the Sun Barge was relocated from its temporary storage behind the pyramid of Khufu to the Great Egyptian Museum situated beside the pyramids. Then, on November 25th, a parade was organized to ceremoniously open the road connecting the great temples of Karnak and Luxor. This parade was structured following the pattern of an ancient Opet celebration.[9]

[8] These were later posted on various online channels.

[9] Again, posted on online channels later.

The host of the celebrations was Minister of Tourism Khalid al-Inani. Despite the ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic, the President, accompanied by his wife and several cabinet members, actively participated in the several hours-long events, with all spectators wearing masks. In contrast, the actors and presenters performed without masks. Thus, beautifully painted actresses, actors, Cleopatra impersonators, and dancers, amid colourful scenery, attended the royal mummies and other events.

The focal point of the royal mummies' parade was the new National Museum of Egyptian Civilization, where President el-Sisi walked alone to the gate to receive the royal personalities. The accompanying programs in the vast concert hall were not only attended by the President but also by several other leaders of the country. Films, musicians, singers, and dancers collectively presented the richness, exceptionality, and unique nature of Egyptian heritage.

These grandiose celebrations present at least two distinct scenarios. On the one hand, the pharaonic narration is certainly aimed at foreigners, intending to restore and boost the tourism industry. This industry had declined initially due to domestic political developments (two revolutions), economic crises, and the global pandemic. New museums, such as the already mentioned National Museum of Egyptian Civilization and the Grand Egyptian Museum, are opening in modern and well-equipped buildings. Additionally, considerable efforts, both technical and financial, are being invested in providing access to open-air excavation sites, reconstructing them, and ensuring their maintenance.

In texts showcasing ancient monuments, recurring elements contribute to a broader message: the Nile Valley stands as one of the cradles of human civilization, a source of national pride for the people and political leadership of Egypt. They graciously provide the opportunity for visitors to explore these significant sites. In one of the most successful songs of the ceremony, the narrative of Egypt as "the most beautiful country in the world" (*aḥlā l-bilād*) emphasizes the people's love for their home, emphasizing the prevailing peace and security. Egypt, according to this portrayal, is unparalleled, offering religious freedom where various communities coexist peacefully. The ongoing discoveries of historical sites, led by Egyptian archaeologists, contribute to the heritage of the nation's forefathers. The broader foreign policy aim is evident: to restore Egypt's reputation, presenting stability and successful governance to facilitate access to new loans and address financial deficits.

Simultaneously, celebrations and constructions associated with the symbols of the Pharaonic era serve to raise awareness among the Egyptian population of their ethnic and territorial identity. The magnificent historical past becomes an essential legitimacy tool for the government, fostering identification, commitment, and pride among the populace. The orchestrated choreography behind these events is evident, as exemplified by the President's wife expressing her "pride in belonging to an ancient civilization" (Anderson 2021).

Conclusion

Egypt has traversed a challenging decade, marked by the (early) presidential elections of 2023/2024, which extended President Sisi's tenure. As outlined above, we presented the conditions and political significance of Egyptian social initiatives and the revival of Pharaonic heritage, elements that we interpret as part of a deliberate policy framework. Under the leadership of Abdel-Fattah el-Sisi, Egypt is progressively moving towards the establishment of a centralized state model that draws on its own cultural, often archaic, traditions.[10]

Critics of this regime find themselves perplexed as they witness an autocratic leadership eliminating opposition, coercing political parties into quasi-corporate formations, asserting control over trade unions, nationalizing the media, amending the constitution, restricting the operations of judicial courts, and deviating from the previously envisioned model of a liberal state. Through the tools of its civilization and past, Egypt is actualizing its newest empire—the 'civilizational state'.

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[10] As President el-Sisi emphasized in his address to the nation after the announcement of the results of the election: "I renew with you the pledge to exert every effort to continue building the new republic we seek to establish, based on a shared vision. We aim for a democratic state that gathers its citizens within a framework of respect for the constitution and the law, advancing steadily towards modernity and development based on science and technology, preserving its identity, culture, and heritage, prioritizing human development, and striving to provide a decent life for all" (Mabrūk – Rāġib 2023).

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WHERE HAVE ALL THE ENDINGS GONE?

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Abstract:
Compared to Classical Arabic the contemporary Arabic dialects are marked by the absence of a number of morphological features, including nominal declension and verbal moods. Any explanation of this difference has to deal with two issues: the linguistic input during the Islamic conquests, and the nature of the process of language acquisition in the conquered territories. In this paper both issues are discussed within the framework of a model for language contact that distinguishes between linguistic changes in first- and second-language learning.

Keywords: case endings, declension, language change, reduction, reanalysis, slow/fast speech, language acquisition, second-language learning, history of Arabic

1 The Demise of the Endings

Why do morphological features disappear?[1] Examples abound: morphological reduction occurred in the shift from Latin to the Romance languages, from Arabic to the modern Arabic dialects, from Old English to Modern English, from Sanskrit to the modern Indian languages, from Classical Nahuatl to modern spoken Nahuatl, and the list could easily be expanded. A complementary question is: why do some languages retain their complex inflectional morphology over a considerable period of time, without losing it? In principle, our brain is able to handle almost any degree of complexity, as Carstairs-McCarthy (2010:139) remarks speaking about stem alternation: "Provided that the alternants are differentiated in an orderly and reliable way, the brain will be satisfied". The occurrence or non-occurrence of change is what Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968:102; see Hickey 2012:394) define as the actuation problem:

[1] A first version of this paper was presented at a seminar, organized by Georgine Ayoub and Bruno Herin at INALCO (Paris), June 15, 2023. I wish to thank the organizers and the participants for a stimulating discussion.

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Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times?

One way of approaching the issue of retention vs. loss of morphological features is by assuming that it is possible to calculate the stability of grammatical features. Van Gijn (2015) surveys various methods to do so, for instance by comparing languages within one genealogical family in order to find out to what extent they deviate from the expected pattern. Such methods all too often suggest that there is some inherent characteristic that renders features more or less stable or, alternatively, that their permanence is determined areally. It is not clear what the added value of an index of potential stability is, as against (socio)historical accounts documenting actual loss. Kulikov's (2011:455) classification of languages into case-increasing, case-reducing, and case-stable ones is not helpful either since it implies that loss of morphology is a matter of typology, rather than a socio- or psycho-linguistic issue. The position taken in the present paper is that complex structures are not by nature stable or instable, but that they may be affected by second-language acquisition, especially when the learners speak an unrelated language (Kusters 2003).[2]

Several general theories have been proposed to account for the loss of morphological marking. Barðdal and Kulikov (2009) present two causes as the main factors. The first explanation considers phonetic changes to be the motor behind case syncretism or loss, since it renders forms indistinguishable from each other. As a typical example of such a process they mention the loss of distinction between *montem* [acc. sg.] and *monte* [abl. sg.] in Latin. After the elision of the final nasal, the argument goes, people could no longer hear the difference between the two and started to confuse the accusative with the ablative (Barðdal and Kulikov 2009:472). This phonetic explanation does not, however, explain the numerous instances of the accusative being used for the ablative in phrases like *cum filios suos tres* instead of *cum filiis suis tribus* 'with his three sons' (Herman 2000:53). In the case of Arabic, a phonetic change consisting in the deletion of final short vowels is often suggested as the cause of the loss of the declensional system, but here, too, the phonetic explanation is insufficient to explain the loss of non-vocalic endings, such as the plural endings *-ūna/-īna* or the nunated endings, in which the short vowel is followed by *-n* (Hanitsch 2019:6ff.). Phonetic change is sometimes associated with a process of erosion, which "reaches its endpoint when the case marker is lost", as Heine (2011:459) formulates it. This comes close to

[2] In fact, there is evidence that native speakers distinguish between complex and non-complex structures when addressing foreigners, as illustrated by Hiri Motu, a contact language spoken in Papua New Guinea, based on the Oceanic language Motu. Native speakers of Motu use different constructions, depending on whether their interlocutors speak a Papuan or a related Oceanic language (Dutton 1985).

positing a general drift affecting language, independently from the speakers' behavior. Bybee et al. (2016:421) view attrition as driven by the speakers' tendency towards ease of articulation in high frequency items, yet they formulate this in terms of "general phonetic tendencies in the language".

The second explanation of language change mentioned by Barðdal and Kulikov (2009:473f.) proposes functional mergers as the source for identical case forms. Thus, for instance, in Ancient Greek the Indo-European cases genitive and ablative are said to have merged because of their common semantic load of denoting origin (Bortone 2002). Phonetic processes alone cannot explain this syncretism. Adams (2013:252–254) remarks that in Latin there was an increasing functional overlap between the accusative and the nominative, so that people tended to use these two cases outside their traditional domain. Consequently, "any explanation of developments in the case system must allow for encroachment by the accusative on the nominative, whatever weight is to be given to phonetic attrition as blurring the distinctions between case endings" (2013:202). In this explanation, as in the phonetic one, the crucial issue remains that of actuation: why did these forms merge at this particular time, in this particular language, while elsewhere they remained separate?

As an alternative explanation of the loss of inflectional endings redundancy is sometimes advanced. When word order becomes more or less fixed, the argument goes, case endings marking the syntactic roles in the sentence will become redundant. In such a situation, children no longer learn to use the endings correctly, which eventually leads to their loss as markers of syntactic roles. Yet, lack of necessity as such can never be a sufficient cause, because other languages with complex systems retain these, even when there is no obvious need for them.

In Arabic linguistics, the classic polemic between Corriente (1971) and Blau (1972–1973) centered around this point (Sharkawi 2010:69–72). Corriente argued that case endings in Classical Arabic lacked functional yield. He only acknowledged a case morph as functional when changing it into another case morph produced a different meaning. Since this was not always the case, he concluded that "noun flexion" was nothing but "a secondary redundant set of morphs" (1971:44). In his view, the modern Arabic dialects did not represent a shift from a synthetic structure to an analytic one since Classical Arabic had never been a synthetic language in the first place, as witnessed by the coexistence of pausal and contextual forms. Blau showed that, linguistically speaking, Corriente's argument made no sense: "Redundancy is a widespread phenomenon in language, and one must not consider redundant features as such a secondary set" (1972–1973:31). He also pointed out (1972–1973:33) that word order in Classical Arabic was indeed less fixed than in the Arabic dialects in accordance with its synthetic structure.

A similar shift from synthetic to analytic structure took place in the Romance languages, as well as in a good many other languages.[3] Adams (2013:259) warns against regarding this tendency as some sort of autonomous force governing change in a given language. He adds that for the native speakers it does not make any difference whether syntactic functions are expressed by a case ending or by a prepositional construction. There is no reason to regard prepositional constructions as less ambiguous and more transparent than case endings (Adams 2013:257–320). Consequently, the explanation for the shift to analytic endings must be sought elsewhere.

In the final paragraph of their survey Barðdal and Kulikov (2009:478) briefly refer to the connection between the decline of a case system and the degree of language contact. In the present article, I argue that in the case of Arabic it is only language contact that is responsible for the loss of endings. Current theories about the history of Arabic before and after the period of the Islamic conquests center around two issues, both highly controversial. First of all, there is fundamental disagreement about the structure of the language before the conquests, and secondly, there is no consensus about the way Arabic became the majority language in the conquered territories. These issues will be discussed in sections 3 and 4 below. Section 2 deals with the connection between language contact and language change.

2 Acquiring a New Language

In their classic study of language contact Thomason and Kaufman (1988) introduced a fundamental distinction between two different processes of language change as the result of language contact. Native speakers of a language may borrow linguistic items or features from speakers of another language with whom they come into contact, usually because this language is perceived as more prestigious. On the other hand, when people learn a new language or when they or their children shift to this language, they inevitably reanalyze the linguistic input and import new features, rendering their variety of the language different from that of native speakers. The mechanisms involved in these two processes of language acquisition are quite different, yet, in extreme cases, their outcome may look similar.[4] Subsequently, both in borrowing and in shifting, the impact of the changes

[3] For a definition of the notion of 'synthetic' in verbal inflection, see Bickel and Nichols (2005).

[4] Muysken (2010) even distinguishes between eleven different scenarios in his analysis of language contact leading to language change. In fact, these may all be subsumed under the two processes posited by Thomason and Kaufman: either second-language learners introduce new features in their second language; or first-language speakers borrow features from another language.

in the speech community at large is determined by demographic factors (Trudgill 2011:56–58).

In his modified version of Thomason and Kaufman's model, Van Coetsem (2000) distinguishes between 'transfer under recipient language agentivity (borrowing)' and 'transfer under source language agentivity (imposition)'. Lucas (2015) regards Van Coetsem's model as an improvement on the model developed by Thomason and Kaufman, primarily because it connects both forms of contact-induced language change with the notion of 'dominance'.[5] Fundamentally, though, Van Coetsem's model does not appear to differ much from the one introduced by Thomason and Kaufman, in which dominance relations are used implicitly. In both models, the two processes of language change are instantiations of what Labov (2007) calls 'diffusion', which covers contact-induced changes by adult native speakers and second-language learning, while he refers to first-language learning by children as 'transmission' (see Joseph 2012).

An example may serve to illustrate the difference between the two processes and the need to distinguish between them. Thomason (2015:34f.) mentions two instances of borrowed morphology: Lithuanian acquired three cases from Finnish, and Cappadocian Greek acquired 1st and 2nd person plural suffixes from Turkish. Formulating it in this way, with the focus on languages as agents, masks the difference between the two. In fact, speakers of Finnish, when shifting to Lithuanian, began to use three new locative cases in Lithuanian, illative, allative and adessive, as a result of interference from the grammar of their original language (Kulikov 2011:444). In this case, the innovations were produced by the new speakers of a language. In the case of Cappadocian Greek, innovations were introduced by native speakers of Greek, who became bilingual in Greek and Turkish. For the verbal inflection they borrowed personal suffixes from Turkish (Janse 2001:475). The end product of the changes in both Lithuanian and Cappadocian Greek exhibits a mixture of two morphological structures, but the processes of language acquisition by which this mixture is reached are quite different.[6]

The distinction between first- and second-language acquisition is connected with the use of different levels of phonetic realization on a continuum from full to reduced speech, the former being associated with a slow and formal style of speaking, the latter with fast and casual speech. Tucker and Ernestus (2016) argue

[5] See also Winford (2007); Lucas and Manfredi (2020:13–15). Lucas (2015) introduces two additional categories of contact-induced change, 'convergence' and 'restructuring'. The former refers to multilingual communities in which the languages involved become gradually more alike, the latter to cases where the new learners impose features that are not derived from their first language but result from universal strategies of second-language learning.

[6] More examples of the introduction of new cases in contact situations are given by Johansson (2011).

that the study of casual speech is of paramount importance for language processing and production. Against the common assumption that the reduced variant gradually becomes dominant and eventually displaces the fuller version in a process of erosion, they point out that in reality, the two variants may coexist for a long time.

It is here that the distinction between first- and second language acquisition comes into play. Initially, children learn all utterances as unanalyzed chunks (Tomasello 2003), but in regular first-language acquisition they are exposed over time to all speech variants across the continuum: even in speech directed to infants, speakers freely vary between full and reduced speech (Lahey and Ernestus 2014). Besides, in primary school children are trained to handle the full forms in writing (Wray and Grace 2007:559), which helps them analyze the composition of even strongly reduced speech.

Ernestus and Warner (2011) show that while native listeners comprehend even extremely reduced speech in context, non-native listeners find this very difficult or impossible. In second-language learning, most communication takes place in a work environment or on the street where the learners are exposed almost exclusively to an informal style of speech with a high degree of phonetic reduction.[7] Second-language learners rely on the linguistic input provided by native speakers, who use informal language and tend to leave out anything redundant, including case endings, which are not strictly needed for comprehension (see also Wray and Grace 2007).

The locus for changes in the morphological system lies therefore in a process of second-language acquisition, which is based on a two-way adaptation: native speakers use a foreigner-directed register, which is then processed by the second-language learners. Both sides of this process are essential for successful communication between them. In first-language acquisition, children also tend to simplify the input they receive when learning the language, but through their exposure to multiple variants in the speech community, they end up adopting the full version of the language as well. In natural, i.e. unmonitored, learning circumstances, learners process a reduced input and, consequently, they have to fall back on reanalysis and restructuring.

3 Arabic before Islam

In the wake of the Islamic conquests, speakers of Arabic came to represent the new power, while their language became the language of the empire. The question is what kind of Arabic provided the input for the new learners of the language. Their provenance is not always clear: Arabia as a geographical notion was a construct

[7] An exception is the artificial context of classroom learning, in which students are exposed only to a formal style, resulting in a morphologically complete, but stilted form of speech.

applied by Greek geographers since the time of Herodotus; originally, it referred to a region between Egypt and Palestine, while its coverage of the entire Arabian Peninsula, whose inhabitants were then called 'Arabs' is a later extension (Retsö 2003:249f.). Various other regions were also identified as Arabia, such as the Jazira, the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris. According to Al-Jallad (2018:315), before Islam Arabic was spoken widely in Mesopotamia, the Fertile Crescent, and North Arabia and he suggests that there was "a continuous tradition of writing Arabic in the region throughout the first millennium BCE". In Akkadian, Hebrew, and Aramaic texts groups of Arabs are mentioned as early as the first half of the first millennium BCE, sometimes as allies and sometimes as troublesome enemies, but frequently associated with camels allowing them to retreat to the desert. Groups of Arabs were used as frontier guards or as police force by the Persian, Byzantine, or Himyarite empires (Retsö 2003:580).[8]

The identification of the language of these written testimonies is problematic. Al-Jallad calls all varieties of Arabic and North Arabian in the pre-Islamic period collectively 'Old Arabic'. He rejects the definition of Old Arabic as a linguistic variety, the alleged predecessor of Classical Arabic as it was described by the grammarians: "Old Arabic does not refer to a homogeneous linguistic entity but instead to the entire corpus of inscriptions produced before the Islamic conquests" (2018:322; see also Fiema et al. 2015:385). Yet, later on, he states that it is posssible to "form a rather detailed picture of Old Arabic" (2018:324), which he then sets out to sketch as if the people who left behind these inscriptions all belonged to the same speech community.

The notion of Arabic as a language with a long history is even more manifest in a later statement by Al-Jallad (2020:37):

Arabic first appears in the epigraphic record in the early first millennium BCE, and for most of its pre-Islamic history, the language interacted in diverse ways with a number of related Semitic languages and Greek.

'The language' is the key term here, suggesting that 'Arabic' had a history going back almost two millennia. The Bayir inscription from Jordan, usually dated to 500 BCE (Hayajneh et al. 2015) is a case in point. This bilingual inscription contains a text in Aramaic and in addition two lines dedicated to the patron gods of Moab, Edom, and Ammon, with some forms resembling Arabic, but there is no indication that the people who wrote the inscription regarded themselves as Arabs or speakers of Arabic.[9] Retsö (2003:111) points out that when an inscription

[8] From the first half of the third century CE onwards, the camel-riding warriors were often called *Sarakēnoi* in the Greek sources, and *Ṭayyāyē* in the Syriac/Aramaic sources (Retsö 2003:517ff.). The self-identification of the new Umayyad and Abbasid empires as 'Arab' dates from the period after the conquests (Cooperson 2014).

[9] The edition by Hayajneh et al. (2015) gives the text as follows: *h mlkm w-kms¹ w qws¹ b km ʿwḏn/h ʾs¹ḥy m mḏwbt* [*or mdws¹t*] "O Mlkm and Kms¹ and Qws¹, we seek your protection [for] this/these sources from leakage [or: destruction, pollution]".

contains features that look like Arabic, this does not mean that the people who left behind this inscription regarded their own language as Arabic. In fact, the authors of the Bayir inscription may very well have thought of themselves as speakers of the language of Moab, Edom, and Ammon.

It is not clear how the tribes living in the peninsula identified themselves. According to Retsö (2003:592), the name 'Arabs' is not an ethnonym at all, but the name of a specific group of soldiers, with a distinct way of fighting and with their own religious rituals. He believes that these Arabs used a special language for their rituals, too, identical with that of soothsayers (*kuhhān*) and poets (*šuʿarāʾ*). It was this special language, he claims, that was referred to in the Qurʾān, when it identified itself as an Arabic Book (*kitāban ʿarabiyyan*). The idea of the language of the Qurʾān as a special language is, however, hardly compatible with the emphasis the Qurʾān puts on the connection between text and audience. In a number of verses, the text states quite clearly that it was sent down by God in Arabic so that people might understand it (Q. 12/2). This ties in with the notion that God sends to each *ʾumma* a prophet with a revealed book in their own language (Q. 14/4), which implies that the language of the Qurʾān must have been familiar for its intended audience, at first the people of Qurayš in Mecca and later the people in Medina (see also Hoyland 2022).

In itself, this conclusion does not necessarily imply that the Qurayš used the language of the Qurʾān and poetry as their colloquial language. Since the days of Vollers' (1906) thesis of the fundamental difference between *Volkssprache* and *Schriftsprache* many variants of this idea have circulated. Most scholars reject his theory but still maintain that there was a separate colloquial language. Sharkawi (2010:80f.), for instance, claims that in pre-Islamic times the Classical Arabic language as it was codified later on by the grammarians served only for the composition of poetry and for the Qurʾān, not for any other functions. Yet, according to later historians, letters were written and treaties were put to writing during the Prophet Muḥammad's life. Noth (1973:60) concludes that there is no way to determine to what extent the text of those documents as transmitted by the historians is authentic, but he also points out that often historians refer to documents they have seen personally, which purport to date from the time of the Prophet. Whether the transmitted text is authentic is largely immaterial here; at any rate, there must have been written documents on topics other than literature or religion. Such documents are unlikely to have been written in a colloquial language that deviated entirely from the language of the poetry and the Qurʾān. That grammarians were less inclined to use such texts as linguistic evidence may be due to their non-verbatim transmission, which disqualified them as evidence of actual speech (Mirza 2010).

There is one feature of the language of the Qurʾān that grammarians universally regarded as a core feature of what Arabic was: its use of case markers as indices of syntactic roles. The issue of case marking in the variety of Arabic that served as the

source for second-language acquisition is related to the question of whether a case system can be reconstructed for the putative Proto-Semitic language (Hasselbach 2013), or whether this was an independent innovation in Akkadian and Classical Arabic (Owens 2006). On the basis of his reconstruction of Proto-Arabic, Owens believes that there must have existed a case-less variety of Arabic that was chronologically parallel with, if not older than, Classical Arabic (2018:144). But he also states (2015:167): "The basic assumption is that at the time of Sibawaih, ca. 150/770, Arabic had the type of free variation among final vowels as Amorite had." This clearly implies that in his view the system of case endings was in decline at the time of Sībawayhi.[10] With the later canonization of Classical Arabic by the grammarians, Owens argues, the Classical Arabic case system became fixed for all time, while the caseless variety became the predecessor of the modern Arabic dialects.[11] Hence, he does not believe that the disappearance of the case endings is in need of an explanation, because in the linguistic model to which the new speakers were exposed these endings were never there in the first place.

Owens' reconstruction of the history of Arabic is rejected by Al-Jallad and van Putten (2017). With respect to the Arabic varieties spoken in the Arabian Peninsula, Al-Jallad insists that these possessed a case system, traces of which can be reconstructed from the inscriptions in Safaitic and other varieties of Ancient North Arabian. He concedes (2018:325–327) that "case inflection had disappeared in some pre-Islamic dialects", as demonstrated by some of the transcriptions of Arabic in Greek characters (Graeco-Arabica). His corpus contains both inscriptions with and without traces of case endings. Perhaps, some of the pre-Islamic varieties at the periphery of the Arabian Peninsula may have originated as language varieties of people who depended on Arabic-speaking tribes. The status of these tribes was seldom such that their language could be regarded as prestigious, but in cultural centers like Petra or Hira some of them may have wielded sufficient military and political power to induce people to learn their language.

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[10] In this connection Owens cites the opinion of the grammarian Quṭrub (d. 206/821), according to whom declensional vowels are not markers of syntactic functions but selected purely for euphonic purposes (see also Sartori 2018, 2021). This is based on a misunderstanding, however: Quṭrub did not intend to prove that Arabic was a caseless language; his point was that it would be wrong logically to hold that the case markers were semantically motivated because of the imperfect correlation between syntactic function and phonetic marker (Versteegh 1981).

[11] While Larcher (2005) and van Putten (2022) emphasize the role of the grammarians in shaping the structure of Classical Arabic, some scholars go even further and maintain that the grammarians invented the entire declensional system. According to Sartori (2018) they did so, possibly under the influence of other linguistic traditions, in order to make Arabic worthy of being the language of a world religion, allegedly by assigning existing phonetic variants to specific syntactic functions. In this theory it remains inexplicable why the grammarians would have gone to the trouble of setting up a declensional system, containing both diptosis and triptosis.

Having defended the existence of a case system in the early stages of Arabic, Al-Jallad and van Putten (2017:105) then follow the traditional explanation of the loss of inflectional morphology in the modern dialects in terms of phonetic changes: in their view, the loss of final short vowels led automatically to the loss of case endings. Or, as they put it (2017:113):

The caseless system can easily be derived from the case system through simple sound laws and analogies. Losing the final unstressed part of a word is cross-linguistically so incredibly common, that it is hardly surprising that it happened multiple times.

Note, however, that this does not account for the elision of the nunated endings or for the loss of distinction between *-ūna/-īna* in the masculine plural, among other things.[12]

In his reply, Owens (2018:153) points out that if Arabic is credited with an inherited case system, as Al-Jallad and van Putten do, a plausible explanation is needed for its putative loss. This argument applies to the transition from Proto-Semitic to those Semitic languages that do not have case endings just as much as it does to the transition from an alleged Proto-Arabic case system to the caseless languages. Owens' main objection to Al-Jallad and van Putten's view is that they force the data into one mold, insisting on the existence of a case system in Proto-Arabic without providing an explanation for its loss. He advocates an approach that allows for "multiple pathways" in the history of Arabic, which leaves room for the existence of different varieties of Proto-Arabic, some of them without case endings. Even so, positing the existence of a pre-Islamic variety of Arabic without case endings, while obviating the need to explain their disappearance, does nothing to explain a host of other phenomena in the emerging dialects.

At any rate, the discussion about the varieties of Arabic outside the peninsula is largely irrelevant for the Arabicization process, because, as Lentin (2018:171) observes, the dialects in the Levant did not contribute to the initial Arabicization of the new empire. Even if one were to concede that most inhabitants of the Syrian steppe and the settlements on the desert's edge, as well as large parts of the Jazira, spoke Arabic, as Procházka (2018:260) believes, neither they nor the nomadic speakers of Arabic in this area were the ones responsible for the large-scale campaigns of the seventh century. The same conclusion applies to the pre-Islamic speakers of Arabic in the Sinai Peninsula, who did not partake in the conquest of Egypt (Sharkawi 2010:169). The Islamic conquests were initiated and organized by the new Islamic elite consisting mainly of *muhājirūn* and Quraišī aristocrats, while

[12] They also refer to the loss of distinction between the verbal moods because of the loss of final short vowels, but here too it should be noted that not all endings depend on the presence of a short vowel as ending. For criticism see Owens (2018:117f.) and Hanitsch (2019:6f.).

the enlisted warriors stemmed mostly from the Tihāma, Yemen, and Ḥaḏramawt (Kennedy 2007:42f., 147, 161; Hoyland 2015:164).

Al-Jallad (2021) is right when he states that the local circumstances in each of the conquered territories were very different, so that it would be wrong to regard any modern dialect as "a monogenetic descendent of a pre-Islamic variety". This underlines the need to focus on the acquisition process and the model to which the new learners were exposed, in particular the composition of the invading army in each individual area.

4 Arabicization

If pre-Islamic Arabic was indeed a synthetic type of language with a functional case system, as the grammarians claimed, its disappearance in the modern dialects calls for an explanation. The first thing to consider here is the contribution of the people who carried out the military campaigns and provided the linguistic model for the new learners of the language. The total number of participants in these expeditions was relatively low, considering the vast territory that was being conquered. For the invasion of Iraq, Donner (1981:229) reckons with 20,000 Arab settlers in Kufa, as against 500,000 local inhabitants, and not many more than 1,000 in Basra (1981:230), later supplemented by new immigrants from the peninsula (Kennedy 2007:133–138). The total number of warriors in Syria is estimated at 30,000, in small contingents, in Iraq at 6,000 to 12,000. In Egypt 3,500 to 4,000 men took part in the initial conquest, later supplemented by 12,000, as against 3 million local inhabitants (Kennedy 2007:57, 143).[13] The final conquest of North Africa in 647 CE was carried out by approximately 5,000 to 10,000 warriors (Kennedy 2007:107). An educated guess for the entire period of the conquests puts the total number at 250,000 to 300,000 Arab participants, as against 25–30 million inhabitants of the conquered territories (Hoyland 2015:158).

Apparently, then, the initial conquests were carried out by rather small groups of warriors. Magodov (2017:429f.) refers to the effect of plagues on the demography of the conquered lands, but even if these had taken away a third of the indigenous population, their numerical superiority would still have been large, the more so since the plagues must also have made victims among the Arabs. Besides, in spite of their victories against the Persians and the Byzantines, the Arab armies did sustain losses, which could only partly be compensated by reinforcements from the sedentary Arabs in the Levant and the Jazira. Most of these had converted to Christianity, and while some of them joined the invading warriors, others like the

[13] Estimates vary widely. According to Sharkawi (2010:160ff.) the original invasion was carried out by 16,000 to 20,000 men, later supplemented by 12,000. By the beginning of the Umayyad caliphate, he claims that there were 40,000 Arabs in Egypt, and under the caliphate of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (54/684) 40,000.

Tanūḫ tribe from Hira fought against them (Munt et al. 2015:455, 464). Thus, there was a constant need for new soldiers in the ever-expanding military operations and to man the garrisons in the conquered territories. One way of assuring a steady supply of new soldiers was to stimulate migration from the peninsula, at first to Iraq where new garrison cities (*amṣār*) like Basra and Kufa were founded in the countryside, rather than to Syria, where tribesmen were mostly housed in established cities. Newcomers (*rawādif*) were not always welcomed by the soldiers who had already settled there because they claimed a share in the allowances (*ʿaṭāʾ*). An exception was usually made for members from the same tribe. This preference contributed to the relative homogeneity of the military presence (Sharkawi 2010:166), in addition to the caliphal general policy of keeping the tribes apart, even in urban settlements.[14]

On the outskirts of the garrison cities communities of non-Arabs fleeing the impoverished countryside sprung up (Sharkawi 2010:170). An additional factor in the contacts with the indigenous population was the presence of a considerable number of prisoners-of-war who were sold as slaves, often later to be manumitted as *mawālī*. Thus, for instance, when the city of Caesarea was conquered in 641 CE, its entire population was enslaved and sent to the Ḥijāz as *kuttāb* and labourers (Kennedy 2007:89).

Labov's (2001:504) 'principle of first effective settlement' states that the language of a region is determined by the first people who actually settle there. Magidow (2017:427) applies this principle to the *amṣār* founded by the Arab conquerors, to which he refers as "independent autonomous settlements which were primarily settled by Arabic-speaking military personnel and their families". He further assumes that the Levant was largely depopulated as the result of epidemics and earthquakes, so that the place of the original inhabitants could be taken by Arabic-speaking nomads, who eventually became the new sedentary population of the rural areas (2017:429f.). Yet, if the invading Arabs were indeed the first settlers in large parts of the Levant, living in isolation from the remaining population, it would be difficult to explain why their language was affected by any change at all.

Holes' (2018a:17) statement that "Arabic was learnt as a second language directly from its resident native speakers, who were from the start neighbours, co-religionists, and marriage partners" is based on the assumption that after the Islamic conquests everybody instantly learnt Arabic in the same way. This is hardly tenable. Magidow's (2021) objections to such a catastrophic speech event or, as he calls it, the 'big-bang hypothesis' of Arabicization are justified. Arabicization cannot have taken place everywhere all at once given the small

[14] Thus, koineization in the garrison towns was less likely to occur here than in what are called in modern sociology 'new towns', urban settlements in previously unoccupied lands (Kerswill 2012).

number of original invaders, which ensured that in each conquered region only few people were exposed directly to the new language. Magidow (2017:421) regards the spread of Arabic as a gradual extension of repertoires within the speech community, rather than a catastrophic speech event, but it remains unclear to which speech community he is referring. His idea of acquisition of language in peer groups of children socializing with each other can hardly have worked in the circumstances of the Islamic conquests. Immediately after the conquests some of the local inhabitants must have urgently needed to communicate with the new rulers, so that some other mechanism than interaction in peer groups was the driving factor behind the language acquisition process. Those who needed to negotiate with the invaders about conditions for surrender or about taxation and food provisioning had to acquire the new language quickly, yet without having at their disposal an "abundance of target language input", as Sharkawi (2010:141) puts it.

Sharkawi (2010:194–245) is right in stressing the importance of the factor of foreigner-directed speech, but his focus on the underlying grammaticality of this register is mistaken: most of his data derive from high-level contacts between native speakers and learners, during which the latter are usually treated respectfully. In the first century of the conquests, the prevailing demographic context of language learning was one in which learners were more likely to be ordered about than to be treated as equals. In this kind of communication, the level of grammaticality tends to be quite low. Yet, most studies of the acquisition process of Arabic in the new empire seem to assume that the process took place without major structural loss. This picture of the acquisition process as a seamless transmission of 'the' language is incompatible with the numerical relations and the vast expanse of terrain covered by the Arab armies.

It is commonly supposed that the invasion of the new territories took place in successive stages resulting in what are often referred to as sedentary and Bedouin dialects. Magidow (2021) does not accept this scenario, called by him the 'little-bang hypothesis'. The labels of sedentary and Bedouin are indeed somewhat misleading. The correlation between the occurrence of certain linguistic features, such as the retention of the interdentals and the voiced realization of /q/, and a nomadic livestyle is not entirely coincidental, but it is certainly not exclusive. Some urban dialects, for instance the Muslim dialect of Baghdad or the Sunnī dialect of Bahrain, also exhibit these features. Labelling them as 'Bedouin' is not very helpful and calling them 'conservative' does not do them justice either: in Baghdad, for instance, the Muslim dialect is innovating in the sense that it does not reflect the city's original dialect. After the massacre of the Muslim inhabitants of Baghdad during the Mongol attacks in 1258, Bedouin immigrants gradually took the place of the old Muslim population, giving rise to a Muslim Baghdadi variety with features associated with a conservative dialect type, which soon became the new prestigious variety in Baghdad. The communal dialects of Jews and Christians

in Baghdad were conservative in the sense that they retained their original structure, which at the time they originated had been highly innovating. Or, as Herin (2019:102) puts it succinctly: "[T]raditional does not necessarily mean conservative, nor does mainstream necessarily mean innovative, although these notions may at times overlap."[15]

The vanguard of the original invaders may have been Bedouin in the sense of belonging to a nomadic tribe, but veterans often settled down in the conquered territories and became 'sedentary'. They constituted the main linguistic model for the local population. In the course of the later migrations in the eleventh century CE, some of the migrating tribes such as the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym may well have arrived into depopulated areas in North-Africa (Agüadé 2018:42f.). This was certainly the case for those Bedouin tribes who re-migrated eastwards from the Maghreb into parts of Upper Egypt that had suffered heavily from the plague. They may be regarded as 'first settlers' in the sense referred to by Magidow, but other tribes, who migrated to Middle Egypt, "were linguistically absorbed by the local population" (Behnstedt and Woidich 2018:88).

What were the linguistic effects of the various acquisition processes? Those inhabitants of the new empire who came in touch with speakers of Arabic, whether during the first stages of the conquests, or during the later migrations, shifted to the new language, introducing new features into their learners' variety. If there had only been a handful of new learners, their variety would not have made much of a difference. But the numerical superiority of the original population compared to the new rulers of the empire was such that their way of speaking was bound to prevail, and what is more, was bound to become the model for the next generations, at least as far as the spoken language was concerned. Young people were much more likely to hear someone speaking a learner's variety of the language than that of a proper native speaker.[16]

The idea of a wholesale imposition of a new language on a vast scale resulting in perfect transmission is just as mistaken in the case of Arabic as it was in the case of the Romance languages. Romance linguists often assume implicitly that the inhabitants of the Roman empire ended up speaking perfect Latin (Versteegh 2021). Likewise, Arabic linguists seem to assume that after a few decades everyone was able to speak perfect Arabic as a native speaker. Yet, the numbers and the chronology of the contact between speakers and learners of Arabic through the first

[15] For the chronology of the development of the different stages in Gulf Arabic see Holes (2018b).

[16] Of course, it cannot be ruled out that some individuals attained near-native fluency in their new language. While Sībawayhi himself was chided for his foreign accent, Cooperson (2014) mentions the cases of the songwriter ʾIbrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804) and the poet Baššār ibn Burd (d. 168/783), both of Persian origin, whose Arabic was flawless thanks to their growing up in an Arabophone environment and being fortunate to receive an education. Yet, such a privileged position was reserved for only very few people.

century of the conquests must have affected the language acquisition process. In his article on the Arabic koine (1959) Ferguson posited the existence of a common ancestor for all modern Arabic dialects on the basis of a list of fourteen common features. The idea of a common ancestor has been largely abandoned in the literature (Holes 2018a:8), but any theory about the emergence of the new vernaculars still needs to account for both the differences and the commonalities between them. Ferguson's list of features does not include the loss of declensional endings, because in his view this was part of a universal drift in language, rather than a specific innovation, nor does it contain a number of common traits that are realized differently in each of the modern dialects, such as the construction of the analytical genitive, the aspectual verbal prefixes, the replacement of the internal passive and the causative, the reduction of the system of negations, and the use of analytic interrogatives. No variety of pre-Islamic Arabic exhibits any of these features, which are shared by virtually all modern dialects, except perhaps some of the nomadic dialects in the Arabian Peninsula. They are instances of what Lucas (2015) calls 'restructuring', i.e. changes implemented by second-language learners that are not based on features from their own language, but result from learning strategies during the acquisition process. Initially, these new features must have been independent local developments that emerged during the early contacts. Later on, convergence took place within each larger area. This is illustrated by the map of the genitive exponent in Behnstedt and Woidich's *Wortatlas* (2021:406), which shows the influence of the central dialects. In Egypt, for instance, Cairene *bitāʿ* has become the dominant variant in a large part of the country. The numerous local variants (*hana*, *šuġl*, etc.) have not disappeared entirely, but are clearly losing terrain. In the same way, local variants of the new aspectual prefixes of the verb (Hanitsch 2019) are gradually making way for those of the central dialect.

The variation in the realization of the genitive exponent and the aspectual prefixes is a perfect illustration of the polygenetic origin of the modern Arabic vernaculars. Similar developments have taken place all over the world in very different language communities as a result of language contact of the same kind as the one brought about by the Islamic conquests. The inhabitants of the vast new empire did not simply take over 'the language' as it was handed down to them, but gave it a new shape, replacing the old 'endings' with new structures.

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