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THE QUR'ĀN READINGS OF IBN MIQSAM

The main stages in the process of the fixation of the Textus Receptus of the Qur'ān are fairly clear. After an early period during which there were many types of text in circulation the Caliph 'Uthmān canonized officially the Madīnan type of text, and ordered the destruction of all other Codices than those that were written according to the text of his now officially canonized *Imām*. As this, however, was a bare consonantal text, with no punctuation, no points to distinguish similar consonants, and no vowel or other orthographic signs, there was still considerable liberty of interpretation. A beginning at the settling of some of these difficulties was made in the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, at the instigation of his famous official al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, under whom we again hear of the destruction of non-conforming Codices. In the succeeding years the tradition as to pointing the *ḥurūf*, and as to the *qirā'a*, or vowelling of them, naturally tended to crystallize under a succession of great teachers, whose systems would be transmitted by their pupils, until in 322 A. H., these traditions came to be fixed in the well-known Seven Systems by a decision of the Wazīrs Ibn Muqlah and Ibn 'Īsā, acting under the guidance of the great savant Ibn Mujāhid. A century later, when ad-Dānī († 444) was writing, the two canonical *riwāyas* from each of these Seven had been decided on, though by what process we do not at present know. The gradual dominance in the succeeding centuries of the Kūfan tradition of Ḥafṣ from the School of 'Aṣim, has given us the *mashhūr*, the *Textus Receptus* that is to be found in the vast majority of lithographs of the Qur'ān in circulation at the present day. No official canonization of this text tradition of Ḥafṣ has ever been made, but his was the type of text that won recognition and spread throughout the Muslim world, being adopted everywhere save in North Africa, where the Madīnan text tradition of Warsh, of the School of Nāfi', still survives, though it is gradually disappearing even there. Thus it is now becoming rare to find any Muslim savant acquainted with the text traditions of any of the Seven save Ḥafṣ.

In the days of Ibn Mujāhid († 324) the problems of *ḥurūf* and *qirā'a* were still being debated in the Schools, and we have a fairly long list of famous teachers of Qur'ānic science who transmitted an *ikhtiyār*, i. e. their independent judgment on how the skeleton consonantal text should be pointed and vowelled for correct recitation. By his time, however, the criteria for judgment on readings were already beginning to assert themselves, namely, 1) *muṣḥaf:* 2) *'arabiyya:* 3) *ijmā'*. That is, any suggested reading was scrutinized to see whether it could be derived from the accepted consonantal text, whether it was defensible linguistically as being in accordance with the normal rules of Arabic language, and whether it gave a meaning that fitted the generally accepted interpretation of the text. The readings of Ibn Shanabūdh and of Ibn Miqsam which came under judgment at his instigation were thus in a sense test cases as to the continued legitimacy of *ikhtiyār*, and the range within which, if legitimate, it could be allowed freedom. Khalaf b. Hishām († 229), who was one of the two *rāwīs* later chosen to represent the Kūfan tradition of Ḥamza, and who was thought by some to have merited a place in the Seven rather than al-Kisā'ī, had an *ikhtiyār*, and this was approved. But how far could such an approval of *ikhtiyār* be allowed to go? Both Ibn Shanabūdh and Ibn Miqsam claimed the same freedom as was allowed Khalaf, but they were haled before the authorities and forced to disavow their readings.[1]) It is thus of some importance to study what their readings actually were. Of Ibn Shanabūdh we know little more than the list[2]) of reproved readings which was reported at his trial, but in the case of Ibn Miqsam a goodly number of his readings have been preserved in the Commentaries and the various *qirā'āt* books.

Though we today know Ibn Miqsam only as a specialist in the Qur'ānic sciences, his reputation among his own people was as a philologer, and Yāqūt in the *Irshād al-Arīb* and as-Suyūṭī in the *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, write of him as such. He was trained in the Kūfan grammatical school and was a prominent pupil of the famous Tha'lab († 291), whose *Amālī* he heard and transmitted.[3]) Ibn Khallikān's story of him represents him as being consulted, along with Ibn Duraid and Ibn al-Anbārī, by the Qāḍī Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. Yūsuf on certain philological questions,[4]) and both Yāqūt and al-Khaṭīb quote him as authority on literary and philological matters.[5]) Among his works[6]) whose titles have come down to us are an Introduction to the Art of Poetry (*al-Madkhal ilā 'Ilm ash-Shi'r*), an Arabic Grammar and some special grammatical studies, such as a treatise on words masc. and fem., and one on words ending in *alif maqṣūra* or *alif mamdūda*, as well as a more general philological treatise *at-Taisīr fi'l-Lugha*. It is possible that his work entitled *Akhbār Nafsihi* is, as Flügel thinks, autobiographical, though in the *Fihrist* it has quite another title, and he seems to have made one venture into the arena of theological controversy in a Refutation of the Rationalists (*ar-Radd 'alā'l-Mu'tazila*).

Al-Khaṭīb, II, 206, gives us a list of the famous teachers under whom he studied the Kūfan grammatical tradition:

Abū's-Sarī Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan al-Jalājalī, † 287: (al-Khaṭīb, XIII, 49, 50).
Abū Muslim al-Kajjī, † 292: (Ibn al-'Imād, II, 210).
Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Shaiba, † 287: (Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, V, 280).
Mūsā b. Isḥāq al-Anṣārī, † 297: (Ibn al-'Imād, II, 226, 227).
Abū'l-'Abbās Tha'lab, † 291: (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 133—154).
al-Ḥasan b. 'Alawaihi al-Qaṭṭān, † 298: (al-Khaṭīb, VII, 375).

[1]) See the note by Bräunlich in *ThLZ*, 8. Novr 1929, p. 531, and Massignon, *Passion d'al-Hallaj*, pp. 240—243.

[2]) Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 31. 32: Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, II, 314: Ibn Khallikān in de Slane's translation, III, 16—18.

[3]) Ibn al-'Imād, III, 16. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, V, 378 tells how the grammarian 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Umair al-Kinānī transmitted from him the *Amālī* of Tha'lab, so that the probabilities are that the *Majālis Tha'lab* (or *Majālisāt Tha'lab*), which is listed among his works, is his *riwāya* of these same *Amālī*: cf. *Fihrist*, p. 74.

[4]) De Slane's text, p. 703.

[5]) *Irshād* V, 300 quotes him for an opinion on the book of 'Alī b. al-Mubārak al-Liḥyānī, a pupil of al-Kisā'ī and one of the teachers of Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām. Al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, VII, 14 quotes him as authority for a certain literary matter regarding one of his other teachers, al-Ḥaddād.

[6]) Lists are given in the *Fihrist*, p. 33, Yāqūt's *Irshād*, VI, 501, and in as-Suyūṭī's *Bughya*, p. 36. See also Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, pp. 179, 180.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Marwazī, † 298: (al-Khaṭīb, III, 422, 423).

Muḥammad b. al-Laith al-Jawharī, † 297: (al-Khaṭīb, III, 196).

Idrīs b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḥaddād, † 292: (al-Khaṭīb, VII, 14, 15) to whom as-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 36 adds Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāʿid, † 318 (see al-Khaṭīb, XIV, 231—234), and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, I, 141, adds Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Maʿbadī, † 292, who through ʿAlī b. Thābit was a pupil of Abū ʿUbaid. Among his pupils in this philological learning we find Ibn Rizqawaih and Ibn Shādhān (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 498), to whom al-Khaṭīb, II, 206, adds ʿAlī b. Aḥmad ar-Razzāz, and the Ṣūfī al-Ḥusain b. ash-Shujāʿ.

Our interest, however, is in his contributions to Qurʾānic science, and it is fortunate that not only do Yāqūt and al-Khaṭīb deal largely with this matter in their accounts of him, but we have an even fuller account of this aspect of his work in the *Ghāya* of Ibn al-Jazarī,[7]) who supplements the account in al-Khaṭīb by material from a number of excellent sources, including the *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān* of ad-Dānī, and the *Kāmil* of al-Hudhalī.

His full name according to these sources was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaʿqūb b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. Dāwūd b. ʿUbaidallāh b. Miqsam,[8]) Abū Bakr, al-Muqriʾ al-ʿAṭṭār, and his dates are 265—354 A. H.,[9]) and they record that while he was accounted as trustworthy (*thiqa*) as a transmitter of *Ḥadīth*,[10]) and famed for his wide knowledge of philology,[11]) he was even more famous in Qurʾānic lore. Certainly in the lists of his works by far the largest

[7]) *Ghāyat an-Nihāya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrāʾ*, II, 123—125, where he is No. 2945.

[8]) De Slane in his translation of Ibn Khallikān gives the name as Ibn Muqsim, but see *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, IX, 27, and Bevan's Glossary to the *Naqāʾid*, p. 226.

[9]) as-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, gives 354 but says that some said 353, and quotes ad-Dānī as putting it at 355. Ibn al-Athīr, *Chron.*, VIII, 418, 419, lists him under 354, as does Ibn al-ʿImād, III, 16, but in the *Fihrist*, p. 33 we have the statement that he died in 362.

[10]) The sole tradition recorded from him is one going back to az-Zuhrī about the Prophet entering Mecca, on the conquest of the city, wearing a *mighfar*, or metal helmet, on his head.

[11]) Both as-Suyūṭī and Ibn al-Jazarī quote adh-Dhahabī on the wide range of his philological learning.

number are concerned with various branches of Qurʾānic science. The most famous of them was doubtless his *al-Anwār fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, (or *fī ʿIlm al-Qurʾān*), which is specially mentioned as being excellent in the fields both of *Tafsīr* and of *Maʿānī*. He had a book on the Codices, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, which may very well have been of the same nature as the *Maṣāḥif* books of Ibn Abī Dāwūd and Ibn Ashta. Three of his works would seem to have dealt with matters of the Qurʾānic Massorah, viz. a work on Pause (*Kitāb al-Waqf wa'l-Ibtidāʾ*), one on verse numbering (*ʿAdad at-Tamām*), and a manual for scribes writing Qurʾāns (*al-Laṭāʾif fī Jamʿ Hijāʾ al-Maṣāḥif*).[12]) The *Kitāb Mufradātihi* given in the lists,[13]) was probably a work on the unique expressions in the Qurʾān, and the book *al-Muwaḍḍaḥ* may have been of similar nature. More important, however, were his works on the Readers and their readings. One such is apparently a general work entitled *Iḥtijāj al-Qurrāʾ fi'l-Qirāʾāt*,[14]) another was on the great metropolitan systems, *al-Intiṣār li Qurrāʾ al-Amṣār*, and besides these there were attributed to him three works on the Seven, a large treatise, *Kitāb as-Sabʿa fī ʿIlalihā 'l-Kabīr*, a medium sized *Kitāb as-Sabʿa al-Awsaṭ*, and a small work *Kitāb al-Aṣghar*, known also as *Shifāʾ aṣ-Ṣudūr*.[15])

Ibn al-Jazarī has preserved for us the list of his teachers in *qirāʾāt* — Idrīs b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, † 292, (No. 717 in the *Ghāya*):

Dāwūd b. Sulaimān, (No. 1253 in the *Ghāya*).
Ḥātim b. Isḥāq of Mosul, † after 300, (*Ghāya*, No. 920).
Abū'l-ʿAbbās al-Muʿaddil, † 301, (*Ghāya*, No. 3542).
Abū'l-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl ar-Rāzī, † c. 290, (*Ghāya*, No. 2562).

[12]) So Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 501, and as-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 36. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 180, goes quite astray over this title.

[13]) In the *Fihrist* this title is given as *Kitāb Infirādātihi*, and so may refer to some other subject, but the likelihood is that the title in the *Fihrist* is a mistake.

[14]) So as-Suyūṭī. In the *Fihrist* it is given as *Iḥtijāj al-Qirāʾāt*, and Yāyūt on p. 499 calls it *al-Iḥtijāj li 'l-Qurrāʾ*, and on p. 501 *al-Iḥtijāj fi'l-Qirāʾāt*.

[15]) As three such books with these titles are also attributed to an-Naqqāsh († 352), it may be, as Flügel notes, that they are wrongly ascribed to Ibn Miqsam, whom one would not judge to have been particularly interested in the systems of the Seven.

Aḥmad b. Farah, † 303, (*Ghāya*, No. 437).
ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Bakkār, (*Ghāya*, No. 1748).
Muḍar b. Muḥammad, (No. 3613 in the *Ghāya*).
ʿAlī b. al-Husain al-Fārisī, (No. 2210 in the *Ghāya*),
four of whom were also the teachers of Ibn Shanabūdh.

His accuracy and reliability were admitted by ad-Dānī, and adh-Dhahabī specially commends his knowledge as one of the best Kūfan authorities on *qirāʾāt*, whether the canonical variants or the strange and uncanonical ones. He had an *ikhtiyār* which was recorded in the *Kāmil* of al-Hudhalī, and was transmitted from him by Abūʾl-Faraj ash-Shanabūdhī, and became the object of a refutation by Ibn Durustawaih.[16]) What was held against him was that he went on reading *ḥurūf* that were contrary to the general consensus. Yāqūt gives as an example of this his reading in Sūra XII. 80: *nujabā*, where the usual reading is *najiyyan*, so that he interpreted the verse, "So when they despaired of him, they withdrew as noble men", where the general consensus (*ijmāʿ*) interprets it as "they withdrew whispering". Apparently he had a goodly number of such readings, which were possible interpretations of the skeleton consonantal text, and were linguistically defensible, but which his opponents declared were his own invention, and not only were contrary to *ijmāʿ* but had no *isnād*, i. e. were not readings handed down from any of the famous early Readers.

The stir caused by his reading and teaching his *ikhtiyār* in this matter finally led to his being brought before the civil authorities. In the presence of an assembly of the Readers and the Jurists the charge was made against him that he taught that any reading that the consonantal text would bear and that was good Arabic was a reading that could legitimately be used in the prayer service or elsewhere. This was objected to on four grounds, (1) that it was heretical innovation (*bidʿa*). (2) that it associated with the Book of Allāh falsities that did not belong thereto, (3) that such mischievous opinions gave a handle to the defamers of Islam, (4) that it was making a choice of readings by way of investigation and personal judgment instead of holding fast to the received

[16]) *Radd ʿalā Ibn Miqsam fī Ikhtiyārihi*, according to the *Fihrist*, p. 63. Since Ibn Durustawaih died in 330 he must have written this *Radd* at the time of the famous process of condemnation of Ibn Miqsam.

tradition. The civil authorities accepted the charges as proved and called on him to repent and to retract. He, however, claimed the right to his *ikhtiyār*, arguing that Khalaf b. Hishām [17]) had a well-known *ikhtiyār* which was permitted and not reproved, and that Abū ʿUbaid [18]) and Ibn Saʿdān [19]) were also known to have an *ikhtiyār*, to which apparently no exception was taken. If in their cases this was something that was permitted and not reproved, why should it be considered in his case as something objectionable? If his liberty in this matter was to be curtailed, why should nothing be done to prevent the transmission of their *ikhtiyār*? The answer is very interesting to us. We know now from our collections of variants handed down from these Readers that they exercised true *ikhtiyār*, but the labours of Ibn Mujāhid had been to limit *ikhtiyār* and canonize the systems of the Seven, so that the reply to Ibn Miqsam was that Khalaf's *ikhtiyār* was that he had abandoned some of the readings of Ḥamza, and in their place chose to use readings of Nāfiʿ of the Madīnan School, and that neither Abū ʿUbaid nor Ibn Saʿdān had chosen readings outside the readings of the Imāms, i. e. of the Seven, and that had he limited his *ikhtiyār* to the same range this would have been permitted him also and not reproved. In other words, we have in his case a clear proof of the official nature of this stage in the development of the process of canonization of the text of the Qurʾān. This stage is that of the limitation of *ikhtiyār*. Ibn Shanabūdh was condemned because he persisted in using readings from the old pre-ʿUthmānic Codices,[20]) such as those of Ibn Masʿūd and

[17]) He was one of the Ten, i. e. of the three beyond the Seven, whose systems almost reached the grade of canonicity. He began as a follower of the Kūfan Reader Ḥamza, but came to differ from him in many places. On him see the *Fihrist*, p. 35, Ibn Qutaiba, *Maʿārif*, p. 180, and for his *ikhtiyār*, see *Ghāya*, I, 154, 274.

[18]) This is the famous savant Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām († 224). The *Fihrist*, p. 35, mentions his book on *Qirāʾāt*, and for his *ikhtiyār* see *Ghāya*, I, 93, II, 18.

[19]) A Kūfan Reader, † 231, who had a book on *Qirāʾāt* (*Fihrist*, 35, 70). At first he followed the tradition of Ḥamza, but later worked out a tradition of his own, on which see as-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 45, and Ibn al Jazarī, *Ghāya*, No. 3019.

[20]) This appears clearly in al-Khaṭīb's account of him (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, I, 280).

Ubai, while Ibn Miqsam was condemned for his insistence that while he accepted the 'Uthmānic consonantal text he still claimed the right of private judgment as to its interpretation.

Under threat of the civil authorities he agreed to recant, a document to that effect was drawn up, and this was signed by not a few of the Qurrā' who were present at the assembly. Like all forced recantations, however, it had little effect, for the later writers all record that it was said that he continued using his peculiar readings till the day of his death, and even had a following who accepted his readings. Al-Khaṭīb, who quotes at length from *Kitāb al-Bayān* of Abū Ṭāhir b. Abī Hishām, the close friend of Ibn Mujāhid, an account of the trial, says that Ibn Mujāhid laboured hard to persuade him to accept the limitation of *ikhtiyār* in accordance with the written judgment against him, but quite unsuccessfully.[21]) The new stage in canonization, however, could not long be resisted,[22]) and we have an interesting light on the prejudice felt against those who resisted the imposition of this new stage, in the story that circulated and is contained in all the biographies of Ibn Miqsam,[23]) of how a certain Abū Aḥmad al-Faraḍī dreamed one night that he was in the mosque praying with the people, when he saw Ibn Miqsam also praying but with his back turned to the *qibla*, which was symbolic of his habit of going contrary to the Imāms in his readings.

Should we someday recover the *Kāmil* of al-Hudhalī it is possible that we might be able to get a complete picture of the *ikhtiyār* of Ibn Miqsam. The *qirā'āt* works that we

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[21]) The accounts all say that Ibn Mujāhid insisted that Ibn Miqsam had been asked to produce proofs of the genuineness of the readings he followed, but had been unable to produce any proof (*ḥujjā*) either strong or weak, but this can only refer to the fact that his readings were lacking in *isnād*, i. e. did not go back to any early authority. Finally the decision was reached to leave him to Allāh, since in Sūra XV, 9 Allāh promises that He Himself will care for the Qur'ān, since it was He who revealed it.

[22]) The date of the judgment against Ibn Miqsam is given by Ibn Miskawaihi as 322 A. H. (ed. Amedroz, I, 285), so that the official decision obtained by Ibn Mujāhid in favour of his Seven must have been a little earlier than that date.

[23]) See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 500, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, V, 131.

have were for the most part written after the limitation in the range of *ikhtiyār* had come to be accepted, and consequently where they mention the readings of Ibn Miqsam they are for the most part merely such readings as also had the support of other authorities. As the majority of them, however, are outside the systems of the Seven, they have considerable importance as a witness to the teaching of the Kūfan School before the fixing of the Seven. Our collection of them is here arranged according to the order of the Sūras for reasons of practical convenience.

Sūra I.

4/3. *māliki.* — He supported the TR against the alternative *maliki.*

Sūra II.

14/13. *laqū—lāqawū* as Zaid b. 'Alī and Ibn as-Samaifa'.
19/18. *ḥadhara—ḥidhāra* as Ubai and Abū's-Sammāl.
20/19. *yakhṭafu—yukhaṭṭifu* as al-Ḥasan and al-Jaḥdarī.
25/23. *tajrī—yajrī* (and so throughout the Qur'ān).
30/28. *yasfiku—yusaffiku* as Ibn Ghazwān 'an Ṭalḥa.
innī—inniya as Nāfi', Ibn Kathīr and Abū 'Amr (and so every similar final *-nī* in the Qur'ān).
38/36. *khaufun—khaufa* as al-Ḥasan, Mujāhid and many others, here and where it occurs elsewhere.
40/38. *'dhkurū—'dhdhakkarū* as Ibn Mas'ūd.
55/52. *jahratan—jaharatan* as al-Ḥasan, Ḥumaid and Abū Razīn.
aṣ-ṣā'iqatu—aṣ ṣa'qatu as 'Alī, 'Umar and 'Urwa b. az-Zubair.
61/58. *yaqtulūna—yuqattilūna* as 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
63/60. *wa'dhkurū—wa'dhdhakkarū* as Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī.
69/64. *tasurru—yasurru.*
70/65. *al-baqara—al-bāqira* as Zaid b. 'Alī.
tashābaha—yashshābahu as al-Ḥasan, Mujāhid and Ibn Abī 'Abla.
74/69. *qaswatan—qasāwatan* as Abū Ḥaiwa and Zaid b. 'Alī.
83/77. *ḥusnan—ḥasanan* as Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī and Ya'qūb.
85/79. *taqtulūna—tuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan, Abū Mijlaz and az-Zuhrī.
87/81. *taqtulūna—tuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
88/82. *ghulfun—ghulufun* as Ibn Muḥaiṣin and Ibn 'Abbās, though some said that he read with TR here.

91/85. *taqtulūna—tuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
120/114. *tarḍā—yarḍā.*
122/116. *'dhkurū—'dhdhakkarū* as Abū 'Imrān.
140/134. *ta'malūna—ya'malūna* as Qatāda, Mujāhid and al-Ḥasan.
173/168. *famani*—He supported the TR against the more common *famanu.*
182/178. *mūṣin—muwwaṣin*, i. e. the Kūfan and Baṣran reading.
184/180. *fa'iddatun—fa'iddatan* as 'Ubaid b. 'Umair.
fidyatun—fidyatan.
185/181. *fa'iddatun—fa'iddatan.*
al-yusra and *al-'usra*, *al-yusura* and *al-'usura* as Abū Ja'far and al-Ḥasan.
walitukmilū—walitukammilū as Abū Bakr, Ya'qūb and al-Ḥasan.
187/183. *wa'btaghū—wa'ttabi'ū*, as Ibn 'Abbās and al-Ḥasan.
189/185. *al-buyūta* — He supported TR here and throughout the Qur'ān, against the alternative reading *al-biyūta.*
196/192. *fa-fidyatun—fa-fidyatan.*
198/194. *fa'dkurū—fa'dhdhakkarū* as Abū 'Imrān. So in vv. 200/196, 203/199, 231 and 239/240.
205/201. *yuhlika—yahlaka* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Ḥanīfa.
210/206. *ẓulalin—ẓilālin* as Ubai and Ibn Mas'ūd.
wal malā'ikatu—wal-malā'ikati as Ibn as-Samaifa', al-Ḥasan and Qatāda.
quḍiya 'l-amru—qaḍā'i 'l-amri as Ubai and Ibn Mas'ūd.
211/207. *sal—is'al*, and so wherever this occurs in the Qur'ān.
212/208. *zuyyina—zayyana* as Mujāhid, al-Ḥasan and Ḥumaid b. Qais.
216/212. *kurhun—karhun* as as-Sulamī.
219/216. *kabīrun—kathīrun* as Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī and al-A'mash.
akbaru—aktharu as Mu'ādh and Zaid b. Aslam.
229. *yakhāfā—yukhāfā* as Ḥamza and Ya'qūb.
233. *tuḍārra—tuḍārru* as Mu'ādh, Ibn Khuthaim and Zaid b. 'Alī.
236/237. *qadaruhu* (bis) — He supported TR against the more common *qadruhu.*
237/238. *fa-niṣfu—fa-naṣafu* as al-Ḥasan.
tansawu—tanāsawi as Ibn Abī 'Abla. So in all similar cases of final *wāw* — before a *waṣl*, he read *wī* — as against the *wū* of the TR, or the *wā* supported by al-A'mash.
256/257. *ar-rushdu—ar-rashādu* as as-Sulamī.

265/267. *ukulahā—uklahā* as Nāfi', Ibn Kathīr and Abū 'Amr.
269/2. 2. *yu'ta—yūti* as Abū Razīn and az-Zuhrī.
276/277. *yamḥaku* and *yurbi — yumaḥḥiku* and *yurabbī.*
280. *fa-naẓiratun—fa-naẓratun* as Mujāhid and al-Ḥasan.
maysaratin—maysuratin as Nāfi' and Ḥamza.
282. *tijāratan ḥāḍiratan* — He agreed with TR against the more common reading *tijāratun ḥāḍiratun.*
283. *kātiban—kitāban* as Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and al-Ḥasan.
285. *wa-kutubihi—wa-kitābihi* as Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī.

Sūra III.

10/8. *tughniya—yughniya* as as-Sulamī, Mu'ādh and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.
11/9. *ka-da'bi—ka-da'abi.*
12/10. *satughlabūna—sayughlabūna* supporting the Kūfan reading.
13/11. *fi'atun—fi'atin* as al-Ḥasan, az-Zuhrī and Mujāhid.
14/12. *zuyyina li'n-nāsi ḥubbu—zayyana li'n-nāsi ḥubba*, as Mujāhid and al-Jaḥdarī.
18/16. *shahida 'llāhu—shuhadā'u 'llāhi* as Ubai, al-Jaḥdarī and Ibn as-Samaifa'.
21/20. *yaqtulūna—yuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz: and in the second occurrence *yuqātilūna* as some of the Kūfan Readers.
28/27. *tuqātan—taqiyyatan* as Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk and others.
37/32. *kaffalahā* — He agreed with TR against the alternative reading *kafalahā.*
48/43. *yu'allimuhu* — He agreed with TR against the more common reading *nu'allimuhu.*
49/43. *annī—innī* as the Madīnan Readers.
81/75. *ātaytukum—ātaynākum* as Abū Ja'far and al-Ḥasan.
90/84. *tuqbala—yuqbala.*
101/96. *tutlā—yutlā* as Ibn Mas'ūd.
103/98. *wa'dhkurū—wa'dhdhakkarū* as Abū 'Imrān.
104/100. *waltakun—walyakun* as Ibn Mas'ūd and an-Nakha'ī.
112/108. *yaqtulūna—yuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
115/111. *yaf'alū—taf'alū* supporting the non-Kūfan reading.
116/112. *tughniya—yughniya* as as-Sulamī.
140/134. *qarhun* (bis)—*qurhun* as Ḥamza, al-Kisā'ī and Ṭalha.
145/139. *nu'tihi* (bis)—*yu'tīhi* as al-Mufaḍḍal and az-Za'farānī.
sanajzī—sayajzī as al-A'mash and Ibn Khuthaim.

147/141. *qaulahum—qauluhum* as al-Ḥasan, Qatāda, Ḥumaid and others.
154/148. *kullahu—kulluhu* as the Baṣrans and Ṭalḥa.
156/150. *qutilū—quttilū* as al-Ḥasan, and so in v. 169/163, and *quttiltum* for *qutiltum* in v. 158/152.
178/172. *yaḥsabanna—taḥsabanna* as Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid and Ḥamza. So in v. 180/175.
181/177. *sanaktubu—sayaktubu* as al-Ḥasan, al-Aʿraj and al-Aʿmash.
naqūlu—yaqūlu as al-Aʿmash.
188/185. *taḥsabannahum—yaḥsabannahum* as Ibn Kathīr and Abū ʿAmr.

Sūra IV.

5/4. *allatī—allātī* as al-Ḥasan, Abū Razīn and Ibn Khuthaim.
10/11. *sayaṣlauna—sayuṣallauna.*
11/12. *yūṣīkum—yuwaṣṣīkum* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Razīn.
12/15. *yūrathu—yuwarrithu* as al-Ḥasan and ʿIkrima.
23/19. *yaḥillu—taḥillu* as al-Jaḥdarī and Abū Ḥaiwa.
27/32. *tamīlū—yamīlū* as al-Ḥasan, Qatāda and Ibn Khuthaim.
30/34. *nuṣlīhi—nuṣallihi.*
32/36. *was'alū—wasalū* as Ibn Kathīr and al-Kisāʾī.
42/45. *tusawwā—tassawwā* as Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿAmīr and al-Ḥasan.
46/48. *'l-kalima—'l-kalāma* as Muʿādh, ʿAlī and Abū Nahīk.
92/94. *khaṭa'an* (bis)—*khaṭā'an* as al-Ḥasan, Shaiba and Abū ʿImrān, though some sources give him as reading *khiṭā'an.*
fa-diyatun musallamatun—fadyatun muslamatun.
101/102. *taqṣurū—tuqaṣṣirū* as az-Zuhrī, al-Ḥasan and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.
153/152. *aṣ ṣā'iqatu—aṣ-ṣaʿqatu* as Ibn Muḥaiṣin.
154/153. *ta'dū—taʿaddū* as Warsh and other Madīnan Readers.

Sūra V.

27/30. *la-aqtulannaka—la-uqattilannaka* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
28/31. *li-taqtulanī—li-tuqattilanī* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
45/49. *wal'ayna—wal-ʿaynu* as Anas and al-Kisāʾī.
60/65. *wa'abada 't-ṭāghūta—wa'ubbada 't-ṭāghūti* as ʿIkrima and al-Aʿmash.

67/71. *risālatahu—risālātihi* as Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and al-Ḥasan.
70/74. *yaqtulūna—yuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
71/75. *takūna—yakūna* as al-Ḥasan, but some said he read *yakūnu.*
95/96. *taqtulū* and *qatalahu* and *qatala—tuqattilū* and *qattalahu* and *qattala* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
110. *siḥrun—sāḥirun* as the general Kūfan reading.

Sūra VI.

7. *siḥrun—sāḥirun* as aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.
22. *naḥshuruhum* and *naqūlu—yaḥshuruhum* and *yaqūlu* as Yaʿqūb.
23. *takun—yakun* as Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī and Yaʿqūb.
44. *fataḥnā—fattaḥnā* as Abū Jaʿfar and Shaiba.
46. *bihi—bihu* as al-Aʿmash and al-Musayyibī.
47. *baghtatan au jahratan—baghatatan au jaharatan* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Jaʿfar.
55. *li-tastabīna sabīlu—li-yastabīna sabilu* as Ḥamza and al-Kisāʾī.
58. *la-quḍiya—la-qaḍā*, and so in every other occurrence.
61. *tawaffathu—tawaffāhu* as Ṭalḥa, al-Aʿmash and Abū Razīn.
71/70. *'stahwathu—'stahwāhu* as Ḥamza and al-Aʿmash.
74. *āzara—āzaru* as al-Ḥasan, Yaʿqūb and Ḥumaid.
91. *qadrihi—qadarihi* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
92. *ṣalātihim—ṣalawātihim* as al-Ḥasan.
99. *mutashābihin—mushtabihin.*
thamarihi—thumurihi as Ibn Abī Lailā and Ibn Saʿdān.
100. *wa-kharaqū—wa-kharraqū* as Nāfiʿ and Abū Jaʿfar of Madīna.
101. *takun—yakun* as Ibn Waththāb and an-Nakhaʿī.
108. *ʿadwan—ʿuduwwan* as al-Ḥasan, Yaʿqūb and Qatāda.
110. *nuqallibu—yuqallibu* as Abū'l-Mutawakkil.
nadharuhum—yadharuhum as Abū'l-Mutawakkil and Ibn Qais.
124. *risālatahu—risālātihi*, the non-Meccan reading.
125. *ḍayyiqan—ḍayqan* as Ibn Kathīr, Ḥumaid and Muʿādh.
ḥarajan—ḥarijan as Nāfiʿ, al-Ḥasan and Abū Jaʿfar.
130. *ya'tikum—ta'tikum* as al-Ḥasan and al-Aʿraj.
135/136. *takūnu—yakūnu* as Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī and al-Aʿmash.

137/138. *zayyana—zuyyina* with following *qatlu*, as Ibn ʿĀmir and al-Ḥasan.

139/140. *khāliṣatun—khāliṣuhu* as Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd and ʿIkrima.
maytatan—mayyitatun (?), as Shaiba and Muʿādh. So in v. 145/146.

141/142. *ukuluhu—ukluhu* as Nāfiʿ and Ibn Kathīr.

151/152. *taqtulū* (bis)—*tuqattilū* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz. So in v. 156/157.

153/154. *wa-anna hādhā—wa-an hādhā* as Ibn ʿĀmir and Yaʿqūb.

160/161. *ʿashru amthālihā—ʿashrun amthāluhā* as Yaʿqūb, al-Jaḥdarī and Abū Razīn.

Sūra VII.

3/2. *tadhakkarūna—tatadhakkarūna* as as-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAbbās.

26/25. *rīshan—riyāshan* as Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan and Qatāda.

40/38. *tufattaḥu—yuftaḥu* along with a majority of the Kūfan Readers.
al-jamalu—al-jummalu as Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿIkrima.

44/42. *naʿam—naʿim* as al-Kisāʾī and al-Aʿmash.

54/52. *yughshī—yughashshī* as the generality of the Kūfans.
ash-shamsa wa 'l-qamara wa 'n-nujūma musakhkharātin—ash-shamsu wa 'l-qamaru wa 'n-nujūmu musakhkharātun as Ibn ʿĀmir and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

58/56. *nuṣarrifu—yuṣarrifu* as Ibn Waththāb and an-Nakhaʿī.

69/67. *wa 'dhkurū—wa 'dhdhakkarū* as Abū ʿImrān. So also in vv. 74/72, 86/84, 171/170.

73/71. *thamūda—thamūdin* as al-Aʿmash and al-Ḥasan.

88/86. *qāla—wa-qāla.* So in v. 109/106.

105/103. *ʿalā an—ʿalayya an* as al-Ḥasan, Qatāda and the Madīnans.

127/124. *ālihataka—ilāhataka* as al-Ḥasan, Qatāda and Ibn Muḥaiṣin.

128/125. *yūrithuhā—yuwarrithuhā* as al-Ḥasan, Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn Waththāb.

137/133. *yaʿrishūna—yuʿarrishūna* as Muʿādh and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

138/134. *yaʿkufūna—yuʿakkifūna* as Muʿādh and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

145/142. *saʾurīkum—saʾuwarrithukum* as Abū'l-Mutawakkil.

150/149. *yaqtulūnanī—yuqattilūnanī* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.

164. *maʿdhiratan*—He supported TR against the more common *maʿdhiratun*.

172/171. *dhurriyatahum—dhurriyātihim* as the Madīnans and Baṣrans.
taqūlū—yaqūlū as Ibn Muḥaiṣin, Abū ʿAmr and Ubai. So in v. 173/172.

202/201. *yuqṣirūna—yuqaṣṣirūna* as az-Zuhrī and al-Jaḥdarī.

Sūra VIII.

15. *laqītum—lāqītum.* So also in v. 45/47 and in XLVII, 4.

17. *taqtulūhum—tuqattilūhum* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.

26. *wa 'dhkurū—wa 'dhdhakkarū* as Abū ʿImrān.

30. *yaqtulūka—yuqattilūka* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.

35. *ṣalātuhum—ṣalawātuhum* as al-Ḥasan and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

39/40. *wa-yakūna—wa-yakūnu* as al-Aʿmash.

42/44. *ḥayya—ḥayiya* as Nāfiʿ, Yaʿqūb and Abū Jaʿfar.

45/47. *wa 'dhkurū—wa 'dhdhakkarū* as Abū ʿImrān.

52/54. *ka-daʾbi—ka-daʾabi.*

60/62. *turhibūna—yurahhibūna* as as-Sulamī and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.

Sūra IX.

4. *yanquṣūkum—yanquḍūkum* with *ḍād* as ʿIkrima, Muʿādh and Ibn as-Samaifaʿ.

8. *taʾbā—yaʾbā.*

11. *nufaṣṣilu—yufaṣṣilu.*

25. *tughnī—yughnī.*

35. *fa-tukwā—fa-yukwā* as Abū Ḥaiwa, Abū's-Sammāl and Ibn Qais.

37. *yuḍallu—yuḍillu* as Yaʿqūb, al-Ḥasan and Sallām.

40. *kalimatu—kalimata* as Yaʿqūb, al-Ḥasan and Zaid b. ʿAlī. Others say that in this verse he read both *kalimata* and *kalimatu* as *kalimāt*.

54. *tuqbala—yuqbala* as Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī and Zaid b. ʿAlī.

58. *yalmizuka—yalmuzuka* as Yaʿqūb and al-Ḥasan.

70/71. *thamūda—thamūdin* as al-Aʿmash.
atathum—atāhum.

98/99. *as-sauʾi—as-sūʾi* as the Meccans and Baṣrans.

111/112. *yuqātilūna—yuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz. *fa-yaqtulūna wa-yuqtalūna—fa-yuqattilūna wa-yuqattalūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.

117/118. *kāda yazīghu*—He supported TR against the more common *kāda tazīghu*.

Sūra X.

10/11. *ani'l-ḥamdu—anna 'l-ḥamda* as Ibn Muḥaiṣin, Mujāhid and Ya'qūb.

18/19. *yushrikūna—tushrikūna* as the Kūfans in general.

24/25. *taghna—yaghna* as al-Ḥasan and Qatāda.

33/34. *kalimatu—kalimātu* as the Madīnan and Syrian Readers. So in v. 96.

58/59. *fal-yafraḥū—fal-tafraḥū* as Ruwais, al-Ḥasan and Qatāda.

71/72. *fa-ajmi'ū—fa'jma'ū* as Ruwais and al-Jaḥdarī.

76/77. *la-siḥrun—la-sāḥirun* as Mujāhid and Sa'īd b. Jubair.

79/80. *sāḥirin—saḥḥārin* as the majority of the Kūfans.

101. *tughnī—yughnī*, which is given by some from al-A'mash.

Sūra XI.

5. *yathnūna—yathnūnī* as Ibn Quṭais.

7/10. *siḥrun—sāḥirun* as the majority of the Kūfans.

15/18. *nuwaffi—yuwaffi* as Zaid b. 'Alī and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.

27/29. *bādiya—bādi'a* as Abū 'Amr, 'Īsā ath-Thaqafī and al-Ḥasan.

31/33. *tazdarī—yazdarī*.

37/39. *tukhāṭibnī—tukhāṭibannī*.

40/42. *kullin*—He supported TR against the more common *kulli*.

46/48. *'amalun ghayru—'amila ghayra* as Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ikrima.

51/53. *ajriya—ajrī* as al-Ḥasan and the Kūfans.

61/64. *thamūda—thamūdin* as al-A'mash, al-Ḥasan and Ibn Waththāb, and similarly *li-thamūdin* for *li-thamūda* in v. 68/71.

80/82. *ruknin—rukunin* as Ibn as-Samaifa' and Abū Ḥaṣīn.

95/98. *bu'dan—bu'udan* as Abū Ḥaiwa and some of the Baṣrans.

104/106. *nu'akhkhiruhu—yu'akhkhiruhu* as al-Ḥasan and other Baṣran Readers.

111/113. *wa-inna—wa-in* as al-Ḥasan, supporting the Ḥijāzī reading.

119/120. *kalimatu—kalimātu* as Khārija 'an Abī 'Amr.

Sūra XII.

10. *lā taqtulū—lā tuqattilū* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz. *ghayābati—ghayābāti* as the Madīnan Readers.

12. *yarta'—yarta'i* as the Madīnan Readers.

45. *unabbi'ukum—ātī'kum* as Ubai and al-Ḥasan.

80. *najiyyan—nujabā'*.

90. *yattaqi—yattaqī* as some of the Meccan Readers.

102/103. *nūḥihi—yūḥihi*.

Sūra XIII.

3. *yughshi—yughashshi* as the majority of the Kūfans.

4. *'l-ukuli—'l-ukli* as the Ḥijāzī reading. So in v. 35, *ukluhā* for *ukuluhā*.

7/8. *hādin—hādī* as the Meccan reading.

8/9. *taghīḍu—yaghīḍu* as al-Ḥalawānī 'an Abū 'Amr.

11/12. *wālin—wālī* as some of the Meccan and Baṣran Readers.

16/17. *tastawi—yastawī* as the Kūfans.

33. *hādin—hādī* as some of the Meccans and Baṣrans.

34. *wāqin—wāqī* as some of the Meccans and Baṣrans.

43. *baynī—bayniya* as Ibn al-Munādhirr. *wa-man 'indahu 'ilmu 'l-kitābi—wa-min 'indihi 'ulima 'l-kitābu* as al-Ḥasan and Mujāhid.

Sūra XIV.

9. *thamūda—thamūdin* as al-A'mash.

19/22. *khalaqa s-samāwāti wa 'l-arḍa—khāliqu 's-samāwāti wa 'l-arḍi* as the Kūfans generally.

30/35. *li-yuḍillū—li-yaḍillū* as the Meccans and Baṣrans.

Sūra XV.

15. *sukkirat—sukirat* as al-Ḥasan, Mujāhid and the Meccan Readers.

41. *'alayya—'aliyyun* as Ya'qūb and al-Ḥasan.

72. *sakratihim—sakarātihim* as Ibn Abī 'Abla.

Sūra XVI.

12. *wa 'sh-shamsa wa 'l-qamara—wa 'sh-shamsu wa 'l-qamaru* as Ibn 'Amir, Abū Ḥaiwa and others.

28/30. *tatawaffāhum—yatawaffāhum* as the Kūfans generally.
40/42. *fa-yakūnu—fa-yakūna* as Ibn ʿĀmir and al-Kisāʾī.
59/61. *sūʾi mā—sūʾin mā.*
97/99. *falanuḥyiyannahu—falayuḥyiyannahu* as Ibn Munādhirr ʿan Nāfiʿ, and similarly for *lanajziyannahum* he read *layajziyannahum.*
115/116. *ʾl-maytata—ʾl-mayyitata* as Abū Jaʿfar, Shaiba and Muʿādh.
124/125. *juʿila ʾs-sabtu—jaʿala ʾs-sabta* as al-Ḥasan, Muʿādh and Abū Ḥaiwa.
127/128. *ḍayqin—ḍayyiqin.*

Sūra XVII.

2. *tattakhidhū—yattakhidhū* as Abū ʿAmr, Ibn ʿAbbās and Mujāhid.
12/13. *mubṣiratan—mabṣaratan*, likewise in v. 59/61 and in XXVII, 13.
kulla—kullu as Abū Mijlaz and Abū's-Sammāl.
13/14. *wa-kulla—wa-kullu* as Abū Mijlaz, Abū's-Sammāl and Muʿādh.
16/17. *amarnā—ammarnā* as al-Ḥasan, ʿAlī and Zaid b. ʿAlī.
18/19. *yaṣlāhā—yuṣallihā* as Abū Ḥaiwa and Abū'l-Barhashīm.
23/24. *yablughanna—yablughānni* as the Kūfans generally.
uffin—uffa as the Meccan and Syrian Readers.
31/33. *taqtulū—tuqattilū* as al-Aʿmash and Ibn Waththāb. So in v. 33/35.
khiṭʾan—khiṭāʾan as al-Ḥasan, Shaiba and others.
59/61. *mubṣiratan—mabṣaratan* as Ubai, Zaid b. ʿAlī and Qatāda.
93/95. *qul—qāla* as the Meccan and Syrian Readers.
97/99. *naḥshuruhum—yaḥshuruhum.*
106/107. *faraqnāhu—farraqnāhu* as Ubai, Ibn Masʿūd, al-Ḥasan and others.
110. *bi-ṣalātika—bi-ṣalawātika* as al-Ḥasan and Khalaf.

Sūra XVIII.

5/4. *kalimatan—kalimatun* as al-Ḥasan, Ibn Muḥaiṣin and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
33/31. *ukulahā—uklahā* as Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kathīr and Abū ʿAmr.
33/32. *fajjarnā—fajarnā* as Yaʿqūb, al-Aʿmash and Sallām.
47/45. *nusayyiru ʾl-jibāla—tusayyaru ʾl-jibālu* as Ibn Kathīr, Ibn ʿĀmir and Abū ʿAmr.

51/49. *ashhadtuhum—ashhadnāhum* as Abū Jaʿfar, Shaiba and Abū Mijlaz.
52/50. *yaqūlu—naqūlu* as Ḥamza, al-Aʿmash and Ṭalha.
71/70. *li-tughriqa ahlahā—li-tugharriqa ahlahā* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Rajāʾ.
73/72. *ʿusran—ʿusuran* as Abū Jaʿfar, al-Ḥasan and Shaiba.
102. *afa-ḥasiba—afa-ḥasbu* as ʿAlī, ʿIkrima and Mujāhid.
109. *madadan—midādan* as Ibn Masʿūd, al-Ḥasan and Ibn ʿAbbās.

Sūra XIX.

5. *khiftu ʾl-mawāliya—khaffati ʾl-mawāli* as ʿAlī and Saʿīd b. Jubair.
6. *yarithunī wa-yarithu—yarithnī wa-yarith* as Abū ʿAmr and al-Kisāʾī.
58/59. *idhā tutlā ʿalayhim āyātu—idhā yutlā jamiʿu āyāti.* The *yutlā* for *tutlā* was read also by al-Ḥasan and Ibn Muḥaiṣin.
59/60. *aṣ-ṣalāta—aṣ-ṣalawāti* as Ibn Masʿūd, al-Ḥasan and aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.
63/64. *nūrithu—nuwarrithu* as al-Ḥasan, Qatāda, and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
90/92. *tanshaqqu—yanshaqqu*, and so for *takhirru* he read *yakhirru.*

Sūra XX.

77/79. *an asri—ani ʾsrī* as the Readers of al-Ḥijāz.
97. *tukhlafahu—tukhallifahu* as al-Ḥasan and the Meccan and Baṣran Readers.
114/113. *yuqḍā ilayka waḥyuhu—naqḍiya ilayka waḥyahu* as Ibn Masʿūd and al-Ḥasan.
130. *tarḍā—turḍā* as some of the Kūfans.
131. *zahrata—zaharata* as Yaʿqūb and al-Ḥasan.

Sūra XXI.

37/38. *khuliqa ʾl-insānu—khalaqa ʾl-insāna* as Ḥumaid, Mujāhid and Abū Razīn.
40/41. *taʾtīhim—yaʾtīhim* as al-Aʿmash and aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.
fa-tabhatuhum—fa-yabhatuhum as al-Aʿmash and aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.
58/59. *judhādhan—jidhādhan* as Abū Ḥaiwa and some of the Kūfans.
65/66. *nukisū—nukkisū* as Abū Ḥaiwa and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

67. *uffin—uffa* as Ibn ʿĀmir, Ibn Kathīr and Yaʿqūb.
80. *li-tuḥṣinakum—li-yuḥaṣṣinakum* as Ḥumaid and Abū ʿImrān.
87. *naqdira—nuqaddira* as az-Zuhrī, Ḥumaid and Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar.
103. *tatalaqqāhum—yatalaqqāhum* as aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.

Sūra XXII.

9. *li-yuḍilla—li-yaḍilla* as the Meccans and Baṣrans.
11. *khasira—khāsira*, which involves reading *'l-ākhirati*, as Mujāhid and some of the Baṣrans.
17. *yafṣilu—yufaṣṣilu*, and so in XXXII, 25 and LX, 3.
31/32. *fa-takhṭafuhu—fa-takhiṭṭifihi* as al-Ḥasan and al-Aʿmash.
36/37. *wa'l-budna—wa'l-buduna* as al-Ḥasan, Shaiba, and Ibn Abī Isḥāq.
fa'dhkurū—fa'dhdhakkarū as Abū ʿImrān.
65/64. *'l-fulka—'l-fuluka* as ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, and, according to some, al-Ḥasan.

Sūra XXIII.

2. *ṣalātihim—ṣalawātihim* as Ubai, al-Ḥasan and Zaid b. ʿAlī.
8. *li-amānātihim—li-amānatihim*, which was the Meccan reading
14. *ʿiẓāman—ʿaẓman* as the Damascus Readers.
63/65. *ghamratin—ghamarātin* as Ubai and Ibn Masʿūd.
100/102. *kalimatun—kalimātun*.
106/108. *shiqwatunā—shaqāwatunā* as al-Ḥasan and the Kūfans.

Sūra XXIV.

2. *ra'fatun—ra'afatun* as the Meccan reading.
7. *anna laʿnata—an laʿnatu* as Qatāda, Abū Rajāʾ and al-Ḥasan
11. *kibrahu—kubrahu* as al-Ḥasan and many of the Baṣran Readers.
21. *zakā—zakkā* as al-Ḥasan, Mujāhid and Qatāda.
24. *tashhadu—yashhadu* as the majority of the Kūfans.
31. *ʿaurāti—ʿawrāti* as al-Aʿmash and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
35. *tamsashu—yamsashu* as Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan and Ḥumaid.
45/44. *khalaqa kulla—khāliqu kulli* as the Kūfans.
57/56. *taḥsabanna—yaḥsabanna* as Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid and the Damascus Readers.

Sūra XXV.

8/9. *ya'kulu—na'kulu* as Zaid b. ʿAlī and the Kūfans.
25/27. *nuzzila 'l-malā'ikatu—nunzilu 'l-malā'ikata* as Ubai and the Meccan Codex.
67. *yaqturū—yuqtirū* as the Madīnan and Syrian Readers.
68. *yaqtulūna—yuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
74. *qurrata—qurrāti* as Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn Khuthaim.

Sūra XXVI.

13/12. *yaḍīqu - yaḍīqa* as Zaid b. ʿAlī, Qatāda and Ṭalḥa. So he read with them *yanṭaliqa* instead of *yanṭaliqu* as a consequence.
14/13. *yaqtulūnī—yuqattilūnī* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
82. *khaṭi'atī—khaṭāyāya* as Ubai, al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz, though some sources say he read here *khaṭī'atī*.
184. *wa 'l-jibillata—wa 'l-jubullata* as al-Ḥasan and Ibn as-Samaifaʿ.
198. *'l-aʿjamīna—'l-aʿjamiyyīna* as al-Ḥasan, al-Jaḥdarī and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.

Sūra XXVII.

11. *ḥusnan—ḥusunan*.
13. *siḥrun—sāḥirun*, see Sūra V, 110.
31. *taʿlū—taʿallū*.
45/46. *thamūda—thamūdin* as al-Ḥasan, al-Aʿmash and Ibn Waththāb.
49/50. *la-nubayyitannahu—la-yubayyitannahu* as Mujāhid and Ḥumaid.
63/64. *bushran*—He supported the TR as against the numerous other readings.
70/72. *ḍaiqin—ḍayyiqin* as in XVI, 127/128.
74/76. *mā tukinnu—mā takunnu* as Ibn Muḥaiṣin, Ḥumaid and Abū'l-Mutawakkil, though some sources say he read *yakunnu* here and in XXVIII, 69.

Sūra XXVIII.

15/14. *fa'staghāthahu—fa'staʿānahu* as al-Ḥasan and aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.
19/18. *taqtulanī* and *qatalta—tuqattilanī* and *qattalta* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
20/19. *li-yaqtulūka—li-yuqattilūka* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.

29. *jadhwatin—judhwatin* as the Kūfans.
33. *yaqtulūnī—yuqattilūnī* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
34. *yuṣaddiqunī*—He supported TR against the more common *yuṣaddiqnī*.
66. *fa'amiyat—fa-'ummiyat* as Sa'īd b. Jubair.
69. *tukinnu—takunnu*, but see XXVII, 74/76.

Sūra XXIX.

17/16. *takhluqūna—tukhalliqūna* as Abū Ḥanīfa and Zaid b. 'Alī.
25/24. *mawaddata baynikum—mawaddatun baynakum* as al-Ḥasan, al-A'mash and Ibn Abī 'Abla.
50/49. *āyātun—āyatun* as al-Ḥasan, Ya'qūb and some Kūfan Readers.
55. *yaqūlu*—He supported TR against the alternative reading *naqūlu*.

Sūra XXX.

46/45. *li-tajziya—li-yajziya*.

Sūra XXXI.

3/2. *raḥmatan—raḥmatun* as Ḥamza, al-A'mash and Ṭalḥa.
6/5. *li-yuḍilla—li-yaḍilla* as Ibn Kathīr, Abū 'Amr and Zaid b. 'Alī.
16/15. *fa-takun—fa-tukanna*.
18/17. *tuṣa"ir—tuṣā'ir* as Nāfi', Abū 'Amr and some Kūfan Readers.

Sūra XXXII.

7/6. *khalaqahu*—He supported TR against the non-Kūfan reading *khalqahu*.
17. *qurrati—qurrāti* as Ibn Mas'ūd, Abū Huraira and Abū Ja'far. See XXV, 74.
27. *ta'kulu—ya'kulu* as some gave from Ḥamza and Abū Ḥaiwa.

Sūra XXXIII.

9. *'dhkurū—'dhdhakkarū* as Abū 'Imrān.
13. *'awratun—'awiratun* as Ibn 'Abbās, 'Ikrima, Mujāhid and al-Ḥasan. So in this verse he read *bi-'awiratin* for *bi-'awratin*.
20. *yas'alūna—yassā'alūna* as Qatāda, al-Ḥasan and Ibn Abī 'Abla.

26. *taqtulūna—tuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan, Abū Mijlaz and Ibn Qais.
31. *ta'mal—ya'mal* as some of the Kūfan Readers.
41. *'dhkurū—'dhdhakkarū* as Abū 'Imrān.
59. *yudnīna—yudayyina*.

Sūra XXXIV.

3. *'ālimi—'allāmi* as some of the Kūfan Readers.
5. *alīmun*—He supported TR against the more common reading *alīmin*.
14/13. *minsa'atahu—minsa'tahu* as Ibn Dhakwān and some Damascus Readers.
16/15. *ukulin—uklin* as Nāfi', Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥaiṣin.
17/16. *nujāzī*—He supported TR against the more common reading *yujāzī*.
20/19. *ṣaddaqa*—He supported TR against the non-Kūfan reading *ṣadaqa*.
37/36. *jazā'u 'ḍ-ḍi'fi—jazā'ani 'ḍ-ḍi'fu* as Ibn Abī 'Abla, Mu'ādh and Ruwais.
40/39. *yaḥshuruhum* and *yaqūlu*—He supported TR against the alternative readings *naḥshuruhum* and *naqūlu*, which were more commonly read.
43/42. *siḥrun—sāḥirun* as in V, 110 and XXVII, 13.

Sūra XXXV.

3. *'dhkurū—'dhdhakkarū* as Abū 'Imrān.
ghayru—ghayri as read by many of the Kūfans.
4. *turja'u 'l-umūru—yurja'u 'l-umūru*. So likewise in LVII, 5.
8/9. *tadhhab—tudhhiba* as Abū Ja'far, and Shaiba. It involves the reading of *nafsaka* for *nafsuka*.
36/33. *yuqḍā—yaqḍī* as Kirdāb.
najzī—yajzī as Shibil and Kirdāb.
yukhaffafu—tukhaffifu.
40/38. *bayyinatin—bayyinātin* as Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and al-Ḥasan.

Sūra XXXVI.

9/8. *fa-a'ghshaynāhum—fa-a'shaynāhum*, with *'ain* instead of *ghain*, as Ibn 'Abbās, al-Ḥasan and Abū Ḥanīfa.
12/11. *kulla—kullu* as Ibn Abī 'Abla and Abū's-Sammāl. See XVII, 12/13, 13/14.
33. *al-maytatu—al-mayyitatu* as Nāfi', Abū Ja'far and Shaiba.

39. *wal-qamara—wal-qamaru* as Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kathīr, Abū ʿAmr and al-Ḥasan.
41. *dhurriyyatahum—dhurriyyātihim* as Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and Yaʿqūb.
62. *jibillan—jubullan* as al-Ḥasan, Zaid b. ʿAlī and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
82. *fa-yakūnu—fa-yakūna* as Ibn ʿĀmir, al-Kisāʾī and Ibn Muḥaiṣin.

Sūra XXXVII.

12. *ʿajibta—ʿajibtu* as Ibn Masʿūd and many of the Kūfans.
15. *siḥrun—sāḥirun* as in V, 110 and elsewhere.
94/92. *yaziffūna—yuzaffūna* as al-Aʿmash.

Sūra XXXVIII.

5/4. *ʿujābun—ʿujjābun* as ʿAlī, as-Sulamī and ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar.
17/16. *waʾdhkur—waʾdhdhakar*, and so in v. 41/40.
41/40. *bi-nuṣbin—bi-naṣabin* as al-Ḥasan, Yaʿqūb and al-Jaḥdarī.
45. *ʿibādanā*—He agreed with TR against the Meccan reading *ʿabdanā*.

Sūra XXXIX.

8/11. *li-yuḍilla—li-yaḍilla* as al-Ḥasan, Abū ʿAmr and Ibn Kathīr.
23/24. *taqshaʿirru* and *talīnu—yaqshaʿirru* and *yalīnu*.
35/36. *aswaʾa—aswāʾa* as was given by some from Ibn Kathīr. So in XLI, 27.
59/60. *fa-kadhdhabta—fa-kadhdhabti*, and as a consequence he read also the following words *waʾstakbartī* and *kunti* as fem. So Abū Ḥaiwa, Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar and al-Jaḥdarī.
61/62. *bi-mafāzatihim—bi-mafāzātihim* as al-Ḥasan and az-Zaʿfarānī.

Sūra XL.

6. *kalimatu—kalimātu* as Muʿādh, Shaiba and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
26/27. *yuẓhira*—He supported TR against the Meccan reading *yaẓhara*.
28/29. *a-taqtulūna—a-tuqattilūna* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
32/34. *ʾt-tanādi—ʾt-tanāddi* as Ibn ʿAbbās and aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.
35/37. *kulli qalbi—kulli qalbin* as az-Zuhrī and Abū Baḥriyya.

37/39. *faʾaṭṭaliʿa*—He supported TR against the generally followed *faʾaṭṭaliʿu*.
46/49. *adkhilū—udkhulū* as al-Ḥasan and the non-Kūfans.
62/64. *tuʾfakūna—yuʾfakūna* as Ṭalḥa b. Sammān.

Sūra XLI.

13/12. *ṣāʿiqatan* and *ṣāʿiqati—ṣaʿqatan* and *ṣaʿqati* as an-Nakhaʿī and as-Sulamī.
thamūda—thamūdin as al-Aʿmash.
17/16. *ṣāʿiqatu—ṣaʿqatu* as in v. 13/12.
ʾl-hūni—ʾl-hawāni.
44. *ʿaman—ʿamin* as Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn az-Zubair.
47. *thamarātin—thamaratin* as al-Ḥasan, Ṭalḥa, al-Aʿmash and some of the Seven.

Sūra XLII.

5/3. *takādu—yakādu* as Nāfiʿ, al-Kisāʾī and al-Aʿmash.
20/19. *nuʾtihi—yuʾtihi* as az-Zaʿfarānī and Zaid b. ʿAlī.
23/22. *nazid—yazid* as Zaid b. ʿAlī and az-Zaʿfarānī.

Sūra XLIII.

10/9. *mahdan*—He supported TR against the more common *mihādan*.
18/17. *yunashshaʾu*—He supported TR against the non-Kūfan *yansha'u*.
24/23. *jiʾtukum—jiʾnākum* as Ubai, Abū Jaʿfar, Shaiba and az-Zaʿfarānī.
36/35. *nuqayyiḍ—yuqayyiḍ* as al-Aʿmash and Yaʿqūb.
38/37. *baynī—bayniya* as Ibn Munādhirr and Ḥumaid.
57. *yaṣiddūna—yaṣuddūna* as Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir, al-Kisāʾī, and also ʿAlī.
58. *jadalan—jidālan*.
61. *laʿʿilmun—laʿʿalamun* as Qatāda, aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk and Ibn ʿAbbās.
71. *tashtahihi—yashtahihi*.
84. *ilāhun*(bis)-*Allāhu* as Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn as-Samaifaʿ.
85. *turjaʿūna*—He supported TR against the Meccan reading *yurjaʿūna*.

Sūra XLIV.

7/6. *rabbi*—He supported TR along with al-Ḥasan against the non-Kūfan reading *rabbu*.

8/7. *rabbukum—rabbikum* as al-Ḥasan, Abū Ḥaiwa and az-Zaʿfarānī, which involves *wa-rabbi*.
23/22. *faʾasri*—He supported TR against the Meccan and Madīnan *faʾsri*.

Sūra XLV.

4/3. *āyātun—āyātin* as many of the Readers of ʿIrāq.
12/11. *li-tajziya—li-yajziya*.
22/21. *li-tujzā kullu—li-yujziyā kulla* as al-Aʿmash and Ibn Qais.
31/30. *tutlā—yutlā*.

Sūra XLVI.

7/6. *siḥrun—sāḥirun* as in V, 110 and elsewhere.
15/14. *dhurriyyatī—dhurriyyatiya* as al-Khuzāʿī.
16/15. *nataqabbalu*—He supported TR against the non-Kūfan *yutaqabbalu*.
21/20. *waʾdhkur—waʾdhdhakkar* as in XXXVIII, 17/16 etc.

Sūra XLVII.

2. *nuzzila—nazzala* as Ibn Masʿūd and Zaid b. ʿAlī.
31/33. *la-nabluwannakum* and *naʿlama* and *nabluwa—la-yabluwannakum* and *yaʿlama* and *yabluwa* as ʿAlī, Yaʿqūb and az-Zaʿfarānī.

Sūra XLVIII.

25. *tazayyalū—tazāyalū* as Ibn Masʿūd, Qatāda and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

Sūra XLIX.

1. *tuqaddimū—taqaddamū* as Ibn ʿAbbās, ad-Ḍaḥḥāk and Yaʿqūb.
12. *maytan—mayyitan* as Ibn Masʿūd, Nāfiʿ and Ruwais.

Sūra L.

32/31. *tūʿadūna*—He supported TR against the Meccan reading *yūʿadūna*.

Sūra LI.

3. *yusran—yusuran* as Shaiba, al-Ḥasan and Ṭalḥa.
23. *mithlamā—mithlumā* as the Kūfans and al-Ḥasan.
43. *thamūda—thamūdin* as in XLI, 13/12 etc.
44. *ʾṣ-ṣāʿiqatu—ṣ-ṣaʿqatu* as Mujāhid, Ḥumaid and al-Kisāʾī. See II, 55/52.

46. *qauma—qaumu* as Abūʾs-Sammāl, Qatāda and some Baṣrans.
47. *waʾs-samāʾa—waʾs-samāʾu* as Abūʾs-Sammāl and Mujāhid.

Sūra LIII.

11. *kadhaba—kadhdhaba* as Abū Jaʿfar, al-Ḥasan and al-Jaḥdarī.
26. *shafāʿatuhum—shafāʿātuhum* as Ubai and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

Sūra LIV.

7. *yakhrujūna—yukhrajūna*.
12. *qudira—quddira* as Abū Ḥaiwa and Abū ʿImrān.
37. *fa-ṭamasnā—fa-ṭammasnā*.

Sūra LV.

12/11. *waʾr-rayḥānu—waʾr rayḥāni* as the majority of the Kūfans.
24. *al-munshaʾātu—al-munassātu*.
56. *qablahum—min qablihim* as Abū ʿImrān. So also in v. 74.
70. *khayrātun—khayarātun* or some said *khayyirātun*.

Sūra LVI.

2. *kādhibatun—kādhibatan* as al-Ḥasan, az Zaʿfarani and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
3. *khāfiḍatun rāfiʿatun—khāfiḍatan rāfiʿatan* as al-Ḥasan, al-Yazīdī and Abū Ḥaiwa.
22. *ḥūrun ʿīnun—ḥūra ʿīnin*.
89/88. *fa-rauḥun—fa-rūḥun* as Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan and some of the Baṣrans.

Sūra LVII.

16/15. *takhshaʿa—yakhshaʿa*.
18/17. *al-muṣṣaddiqīna wal-muṣṣaddiqāti*—He supported TR against the Meccan reading which had one *shadda* only.
27. *raʾfatan—raʾafatan* as Ḥumaid and Ibn Muḥaiṣin.

Sūra LVIII.

7/8. *akthara—akbara* as al-Ḥasan, az-Zuhrī and ʿIkrima.

Sūra LIX.

2. *yukhribūna—yukharribūna* as al-Ḥasan, Abū ʿAmr and al-Yazīdī.
7. *dūlatan—daulatun* as ʿAlī and Ibn Quṭais.
10. *ghillan—ghimran* as Ṭalḥa and al-Aʿmash.

Sūra LXI.

6. *siḥrun—sāḥirun* as Ibn Masʿūd and many of the Kūfan Readers.

Sūra LXII.

10. *wa'dhkurū—wa'dhdhakkarū* as Abū ʿImrān.

Sūra LXIII.

4. *tuʿjibuka—yuʿjibuka.*
9. *tulhikum—yulhikum.*
10. *wa akun—wa akūna* as Abū ʿAmr al-Ḥasan and al-Yazīdī.

Sūra LXV.

4. *yusran—yusuran* as al-Ḥasan, Shaiba and Abū Jaʿfar.
5. *yuʿẓim—yuʿaẓẓim.*

Sūra LXIX.

14. *wa ḥumilati—wa ḥummilati* as al-Aʿmash and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
18. *takhfā—yakhfā* as the majority of the Kūfans.
41. *tuʾminūna—yuʾminūna* as Yaʿqūb, al-Ḥasan and Ibn Muḥaiṣin.
42. *tadhakkarūna—yadhakkarūna.*

Sūra LXX.

4. *taʿruju—yaʿruju* as Ibn Masʿūd, al-Aʿmash and al-Kisāʾī.
17. *nazzāʿatan*—He supported TR against the Kūfan reading *nazzāʿatun.*
23. *ṣalātihim—ṣalawātihim* as Ibn Masʿūd. So also in v. 34.
33. *bi-shahādātihim*—He supported TR against the more common *bi-shahādatihim.*

Sūra LXXI.

5. *qaumī—qaumiya* as ʿĪsā al-Ḥamdānī, Ḥumaid and Yaʿqūb.
23/22. *waddan—wuddan* as Qatāda and Shaiba.

Sūra LXXII.

2. *ʾr-rushdi—ʾr rashadi* as al-Ḥasan and Abū Mijlaz.
5. *taqūla—taqawwala* as Ubai, Yaʿqūb and Abū Razīn.
17. *yaslukhu*—He supported TR against the more common reading *naslukhu.*

Sūra LXXIII.

6. *waṭʾan—wiṭāʾan* as Mujāhid, Abū Ḥaiwa and az-Zaʿfarānī.
20. *niṣfahu wa thuluthahu—niṣfihi wa thuluthihi* as the non-Kūfans.

Sūra LXXV.

7. *bariqa—baraqa* as al-Ḥasan, Nāfiʿ and Abū Jaʿfar.

Sūra LXXVI.

4. *salāsila—salāsilan* as Nāfiʿ, al-Kisāʾī and some Baṣran Readers.

Sūra LXXVII.

8. *ṭumisat—ṭummisat* as Ibn Khuthaim and al-Jahdarī.
9. *furiḥat—furriḥat* as Ibn Khuthaim and al-Jahdarī.
10. *nusifat—nussifat.*
32. *bi-sharārin—bi-sharārin* or according to some sources *bi-shirārin.*
ka ʾl-qaṣri—ka ʾl-qaṣari as Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.

Sūra LXXVIII.

4. *sa-yaʿlamūna—sa-taʿlamūna* as Ibn ʿĀmir, al-Ḥasan and Abūʾl-ʿĀliya. So also in v. 5.
25. *ghassāqan*—He supported TR against the non-Kūfan *ghasāqan.*
29. *kulla—kullu* as Abūʾs-Sammāl, Ibn Khuthaim and Ibn Abī ʿAbla.
37. *rabbi* and *ʾr-raḥmāni*—He supported TR against the alternative *rabbu* and *ʾr-raḥmānu.*

Sūra LXXIX.

11. *nakhiratan—nākhiratan* as many of the Kūfans.
45. *mundhiru—mundhirun* as Ṭalḥa, Shaiba, al-Aʿraj and al-Ḥasan.

Sūra LXXX.

4. *fa-tanfa'ahu*—He supported TR against the usual reading *fa-tanfa'uhu*.

Sūra LXXXI.

5. *ḫushirat*—*ḫushshirat* as al-Ḥasan, Ibn Qais and Abū 'Imrān.
8. *su'ilat*—*suyyilat* as Abū Ja'far.
10. *nushirat*—*nushshirat* as the Kūfan and Meccan Readers.
11. *kushiṭat*—*kushshiṭat*.
21. *thamma*—*thumma* as Abū Ja'far, Abū Ḥaiwa and Abū'l-Barhashīm.

Sūra LXXXIII.

13. *tutlā*—*yutlā* as Abū Ḥaiwa and Ibn Khuthaim.

Sūra LXXXIV.

19. *la-tarkabunna*—*la-yarkabunna* as Abū's-Sammāl and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.

Sūra LXXXVI.

7. *yakhruju*—*yukhraju* as Ibn Abī 'Abla, Ibn Sīrīn and Ibn as-Samaita'.
   'ṣ ṣulbi—*'ṣ-ṣulubi* as Ibn Khuthaim and Ibn Abī 'Abla.
9. *tublā*—*yublā*.

Sūra LXXXVII.

16. *tu'thirūna*—*yu'thirūna* as Ibn Mas'ūd, al-Ḥasan and al-Jaḥdarī.

Sūra LXXXVIII.

4. *taṣlā*—*tuṣlā* as Mu'ādh, Abū's-Sammāl and Abū Rajā'.

Sūra LXXXIX.

9/8. *thamūda*—*thamūdin* as al-A'mash and Ibn Waththāb.
18/19. *taḥāḍḍūna* – He supported TR against the more common *tuḥāḍḍūna*.
25. *yu'adhdhibu*—*yu'adhdhabu* as al-Ḥasan, Ya'qūb and al-Kisā'ī.
26. *yūthiqu*—*yūthaqu*.

Sūra XCII.

7. *lil-yusrā*—*lil-yusurā* as Abū Ja'far.

10. *lil-'usrā*—*lil-'usurā* as Abū Ja'far.
15. *yaṣlāhā*—*yuṣalliyahā*.
19. *tujzā*—*yujzā*.

Sūra XCIV.

5. *yusran*—*yusuran* as Abū Ja'far, al-Ḥasan and Shaiba.

Sūra XCII.

4. *tanazzalu*—*yunzalu*.

Sūra XCVIII.

1. *ta'tiyahum*—*ya'tiyahum*.

Sūra XCIX.

7. *yarahu*—*yurahu* as Ibn 'Abbās, Zaid b. 'Alī and Abū Ḥaiwa.

Sūra C.

9. *bu'thira*—*ba'thara* as Kirdāb and Abū Mijlaz.
10. *ḥuṣṣila*—*ḥaṣṣala* as Kirdāb, though other sources say he read *ḥaṣala* as Naṣr b. 'Āṣim, Ibn Ya'mar and Sa'īd b. Jubair.

Sūra CII.

6. *la-tarawunna*—*la-turawunna* as Ibn 'Āmir, al-Kisā'ī and Qatāda.
   la-tarawunnahā—*la-tara'unnahā* as al-Ḥasan, Abū Mijlaz and Abū Ḥaiwa.

Sūra CIV.

2. *jama'a*—He supported TR against the alternative reading *jamma'a*.

Sūra CVII.

5. *ṣalātihim*—*ṣalawātihim* as al-Ḥasan, Abū Mijlaz and Abū Ḥaṣīn.

Sūra CXI.

1. *lahabin*—He supported TR against the Meccan *lahbin*.
3. *sa-yaṣlā*—*sa-yuṣlā* as Ibn Mas'ūd and Abū Ḥaiwa.
4. *'mra'atuhu*—*muray'atuhu* as Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn Abī 'Abla and Abū Ḥaiwa.

Sūra CXIV.

2. *maliki—māliki* as Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū ʿImrān and Abū Ḥaṣan.[24])

In this collection of some five hundred and fifty readings there are some which are persistent, i. e. readings which he read throughout the Qurʾān, e. g. *waʾdhdhakkarū* for *waʾdhkurū* where he preferred the use of Form V to that of Form I, where the meaning is much the same, though Form V is perhaps a little stronger: *thamūdin* for *thamūda* taking the name as grammatically a triptote not a diptote: *yuqattilūna* instead of *yaqtulūna*, and so in the other persons of this verb, taking the intensive Form II in preference to the simple verb, though the meaning is much the same: *aṣ-ṣaʿqatu* instead of *aṣ-ṣāʿiqatu*: *sāḥirun* "magician" instead of *siḥrun* "magic": *ṣalawātuhum* the plu. instead of the sing. *ṣalātuhum*: *mayyitatun* instead of *maytatun*, so that he probably read thus at II, 173/168 and V, 3/4, though it is not recorded from him at those passages: *ukl* for *ukul* so that again he probably read thus at XIII, 35 and XIV, 25/30, though it is not there recorded from him: *daʾab* for *daʾb*, so that this is probably to be read from him in VIII, 54/56 and XL, 31/32 also: *uffa* instead of *uffin*, so that he probably read thus also in XLVI, 17/16: *raʾafat* for *raʾfat* in the sing.: *ḍayyiq* for *ḍayq*: *yusur* for *yusr* and *ʿusur* for *ʿusr*, so that he probably read thus also in XVIII, 88/87, LXV, 7, XCIV, 6, even though it is not recorded from him. Also since he read *yurjaʿu ʾl-umūru* in XXXV, 4 and LVII, 5 it is very probable that he would have read the same in the other passages where this phrase occurs, viz. II, 210/206, III, 109/105, VIII, 44/46 and XXII, 76/75, though no source so far examined mentions him reading thus in any of these passages. He shows a tendency to prefer intensive forms, e. g. *yukhaṭṭif* instead of *yukhṭaf*: *yusaffik* instead of *yasfik*: *yuwarrith* instead of *yūrith*: *nuṣallīhi* instead of *nuṣlīhi*: *taʿaddū* instead of *taʿdū*: *fattaḥnā* instead of *fataḥnā*: and in XI, 7/10 *saḥḥār* for *sāḥir*. Also he tends to prefer an extra vowel instead of a *sukūn* in nominal forms such as *jaharat* for *jahrat*, *ḥasanan* for *ḥusnan*, *ghuluf* for *ghulf*, *baghatat* for *baghtat*, though there are instances of his choice falling in the other direction.

[24]) In the references to the verses quoted above the first numbers follow the standard Kūfan verse numbering as given in the Egyptian Standard Text of 1342, and the second numbers are the verse numbers of G. Flügel's edition.

Since he was a follower of the Kūfan School it is not strange to find him in a goodly number of cases following the Kūfan reading where the TR departs therefrom, or supporting the TR as the Kūfan reading where the weight of authority was on the side of other metropolitan systems. Where he deviates from the common Kūfan reading in favour of some other metropolitan reading, he is most often in agreement with Madīnan readings of Nāfiʿ or Abū Jaʿfar. What is most striking, however, is the extent of his agreement with the readings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, particularly where al-Ḥasan's readings were not those later canonized as the Metropolitan readings from Baṣra accepted among the Seven. In one fifth of the readings collected here we find him in agreement with al-Ḥasan. Bergsträsser had recognized the importance of al-Ḥasan in the development of *qirāʾāt*, and made a preliminary collection of his readings, *Die Koranlesung des Hasan von Basra*, in *Islamica*, II (1926), pp. 11—57, and it would be of no little interest to correct and supplement that collection from the newly available sources to which Bergsträsser did not have access in 1926.

The readings of Ibn Miqsam here given are for the most part quite intelligible in comparison with the *textus receptus* (TR), without commentary, but some points of interest are worth noting. Many of the readings are simply different possibilities of reading the text without in any way changing the meaning. Thus in II, 19/18 the meaning is "fear of death" whether we use the *maṣdar ḥadhar* or the noun *ḥidhār*: or in II, 210/206 *ẓulal* and *ẓilāl* are alternative plurals of *ẓullat* "an awning or covering": or in II, 256/257 *rushd* and *rashād* are alternative *maṣdars* of the prime verb. Other cases involve grammatical minutiae but again do not alter the meaning, e. g. in II, 38/36 the meaning is "there is no fear" whether we read *fa lā khaufun* with TR, taking the *khaufun* as *marfūʿ* being the *ism* of the *lā*, or *khaufa* as *manṣūb* because following *lā li nafyiʾl-jins*. So in VI, 135/136 the meaning is in both readings "whose will be the recompense", but TR reads *takūn* because it takes *ʿāqibat* as the subject, while Ibn Miqsam reads *yakūn*, taking *man* as the subject: or in XII, 10 where the meaning is "bottom of the well", whether we read sing. with TR or plu. with Ibn Miqsam: or XXI, 40/41 where the meaning is "will come upon you and con-

found you", whether the subject is taken as fem. with TR, or as masc. with Ibn Miqsam. Occasionally a fairly wide divergence in reading involves no difference in meaning, e. g. in XXVIII, 15/14 both *fa'staghāthahu* and *fa'sta'ānahu* mean, "so he asked his help", and in LIX, 10 both *ghillan* and *ghimran* mean "rancour".

Sometimes there is a slight difference in meaning. This may be in the nature of a change necessitated by pause, e. g. in VI, 74 the TR reads, "when Abraham said to his father Azar -'dost thou take images as gods?'", and so *Āzara* is *majrūr* in apposition to *abīhi*, but Ibn Miqsam read, "when Abraham said to his father -'Oh Azar, dost thou take images as gods?'", where *Azaru* is *marfū'* because vocative. The commonest cases of this kind are changes of person, e. g. in XVIII, 51/49 TR reads "I made them not witnesses", but Ibn Miqsam, "We made them not witnesses": or XXXVII, 12 where TR reads "while thou marvellest", but Ibn Miqsam "while I marvel". Most frequently it is a change from "We" to "He", both referring to Allāh, as e. g. XLIII, 36/35 where TR reads "We will chain a Satan to him", but Ibn Miqsam "He will chain a Satan to him". In our list there are 26 cases of this particular change, and Ibn Miqsam's reading may represent the original, for with the development of the theory that in Scripture it is always God who speaks, the reading "He" suggests at times that it is Muḥammad who is speaking, whereas the simple change to "We" saves the situation. There are, however, five cases in our list where Ibn Miqsam preferred the "We" reading where others read "He", so that this point cannot be pressed. Sometimes we find cases of a verb. used in the indicative instead of the imperative, as "he said" instead of "say" in XVII, 93/95, or a nominal form used instead of a verbal, e. g. XVIII, 102 where TR reads "do the infidels think that", but Ibn Miqsam "is the thought of the infidels that". There is a goodly number of cases of substitution between active and passive, which changes the wording but makes but little change in the meaning, e. g. in XXI, 37/38 "man is created" if we read with TR, but "He created man" if we read with Ibn Miqsam: or "the present world is adorned" in II, 212/208 if we read with TR, but with Ibn Miqsam "He adorned the present world". A few readings are said to be dialectal, e. g. *maysurat* instead of *maysarat* in II, 280: *qurḥ* for *qarḥ* in III, 140/134: *rīsh* and *riyāsh* in VII, 26/25: *judhādhan* and *jidhādhan* in XXI, 58/59.

As might be expected in the *ikhtiyār* of a famous philologer, many of the readings are on linguistic grounds preferable to those we have in the TR. Some cases of this sort are quite innocuous as e. g. the already mentioned reading *khaufa* for *khaufun* after *falā*, or such small points as *inniya* for *innī*; *anna 'l-ḥamda* instead of *ani 'l-ḥamdu* in X, 10/11, *bādi'* with the *hamza* instead of *bādī* in XI, 27/29, the use of pausal forms *hādī*, *wālī*, *wāqī* instead of *hādin*, *wālin*, *wāqin* in Sūra XIII. Perhaps among these should be included the longer forms *'-llātī* for *'-llatī* in IV, 5/4, or *ḥayiya* for *ḥayya* in VIII, 42/44, or *salāsilan* in LXXVI, 4.

Others involve slight grammatical points where one can see that the philologer would regard the variant as superior to the TR. It would be a mistake to regard these variants as attempts to improve on the TR, for there was as yet no finally fixed TR, and we are still in the period of the *ikhtiyār*, where, since there was no established tradition as to what the original reading was, the great teachers were at liberty, within limits, to interpret the skeleton text. For example we find *tuḍārru* instead of *tuḍārra* in II, 233, taking it as following the case of *tukallafu*: or *fi'atin* instead of *fi'atun* in III, 13/11, taking it as following on *fi'atayni*, or *kulluhu* in III, 154/148, taking it as the *khabar* of *inna* where TR makes *lillāhi* the *khabar* and reads *kullahu* as *tawkīd* to *'l-amra*: or a similar case in VI, 139/140 where the reading *khāliṣuhu* takes this as in apposition to *mā*, whereas the TR reading *khāliṣatun* makes it part of the *khabar*. The reading *bihu* instead of *bihi* in VI, 46 is on the ground that the vowel of the elision ought to be the *ḍamma* falling from the succeeding imperative and not the normal grammatical *kasra*. In IX, 70/71 *atāhum* instead of *atathum* is because the subject *rusul*, though a broken plural, yet refers to animate beings, and so ought to have a masc. form of the verb. The form with the *nūn emphaticus* in XI, 37/39 suggests a slight linguistic nuance, and the reading *yablughānni* in XVII, 23/24 is due to a feeling that the dual ought to be preserved after *bi'l-wālidayni*. Two interesting cases of a refusal of the *iḍāfa* as a point of grammatical nicety are in XVI, 59/61 and XXIX, 25/24.

In other cases the grammatical improvements involve a more radical change in interpretation of the skeleton text. In II, 210/206 the *wa quḍiya 'l-amru* of TR is very awkward, and the reading *wa qaḍā'i 'l-amri*, following *wa 'l-malā 'ikati* in the *jarr* case, makes a smooth and easy sentence, the

decreeing being now, like the angels, part of that with which Allāh comes. Again in VII, 105/103 the *ʿalā* of the TR is clumsy and apparently superfluous, whereas the *ʿalayya* of Ibn Miqsam, "it is my duty", makes a much smoother reading. The change of a noun into a verb in XI, 46/48 where TR reads "it is a deed not right", and Ibn Miqsam "he has done what is not right", was probably the older reading, and the converse process in XIV, 19/22 (c. f. XXIV, 45/44), where he reads a participle as against the verb in TR, i. e. "Creator of heaven and earth" instead of "He created heaven and earth", has much in its favour. In XXV, 74 and XXXII, 17 he read *qurrāt* in the plu. instead of *qurrat*, and a comparison with XXVIII, 9/8 suggests that the plu. is the better reading. So his reading of *thumma* for *thamma* in LXXXI, 21 avoids an awkwardness which is purely linguistic, for the meaning "there" gives a perfectly intelligible interpretation of the verse.

There are other readings, however, which are not merely points of grammatical nicety, but show a difference in understanding of how the text should be interpreted as to meaning. There are a good many of such readings, and it is of some interest to note that they do not at all support the charge made against him that he proposed all sorts of strange readings, merely on the ground that they were linguistically defensible readings of the consonantal text and without much regard to meaning. On the other hand it is true that only such readings of his as would not greatly change the meaning of the text would be likely to have survived to us in the Commentaries and later works. In XII, 45 TR reads *unabbiʾukum*, "I shall reveal to you (the interpretation)", but the reading of Ibn Miqsam was *ātīkum*, "I shall bring you". In XV, 41, if we read with TR *ʿalayya*, the meaning is "this is a way that is straight for me", (i. e. this, for me, is the straight path), but Ibn Miqsam's *ʿaliyyun* gives a meaning "this is a path exalted, straight". In II, 187/183 the *wa ʾbtaghū* of TR means "and desire (what Allāh has ordained for you)", but the *waʾ-ttabiʿū* of Ibn Miqsam is "and follow", which avoids the rather crudely expressed sex implication of the accepted reading. The *kathīr* and *akthar* in II, 219/216 instead of *kabīr* and *akbar*, i. e. "much" instead of "great", involve no great change of meaning, but is perhaps a better reading, whereas in LVIII, 7/8 the change from *akthar* to *akbar* gives a less good reading. To read *kitāban* instead of *kātiban* in II, 283 is to understand it "and there is no written

document", instead of "and there is no notary". In III, 18/16 *shuhadāʾu ʾllāhi* "witnesses of Allāh", instead of "Allāh hath borne witness", is a much more difficult reading, but as it comes from one of the old Codices it may be the older reading. The substitution of the participle of Form VIII *mushtabih* for that of Form VI *mutashābih* in VI, 99 may have been a conscious effort to avoid *mutashābih* when this began to take on a specialized technical meaning in Qurʾānic science. A more interesting case is VII, 40/38, the famous verse about the camel going through the needle's eye, where TR reads "camel", but the *jummal*, in which Ibn Miqsam follows Ibn ʿAbbās, means a ship's rope. In VII, 145/142 the reading of TR is "I shall show you", but Ibn Miqsam "I shall cause you to inherit", i. e. the abode of the evil doers. In XIII, 43 TR reads "and whoever has knowledge of the Book", which is difficult, because in referring to knowledge one would expect *lahu* not *ʿindahu*, and Ibn Miqsam's "and from Him comes understanding of the Book" is preferable. In XVIII, 109, the *madadan* of TR means "aid" or "auxiliary", but Ibn Miqsam's *midādan* is "ink", which is a reasonable understanding of the sense. In XIX, 5 Zachariah says, according to the TR, "I fear for the kindred after me", but Ibn Miqsam's reading means "kindred will decrease after me". The reading of *ʾllāh* for *ilāh* in both places in XLIII, 84, i. e. the definite for the indefinite, looks like an attempt at improvement, and the change from the unusual word for "sign" *ʿilmun* in v. 61 of the same Sūra, to the more usual *ʿalamun*, is certainly such, and so the TR in these cases may represent the older reading. In CXI, 4, however, *muraʾatuhu* for *ʾmraʾatuhu* may well have been original, for the diminutive of contempt suits well the whole spirit of this Sūra, and was the reading in Ibn Masʿūd's Codex.

The reputation of Ibn Miqsam was that he kept to the text of the ʿUthmānic Codex, and confined his *ikhtiyār* to possible interpretations of this skeleton text, and this is borne out by the readings we have before us. Only in LV, 56 and 74 where he adds a *min* before the *qablahum*, in LIX, 10 where he reads *ghimran* instead of *ghillan*, in VII, 88/86 and 109/106 where he added a *wāw* before the *qāla*, and in XXV, 25/27 where for *nazala* he read *nanzil*, did he add anything to the consonantal text, though in this last case he had the support both of the Codex of Ubai and the Meccan Codex, while in XII, 45 his reading *ātīkum* instead of *unabbiʾukum*

perhaps drops something, though he here again had the support of Ubai's Codex.

Ignace Goldziher's Olaus-Petri Lectures *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* opened up many problems in the investigation of the interpretation of the Qur'ān, and this study of Ibn Miqsam is but a continuation of that work in that it is an attempt to gain some picture of the state of *ikhtiyār* at the moment when official action was being taken to make it subject to the consequences of the canonization of the Seven Systems under Ibn Mujāhid.

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A STRANGE READING IN THE QUR'ĀN

The wonderful book is of course full of strange readings. The Prophet himself warned his hearers that there were *āyāt* that no mere human being could fully understand (3:5), and aside from these deeper mysteries there are difficulties which every student of the Qur'ān encounters. The new dress of new ideas, and the background of shifting conditions, provide obscurities enough; just what was it, we ask in this or that case, that the Prophet had in mind?

The example here to be considered is of quite another character. We seem to be sufficiently informed about the circumstances, and the matter treated is one of a familiar nature. It concerns the duty and the behavior of Muslims in times when the cause of Islam calls for the active service of all its able-bodied men. Mohammed's practical wisdom is unfailing, and the advice, or command, to be issued in this case seems, by whatever knowledge we possess, to be definitely suggested; that which is actually said, however, leaves us in some bewilderment.

The passage in question is 64:14[1], near the end of a short Sūra which is built around the command to believe and obey God and his messenger (verses 8 and 12). In the concluding portion of this Sūra, verses 14—18, the Prophet introduces again a subject upon which he touches in numerous other places, namely the danger that the cares and joys of family life will turn aside the Muslim from his duty to the Mohammedan cause.

It is a typical situation, illustrated in many places. An especially familiar example is afforded by the advice given by the apostle Paul to his converts in Corinth. Persuaded that the time was short, while much remained to be done,

[1] I use the verse-numbers of Flügel's edition, generally appending to them the numbers given in the official Būlāq edition of 1342 A. H., designated by the letter B. In the present case, the verse-number in the latter edition is 13.

he would prefer that the men in his churches should not marry. „The unmarried man," he says, „is anxious about the affaire of the Lord, how to please the Lord; but the married man is anxious about worldly affairs, how to please his wife, and his interests are divided" (1 Cor. 7:32—34).

Mohammed's treatment of the matter, in the present context, is typically just and considerate. Worldly goods and children are a temptation (verse 15); but if a man is saved from his own self-seeking, he is one of the really prosperous. The true believer must give both himself and his substance to the holy cause, serving God *„as much as he can"* (verse 16). That which is lacking of his achievement will be mercifully overlooked, for „If you lend to God a goodly loan, he will double it for you, and will forgive you; for God is grateful and clement" (verse 17).

But in verse 14 we find the following singular utterance: *yā ayyuhā 'lladhīna āmanū inna min azwājikum wa aulādikum 'aduwwan lakum fa 'ḥdharūhum wa-in ta'fū wa taṣfaḥū wa taghfirū fa-inna 'llāha ghafūrun raḥīmun.* "O you who believe! Verily among your wives and children are foes of yours, so beware of them! *But if you forgive, and overlook, and pardon, verily God is forgiving and merciful."* I am not aware that any commentator, ancient or modern, has found difficulty in this last sentence, though some undertake to explain it. Every utterance of sacred scripture which is clearly expressed in unequivocal and familiar language, with the text of the passage under no suspicion of corruption, is readily accepted and easily „explained," as we all know. But the sentence before us, if it were in a less sacred book than the Qur'ān, would be pronounced mere nonsense.

The wives and children of many a Muslim were dangerous „enemies" to him, it is true, but simply because they were so strong a temptation, as verse 15 reiterates. Temptation can be resisted. The man with a wife and family, with a duty to his home, must inevitably fall short of his full effort for the common cause, at the time when active service for Islam is demanded of all those who can render it; but *if he turns away from the temptation,* doing for God and his Prophet "as much as he can," (verse 16), he can be pardoned.

The woman commits no crime by marrying a true believer, nor by continuing to perform the duties and enjoy the privileges of a wife; nor are the children to blame for being born into the Muslim world and continuing for years to be a burden of care and expense. They do not require to be „forgiven" for the strong attraction which they exert. They are enemies to loyal Muslims in the same way that strong drink is an enemy to the man addicted to it. He could not acquire merit by „forgiving" his bottle. Nor would it follow, by any means, that the delinquent and self-indulgent Muslim who should „pardon" his wife and children for keeping him from his duty, would be let off, inasmuch as „God is forgiving and merciful"; neither Mohammed nor any other leader in his place ever uttered such folly. The apostle Paul did not say that if the Christian would forgive his wife, all would be well.

In view of this plain condition of things, it is all the more noticeable that *three successive words* meaning „forgive" are employed here (where there is nothing to forgive!), as though for especial emphasis. Mohammed very frequently uses two synonyms in emphatic statement; indeed, two of the three verbs now before us, *'afā* and *ṣafaḥa*, are thus joined in three other passages in the Qur'ān, always with the same meaning, „forgive" (or, „forgive and pass over"). In 2:103 (B 108) the form is the plural of the imperative, *wa'fū wa'ṣfaḥū*; in 5:16 (B 12) it is the imperative singular, *wa'fu wa'ṣfaḥ;* and in 24:22 (B 21) the jussive plural, *wa'l-ya'fū wa'l-yaṣfaḥū*. The phrase was evidently fixed in the mind of the Prophet. In each of the three cases the reason for emphasis is obvious, but in no one of the three could a student of the Qur'ān imagine the Prophet employing *three* verbs.

There are still other points of difficulty in the passage. The *fa-inna* clause enters rather abruptly, and its meaning is not made quite clear. It appears to say that if the Muslim will forgive his wife and children for their evil influence, Allah also will forgive them; but we know that this cannot be the meaning, for the person to be forgiven (if he deserves it) is the householder himself, no one else.

In short, as was said above, the verse as it stands is bewildering. It does not sound like an utterance of the Prophet, either in its rhetoric or in its practical content.

In Sūra 8, with its atmosphere of the battle of Badr,

Mohammed gives to his followers the same warning which is given in Sūra 64. Islam needs all its men and all their resources, and there must be no paltering; it is no time for a Muslim to be taking his ease at home. Verse 27 (B 26), "O you who believe! Do not play false (*lā takhūnū*) with God and his messenger, nor betray your trust! Know that your possessions and your children are a temptation (*wa'lamū innamā amwālukum wa aulādukum fitnatun*)", the same words which occur in 64:15. And he concludes by saying, in effect: "If you will serve God, he will repay, and forgive."

The situation is serious enough. The Prophet's words to his adherents are not a mere recommendation, they are a stern warning. The Muslim who is the head of a family is at best handicapped in the effort to do his duty, and is in real danger of betraying his trust and playing false with Allah and his Prophet. "Beware of the foes in your own household!" Thereupon would be expected: *"But if you restrain yourselves, and turn away* (from the temptation), you will be forgiven" (*wa-in ta'iffū wa tasfahū yughfar lakum*).

The two verbs in the protasis of this conditional sentence are precisely the ones to expect, neither one could be improved upon. The verb *'affa* is typical in classical Arabic for the expression of *abstinence*, and *safaha*, "turn away, refrain, refuse," etc., is definitely the verb to be associated with it in the present context. The resemblance of this phrase to the words of 64:14, *wa-in ta'fū wa tasfahū wa taghfirū*, is startling, and the temptation to examine the matter further is too strong to be resisted.

As far as the Qur'ānic usage is concerned, there is very little that needs to be said. Mohammed does not happen to use the first stem of the verb *'affa* elsewhere in the Qur'ān, but employs other stems (the fifth and tenth) several times, of course with the usual meaning. Aside from the examples already mentioned, the verb *safaha* occurs in the Qur'ān in two passages, 15:85 and 43:4. In both of these, the verb appears to have its original signification. "turn away," rather than the derived meaning, "forgive."

Sūra 43 is a fairly early utterance, belonging to the Mekkan period. A *Qur'ān* in the Arabic language is announced in the first verses, and the Prophet is instructed to

say: "Shall we, then, turn away from you utterly (*safhan*) the admonition?" The meaning of the complementary object (*al-maf'ūl al-mutlaq*) is assured.

Sūra 15, also of the Mekkan period and of about the same time as the preceding, is concerned with those peoples who in the past had rejected the message of Islam; and the Prophet is instructed how to deal with the obdurate and scoffing Mekkans. The unbelievers of old met their fate, in spite of all that they had relied upon (verse 84, B 83). Those who now do not receive the truth, and accept Islam, are in the same grievous error. The Mekkans mock, as did their predecessors, at the messenger of God who preaches to them (verses 6—15); but his possessions are greater than theirs. He who created the heavens and the earth had determined all things, and the day of reckoning is surely coming (verse 85). The injunction is laid upon Mohammed: *fa'sfaḥ 's-safḥa 'l-jamīla*.

Regarding the meaning of *safaha* in this phrase, there has been difference of opinion. Al-Baiḍāwī, whose word is law, chose "forgive"; and accordingly all the modern translations of the Qur'ān render: "So forgive with a gracious forgiveness."

It must be said, however, that this rendering seems out of keeping with the character of the Sūra. Mohammed is being heckled by some of the leading men of the city, who do their best *to prevent the truth from gaining converts;* who make sport of the Prophet's teaching and pronounce him a lunatic (verse 6). The whole chapter is a rebuke and a threat directed against such men. Verse 94 gives to the Prophet the final instruction: "So do what you have been bidden to do, and *turn away* from the mushriks." This command seems much better suited to the circumstances.

One might conjecture that al-Baiḍāwī's choice was more than a little influenced by the pleasing word *jamīl* and by the ancient and well founded tradition that 15:85 was abrogated by "the verse of the sword" (9:5). Neither of these considerations can be given weight, however, as will appear. There are other commentators whose judgment should be taken into account.

We read in *Jalālain*, as the paraphrase of 15:85: *a'riḍ 'anhum i'rāḍan lā jaza'a fīhi*, that is, "Turn away from them, *but without impatience.*" In the face of perse-

cution and ridicule the Prophet is to maintain his equanimity; here the word *jamīl* has its rightful meaning. The *Kaššāf* says the same thing, more explicitly: *fa'riḍ 'anhum fa'ḥtamil mā talqā minhum i'rāḍan jamīlan bi-ḥilmin wa i'ḍā'in.* It is what the circumstances required; the Prophet was not to pay attention to these men, nor to envy them (verse 88), nor to show irritation. Much earlier, in aṭ-Ṭabarī's great *Tafsīr*, the interpretation "turn away" is given the foremost place, and more than one of the commentators whom he quotes make the connection of verse 85 with verse 94.

Instead of the translation "So forgive (your people) with a gracious forgiveness," the authorities above quoted would suggest "So turn away (from the unbelievers) in calm avoidance." Permitting the Prophet to interpret himself, this rendering of *ṣafḥan jamīlan* is given very strong support by the two passages 70:5 and 73:10, in which the same adjective is used in the same way, under the same circumstances. The modern renderings of 15:85 need to be revised.

In any case, and by any interpretation, the verse 15:85 is certainly abrogated by the *āyatu 's-sayfi*, in which there could be no place for the idea expressed by the adjective *jamīl*.

Before returning to the passage 64:14, there may be mentioned a derivative of the root *ṣafaḥa* which has its bearing on the present inquiry. The verbal adjective *ṣafūḥ* describes the woman who turns away from the man, forsaking his society (*Qāmūs*: *al-mar'atu 'l-mu'riḍatu 's-ṣāddatu 'l-hājiratu*). The stereotyped use shows how the verb would naturally be suggested in speaking of the man who (as far as is reasonable) turns away from the society of his wife and children and gives himself to the service of Islam.

Let us suppose that the original reading of 64:14 was the following: *yā ayyuhā 'lladhīna āmanū inna min azwājikum wa aulādikum 'aduwwan lakum fa'ḥdharūhum wa-in ta'iffū wa taṣfaḥū yughfar lakum fa-inna 'llāha ghafūrun raḥīmun.* "O you who believe! Verily among your wives and children are foes of yours, so beware of them! But if you restrain yourselves and turn away from them, you will have pardon, for God is forgiving and merciful." Here is

an *āyat* which at least reflects the Prophet's practical wisdom and his justice.

The question now is, whether the present reading of the Qur'ānic text is readily explained as derived, in the ordinary process of manuscript copying, from this original. The answer is, that the explanation is easy and natural if it is assumed that the alteration took place in the earliest period, while there were still Muslim scribes who could make a mistake in copying and allow the slip to pass. The script at that time was continuous, there was no interval between words. The copyist wrote *wa taṣfaḥū wa*, under the influence of the *wāw* just preceding. Once written, the *w* made it necessary to continue with *taghfirū* and to omit *lakum*; unless the copyist was willing to discard the quire and take a new one. A *wāw* introduced by mistake has proved a fatal error in very many Semitic transcriptions.

We have need to bear in mind what Nöldeke wrote in his *Geschichte des Qorans* (1860), page 203: „Die Muslimen legen der ersten Sammlung des Qorāns eine zu grosse Bedeutung bei. Denn vor Allem müssen wir anerkennen, dass jene *durchaus keine öffentliche Auktorität* hatte, sondern eine blosse *Privatsache* Omar's und Abu Bekr's war. Nur dadurch ward ihr Ansehen so gross, dass sie unter 'Othmān der kanonischen Gestaltung des heiligen Buchs zur Grundlage diente." A false reading, such as the one here supposed, could easily have gained its place in the sacred book in the time of Abu Bekr, or even of Omar. This is all that can be said.

Our revered teacher and mentor, Professor Goldziher, in his *Muhamedanische Studien*, II, 242 f., made passing mention of those Muslim scholars — not a few — who would remove the difficulty of this or that verse in the Qur'ān by rewriting it; and he cited the remark of Ibn Jinnī, that such "improved" readings are, after all, only designed to interpret, not to emend (dass sie „nur commentirende, nicht corrigirende Bedeutung haben wollen"). It is needless to say that the present criticism of Sūra 64, verse 14 (13), is offered merely as comment.

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NOTE ON *MISHKĀT*

Mishkāt is a *nomen instrumenti*, and should signify some instrument by which the verbal idea of the root *shakawa/shakaya* is performed.

The verb of *shakawa/shakaya* with infinitive *shakwun* means primarily "the opening of the small skin for water or milk, called *shakwatun* and showing what is in it .... like the phrases 'I showed him what was in my heart' " etc.; then, with infinitive *shikāyatun* "the showing or revealing of grief or sorrow", with accusative of the thing grieved- or sorrowed-about and *ilā* followed by the person to whom the grief or sorrow is shown or revealed.[1])

The *nomen instrumenti* from this verb need not be called upon to mean anything more than the instrument by which something is shown or revealed; hence *mishkātun* may mean the chain of a lamp, by which it is suspended; the pillar by which a lamp is supported; the tube by which a wick is supported; and the niche in a wall, when it serves to support a lamp.[2])

From this same Semitic root[3]) was formed in Ethiopic the *nomen instrumenti* **mashkōt*, which has reached us as *maskōt* because of a sound-change due to the Amharic vernacular.[4]) The word means "window".[5]) For interchange of the meanings "see" and "show" cf. German *schauen* and English *show;* also *Schaufenster* and *showcase.*

[1]) E. W. Lane. *An Arabic English Lexicon*, I—4, London 1872, *sub. voc. shakawa/shakaya.*

[2]) *Ibid.*

[3]) Aramaic סכא = "prospexit", "adspexit"; Syriac *sakki* "expectavit", would correspond exactly with Arabic *shakā*, the original *s*-sound being *sīn.*

[4]) A. Dillmann, *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1899, pp. 55—56.

[5]) The root is otherwise unknown in Ethiopic. See A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Äthiopicae*, Leipzig 1865, col. 382.

When Arabic *mishkāt* and Ethiopic **mashkōt* came into contact the meaning "niche" in which a lamp might be placed and the meaning "window" were probably brought into popular etymological relationship, since the root is identical and the forms and meanings are similar, with the result that *mishkāt* was spelled مشكوة in the manner of حيوة حلوة and ذكوة[6]) and regarded as an Ethiopic loan-word, even being placed in the mouth of the Najāshī.[7])

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[6]) Aramaic loan-words, of course.

[7]) F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hischām*, Göttingen 1859, p. 22. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 51.

HAIRS OF THE PROPHET[1])

When we recall pre-Islamic life in Arabia, it is not surprising that a great deal of Animism persists in popular Islam even today.[2]) Snouck Hurgronje, in his work on *the Achenese*, calls attention to the numerous animistic customs among the Sumatra Moslems and not condemned by their orthodox leaders because they find parallels in early Islam (pp. 287—288). While Johannes Warneck and Gottfried Simon go so far as to agree that "Islam is naturally inclined to Animism and easily entangled in its meshes" (Simon, *Islam in Sumatra*, pp. 157—159). "It would seem that Animism is the primitive form of paganism maintaining itself amid all the refinements of civilization. The study of Greek and old German religions exhibits the same animistic features as we find in Hinduism and in Islam" (Warneck, *Living Christ and Dying Heathenism*, p. 7).

And Frazer remarks: "Brahminism, Buddhism and Islam may come and go, but the belief in magic and demons remains unshaken through them all, and if we may judge of the future from the past is likely to survive the rise and fall of other historical religions." *Aberglaube* seems to have a vitality surpassing *Glaube* and *Unglaube* even in Christendom.

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[1]) The title of this paper, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Dr. Ignace Goldziher, is not intended as a pun on my recent study, *Heirs of the Prophets*. It is rather a footnote to the vast subject of the influence of Animism on Islam. Students of Dr. Goldziher's writings know that *his* footnotes were often gateways to wide areas of thought. I recall a postcard he wrote to me about 1906 on an obscure Arabian custom.

[2]) Frazer's *The Scapegoat*, p. 89. Cf. Wensinck's *Animismus . . . im Untergrund . . . Islamischen-ritueller Gebets, Der Islam*, Band IV. pp. 220—235; Zwemer's *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, New York 1920; Zwemer's *Studies in Popular Islam*, London 1939.

In his large volume, *Het Animisme*, A. C. Kruijt, the Dutch missionary, analyzes the origin of animistic beliefs by showing that personal soul-stuff is regarded by all animists as residing in parts of the human body, especially blood, hair, teeth, saliva etc. This soul-stuff with its potency for good or evil can then be transferred or appropriated by others in various ways.

Among the interesting details recorded in Moslem tradition are those relating to the hair and beard of the Prophet Mohammed during his lifetime and after his death. Tradition is very specific regarding Mohammed's hair. It was neither curling nor smooth but had four curled locks. He used to clip his moustache and allow his beard to grow. He frequently oiled his hair and perfumed it and his beard. The Prophet is related to have said: "Do the opposite of the polytheists and let your beard grow long" (*Mishkāt* XX:4).[3]) The sanctity of Mohammed's beard as token of manhood and dignity is recognized in common oaths. Even as the Arabs swear by their own lives or by their beards (*walāḥyetī*), so more solemnly the Moslem community swears by the beard of their Prophet (*lāḥyet al-nabī*). One hears this oath everywhere in the Near East. Westermarck tells of present day customs among Moslems in Morocco that relate to hair and its potency for good or ill. This applies equally to other lands. It is tied to sacred trees and shrines of saints, the hair of a seven-day old child is offered as sacrifice (*ʿaqīqah*), shaving of hair is a religious rite, hair is used for amulets, the hair of "holy-men" is treasured for its efficacy to cure.[4]) It is an interesting fact, as Wellhausen shows, that the origin of all these practices goes back to Mohammed himself. In ancient Arabia the *kāhin* would heal the sick by touch of his hand, by breathing on him and by the use of saliva etc. And he goes on to say that Mohammed did likewise. *"Die Muslime bestrichen sich die Haut mit dem Auswurf des Propheten und rissen sich um das Wasser, womit er die Waschung verrichtet hatte, um es zu trinken* (Wāqidī 252; Bukhārī 1:31—37)." The hair of the Prophet

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[3]) Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 40 and 389.

[4]) See Index: Hair, Beard, *Aqiqah*, Saints etc., in Westermarck's *Ritual & Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols.

was carefully collected after it was cut or shaved, and used as an amulet.[5])

Moreover, these hairs of the Prophet were not only sacred from the outset but remained so down the centuries to our own day. In the spring of 1946 a Moslem *mēla* was held near Bandipur, India. The chief exhibit was "a hair from Mohammed's beard treasured in a glass jar before which thousands prostrated themselves."[6]) Special chapters are found in all the popular lives of the Prophet on the virtues of his *fadhalāt*, saliva, blood, hair etc. etc. There are traditions in Bukhārī and Muslim so extravagant as to be incredible. Even his excreta were free from all defilement.[7])

We read in Aḥmad Zainī Daḥlān's biography of Mohammed: "When the Prophet had his beard shaved and his companions surrounded him, they never suffered a single hair to fall to the ground but seized them as good omens or for a blessing. And since his Excellency had his hair cut only at the time of the pilgrimage, this had become *sunna*, so it is related in the *Mawāhib*, and he who denies it should be severely punished."[8])

We read that Muḥammad ibn Dārain said: "I have a few hairs of the Prophet which I took from Anās and when I told it to 'Obeid al-Suleimāni he replied, 'if I had a single hair it would be more to me than all the world.' " There are many similar traditions telling how Mohammed's hairs were collected,[9]) distributed among his followers after he was shaved at Mīna,[10]) used against the evil eye[11]) and the value attached to a single hair from his head or beard.[12]) Furthermore, we are told whether and how and when he dyed his hair and beard; also how he first dressed it like "the people of the Book" but afterwards gave this up. (For details see Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition*, pp. 35, 91, 160, 169.) The great number of references to this subject both in the standard traditions and in popular lives of Mohammed indicate its importance in early and later Islam. Ignace Goldziher touched the subject in writing on *Relic Worship in Islam* and pointed out that three particular relics of the Prophet lent themselves "to multiplication almost without limit — his shoes, his manuscripts, and his hair." But down the centuries the relic which was the object of the most diligent search is hair from Mohammed's head or beard. "The hair", said Dr. Goldziher, "was worn as an amulet, and men on their deathbed directed by will that the precious possession should go down with them and mingle with the earth. Ja'far ibn Khinzabu, the vizier of an Egyptian prince, had three such hairs which at his death were put into his mouth, and his remains, according to his last testament, were carried to Medina . . . It is a well-known fact that one of the arguments produced in favour and justification of the Khalifs of Constantinople (who being non-Koreshites are by some not considered eligible for the Caliphate,) is their possession of the sacred relics of Islam. Besides the *Khirqa-i-Sharif*, the holy mantle, and 'Omar's sword preserved in the Ayyūb mosque, these relics include hairs of the Prophet's beard. The quantity of these latter does not seem to be insignificant judging from the circumstance that the Sultan bestows them on other cities. On the occasion of the construction of the Hamidīya mosque erected by the Sultan in Samsun in 1889, we learn from a Mohammedan journal that besides a number of copies of the Koran, the commander of the faithful ordered to be conveyed to Samsun some hair 'which belonged to the prince of both the existences and the asylum of the worlds'. They were received there as presents from the Khalif with extraordinary veneration. Guns were fired from the citadel to do honour to the hair of the noble Prophet. The *Shurifā* and *'Ulemā* bore the gift to the said mosque. A similar present was made through special envoys to the city of Aleppo".[13])

The statements made in books of Moslem law leave no doubt that in a sense all human hair is considered

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[5]) Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 139, 140.
[6]) M. H. Mazzeni, *Daum in Central Asia*, Aug., 1946, p. 17.
[7]) Al-Ḥalabī, *Insān-al-'Ayūn*, Vol. 2:222, Cairo.
[8]) Margin of *Sīrat-al-Ḥalabī*, Cairo, 1308 A. H., Vol. III, pp. 238, 239.
[9]) Bukhārī 79:41, Ibn Sa'ad I: 135—139; etc. (Wensinck).
[10]) Muslim 15:324, Al-Dārimī 2:78; Ibn Sa'ad 135.
[11]) Bukhārī 77:66.
[12]) Bukhārī 4:33; Ibn Māja 744 sq.
[13]) *Relic Worship in Islam*. Translated from the German of Professor Goldziher. *The Moslem World*, Vol. I, pp. 306, 307.

sacred and may not, therefore, be sold or in any way dishonored. We read in the *Hedāya*, a standard commentary on Moslem law, — "The sale of human hair is unlawful, in the same manner as is the *use* of it, because, being a part of the human body, it is necessary to preserve it from the disgrace to which an exposure of it to sale necessarily subjects it. It is moreover recorded, in the *Hadith Sharif*, that God denounced a curse upon a *wāsila* and a *mustawāsila*.[14]) (The first of these is a woman whose employment it is to unite the shorn hair of one woman to the head of another, to make her hair appear long; and the second means the woman to whose head such hair is united). Besides, as it has been allowed to women to increase their locks by means of the wool of a camel, it may thence be inferred that the use of human hair is unlawful".[15])

It is recorded in Ibn Sa'ad that on his last pilgrimage, Mohammed after having saluted the Black Stone and performed the sacrifice, slaughtering sixty-two camels with his own hand to correspond to the years of his life, "had his head shaved and distributed his sacred hair, one-half of it to Abu Talha and the other half to his chaste wives; also one or two hairs to everyone of his friends according to his rank."[16])

Khālid, the famous warrior, received some hairs "from Mohammed's forehead which he fixed in his skull-cap as a talisman" and was always victorious.[17])

The reliques of the Prophet included more than the hairs of his head so carefully numbered. A list of those sent to Sultan Selim the First and preserved by him in the palace at Constantinople, included some of his hair, a tooth, a pair of shoes, his mantle, prayer-mat, a hilt of his sword, a stone bearing imprint of his foot, an arrow and the Prophet's flag.[18]) Hairs of the Prophet are found as relics today at Constantinople, Aleppo, Aintab, Kashmir, Delhi, Cairo, Safed in Palestine and many other

[14]) Hamilton's *Hedāya, Vol.* II, p. 439.
[15]) Zwemer's *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, p. 76.
[16]) S. W. Koelle's *Mohammed*, p. 355.
[17]) Ibid., p. 222.
[18]) The list was given in *Wādy-al-Nīl*, Cairo, M. W., 1925, p. 75.

places. The one at Safed was a gift from the Sultan in 1911 and the Mosque of Binät Ya'qub was restored to receive it; twenty soldiers fully armed escorted the relic.[19])

And to bring this cult of the Prophet up-to-date, we have the following from the press in New York City: „A shudder passed through the Moslem world last week: three sacred hairs from the beard of the Prophet Mohammed were missing from each of two Istanbul mosques. Carefully preserved in 40 bags, one within the other, and locked securely in jeweled boxes, the hairs have been preserved in the mosques for generations. Each year, on Kadir night, at the end of the feast of Ramadan, the bags are opened and the hairs displayed to the faithful. Last week when the muezzins went as usual to find the relics, they had disappeared. Disconsolate Istanbul Moslems could take some comfort in the knowledge that in countless other mosques identical hairs from the Prophet's abundant beard still repose safely".[20])

We see from these examples how in the history of Islam these reliques of the Prophet, once objects of individual solicitude and piety and by which the early companions of Mohammed hoped for a blessing, became articles of public exhibition. They are now more than relics, and lodged in mosques or sacred tombs, are elevated to the status of objects of adoration and magical power.

Of course, there have been protests against this species of *shirk* (associating in worship) on the part of austere, orthodox Moslems. We read that at the Sixth Congress of Orientalists „a theologian of Medina, Sheikh Amīn, condemned this huckstery in the hair of the Prophet pursued in India and Turkey." He warned his hearers that Mohammed is reported to have said, "He who lies with respect to myself shall find Hell his resting place."[21]) The Wahhābī sect destroyed many of such objects once considered sacred, and even tombs of saints, when they took Medina and more recently when they purged Mecca under Ibn Saud's vigorous reforms. Even the grave of Mother Eve on the outskirts of Jiddah, long a place of prayer and pilgrimage, was destroyed.

[19]) *Das Christliche Orient*, September, 1911.
[20]) *"Time"*, New York, Sept. 14, 1946.
[21]) *The Moslem World*, Vol. I, p. 307.

But superstition and relic-worship die hard. The Reformation under Luther and Calvin, for example, was not able to exterminate relic worship in Medieval Europe; nor did the Counter-Reformation and the enlightenment of modern education do away with all relics of the saints: hair, bones, garments etc., even in European churches.

Jean Calvin in 1543 wrote a remarkable treatise on the subject which betrays his sense of humor as well as his sarcasm and displeasure. In it he tells of hairs of the Virgin Mary and of saints, as well as of blood, bones, napkins, the wood of the Cross, its nails etc., preserved as objects of worship in churches.[22]) Perchance some Moslem Reformer with a sense of humor and indignation, will arise to write a treatise on *the traces of idolatry (shirk)* in modern relic worship, including the hairs of Mohammed.

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[22]) *Traite des Réliques*, by Jean Calvin, Paris, 1921, pp. 95, 101, 144. etc.

ARABIC SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

Princeton University in New Jersey celebrated in 1946 the second centenary of its birth. The celebrations began in 1946 and continued in 1947 in the form of a series of conferences or symposia covering the various fields of science and learning. Three days (March 25 to 27, 1947) were devoted to a Conference on Near Eastern Culture and Society, directed by Philip K. Hitti, Professor of Semitic Literature in Princeton. The second meeting of that conference, dealing with Arabic scientific literature was presided over by Prof. Giorgio Levi della Vida (Rome); the leader of the discussion was George Sarton (Harvard) and the main commentators, Franz Rosenthal (Cincinnati) and Abdulhak Adnan Adivar (Istanbul).

Thanks to the kindness of Prof. Hitti, I am permitted to publish here the substance of my introductory remarks. They are not out of place in a book devoted to the memory of the illustrious Orientalist, Ignace Goldziher. It is true Goldziher was primarily a student of theology and the Qur'ān, but he was interested in every aspect of Arabic literature, and on the other hand, Arabic science was never completely separated from theology. If the Arabic scientist was a Muslim, his outlook was not essentially different from that of any other educated Muslim. He might be primarily a mathematician or a physician, but he paid considerable attention to the Qur'ān and tafsīr, to the revelations and ḥadīth, to the life of the Prophet and the history of Islām, to law and religion. The historian of Islamic theology is not obliged to study Arabic mathematics or alchemy, but the historian of Arabic science must have some knowledge, and the more the better, of the whole Islamic environment.

The scientific books written in Arabic during the Middle Ages and which were for a few centuries the main vehicles of the living science, have been edited, translated, or analyzed and discussed, by a good many scholars who were primarily Arabists, Orientalists. Now that the history of science is slowly growing to maturity and begins to be recognized as an independent discipline, the situation is

changing. There is now a new kind of scholars, professional historians of science, who, if they would understand the transmission of ancient science to the modern world, must obtain some knowledge of Arabic science. Their position is a very difficult one. Let us consider it for a moment.

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Of course, the teachers in our scientific departments cannot be expected to know much about Arabic science, because it is a thing of the past, and they are looking toward the future; keeping abreast of the living science is as much as they can do. On the other hand, the instructors of Arabic can hardly be expected to know science; their business is to know the Arabic language, Arabic literature (not the literature of science), perhaps Arabic history, Islamic theology and many other things, but not astronomy, medicine or chemistry. I have not yet told you the worst. Even the professional historian of science can hardly be expected to know much about Arabic science, and we should hesitate to blame him.

The history of science is an immense field. Our teachers of history (plain history, political history) are not supposed to be familiar with every period of the past — they are classified as historians of antiquity, or of the Middle Ages, or of America, or of modern Europe and Asia. On the other hand, if the historian of science is alone of his kind in the faculty, as he usually is if he be there at all, he must be acquainted with every period and with every clime, and, in addition, with the whole of science, the science of yesterday and to-day, and the trends of to-morrow! A pretty big order. The results are disastrous.

Open almost any general book devoted to the history of science or even to a particular science such as medicine, and you will find chapters dealing with Egyptian science, Babylonian science, Chinese science, the story being told in each case as if it were localized in time and space, and as if it could be neatly separated from the rest, like each department in a world fair, the Chinese pavilion, the Russian pavilion, and so on. The same books may have a chapter, tucked in before or after the mediaeval section entitled "Arabic science" or "Arabic medicine", as if that were a single homogeneous thing, which happened in one

place and one period. Well, that is not *quite* wrong. Arabic science was more or less localized, but its locality was the best part of the world, and the period was limited, much shorter than the Egyptian, Babylonian periods or even than the Greek one, yet much longer than the whole of American culture down to our own days.

The study of Arabic science is so vast a subject in itself, so heterogenous and so rich, that a man of great learning and zeal, devoting all of his time and energy to it, could not investigate deeply the whole of it. He would have to choose between embracing the whole field, as I have tried to do, or excavating more thoroughly a small part of it.

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My charge is not to give an account of Arabic science, which would be impossible and almost meaningless in so short a time, but rather to indicate new approaches in the exploration of that field, to explain what should be done in the near future. It is best, however, to introduce those recommendations with a few general remarks describing the peculiarities of the field.

One may speak of the miracle of Arabic culture as one speaks of the miracle of Greek culture, the meaning of the word miracle being the same in both cases. The things that happened were so extraordinary that there is no way of accounting for them in rational terms. Well might Muslim historians explain the development of Islamic power and faith, the immense extension of the Arabic language as providential.[1]) The Prophet built infinitely

[1]) Or as a logical development inherent in the human realities. This paradoxical point of view dominates the philosophical romance entitled *Fādil ibn Nāṭiq* composed by 'Alī ibn abī-l-Hazm Ibn al-Nafīs (XIII—2) in imitation of the *Haiy ibn Yaqẓān* of Ibn Ṭufail (XII—2). *Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiq* is not a historical romance in the ordinary sense; it is a clever attempt to show that the concatenation of the events of the Muslim past was of such an unavoidable nature that it could be reconstructed imaginatively *a priori*. Muslim power and glory in the eyes of a mystical historian of the thirteenth century were not accidents but logical necessities. That fantastic point of view is not very distant from the one which dominated Christian historians like Eusebios of Caesarea (IV—1)and even Bossuet. When men are in power, or when their ideas are generally accepted, they like

better than he knew because (so say those historians) he was the instrument of Providence. He established a faith so generous and yet so simple and so moderate that every man could understand and accept it at once; his own tribal language happened to be one of great beauty and flexibility, ready to be adapted to any rational use; the priority which he gave to it caused it to become for a few centuries almost universal; the obligation of the Pilgrimage secured the unity of Muslim culture, in spite of tribal jealousies which were intense and never abated for very long; the Prophet's injunction against the use of alcohol was a blessing of which nobody could foresee the amplitude at a time when concentrated alcohol was not yet obtainable. In short, the Prophet published a unitarian faith almost nine centuries before the Christian Unitarians; he declared the superiority of Arabic without knowing any other language; he created a cultural center for Islām without suspecting how much such a center would be needed when his followers would be recruited from many races and nations, he forbade the use of intoxicants long before alcoholism was (or could be) the scourge which it has become in our own days.[2]) No prophet has ever been as completely vindicated as he was.[3])

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to think that their success is simply the fruit of inherent superiority. The *Fāḍil ibn Nāṭiq* is represented by a single MS. in Istanbul the edition of which seems very desirable. See M. Meyerhof *(Isis* 23, 108); Joseph Schacht: *The Life and Works of Ibn al-Nafīs (The Arabic Listener,* vol. 7, no 17, London 1946), in Arabic; Brockelmann *(Suppt.,* vol. 1, 900).

A symbol like (XIII-2) used above means two things: (1) Ibn-al-Nafīs flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century, (2) an article is devoted to him in G. Sarton's *Introduction.*

[2]) "O you who believe! intoxicants and game of chance.. are only an uncleanness, the devil's work: shun them therefore that you may be successful" (*Qur'ān* 5:90 or 92). The word translated as intoxicant is *khamr* which means not only wine but everything that stupefies or intoxicates the mind. The Prophet said "Every drink that intoxicates is forbidden" (Bukhārī 74 : 3) and again "Of whatever thing a large quantity intoxicates, even a small quantity is forbidden" (Abū Dā'ūd 25 : 5).

[3]) The reader may appreciate the situation better if he asks himself what would have happened if the Prophet had not laid so much stress on the Pilgrimage, or on the dangers of intoxicants, and above all if he had not attached more importance to his language than Christ did to Aramaic. While the Christians permitted the Syriac and Coptic languages to die out, the Prophet made his an essential part of his religion and thus established it on an eternal basis. Therefore, he is the Prophet not only of Islām but also of the Arabic language and of Arabic culture, irrespective of race or faith.

The rude Arabic invaders of the Mediterranean world triumphed not so much because of their own strength as because of the weakness of their adversaries, and not only because of their own faith and unity but also because of the lack of unity and the disillusionment and despair of the outsiders. Yet it was not enough to conquer, it was at once necessary and far more difficult to administer the conquered lands. The Arabs were at first incapable of doing that; they had hardly learned to be at peace among themselves when they were called upon to pacify other nations: their experience of war was great but their ignorance of administration much greater. The simple-minded children of the desert knowing but one language were soon faced with the problem of governing multitudes of men speaking other languages, and whose lives were guided by different religions and traditions. In spite of their self-conceit which was extreme, the most intelligent among them must have realized that the foreigners whom they had vanquished — Greeks, Syrians, Persians, Egyptians, Spaniards, etc. — knew many arts which were unknown to themselves. To say that the Arabs needed the help of some of those foreigners would be an understatement; they could have done nothing without that help. The Muslim empire was created with the willing collaboration of Greeks, Persians, Copts, — Christians, Magians, Sabaeans, and Jews. They needed no help, or so they thought, in religion and literature, but they realized with astonishing speed that the cultural superiority of some foreigners was largely due to their technical or scientific equipment.

This introduces what might be called the miracle of Arabic science, using the word miracle once more as a symbol of our inability to explain achievements which were almost incredible. There is nothing like it in the whole history of the world, except the Japanese assimilation of

modern science and technology during the Meiji era.[4]) The comparison is useful, because the situation was fundamentally the same in both cases: the intellectual leaders of the Arabs realized the need of Greek science as urgently as the Japanese of two generations ago that of European science. Both had the best of teachers — necessity, compelling necessity. Both had the will and the kind of spiritual energy which overcomes insuperable difficulties; indeed they had not sufficient experience nor enough patience to consider difficulties and be frightened by them; they simply rushed through. Everything becomes easier if you don't even imagine how difficult it is!

It should be noted that the almost unbelievable development of Arabic science did not begin until the second half of the second century of the Hijra. The Prophet was too deeply concerned in the hereafter and, as far as this life was concerned, in ethical and religious issues, to be interested in science. Some modern apologists have tried to read scientific ideas in the Qur'ān, but they can do this only by giving some words of it connotations which could never have occurred to the Prophet, nor to anybody else for centuries. The orthodox caliphs were not more scientifically-minded than he was; it is probable that the Greek clerks whom they employed were more familiar with business and administration than with science, and that they were no longer capable of appreciating the intellectual achievements of their own ancestors. In short, there was no science to speak of in Medīna or Mecca, nor even in Damascus. The miracle of the Arabic renaissance did not manifest itself before the establishment of the caliphate in Baghdād. What happened there? The Arabic genius was

[4]) The reign of the emperor Mutsuhito (1868—1912) lasted less than half a century. The period is much shorter than that of the Arabic assimilation of Greek culture, but that was natural enough. Everything was much slower in the Middle Ages and the Arabs did not have the marvelous tools which accelerated every educational process (printing, steam engines, telegraph, etc.). The earlier Japanese assimilation of Chinese culture was comparable in length to the Arabic assimilation of Greek culture, but it stopped there, while the Arabic achievements were only a link in the development of our own culture. For that reason we may neglect the Japanese culture, but we cannot overlook the Arabic one without loss.

actuated by the Iranian ferment; the Arabic and Persian qualities (and defects) were complementary. The miracle of Arabic science was largely due to the catalyzation of Arabic vigor and earnestness and of Islamic faith by Persian curiosity and sophistication. To put it in more general terms, Arabic science was the fruit of the Semitic genius fertilized by the Iranian genius. This may be too general a statement for strict accuracy, but it helps us to understand roughly what happened in Baghdād. Within a couple of centuries (c. 750—950) the Islamic rulers, using their polyglot subjects, most of these Christians and Jews, caused the best of Greek knowledge to become available in the Arabic language.

Some historians have tried to pooh-pooh those immense achievements by claiming that there was nothing original in them and that the Arabs were nothing but copycats. Such a judgment is all wrong. In a sense, nothing can be more deeply original than the genuine hunger for knowledge which possessed the Arabic leaders. Of course, some of that knowledge was immediately needed for administration and government, but they passed quickly from that utilitarian stage to a higher one. Medicine, one might say, was practical knowledge, and so was astronomy, if only because of astrological needs, but the Arabs translated much else in mathematics and philosophy which was not useful except in the highest Platonic sense. One might object also that the dragomans were most of them foreigners, non-Muslims and often non-Arabs, and hence that whatever credit is due for the translations should go to them rather than to their employers. No, the merit must be shared. The translators were most of them foreigners for the simple reason that the task required a degree of polyglottism which the invading Muslims could not have. In order to translate from one language into another one must know both languages well. Such qualifications as the foreigners had were necessary but not sufficient. In general, no work especially one which is long and exacting, can be done unless somebody wants it badly enough and is willing to maintain the scholars engaged in it. The Arabic leaders were generally anxious to have the work done and ready to make its performance possible; there often was a generous emulation between them about that. The initiative was theirs.

The vast majority of the translations were made from the Greek, either directly, or through Syriac versions: some were made from the Sanskrit and possibly from other Oriental languages. Our knowledge of the Sanskrit and other Oriental borrowings is still very imperfect, because very few scholars are equally familiar with Arabic and with Sanskrit (Persian, Chinese, etc.). This evidences another aspect of the Arabic originality and initiative. They did not exploit only the Greek source (and I suspect they did not at first realize its overwhelming superiority); they were eager to drink from every source. Nor did much time pass before they began to assimilate that knowledge and transform it into something new.

The two greatest Arabic innovations in mathematics and astronomy are the new arithmetic and the new trigonometry. It is significant that both were established on a double foundation, Sanskrit and Greek. Even so, medical borrowings from India as well as from Greece are acknowledged in the *Paradise of Wisdom* of ʿAlī Ibn Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (IX—1).[5]) A few centuries later Rashīd al-dīn (XIV—1), writing in Persian, it is true, rather than in Arabic, would extend the field of borrowing to China. Those who would begrudge and belittle Arabic merits, object again that borrowing from many sources is hardly better than borrowing from one. This manner of argument is certainly very misleading, especially in mathematics. In the two cases mentioned above the Arabic mathematicians did not copy the Greek and Sanskrit sources — that would have been almost useless — they brought them together and fertilized the Greek ideas with the Hindu ones. If these were not inventions, then there are no inventions in science. Indeed, a scientific invention is simply the weaving

[5]) This ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī should not be confused with the more famous Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (X-1), author of an elaborate universal history and of an immense *Tafsīr*. My account of him (*Introd.* 1, 574) is very insufficient because his *Firdaus al-ḥikma* was still unknown to me in 1927. It was edited in the following year by M. Z. Ṣiddīqī (Berlin 1928); see the long analysis by Max Meyerhof (*Isis* 16, 6—54). My account of Rashīd al-dīn, appearing twenty years later, is far longer and more satisfactory (*Introd.* 3, 969—76).

together of separate threads and the tying of new knots. There are no inventions *ex nihilo*.

One may object also that the Arabic scientists did not completely understand their discoveries. For example, I have shown[6]) that they did not use the Hindu (Arabic) numerals in the very occasions when those numerals would have been most useful, in astronomical and geographical tables. But what of it? The implications of any scientific discovery, if it be really an important one, are so varied and so far-fetched, that no man of science, however great his genius may be, ever understands completely what he is doing. The fructification of deep ideas is generally accomplished by other men, smaller but more practical. Thus were the ideas of Faraday fructified by Zénobe Gramme, and those of Clerk Maxwell, by Marconi.

To return to mediaeval ʿIrāq, the singularity as well as the pregnancy of Arabic science lie in the fact that it brought together Greek and Oriental elements and created a new synthesis, or made such creation possible in the future. Greek science might have been transmitted more simply to the Latin West if Catholic Christianity had not been almost completely separated from Orthodox Christianity by a wall of intolerance, distrust, and hatred. As that wall unfortunately existed, there was no way between the Greek science of the past and the Latin science of the future except by the Arabic detour. Looking at it from the point of view of the development of mankind as a whole, the Arabic-Islamic culture was of supreme importance, because it constituted the main link between the Near East and the West, as well as between the Near East and Buddhist Asia. The Near East was really the Middle East.

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When we observe the occurrence of a large body of translations from one language into another, we may assume that this represents a fall of energy from a higher level to a lower one; that fall may be followed, and generally is, by a new rise. This happened in the two cases which interest us most, the transmissions of knowledge

[6]) *Introd.* (3, 133, 797—98).

from Greek to Arabic, and later from Arabic to Latin; there is, however, a fundamental difference between these two cases the appreciation of which will help us to see the Arabic efforts in a new light.

The Arabic translations began to appear only by the end of the eighth century, that is, almost four centuries after the final climax of Greek science. It may be objected that Byzantine culture continued to some extent the Greek one and that some Byzantine scientists like Joannes Philoponos (VI—1), Aëtios of Amida (VI—1), Alexander of Tralles (VI—2) and Paulos Aegineta (VII—1) helped to transmit Greek learning to the Arabic-speaking world, but on the other hand the very best of Greek culture had been published, not four centuries but six centuries and even a whole millennium and more before its decantation into Arabic was attempted. It is substantially true to say that the treasure of Greek wisdom and knowledge had been gathered many centuries before the Arabic leaders became aware of its existence and undertook its systematic exploitation.

The Latin translations from the Arabic began with Constantine the African (XI—2) in the third quarter of the eleventh century, at a time when the Greek-Arabic transmission was almost completed and the Arabic work of assimilation and creation was in full swing. In other words, while the Greek and Arabic periods are almost entirely separated and widely so with regard to the essentials, the Arabic and Latin periods are partly contemporary. Arabic men of science were late epigoni of their Greek models, while the early Latin ones were younger contemporaries of their Arabic colleagues. Many illustrious Arabic authors, like Ibn al-Haitham, Ibn Sīnā, al-Bīrūnī, al-Ghazzālī (not to mention earlier ones) were already dead when Latin science began to flourish; on the other hand, some others were posterior even to the golden age of Catholic learning. Ibn Baṭṭūta was posterior to Marco Polo and Ibn Khaldūn died one hundred and thirty-two years after St. Thomas.

This difference between the two traditions, Greek-Arabic and Arabic-Latin, had far-reaching consequences. The Muslim rulers (and their advisers) could contemplate Greek science from a long distance, when much of that science had become classical and the masterpieces were

fully recognized. In general, they translated the best and neglected what was worthless; by the end of the tenth century or even of the ninth the treasure of Greek knowledge could be read in Arabic.

Many of the Greek books thus translated are lost in the original. Some have been recovered in Arabic, the best-known being books V to VII of Apollonios and small treatises of Archimedes.[7]) The collection of Greek MSS, even of palimpsests, have been so thoroughly investigated that the hope of finding more Greek originals is very small; on the contrary, there is much hope of finding Arabic translations of them. The paradoxical consequence of this is that the study of Arabic MSS is at present our most promising method for the improvement of our knowledge of the Greek scientific literature.[8])

The Latin translators did not have enough perspective always to recognize the best of Arabic literature. They translated some of the most important works (e. g., in medicine and astronomy) but also a considerable amount of rubbish. At the very time when Latin learning was in the ascendant, Arabic learning was beginning to decline, being smothered by theological obscurantism and by superstitions. It happened that some mediaeval Arabic writers enjoyed a popularity which they did not deserve but which reached the ears of their Latin imitators. This remark applies especially to astrological books which were considered as the last word of Arabic wisdom and the key to Arabic power and were eagerly translated, — the same

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[7]) Book V to VII of the *Conics* were translated into Arabic by Thābit ibn Qurra (IX—2) and revised by Abū-l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Isfahānī (X-2); that Arabic text has not been edited but a Latin version was first published by the Maronite Abraham Ecchelensis and by Giacomo Alfonso Borelli (Florence 1661), then again in Edmund Halley's monumental edition of Apollonios (Oxford 1710). A translation of Archimedes' memoir on the regular heptagon was made by the same Thābit ibn Qurra and published by Carl Schoy, not in Arabic but in German (*Isis*, 8, 21—40, 1926).

[8]) The most noteworthy recent finds refer to Galen (II-2). Galen's anatomy was published in Arabic and German by Max Simon (2 vols., Leipzig 1906); his treatise on medical experience was published in Arabic and English by Richard Walzer, (London 1944. Cf. *Isis* 36, 251—55).

texts being sometimes repeatedly translated not only into Latin, but also into Hebrew and sundry vernaculars.

Some of the greatest Arabic writers such as Abū-l-Fidā, Ibn Baṭṭūta, Ibn Khaldūn came too late to be translated into Western languages,[9]) and hence in spite of their value for the study of Arabic culture, they are relatively negligible in the history of Western culture.

The case of Ibn Khaldūn, who was perhaps the greatest historian and sociologist of the Middle Ages, is particularly curious. Ibn Khaldūn came too late not only to be translated into Latin and thus to fall in the stream of Western learning; he came too late even to be appreciated by his own people. Strangely enough the first foreigners to appreciate him were the Turks and that happened only in the sixteenth century.[10]) They were interested in him, I imagine, because of his political views at a time when they themselves were the greatest power of the Mediterranean world and the feudal lords of his native land.

Arabic science declined rapidly after the fourteenth century. As their political power decreased the Muslims fell into a kind of sluggishness and despondency which made further progress impossible; this meant that they became really more and more backward in a progressive world. Their scientific mission in the East and North Africa was continued for a while (from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century) by the Turks,[11]) but even during the golden age of the Ottoman Empire Turkish science and philosophy were but feeble imitations of the Arabic

[9]) I am thinking only of mediaeval translations, of course. Translations made in the seventeenth century or later by Western Orientalists do not count here, for they did not help to transmit scientific knowledge to the West, but were made largely to gratify the retrospective curiosity of scholars.

[10]) Curious details concerning this may be found in my *Introd.* (3, 1776).

[11]) Sālih Zekī: *Āthār-i-bāqīya* (2 vols. in Turkish, 512 p., Istanbul 1911; *Isis* 19, 503—15). Abdulhak Adnan: *La science chez les Turcs Ottomans* (Paris 1939; *Isis* 32, 186—89); revised and enlarged translation into Turkish (Istanbul 1943; *Isis* 38, 121—25). Aydin M. Sayili: *Turkish Medicine* (*Isis* 26, 403—14, 1937). K. H. Tukan: *Turāth al-ʿarab al-ʿilmī fi ʾl-riyādiyyāt wal-falak* (268 p. in Arabic, Cairo 1941; *Isis* 36, 140—42).

achievements. The highest Turkish level was never as high as the highest Arabic one had been centuries before, and meanwhile the Western world having discovered the "open sesame" of experimental method science rose with increasing speed to such new heights that mediaevel achievements, whether Arabic or Latin, seemed negligible in comparison.

The contempt of mediaeval thought and especially of mediaeval science was an error of the youthful Renaissance, error which was aggravated as Western science grew by leaps and bounds in the seventeenth century and later. It is only in our time that mediaeval science was reappreciated at its true value. This implied, first of all, a revaluation of Arabic science, for that was the very core of mediaeval science before the twelfth century and remained an essential part of it until the fourteenth.

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Western scholars of many nations have devoted much time and energy to exploration and study of Arabic scientific MSS. These MSS. are so abundant that the task is immense and very much remains to be done. We may be almost certain that as it is continued many discoveries will be made. It is a very tempting field, but like any exploration it is much of a gamble, and the most intelligent and systematic investigation will not necessarily be the most successful.

I receive from time to time requests for the indication of Arabic MSS. the edition of which would be particularly desirable. I cannot answer those requests except in a general way as will be done now. Let me remark first that if I were certain that a MS. available to me (in one form or another) were extremely important, I would probably stop my other activities and devote my whole time to its study; if I could not do that myself, I would intrust the MS. to a special friend of mine or to a favorite student, to whom I would thus give a unique chance of distinguishing himself among other scholars; I could not make him a greater gift.

As a matter of fact, I have no such certainty, only guesses which may be happy or not. If my time were not completely mortgaged to other undertakings and if

I wanted to edit a MS. I would have to hunt for a suitable one like everybody else. How would I go about it?

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Let us first consider the main tools, without which the task would be, if not hopeless, at least far more adventurous then it already is. These tools are the catalogues of the great collections of Arabic MSS. preserved in some eighty cities of the world.[12]) The scholars who prepared those catalogues (some of which are very elaborate and deal with many thousands of MSS.) were the true pioneers of our studies. They cannot be praised too highly, especially because their merit remains necessarily unknown except to very few students. Our highest praise must be reserved perhaps for the scholars who published the earliest of those catalogues, for they were really breaking the ground. Their followers could take advantage of their work in many ways, and prepare better catalogues, containing much of the information available in the earlier ones and avoiding their blunders.

We might pause a moment to express our gratitude to those early pioneers who built so well and did so much for us. It is interesting to note thet they were all, with one exception, Lebanese Maronites: Abraham Ecchelensis (Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī 1605—64), and his nephew Giovanni Matteo Naironi (al-Namrūnī), then the two Assemani (al-Sam'ānī): Giuseppe Simone Assemani (1687—1768) and his nephew Stefano Evodio ('Awwād) Assemani (1711—82), finally Miguel Casiri (1710—91),[13]) Between them those learned Maronites inventoried the wealth of Arabic MSS. preserved in the Italian and Spanish libraries. The one exception which occurs to me is the Hungarian

[12]) Lists of them will be found in Giuseppe Gabrieli: *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana* (189—245, Roma 1916; *Isis* 5, 449—50), and Carl Brockelmann: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Supplement* (vol. 1, 5—11, Leiden 1936; vol. 3. 1191, 1939).

[13]) According to Professor Hitti, Casiri's original name was Mīkhā'īl al-Ghazīrī, his *nisba* being derived from the place Ghazīr, a small Maronite village in the Kesruan, Lebanon, a little to the north of Beirūt, overlooking the sea.

Joannes Uri,[14]) who published the first catalogue of Oriental MSS. in the Bodleian.[15])

The richest collection of Arabic MSS. of the New World is the one of Princeton University, One half of it has already been catalogued by Professor Hitti and his assistants, and we are anxiously waiting for his catalogue of the very large remainder.[16])

In all these catalogues, the scientific MSS are generally separated from the others, but one cannot depend too much on that classification (especially in the earlier catalogues), and the composite MSS. (MSS. containing many texts) are not always as well analyzed as they should be. The cataloguers were generally theologians and historians without scientific education and without means of appreciating the real value and originality of the scientific texts falling under their eyes.[17]) Happily the historian of

[14]) Joannes Uri was born in 1726 in Nagykőrös, Hungary, that is, not in the same place as the more famous Alexander Csoma de Körös (1784—1842), whose birth-place is in Transylvania. He studied in Leyden and was invited to go to Oxford in 1766 in order to catalogue the Oriental MSS. of the Bodleian. The first part of that catalogue, published in Oxford 1787, contains the description of 2358 Oriental MSS., 1476 of them Arabic. Uri died in Oxford in 1796 (DNB 58, 42). The second part of the catalogue, much smaller than the first, was published by Alexander Nicoll (1793—1828) in Oxford in 1821; it contains the description of 234 MSS., 156 of them Arabic. Uri had done the lion's share of the work.

[15]) Pioneers are always preceded by other pioneers just as fathers are preceded by other fathers. The early cataloguers were naturally preceded by the early collectors, and the authors of published catalogues were preceded by the authors of catalogues which never reached the printed stage. We cannot go into that. The difficulty and complexity of such stories may be judged from one of them well told by Giorgio Levi della Vida: *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca vaticana* (Vaticano 1939; *Isis* 36, 273—75).

[16]) Philip K. Hitti, Nabih Amin Faris, Butrus 'Abd al-Malik: *Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic MSS* (Princeton 1938—39; *Isis* 31, 558).

[17]) Thus the exceptional importance of a mathematical MS was overlooked by such great scholars as Adolph Neubauer and Ernest Renan in 1893. This was a Hebrew MS., but the situation

science has another method of approach, the main steps of which are as follows:

(1) First take Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science*, and read carefully, with pencil in hand, the Arabic sections of the chapters which appeal to your curiosity, say, the geographical chapter or the medical one. Thus, your attention may be focussed upon this or that author, say, al-Bīrūnī (XI–1), al-Idrīsī (XII–2), al-Jildakī (XIV–1). In many articles (but not always), unpublished texts are mentioned.

(2) Consult Brockelmann's history of Arabic literature. The reference to the early volumes is generally given by Sarton, and from the early volumes it is easy to pass to the supplements. This will enable you to find where MSS. of the unpublished texts of this or that author are kept. If one of these texts was mentioned by Sar on, it is possible to form some idea of its importance from the context of his article.

(3)When a definite text has been tentatively chosen on the basis of Sarton's and Brockelmann's indications, examine the catalogues of the libraries where MSS. of it are kept (those libraries are listed in Brockelmann, and the No. of each MS. in their catalogues given by him). These catalogues describe the MS. and sometimes analyze the text, discuss it and may even quote extracts from it.

(4) Consult for the same text or the same author the catalogues posterior to Brockelmann, e. g., the Princeton one prepared by Hitti or the Istanbul lists issued by Helmut Ritter and his associates.

(5) Photostatic copies of one or more MSS. of the selected text are ordered. A long time will probably elapse before the photostats arrive but that interval can be profitably used for the study of other works of the same author already edited and of the memoirs already devoted to him. A fairly complete list of them will be found in Sarton's *Introduction* or in the corresponding chapters in the *Critical Bibliographies* which appear from time to time in *Isis*.

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would have been the same with an Arabic one (*Isis* 25, 16—45, 1936; *Introd.* 3, 1518). Scientific sections of modern catalogues may be intrusted to scientists; this is done for the new catalogue of Escorial MSS. in the course of publication. The part devoted to medicine and natural history was prepared by our late friend. Dr. H. P. J. Renaud of Rabat (Paris 1941, *Isis* 34, 34—35).

(6) When the photostats are finally available a rough decipherment of them and analysis of their contents will determine the final decision as to whether you find it worthwhile to spend considerable time editing it and perhaps translating it, or not.

We need not explain here the long process of edition; that is a philological matter. It might happen that you did not care to edit the whole text, but would rather restrict yourself to an analysis of it, together with extracts in Arabic or translation. Even if you rejected the text, the time spent in the preliminary investigations would not be by any means lost: much knowledge would have been obtained which would be of use for similar investigations at a later time.

When the text has been edited in Arabic, the task is very far from complettion. The scholar having the required palaeographic and philologic aptitudes for critical editing, may not have the training necessary for the correct appreciation of the contents. Indeed, this implies a sufficient knowledge of the branch of science concerned, past and present, and a sufficient familiarity with other texts of the same kind and period, as well as with other texts written somewhat earlier or later in the same language (to clarify the terminology).

This process of interpretation requires almost always the cooperation of many scholars working together or (as is more usually the case) in successive shifts. For example, one scholar may attempt to translate the text into English (or into another vernacular) or to analyze it. This opens the field to a new set of scholars, knowing less Arabic (or none) but more familiar with the contents.

The length of the whole procedure is easily illustrated with reference to particular cases. Take any of the longer articles in Sarton's *Introduction*, where the available texts and translations are enumerated in one section and the modern studies are listed in chronological order in another. In the case of an astronomer like Abū-l-Wafā (X-2) we find a succession of Orientalists, mathematicians, astronomers undertaking the varied tasks of edition, translation, elucidation the one after the other, sometimes after long intervals of silence.

The establishment and explanation of a new text and the ascription of a new discovery to this or that author

require efforts which are not only considerable but also of great variety. The text must be discovered, suitable MSS located, collated, edited, translated, explained; the explanations may involve the comparative study of other texts and evoke the criticisms of men of science; then a better text may be found and the whole work may have to be done over on a new basis. The possibility of all this (or most of it) being done by a single man is not excluded but will always be rare. In general, the task is a collective one involving the cooperation and the emulation of many scholars, often of many nations, and its completion may take a century or more. In a sense the task is never completed, for other texts may entail a revision and reappreciation of the first one and so on.

The main burden of my remarks is to show that our studies are necessarily slow. In spite of the possibility of accidental discoveries, the way to knowledge is a very long one, and we should be patient. An enormous amount of work remains to be done by our generation, and when it is done, plenty of more will be left for the following generations. Let us say *al-ḥamdulillāh!*

In conclusion, we could not be too grateful to our Arabic-speaking forerunners, especially the pioneers of the eighth to the eleventh century, who brought to us the treasures of Greek wisdom and part of the Iranian and Hindu treasures and added to them much knowledge of their own. They helped us to build our own traditions, the most valuable part of our heritage. The best that is in us we owe to our spiritual ancestors of many races, of many faiths, of many climes. They were not thinking of us, of course, but are we thinking over much of our distant progeny?[18]) The best way of thanking and praising our spiritual ancestors is to continue their work, our work, without impatience, slowly, steadily, honestly.

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[18]) There is one thing which we can do for our descedants and which our ancestors fortunately could not do for us. Our financial organization is so remarkable that we are able to burden our progeny with our own enormous debts! Let us hope that we may be able to bequeath to them other things than unpaid bills!

ARABIC RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

New Approaches in Research[1])

The new approaches to the study of Arabic religious literature may be examined under three categories:

I. One is mechanical and enumerates the instrumental means and facilities available to the student.

II. The second is methodological and deals with the system or scheme followed by the student.

III. The third is psychological, and describes the personal attitudes and principles of those engaged in the research.

I.

Throughout the ages there has been great need for accuracy on the part of authors and teachers in reporting the ideas of their predecessors and contemporaries. When all books were manuscripts, and copies of a work were few and expensive, it was difficult to secure the correct reproduction of statements of doctrines and criticisms. For more than a decade Harold Cherniss's book, *Aristotle's Cristicism of Presocratic Philosophy*, has called attention to the differences, not to say discrepancies, that are found in Aristotle's accounts of the statements of earlier teachers. The author shows by quotations from Aristotle's own works that the presentation of the views of his predecessors is not consistent and is therefore unsatisfactory.

Fairness and accuracy of course demand that the statement of the doctrine with which one disagrees should be made in the terms and in the sense that the original author intended, so that the author will declare, "Yes, that is what I said and that is what I meant." In our age the mechanical means of reproduction of manuscripts and printed texts make it possible for the scholar to present the

[1]) An address delivered at the Princeton University Bicentennial Conference on Near Eastern Culture and Society, March 26, 1947.

statements of other authors in their own words. Inadequate and inaccurate quotation is no longer justifiable on grounds of expense or difficulty.

It has been reported (to me by my honored teacher and predecessor the late Professor D. B. Macdonald) that at times European Orientalists secured the only known copy of a manuscript — a unicum — and then published an edition of the book with readings which challenged the curiosity of other Orientalists, who, however, could not justify their questionings because the only copy of the original work remained in the private possession of the scholar who had edited the published text.

It is now possible for an editor to publish black and white or rotogravure reproductions of manuscripts or other documents and satisfy scholars that he has not misrepresented the material he edited.

An example of this new mechanical approach to research is given in the edition with variant readings, introduction, translation and annotation of al-Ghazālī's *Ayyuhā'lwalad.* made by George H. Scherer at the University of Chicago, published under the title of *O YOUTH.* The text chosen by the editor is reproduced photographically while important variant readings are provided on the same page.

Inscriptions that cannot be removed from their original sites as well as those preserved in museums, have similarly been accurately reproduced by photography and other instrumental means, and thus made available for study anywhere.

It is not only old and rare and not readily accessible material that may now be published by some photographic process. Dr. A.-M. Goichon wrote out the Arabic text of her admirable *Lexique de la Langue Philosophique d' Ibn Sīnā*, (Paris 1938), had plates made by photography and then had type set for her French translation of each Arabic definition, so that each page contains type and handwritten material.

The same system is still used in the East where an edition of al-Baiḍāwī's Commentary on the Qur'ān called *Anwār al-tanzīl* is published from movable type on pages that have already had lithographed or other reproduction of a hand-written edition of the Qur'ān with numbered verses. The Muslims' attitude toward the Qur'ān still

impels them to follow the tradition of printing the sacred book of Islam from a hand-written copy rather than from separate pieces of type.

One other instance of the recent use of a mechanical process for teaching purposes may be mentioned. The Committee on Arabic and Islamic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies wished to prepare a chrestomathy of selections for students of Arabic. The Committee found that the least expensive and most satisfactory method of procedure was to reproduce by the off-set photographic process the selections chosen from previously published books. The procedure which is advisable for reproducing manuscripts was thus applied to books printed at various times and places in a variety of types. The resultant Chrestomathy enables students under the guidance of their teachers to become acquainted with the different sizes and styles of type used by the Eastern and European Arabic presses as well as to read samples of Spanish and North African script as well as Garshūnī and Arabic-Hebrew literature.

A newer servant of scholarship that may be expected to aid research immensely in the future is the microfilm and other miniature reproduction of expensive or inaccessible literary material. Books, the photostats of which would cost large sums, can be microfilmed and processed at a fifth or tenth of the cost. Books that may not be removed from their public repositories can be filmed and made available elsewhere. Books in private libraries can remain in their private ownership and yet contribute to the world's store of knowledge. There are books that are in places inaccessible, for instance, to non-Muslim scholars, places like Mecca and al-Madinah. Such books can be microfilmed by portable machines and yield their treasures of information to interested students in other places.

In Egypt I had learned that the National Library possessed a MS. of Abūth'-Thanā' al-Isfahānī's Commentary on al-Baiḍāwī's *Ṭawāli' al-anwār.* By the very gracious permission of the authorities of the Library and the kind co-operation of the American governmental organization which had a microfilming outfit, I became the fortunate possessor of the first microfilm of a MS. of that great Library, which, I was told, possesses 65,000 Arabic manuscripts. It should be added that the Library of

Princeton University also has MSS. of the same work and the authorities provided me with microfilms of the two that I desired. When my translation of this important work of Muslim theology is published, I hope to present these libraries with copies of a better book than I could have produced without the help of the microfilms of the volumes still in Cairo and Princeton.

II.

The second new approach to research for Arabic religious literature is through new methods and procedures in study. In this part of our subject we may need to remind ourselves of the inseparability of philosophy and theology which is true of all systems of metaphysical thought but is conspicuously true of Islam. In Islam the philosophers have all been theologians and the theologians philosophers of one rank or another.

It will be convenient to present one of the new methods of study by describing the experience of one of my Egyptian friends, a professor of philosophy at the Fu'ād al-Awwal University at Cairo. This friend, Osman Amin, was a student at the Sorbonne, working on the theology and philosophy of Egypt's last and greatest religious reformer, the Grand Mufti, Muhammad Abduh, who became Rector of al-Azhar. While Osman was preparing his doctoral thesis a new life of Spinoza was published in America. It was the two volume work by Professor H. A. Wolfson, of Harvard University. No word of mine in praise of the supreme excellence of this study of Spinoza is needed here.

The first part of the first chapter of that work captured the admiration of the Egyptian student. Professor Wolfson describes his procedure in studying the thought of Spinoza. He read the books that Spinoza had in his library and furnished his mind with the ideas and vocabulary that were familiar to Spinoza.

Osman Amin determined to adopt that same method in his study of the life and thought of Muhammad Abduh. His university advisors said, "You have here all the books and articles published about him; what more can you need?" But Osman returned to Cairo to fill his mind

from the same sources that had provided Abduh with his ideas.

He found Muhammad Abduh's library in quite a neglected condition but, fortunately, intact. He set it in order and spent months reading the books there. He found notes and comments on the margins of these books. He found also correspondence from Muhammad Abduh's contemporaries, throwing light on the events and opinions of the time. He discovered important letters and documents between the pages of the books, some of which he included among the illustrations of his published thesis.

The experience has meant that the method adopted by Osman Amin while a student is now the procedure he teaches as professor to his own classes at Cairo.

Another enterprise in publication that is really a procedure in research is the Arabic edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

Before we went to Cairo in 1944 I had known that such a translation had been started and several fascicles had been published. At Cairo I learned that over sixty parts had appeared and I tried to secure all of them. I desired this Arabic translation for our students and myself for two definite reasons. I wanted to know what additions, if any, to the Leiden editions had been made by the Egyptian translators, whose comments on the statements of the European scholars would be interesting and whose additional information would be valuable.

My second reason was that the articles in Arabic would provide dictionary material for technical meanings of words not found in any of our lexicons. The inadequacy of our bi-lingual Arabic dictionaries, especially for technical terms of theology, philosophy and the humanities, has been deplored during all of this century. The Arabic Encyclopaedia of Islam, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-Istāmiyyat al-'arabiyya*, will be a great help until the need is supplied.

(I was fortunate in becoming acquainted with the Editor-in-chief and some of the translators for the Encyclopaedia and learned about their ideals and methods of work, which are admirable. Shaikh Khurshid, the chief editor, has his own card index of 20,000 Arabic technical terms thereby revealing that he has adopted the method most of us have followed for our research work.)

There is another methodological approach to research

that should be mentioned. All Arabists recognize the inestimable worth of the seven volumes of Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur,* for research in practically all departments of Arabic literature, but particularly for religious authors and books, both printed and manuscript. Brockelmann's work will, of course, live forever, wherever Arabic is read and as long as Arabic is spoken, and that means forever, because Arabic, you remember, is the language of the angels!

But how is Brockelmann's great enterprise to be carried on? How will the new books, religious and other kinds, become known to the research students of the present and the future? How will books in Arabic and other Middle Eastern languages, become known in the West? Who will make a union bibliography of the Orient and of the publications of the present and coming years? Shall we say, Every scholar must be his own Brockelmann and do his own bibliographical research? If the situation remains as it is now, the benefits to scholarship that the microfilm process promises will be both fortuitous and limited. What we here and our colleagues everywhere need is an international Arabic or Oriental bibliographical society with enthusiasts in every center of Arabic publication and study, who will continue Brockelmann's service to all Arabic literature and help to integrate it into one world of life and thought.

In Egypt I conferred with a number of leading librarians, teachers and authors and found keen interest and eagerness to cooperate with any committee that would undertake such a project.

III.

Our third and final classification of the ways to study theological literature calls attention to some new personal attitudes and psychological factors in religious research.

It is not necessary to describe the supreme importance of religion in the culture and society of the Orient. The history and literature of every Eastern country reveal that religion not only permeates every interest and activity of the people, but also that it is the most dominant element in the life of most men and women of the Orient. It cannot be said that any noticeable proportion of the people of the

East are indifferent to the religion of their community. It is quite impossible for Westerners to understand the culture and society of the East without learning about the religions of the communities there.

(The Sacred Books of the East, the Bibles of the World, the theological literature, the religious history of the Orient, all have a proper place in every cultural Conference and academic course dealing with the Eastern world.)

But there is need for something new and different in the approach to the study of Oriental religious life and literature. Lucretius in his time indicted religion for the most and the worst of the evils of man's inhumanity to man. The Crusades of the Middle Ages increased to continental scale the evils of wars in the name of religion. The literatures in the languages of ancient and mediaeval times preserve the hate, the falsehood, the evil sanctioned and, indeed, taught by the leaders of one religion against the adherents of other faiths.

The wars of this century have been more extensive, more intensive and worse than the wars of the past. But in one respect at least they have been better. They have not been wars of religion. Even though religious principles have had a part in their motivation and conduct, our modern wars have not been fought to win converts or extend the dominion of any religion.

Religious freedom for the individual is the new element in the life of our modern world. In the past the individual, whether he was a Socrates in Athens, a Jesus in Jerusalem, a Hypatia in Alexandria or a Latimer at Oxford, in the sixteenth century, had to conform to the religious pattern of the community, — or else suffer. The nonconformist who criticized or rejected the communal religion was treated as a traitor to his nation. When religion and government became separate departments of public life, liberty of conscience in religion became an individual right and the modern world was born. It is encouraging to know that a prominent Indian Muslim has recommended to his fellow-Muslims that they study the history of Christianity, the Renaissance and the Protestant movement which resulted in the separation of the Church from the state. (See *Islam Today*, edited by A. J. Arberry and Rom Landau, London, Faber and Faber, 1943; Chapter

on India by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, page 208.) When the Eastern peoples free their personal religion from the compulsions exercised by government, they will move from their mediaeval state into the modern world.

It is this element of liberty of conscience in personal religion that should characterize all modern research in the religious literature of the past, the present and the future. The canons of criticism must not be conformity to any system, but should be the same as the canons of criticism in any other department of human interest, where the standards are truth, goodness, right and beauty.

Freedom of religion implies that the individual need not conform to the pattern of the majority in religious thought and purely private practice. It is not so generally recognized that it also implies that conformity to majority conduct should be a conscious and voluntary attitude, definitely adopted by the individual.

When any student of religion, whether an adherent or a non-adherent of that religion, examines any piece of religious literature, and studies it from the standpoint of the general principles of beauty, goodness, right and truth, then he is abiding by the principles that characterize the modern scholar and which distinguish him from the mediaeval scholastic.

A good example of this approach to religious literature is found in a review of a recent English translation of the Qur'ān made by A. Yusuf Ali. The Arabic text and English translation with copious notes were first published at Lahore in 1938. The review of that translation by Professor Arthur Jeffery appeared in *The Moslem World* in January 1943. The review is a model of appreciation by one conscientious gentleman of the spiritual values of a sincere and worthy adherent of another religion. The personal attitude expressed in that review represents (to me) the new approach that should mark all individual work on the literature of any religion.

Still another new procedure that will improve the quality of research in religious literature is cooperative study of a theological subject or book by two students, one from the Orient and the other from the West. Such personal collaboration should be extended to include the association of an Orientalist trained in scholarly method, with one or more Orientals as co-workers investigating

modern religious problems and movements. Such sharing of techniques and experience, with joint responsibility and credit for results, would produce reliable studies and mutual understanding which would tend to unify the culture of the East and West.

With all having access to all knowledge, with all free to think, with all having the training and encouragement to accept what is true and right and good, there is the possibility that one religion may ultimately prevail in the world.

Certainly I, for one, shall be glad to follow and recommend one world religion which, among other things, is based on what is historically true, which promotes social righteousness, which inspires the highest moral goodness and which gives beauty for ashes and love for hate.

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ΕΥΛΟΓΗΤΟΣ

The root B R K is the common inheritance of most of the Semitic languages. Professor Jeffery cites examples in Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic, where it means "bowing the knee".[1]) In Arabic outside the Qur'ān the simple form is used of the camel kneeling. It was in the North Semitic area that the root "developed the idea of *"to bless"*. Hebrew has been content to use the Passive Participle of the *Qal* to mean "Blessed" in reference both to mankind and to the Creator. There are nearly thirty illustrations of this latter from the Old Testament. Arabic, however, with a greater flexity of increased forms, used the Passive Participle of both the simple and the *Fa:ʿala* forms, and it is the latter which is generally used in the Arabic version of the Old Testament in the thirty instances. This is rendered in the LXX usually into εὐλογητός, though there are a few cases of εὐλογημένος. In modern Colloquial Arabic both participles are used in congratulation or other forms of address. The Classical Arabic, however, has reserved one increased form *Taba:raka* for exclusive use when there is allusion to God. This form is not employed in any other relation. Lane says it is a "quasi passive" of *Ba:raka*. It is one of the terms of *Tanzi:h*, almost an alternate of *Taʿaẓẓama* or *Taʿa:la*, which word, in conjunction with *Allāh*, Jeffery thinks is possibly of South Arabian origin.[2]) *Taʿa:la* and *Taba:raka* thus become twin ideas. "Far removed is He from every impurity or imperfection; from everthing derogatory to His glory; invariable; being divested of all significance of time".[3])

In the Qur'ān there are nine occurrences of *Taba:raka* in reference to *Allāh*.

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[1]) *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, p. 75.

[2]) *F. V. Q.*, p. 69. It has bean suggested that the Participles may have meant originally "the bowed before".

[3]) *Lane's Arabic Lexicon.*

7.54. "Blessed be Allāh, the Lord of the worlds".
23.14. "Blessed be Allāh, the best of Creators".
25. 1. "Blessed be He, who has sent down the Furqān upon His servant".
10. "Blessed be He, who, if He willeth, will appoint for thee something better than that".
61. "Blessed be He, who hath placed in the heaven constellations".
40.64. "Blessed be Allāh, Lord of the worlds".
43.85. "Blessed be He, to whom belongs the Kingdom of the Heavens and the Earth".
55.78. "Blessed be the *Name* of thy Lord, full of glory and honour".
67. 1. "Blessed be, whose hand is the Kingship".[4])

These references are all in the realm of the creatorship of God with the exception of the first two in Sūra 25, which are personal, and one of which is in the context of revelation.[5])

There is a certain "sameness" in these Qur'ānic occurrences, while in the Old Testament instances there is considerably more "variation". All the Qur'ānic ones must be attributable to Muḥammad, even if in some cases he was using an already well-worn phrase. The Old Testament group is much more widespread;[6]) while the resultant picture of the Blessed is more revealing and rewarding.

Gen. 9.26. "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem; and let Canaan be his servant." *Noah.*
14.20. "Blessed be El Elyon, who hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand." *Melchisedech.*
24.27. "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of my master, Abraham, who hath not forsaken his lovingkindness and truth towards my master". *Abraham's Servant (Eliezer).*
Ex. 18 10. "Blessed be Jehovah, who hath delivered you out of the hand of Egypt". *Jethro.*

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[4]) Bell's translation.

[5]) For Furqān see *F. V. Q.*, p. 225 f.

[6]) Not all the people using the word could be regarded as Israelites.

Ru.	2.20.	"Blessed be Jehovah, who hath not left off his kindness to the living and the dead". *Naomi.*
i Sam.	25.32.	"Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel who sent thee this day to meet me". *David.*
	39.	„Blessed be Jehovah, that hath pleaded the cause of my reproach from the hand of Nabal". *David.*
ii Sam.	6.21.	„Blessed be Jehovah, who chose me above thy father . . . to appoint me prince . . . over Israel". *David.*
	18.28.	„Blessed be Jehovah, thy God, who hath delivered up the men that lifted up their hand against my Lord the King". *Ahimaaz.*
	22.47.	„Jehovah liveth; and *blessed* be my Rock; and *exalted* be God, the Rock of my salvation". *David.*
i Kings	1.48.	"Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel, who hath given one to sit on my throne this day". *David.*
	5.7.	"Blessed be Jehovah this day, who hath given unto David a wise son over this great people". *Hiram.*
	8.15.	„Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel, who spake with his mouth unto David my father". *Solomon.*
	56	„Blessed be Jehovah that hath given rest unto his people Israel, according to all that he promised". *Solomon.*
i Chr.	29.10.	„Blessed be thou, O Jehovah, the God of Israel our father, for ever and ever". *David.*
ii Chr.	2.12	„Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel, that made heaven and earth, who hath given David the king a wise son endued with discretion and understanding, that should build a house for Jehovah, and a house for his kingdom". *Hiram.* (Cf. *supra* i Kings 8.15).
Zec.	11.5.	„. . . they that sell say, Blessed be Jehovah, for I am rich".

This is the only instance in the Prophets, while the expression comes a dozen times in the Psalms,[7]) either in relation to Jehovah or the God of Israel, while Psalm 72 closes with „Blessed be His glorious name". Daniel similarly, "Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever".[8]) This follows a statement that Daniel "blessed the God of heaven", phraseology which appears later on in the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar, who says that after the return of his understanding he "blessed the Most High". Thus we have in the Old Testament the combination of *Taba:raka* and *Ta'a:la*, while the quotation in ii Sam. 22.47. above comes very close.

The Apocrypha do not add much beyond shewing that there was still this customary phraseology in the literature belonging to the period between the Testaments, and therefore phraseology current in ordinary life. There are six or eight instances in Tobit,[9]) sometimes in the third, sometimes in the second person; while i Macc. 4.30. reads: — "Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel", and ii Macc. 15.34. has — „Blessed in He who hath preserved his own place". Εὐλογητός is the Greek equivalent in each case.

This leads to a discussion of the occurrences of εὐλογητός in the New Testament. There are eight instances to be recorded.

Mark	14.61.	"Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed".
Luke	1.68.	"Blessed be the Lord God of Israel".
Rom.	1.25.	". . . the Creator, who is Blessed for ever".
	9. 5.	". . . Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all, Blessed for ever".
ii Cor	1. 3.	"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ".
	11.31.	"The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is Blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not".
Eph.	1. 3.	"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with every

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[7]) 41.[13]: 66.[20]: 68.[19.35]: 72.[18.19]: 89.[52]: 104.[35]: 119.[12]: 124.[6]: 135.[21].

[8]) Cf. Job 1.[21]. "Blessed be the name of Jehovah" and Sūra 55.[78]. *(Supra).*

[9]) E. g. 3.[11]: 8.[5]: 11.[14].

spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ".

i Pet. 1. 3. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his great mercy begat us again unto a living hope".

Two further passages in the New Testament should perhaps be noted, although μακάριος occurs in a context, which looks as if it should have had εὐλογητός. They are both in the First Epistle to Timothy, where the reference is first to the "Gospel of the glory of the Blessed God, which was committed to my trust",[10]) and at the close of the letter to the "appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . who is the Blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings and Lord of lords"[11]). The London Polyglott here renders μακάριος by *Maghbu:t,* while the modern versions, probably with the right feel, are consistent with *Muba:rak.* These two quotations are further important, since one is in reference to God, and the other, like Rom. 9.25., to Christ.[12])

A comparison of the Arabic renderings of εὐλογητός in the New Testament passages reveals the fact that in most cases this adjective is translated *Muba:rak,* though there are a few contexts where a relative phrase is employed.[13]) Two of the versions however read *Taba:raka* in ii Cor. 1.3. and Eph. 1.3., while four do so in the case of i Peter 1.3. The verb in this form is thus confined to the opening verses of three Epistles. Two Qur'ānic Sūras start in the same way.[14]) Perhaps we have an instance of an opening Semitic formula, adopted or adapted rather beautifully by St. Paul. The occurrence in the Third Gospel in the Benedictus[15]) takes us into the pietistic circles of First Century Judaism at its best, so that the use of *Blessed* is not specifically Christian. It is the echo of phraseology commonest in the Old Testament in the

[10]) 1.[11].

[11]) 6.[15].

[12]) These are the only occasions in the New Testament when this adjective is used of God. Vide Parvy, *The Pastoral Epistles,* ad loc.

[13]) i. e. "Whose is the Blessing (or the Blessings)."

[14]) Sūras 25 and 67.

[15]) Luke 1.[68].

mouths of David and Solomon. The first occasion of its use in Romans is in relationship to God as *Creator,* which is frequent in the Qur'ānic references, but less common in the Old Testament. There remain the two more spontaneous allusions in St Paul, the one in Romans 9.5. almost certainly referring to Christ, and the other in ii Cor. 11.31., where the question is grammatically an open one. The circumstances are in each case serious. In Romans too interestingly enough the context is an "Israel" one; while in Second Corinthians one MS. reads "The God of Israel and Father of our Lord Jesus Chirst."[16]) In tense moments it was a phrase that came naturally to the lips (or pen) of the Apostle. His Semitic background was never very far away. With Zacharias and St Peter he baptized the phrase into Christian use. The looked-for "redemption" of Israel; the session in the heavenly places with Christ; the new birth through the Resurrection can only be referred back to the "Blessed God", "far removed from impurity and imperfection".

These New Testament occurrences of εὐλογητός are perhaps the best introduction to the most important of the occasions of its use — on the lips not of a Christian disciple but of a priest, as in the case of Zacharias, only in this case he was the High Priest. "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? And Jesus said, I am". One old Arabic version reads "Allāh" after *al-Muba:rak,*[17]) doubtless interpretative for those who might not have understood the Jewish euphemism. It was a direct challenge to the deity of Christ. Most of the Commentaries are apparently uninterested in the unique phrase "Son of the Blessed". Those which do call attention to the adjective do not go beyond saying that it is "an epithet usually attached to κύριος"; or that it is "not found elsewhere in the New Testament except as a predicate of θεός in doxologies." It surely deserves more than that. The situation was so desperate for the High Priest and his party that he was prepared to use a phrase that must have come with difficulty and he did not really evade the issue with his use of whatever Aramaic word was behind εὐλογητός: for

[16]) Detto.

[17]) *The Editio Princeps of the Printed Gospels,* Rome 1591. The Latin in the same volume inserts "Deus".

the use of the "tetragrammaton" was impossible. Mark starts his Gospel with his own conviction of Jesus as Messiah the Son of God; he closes it with the testimony of the Roman Centurion preceded by that of the Jewish High Priest.

Εὐλογητός with its cognate words in the Semitic dialects would seem to have had a very wide vogue, used mostly with one or other of the divine names, sometimes as a euphemism for them; and used in circumstances which betray either a relationship to God as Creator, or in a somewhat nationalistic or warlike context, or when deep personal experience was uppermost in the life of the individual concerned. Even if in the Qur'ān its use is confined to Muḥammad, the Old Testament notes it on the lips of at least twelve people as diverse as Noah and Nebuchadnezzar, David and Daniel, Jethro and Melchisedech and Naomi. The implication of both Qur'ān and Old Testament is that the use was Semitic before it was Hebrew or Islamic; while the few references in the New Testament reveal what Christianity did with words, finally bringing to bear on the very doctrine of the revelation of God in Christ the riches of its inheritance in εὐλογητός.

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THE CHARACTER OF EARLY ISLAMIC SECTS

In view of the theocratic nature of the original Islamic state and of the occasion, which gave rise to the appearance of the early Islamic sects, it is not surprising perhaps that the rise of those sects should have been sought in political motives and that their doctrines generally should have been considered and appraised in the light of their political ideas and historical roles. Ignaz Goldziher, the mentor of every earnest student of Islam, has himself declared that „Ihre (the Khārijites') Geschichte stellt zugleich in wenig komplizierter Form den Typus der islamischen Sektengestaltung dar, *das Einfliessen religiöser Gesichtspunkte in den staatlichen Streit*," and that *"Es war vorerst nicht dogmatisches Bedürfnis*, was den Anstoss gab zur Diskutierung der Frage, welche Rolle dem 'amal, der Übung, den Werken, in der Qualification eines Muslims als solchen zuzueignen sei."[1]) And Van Vloten, in his *Recherches sur la domination arabe etc.*, assumes apparently that the early sects, Qadarites excepted, were at first political parties, pursuing mostly political ends, until their hopes of attaining to power were finally frustrated in the days of the fifth Umayyad Caliph, 'Abdalmalik (686—705), and that only then did they actually turn to the development of their peculiar doctrines.[2])

But the Khārijites, for example, did not in fact cease to be a political factor altogether with the consolidation of the Arab Empire under 'Abdalmalik. In the reign of Hishām (724—743) they rebelled in Iraq (738) and also in North Africa (741—742), where, indeed, with the aid of the Berbers, they almost succeeded in setting up an independent state; and, as Wellhausen has pointed out in his *Religiös-politische Oppositions-parteien im alten*

[1]) *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg 1910), pp. 208 and 88.

[2]) Cf. especially pp. 34 to 38.

Islam,[3]) these sectarians staged their greatest and most dangerous revolt in the times of Marwān II. (744—756) in Mesopotamia and in Armenia and Adharbaijan (744—752), when the Umayyad Caliphate was in its death-throe.

About the same time, too, that soberest and least intransigent sect of the Khārijites, the Ibāḍites, took up arms in Arabia (747—748) and won the ascendancy in Hadramaut and Yemen, even taking and holding the holy cities of Mecca and Medīnah for some months; and three years later they rose again in Oman (751—752); and although they were put down once more, this time by an Abbasid general,[4]) shortly thereafter we find them the predominant sect in Oman, and later in the same century they established at Tahert in North Africa a dynasty, which remained in power for over one hundred and thirty years and only disappeared with the rise of the Fāṭimids (908—909)[5]). Khārijite revolts are also recorded in the Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (785—809) in Khurāsān, in the days of al-Ma'mūn (813—833) in Mesopotamia and at Kumm, in the Sawād and Khurāsān in the brief reign of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī in Baghdad, and in the times of al-Mu'tazz billāh (866—869) in Ṭabaristān and Mesopotamia, where Musāwir defied the government for almost a decade.[6])

The Ibāḍites were, as Wellhausen observes, „eine mildere Abart" of the Khārijites;[7]) but even their political

[3]) P. 49 ff. Cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Būlāq 1285—1868) XX, 106. On Armenia and Adharbaijan cf. Ṭabarī, "*Annales*," ed. de Goeje, II, 1892 ff., and Balādhurī, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, transl. etc., by P. Kh. Hitti, p. 328.

[4]) Cf. Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, p. 52 ff.

[5]) Cf. R. Basset, *Les Sanctuaires du Djebel Nefusa* in *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. 9, vol. 13, p. 423 ff; Motylinski, *Les Livres de la Secte Abadhite, l'Aqida des Abadhites*, in *Recueil de Mém, et de Textes publié en l'honneur du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes etc.*, p. 409 ff.: Ed. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Erbrecht nach der Lehre der Ibaditischen Araber von Zanzibar in Ost-Afrika*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1891, I. p. 160; P. Kh. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, pp. 368, 371.

[6]) Cf. P Kh. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, pp. 488—489; Ṭabarī, "*Annales*" (ed. de Goeje), pp. 121, 492, 1016.

[7]) *Oppositions-parteien*, p. 55.

ambitions do not seem to have languished with the successful repression of the Khārijites of ʿAbdalmalik's time at the hands of his grim governor, al-Ḥajjāj, and the latter's Fabian general, al-Muhallab. And it should be just as evident, on the other hand, that the development of their schismatic doctrines did not wait upon the cessation of their political activity. Rather was their political activity, as Wellhausen has recognized, the product of their beliefs and piety.[8])

The civil wars of early Islam gave birth to many parties, the most of which were wholly political in character, seeking power, or independence, or the redress of wrongs, which they had suffered, but displaying also, all of them, a religious tinge, as was natural in a state founded and organized on the theocratic principle. For even the Umayyads, or the most of them at least, were to all appearances sincere adherents of Islam according to the light that was in them. Yazīd I wrote to al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah on the death of his father, that Muʿāwiya "had been honoured while he lived and had died pious and god-fearing"[9]) The coronation-oath of ʿAbdalmalik ran: "I swear to obey the servant of God, 'Abdalmalik, according to the Sunnah of God and the Sunnah of the Prophet, so far as in me lies."[10]) Walīd I insisted upon a knowledge of the Qur'ān by everyone.[11]) And the piety of ʿUmar b. ʿAbdal-ʿAzīz was proverbial. It is related that the people of Baṣrah said of the rebel, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, in the presence of the saintly Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: "He (Yazīd) calls us to *the Sunnah of the two ʿUmars*."[12])

The light in which the royal house wished itself to be viewed stands clearly revealed in the poems of Farazdak. "With the mission of the prophecy of Islam and the good, God has given them (the Quraysh) the ascendancy." "After the schism, which divided the people, the religion of God

[8]) Ibid., pp. 52—55.

[9]) Ṭabarī, "Annales" (ed. de Goeje), II, 1216, 17.

[10]) El-Bokhārī (ed. L. Krehl), vol. IV. part 2, Book 93, ch. 43, p. 402, 13 ff.

[11]) Ṭabarī, "*Annales*," II, p. 1271, 9 ff. Cf. Wellhausen's *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, transl. M. G. Weir, p. 224.

[12]) Ṭabarī, "*Annales*," II, 1392, 10 ff.; p. 1391, 11, Yazīd al-Muhallab summons the people of Baṣrah to the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet.

triumphed by means of the family of Marwān." "The Sons of Marwān are the pillars of religion." 'Abdalmalik is "The Imām, who has been granted the gift of prophecy." Walīd I is "the Shepherd of God on earth." Sulaymān is "His mahdī"; he is "the Qiblah by which the erring may be guided aright." Hishām is "the light by which every rightly-guided is led to the true guidance."[13]) The Umayyads sought evidently to have themselves accepted as the legitimate heirs of the Prophet[14]) and perhaps honestly thought of themselves as filling that rôle.

To dismiss the plump phrases of Farazdak as mere empty laudation would be unjust. Eulogism, quite as fulsome, is bestowed upon the Umayyads in historical works; and their followers believed themselves to be the only Muslims who had not deviated from the straight path.[15]) The Umayyads, moreover, were loyal at least to the Book and the Sunnah of the Prophet according to the best traditions of their race; and they represented for most of the Arabs the party of law and order.[16]) Nevertheless, they and their partisans were brought together and kept united by political motives, however true they remained to the teaching and practice of the founder of their faith.

Another party, however, the 'Uthmānites, were bound together, as Lammens has shown, by a religious bond, even if that bond was not Islamic, but pagan in origin, the sacred duty, namely, of blood revenge, the deepest piety of the pre-Islamic Arab soul. They were involved, it is true, in the revolt of Khirrīt b. Rashīd of the Banū Najyah and his heterogeneous following in the days of 'Alī; but for the most part they remained neutral in the

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[13]) R. Boucher, *Divan de Farazdak,* XC. p. 276, text, p. 103, 5 from bottom; CLXXXV, p. 523, text, 175, 1; VIII, p. 33, text, p. 16, 9—10; CCXXIV, p. 625, text, p. 208, 5 ff.; CCXXVIII, p. 653, text, p. 219, 11; VIII, p. 29, text, p. 14, 12; CXCVI, p. 554, text, p. 186, 1; XCII, p. 287, text, p. 108, 8.

[14]) Ibid., CCXXVIII, p. 651 ff., text, p. 219, 11 ff.

[15]) Cf. Ṭabarī, II, p. 414, 11 ff; p. 415; p. 425, 5 ff; and especially p. 469, and p. 471, 15 ff. See Van Vloten's *Recherches sur la domination arabe* etc., p. 36.

[16]) Cf. Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal,* I, p. 103, 14; *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Būlāq 1285—1868), VI, p. 141, 1—3.

civil wars which followed the murder of 'Uthmān and refused to rally to the cause of the Umayyads.[17])

Later, after the middle of the first century of the Hijrah, the Dīn 'Uthmān (the 'Uthmānites) was transformed, as Lammens puts it, into a dynastic credo, Umayyad loyalty.[18]) But in the light of the early history and character of the 'Uthmānites it may be admissible to inquire whether the formation of the early Islamic sects was, as Goldziher thought, the result of the injection of religious points of view into the political struggle, or whether the origin of these sects should not rather be sought in religious beliefs and loyalties, which the heat and passion of civil strife forced and perhaps warped.

That strife sprang from personal and partisan ambitions and rivalries with the rise of which the sects themselves had no concern. But the struggle for political ascendancy between the old Muslim aristocracy of the Companions, the Quraysh of Mecca, and the proconsuls of the frontier provinces, between the Hijaz, Syria and Iraq, made the question of the Caliphate and of its place and function in the community the immediate concern of every true believer and compelled earnest men everywhere to take their stand on that question and frequently to resort to force in defence of their faith.

The conflict over the Caliphate forms the dominating interest and theme of the historians of those times, and the story of the early sects is told by them as part and parcel of that conflict. The stand of these sects on the Caliphate and their embroilment in the various civil wars and uprisings occupy the attention of the historians to the exclusion of almost every other feature of their life and

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[17]) Cf. H. Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire* (Beyrouth 1928), p. 233; *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth,* vol. II (1907), pp. 1—17; *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Būlāq 1285—1868), XIII, p. 38, 2; Ibn 'Asākir, ed. Badrān, V, p. 138; Ṭabarī, "*Annales,*" I, p. 3434 ff; Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom* etc., p. 86; G. Levi Della Vida in *RSDO,* VI, 1 (1913), p. 486.

[18]) Cf. *Le Livre du Triomphe* of al-Khayyāt, ed. H. S. Nyberg, p. 156, 1 ff. Cf. *The Ansāb al-Ashrāf* of al-Balādhurī (Jerusalem 1938), vol. IV B, ed. Max Schloessinger, p. 156, 7—8, where it is reported that a party of 'Uthmānites joined 'Abdulmalik's emissary to Baṣrah, then in the hands of Ibn Zubayr.

thought; and this limited and partial view of their advent on the scene has undoubtedly influenced the presentation and interpretation of their origin and development by the later historians of the Muslim religion.

For the Ash'arite, al-Shahrastānī (1086—1153), writing in the first half of the twelth century, a Khārijite was anyone who rebelled against a legitimate Caliph upon whom the community had agreed[19]; and curiously the Persian al-Ṭabarī calls the Kūfan 'Alids, who rebelled under Sulaimān b. Ṣurād in 684, and also those who followed Mukhtār in 685, Khārijites, although the latter are also named Shī'ites occasionally.[20]) In the beginning, declares al-Shahrastānī, the Khārijite heresy consisted of two innovations. The first of those innovations was their belief that the Imāmate need not be restricted to the Quraysh, but that anyone whom they appointed, and who acted justly and avoided tyranny, was Imām, be he slave or free, Nabataean or Quraysh, so long as he did not change his ways and depart from the truth, when to depose or kill him became obligatory. Some of them, al-Shahrastānī adds, even believed that there need not be an Imām at all. The second of their innovations was their conviction that 'Alī sinned in arbitrating, since he named men as judges, and Judgment belongs to God alone.[21])

The Murji'ites, says al-Shahrastānī two pages earlier, discussed faith and works, but also agreed with the Khārijites on some questions regarding the Imāmate; and the Wa'īdites, who belonged to the Khārijites, held that mortal sinners are unbelievers and abide in Hell for ever.[22]) The Shī'ites, he announces later,[23]) were the partisans of 'Alī, who maintained that the Imāmate was his by the express testament, or disposition of the Prophet,[24]) and that it should not pass from his progeny.

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[19]) *Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal*, ed. Wm. Cureton, I, p. 85, 10.

[20]) Cf. *Chronique d'Abou Djafar Mohammed ben Djarir ben Yezid Tabari*, traduite — par Herm. Zotenberg (Paris 1867—1876), vol. IB, pp. 65—85.

[21]) Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton), I, p. 87, 2—9.

[22]) Ibid, I. p. 85, 12—15.

[23]) Ibid, I. p. 108, 17—18.

[24]) See Ignaz Goldziher in *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, p. 115.

Al-Shahrastānī's conception of the rise of the early sects may be inferred from his general description of their characteristic doctrines. He does not, it is true, ascribe the origin of the Murji'ites to a political motive, as Goldziher does, who would set such a motive as an historical prius to their development of dogmatic interests;[25]) and the explanation may be that Muslim History does not distinguish the early Murji'ites as a party from the general run of Umayyad supporters, from the masses, the rabble, partisans of kings and followers of conquerors, as al-Naubakhti calls them, who were, he adds, named Murji'ites in general,[26]) and that only later toward the end of the Umayyad Caliphate did their principles bring them into conflict with the "House of the Curse," to lend them a temporary individuality of their own.[27]) It is clear, nevertheless, from al-Shahrastānī's discussion that he conceived of the defection of the early sects from the Muslim community and their congregation into heretical groups as springing from their repudiation of the catholic doctrine on the Caliphate, although, as a matter of fact, with the exception of the Shī'ites, and not all of them, the opposing parties in the civil wars of early Islam did not appeal to any doctrine of the Caliphate, but to the fact of their loyalty to the Sunnah of God and His Prophet, or to the demands of the pagan duty of revenge.[28]) At issue generally was not the legitimacy of a Caliph's election, but his worth and fitness for the office.

The Mu'tazilite al-Khayyāt (died 920), the teacher of al-Ka'bī, defends, for example, the Khārijites against the imputations of al-Rawendī, the heretic, in the following terms: "Although the Khārijites have strayed and departed from the [true] religion, nevertheless they are more moderate in their opinions than the Rāfidah. For they repudiated 'Uthmān [only] after six years of his Caliphate, and Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, because they broke their oath

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[25]) Ibid., II, 91, namely their desire for a loyal understanding with the de facto rulers, the Umayyads.

[26]) Cf. H. Ritter, *Die Sekten der Schī'a of al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā an-Naubakhtī*, p. 6, 7 ff. Al-Naubakhtī was a Shī'ite.

[27]) See Van Vloten's *Recherches sur la domination arabe* etc., part VII, pp. 28—33.

[28]) Cf. Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje) II, pp. 1055, 4—1058; 1391—1399; 506—510; I, pp. 3118—3220.

[to ʿAlī], and Muʿāwiya, because he laid claim to the Caliphate and adduced the demand for the blood of ʿUthmān in justification of his opposition to ʿAlī, and ʿAlī, because he appointed men as judges in regard to that concerning which God has made a specific declaration according to His will, namely, the warring against an unjust party, just as He has appointed flogging for the slanderer, the cutting off of the hand for the thief and death for the apostate. The most recent of them have not disclaimed a letter more than the earliest of them till this day. Nor did they invent their accusations against those whom they repudiated; they disowned them and indicated hypocrisy as the reason."[29])

Al-Ashʿarī (873—935), al-Khayyāṭ's eontemporary, informs us[30]) that "the Khārijites maintain and approve the "Sword" except the Ibāḍites, who do not approve of opposing the people (the Muslims) with the sword, but *do approve of the deposing of unjust Imāms and the precluding of their being Imāms by any means possible*, by the sword or without the sword."

Two lines later al-Ashʿarī continues; "The Khārijites all affirm the Imāmates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, but deny the Imāmate of ʿUthmān during the time of the events for which he was reproved. They maintain the Imāmate of ʿAlī before he arbitrated, but deny it after he consented to arbitration. They name Muʿāwiya, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī unbelievers and hold that the Imāmate belongs to either the Quraysh or the non-Quraysh, *provided that he who occupies it is worthy of it. But they do not approve of the Imāmate of a Tyrant.* Zarqān relates of the Najdites that they believe that they do not need an Imām and are only obligated to know what is between them (i. e., their duties to one another) according to the Book of God."[31])

[29]) Cf. *Le Livre du Triomphe*, ed., H. S. Nyberg, p. 140, 9 ff.

[30]) Cf. *Die Dogmatischen Lehren der Anhaenger des Islam* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan — al-Ashʿarī, ed., *Bibliotheca Islamica*, H. Ritter, Bd. Ia, Part I (Constantinople 1929), p. 125, 1 ff.

[31]) Cf. al-Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, I, p. 92, 16 ff. The authority cited on the Najdites here is al-Kaʿbī, not al-Zarqān. The last sentence runs: "and that incumbent upon them is only to deal with each other justly and equitably."

The Muʿtazilite and the ex-Muʿtazilite of the late ninth and early tenth century are in substantial agreement with one another on the question of the attitude of the Khārijites respecting the Caliphate. Only a God-fearing and law-abiding man is worthy of the Office. The story of Najdah b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī is an apt illustration of the Khārijite position in this matter, and indeed, of the whole history of the Khārijite movement and of their relations with the Caliph ʿAlī in particular.

Najdah[32]) set out from al-Yamāmah with a party to join the Azraqites of Baṣrah, but was met by a small body of Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq's army, who had deserted Ibn al-Azraq because of his innovations, of which they informed Najdah. Najdah was elected Emir, and homage duly paid to him.

Then comes the story of the illegal distribution of loot and marriage of captured women by Najdah's son and companions-in-arms before the general division of the booty, which Najdah declared unlawful, but excused on the ground of their ignorance of the law, whence the Najdite position that an error in judgment is condoned for ignorance. Several other incidents follow; then on page 91, line 12, the story proceeds:

> "And his followers reproved him (Najdah) for neglecting to enforce the law against wine, and because he had divided the spoils of war and given [of it] to Mālik b. Masmaʿ and his men, and had shown partiality in his judgments and corresponded with ʿAbdalmalik b. Marwān, with whom he found approval, and had bought ʿUthmān's daughter. They demanded that he repent, and he did so. Then some of them regretted their summoning him to repent and said to him: 'Our summons to repent was an error, *for you are Imām.* We have repented; and if you repent of your repentance and ask those who demanded that you repent to repent, [good and well], but if not, we shall withdraw from you.'"
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> "Najdah went out to the people and repented of his repentance. But then his followers became divided,

[32]) Al-Ashʿarī's *Die Dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia, Part I, p. 89, 14 ff. Cf. Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-Milal*, etc. I, p. 91, 5 ff.

and a party of them named him unbeliever seeking his deposition."

"They also reproved Najdah for dividing goods among the rich and depriving the needy of them. Then Abū Fudaik (one of those who had deserted Ibn al-Azraq) and many of his (Najdah's) followers repudiated him, and Abū Fudaik attacked and killed him and was paid homage in his place."

"Then the followers of Najdah found fault with Abū Fudaik on that account and turned back to [allegiance to] Najdah and repudiated Abū Fudaik. Abū Fudaik [on his part] wrote to ʿAṭīyah b. al-Aswad (another of the deserters from Ibn al-Azraq), Najdah's governor in al-Ḥawīr, informing him that he (Abū Fudaik) had perceived Najdah's error and slain him, and that he (Abū Fudaik) had a greater right to the Caliphate than he (ʿAṭīyah) had. But the latter wrote to Abū Fudaik that he (Abū Fudaik) should pay homage to him. Abū Fudaik refused, and they repudiated each other. Abū Fudaik held the Dār, (the home-province of the Najdites), and its people followed him except those who had turned again to Najdah. And so there were three parties, the Najdites, the ʿAṭāwites and the Fudaikites."

The story of Najdah presents the simple pattern of Khārijite thought and action on the question of the Caliphate. A man was chosen Imām, or Caliph, for much the same reasons and with much the same procedure as he would have been elected chief of his clan, or tribe. But to the characteristics, that distinguish a chief, were now added those qualities that become a true believer, especially knowledge and observance of the law, impartiality of judgment and uprightness of conduct. Granted he met all or most of those conditions, a Khārijite Imām, or Caliph, had more personal authority than any tribal chieftain ever had. For he was not just the peer of his peers in war and in court. He was the chief of a theocratic state and the fountain of justice, administrator and interpreter of a divine law, but also the source of law when that law did not apply. He held the office and performed the functions of the Prophet as the Imām of the community in both its civil and religious spheres, although he lacked, to be sure, the Prophet's special source of

knowledge and authority. But he was also surrounded by men jealous for the law, who narrowly observed his every step and were quick to challenge his personal decisions.

Al-Ashʿarī also tells the story[33]) of an Ibāḍite, named Ibrāhīm, who

> "gave an opinion (*ʾaftā*) that it was lawful to sell the bondwomen of those who disagreed with them. One, named Maimūn, repudiated him and those who upheld the legality of that [action]; some reserved judgment (*waqaʿa*) and did not maintain either its legality or illegality. They wrote and requested an opinion thereupon from their 'Ulemā' (jurists), who rendered the opinion that to sell them was lawful, and that to present them as gifts in the Dār al-Taqiyyah, (the House of Fear, i. e., non-Khārijite or enemy territory, where it was dangerous to declare one's true faith)[34]) was lawful, that those who had reserved judgment should be summoned to repent of their suspension of judgment (*waqf*) concerning the friendship (communion, *walāyah*) of Ibrāhīm and those who sanctioned that (the selling of bondwomen, etc.), that Maimūn should be called upon to repent of his judgment (*qawl*), that they should repudiate one of their women who had reserved judgment and since died before the handing down of their opinion, that Ibrāhīm should be asked to repent of his excusing the suspenders of judgment their denial of his friendship (communion), since he was a Muslim manifesting his Islam, and that the suspenders of judgment should be required to repent of their refusal to repudiate Maimūn, since he was an unbeliever

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[33]) Ibid., p. 110, 1 ff.

[34]) Cf. ibid., p. 113, 6, where Abū Baihas is reported as declaring Maimūn an unbeliever, because he declared the selling of bondwomen in the "House of the Unbelievers (*Kuffār*) of our People" to be unlawful. Abū Baihas was evidently one of the jurists appealed to for an opinion. The Dār al-Taqiyyah is contrasted to the Dār al-Hijrah (p. 120, 3, and p. 115, 4 ff.), and to the Dār al-ʿalāniyyah (p. 111, 6—9). Taqiyyah is the concealment of one's real faith and outward conformity to another when there is danger to the person in the profession and practice of one's own faith.

manifesting his unbelief. Those who had reserved judgment did not repent of their suspension of judgment, but stayed by it. They were named Wāqifites, and the Khārijites repudiated them. Ibrāhīm maintained his opinion (*ra'y*) concerning the legality of selling the bondwomen of those who disagreed with them. And Maimūn repented."

The stories of Najdah and Ibrāhīm are noteworthy exemplifications of the religious temper and thought of the Khārijites. Theirs was a religion of authority, the essence of which was conformity to the revealed law, obedience to which in its entirety was the supreme moral obligation of man. To sin was to depart, wittingly or unwittingly, from any commandment of that law, moral, civil, or ceremonial, and an offence against God; and the extremity of sin was the deliberate and wilful rejection of God's authority.

This conception of religion explains the Khārijites' deep concern to define its content properly, to determine the exact nature of unbelief and apostasy, and to decide what should be their attitude towards those who did not agree with them.

Al-Ash'arī tells us that Najdah's "followers accepted his opinion and excused anyone for ignorance, when he erred in any judgment through ignorance." For, they said: "Religion (*dīn*) is [composed of] two things. The first includes knowledge of God and of His Apostle, the declaring unlawful the blood and possessions of Muslims, and compulsion (i. e., forced conversion), and confession in its entirety of what has come from God. For all else men are excused for ignorance until proof is brought them respecting all that is lawful. Anyone who, relying on his own judgment, declares lawful something which is perhaps unlawful is excused according to the opinion of those jurists (*fuqahā'*) who belong to the Ahl al-ijtihād (i. e., those who use independent judgment or have the right to do so)."[35])

The Ibāḍites said: "Every obligation (*ṭa'ah*) is faith (*īmān*) and religion (*dīn*),"[36]) or, "Everything imposed by

[35]) Ibid., p. 90, 8 ff. Cf. Shahrastānī, p. 91, 14 ff.

[36]) Ibid., p. 105, 3 ff. Cf. the Murji'ite Bishr al-Marīsī's statement p. 143, 13 ff, also p. 150, 11.

God upon His creatures is faith, and every great sin is unbelief in respect of grace (i. e., God's grace in revealing the relevant law), but not unbelief unto polytheism."[37])

Abū Baihas held that "no one is a Muslim until he confesses his knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of God, and of God's Apostle, and of all that Muḥammad has revealed, and [avows] his friendship (communion) with the friends (*awliyā'*) of God and his repudiation of His enemies, and [acknowledges] what God has declared unlawful by virtue of a threat which He has revealed concerning it, so that a man should know it (the thing which has been declared unlawful) by name, and be acquainted with it actually and describe it. It is necessary for him to know it by name, but does not matter if he does not know its description, or it itself actually, until he is tested with it.[38]) Obligatory for him is to defer judgment respecting what he does not know and not to accept anything except by reason of knowledge."[39])

Another said: "A man is a Muslim by virtue of his knowledge of the covenant of religion, which is that: "There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is His creature and Apostle, and his confession of all that has come from God and his friendship (communion) with the friends of God and his repudiation of His enemies. Even if he does not know anything else, he is a Muslim, until he is actually tested. Then whoever meets some forbidden thing respecting which a threat has been revealed and does not know

[37]) Ibid., p. 110, 13. Cf. Shahrastānī, p. 101, 1, "He who commits a great sin is an unbeliever in that he denies grace, not in that he denies the "Millah," "He is a unitarian, but not a believer" (Shahrastānī, p. 100, 12).

[38]) Cf. the story told of Abū Ḥanīfa and 'Umar b. Abī l-Shimrī by Abū 'Uthmān al-Adamī. They met once in Mecca and 'Umar said to Abū Ḥanīfa: "Tell me, how is it with him who believes that God has forbidden the eating of a pig, but does not know whether or not the pig forbidden by God is this very pig." Abū Ḥanīfa said: "He is a believer," After a like question respecting the Qa'bah, 'Umar said to Abū Ḥanīfa: "And if he says, 'I know that God sent Muḥammad, and that he is the Apostle of God', but does not know whether, or not, he is a negro?" Abū Ḥanīfa said, "He is a believer" (al-Ash'arī, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia, part I, p. 138, 14 ff).

[39]) Ibid., p. 116, 1 ff. Cf. Shahrastānī, p. 93, 15 ff.

that it is forbidden is an unbeliever. And whoever fails to perform some important duty which God has imposed upon him and does not know, is an unbeliever."[40]) Al-Shahrastānī informs us that Abū Baihas repudiated the Waqifites, because they maintained reservation of judgment concerning those to whom what is forbidden happens, provided that they do not know whether that which happens is allowed or forbidden. He said: "It is their duty to know that. Faith is to know what is true from what is false. Faith is knowledge in the heart and not statement (*qawl*), nor works (*'amal*)."[41])

The majority of the Baihasites, however, according to al-Shahrastānī, held that faith is composed of confession, knowledge and works together; but some of them believed that only that which is in the words of the Most High is forbidden. They cite thereon Sūrah 6: 146.[42])

Al-Shahrastānī also tells of a curious sect called the Aṭrāfites, who evidently received their name from the fact that they excused the followers of al-Aṭrāf (i. e., of the non-Arab feudal aristocracy)[43]) for neglect of what they did not know of the law, provided that they did that which was necessarily known through the reason. „They affirmed", says al-Shahrastānī, "the rational duties, as did the Qadarites."[44])

On the question of the content of faith the Khārijites and Murji'ites were sometimes not so far apart. Abū Ḥanīfa and his disciples believed that "faith is [composed of] knowledge, and confession of God, and knowledge of His Apostle, and confession of what he brought from God

[40]) Ibid., p. 114, 9 ff. So also said "The Companions of the Question," cf. p. 115, 9 ff, see Shahrastānī, p. 94, 12 ff.

[41]) *Kitāb al-Milal* etc., p. 93, last line ff. The statement sounds Murji'itish in tone. But Abū Baihas is talking about knowledge of the law.

[42]) Ibid., p. 94, 4 ff.

[43]) Cf. Ibn Miskawaih, text I, 159, transl. (Margoliouth) IV, 65. Cf. on "al-Aṭrāf" the use of "Al-Abdān" or "al-Abdāl" in al Ash'arī, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia, part I, p. 113, 10 ff. Al-Abdān, or al-Abdāl, are those who reveal the truth in contrast to those who bring forth lies(ll. 12—13), probably the recognized jurists.

[44]) *Kitāb al Milal* etc., I, p. 96, col. 2, last line ff.

in its entirety without interpretation."[45]) The Ghailānite sect of the Murji'ites held that only that which is revealed in the Qur'ān is faith, and that anything which is inferred from that is not faith.[46]) The sixth Murji'ite definition of faith given by al-Ash'arī states that "faith includes knowledge of God, and of His Apostle, and of His divine precepts, upon which there is unanimity, and obedience to Him in all of these, and confession with the tongue."[47]) The followers of Muḥammad b. Shabīb declared that "faith comprehends confession of God, and the knowledge that He is one, unique, and confession and knowledge of the prophets of God and of His apostles, and of all that they have brought from God, such as Prayers, Fastings, etc., which have been accepted by Muslims and handed down from the Prophet of God, and about which there is no disagreement, nor dissension among them."[48]) Abū Thaubān and his school thought that "faith is confession of God, and of His Apostle, and of that which a man should do according to reason; but that which he cannot do according to reason does not belong to faith."[49])

The two sects seem occasionally to have come to much the same conclusions in their search for a definition of faith, although the Murji'ites, it should be observed, when they accept what is not to be found literally in the Qur'ān, rest their case generally on the consensus, whereas the Khārijites seek their authority then in the independent judgment of their 'Ulemā', or jurists. They both faced the same problems as have confronted most new expressions of faith seeking a social form, or organization, as an embodiment of faith. But Islam entered into a world already provided with many such embodiments; and it is no wonder that Muslims hit upon several solutions to the questions of authority and fellowship, or communion, or even that some of them, though opposed in principles, came up with similar solutions. The Murji'ites also dwelt

[45]) Al-Ash'arī, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia, part I, p. 138, 12 ff.

[46]) Ibid., p. 136, 14—15.

[47]) Ibid., p. 135, 8 ff.

[48]) Ibid., p. 137, 6 ff.

[49]) Ibid., p. 135, 5 ff.

upon the nature of unbelief and apostasy[50]) and of great and little sins[51]), on the universality, or particularity, of God's commands and prohibitions[52]), on the final fate of profligate Muslims and unbelievers[53]), and on the status of those who disagreed with them:[54]) and they sometimes arrived at answers to these problems, which were also current in Khārijite circles.

Murji'ites and Khārijites could and did, as al-Shahrastānī has observed, agree on some matters; but there is a clear distinction nevertheless between the Murji'ite conception of faith and that of the Khārijites, of which their use of Satan as an instance of unbelief is a most apposite illustration. The Azraqite sect of the Khārijites maintained that he who commits a mortal sin denies the faith, renounces Islam altogether and will be consigned to Hell for ever; and they adduced in support of their contention the conviction of Satan, who confessed the unity of God and only committed the sin of refusing to obey God's command to bow down before Adam.[55]) Some Murji'ites held that "faith is [composed of] knowledge of God, and obedience to Him, and the abandonment of pride towards Him, and love for Him. He who unites in himself these qualities is a believer. And they believed that Iblīs knew God, but that he became an unbeliever through his self-magnification against God." Others said that "obedience to God is the abandonment of self-conceit; and they believed that Iblīs knew and confessed God and was only an unbeliever because he exalted himself, and that had it not been for his self-magnification, he would not have been an unbeliever.[56])

The Khārijite Satan denied God by disobeying a divine command: the Murji'ite Satan became an infidel through self-conceit. The Murji'ite explanation of Satan's fall presupposes an element in faith altogether lacking in

[50]) Ibid., p. 141, 14 ff; cf. p. 134, 9—10; p. 137, 10 ff.; p. 147, 7 ff.

[51]) Ibid., p. 143, 12 ff.; cf. p. 150, 10 ff.

[52]) Ibid., p. 148, 6 ff.; cf. p. 144, 4 ff.; p. 106, 3 ff.

[53]) Ibid., p. 148, 10 ff.; cf. p. 149, 6 ff.

[54]) Ibid., p. 144, 1 ff.; cf. f. 152, 1 ff.

[55]) Al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal* etc., I, p. 90, last line ff.

[56]) al-Ash'arī, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia, part I, p. 133, 9 ff. and p. 137, 14 ff.

the Khārijite definition of it. Faith is not only knowledge of God and obedience to Him, it is also, as we have just seen, "the abandonment of pride towards Him and love for Him." "Faith", said the Fathers of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa, "is to confess and love God, to honour and reverence Him, and to abandon disregard for His truth."[57]) It "is knowledge of God, obedience to Him and love for Him in the heart," said the followers of Abū Shimr and Yūnus al-Samarī.[58]) "Obedience to God," said the disciples of Muḥammad b. Shabīb, "is the surrender of self-conceit."[59]) "Knowledge of God," said others, "is love of God and obedience to Him."[60])

Faith is thus no longer simply recognition and confession of the one true God and of His Prophet, or prophets, with humble acceptance and conscientious observance of His commands; nor is it just intellectual assent to articles of belief, to which sometimes open confession is added; it is also, and essentially so, moral devotion and self-surrender to God, a personal relation between man and God beyond that of Lord and subject, lawgiver and bondservant of the law, and a conception of faith which not only changes by logical necessity the nature of belief and unbelief, but also sublimates the mark of the infidel, a fact of some historical importance. For faith and infidelity can no more be thought of as recorded in the sensible facts of conduct. They are qualities of the heart, dispositions of the spirit, hidden from the eyes and even from the judgment of men and known truly only to their Creator. That which constitutes a fact of faith or infidelity for a Khārijite is for a Murji'ite not even adequate evidence of a sinful nature, far less of apostasy.

"Every great sin", said the Ṣifrites with the majority of the Khārijites," is unbelief,[61]) and every unbelief is polytheism, and every polytheism is the service of

[57]) Ibid., p. 139, 8—10.

[58]) Ibid., p. 134, 1.

[59]) Ibid., p. 137, 14.

[60]) Ibid., p. 133, 2. Cf. also p. 132, 5 ff; p. 132, 13 ff; p. 137, 3 ff.; p. 140, 13, ff.

[61]) So also said the Murji'ite Bishr al-Marīsī, ibid., p. 143, 13 ff.

Satan."[62]) "Every great sin is unbelief," said the Azraqites also, "and everyone who commits a great sin is cast into Hell for all eternity."[63]) The Ibāḍites agreed with the Azraqites as to the final fate of mortal sinners,[64]) but not as to their present status. They granted that mortal sinners are not believers, but insisted that they are unitarians.[65]) "Every great sin," they declared, "denies [God's] grace (i. e., the revealed law), but is not unbelief unto polytheism."[66]) With the Najidites they believed that "persistence in any sin, great or little, is unbelief."[67]) But true to the principle of persistence the Najdites also maintained that he who commits a great sin and does not persist therein is a Muslim.[68]) Some of the Ṣifrites and Baihasites contended that a sinner should not be convicted of unbelief until he had been brought before the Imām, or his representative, and punished.[69]) But the Baihasites held that every offence, for which no definite punishment is appointed in the Qur'ān, is venial, whereas the Ṣifrites asserted that to commit such an offence is unbelief.[70])

According to the Tha'labite sect,[71]) the Mukarramites, mortal sinners are unbelievers, not because they have committed sins, but because they do not know God, which seems a peculiar doctrine to find current in Khārijite circles, until we observe the reason given for it in al-Shahrastānī. For he cites them as arguing that "he who knows God and [is aware] that God sees his secret and public [acts] and requites his obedience and disobedience, can never be thought of as one who would rashly advance to disobedience or venture opposition, so long as he was

[62]) Ibid., p. 118, 9.

[63]) Ibid., p. 87, 6.

[64]) Ibid., p. 110, 14—15.

[65]) Ibid., p. 105, 4. Cf. p. 102, 3 ff., p. 104, 9 ff., and p. 107, 8—9.

[66]) Ibid., p. 110, 14.

[67]) Ibid., p. 107, 10 ff; cf. p. 91, 6 ff.

[68]) Ibid., p. 91, 7 ff.

[69]) Ibid., p. 116, 4 ff; cf. p. 119, 3 ff. Cf. also al-Shahrastānī, I, p. 94, 18 ff. and p. 102, 10 ff.

[70]) Al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal* etc., I, p. 94, 2 from the bottom ff. and p. 102, 12 ff. Cf. al-Ash'arī, Ia, part I, p. 116, 11 ff. and p. 101, 13 ff.

[71]) See al-Shahrastānī, I, p. 99, 12 ff.

not forgetful of that knowledge, nor careless of his obligation to God." To know God is ipso facto to obey Him; and to disobey God is ipso facto to ignore Him, or what is in its religious application the same thing, not to know Him. The statement does not identify faith with knowledge, but rather with obedience, in true Khārijite fashion.

The Murji'ites, on the other hand, do not generally associate the two ideas of faith and obedience. The followers of Abū Ma'ād al-Tūminī declared that „Muslims are not agreed upon the unbelief of him who renounces some obligation (*ṭa'ah*). For this obligation is one of the laws (*sharā'i'*) of faith; and although profligacy is ascribed to him who renounces it, if it is a divine ordinance (*farīḍah*), and it is said of him, „He has sinned", nevertheless he is not given the repute of profligacy, nor is he named a profligate. Great sins do not expel from the faith, since they are not unbelief. But he who renounces divine ordinances, such as Prayer, Fasting and the Pilgrimage, by abjuring, disacknowledging and disregarding them, denies God. He does so, however, only by virtue of his disregard, renunciation and abjuration. If he neglects them without considering their neglect lawful . . . . . , he is not an unbeliever . . . . . But we declare him to be a sinner (*fāsiq*)."[72])

To commit a sin is not ipso facto to be an unbeliever. But "Ignorance of God is unbelief and is in the heart, and so also is hatred of God and arrogance towards Him; and the denial of God and of His apostles, with the heart or with the tongue, is unbelief, also the abjuring, disowning, disacknowledgment and disregarding of them; so also is the renunciation of the Unity (*tauḥīd*) for belief in the Duality, or the Trinity, or in more gods than that." "Unbelief is in the heart and in the tongue, and not in any other member, likewise faith."[73])

In its simplest form the Murji'ite definition states that "faith is knowledge of God and nothing else, and that unbelief is ignorance of God and nothing else,"[74]) qualities of

[72]) Al-Ash'arī, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia, part I, p. 139, 14 ff.

[73]) Ibid., p. 142, 2 ff.; cf. p. 134, 14 ff.; p. 135, 8 ff., and p. 137, 6 ff.

[74]) Ibid., p. 132, 13 ff. Cf. al-Shahrastānī, I, p. 141, 15 ff.

the mind, or heart, which should, but do not always, find their expression in men's conduct.

The attitudes of the two sects toward fellow-Muslims, who disagreed with them, or who were neutral and non-committal, is quite consistent with their conceptions of faith. For the Khārijites he who was not with them was against them generally, since to be with them meant to practise faithfully and publicly the regula fidei. For the Murji'ites, on the other hand, he who was not against them was with them, since conduct need not always be consonant with principle.

The Azraqite sect of the Khārijites maintained that the Dār (Country) of those who disagreed with them was a Dār of Unbelief, and that whoever dwelt therein was an unbeliever;[75]) and according to al-Shahrastānī Ibn al-Azraq declared even the killing of the children and wives of those who differed from him lawful.[76]) The Ibāḍites, on the contrary, conceded that the Dār of those who disagreed with them was at least a Dār of Unity (*tauḥīd*) except the army of the Sultan, which was a Dār of Unbelief. Those who disagreed with them were unbelievers, but not polytheists. It was lawful to intermarry with them and inherit from them; lawful also to take their weapons and horses as spoils in war, but not their other goods; to kill or capture them by surprise was forbidden except in the case of those who preached and practised polytheism.[77]) The Hamzite sect of the 'Ajradites approved of warring against the Sultan and those who accepted his rule, but not against those who disowned him, unless they gave aid against them, or calumniated their religion, or helped and guided the Sultan. They did not approve of the killing of the People of the Qiblah, nor of the seizing of their property by surprise, so long as war had not been declared.[78]) A party of the Baihasites held that, if the Imām is an unbeliever, so are his subjects, and that their Dār is a Dār of

[75]) Ibid., p. 87, 6 ff., and p. 88, 14 ff.

[76]) *Kitāb al-Milal* etc., I, p. 90, 12 ff. Cf. al-Ash'arī, Ia, part I, p. 109, 11 ff.

[77]) Cf. al-Ash'arī, ibid., p. 104, 9 ff. Cf. al-Shahrastānī, ibid., I, p. 100, 12 ff. Cf. al-Ash'arī on the Akhnasites, p. 97, 11 ff.

[78]) Al-Ash'arī, ibid., p. 93, 14 ff. Cf. a statement on the Maimūnites in al-Shahrastānī, I, p. 96, col. 2, 15 ff.

Polytheism (*shirk*) and its people all polytheists. They approved of the killing of the People of the Qiblah and of the seizing of their goods, and considered killing and enslavement lawful in all circumstances.[79])

Ibn al-Azraq also repudiated those who stayed at home in time of war (the *Qa'adah*, neutrals), even if they agreed with him, and declared that those who did not flee, or emigrate to [join] him, were unbelievers.[80]) For the Azraqites maintained that their situation was the same as that of the Muhājirūn (the Prophet's Meccan followers) in al-Madīnah, and that no Muslim should remain behind.[81]) He who withdrew from the fight was also in their opinion an unbeliever.[82]) The Najdites, on the other hand, held that anyone who hesitated to join their Hijrah (emigration, flight) was a hypocrite (*munāfiq*).[83])

Al-Shahrastānī relates[84]) that the cause of the disagreement between Nāfi' b. al-Azraq and Najdah b. 'Āmir was that Nāfi' said that *taqiyyah* (the concealing of one's true faith for fear of danger to one's life)[85] was not permitted, and that to withdraw from the fight was unbelief, citing as proof-texts the sayings of God: "See, a party of them fear man as they fear God" (Sūrah 4 : 79), and "They will fight for God and not fear the reproaches of the reproachers" (Sūrah 5 : 59)[86]), and that Najdah gainsayed him and said that *taqiyyah* was permitted citing as proof-texts the sayings of God: "Except you fear them greatly" (Sūrah 3 : 24.), and "There said a believer of the people of Pharaoh who had concealed his faith" (Sūrah 11 : 29). Najdah is reported to have maintained that "reserve" (*taqiyyah*) was permitted, but that war, when possible, was more excellent.

The Akhnasite sect of the Tha'labites suspended judgment on those who professed Islam and were people

[79]) Al-Ash'arī, ibid., p. 116, 7 ff.; cf. p. 126, 12 ff.

[80]) Ibid., p. 86, 7 ff; cf. al-Shahrastānī I, p. 90, 12 ff.

[81]) Ibid., p. 88, 15 ff.

[82]) Ibid., p. 89, 8 ff.

[83]) Ibid., p. 91, 1 ff.

[84]) Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal* etc., p. 93, 3 ff.

[85]) Cf. note 34.

[86]) Nāfi' could also have cited Sūrahs 4: 97—98; 9: 41, 111—113; 61: 10—11; 2: 203; and 49 : 9.

of the Qiblah in the Dār al-Taqiyyah, unless they knew of their belief, or unbelief, when they accepted them as friends, or repudiated them as enemies.[87]) The 'Ajradites also accepted Neutrals as friends, when they knew that these belonged to their faith;[88]) and the Ṣifrites did not declare Neutrals unbelievers, if these agreed with them in religion and belief.[89] Some of the 'Aufite sect of the Baihasites repudiated those who turned back from the Dār al-Hijrah (the Country of Emigration) and the Jihād to the state of neutrality; others did not repudiate such, since in their view they went back to what was permitted them.[90])

The attitude of the Murji'ites to their fellow-Muslims, on the other hand, seems to have been governed generally by the simple principle of the Consensus. They named unbelievers only those, upon whose unbelief the Community had agreed, and were unanimous in the opinion that "the Dār (the Country of Islam in general, almost the Khārijite Dār al-Taqiyyah) was a Dār of Faith, and that the will of its people was the Faith, barring those of them who showed opposition to the Faith.[91]) Great sinners were transgressors and wicked, but still believers.[92]) Murji'ites were content to accept the solemn declarations of men as the expression of their honest convictions and did not wait upon the fulfillment of their vows, on the sincerity of which, to use the famous Khārijite phrase, the Judgment belonged to God.

The honesty of the Murji'ites has been impugned because of their support of, or acquiesence to, Umayyad rule. A party of them were even named 'Uthmānites[93]); and Goldziher has quoted a poem[94]) of the pious theologian, 'Aun b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd, of the end of the first century A. H., as an illustration of their policy towards the Umayyads, the last two lines of which betray the bitter feelings, which that policy roused in some simple, honest minds, and the light in which the Murji'ites appeared to some of their more ingenuous contemporaries. 'Aun b. 'Abdallāh was himself a Murji'ite at first, but later joined the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath (700) in 'the days of 'Abdalmalik. He said of his former associates:

> "Das erste, wovon Ich mich zweifellos trenne— ich sage mich los davon, was die Murji'ūn bekennen;
> Sie sagen, man dürfe das Blut Rechtgläubigen vergiessen, während doch das Blut derselben geschont werden muss;
> Sie sagen, ein Rechtgläubiger könne zu den Ungerechten gehören, während doch die Ungerechten keine Rechtgläubigen sind."

'Aun's lines re-echo Khārijite sentiments indeed; but he shared these sentiments probaly with a great many of the motley company that marched under the rebel standards of Ibn al-Ash'ath[95]) and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab,[96]) and who were neither Khārijite, Shī'ite, Murji'ite, nor 'Uthmānite, but just plain, ordinary Muslims such as the saintly Ḥasan al-Baṣrī heard saying, as he passed by, "He (Yazīd b. al Muhallab) calls us to the Sunnah of the two 'Umars."[97]) The repute of the Murji'ites suffered undeniably from the company which they kept; and the downfall of the dynasty which they supported, or tolerated, exposed them probably to still further disparagement. But the practical policy, which the temper of their minds and the implications of their faith inspired, should not blind us to the moral earnestness revealed in their ethical and theological discussions. The early conflicts over the Caliphate may have sharpened and embittered the debate over the form and functions of the government and the definition of the faith, but they did not unduly hasten it, nor greatly change its course, as a comparison of the early history of Christian doctrine

87) Al-Ash'arī, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia, part I, p. 97, 12 ff. Cf. al-Shahrastānī I, p. 98, 7 ff, also p. 95, 15 on the 'Ajradites.

88) Al-Shahrastānī, I, p. 95, 15 ff.

89) Ibid., p. 102, 8 ff.

90) Al-Ash'arī, Ia, part I, p. 115, 4 ff; cf. al-Shahrastānī I. p. 94, 7 ff. on the 'Aunites.

91) Al-Ash'arī, Ia, part I, p. 44, 1 ff.

92) Cf. *Le Livre du Triomphe*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, p. 165, 9 ff.

93) Ibid., p. 156, 4.

94) *Muhammedanische Studien*, II. p. 91.

95) Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje) II, pp. 1055—58.

96) Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje) II, pp. 1391—99.

97) Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje) II, p. 1392, 10.

would show. As soon as Islām was confronted with the creeds and confessions of the conquered peoples, Christian, Jewish, Manichaean, or Zoroastrian, the need of a formal definition of its faith and authority must have impressed itself on serious Muslim minds: and Murji'ite definitions suggest, indeed, that their coiners were subject to the influence of some religious group or other[98]), but do not justify the assumption that they devised their doctrines to vindicate a political policy, or arrived at them under political pressure.

Scholars seem to be singulary unanimous, however, on the question of the character of the Khārijites. Wellhausen says of them that their intentions were pure and that they had no worldly interests, but fought for the Kingdom of God. — an inhuman utopia, he remarks.[99]) And it is true that they sought to establish a kingdom of God on earth. But the kingdom, which they contemplated, was a very human and even worldly kingdom, even if it was to be regulated by laws sent down from heaven. The Prophet himself had respected human nature, and the Khārijites recognized with him its natural frailty. But Lammens agrees with Wellhausen respecting the sober integrity of the Khārijites and declares that if one wishes to meet sincere believers in the first century of the Hejira, one must seek them in the ranks of the Khārijites.[100])

And Muslim historians, however hostile to the Khārijites and their cause, have done homage to their piety and virtue. The Ash'arite, al-Shahrastānī, calls the Harūrites of 'Alī's days, "People of Fasting and Prayer," even if he then goes on to quote traditions from the Prophet in disparagement of them.[101]) And the Mu'tazilite, al-Jāḥiz, according to his co-believer, al Khayyāt, wrote of their good qualities and memorable deeds, notwithstanding their heresy, and secession, and ignorance of the [true]

[98]) Cf., for example, the reference in the *Fihrist*, p. 89. to the *Akhbār al-Mādiyīn* by the Murji'ite 'Ubayd Jurhumī, which seems to have been a free translation of some Christian work.

[99]) *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, transl. by M. G. Weir, p. 41.

[100]) *Mélanges de la faculté orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*, vol. IV (1910), p. 304.

[101]) *Kitāb al-Milal* etc., I, p. 86, 18 ff.

religion, celebrating their devoutness and morality and recalling in especial their lamentations over their sins and their abstention from lies against their enemies.[102])

Stories told about individual Khārijites just adorn the tale and point the moral. Al-Shahrastānī relates that the first Khārijite to draw the sword was 'Urwah b. Udhainah. 'Urwah escaped from the battle of Nahrawān, from which, we are told, only ten Khārijites fled the swords of 'Alī's troopers, and lived till the days of Mu'āwiya, when he appeared one day with one of his clients before Mu'āwiya's pro-consul of the East, Ziyād b. Abīhi, who began to question him concerning the Caliphs. And first of all he enquired of 'Urwah how he regarded Abū Bakr and 'Umar, of both of whom 'Urwah spoke well. Then Ziyād took up 'Uthmān, of whom 'Urwah said: "I followed 'Uthmān in the vicissitudes of his Caliphate for six years, and then repudiated him on account of his innovations." Ziyād then went on to ask 'Urwah regarding 'Alī, Mu'āwiya and finally himself: and 'Urwah testified to 'Alī's unbelief after his acceptance of arbitration, cursed Mu'āwiya vilely, and characterized Ziyād himself concisely as follows: "Thy beginning was an act of adultery, thine end will be a curse, and [now] between these two thou art a rebel against God." Ziyād ordered him to be beheaded, but shortly thereafter summoned his client and said to him: "Delineate his character." The client said: "Shall I be detailed, or brief?" Ziyād answred. "Be brief." He said: "I never brought him food by day, nor spread a bed for him by night."[103])

In his *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*[104]) al-Balādhurī tells the same story of 'Urwah b. Udayyah, the brother of the well-known Khārijite leader, Abū Bilāl.[105]) But Ibn Udayyah does not present himself to Ziyād b. Abīhi in al-Balādhurī's version, but is brought as a prisoner before Ziyād's son, 'Ubaydallāh,

[102]) Le *Livre du Triomphe*, p. 141, 9 ff., esp. 14 ff.

[103]) *Kitāb al-Milal* etc., I, p. 88, 13 ff.

[104]) Vol. IV B. (ed. Max Schloessinger), p. 87, 22 ff. Cf. also the stories of Khālid b. 'Abbād (ibid., p. 90, 10 ff), of 'Uqbah b. al-Ward (ibid., p. 91, 20 ff), of 'Āmir b. ['Abdu'l] Qais (Ṭabarī I, p. 2924), and of Bajīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Mushayyir (Ṭabarī II, p. 740, 4 ff.).

[105]) Cf. J. Wellhausen's *Oppositionsparteien* etc., p. 26.

'Abdalmalik's governor; and 'Urwah's slanderous statement, "Thy beginning was an act of adultery, etc." is not, therefore, quite so apt, even if still pungent and applicable. Ibn Ziyād's immediate retort to 'Urwah's calumny was to have his hands and feet cut off and to enquire of him derisively, what he thought of that, to which 'Urwah replied: "I think that you have spoiled this present world for me, and that I have spoiled the next for you." Thereupon 'Urwah was crucified; and Ibn Ziyād asked one of his servants respecting his character and received the afore-mentioned reply.

Al-Balādhurī reports further,[106]) however, that Ibn Ziyād sent 'Urwah's head to his daughter, who came to ibn Ziyād while 'Urwah's corpse still lay before him, and that he said to her: "You are of his religion," and she answered: "Why should I not be of his religion? I have never seen a better." Ibn Ziyād ordered her to be put to death.

The poet, Ṭirimmāḥ, sang of his fellows in the faith, for he was a Khārijite, although a convinced partisan of the Umayyads:

> "By Allah, what devotees! Alert when drowsiness bends the neck in slumber,
> Now sighing repeatedly, then sobbing when for the nonce grief overwhelms them,
> With hearts throbbing for fear by night, so that the breast almost bursts asunder,
> Tenacious of their creed and assured of their salvation from that which is dreaded."[107])

"I fear the punishment of God," writes another Khārijite poet, 'Isā'l-Kha'ṭī, "if I die acquiescent to the rule of 'Ubaydallāh, the perfidious tyrant"

> "To face God is my dread; I do not fear the oppressor and the heretic [even] in the midst of a great array."[108])

Such men would fight for their faith; and their conception of the office and character of the Caliphs was a

[106]) Vol. IV B, 89, 6 ff.

[107]) F. Krenkow, *Poems of Tufail — at-Ṭirimmāḥ*, no. 37, lines 1—4.

[108]) Al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, IV B, p. 95, 11—12.

part of that faith. But it was only a part and proceeded naturally from their general understanding of the place and function of religion in human affairs. The civil wars did not produce that understanding; but they precipitated men's judgments and actions and speeded the formation of groups of like-minded and similar thinking men by the very fact that they had to take a stand immediately on a practical and important question. The issue of the Caliphate may be said, then, to have occasioned the rise of the early sects in the sense that it brought to a head various religious movements within Islam, which might not have appeared so early on the historical scene save for that issue, or which might have taken another form, if that issue had not arisen, and some other issue had become the precipitant which separated the general mass of Muslims and formed them into parties and sects.

Two practical questions dominated men's minds in the first two centuries of Islam, the seat and function of authority, and the definition of the faith. Where did authority lie, and how should it be exercised? What was the badge of faith that made a man a Muslim? What should he believe, what should he know, what should he do, or not do? The first question was resolved by force of arms; and the final orthodox answer was an accommodation to the realities of power. But the answer given by the sectarians, and by many other honest Muslims besides, was rooted in religious convictions and can only be explained in the light of those convictions and not by the political activities, or associations, of the sects.

For the early Shī'ites religion meant to acknowledge the divinely appointed Imām, or, again, the one in whom God dwelt or appeared. His friends were saved, his enemies were idolaters. Salvation meant finally deification.[109]) For the Murji'ites religion meant to be in communion with God in love and lowliness of heart and to win salvation through faith, in short, to know God. For the Khārijites religion meant to live according to God's revealed law. The beliefs, attitudes and actions of these sects flowed naturally from their fundamental conception of religion; and the Khārijite conception, not to speak of

[109]) Cf. Al-Ash'arī, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc., Ia., part I, pp. 5—34.

the Shī'ite, is duly attested as early as in the days of 'Abdalmalik (686—705), with the founders of the principal Khārijite sects, Nāfi' b. al-Azraq al-Ḥanafī, Najdah b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Ajrad, Tha'labah b. 'Āmir, Abū Baihas and 'Abdallah b. Ibāḍ. The Khārijites embodied in its purest and severest mode the religious attitude, which finally prevailed in Islam in the form of the so-called schools of law, and which saw in the conduct of life according to the law the only end worthy of spiritual endeavour and the only guarantee of salvation here and hereafter. The Murji'ites never really formed a separatist movement. Their function was to leaven the leaden mass of legality with the spirit of humility, forbearance and love. Shī'ism was from the very beginning utterly foreign to the essential nature of Islam, which could tolerate it less readily than Christianity did Gnosticism.

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THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

The question of the chronological order in which the work of Ezra stood to that of Nehemiah has been a vexed one for the past half century, and there is still no prospect of agreement amongst Old Testament scholars. To these two leaders is ascribed the inauguration of the era of Judaism,[1]) which so largely contributed to the heritage of both Christianity and Islam. It is therefore the more surprising that we cannot demonstrate the relations between them, or even the order in which they came to Jerusalem.

The superficial reading of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah would seem to leave the matter in no doubt. Ezra came to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes,[2]) while Nehemiah received the royal authority to journey to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes,[3]) and apparently in the same year[4]) Ezra publicly read the law in the presence of Nehemiah.[5]) It would seem to be clear, therefore, that the work of Ezra lay before that of Nehemiah in the reign of the same monarch. While a few scholars have placed them both in the reign of Artaxerxes II,[6]) the usual view has always been that they belonged to

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[1]) Cf., however, Welch's depreciatory estimate of Ezra in *Post-Exilic Judaism*, 1935, pp. 245 ff.

[2]) Ezr. VII. 8.

[3]) Neh. II. 1.

[4]) It is to be noted that no date is specified, and it is only the position of the narrative that offers any suggestion of date.

[5]) Neh. VIII. 9.

[6]) Cf. von Haneberg, *Versuch einer Geschichte der biblischen Offenbarung*, 1850, pp. 381 ff. (4th ed., 1876, pp. 428 ff.); de Saulcy, *Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie*, 1868, pp. 41 ff; Elhorst, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, XXIX, 1895, pp. 93 ff. (in the course of an extended review of Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israel in het Perzische Tijdvak*, pp. 77—101); Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte*, 1897, pp. 31 ff; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, 1903, pp. 382, 395. Torrey, while allowing *(Ezra Studies*, 1910, p. 140 n.) that the Aramaic papyri render it probable that

the first Artaxerxes, and this is still the view of the majority of scholars. It will be seen below that so far as Nehemiah is concerned the evidence for placing him in the reign of Artaxerxes I now amounts almost to a demonstration.

The closer study of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, however, raised doubts as to whether the compiler of the work had mistakenly supposed these two men to be contemporaries, and had arranged the material he drew from his sources accordingly, or whether there had been some derangement in the transmission of the text. Of some derangement in this work there is clear evidence. For it is widely, and indeed almost universally,[7]) held that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah formed a single work, and the fact that the closing verses of 2 Chronicles stand also at the beginning of the book of Ezra lends some support to this. Yet Chronicles precedes Ezra and Nehemiah in the Bible. We cannot therefore rule out the possibility that there have been further dislocations within the rest of the work, and that if we had it in its original form it might create a different impression. Indeed we can go beyond this. For in the Greek we have a variant arrangement of the text of the book of Ezra, together with part of Neh. VIII, which is transferred to follow Ezr. X.[8]) Here, then, we

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Nehemiah lived in the time of Artaxerxes I, maintained that the Chronicler clearly supposed that the king of Ezr. VII. ff. and of Nehemiah was Artaxerxes II *(op. cit.,* p. 140 n., 249, 333 ff.; cf. *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah,* 1896, p. 65, and *Second Isaiah,* 1928, pp. 456 ff.). It should be noted that though Marquart placed both Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes II, he held that Ezra followed Nehemiah and was to be dated 368 or 365 B. C. *(op. cit.,* p. 36).

[7]) Cf., however, Welch, *op. cit.,* and *The Work of the Chronicler* (Schweich Lectures), 1939.

[8]) On the problems of 1 Esdras cf. Torrey, *Ezra Studies,* pp. 11—36; Bayer, *Das dritte Buch Esdras und sein Verhältnis zu den Büchern Esra-Nehemia* (Biblische Studien XVI), 1911; Walde, *Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta, ihr gegenseitiges Verhältniss untersucht* (Biblische Studien XVIII), 1913; S. A. Cook in *Apocrupha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (ed. by R. H. Charles), I, 1913, pp. 5 ff.; Mowinckel, *Statholderen Nehemia,* 1916, pp. 1 ff.; Oesterley, *Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha,* 1935, pp. 133—41; and Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature,* 1945, pp. 43 ff.

have indisputable evidence that part of the work circulated in a different arrangement, and neither can be assumed to represent the original order. The question is therefore one for the patient examination of the contents of the traditions of the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, to see what indications of priority they contain.

In 1889 Maurice Vernes ventured the suggestion[9]) in a brief footnote that while Nehemiah belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes I, Ezra, if he was indeed a character of history, belonged to that of Artaxerxes II. It was Van Hoonacker, however, who gave the view real currency. In a series of publications, ranging from 1890 to 1924,[10]) he expounded and defended this thesis against the criticisms of Kuenen,[11]) Kosters,[12]) and Kugler.[13]) At first the view

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[9]) *Précis d'histoire juive,* 1889, p. 582 n.

[10]) Cf. *Néhémie et Esdras. une nouvelle hypothèse sur la chronologie de l'époque de la restauration,* 1890 (reprinted from *Le Muséon,* IX, 1890, pp. 151—84, 317—51, 389—401); *Néhémie en l'an 20 d'Artaxerxès I; Esdras en l'an 7 d'Artaxerxès* II, 1892; *"La question Néhémie et Esdras",* in *Revue Biblique,* IV, 1895, pp. 186—92; *Nouvelles études sur la restauration juive après l'exil de Babylone,* 1896; 'Notes sur l'historie de la restauration juive après l'exil de Babylone', in *Revue Biblique,* X, 1901, pp. 5—26, 175—99; *Une communauté Judéo-Araméenne à Éléphantine en Égypte, aux VI^e^ et V^e^ siècles av. J.-C.* (Schweich Lectures), 1915, pp. 19 ff.; 'La succession chronologique Néhémie-Esdras', in *Revue Biblique,* XXXII, 1923, pp. 481—94, XXXIII, 1924, pp. 33—64.

[11]) Cf. 'Die Chronologie des persischen Zeitalters der jüdischen Geschichte'; in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft,* 1894, pp. 212—51 (translated by K. Budde from the Dutch text which appeared in 1890).

[12]) Cf. *Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der persischen Periode,* 1895 (translated by A. Basedow from the Dutch text which appeared in 1894). Cf. S. Jampel, 'Die Wiederherstellung Israels unter den Achameniden', in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums,* XLVI, 1903, pp. 97—118, 206—29, 301—25, 395—407, 491—513, XLVII, 1903, pp. 1—23, 97—110, 193—201, 385—99, 481—90. Cf., too, Nikel, *Die Wiederherstellung des jüdischen Gemeinwesens nach dem babylonischen Exil* (Biblische Studien V), 1900, and Fischer, *Die chronologischen Fragen in den Büchern Esra-Nehemia* (Biblische Studien VIII), 1903.

[13]) Cf. *Von Moses bis Paulus,* 1922, pp. 215—33.

of Van Hoonacker won few converts, but for many years now it has gathered a broad stream of followers, though naturally some have modified details of his view. In a recent letter to the present writer this statement was challenged, and the view expressed that apart from a few British scholars little support had been won for it, and in Kalt's *Biblisches Reallexikon* it is stated[14]) that 'die durch van Hoonacker aufgestellte These ... wird jetzt fast allgemein abgelehnt.' It may be well, therefore, to record the names of some of those who have adopted this view, and to observe that they include scholars of many countries and schools, though no German scholar appears to hold it.[15]) Without any attempt to compile an exhaustive list, the present writer has noted the following: Klameth,[16]) Lagrange,[17]) Batten,[18]) Touzard,[19]) Mowinckel,[20]) Zschokke-Döller,[21]) Browne[22],) Pelt,[23]) Barnes,[24]) Coucke,[25]) Loft-

[14]) Cf. 2nd ed., I, 1938, cols. 503 f.

[15]) Hölscher, however, earlier adopted this view, but later abandoned it. See below.

[16]) Cf. *Esras Leben und Wirken*, 1908, pp. 124 ff.

[17]) Cf. *Revue Biblique*, N. S. V, 1908, pp. 343 ff. Lagrange had earlier championed the view that Nehemiah belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes II and Ezra to that of Artaxerxes III: See 'Néhémie et Esdras', ibid., III, 1894, pp. 561—85, and 'La question Néhémie et Esdras', ibid., IV, 1895, pp. 193—202.

[18]) Cf. *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (I. C. C.), 1913, pp. 28—30.

[19]) Cf 'Les juifs au temps de la période persane', in *Revue Biblique*, N. S. XII, 1915, pp. 59—133.

[20]) Cf. *Ezra den Skriftlaerde*, 1916, pp. 65—72.

[21]) Cf. *Historia sacra Veteris Testamenti*, 7th ed., 1920, p. 297 (according to Höpfl, *Introductio specialis in Vetus Testamentum*, 5th ed., 1946, p. 188; I have had no access to Zschokke-Döller).

[22]) Cf. *Early Judaism*, 1920, chapter X.

[23]) Cf. *Histoire de l'Ancien Testament*, II, 8th ed., 1925, pp. 385—7 (according to Höpfl, *loc. cit.*; I have had no access to Pelt).

[24]) Cf. *The People and the Book* (ed. by A. S. Peake), 1925, pp. 293 f.

[25]) Cf. *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (ed. by L. Pirot), I, 1928, cols. 1269 f.

house,[26]) Oesterley,[27]) Navarro,[28]) Ricciotti,[29]) Lods,[30]) S. A. Cook,[31]) A. Vincent,[32]) Wheeler Robinson,[33]) Theodore Robinson,[34]) Snaith,[35] Fleming James,[36]) Pedersen,[37]) Daniel—Rops,[38]) and Lusseau—Collomb.[39])

[26]) Cf. *Israel after the Exile* (Clarendon Bible), 1928, p. 198.

[27]) Cf. *History of Israel*, II, 1932, pp. 114—8; and Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, 1934, pp. 127—9.

[28]) Cf. 'Esdras-Nehemias?' in *Estudios Biblicos*, V, 1933, pp. 12—19 (according to Höpfl, *loc. cit.*; I have had no access to Navarro).

[29]) Cf. *Storia d'Israele*, II, 1934, pp. 125—30 (= *Histoire d'Israël*, translated by P. Auvray, II, 1939, pp. 132—8).

[30]) Cf. *Les prophètes d'Israël et les débuts du Judaïsme*, 1935, pp. 336—44 (= *The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism*, translated by S. H. Hooke, 1937, pp. 296—304).

[31]) Cf. *The Old Testament: a Reinterpretation*, 1936, p. 194 n., and *Introduction to the Bible*, 1945, p. 159. Earlier Cook had been less decided whether to follow this view or that of Kosters (see below), or whether to reject Ezra from the page of history with Torrey (see below). Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI, 1927, p. 174: "It is very generally agreed, therefore, that Ezra did not return before Nehemiah, though it is disputed whether to place the priestly scribe between the first and second visits of Nehemiah, or after Nehemiah and under the *Second* Artaxerxes, or even to reject the story of Ezra as a later invention."

[32]) Cf. *La religion des Judéo Araméens d'Éléphantine*, 1937, pp. 235 f.

[33]) Cf. *History of Israel: its Facts and Factors*, 1938, pp. 148—58.

[34]) Cf. *Record and Revelation* (ed. by Wheeler Robinson), 1938, p. 127.

[35]) Cf. *Record and Revelation*, p. 258.

[36]) Cf. *Personalities in the Old Testament*, 1939, pp. 462 ff.

[37]) Cf. *Israel: its Life and Culture III—IV*, 1940, p. 607: "Whether Ezra came before or after Nehemiah is difficult to decide, though the arguments for Ezra coming after Nehemiah seem the strongest." It is not clear from this whether Pedersen inclines to Van Hoonacker's view or that of Kosters and Bertholet (see below). But since his footnote says "Thus Mowinckel ... and Oesterley" it is apparent that it is the former.

[38]) Cf. *Histoire sainte: le peuple de la Bible*, 1943, pp. 348—53, 455.

[39]) Cf. *Manuel d'études bibliques*, II, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, 6th ed., 1945, pp. 1009—16.

Despite this impressive support, this view has never been unchallenged, and there have always been scholars of eminence — even more numerous than its supporters — who have refused to adopt it, but have adhered to the traditional view. Sellin,[40]) Kittel,[41]) Schaeder[42]) and Eissfeldt,[43]) have all rejected it, as have Hoberg,[44]) Wiener,[45]) Fernández,[46]) Höpfl,[47]) and the Danish scholar Johannesen in his posthumous work.[48]) In 1947 two English writers, apparently quite independently, have challenged the tendency to reverse the traditional order,[49]) and almost simultaneously Eerdmans' book on *The Religion of Israel* has appeared in English to renew the same challenge.[50]) It is therefore clear that bold claims, on the one side or the other, that the question is definitely settled are unjustified. Such claims have been made on both sides. Browne has claimed that the evidence from the Elephantine papyri 'makes it quite clear that Ezra belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II. . .. and Nehemiah to the reign of Artaxerxes I,'[51]) and Oesterley has made a similar claim,[52]) while Kugler has stated with equal confidence on the other side that the assignment of Ezra to the reign of Artaxerxes I is now so firmly established that it can no longer be reasonably doubted.[53]) It would seem to be wiser, with several of the scholars who have followed Van Hoonacker, to confess that certainty is quite unattainable, and that no more than a balance of probability is to be found.

Some have been influenced by Van Hoonacker's views to the extent of dating Ezra after Nehemiah, while keeping both in the reign of Artaxerxes I. This has involved some purely conjectural emendation of the text, and the transfer of Ezra to a much later point in the reign of Artaxerxes than the seventh year of Ezr. VII. 8. This view has been taken by Kosters,[54]) Bertholet,[55]) and Kennett,[56]) amongst

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[40]) Cf. *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes,* II, 1932, pp. 134—63.

[41]) Cf. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* III, 2nd part, 1929, pp. 567—650.

[42]) Cf. *Esra der Schreiber,* 1930.

[43]) Cf. *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* 1934, p. 597: "Die uns überlieferte Folge Esra Nehemia aus historischen Gründen die grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat als ihre Umkehrung in Nehemia Esra."

[44]) Cf. 'Die Zeit von Esdras und Nehemias' in *Festschrift G. von Hertling,* 1913, pp. 36—40.

[45]) Cf. 'The Relative Dates of Ezra and Nehemiah', in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* VII, 1927, pp. 145—58.

[46]) Cf. 'Epoca de la actividad de Esdras', in *Biblica,* II, 1921, pp. 424—47. Fernández concludes: "Nuestra conclusión es que hoy por hoy el orden Esdras Nehemias es el que mejor justifican los textos . . . En tanto no se presenten, tenemos por más científico sostener que Esdras regresó a Jerusalén el año 7 y Nehemías el año 20 del mismo monarca, esto es, de Artajerjes I" (p. 447).

[47]) Cf. *Introductio specialis in Vetus Testamentum,* 5th ed. (edited by Miller and Metzinger), 1946, pp. 186—91.

[48]) Cf. *Studier over Esras og Nehemjas historie,* 1946, pp. 210—16, 277—89.

[49]) Cf. J. Stafford Wright, *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem,* 1947, and W. M. E. Scott, 'Nehemiah-Ezra?' in *Expository Times,* LVIII, 1946—7, pp. 263—7.

[50]) Cf. pp. 233 f.

[51]) *Op. cit.,* 2nd ed., 1929, p. 179.

[52]) Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament,* p. 129: "There can be no doubt that in the case of Nehemiah it was Artaxerxes I who came to the throne in 464, so that his twentieth year was 444; in that of Ezra it was Artaxerxes II, who came to the throne in 404, so that his seventh year was 397."

[53]) Cf. *op. cit.,* p. 222: "Die Tatsache, dass Esra mit seiner Karawane im 7. Jahre Artaxerxes' I (458 v. Chr.) von Babel nach Jerusalem zog, steht jetzt so fest, dass daran vernünftigerweise nicht gezweifelt kann". Cf., too, Hoberg *(Festschrift G. von Hertling,* 1913, p. 40): "Die Frage über die Zeit des Esdras und Nehemias ist daher durch den besprochenen aramäischen Papyrus endgültig gelöst."

[54]) Cf. *Wiederherstellung,* pp. 95 ff. Kosters holds the date of Ezr. VII. 8 to be without authority, and then assigns Ezra's coming to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I (p.116). Cheyne *(Encyclopaedia Biblica,* III, 1902, col. 3385) prefers to assign it to the twenty-seventh year.

[55]) Cf. *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar), 1902, pp. 30 f.; and *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1st ed., edited by Schiele and Zscharnack), II, 1910, cols. 636 f.

[56]) Cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (ed. by H. B. Swete), 1909, pp. 123 ff., and *Old Testament Essays,* 1928, p. 85, where Ezra's mission is placed between the two visits of Nehemiah.

others, while Albright has wavered between this and Van Hoonacker's view. In 1921 he followed Van Hoonacker,[57]) but in 1932 he announced his adhesion to that of Kosters.[58]) In 1940, however, he reverted to the view of Van Hoonacker,[59]) only to come back in 1946 to the other,[60]) dating Ezra now in the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I. Antoine Baumgartner is unable to reach a decision as between these two views.[61])

Others have taken more radical views still. M. Vernes, though he made the suggestion that Ezra might belong to the reign of Artaxerxes II, preferred to reject the whole story of Ezra as unhistorical.[62]) This view has been vigorously championed by Torrey,[63]) who holds that, while the Chronicler's intention was to locate the two leaders in the reign of Artaxerxes II, the historical problem should be liquidated by the elimination of Ezra altogether from the stage of history, and by resolving him into the fictitious creation of the Chronicler.[64]) This view has largely influenced Hölscher,[65]) Fruin,[66]) Loisy,[67]) and Pfeiffer,[68]) while others have expressed their sympathy for it without committing themselves to it.

[57]) Cf. 'The Date and Personality of the Chronicler', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XL, 1921, pp. 104—24.

[58]) Cf. *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 1932, p. 219. Following Kosters and Bertholet, Albright assigned the work of Ezra to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes.

[59]) Cf. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 1940, p. 248. Here Albright observes that Van Hoonacker's date "may now be said to be virtually certain."

[60]) Cf. 'A Brief History of Judah from the days of Josiah to Alexander the Great', in *The Biblical Archaeologist*. IX, 1946, pp. 1—16, esp. pp. 10 ff., and *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 366. Albright here places Ezra in the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I. Bewer inclines to this date (*Der Text des Buches Ezra*, 1922, p. 68), but admits that its only basis is the theory it serves. Marquart had earlier suggested emending Ezr. VII. 8 to read thirty seventh or fortieth year, but had understood it to refer to Artaxerxes II (*op. cit.*, p. 36).

[61]) Cf. 'Note complémentaire' (added to the 3rd ed. of Gautier's *Introduction à l'Ancien Testament*, 1939), pp. 51 f.

[62]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 572 ff.

[63]) Cf. *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, 1896, pp. 51—65, and *Ezra Studies*, pp. 238—48. On this view cf. Batten, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

[64]) Cf. Meinhold, 'Esra der Schriftgelehrte?' in *Vom Alten Testament* (Marti Festschrift, ed. by K. Budde), 1925, pp. 197—206.

To review all the complexities of a problem on which so much has been written and so little agreement reached is out of the question in a short paper, and all that can be here attempted is to offer a brief examination of arguments put forward in the most recent attacks on the Van Hoonacker view, and to restate in summary form the reasons which still seem to produce a balance of evidence for the Belgian scholar's view. That not all of the indications that have been held to point to the priority of Nehemiah are of equal weight is but natural, and the recent critics of that view have mainly contented themselves with criticism of these less weighty arguments, while ignoring the others. It will therefore be well to see first how far the weakness of the attacked considerations may be admitted, before turning to examine other considerations.

It is pointed out that if the Chronicler compiled the books of Ezra and Nehemiah *circa* 300 B. C., then he would be too close in time to an Ezra who arrived in Jerusalem at the beginning of the fourth century to have been able to make so glaring an error as half a century in Ezra's date.[69]) It is said that there would doubtless have been people still living who would remember Ezra, and who could expose the error. In this consideration there is little force. In the first place, not all scholars date the work of the Chronicler *circa* 300 B. C. Some bring it down below this,[70]) while Albright thinks that Ezra himself was the

[65]) Cf. *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia*, in Kautsch-Bertholet, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., II, 1923, pp. 491 ff., esp. pp. 500 f. In the third edition of this work (II, 1910, pp. 451 f.) Hölscher followed the view of Van Hoonacker.

[66]) Cf 'Is Esra een historisch Persoon?' in *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift*, XVIII, 1929, pp. 121—38.

[67]) Cf. *La religion d'Israël*, 3rd ed., 1933, pp. 228 f.

[68]) *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1941, pp. 816—30.

[69]) Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff. Cf. also Scott, *loc. cit.*, p. 267.

[70]) Cf. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 812, where a date *circa* 250 B. C. is maintained. Lods (*Les prophètes d'Israël*, *p. 339* = English translation, p. 299) dates the Chronicler after Ben Sira. Cf. Kennett, *Old Testament Essays*, 1928, p. 221.

author of the work.[71]) If the composition of the work belongs to a later date, the force of the argument is greatly weakened, while if it belongs to an earlier date, or even comes from the pen of Ezra himself, the argument is completely invalid against the possibility of some dislocation of the text, so that it is not in its original order. To this it is replied that so wholesale a rearrangement would be required that it would be intrinsically improbable, though certainly possible.[72]) It should be added that Albright does not think any rearrangement is necessary, if it is recognized that Ezra affixed Nehemiah's memoirs to his work, rather than put them in their chronological order, since that would have deranged his scheme.[73]) This does not seem very probable to the present writer. On the other hand, he does not think the theory of a later dislocation of the text is very satisfactory. It seems much more probable that the Chronicler believed, or wished his readers to believe, that Ezra preceded Nehemiah.

This does not add any weight to the consideration advanced against the late date for Ezra, however. For the argument tacitly assumes that the books were 'published' in a modern sense, and that they would immediately circulate amongst readers who could check their statements. It is very unlikely that many copies of the Chronicler's work would be made for some time, and the chance of those that were made falling into the hands of the oldest inhabitants would not be great. Nor would the Chronicler have been greatly concerned if they did. It is likely that when he wrote, copies of the books of Samuel and Kings were more plentiful than copies of his own book would be for long years, and it may be presumed that few of his readers were without access in some way to these books. For Samuel and Kings must already have been treated with veneration, even though we ought not to think of any strict Canon of the Prophets as having been already fixed. Yet the Chronicler had no hesitation in modifying the statements he found in the earlier books. Few readers would remember Ezra, but many would be

[71]) Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XL, 1921, pp. 119 f., and *The Biblical Archaeologist*, IX, 1946, p. 15.

[72]) Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[73]) Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature, loc. cit.*, p. 123.

able to challenge the price the Chronicler put on the Temple site[74]) or his statements that Asa[75]) and Jehoshaphat[76]) removed the high places. If then, he could boldly modify history where he had an axe to grind, we cannot suppose that he would be unable to do so where he had none. Wright observes[77]) that the more a writer wishes to write history with a purpose the more careful he must be not to expose himself to the charge of inaccuracy. In fact the Chronicler does not seem to have been troubled about this, and had no hesitation in knowingly and wilfully modifying the facts. But if his error were made in ignorance and not with intention, he could not even challenge it himself, and few of his readers would be in a better position than he. For he was not writing a work of scholarship to be read by a learned circle, to be judged by the canons that would apply to a modern work of research.

One of the arguments for the reversal of the traditional order of Ezra and Nehemiah, to which appeal has been made by almost every adherent of the alternative order, has been that when Ezra arrived he found the city wall already built,[78]) whereas the building of the walls was the work of Nehemiah. The most recent critics of this argument point to the choice of the word for *wall*,[79]) as many earlier writers had already done.[80]) For it is not the word used for *wall* in the account of Nehemiah's work, but a

[74]) 1 Chron. XXI. 25. With this cf. 2 Sam. XXIV. 24.

[75]) 2 Chron. XIV. 3, 5. With this cf. 1 Kgs. XV. 14. It may be noted that here the Chronicler also preserves in 2 Chron. XV. 17 the statement of 1 Kgs. XV. 14, but adds "out of Israel" to avoid verbal contradiction of 2 Chron. XIV. 5. Since Asa was not king over Israel, however, the addition is really meaningless, and it would be far easier to challenge him here from his own work than it would be to challenge him on the date of Ezra on the testimony of someone who remembered Ezra.

[76]) 2 Chron. XVII. 6. With this cf. 1 Kgs. XXII. 43.

[77]) *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

[78]) Ezr. IX. 9.

[79]) Cf. Johannesen, *op. cit.*, pp. 279 f.; Scott, *loc. cit.*, p. 264; Eerdmans, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 f.

[80]) Cf. Jampel, *loc. cit.*, XLVII, 1903, p. 21; Wiener, *loc. cit.*, p. 152; Fernández, 'La voz גדר en Esd. 9.9', in *Biblica*, XVI, 1935, pp. 82—4, in criticism of Kaupel, 'Die Bedeutung

word which stands nowhere else in the whole of Ezra-Nehemiah. It is used elsewhere in the Old Testament for a fence round a vineyard,[81]) and it is claimed that the rendering of the LXX here by Φραγμός, and the reading στερέωμα in 1 Esd. VIII. 81, suggests that the reference is not to a city wall here.[82])

It may be agreed that this argument for the priority of Nehemiah is not a strong one. On the other hand, it must be recognized to be possible that Ezra's reference is to the city wall which Nehemiah had built. For the word here used stands in Mic. VII. 11 for a city wall,[83]) and if

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von גדר in Esr. 9,9', in *Biblische Zeitschrift,* XXII, 1934, pp. 89—92. Cf. the subsequent discussion in *Biblica:* Kaupel, 'Zu גדר in Esr. 9,9' *ibid.,* XVI. pp. 213 f.; Ricciotti, 'La voce גדר e un passo di Flavio Giuseppe', *ibid.,* pp. 443—5; Fernández, 'Esdr. 9,9 y un texto de Josefo', *ibid.,* XVIII, 1937, pp. 207 f.

[81]) Isa. V. 5; Psa. LXXXX. 13.

[82]) So Scott, *loc. cit.* In Ezr. IX. 9 there is a variant Greek reading τεῖχος (see *The Old Testament in Greek,* edited by Brooke, McLean and Thackeray, II. iv, 1935, ad loc.), but this has no serious weight. The verse in 1 Esdras is numbered 78 (82) in the Greek.

[83]) Fernández *(Biblica,* XVI, 1935, p. 83) denies that the meaning is a city wall in this text, but Kaupel *(ibid.,* p. 213) adduces many commentators who have so understood it, while Ricciotti *(loc. cit.)* adduces Josephus's use of the walls of Jerusalem as a figure for the wall of the fatherland, and hence concludes that a figurative sense in Ezr. IX. 9 does not exclude a material. Kapelrud *The Question of Authorship in the Ezra-Narrative,* 1944, pp. 66 f.)strongly insists that "the word means wall in every instance, even if in certain places it can be interpreted figuratively. The usual thing is to interpret this word figuratively here ... This is in reality to interpret away the word that is in the text, and there is no foundation for such an interpretation in the text itself. The supposition is founded on the hypothesis that the Ezra-narrative was written by Ezra himself and that he came to Jerusalem in 458 B. C., at a time when the city had no wall. As against this we insist that the word in the present passage means wall, wall of defence, but no more ... Mowinckel and Oesterley insist that the word must be understood literally here, as well as elsewhere. This opinion is strengthened if one asks the question negatively: would the word gâder have been used if, at the time at which it is used, there had *not* been a wall around Jerusalem? Surely not."

Ezra lived half a century after Nehemiah he would scarcely be bound to use the word for *wall* which stands in Nehemiah's memoirs, but could surely use a less common word which is known to have been capable of the same reference.

J. S. Wright chooses a different way of turning this argument. Instead of questioning the reference to the city wall, he resorts to it, and boldly claims that it was a wall which was going up in Ezra's time, but which was broken down before Nehemiah's mission to Jerusalem.[84]) Here it may be agreed that the grief of Nehemiah on hearing of the condition of Jerusalem[85]) is more likely to have been occasioned by something that had happened recently than by something that had happened nearly a century and a half earlier in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. There would seem, therefore, to have been some recent destruction of the walls of Jerusalem. But in Ezr. IV. 7—23 we read of some building of the walls in the time of Artaxerxes which was violently interrupted after appeal to the court. The problems of the introduction to that account, and of the inconsequential verse that follows, which has reference to the house of God and not to the walls,cannot be discussed here. That it has reference to operations in the reign of Artaxerxes I prior to the mission of Nehemiah is widely agreed. But Wright argues that this wall was actually going up in Ezra's time, but was then broken down. This failure of Ezra's work, through some tactlessness on his part, is supposed then to have brought discredit on him, so that he fell out of the picture until Nehemiah, moved to grief by the new disaster which had befallen Jerusalem, came and carried through the work successfully, when Ezra's star began to shine again, albeit with the reflected glory of Nehemiah's.[86]) Similar attempts to prove Ezra's priority by first discrediting him have

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[84]) *Op. cit.,* p. 18. It is somewhat surprising to find that Scott, who is at such pains to deny that Ezr. IX. 9 refers to the city wall, yet holds that the walls were standing in 457 B. C., and that they were broken down in the period between Ezra's coming and Nehemiah's.

[85]) Neh. I. 1—4.

[86]) *Op. cit.,* pp. 25 f. Van Hoonacker *(Néhémie en l'an 20 etc.,* 1892, p. 17) had already pointed out how purely conjectural was a similar supposition of Kuenen's *(op. cit.,* pp. 236 ff.).

been made by others. Thus Fischer held him to have been a young hothead who achieved nothing,[87]) and Wiener allows his imagination to run away with him to the extent of writing: 'By his intemperate and inhuman insistence on his interpretation he brought upon his people the greatest disaster that had befallen them since the fall of the Temple'.[88]) He then asks: 'If Ezra never existed, how came a pious and patriotic Jew like the Chronicler to invent or adopt the story we have which makes him responsible for so great a Jewish catastrophe?'[89]) The reader has only to reflect that Wiener and not the Chronicler is the pious Jew who has invented this story, of which there is no hint whatever in the pages of the Chronicler, and he will wonder why Wiener did not supply the answer to his own question. The Chronicler records no disaster which Ezra brought on his people, and the association of Ezra with the wall of Ezr. IV. 7—23 is wholly gratuitous. He is not mentioned at all in connexion with the affair. Granted that there was an unsuccessful attempt to build the walls in the time of Artaxerxes I, there is no reason whatever to connect it with Ezra. It is entirely unrelated to the mission with which he was charged. This was to regulate the religious usage, and he came bearing the book of the law. The assumption that he ignored the purpose of his commission, for which he was armed with considerable powers by the king, in order to undertake something for which he was not authorized, and that he was then discredited for several years, after which he quietly stepped back to fulfil his original commission may seem an attractive story. But it is entirely fictitious, without a shred of support in the Bible. Not even the merest hint of it is allowed to fall. One might have expected that if Ezra had so abused the confidence of the king, he would not have contented himself with ordering that the work of building the walls should be stopped, but would have punished Ezra.

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87) Cf. *Die chronologischen Fragen in den Büchern Esra-Nehemia* (Biblische Studien VIII), 1903, pp. 73 f.

88) Cf. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, VII, 1927, p. 157.

89) *Ibid.*

Indeed we may rather turn the argument round. If the events of Ezr. IV. 7—23 were the cause of Nehemiah's grief, they should have taken place but recently at the time of that grief. But if Ezra came to Jerusalem in 457 B. C. and remained in Jerusalem until Nehemiah came, then we should have expected him to have some hand in these events. Yet since his name is unmentioned in this account, we have no reason to associate him with them. It would therefore seem unlikely that he was in Jerusalem at this time.

Another of the arguments to which resort has been had is based upon the apparently well-populated state of Jerusalem in Ezra's time[90]) compared with its deserted condition in Nehemiah's.[91]) Against this it is noted that a population which might be small in relation to a city might yet be adequate to provide a large assembly.[92]) Alternatively the value of Ezr. X. 1 is depreciated as an invention of the Chronicler to exalt his hero Ezra,[93]) or attention is called to the statement that the large crowd came not merely from Jerusalem, but from Israel.[94]) That it was really a local assembly, however, is shown by the fact that it was followed by a summons to the surrounding population of Judah to gather in Jerusalem with the local inhabitants.[95]) Moreover, 1 Esd. VIII. 91,[96]) which is parallel to Ezr. X. 1, reads 'from Jerusalem' instead of 'out of Israel'. Wright observes that we do not know which of these readings is correct, and while this is true, it is also true that if the reading of Ezr. X. 1 is original, it must be understood in the light of the obvious meaning of Ezr. X. 7.

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90) Ezr. X. 1.

91) Neh. VII. 4.

92) Cf. Scott, *loc. cit.*, pp. 263 f. Cf. also Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

93) Cf. Scott, *loc. cit.*: "It is not legitimate to stress the details of Ezr. X. 1 which comes not from Ezra's memoirs but from the Chronicler's pen. His wish to exalt his hero Ezra would naturally find expression in such touches as this. He felt that Ezra's chief actions were so important that there must be a crowd worthy of the occasion."

94) So Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

95) Ezr. X. 7 ff.

96) Numbered in the Greek 88 (92).

Nevertheless, it must be agreed that no strong case could be based on these texts. That Ezr. X. 1 and Neh. VII. 4 suggest quite different conditions is doubtless true. Both statements could be taken at their face value if Ezra's work fell some years after Nehemiah had rebuilt the walls and gathered a larger population into the city. On the other hand, if some recent disaster had befallen Jerusalem when Nehemiah came, its population might well have fallen considerably below what it had been in 457 B. C.

A third argument, to which appeal is often made,[97]) rests on the fact that Nehemiah's name precedes Ezra's in Neh. XII. 26. Albright declares that this is the most conclusive passage.[98]) In the present writer's view, little weight can be placed upon it.[99]) Scott points out[100]) that G. A. Smith once has this order, though he held that Ezra's work preceded that of Nehemiah.[101]) A more direct consideration is Wiener's, who says: 'The author refers to two periods, each introduced by the expression "in the days of". One of them is the epoch of Joiakim son of Joshua, the other the age of Nehemiah and Ezra, who are therefore regarded as contemporaries'.[102]) But this tells us no more than we already knew—that the Chronicler supposed they were contemporary. For if Nehemiah and Ezra were not contemporaries, it is probably to the Chronicler that we owe the juxtaposition of these names, and there is no reason to suppose that he either knew or thought that Nehemiah preceded Ezra. It is probable that the words 'and of Ezra the priest the scribe' were not found by him in the list of names on which he drew, but were added by him.[103]) This is suggested by the fact that they are in such

[97]) Cf. Van Hoonacker, *Revue Biblique,* X, 1901, p. 197; Batten, *op cit.,* p. 278; Browne, *op. cit.,* p. 179.

[98]) Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XL, 1921, p. 121.

[99]) Cf. Fernández, *Biblica,* II, 1921, pp. 435 f.; Johannesen, *op. cit.,* p. 285.

[100]) *Loc. cit.,* p. 265.

[101]) Cf. *The Expositor,* 7th series, II, 1906, p. 8, in the course of an article on 'Ezra and Nehemiah' (pp. 1—18).

[102]) *Loc. cit.,* p. 156.

[103]) Hölscher (in Kautzsch-Bertholet, H. S. A. T., II, 1923, p. 556) omits as a gloss "and in the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest the scribe."

poor syntactical style. For we have here not merely two genitives dependent on a single construct — a usage which is found frequently enough, though it is not normal — but in addition we have a word in apposition with the first standing between the genitives. Hence these words have the appearance of having been tacked on.

It may be agreed that all of these arguments are of slight weight in favour of the order Nehemiah-Ezra, though they offer no support at all to the other view, but must be explained away or discounted. A much stronger argument is based on the consideration that Nehemiah was the contemporary of Eliashib, and Ezra of Eliashib's grandson. For in the account of the work of Nehemiah we find several references to Eliashib, the high priest,[104]) while in Ezr. X. 6 we are told that Ezra went into the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib. Since 'son' is sometimes used for 'grandson', and since it would appear from Neh. XII. 10. f., 22, that Johanan[105]) was the grandson of Eliashib, we appear to be carried on two generations.

The shifts that are resorted to in order to get round this consideration are the clearest evidence of its

[104]) Neh. III. 1, 20 f., XIII. 4, 7.

[105]) Jehohanan and Johanan are forms of the same name, just like Jehoash and Joash. It would appear that the Jonathan of Neh. XII. 11 is to be identified with the Johanan of XII. 22. The names, indeed, are not to be equated, and some have held that a link has been accidentally omitted and that Johanan was the father of Jonathan. Since Jaddua was the high priest in the time of Alexander, it is said that this would better bridge the gap, since only Jaddua is mentioned after Johanan who was already high priest circa 410 B. C. (see below). But Torrey (*Journal of Biblical Literature,* XLVII. 1928, p. 383; cf. also *Ezra Studies,* p. 321) observes that Josephus represents Jaddua as of venerable age in the days of Alexander, and there is no reason to postulate another high priest between Johanan and him. Mowinckel (*Ezra den Skriftlaerde,* 1916, pp. 65 ff.) thinks Jonathan was the son of Joiada, who succeeded his uncle Johanan in the high priestly office. But cf. Johannesen, *op. cit.,* p. 280 f. It is simplest to regard Jonathan of verse 11 as a scribal slip for Johanan. The difference in the Hebrew is very slight, יונתן and יוחנן. De Saulcy (*Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie,* 1868, p. 15 n.) observes that the difference is much slighter in the square character than in the old character, and the substitution must date from after its use.

embarrassment to the traditional view. It is claimed that the Jehohanan of Ezr. X. 6 may have been literally the son of Eliashib, and therefore the brother of Joiada and the uncle of the Johanan who became high priest.[106]) But since we find a similar reference to Johanan the son of Eliashib in Neh. XII. 23, in a context which makes it clear that the Johanan who became high priest is meant, this is not very probable. It is also noted that the name Johanan is a very common one, and there is the less reason to suppose that two people who bore it should be identified.[107]) If it were merely a question of a common name, without any context to suggest their identification, this might be agreed. But here there is also a common father's or grandfather's name, and moreover both have important associations with the Temple. For whereas the one became high priest the other has a room in the Temple. To this it is replied that many people had rooms in the Temple, and Johanan might well have been serving in the Temple in some subordinate capacity at the time.[108]) Moreover, he is not said to be the high priest, as we should have expected if he were the high priest at the time.[109]) Hence, even though it were the same Johanan, this incident might belong to his youth.

All of this is in the highest degree improbable. In the context of events narrated in this chapter Ezra would not be expected to be consorting with subordinate officials and youths, but with the high priest,[110]) and since it is known that Johanan the grandson of Eliashib occupied the high-priesthood it is most likely that it was as high priest that Johanan received him into his room.[111]) That the

[106]) So Wiener, *loc. cit.*, p. 155. Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Scott, *loc. cit.*, p. 265.

[107]) Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[108]) Cf. Wiener, *loc. cit.*, p. 155; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Scott, *loc. cit.*, p. 265.

[109]) Cf. Wiener *loc. cit.*; Wright, *loc. cit.*; Scott, *loc. cit.*

[110]) Cf. Albright, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XL. 1921, p. 121. Cf. also Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Cambridge Bible), 1893, p. 129.

[111]) Ryle *(loc. cit.)* notes the suggestion that in the Chronicler's day the high priest's room was known as Johanan's chamber, and hence he anachronistically used this name. Similarly Berthean-Ryssel, *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemia und Ester* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch), 1887, pp. 121 f.; Schultz, *The Book of Ezra* (in Lange's Commentary, translated by Briggs), 1877, p. 96, and Nikel, *Wiederherstellung*, p. 159: 'Wichtiger dürfte der Umstand sein, dass in dem Ausdruck "Zelle des Johanan ben Eljashib" eine Modernisierung vorliegen kann, die der Chronist an den Esramemoiren vorgenommen hat, um seinen Zeitgenossen besser verständlich zu sein.' This solution does not seem very probable.

Chronicler refers to 'Eliashib the high priest', but only to 'Jehohanan the son of Eliashib' is curious, but proves little. For, as has been noted, in Neh. XII. 23 we find the same thing, though there the context shows that he was actually the high priest. It may be recalled that Josephus narrates that this Johanan was a fratricide, who quarrelled with his brother in the Temple and there slew him.[112]) Josephus expresses the utmost abhorrence for this unparalleled crime, and it is likely that the Chronicler would be even more shocked. It may well be, therefore, that he withheld the title of high priest from Johanan, though he actually filled the office, because he regarded him as unworthy of his office.[113]) It may equally well be that though the Chronicler usually adds 'the high priest' when speaking of one who held that office, his sources did not always do so, and his belief that Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporaries in the high-priesthood of Eliashib would sufficiently account for his not concluding that Johanan was the high priest.

It is in this connexion that the evidence of the Elephantine papyri is of interest, though it is going too far to say, as is sometimes claimed, that this evidence establishes the priority of Nehemiah. It brings support, though neither here nor anywhere else in all this vexed question is there any evidence that can be held to amount to proof on one side or on the other. In a letter dated in 408 B. C. the Jews of Elephantine wrote to the governor of Judaea, stating that they had written three years earlier to 'Johanan, the high priest, and his colleagues, the priests who are in Jerusalem', and that they had also sent a letter to 'Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, the

[112]) Cf. *Antiquities*, XI. 297—9 (XI, XII. 1).

[113]) Cf. Albright, *Journal of Biblical Literature, loc. cit.*, pp. 121 f.

governor of Samaria.'[114]) From this it is clear that Johanan was high priest circa 410 B. C., and that Sanballat was still governor of Samaria at that time. We are not told in the Bible that he held the office of governor, though he was clearly a person of influence, and there is nothing inconsistent with his being governor.[115]) It would appear that he was now an old man, and that the administration of affairs was in the hands of his sons. Sanballat's *floruit* must therefore have fallen some time earlier than this, and since the work of Nehemiah clearly lay in the period when Sanballat was actively in charge of affairs, it would seem that the only Artaxerxes under whom Nehemiah could have lived was Artaxerxes I. Further, since Johanan was high priest in 410 B. C., his grandfather's high-priesthood could well have covered the year 444 B. C. We have some indication in the Bible that Eliashib died while Nehemiah was absent from Jerusalem, for Neh. XIII. 4—7 records things that Eliashib had done during Nehemiah's absence, while Neh. XIII. 28 shows that Joiada, the son of Eliashib and the father of Johanan, was now high priest. This is not clear to the reader of the English version, which reads: 'one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son in-law to Sanballat.' But as Wiener points out,[116]) 'in the phrase A, son of B, the high priest, the qualifying words refer to the son, not the

[114]) Cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, 1923, pp. 108 ff. (AP 30:18, 29).

[115]) In *Ezra Studies*, pp. 334 f. Torrey says: "The book of Nehemiah does not, indeed, refer to its Sanballat as the governor of Samaria, but this fact is of little importance, since "the Horonite" is doubtless employed as a mere term of contempt. We may regard it as fairly certain, in any case, that Nehemiah's Sanballat was in fact governor of Samaria." In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLVII, 1928, p. 386, however, he completely reverses this view, on the basis of the same evidence, saying: "It is quite evident that Nehemiah's adversary *was not governor of Samaria at the time of these events*. Nothing in the record implies this, and the actual situation renders the supposition most improbable."

[116]) *Loc. cit.*, p. 155.

father.' While this may not invariably be so[117]) it seems likely that it is so here, as frequently. The succession Eliashib, high priest in 444 B. C., Joiada, high priest *circa* 432 B. C., Johanan, high priest in 410 B. C., may therefore be said to be established by the Elephantine evidence taken in conjunction with the Biblical, while the hey-day of Sanballat's power may with probability be carried back to the time of Eliashib. If, therefore, Nehemiah's work fell in Sanballat's time, there is every probability that he belonged to the time of Artaxerxes I.

Torrey, who incorrectly says that the mention of Sanballat in the papyri is the sole reason for assigning Nehemiah to the time of Artaxerxes I,[117a]) seeks to turn this by holding that there were two Sanballats,[118]) and by arguing that Nehemiah's contemporary was not the person whose sons are mentioned in the letter from Elephantine. But this is quite insufficient to turn the argument. For Torrey accepts the evidence of the Elephantine letter that Johanan was high priest *circa* 410 B. C.[119]) He omits to show how a Nehemiah who was contemporary with Johanan's grandfather could have flourished in the fourth century B. C. For it is not merely a question of Sanballat, but of Sanballat and Eliashib. Torrey makes no claim that there was a second Eliashib who held office as high priest between Johanan and Jaddua, but expressly states that since Jaddua was an old man in the time of Alexander, no other high priest should be interposed between Johanan and Jaddua.[120]) It is true that Torrey had earlier[121]) rejected the Chronicler's list of high priests as unreliable on the grounds that six high priests were insufficient to cover two hundred years, and that they are represented as in a continuous line. To others there has seemed nothing at all

[117]) In the case above cited, from the Elephantine papyri, it is clearly not so with the title "governor of Samaria" in "Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria". Had a single son been mentioned, there would clearly have been ambiguity.

[117a]) Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLVII, 1928, p. 380.

[118]) Cf. 'Sanballat "the Horonite"', *ibid.*, pp. 380—9.

[119]) *Ibid.*, p. 383.

[120]) *Ibid.*

[121]) Cf. *Ezra Studies*, pp. 319 f.

improbable in this,[122]) but whether this list is complete and reliable or not, it would seem arbitrary to reject Eliashib from their number. He stands not merely in the genealogy that is dismissed as artificial, but in the tradition as the contemporary of Nehemiah. There can be no reason for rejecting this tradition except its conflict with Torrey's theory. It remains alongside the mention of Sanballat, as a further piece of evidence, fully consistent with the evidence of the papyri on Johanan's high-priesthood, and quite fatal to Torrey's transfer of Nehemiah to the following century.

All probability, therefore, points to the reign of Artaxerxes I for Nehemiah, and if Ezra was contemporary with the high-priesthood of Johanan, the only possible Artaxerxes whose seventh year could have seen him come to Jerusalem was Artaxerxes II. If, however, some higher figure is substituted for the seventh year, and the work of Ezra is transferred to the end of the reign of Artaxerxes I, it is possible that by then Johanan had succeeded Joiada. If, on the other hand, Johanan is supposed not to have been high priest in the time of Ezra, and the incident of Ezr. X. 6 is dated in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, we have a most improbable situation. It has been noted that Eliashib appears to have died while Nehemiah was absent from Jerusalem, so that Joiada succeeded to the office *circa* 432 B. C. At that time Johanan's brother had but recently married,[123]) and he may be presumed to have been a young man. It would be surprising if Johanan were old enough and important enough to have a room in the Temple, to which an Ezra could resort, twenty-five years earlier than this.[124]) Such an assumption not only presupposes great disparity in the ages of these brothers. It

[122]) Cf. Batten, *op. cit.*, p. 276: "The list therefore extends through two centuries; as there are six generations, the time covered corresponds very closely to that date." Similarly, Bertheau-Ryssel, *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemia und Ester* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch), 1887, p. 330: "Auf eine der 6 Generationen, welche durch diese Hohenpriester-Reihe von 538—333 v. Chr. repräsentiert werden, kommt etwas weniger als 35 Jahre, was ganz mit der Wahrscheinlichkeit übereinstimmt."

[123]) Neh. XIII. 28. Clearly the marriage must have taken place while Nehemiah had been absent.

[124]) Cf. Lusseau-Collomb, *op. cit.*, p. 1014.

also presupposes that in 410 B. C. Johanan must have been at least seventy years of age. Since only one further high priest followed him to the time of Alexander — another eighty years on — we should have to make the further unlikely assumptions that either Jaddua was the son of his father's old age or he was much more than a centenarian. It is surely simpler, and more reasonably consistent with the data to suppose that Nehemiah was contemporary with Sanballat and Eliashib in 444. B. C., that Eliashib had been lately succeeded by Joiada *circa* 432 B. C., and that Johanan was in the neighbourhood of fifty in 410 B. C., by which time he had succeeded, and that it was to his room that Ezra repaired in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II. Even then Jaddua could easily have been a hundred years old by the time of Alexander, and that would be quite adequate to account for the tradition that he lived to a great age.

More than one writer has argued that the fact that the name of Artaxerxes is spelt in two different ways in Ezra—Nehemiah is an indication that two different kings are referred to. In Ezr. IV. 7 f., where Artaxerxes I is almost certainly intended, we find ארתחשׁשׂתא, and the same spelling is found in Ezr. VI. 14. On the other hand in Ezr. VII. we find the Artaxerxes of Ezra's time spelt ארתחשׁסתא, and this spelling is found in the book of Nehemiah. The earliest writer to make this suggestion appears to have been Imbert.[125]) Torrey[126]) and Oesterley[127]) have renewed it, while Wiener[128]) and Kapelrud[129]) have rejected it. To the present writer the suggestion is precarious and improbable.[130]) If it were valid, it would confirm Torrey's view that the Chronicler supposed that Ezra and Nehemiah both fell in the reign of Artaxerxes II. If we assume for the Chronicler a date as late as *circa* 250 B. C. this would be little more than a century after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes II. It would be sur-

[125]) Cf. *Muséon*, VII, 1888, p. 223.

[126]) Cf. *Ezra Studies*, p. 170.

[127]) Cf. *History of Israel*, II, p. 96 n.

[128]) *Loc. cit.*, p. 150 n.

[129]) *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

[130]) Cf. the present writer's *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, 1935, pp. 49 f.

prising if the Chronicler supposed that Eliashib was high priest a century before his time, and that he had been followed by Joiada, Johanan and Jaddua, as well as the high priests between Jaddua's day and his own — who might be presumed to have been even better known to him. But on Oesterley's view we should have a still more surprising position. For Oesterley dates the Chronicler's work 'in the second half of the fourth century, but possibly even later.'[131]) This means that Oesterley holds that the Chronicler may have written within half a century of that thirty-second year of Artaxerxes II, and yet have recorded this crowded succession of high priests in the recent past. This is vastly more improbable than the assigning of an event of a century earlier to a date a century and a half earlier. For this would involve vigorous confusion about events that were well within his own memory, as well as that of countless people around him.

It is to be noted that neither of the spellings agrees with that found on contemporary texts from the time of Artaxerxes I.[132]) If we cannot suppose that they represent an artificial distinction for which the Chronicler was responsible, therefore, neither can we suppose that either represents a genuine contemporary spelling in sources that came from the time of Artaxerxes I. The only difference between the two spellings is the substitution of ס for ש. This substitution in words generally, which became common in later Aramaic, is found in its beginnings in Biblical Aramaic[133]) though only sporadically. It may well have been, therefore, that in the Chronicler's Aramaic source, on which he drew for Ezr. VII. 12—26, the spelling with ס appeared. He therefore followed it here, as he had followed his Aramaic sources in his earlier spelling, and harmonized the Hebrew introduction to Ezr. VII. 12—26 to this spelling, which he then continued to use throughout the rest of his work.[134]

[131]) Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, p. 112.

[132]) Cf. *Darius the Mede*, p. 49.

[133]) Cf. the present writer's *Aramaic of the Old Testament*, 1929, pp. 33 ff.

[134]) Cf. Marcus (in *Josephus*, Loeb edition, VI, 1937, pp. 505 f.): "The fact that one consonant in the spelling of the name is a phonetic variant of the consonant used in the name Artaxerxes mentioned in the Aramaic documents in the book of Ezra does not necessarily mean that the Chronicler or a later scribe meant to distinguish two Persian kings of that name; and even if it did, the distinction throws no light on the chronology of Nehemiah."

More important than any of these considerations, however, is the fact that Ezra is ignored throughout the memoirs of Nehemiah. If he had come to Jerusalem armed with the extensive powers he is said to have had, and if he was still in Jerusalem, it is almost incredible that he should be so ignored. It is true that all who hold that Ezra was either a fictitious character, or one whose memoirs come from the Chronicler's hand and reflect his exaggerations, doubt the value of the document with which Ezra is said to have been armed. But this does not touch the problem. For if the Chronicler was prepared to invent Ezra, or to exaggerate his importance, he might have been expected also to make Nehemiah take notice of him. That he does not do so suggests that he is dealing with real sources. Lods observes: 'L'autobiographie d'Esdras renferme nombre de données concrètes, dont la sobriété, la précision et la vraisemblance interdisent de voir dans ces pages une fiction.'[135]) In the Chronicler's sources neither of these leaders takes any account of the other, with such possible exceptions as will be examined below.

To Scott the matter is simple. He supposes that Nehemiah based his work on Ezra's, and put into effect Ezra's ideas. He says: 'Ezra the scribe and theorist arrived in 457 and introduced a law, but was not able to enforce it. Nehemiah arrived fourteen years later, and being a man of action and an administrator he was able to enforce the law already introduced, or as much of it as he thought practicable.'[136]) Yet it is surely surprising that he nowhere gives the slightest indication that he is enforcing Ezra's law, or so much as refers to the man whose ideas he is supposed to be putting into practice. Scott apparently transfers the story of Neh. VIII to the time of Ezra's arrival, and so dissolves the slender link between these two men presented by the Chronicler. For he says: 'Ezra evidently appeared on the scene as the purveyor of an

[135]) Cf. *Les prophètes d'Israël*, p. 338 (English translation p. 299).

[136]) *Loc. cit.*, p. 266.

unknown law. Only so could he arouse the curiosity described in Neh. VIII which made the people demand to hear what its terms were.'[137])

Nor does the matter rest there. For we find Nehemiah reviewing the census of the families that returned with Zerubbabel but completely ignoring those who are said to have returned with Ezra.[138]) It would almost look as though he is at pains to slight the man whose work he is supposed to have taken up and brought to fruition. The more natural impression the reading of this chapter would make is that Nehemiah had never heard of the considerable company said to have been led by Ezra.[139])

If Nehemiah and Ezra were together in Jerusalem, in the way the Chronicler would clearly have us believe, the problem is still more acute. For the powers with which Ezra was armed and those which Nehemiah exercised were so similar that they could hardly be exercised together. Had Ezra addressed himself exclusively to the religious side of the people's life, with which he was charged, and Nehemiah addressed himself exclusively to civil tasks, we might still have expected to find them in closer association than we do. But we find Nehemiah regulating the priesthood,[140]) and later regulating tithes and appointing Temple treasurers,[141]) and concerning himself with the observance of the sabbath.[142]) Moreover, both take action in the matter of mixed marriages. But to this we must return. The fields of their interest and activity so much overlapped, therefore, that they can hardly have exercised authority simultaneously.

Van Hoonacker had already observed[143]) that whereas Nehemiah appointed a commission of four to act as treasurers for the Temple,[144]) Ezra finds a similar commission already in being when he arrives.[145]) There

[137]) *Ibid.*
[138]) Neh. VII. 5 ff.
[139]) Ezr. VIII. 1 ff.
[140]) Neh. VII. 64 ff., X. 32 ff.
[141]) Neh. XIII. 10. ff.
[142]) Neh. XIII. 15 ff.
[143]) Cf. *Revue Biblique,* X, 1901, pp. 182 f
[144]) Neh. XIII. 13.
[145]) Ezr. VIII. 33

is no indication that Nehemiah's action was the reconstitution of something that had fallen to pieces while he had been absent from Jerusalem. Similarly in the account of the tithes which is associated with this, there is no suggestion that Nehemiah is simply restoring something which had been regularly observed during the period of his administration before he left Jerusalem — as it ought to have been if Ezra's law was proclaimed in 444 B. C., at the beginning of Nehemiah's administration — but that he is tackling a long-standing abuse.

In the matter of the mixed marriages, we find that Ezra was distressed on his arrival in Jerusalem to find the extent of the problem they created, and he therefore tackled it at once and that in radical fashion by the dissolution of all such marriages[146]) as well as by the stopping of such marriages for the future.[147]) Scott supposes[148]) that Ezra's drastic tactics were a failure. Of this he produces no evidence. The only evidence we have is that Ezra successfully brought all these marriages to an end. Scott does not say whether he supposes that these divorced wives were brought back again, but there is certainly no reason to suppose that they were. If, on the other hand, he only supposes that Ezra was unsuccessful in preventing new marriages with foreign women from being contracted, his whole theory breaks down. For he holds that Nehemiah was successful because he adopted the gentler line of preventing such marriages in the future. He can hardly assume, therefore, that Ezra's policy failed precisely on its gentler side that was in harmony with Nehemiah's. Moreover, further difficulties would still remain. For following Ezra's reading of the law we find that the people swear that they will not allow their children to intermarry with aliens.[149]) Presumably this is what Scott regards as Nehemiah's gentler methods. Yet when Nehemiah returns to Jerusalem on his second visit he finds the problem of mixed marriages confronting him. Clearly then his gentler policy has not been successful. For it is manifest that he is not only thinking of such marriages

[146]) Ezr. IX. and X.
[147]) Ezr. IX. 12.
[148]) *Loc. cit.,* p. 266.
[149]) Neh. X. 30.

as have taken place during his absence, since already there are children of these marriages growing up and speaking another tongue.. Nehemiah therefore abandons a gentle policy, and resorts to curses, and plucking off of the hair of the offenders, and violent expulsion.[150]) This is surely an odd commentary on the thesis of Nehemiah's successful gentleness.

It is more natural to suppose that Nehemiah is dealing with the problem for the first time when he returns to Jerusalem, rather than admitting his own slackness and inefficiency in dealing with it before. It was a problem which had been developing for some time, which was brought to a head by the marriage of the high priest's grandson to Sanballat's daughter while Nehemiah had been absent.[151]) Stirred by this marriage with his own arch-enemy's daughter, he reacts violently against all inter-marriage. His solution of the problem is not lasting because he himself does not seem to have remained on the scene long after his return. Hence, if Ezra belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II, there is nothing surprising in his finding the problem still a real one when he reached Jerusalem. The view that assigns Nehemiah to the reign of Artaxerxes I and Ezra to that of Artaxerxes II finds a gap between the missions of these two men during which the problem could have arisen again; the view that Ezra preceded Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes I offers no gap between their labours, and even though it assumes a period of eclipse for Ezra before Nehemiah arrived, it can provide no adequate gap between 444 B. C., when it assumes that the problem was dealt with, and Nehemiah's return to Jerusalem, when it was still acute.

There are, however, a few passages where the names of Ezra and Nehemiah stand together, or in contexts that suggest that they were contemporary. In Neh. VIII, which tells of Ezra's reading of the law, we suddenly find the name of Nehemiah introduced alongside that of Ezra.[152]) Here it is often noted that Nehemiah's name does not stand in the parallel text in I Esdras,[153]) and it is widely believed that it is not original to the passage.[154]) Its omission leaves no gap in the sense of the passage, and Nehemiah plays no part whatever in the scene. It might perfectly easily have been introduced by one who thought they were contemporary, and who therefore supposed that they ought to have appeared together on such an occasion. There is no need to look beyond the Chronicler for such a person. If Nehemiah's name did not stand in his source, he could easily have added it.[155]) For unless we resort to the hypothesis of considerable dislocation in the work, accompanied or followed by deliberate editorial activity, we must recognize that the Chronicler, whether rightly or wrongly, did suppose that Nehemiah and Ezra were contemporary. And since he has placed this chapter — which is manifestly about Ezra's fulfilment of the mission with which Ezr. VII. 10, 14, 26 declares him to have been charged — amongst the Nehemiah memoirs, it is not surprising that he has introduced the name of Nehemiah. His economy in adding such touches suggests that he is not wilfully misleading his readers, but arranging his materials according to his view of history, and relying mainly on his arrangement to present that view.

At Neh. XII. 26 we have already looked, and there is no need to re-examine that passage here. In Neh. XII. 36, in the account of the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem,

150) Neh. XIII. 25., 28.

151) Neh. XIII. 28. Nehemiah's anger would be the more kindled since he found that the high priest had assigned a room in the Temple to Tobiah the Ammonite, who had been associated with Sanballat in hostility to himself (Neh. XIII. 4 f.).

152) Neh. VIII. 9.

153) 1 Esd. IX. 49. The text of Neh. VIII. 9 has "Nehemiah which was the Tirshatha", while that of 1 Esd. IX. 49 omits the name Nehemiah and understands the title to be a proper name, Attharates.

154) Cf. Hölscher, in Kautzsch-Bertholet, H. S. A. T., II, 1923, p. 546. Torrey holds *(Ezra Studies*, pp. 269, 282) that the text originally had 'the Tirshatha' only, both here and in Neh. X. 1, and that the Chronicler did not know who was the Tirshatha at the time, but that the name Nehemiah has been subsequently added. Kapelrud (*op. cit.*, p. 85) thinks that the words 'Nehemiah the Tirshatha' have been added.

155) Wright *(op. cit.*, p. 27) says the omission of Nehemiah's name in 1 Esd. IX. 49 is natural, since the compiler has not yet introduced the story of Nehemiah. It he knew that it was in fact Nehemiah, there would be no obvious reason for the suppression of this name.

we read, 'and Ezra the scribe was before them.' But here again we have no evidence that these words stood in the Chronicler's source. Just as Nehemiah plays no real part on the occasion reported in Neh. VIII, so Ezra plays none here. We should have expected him to play a larger part than this on a religious occasion, yet all that we have is the minimum reflection of the Chronicler's belief that these two men were contemporary.

These passages are therefore quite insufficient to convince us that Ezra and Nehemiah were dominant figures living and working side by side in Jerusalem, each acting independently on the same questions. Wherever their names are found together one is a mere passenger, whose name can be dropped without the slightest consequence to the narrative.

Against this it has been frequently claimed that a few of the helpers of Nehemiah are mentioned also in connexion with Ezra.[156]) Thus we find a Hattush, the son of Hashabiah, amongst Nehemiah's builders,[157]) and also a Hattush amongst those who returned with Ezra.[158]) The readiness to identify these two[159]) contrasts with the unwillingness to identify Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib, in Ezr. X. 6 and Johanan, the son of Eliashib, in Neh. XII. 23. There, as has been said above, there is much supporting reason for the identification, but here we are not even told the name of the father of the Hattush who returned with Ezra. Neither figures in any incident which would be particularly appropriate to the other, and we have here no other fact except the common name, without any known common paternal name, to suggest the assumed identification. The case is manifestly of the weakest.

As weak is the case of Hashabiah.[160]) Here we find that there was a Hashabiah amongst Nehemiah's

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156) Cf. Kuenen, *op. cit.*, p. 242; Nikel, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.; Jampel, *loc. cit.*, XLVII, 1903, pp. 20 f.; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Scott. *loc. cit.*, p. 265.

157) Neh. III. 10.

158) Ezr. VIII. 2.

159) Cf. Nikel, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 f.; Jampel, *loc. cit.*, p. 21; Wiener, *loc cit.*, p. 158; Wright *op. cit.*, p. 21.

160) Cf. Nikel. *op. cit.*, pp. 154 f.; Jampel, *loc. cit.*, p. 20; Wiener, *loc. cit.*, p. 158.

builders,[161]) and a Hashabiah amongst those who returned with Ezra.[162]) But of reasons which would point to their identification there are none.

Even weaker is the case of Meshullam.[163]) Amongst those who returned with Ezra we find one bearing this name,[164]) while amongst Nehemiah's builders there figures a Meshullam, the son of Berechiah,[165]) That these cannot be identified with the slightest confidence is proved by the fact that when Ezra divorces foreign wives, there is a Meshullam who assists him,[166]) and another whose marriage is dissolved,[167]) while another Meshullam, the son of Besodeiah, is found amongst Nehemiah's builders,[168]) and yet another Meshullam the son of Joed appears later,[169]) while Meshullams of unspecified paternity, who may be different from all of these and from one another, appear in various other places in the book of Nehemiah.[170]) Clearly we must know something more than a man's name before we can identify him.

No stronger is the case of Malchijah, the son of Harim.[171]) This name figures amongst Nehemiah's builders,[172]) while in the list of people who were compelled by Ezra to divorce foreign wives, we find a Malchijah among the sons of Harim.[173]) Here it is not certain that Harim is the actual father, rather than the name of a much wider family. For in Neh. VII. 35 we read of three hundred and twenty sons of one Harim, and in Neh. VII. 42 of a thousand and seventeen sons of another. Even granting that Ezra's Malchijah is the actual son of Harim, his list

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161) Neh. III. 17.

162) Ezr. VIII. 19

163) Cf. Nikel, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Scott, *loi. cit.*, p. 265.

164) Ezr. VIII. 16.

165) Neh. III. 4, 20.

166) Ezr. X. 15.

167) Ezr. X. 29.

168) Neh. III. 6.

169) Neh. XI. 8.

170) Neh. VIII. 4, X. 7, 20, XII. 25, 33.

171) Cf. Kuenen, *op. cit.*, 242; Nikel, *op. cit.*, p. 156; *Wright, op. cit*, p. 21.

172) Neh. III. 11.

173) Ezr. X. 31.

provides evidence of two families of Harim,[174]) the one priestly and the other non-priestly, while in Nehemiah's list of builders we find another Malchijah.[175]) Two other persons named Malchijah stand in Ezra's list of divorced persons,[176]) while the name stands elsewhere in the book of Nehemiah, where we have no means of identifying with any of the foregoing.[177]) Neither name is therefore unique, and there is nothing beyond the names to identify the first two. The incidents in which they figure have nothing in common. In the one Malchijah is censured; in the other a praiseworthy act is recorded. It is, of course, conceivable that in 457 B. C. Malchijah should be censured and in 444 B. C. should help with Nehemiah's building; it is equally possible that one Malchijah should share in the building in 444 B. C. and another should be made to give up his foreign wife nearly half a century later. The one might possibly be the grandson of the other, since it was not uncommon for men to bear their grandfathers' names. But he might equally well be quite unrelated.

Much stronger is the case of Meremoth, the son of Uriah.[178]) One bearing this name appears amongst Nehemiah's builders,[179]) while we find that when Ezra reaches Jerusalem he hands the treasure he has brought to Meremoth, the son of Uriah, and some others.[180]) It is probable that Nehemiah's Meremoth is a priest, since we find that he repairs an extra portion of the wall,[181]) and that this portion covered the high priest's house. There is every reason to identify the Meremoth of these references. The Meremoth who was selected to act as the chief treasurer was clearly a man of some personality, and the Meremoth of the other incident was equally clearly one who rose above the common level. But there is no

[174]) Cf. Ezr. X. 21.
[175]) Neh. III. 11. Cf. also Neh. III. 31.
[176]) Ezr. X. 25.
[177]) Neh. VIII. 4, X. 3, XII. 42.
[178]) Cf. Kuenen *op. cit.*, 242; Nikel, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Scott, *loc. cit.*, p. 265.
[179]) Neh. III. 4.
[180]) Ezr. VIII. 33.
[181]) Neh. III. 21.

likelihood that the building incident came thirteen years after the other. The builder who undertook a double portion of the building was most likely a young man, strong and vigorous; while the treasurer of national funds would be much more likely to be a senior member of the priesthood.[182]) If he was already a senior and a man of high authority in the Temple in 457 B. C., his age in 444 B. C. would render it very unlikely that he would be fit for a double portion of building. On the other hand, if he were a youthful enthusiast of twenty in 444 B. C., in 397 B. C., when Ezra found him already at the head of the treasury of the Temple, he would be sixty-seven. In this there is no improbability whatever.

Enough has been said to show that the latest attacks on the priority of Nehemiah and the location of Ezra in the reign of Artaxerxes II have produced no substantially new arguments that their predecessors have not used. While we have not, and are not likely to have, any evidence which can prove that Ezra belonged to the fourth century B. C., still less is there any evidence that he belonged to the fifth century B. C. In the balance of probabilities the scales seem still to come down on the side of Van Hoonacker's view, with the exception that the Belgian scholar needlessly supposed that Ezra had also been in Jerusalem with Nehemiah on the latter's second visit to Jerusalem, many years before he began his own mission in 397 B. C. Most of his followers have differed from him here, and have made Ezra's work begin in 397 B. C., thus eliminating the difficulty of the advanced age that Ezra would otherwise have reached when he undertook his mission, and eliminating any overlap in the period of activity of Nehemiah and Ezra.

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[182]) Cf. Albright, *Journal of Bbilical Literature*, XL. 1921, p. 123.

THE ARGUMENT FROM DESIGN

A Mu'tazilite Treatise attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ

The numerous treatises attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ which have come to light in recent years are amongst the most interesting additions to the stock of Arabic literature, both by reason of the originality of their contents and the wide range of subjects which they cover. Even so, the total remains far short of the 126 works attributed to him by Yāqūt. Since, however, the success of his writings brought out a host of imitators,[1]) the question of authenticity always arises in the case of minor treatises, even when books with the same or a similar title are listed among his works in the *Fihrist* or by Yāqūt.

Of the extant treatises, about a dozen are on theological subjects. Al-Jāḥiẓ, as is well known, held Mu'tazilite views, and the place which he occupied in theological controversies is sufficiently shown by the large number of references to him in al-Khayyāṭ's defence of the Mu'tazilites.[2]) Like many other Mu'tazilites, including his teacher an-Naẓẓām, he not only defended the Mu'tazila against other Muslim schools, but also wrote in defence of Islām against Christians, Dualists, and the materialist philosophers.[3])

To this latter class belongs the treatise entitled *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa'l-I'tibār*, "The Book of Illustrations and Evidence (or Admonition)". Its preservation is due to the same community as rescued other relics of the Mu'tazilite school, the Zaidīs of al-Yemen. A copy made for Glaser

[1]) Cf. *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Aḍdād*, ed. van Vloten, preface, pp. XI—XII.

[2]) *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, 30 ff. See also Shahrastānī, ed Cureton, I, 52, and Brockelmann, *Supplement*, I, 240.

[3]) Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 67, 4: "He was the author of many famous and important works in defence of the Faith".

is now in the British Museum;[4]) it was evidently made in haste and without care, and by itself presents a far from ideal basis for an edition of the text. Fortunately, the late Aḥmad Zakī Pasha obtained during a visit to Ṣan'ā three older and more perfect MSS of the same work, and before his death he intended to prepare from them, together with a transcript of the British Museum MS made by the present writer, a complete edition of the treatise.

In the meantime Shaikh Muḥammad Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākh published at Aleppo in 1928 a version of the same work under the title of *Kitāb ad-Dalā'il wa'l-I'tibār*. This edition, erroneously identified by Brockelmann (*Supplement* I, 247) with the British Museum MS, is in reality a much revised and simplified work. The original introduction, occupying four pages, and including the enlightening passage translated below as well as an explicit affirmation of the author's Mu'tazilite standpoint, has been entirely omitted, and a new exordium roughly fitted in (*Dalā'il* p.3, 11. 2—5). Not only are the arguments themselves frequently shortened and rewritten, but the wealth of synonyms, doublets and amplifications characteristic of the literary style of al-Jāḥiẓ have been excised. The structure of the treatise has been largely recast; in particular, the short final sections of the original on the limitations upon man's knowledge of God are replaced by lengthy arguments (*Dalā'il*, pp. 60—78) in refutation of philosophical or rationalist heresies on God's dealings with men. Rescher and Sandūbī, followed by Brockelmann (loc. cit.), are thus fully justified in rejecting the attribution of this version to al-Jāḥiẓ; but their arguments do not apply to the original work without qualification.

The object of the treatise is to demonstrate the natural evidences for the existence and unity of the Creator from the order visible in terrestrial and celestial phenomena, the perfection in growth and instinct and adaptation to their environment of animals, vegetables and minerals. The principal "illustrations" will be briefly resumed below. But the bare enumeration of sections and headings gives little idea of the interest and distinctive features of the work. The cosmological argument for the

[4]) Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic MSS*, no. 684.

existence of a Creator forms the subject of relatively few works in Arabic literature, in spite of the example set by the Qur'ān, but it is probable that it was frequently discussed by the Mu'tazilites and from them passed into Zaidī literature.[5])

That the author was a Mu'tazilite is clear from the description of God in the Introduction as „visible, but not to the eyes", and from the repeated assertion of the characteristic Mu'tazilite argument that intelligence alone is sufficient to guide men to knowledge of the Creator. It seems also to be intended to maintain the Mu'tazilite argument that this is the best of all possible worlds, although the usual technical terms are not mentioned. A point of particular significance is that the work does not profess to be, as might have been expected, a product of the controversy between the Mu'tazilite and the orthodox; on the contrary, it assumes the Mu'tazilite view throughout as unquestioned. One very remarkable feature for a Muslim theological work is that no appeal whatever is made to Revelation, and the Qur'ān is not even once referred to, although expressions from the Qur'ān are used in several passages, especially in the Introduction. The argument is directed against those who maintained a philosophical scepticism as to the origin and government of the world, and against the dualism of the Manichees. The writer no doubt realized that reference to the Qur'ān and to other revealed books would carry no conviction to his opponents, and therefore conducted his argument on strictly scientific and non-confessional lines, the only authority quoted being Aristotle.

The treatise thus throws a further ray of light upon the aspect of the Mu'tazilite movement illuminated by the late M.-A. Guidi[6]). The Mu'tazila appear, not in the form of a heretical wing, as presented by their orthodox antagonists in later times, but as they were when Mu'tazilism was a living force, growing rapidly in strength and cohesion of thought under the stimulus of the greatest intellectual leaders of the early Islamic centuries. Here they stand, not as the protagonists for a reasonable creed against anthropomorphism and literalism, but as the defenders of a religious world-view against scepticism and unbelief[7]). No orthodox theologian could have written such a book in the early part of the third century — the date to which it must be assigned, when the conflict with the Materialists and the Dualists was at its height — nor any writer who had not assimilated something at least of the Greek scientific spirit.

By far the most interesting problem presented by the book, however, is the examination of its sources, as a contribution to our understanding of the intellectual activities of the circle in which the writer lived. These sources are fortunately enumerated by the author himself in the Introduction as follows:[8])

> "Books similar to this of ours have already been written by a number of learned men of old, but they neither made the meaning of the subject plain nor cleared up its difficulties. One of these writers was Jibrīl b. Nūḥ al-Anbārī, for he issued his book without either preface or introduction, and arranged it according to the system of the philosophers, couching it in such abstruse language and putting it together so unevenly that he can scarcely be said to have written a book at all. Prior to him a work on this subject was composed by Diodorus, a bishop and scholar of Tarsus. Diodorus wrote his work, which he called 'The Book of Reflection' in the time of Julian, the chief of the Greeks, who was noted for his

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[5]) As an example may be cited the *Kitāb Haqā'iq al-Ma'ārif* of the Zaidī Imām Aḥmad b. Sulaimān (d. 566) (E. Griffini, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Arabi della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, no. 355, I = *R. S. O.* VII, pp. 573—4; cf. Ahlwardt 4950, X). The first four sections of this work (especially the third and fourth, *fī ma'rifati 'ssan'i* and *fī ma'rifati 'ssāni'* respectively) summarize very briefly and superficially the argument from nature and present some coincidences with the *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, though the latter work is never mentioned.

[6]) *La Lotta tra L'Islam e il Manicheismo* (Rome 1927), especially pp. XXIV—XXV.

[7]) This objective is clearly defined by al-Jāḥiẓ himself in *Ḥayawān* II, 48, against the criticism of the philosophers as quoted by Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* p. 129 (2nd ed., p. 127).

[8]) The Arabic text of this passage, except for the last sentence, will be found in Rieu's *Supplement*, pp. 466—7.

materialistic doctrines and his zeal for the religion of unbelief, being a dissembler and a knave. The work of Diodorus was translated by one of his followers from Syriac into Arabic, but through the weakness of the translation it lacked clearness and did not explain [its meaning] as it should have done, for the translator spoiled it by arbitrary interpretation of the languages and by weakness of expression. Another work was written by Theodoretos, bishop of Cyrrhus, originally in Greek, translated afterwards into Syriac and then into Arabic, but it shared the fate of the former work, spoiled it by the repeated translation and by unpleasing expressions. Yet another was a book written in the days of the Umayyads by Yasū'bukht, Metropolitan of Fārs. He composed it in Persian and wrote in a most obscure style. We have collected in this book of ours the good points which we have found in these older books, together with additional matter according to our ability and the help of God, explaining what we have borrowed from others and setting down our own additions in clear language."

To these four works named by the author in this passage must be added Aristotle's *Book of Animals*, which is frequently referred to in the later sections, introduced by *qāla Arisṭāṭālis* or *qāla ṣāḥib Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. Of these five sources three are purely Greek, the fourth (that written by the Metropolitan of Fārs) certainly derived from Greek though written in Pahlevi, and the fifth written in Arabic by an author who bears a name common to Christian, Jew and Muslim, but equally of Greek inspiration since it was 'arranged according to the system of the philosophers'. It does not, of course, follow that the writer of the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* himself knew Greek. Aristotle's *De Animalibus* was translated into Arabic more than once, and the remarks on the badness of the Arabic translations of Diodorus and Theodoretos may be based simply on the style of the Arabic versions. But the possibility that he was acquainted with Greek is not at all excluded. What is of more importance here is the point that in so far as these Greek models are preserved, it should be possible to compare the treatment which the subject has received at the hands of the Christian

apologist on the one side and the Muslim apologist on the other, and to discover how far the latter is indebted to the former.

As regards the περὶ οἰκονομίας of Diodorus, the work is lost, except for a few fragments. The record of its translation into Syriac by Ma'nā in the fifth century has survived[9]), but the Syriac version also is apparently not extant. Theodoretos' treatise περὶ προνοίας, on the other hand, is one of the most reputed of Greek patristic works, and is included in Migne's *Patrologia Orientalis Graeca*, vol. 83[10]). The Persian work of Yasū'bukht[11]) is, of course, lost, and nothing whatever is known of the work of Jibril b. Nūḥ,[12]) so unsparingly condemned by al-Jāḥiẓ, if he is the author of the treatise.

The field of comparison is accordingly narrowed down to one only of the four works cited by the author, exclusive of Aristotle, namely the *De Providentia* of Theodoretos of Cyrrhus. This is a work composed of ten sermons, the first five of which draw examples from (1) sun, sky, moon and stars; (2) atmosphere, earth and sea; (3) the human body; (4) the human hands and invented arts; (5) man's supremacy over the brute creatures. The author of the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* has used a considerable amount of the material in the first chapter, but with much revision and rearrangement; he has little in common with the second, except in the section on the atmosphere; from the third he has used only a few extracts; the materials in the fourth have been very little used, and the subjects are treated in strikingly different proportions; the materials in the fifth are utilized very summarily and as part of a wider general scheme. The last five sermons

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[9]) Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 105.

[10]) Baumstark (106) refers to Syriac translations of Theodoretos, but makes no specific mention of this work.

[11]) Īshō'bōkht, the author of a reputed work on Nestorian law, which is generally dated between 775 and 790, i. e. in the early 'Abbāsid period. See C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti* IV, 573—4.

[12]) I have not been able to find any other mention of this writer.

of Theodoretos fall outside the scope of the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* entirely.

In literary treatment the two books differ widely. The sermons of Theodoretos are couched in eloquent rhetoric, punctuated with humorous asides, and reveal the influence of the long cultural tradition of Greece. The Arabic work is abrupt and to the point, without literary elegance though with an easy mastery of language and argument; and it relies more upon the cumulative effect of instance piled upon instance to attain its purpose than upon rhetorical persuasion. There are certain points in which the structure or influence of the Greek work appear directly, as in the introduction to each section, where *tafakkar* or *unẓur* is reminiscent of thé ἐπισκεψάσθε or βλέπε (μοί) of Theodoretos. But in general the correspondence between the instances of Theodoretos and the „illustrations" of the *Kitāb al 'Ibar* is extremely loose; upon occasion the latter gives an entirely different explanation from that given by the former, and the Arabic work frequently shows itself in such cases the more scientific of the two. It would seem, therefore, either that the author of the Arabic treatise completely recast his materials, or else that he was more closely dependent upon the lost works of Diodoros and Īshō'bōkht than upon Theodoretos.

The following is a list of the "illustrations" adduced in the *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, with references to comparable passages in the work of Theodoretos and the *De Animalibus* of Aristotle. In view of what has has been said above, it should not be assumed that the references imply anything more than a general similarity of idea between the Arabic and the Greek works. It is probable also that the material derived from Aristotle is much larger than would appear from this table.

Organization of the Universe resembles that of a well-arranged house; Th. col. 608.

* Colour of the sky.

Rising and setting of the sun
Ascent and decline of the sun
Annual movement of sun & moon
} Th. 565—573, differently arranged and treated.

* Themes to which there are no parallels in Theodoretos.

* Daily movement of the sun and penetration of rays.
Alternation of night and day
Movements of the stars
} Th. 565—573.
* Varieties of courses of the stars and their double movement.
Alternation of heat and cold; Th. 572.
* Fire placed at the disposal of men.
Utility of the atmosphere; Theo. 577.
* Stability and dryness of the earth.
* Utility of mountains.
* Nature and effects of metals.
* Story of the camphor groves (omitted in *Dalā'il*).
* Roominess of the earth.
* Abundance and utility of water and fire.
Utility of the sea; Th. 585.
* Alternation of rain and fair weather.
* Various uses of plants and wood.
Differences in seed-vessels; Th. 604.
Utility of roots; Th. 596.
* Structure of leaves, kernels, etc.
* Other consideration relating to trees and plants.
* Special utility of palms.
* Uses of herbs and desert plants.
* Bodily structure of animals.
Species of animals: man, carnivores, herbivores; Th. 613.
* Differences in maternal care.
* Arrangement of animals' legs in pairs; Arist. 489b. 5.
Submissiveness of domestic animals owing to lack of intelligence, though they sometimes rebel; Th. 633—637.
* Wild beasts prevented from uniting against men.
Utility and devotion of dogs; Th. 637.
* Utility of the ass
* The elephant; Arist. 500b. 9—13.
* Clothing of animals and men.
* Disposal of corpses of wild and domestic animals.
* Muzzles, taiis, etc. of animals; Arist. 497b. 25.
* Heterogeneous members of the giraffe not due to cross-breeding: Arist. 500a. 13 ff. and 539b. 17 ff.
* Monkeys; Arist. 502a. 22 ff (?).
* Story of the sea-monster and the cloud.

* Instincts of animals (for crocodile cf. Arist. 612b. 20).
* The lion-spider; Arist. 622b-623a.
  Spiders; Th. 629.
* Birds in general, care of young, eggs, crop, colouring, wing structure, etc.
* Particular birds (sparrows, bats, etc.).
  Bees; Th. 624.
* Valuable products of particular animals (silkworms, etc.).
* Locusts.
* Fish in general.
* Cochineal insect.
* Structure of man.
* Why children are born without intelligence.
* Fitness of human limbs for their tasks.
  Passage of food through the body; Th. 593.
* Faculty of standing and sitting upright.
* Location of the five senses in the head.
  Intermediaries between senses and things sensed; Th. 577.
* Singularity and pairs of members.
  Voice and production of sounds; Th. 589, 592.
  Brain protected by the skull; Th. 601.
  Heart protected by the ribs; Th 593.
* Various organs of the body.
* Correspondence of heart and lungs; Arist. 496a, 28 ff.
* Molar teeth, hair[13]), finger-nails, saliva.
* Organization of the active forces of the body.
* Organization of the forces of the mind.
* Man has been given all knowledge necessary for a godly and just life. (N. B. From this point the text of *Dalā'il* diverges from that of the B. M. MS.)
* Man's knowledge of God not detailed but general, since He is hidden from vision and visible only in the evidences of His creative power.

To illustrate the relations between the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* and Theodoretos on the one hand, and *Kitāb ad-Dalā'il* on the other, four examples are appended.

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[13]) The argument for the fitness of hair to the parts of the body on which it grows differs entirely from the statement in Theodoretos, col. 609.

I. B. M. MS. fol. 5b. "Consider the rising of the sun that gives light, and its setting to establish the alternations of night and day. Were it not for its rising the whole order of the world would be disrupted; for how could men busy themselves in their occupations or dispose of their affairs with a world in darkness over them, and how could they enjoy life lacking light and its pleasure and cheerfulness? Thus the object of its rising is so obvious as to dispense with lengthy discussion of it. But consider the utility of its setting. Were it not for its setting, men would enjoy no tranquility, quiet and rest, in spite of their great need of it in order to rest their bodies and refresh their faculties, to allow their digestive power to operate and carry nourishment into all the members of the body, as the books of medicine describe. Moreover, avarice impels certain greedy men to persevere in and to lengthen their hours of work, in order that their benefits and their gain may be multiplied, and this injures their powers and bodily faculties, wherefore their ignorance and desire for gain and for the fructifying of their money leads them to destruction. For many men, were it not that night seizes upon them by its darkness, would never rest from working out of desire for gain, nor would they take their ease."

Dalā'il, p. 4. As above, except that the second last sentence is shortened to: "Moreover, avarice impels certain greedy men to persevere in and lengthen their hours of work in spite of great injury to their bodies."

Theodoretos (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 83) coll. 565—568. "For the rising sun makes the day; at its setting, as it were hiding itself, it gives place to night, whose murkiness the Demiourgos tempers by moon and stars. Day and night are as sisters who borrow time from one another in turn for the benefit of men ... Taking our fill of the light during the day, we require the repose of night ... Thus, tired out by the labours of the day, we give rest by night to the body, and restoring it thoroughly by bed, sleep and quiet, we send it forth again renewed at dawn to its labours. Such and so great benefit does night give to us."

II. B. M. MS. fol. 15a. "As for wheat and similar grains, they come forth enveloped in hard husks, having on their heads prickles like spears; thus birds are prevented from picking them when they are in the ear and a plentiful harvest is assured for the husbandmen."

Dalā'il, p. 20 "As for wheat and the like, it comes forth enveloped in hard husks, having on their heads prickles like spears to keep the birds from it."

Theodoretos, col. 608. "Likewise the Demiourgos of all things has armed the ears of corn, for setting spikes (ἀνθέρικας) upon the husks he protects their fruit as by a rampart from seizure by the little birds that lie in wait for the seeds and frightens them away by these spearpoints as it were."

III. B. M. MS. fol. 12a. "Consider the rarity of gold and silver and the failure of man's endeavours to seek for them in spite of his covetousness and eager efforts and labour and toil. For if everyone who coveted that and sought it were to attain his desire, gold and silver would be multiplied amongst men and become so abundant that their value would be lost and their utility vanish. Kings would seize that from all men by the great power, might and authority that they possess, and would store up great quantities of it for their descendants. Yet men have been given the faculty of making glass from sand, and brass and copper and vermilion with quicksilver, and other such processes without any injury being caused to them thereby, while they are restrained from that in which they would suffer injury were they to attain it. How has this come about save by the determination of a wise planner? I have been told by one of those who work in mines and seek to extract the hidden treasures of the earth that in their search they penetrated far into a certain place in the hills and reached at length in the mine a place in which they saw something like vines with silver beneath them, but before reaching these they encountered a great river in which was an abundant flow of water with a current in which none could swim because of its violence. They stood for a time devising expedients for crossing but were unable to do so, so they returned to a place where there was wood and took some of it. But when they were finished with this they sought for the place where the silver like vines was, but could not find it and missed their way to it and returned full of sorrow and despair. Consider this tale, how the Creator showed them his power and the extent of his goodness and the multitude of his treasures and possessions, then intervened between them and that which would derange life for his creatures."

Dalā'il, pp. 14–15. "Next consider the rarity of this gold and silver, and the failure of men's cunning to achieve their manufacture, in spite of their covetousness and endeavour to that end. For if they were to gain this knowledge at which they aim, it would undoubtedly become generally known and widespread in the earth, with the consequence that gold and silver would be multiplied and fall in the estimation of men, so that they would have no value and their utility in buying and selling and transactions and the taxation levied for the government and the treasures stored up for future generations would be nullified. Yet men have been given the [knowledge of] manufacture of yellow brass from copper and glass from sand and similar processes in which there is no injury. See how they are given what they want in that which holds no inconvenience for them and are restrained from it in what would be injurious for them were they to attain it. We have been told by certain persons who work in mines that they penetrated far into a certain mine and came at length to a place in which they saw as it were mountains of silver, but in front of it was a great river flowing without ceasing with much water, whose bottom could not be reached and which there was no means of crossing. Then they came back to search for it, but could not find it and returned sorrowing."

IV. B. M. MS. fol. 13b. "Likewise the element of water; were it not for its abundance and copious outpouring and flowing in rivers and streams, it would be insufficient for men's needs, and you would find the strong oppressing the weak to obtain it for his requirements of it to water his crops and for his own drinking, not to speak of the needs that all animals have of it, birds, wild beasts, carnivores, domestic cattle, fish, flocks and reptiles. Were it not for this, disaster would befall the world and its organization be deranged."

Dalā'il p. 16. "Likewise water; were it not for its copious outpouring and flowing in springs, wādīs and rivers, it would be insufficient for men's requirements for their drinking, the watering of their flocks and herds, and the irrigation of their crops, groves and various kinds of produce, and for the drinking of the beasts, birds and

carnivores that go down to it. And in it move fishes and marine creatures."

It appears to me that the evidence for the authenticity of this treatise, though not strong enough to permit of an unqualified assertion, is nevertheless fairly strong. The objections brought by Rescher against the attribution to al-Jāḥiẓ of the *Kitāb al-Dalā'il* lose most of their force when applied to the original work. In view of the fact that most of the paragraphs open with *tafakkar fī*, it is certain that this is the work ascribed to al-Jāḥiẓ by Yāqūt (*Irshād* VI. 77, 9) under the title of *Kitāb al-Tafakkur wa'l-I'tibār*. But the question of style is a difficult one. Although there are not a few passages in the original text which present the same features as the accepted works of al-Jāḥiẓ, the language of the argument is in general more restrained and direct. In my view, however, this is not a decisive objection, since it is obvious that the value of a controversial work is largely conditioned by its clarity and intelligibility.

Apart from its theological and scientific value, the treatise may also, possibly, throw some light on the evolution of the literary activities of al-Jāḥiẓ. Several of its sections offer analogies with his *Book of Animals*[14]) and as it is clearly not dependent on that work, it is a reasonable hypothesis that it represents a preliminary stage in the process which led up to the composition of that remarkable book. The self-confessed dependence of many passages in the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* upon Aristotle's *De Animalibus* also suggest that, when at length the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* is made the subject of a long overdue investigation, it will be part of the investigator's task to determine its relation to Aristotle's work, however much al-Jāḥiẓ may have refashioned his materials in the crucible of his own inimitable genius.

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[14]) These resemblances are especially frequent in Book VII of *al-Ḥayawān*, in which, moreover, the argument from design is explicitly resumed on pp. 4—5 and 19, foot.

THE QUR'ĀN AND THE 'ARABĪYA[1])

In his learned article *Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung*[2]) Otto Pretzl describes a number of Arabic texts dealing with the reading of the Qur'ān of which many were unknown or unnoticed so far. Pretzl refers to the fact that books on the reading of the Qur'ān which have been preserved are generally of much later origin than books dealing with mere profane matters, such as for instance Arabic grammar, and he suggests that books devoted to religious problems have been subjected to a sharper scrutiny. The fact that on the whole only late and undesirable commentaries and supra-commentaries on comparatively recent books were available to us was the reason that no special attention was devoted to these studies in the West. Pretzl hopes that on the basis of the new material collected by him new results for the history of the language and of the religion may be obtained by these studies.

When, however, he himself would review these problems,[3]) he confines himself to reproducing the ideas of ad-Dānī (died A. H. 444), one of the chief authorities for the later orthodox doctrine. But in books like those composed by that authority we rarely find any new light shed on the early period of Islam. The reason why earlier books on reading of the Qur'ān have disappeared may be that the problems discussed in them were uncongenial to later times. The Muslims themselves have certainly hesitated to propagate books of that kind.

[1]) The present article is written in English as it is based chiefly on two MSS. of the Chester Beatty collection.

[2]) *Islamica* VI, Leipzig 1934, pp. 1—47, 230—46, 290—331. The article is based on a careful investigation of Istanbul MSS., supplemented by notes on Egyptian and other MSS. collected by Bergsträsser, and by reference to MSS. in European libraries.

[3]) *Die Aussprachegrundlagen (uṣūl) der Koranlesung*. ib. p. 290 ff.

For Bergsträsser, in the valuable new edition of the 3rd part of Theodor Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans*[4]) the chief source of information on the reading of the Qur'ān is the introduction to the book on the Ten Readers *an-nashr fi'l-qirā'āt al-'ashr*, composed by Ibn al Jazarī (died A. H. 833). This introduction is for him of particular value especially from the historical point of view, because it is rich in quotations from earlier books on this matter. Nobody will deny the great value of the book. But I think that Bergsträsser did not reckon with the possibility that in the historical retrospects of such a leading handbook only such problems were reported and discussed which were not in conflict with the generally accepted views of later times. Bergsträsser is not aware that the sources used by him do not help us to understand the real conditions at the beginning of Islam. He discusses, for instance, the two conditions for the admissibility of readings in the Qur'ān which had been stipulated by Abū Bakr b. Miqsam al-'Aṭṭār (died A. H. 354), namely correctness of language and conformity with the text of 'Uthmān, and declares that the first condition was of no great importance, and he makes the attempt to explain it by writing:

> Bei dem ungeheuren Einstrom der *mawālī* in den Islam mussten Sprachfehler in der Koranrezitation oft genug vorkommen; sie konnten aber nie mit dem Anspruch auf Geltung auftreten: dazu war der Anteil der echten Araber und ihr sprachliches Selbstbewusstein zu stark . . .

These conclusions explain the conditions of later time, but not those at the beginning of Islam. Ibn Miqsam was a pupil of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Shanabūdh (died A. H. 328), the last authority who dared to defend non-'Uthmānic readings in the Qur'ān. In reading the Qur'ān, Ibn Miqsam had followed a practice which had generally been adopted in earlier times but was regarded as incorrect in the beginning of the 4th century. When in A. H. 322 he was summoned by the Sultan to appear before a court of lawyers and readers, his practice was

[4]) Leipzig 1926, 1929, continued after his death by Pretzl, 1936, 1938.

condemned, he had to recant, and his books were burnt,[5]) and we know of them only from occasional quotations. If these books had been preserved to us, we might find in them several things which could help us to understand the conditions of earlier times. And the same may be said of many books now lost to us.

Under these circumstances it is indeed remarkable that Bergsträsser, in discussing the reading of the Qur'ān, does not even with a single word refer to the problems raised by Karl Vollers in his book *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (Strassburg 1906). Vollers attempted to characterise the language spoken in Mecca at the time of the Prophet on the basis of variant readings in the Qur'ān which he collected from various sources. He presumes these to be 'unofficial' readings, rejected in general by the authorities, and he attributes their great importance to the fact that their mode of transmission gives every guarantee that they belong to the time of the Prophet, his contemporaries, or the succeeding generations. Thus he arrives at the conclusion that these readings belong to the language actually spoken in the 7th century A. D. He has attempted to describe this language in detail in his book. The last paragraph (§ 43) is devoted to the "I'rāb", the vocalic endings of Arabic words according to the "'Arabīya", the language based on the rules of classical Arabic. Vollers is convinced that there existed in Mecca at the time of the Prophet, besides the 'Arabīya, a more simple language which was more in accordance with dialects which must always have existed although they are not known to us except in recent time only, and more in accordance with the other Semitic languages. With regard to the I'rāb he makes the following statement (p. 169):

> Weit entfernt, eine aus der Allgemeinheit des Sprachgebrauchs entspringende selbstverständliche Pflicht zu sein, war das I'rāb schon zur Zeit des Propheten vielleicht noch das Eigentum gewisser Stämme, im übrigen nur das Vorrecht der höheren Sprache, in engerem Sinne nur der streng metrisch aufgebauten Poesie.

[5]) This is reported by Ibn Miskawaih and Ibn al-Athīr, see Bergstässer, *op. cit.*, p. 122, note 4.

He then draws the following conclusions (§ 44): the language of the Qur'ān had been transformed on the whole in accordance with the model of the poetry of the Najd Bedouins; this transformed language has been victorious and has destroyed or driven aside the local and individual shape of the original language; for 1200 years this language has been regarded as the original, genuine and undisputed language of the Holy Book.

It is well known that to the whole theory of Vollers serious objections have been raised by Theodor Nöldeke.[6]) He has pointed out several misunderstandings and shortcomings in Vollers' deductions, and he is certainly right when he declares that the text of the Qur'ān as published by Flügel cannot be regarded with Vollers as the 'official' text: many of the 'unofficial' readings collected by Vollers are regarded as 'official' by other authorities; the number of variants collected by him chiefly from al-Baiḍāwī's commentary is insufficient and would have to be considerably increased if they really are to prove anything; many of the variants must be regarded as more or less strange to the actually spoken language, and this language cannot be opposed as 'Volkssprache' to a 'Schriftsprache'. In other instances also he may be right. Nöldeke's chief objection against the theories of Vollers is to be found in the following statement:

> Der Orientale neigt dazu den feierlichen Vortrag heiliger Texte künstlich zu gestalten; das taten die Juden und die Syrer auch. Aber die wirkliche Sprache blickt doch überall durch. Und das lässt sich mit Sicherheit sagen: hätten der Prophet und seine gläubigen Zeitgenossen den Koran ohne I'rāb gesprochen, so wäre die Tradition davon nicht spurlos untergegangen.

Traditions that the Qur'ān was read without I'rāb sometimes have so far been rare. Two traditions reported by as-Suyūṭī (died A. H. 911) in his *Itqān*[7]) have been

[6]) *Der Koran und die 'Arabīja* in *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg,* 1910. pp. 1—5.

[7]) At the beginning of *nau'* 36. In the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition (Calcutta 1857) p. 266.

noted by Vollers. One, traced back to Abū Huraira, is the exhortation:[8])

> Read with I'rāb the Qur'ān and look after its strange words!

The other is reported from 'Umar's son:[9])

> Whoever recites the Qur'ān and reads it with I'rāb, shall have for every letter twenty recompenses. Whoever reads it without I'rāb shall have for every letter ten recompenses.

Vollers quite correctly remarks that for so late an authority as as-Suyūṭī it was unthinkable that the Qur'ān should ever have been read without I'rāb; he would no longer understand such traditions and attempted to explain I'rāb there not in the usual meaning of the grammarians, but as referring to certain stylistic or rhetorical elegancies.

Clear traditions of that kind can really not be expected in later books and we can understand that Bergsträsser was impressed by Nöldeke's criticisms and passed with silence over Vollers' arguments, as in the books on reading the Qur'ān used by him nothing of these problems was to be found, and that Pretzl also was under the same influence. It may be that hints of such problems may be found in some of the earlier treatises collected by him, but he did not look out for them.

Nevertheless, the tradition that the Qur'ān was sometimes read without I'rāb was not altogether lost without trace as Nöldeke supposed. I myself have referred to an important statement concerning this problem made by al-Farrā' (died A. H. 207), the great authority on Qur'ān and grammar in Kūfa, which I have found in a

[8]) Vollers translates not quite correctly: "Sie haben den Qoran mit dem I'rāb versehn und sind (dann) den fremdartigen Ausdrücken nachgegangen" (p. 181). But we have here imperatives, and so the text is vocalised in the book quoted below, Nos. 12, 13.

[9]) Vollers refers to this tradition with the words: "in einer anderen Ueberlieferung wird dem, der das heilige Buch mit dem I'rāb vorliest, doppelt so viel Lohn verheissen wie dem, der es ohne I'rāb tut". In the book quoted below this tradition is traced back to 'Umar's son also, but it is given there in a more complete form, see No. 3—5, similar in No. 1 and 6.

manuscript of the Chester Beatty collection of rare Arabic texts,[10]) and I shall refer to this text later on in this article. First I shall draw attention to another text in the same collection where these problems are discussed in full.[11])

The MS. of this text is incomplete at the beginning, and the name of the author is not preserved in the text. The title *at tamhīd fī ma'rifat at-tajwīd* is quoted at the end of the book. Ibn al-Jazarī mentions a book *at-tamhīd* together with another book *ar-rauḍa* among the sources used by Muhammad b. Aḥmad Taqī'addīn aṣ-Ṣā'igh al Miṣrī (died A. H. 725), and he attributes the two texts to al-Mālikī,[12]) i. e. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm al-Mālikī al-Baghdādī (died A. H. 438). He was an authority for reading the Qur'ān in Miṣr, and Ibn al-Jazarī mentions his teachers and his pupils, and he refers to his book *ar-rauḍa fī'l-qirā'āt al-iḥdā 'ashara*,[13]) but he does not refer to his book *at-tamhīd* at this place. Ḥājjī Khalīfa knows of the book and he refers to it,[14]) but he has obviously never seen it.

Al-Mālikī is very exact in giving every tradition with the full chain of transmitters *(isnād)* and reporting all the little differences in text and *isnād*. The first part of the book (fol. 1—55) contains sayings exhorting people to recite the Qur'ān in a dignified and beautiful manner. Most of these sayings are attributed to the Prophet himself. They are usually given in a general way, and are of no special interest: people were exhorted, for instance, to abstain from eating certain things with a strong smell, or

[10]) It is the MS. A. S. 705, dated A. H. 525. See my book *The Cairo Geniza, Schweich Lectures*, 1941, published by the British Academy, London 1947, pp. 79—84, 159 f.

[11]) It is MS. J. 152; 159 fols., 7¼ by 5 ins., 19 lines, 3½ ins. long. Written in excellent Naskhī, fully vocalised and finished A. H. 613. I am very grateful to Mr. A. Chester Beatty that he allowed me to make use of these valuable MSS.

[12]) see *Ṭabaqāt* II, 65. No. 2736.

[13]) see *Ṭabaqāt* I, 230. No. 1045. Two comparatively modern MSS. of this text in Istanbul libraries have been described by Pretzl on p. 40 f. of the article mentioned above. MS. A. S. 713 of the Chester Beatty collection dated A. H. 878, contains the end of the first and the whole second part of the book.

[14]) *Tamhīd fī'l-qirā'a lil-Mālikī*, No. 3601, vol II, 424 in Flügel's edition.

to clean their mouths, before reading the Qur'ān, or to be anxious to adorn the Qur'ān with their voices. Great emphasis is laid on the use of melodies[15]) in reciting the Qur'ān, and it is regarded as excellent if this recital resembles that of David's Psalter.[16]) On the other hand great stress is laid upon the fact that the melodies and the voices must be those of the Arabs,[17]) and that no melodies of bad people or of Christians and Jews may be used.[18])

Sometimes these polemics go into greater detail and then they may have more interest. The methods of reading the Qur'ān against which these polemics are directed must have been in use at certain times. So when the Prophet is supposed to have said:[19])

fa'innahu sa-yajī' ba'dī qaum yurajji'ūn bi'l-Qur'ān tarjī' al-ghinā' wa-'r-rahbāniya wa'n-nauḥ lā yujāwiz ḥanājirahum maftūnat qulūbuhum wa-qulūb man yu'jibuhum sha'nuhum

> There will come after me a people who recites the Qur'ān with a refrain, like the refrain used in singing, or by the monks, or by wailing women, which goes no further than their throats, while their hearts are distracted as are the hearts of those whose behaviour causes their admiration.

[15]) Melody is *laḥn*, plural *luḥūn*. On the other hand, *laḥn* is also used for reading the Qur'ān without I'rāb, and for making mistakes against the rules of Arabic grammar. With regard to the double meaning of the word, Vollers remarks (p. 173): "Es ist kaum zu kühn aus der Entwicklung dieses Ausdrucks den Schluss zu ziehn, dass die strenge Form, in der die alte Poesie überliefert ist, nur dem Sprechvortrag eigen war, während der Singvortrag desselben Stückes mehr oder minder von dieser Form abwich und sich der Umgangssprache näherte. Bekanntlich wird diese Folgerung durch neuere Beobachtungen über die Poesie und den Gesang der Gegenwart bestätigt."

[16]) *'alā mizmār min mazāmīr Āl Dā'ūd*, or *ka'anna ṣaut (hādhā min aṣwāt Āl Dā'ūd* (fol. 37 f.).

[17]) *bi-luḥūn al-'arab wa-aṣwātihā.*

[18]) *ahl al-fisq wa-ahl al-kitābain*, or *ahl al-fisq wa'l-kanā'is* (fol. 12.)

[19]) I have discussed this passage with Dr. A. F. L. Beeston and am greatly indebted to him for his help in understanding it.

Several times sayings of this kind are to be found in the first part of the book and these detailed descriptions will have to be studied carefully.

On fol. 56 the second part of the book begins with the enumeration of the ten chapters which follow. This list of contents is headed by the words: *dhikr thabt abwāb al-kitāb*. The contents of these chapters are:

1) *fi tafsīr al-āyāt allātī maḍat fi ṣadr al-kitāb* (explanation of some technical terms occurring in the Qur'ān), fol. 56.
2) *fi faḍl al-qurrā' al-māhirīn al-hādirīn minhum wa'l-muhaqqiqīn* (on the excellence of the different kinds or readers), fol. 64v.
3) *fi thawāb ahl at-tartīl wamā amadda 'llāhu ta'ālā min al-karāma wa't-tafḍīl* (on the recompenses given to them), fol 65v.
4) *fi waṣf qirā'a rasūli 'llāh* (how the Prophet used to read the Qur'ān), fol. 68v.
5) *fi waṣf qirā'at al-qurrā' al-'ashara* (how the Ten Readers followed his example), fol. 87v.
6) *fi ḥaththi qurrā' al-kitāb 'alā'jtihād fi ṭalab al-i'rāb* (on urging the Readers to make effort of seeking the I'rāb), fol. 90.
7) *fi qaul 'alā'l-i'rāb* (on the I'rāb in general), fol. 117v.
8) *fi ma'rifat asmā' al-ḥurūf wa-makhārijihā wa-majārihā wa-madārijihā wa-mustahsan furū'ihā wa-mustaqbaḥihā* (on the names of the letters and where they are to be pronounced), fol. 141v.
9) *fi kaifiyat at-talaffuẓ ḥāl al-qirā'a bihā* (how the letters are to be pronounced in reading the Qur'ān), fol. 147.
10) *fi'l-ḥurūf al-ātiya fi fawātiḥ as-suwar* (on the special letters to be found at the beginnings of some of the Sūras), fol. 157.

There is no doubt that the information given on the reading of the Qur'ān by the Ten Readers (ch. 5) goes far beyond the somewhat meagre indications given by Pretzl in the new edition of the third part of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans* (p. 190 ff), and it is of interest that these methods used by the Ten are traced back to the methods used by the Prophet himself in reading the Qur'ān (ch. 4). These problems, however, will have to be investigated

separately. Of special importance in connection with the problems discussed here is the long sixth chapter. It contains more than 120 exhortations to use the I'rāb in reading the Qur'ān. A great part of them (Nos. 1—31) is attributed to the Prophet himself, others (Nos. 32—67) to his companions, the rest (Nos. 68—122) to the "followers" and "followers of followers". In this last part the authorities are arranged according to the chief centres of early Islam: Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Basra, Kufa, Wasit, Baghdad. The most important of these exhortations are among those attributed to the Prophet and his companions, and I shall confine myself to quoting here the first 67 exhortations in translation and shall give only the last instance or instances who are said of having reported them. They are not all of the same kind, but I shall give them all, as just their variety is of interest. It illustrates in an excellent way the conditions as they really were.

The sixth chapter on urging the readers of the book to make every effort of seeking the I'rāb

1. from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

The Prophet said: Whoever recites the Qur'ān and reads with I'rāb (*a'rabahu*) the whole of it, shall have for every letter (*ḥarf*) forty recompenses (*ḥasana*). And whoever reads with I'rāb a part and uses *laḥn* in a part (*laḥana fi ba'ḍ*), shall have for every letter twenty recompenses. Whoever does not read anything of it with I'rāb, shall have for every letter ten recompenses. (fol. 90)

2. from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb from 'Abdarraḥmān b. 'Auf

The Prophet said: Whoever learns the Qur'ān and reads it with I'rāb (*fa-a'rabahu*), shall have the reward of the veracious one (*ṣiddīq*), the martyr (*shahīd*). (fol. 91)

3. from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar

The Prophet said: Whoever recites the Qur'ān and does not read it with I'rāb (*falam yu'ribhu*), for him God has appointed an angel who writes it for him, as it is revealed, for every letter ten recompenses. When he reads a part of it with I'rāb and a part of it without I'rāb, for him God has appointed two angels who write for him for every letter twenty recompenses. And when he reads it with I'rāb, God has appointed for him four angels who write for him for every letter seventy recompenses. (fol. 91)

4. from the same = 3 (91v)

5. from the same = 3 (92)

6. from 'Urwa b. az-Zubair from 'Ā'isha

The Prophet said: Whoever recites the Qur'ān according to any method (*ḥarf*), for him God has written ten recompenses and cancelled ten evil acts and elevated ten degrees. And whoever reads a part with I'rāb and a part with *laḥn*, for him twenty recompenses are written, and twenty evil acts are cancelled and twenty degrees are elevated. And whoever recites and reads the whole of it with I'rāb, for him forty recompenses are written and forty evil acts are cancelled and forty degrees are elevated. (fol. 92)

7. from 'Ā'isha

The Prophet said: Whoever recites the Qur'ān (for *a'raba* read *qara'a*) and reads it with I'rāb, has a favour with God which is granted to him. If he desires, he hastens it for him in this world; if he desires, he reserves it for him in the other world. (fol. 92v)

8. from 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh from 'Alī

The Prophet said: Whoever learns the Qur'ān with I'rāb, he is like the warrior on the path of Allāh (*kal-mujāhid fī sabīli-'llāh*) (fol. 92v)

9. from 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd

The Prophet said: Use the I'rāb (*a'ribū*) in the Qur'ān. Whoever recites the Qur'ān and believes in it, shall have at every letter ten recompenses, the forgiveness of ten evils and the elevating of ten degrees. (fol. 93).

10. from 'Alqama from 'Abdallāh from the Prophet

He said: Read with I'rāb (*a'ribū*) the Qur'ān! (fol. 93)

11. So said 'Abbād from Abū Huraira

The Prophet said: Read with I'rāb (*a'ribū*) the Qur'ān! (fol. 93v).

12. from Abū Huraira

The Prophet said: Read with I'rāb (*a'ribū*) the Qur'ān and look after its strange words (*iltamisū gharā'ibahu*). (fol. 93v)

13. from Abū Huraira = 12 (fol. 93v)

14. from Abū Huraira

The Prophet said: Read with I'rāb the Qur'ān and look after its strange words. And "its strange words" (*gharā'ibuhu*) means its ordinances (*'azā'imuhu*) and its

prohibitions (*hudūduhu*). For the Qur'ān came down in five shapes (*aujuh*), lawful (*ḥalāl*) and unlawful (*ḥarām*), unambiguous (*muḥkam*) and dubious (*mutashābih*) and as examples (*amthāl*). So accept what is lawful and leave off what is prohibited, and acknowledge what is dubious and be warned by the examples! (fol. 94)

15. from Ubaiy b. Ka'b

The Prophet said: Learn the melody (*al-laḥn*) in it, just as you learn to keep it in memory, i. e. the Qur'ān. (fol. 94)

16. from Abū'd-Dardā'

He said: The Prophet heard a man reciting and using *laḥn*. He said: Rectify your brother! (fol. 94v)

17. from Abū'd-Dardā' = 16. (fol. 94v)

18. from Abū'd-Dardā' = 16. (fol. 94v)

19. from Abū'd Dardā'

He said: A man used *laḥn* in the presence of the Prophet. He said: Rectify your companion! (fol. 95)

20. from az-Zuhrī from Sālim from his father

He said: 'Umar b. al Khaṭṭāb passed by people who were casting with arrows. He said: Bad is your casting! They said: O Commander of the Faithful, we are learning! *muta'allimīn* instead of *muta'allimūn*). Then 'Umar said: By Allāh, your sin in your *laḥn* is worse than your sin in your casting! — I heard the Prophet saying: God is merciful to a servant who corrects something of his language (*aṣlaḥa min lisānihi*). (fol. 95)

21. from the same = 20. (fol. 95v)

22. from Abū Huraira

The Prophet said: I am Arabic (*'arabīyun*), and the Qur'ān is Arabic, and the language of the dwellers of Paradise is Arabic. (fol. 95v)

23. from Abū Huraira

The Prophet said: I am Arabic, and the Qur'ān is Arabic, and the language of the dwellers of Paradise is Arabic. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib said: No non-Arab (*a'jamī*) shall enter Paradise, adding: Their languages shall be changed so that they become Arabic. (fol. 96)

24. from the same = 23. (fol. 96)

25. from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar

The Prophet said: al-'Arabīya is the language of the dwellers of Paradise and al-'Arabīya is the language of the

people of heaven and their language when they are standing before God in the last judgment (*waqafū ..... bil-mauqif*) (fol. 96v)

26. from Sa'īd b. Jubair from Ibn 'Abbās, concerning Qur. 41:44.

And if we had made it a non-Arabic (*a'jamī*) Qur'ān, they would have said: Why have its signs not been made understood? (Should the Qur'ān be) non-Arabic (and its receiver Muḥammad) 'Arabic? He (Ibn 'Abbās) said: They said: How had it come down upon him non-Arabic as he (the Prophet) is Arabic?[20]) (fol. 96v)

27. from ibn 'Abbās

The Jews asked the Prophet. They said: Tell us the story (*amr*) of Ya'qūb and his sons and the matter (*sha'n*) of Yūsuf. Then God sent down: A. L. R. These are the verses of the clear book. Behold we have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'ān (Qur. 12: 1, 2). And that because the Thorah is in Hebrew and the Evangelion (*injīl*) in Syriac and you are an Arabic people. And if the Qur'ān had been sent down in another language than Arabic, you would not have understood it. (fol. 97)

28. from Ibn 'Abbās

The Prophet said: Love the Arabs for three (reasons): I am Arabic, and the Qur'ān is Arabic, and the language of the dwellers of Paradise is Arabic. (fol. 97)

29. And in the ḥadīth of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain = 28. (fol. 97)

30. Isrā'īl from Simāk from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās

The Prophet said: Behold! Some of the poetry is wisdom, and if anything from the Qur'ān is dubious to you (*iltabasa 'alaikum*), so look for it in the poetry, for it is the Dīwān of the Arabs. (fol. 97v)

31. I heard Abū Ja'far, i. e. Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir saying:

The Prophet said: Make use of I'rāb in speaking, that you may make use of I'rāb in the Qur'ān (*a'ribū'l-kalāma kay tu'ribū'l-qur'āna*) Then Abū Ja'far continued: If there were not the Qur'ān and its I'rāb, I would not care if I knew anything of it. (fol. 97v)

[20]) I have to thank Dr. Beeston in Oxford and Prof. J. Fück in Halle for helping me to understand this tradition.

The companions of the Prophet

Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq

32. from Abū'l-Azhar

Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq said: I would prefer to read with I'rāb a verse from the Qur'ān than memorise a verse. (fol. 97v)

33. from 'Abbād b. Kathīr from Zakarīyā from ash-Sha'bī

Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq said: I would prefer to read and to make a mistake than to read and to use *laḥn*. (fol. 98)

34. from Muḥammad b. 'Abdarraḥmān b. Yazīd from **Abū Bakr** and **'Umar**

They both said: Some of the I'rāb is more profitable to us than to memorise some of its single readings (*min ḥifẓ ba'ḍ ḥurūfihi*) (fol. 98)

Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-'Adawī

35. from Muwarraq al-'Ijlī

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: Learn the grammar (*naḥw*) and the ordinances (*farā'iḍ*) just as you learn the Qur'ān. (fol. 98v)

36. from the same

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: Learn the melody (*laḥn*) and the ordinances (*farā'iḍ*) and the practices (*sunan*) just as you learn the Qur'ān. (fol. 98v)

37. from the same

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: Learn the practices (*sunan*) and the ordinances (*farā'iḍ*) and the melody (*laḥn*) just as you learn the Qur'ān. (fol. 98v)

38. a man from us, from the Banū Sa'd, with the surname **Abū Ḥamza**

He said: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: A greeting to you! Further: I command you what the Qur'ān has commanded to you, and I forbid you what Muḥammad has forbidden to you, and I instruct you to follow the science of law (*fiqh*) and the practice (*sunna*) and to become thoroughly learned (*tafaqquh*) in the 'Arabīya and the interpretation of dreams (*al-'ibāra fi'r-ru'yā*). And if anybody of you relates to his brother a dream or says anything, he should say: May it be good for us and bad for our enemies. And greetings to you! (fol. 99)

39. ʿĀṣim from Abū ʿUthmān

He said: ʿUmar's letter reached us, in which there was written: Learn the ʿArabīya! (fol. 99)

40. Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr

A secretary of Abū Mūsā wrote to ʿUmar b. (al-Khaṭṭāb): *min Abū Mūsā.* ʿUmar wrote to him: When this letter of mine reaches you, beat him with a whip and dismiss him from your service! (fol. 99v)

41. ʿAbdallāh from Nuʿaim b. Maisara

He said: The secretary of Abū Mūsā wrote to ʿUmar: *min Abū Mūsā.* Then ʿUmar wrote to him: Take care of your secretary and beat him with a whip! (fol. 99v)

42. ad-Darāwardī from ʿUbaidallāh from Nāfiʿ from Ibn ʿUmar from ʿUmar

He used to beat his sons on account of *laḥn* (fol. 99v)

43 Mūsā b. ʿAbdalmalik b. ʿUmair from his father from Jābir b. Samra

He said: A man came to ʿUmar and said: Is it permissible to make the sacrifice with a *ḍaby?* He (ʿUmar) said: What difference would it make to you if you would say: with a *ẓaby* (a gazelle)? He said: That is (purely) dialect *(lugha).* Then ʿUmar said: O God, forgiveness! May the reproach be stopped! It is not permissible to make the sacrifice with a gazelle. (*ẓaby*) (fol. 99v)

44. Ibn Juraij from ʿAṭāʾ

He said: ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saw two men who spoke in a non-Arabic language (*yatarāṭanāni*) at the Ṭawāf (the circuit round the Kaʿba). He came upon them with a scourge and said: No hope for both of you! Seek after a way to the ʿArabīya! (fol. 100)

45. Ṭalḥa b. ʿAmr from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ;

He said: I heard the report that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saw two men who spoke Persian at the Ṭawāf. He seized both their arms and said: Seek after a way to the ʿArabīya! (fol. 100)

46. Abū ʿAbdarraḥmān ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd al-Hudhalī from Ibn Masʿūd

He said: Read with Iʿrāb (*aʿribū*) the Qurʾān, for it is Arabic. There will come a people who would like to correct it *(yuthaqqifūnahu),* but they are not the best of you *(walaisū bi-khiyārikum).* (fol. 100)

47. from ʿAlqama from ʿAbdallāh

He said: Read with Iʿrāb the Qurʾān! (fol. 100v)

48. from ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd

He said: Read with Iʿrāb the Qurʾān, for it is Arabic. (fol. 100v)

Abūʾl-Mundhir Ubaiy b. Kaʿb al-Anṣārī

49. from Ubaiy b. Kaʿb

He said: Learn the melody (*ta allamū ʾl-laḥn*) in the Qurʾān, just as you know it! (fol. 100v)

Abū ʾDharr Jundub b. Junāda al-Ghifārī

50. from Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmur

Abū Dharr said: Learn the ʿArabīya in the Qurʾān, just as you learn to keep it in memory. (fol. 101)

Abū ʿAbdallāh Salmān b. al-Islām al Fārisī

51. from ʿAuf b. Abī Jamīla from Khulaid al-ʿAṣarī

He said: When Salmān came to us, we went to him asking him to read with us the Qurʾān. He said: The Qurʾān is Arabic, so read it under an Arab! He (Khulaid) said: So Zaid b. Ṣūḥān was teaching us and Salman watched him. When he made a mistake, he corrected him, and when he was right, he said: God bless you *(aima ʾllāh)*! (fol. 101)

Abūʾl-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās al-Hāshimī

52. from al-Kalbī from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn ʿAbbas

He said: The Qurʾān came down in four phases (*aujuh*), *halāl* and *ḥarām* — what people have only to learn, and an interpretation (*taʾwīl*) which God only knows, and an interpretation which the scholars *(al-ʿulamā)* know, and the language of the ʿArabīya, which the Bedouin *(al-ʿarab)* know. (fol. 101v)

53. Usāma b. Zaid from ʿIkrima from Ibn ʿAbbās

He said: If you ask me anything of the strange things of the Qurʾān (*ʿan shaiʾ min gharīb al-Qurʾān*), seek after it in the poetry *(shiʿr),* for the poetry is the Dīwān of the Arabs. (fol. 101v)

54. from Ḥusain from ʿUbaidallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtba

He said: I saw that Ibn ʿAbbās when he was asked about anything of the ʿArabīya in the Qurʾān, spoke about the poetry in the same way. (fol. 101v)

55. Abū Khalda from Abi'l-'Āliya

I used to make the circuit (*ṭawāf*) at the House (the Ka'ba) with Ibn 'Abbās, whilst he was teaching me grammar. (fol. 101v)

56. from the same

He said: Ibn 'Abbās used to take my hand when he made the circuit round the House and to teach me the melody of the language (*laḥn al-kalām*). (fol. 102)

57. Zaid b. al-Ḥubāb from Abū'r-Rabī' as-Sammān from 'Amr b. Dīnār

Ibn 'Umar and ibn 'Abbās used to beat their sons on account of *laḥn*. (fol. 102)

58. Ja'far b. 'Aun from Saif from Mujāhid

He said: I never saw anyone whose language was more correct than that of Ibn 'Abbās. (fol. 102)

Abū 'Abdarraḥmān 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-'Adawī

59. Sufyān from 'Ubaidallāh from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar

He said: Learn the practice (*sunna*) and the ordinances (*farā'iḍ*) and the melody (*laḥn*), just as you learn the Qur'ān. (fol. 102v)

60. Sufyān from 'Ubaidallāh from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar

He said: Ibn 'Umar used to beat his sons on account of *al-laḥn*. (fol. 102v)

61. Ibn al-Mubārak from 'Ubaidallāh from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar

He used to beat his sons on account of *al-laḥn* and he did not beat them on account of the mistake. (fol. 102v)

62. 'Ubaidallāh from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar

When he heard one of his sons using *laḥn*, he used to beat him. (fol. 103)

63. 'Ubaidallāh b. 'Umar from Nāfi'

When Ibn 'Umar heard one of his sons using *laḥn*, he used to beat him. (fol. 103)

64. Abū Sāsān Buraida b. al-Ḥuṣaib al-Aslamī from 'Ubaidallāh b. Buraida from his father

He said: When we were converted to God the Almighty, we learned the Qur'ān, and after we had learned the Qur'ān, we learned the ordinances (*farā'iḍ*), and after we had learned the ordinances, we learned so many

chapters of the 'Arabīya (*kadhā wakadhā bāban min al-'arabīya*). Cf. Fleischer, *Beiträge*, 4 Forts., p. 133 (Fück). (fol. 103)

65. from 'Abdallāh b. Buraida from his father

He said: We were ordered (or: they were ordered) to learn the Qur'ān, then the practice (*sunna*), then the ordinances (*farā'iḍ*), then the 'Arabīya, the three *ḥurūf* (letters). We said: And what are the three *ḥurūf*? He said: *al-jarr* (i), *ar-raf'* (u), *an-naṣb* (a). (fol. 103v)

66. from the same = 65. (fol. 103v)

'Ā'isha aṣ-Ṣiddīqa

67. from abī Salama from 'Ā'isha from her father

She said: Learn the poetry (*ash-shi'r*), for it brings the I'rāb onto your tongues (*fa'innahu yu'ribu alsinatakum*). (fol. 103v)

These exhortations collected by al-Mālikī will be illustrated in an excellent way by the considerations on the language of the Qur'ān given by al-Farrā' in the text which I have published according to the Chester Beatty MS. A. S. 705 in my *Schweich Lectures*.[21]) I am repeating here the most important part of the translation of the text, while correcting a few items in it:

Al-Farrā' says:

> We have seen that the readers who know the Book and the practice (*sunna*) and are authorities on correct speech, are agreed that it came down in the most correct forms of speech. This was opposed by some of those who investigated the poetry and "the Days of the Arabs". They said: Those who claimed the excellence of the Qur'ān have merely done so in accordance with what God made obligatory for honouring the Qur'ān. But when we look for correctness of speech, we find it among the Bedouins".
>
> But in this they disagreed. The people of Kūfa said: 'Correctness is to be found among the Asad', because of their vicinity to them. The people of Baṣra said: 'Correctness is to be found among the upper Tamīm and the lower Qais from 'Ukl and 'Uqail'. The people of Madīna said: 'Correctness is to be found

[21]) *The Cairo Geniza*, London 1947, p. 79f., 115f.

among the Ghaṭafān', because they are their neighbours. The people of Mecca said; 'Correctness is to be found among Kināna b. Sa'd b. Bakr and Thaqīf.

We wished (read: *fa-aḥbabnā*) to refer them through traditions, analogy and example to the superiority of the speech of the Quraish over all other languages. So we said:' Do the Quraish not surpass the people in the beauty of their statures, in the sagacity of their minds, in the fullness of their bodies?' They said: 'We know this as well as anyone. But sagacity and beauty came to them merely because the Arabs were accustomed to come (read: *kānat ta'tī*) to the sanctuary for Ḥajj and 'Umra, both their women and their men. The women made the circuit round the House unveiled (read: *ḥawāsir*) and performed the ceremonies with uncovered faces. So they selected them by sight and sought (read: *fa-yabghūna*) after dignity and beauty. By this they gained superiority besides those qualities by which they were particularly distinguished. We said: 'In the same way (read: *fa-kadhālika*) they were accustomed to hear from the tribes of the Arabs their dialects; so they could choose from every dialect that which was the best in it. So their speech became elegant, and nothing of the more vulgar forms of speech was mixed up with it . . .

Al-Farrā' refers then o the fact that in the language of the Quraish, which he takes as identical with the official language of the Qur'ān, certain irregularities were not to be found which occur in the languages spoken by the Bedouins, and he continues:

'Correctness came to them from their selection of pronunciation, just as they selected their wives'. And by this we refuted their arguments and reverted to the arguments of those who knew the Qur'ān better than they.

Al-Farrā' then quotes a number of traditions dealing with the correct reading of the Qur'ān and exhorting people to use the I'rāb in reading it, quite similar to those collected by al-Mālikī; al-Mālikī's numbers 12, 20, 34, 61 are quoted by al-Farrā' also.

These texts are of great interest for they show that correctness of the language, being, as we have seen, one of

the two conditions for reading the Qur'ān stipulated by Ibn Miqsam, was a real problem in the early days of Islam.

There was no doubt that correctness of language was to be found among the Bedouins, in their poems and in 'the Days of the Arabs' (*ayyām al-'arab*), namely the little stories connected with them. These poems had only been transmitted orally so far and nothing had been written down. As the early readers urgently needed this material, as a model for reading the Qur'ān, they had to go out to the Bedouins to collect it among them. The practical need of the readers of the Qur'ān was the reason for collecting and recording of pre-Islamic poetry in the first century of Islam. On the basis of this material correct Arabic was established by the early grammarians and to this the language of the Qur'ān was adapted.

The chief characteristics of this ideal Arabic were that the rules of I'rāb were carefully observed in it. The Muslims were exhorted again and again to use the I'rāb in reading the Qur'ān, and they were told how much more valuable it was to read the Qur'ān with I'rāb than without it. From these facts we must conclude that the early Muslims were not accustomed to use the I'rāb in their language. 'Learn the poetry, for it brings the I'rāb onto your tongues', so 'Ā'isha is reported to have said (No. 67).

Al-Farrā' was in a difficult position. As a *grammarian* he could not deny that correct Arabic is closely connected with the poetry of the Bedouins. On the other hand he was convinced that the word of God had been revealed to the Prophet in the most correct language, and as a *theologian* he could not admit any alteration in the language of the Holy Book. So he had to find a compromise. He supposes that the influence of Bedouin language on that spoken in Mecca had already taken place before the time of the Prophet. The Quraish had heard various kinds of Arabic from the different tribes of the Arabs who had come to Mecca for the pilgrimage. So they had been able to select from these dialects the best of each, 'just as they had selected their wives'. In this manner their language had become superior to all the languages spoken by Arabs, superior even to the language spoken by the Bedouins, since some inaccuracies had been found in the language of the Bedouins which were not taken over by the Quraish. Thus

the model Arabic which was used from the end of the first century onwards for the reading of the Qur'ān was identified by al-Farrā' with the language spoken by the Quraish in Mecca in the time of the Prophet.

But the real conditions can easily be recognised. The early readers had certainly no need to go out to the Bedouins if the ideal Arabic language was in fact spoken in Mecca by the Quraish. For what could they have learned from the Bedouins under these circumstances?

The traditions preserved in these two MSS. are indeed of great importance. They not only show something of the real conditions of reading the Qur'ān in the early times of Islam. They also give us an impression to what degree later texts on reading the Qur'ān have been corrected, revised and purged. If neither Nöldeke, nor Bergsträsser nor Pretzl have been able to discover hints of these problems in all the texts which were available to them, it does not prove that these problems did not exist. We can only conclude, on the evidence of these two manuscripts, that the MSS. available to these scholars had been brought into accordance with the later adopted practice.

Postscript: Professor J. Fück in Halle has made some valuable suggestions in connection with this article, to which I shall refer in the German edition of my *Schweich Lectures* to be published by Otto Harrassowitz in Leipzig. Here I must confine myself to mention three of his statements concerning the traditions quoted by al-Mālikī: 1. Many of these traditions are to be found in different chapters of al-Muttaqī's *Kanz al 'ummāl*, published 1312/1894 ff. in Hyderabad. 2. None of them is to be found in the collections either of al-Bukhārī or of Muslim. 3. It can be proved that these traditions belong in the main to the second century A. H. At that time the problem of the correct reading of the Qur'ān must have been of special importance. — We can understand that a scholar like al-Farrā', who died A. H. 207, was well informed of these problems.

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[22]) I have discussed the article with Dr. A. F. L. Beeston, Mr. A. McIntosh and Ṣāliḥ al-'Alī (from the 'Irāq) and am very grateful to them for having made some valuable suggestions for it.

THE KITĀB AL-BADĪ' OF IBN KHĀLAWAIH

C. Brockelmann's list of the extant works of the celebrated grammarian Ibn Khālawaih (d. 370/980) includes three dealing with the orthography of the Qur'ān, viz.

(1) *K. al-Ṭāriqīya = Risāla fī i'rāb thalāthīn sūra min al-Qur'ān = K. I'rāb āyāt min al-Qur'ān.*

(2) *K. al-Qirā'āt.*

(3) *Mukhtaṣar shawādhdh al-Qur'ān.*[1])

The third of these texts was made available in G. Bergsträsser's posthumous edition, published is 1934; the edition is based on two not very old manuscripts; it is an "unusually important" book, our richest source of information on non-canonical variants.[2]) The second of the three, preserved in a seemingly unique manuscript at Istanbul (Murād Mollā 85), has been summarily described by H. Ritter as a "Werk über die Koranlesarten"; we are informed that "in der Vorrede zitiert er (sc. the author) sein Werk über die seltenen Koranlesarten"; it is evidently a very large book, for it runs into 651 folios.[3])

Now Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) in his catalogue of Ibn Khālawaih's works, mentions one entitled *al-Badī' fi 'l-qirā'āt;* he also names the first of the three texts mentioned above (*I'rāb thalāthīn sūra*), but not either of the other two.[4]) Ibn al-Nadīm (d. c. 400/1009) similarly omits (3), but mentions (1) and (2) in our list: he has no knowledge however of *al-Badī'*.[5]) Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/

[1]) C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I, p. 125; Suppl., I, p. 190.

[2]) See A. Jeffery, *Foreword* to G. Bergsträsser, *Ibn Ḫālawaih's Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, p. 7.

[3]) H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, XVII, p. 249.

[4]) Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb* (ed. D. S Margoliouth), IV, p. 5.

[5]) Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Cairo edition), 124. A. Jeffery, *loc cit.*, seems to confuse (2) with (3).

1282) follows Ibn al-Nadīm.[6]) Al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) on the other hand knows of *al Badī' fi 'l-qirā'āt* and *Kitāb fi i'rāb suwar min al-Qur'ān.*[7]) i. e. he agrees exactly with Yāqūt. From these indications it is perhaps permissible to conclude that at the time when Ibn al-Nadīm was finishing the draft of his index, i. e. in 377/987,[8]) the *Kitāb al-Badī'* had not yet secured a very wide circulation; while between that date and the middle of the 6/12th century the large *K. al-Qirā'āt* had dropped out of use, presumably because it had been superseded by the smaller and handier *K. al-Badī'*.

The existence, and something of the nature, of the *Kitāb al-Badī'* could already be conjectured from the wording of the colophon of the Taimūr Pāshā manuscript of Ibn Khālawaih's *Shawādhdh*, dated 850/1446, which reads:[9]) *Tamma 'sh-Shawādhdhu 'l manqūlu min Kitābi 'l-Badī'i mimmā allafahu 'sh shaykhu 'l imāmu Abū 'Abdallāhi 'l-Husaynu 'bnu Khālawayhi 'n naḥwiyyi.* etc. But it happens by good chance that the *Kitāb al-Badī'* has in fact survived in an exceedingly fine and precious copy, the property of that famous bibliophile and philanthropist Mr A. Chester Beatty, to whose generous permission I am obliged for this opportunity of making known the details which follow.

The Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Badī'* of Ibn Khālawaih is contained in 105 large folios, 32.5× 25.5 cm. The paper is buff-toned, not of exceptional quality, scarcely polished; it is much stained by water, without damage however to the script; the right-hand margin of fol. 101 has been cut away in recent times and replaced, the edge of the text being made good. The title of book is given in the colophon: *Tamma Kitābu 'l-Badī'i wa 'l hamdu li 'llāhi ḥaqqa ḥamduhu wa ṣallā 'llāhu 'alā Muḥammadini 'n-nabiyyi wa ālihi wa sallama taslīman.*

The original first folio of the copy has been lost, apparently for some centuries. The present fol. 1 is the

6) Tr. De Slane, I, p. 457.

7) *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, p. 385.

8) C. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147; Suppl. I, p. 227.

9) G. Bergsträsser, *op. cit., Foreword*, p. 8.

fly-leaf, of the same paper as the rest; it contains the following entries.

(a) *Kitābu 'l-Badī'i fi 'l-qirā'āti 's-sab'i wa iḍāfatu qirā'atin thāminatin hiya qirā'atu Ya'qūba 'l-Ḥaḍramiyyi.*

Written tn a Persian *nasta'līq* hand, probably in the 11/17th century.

(b) *Hādhā 'l-kitābu ta'līfu 'sh shaykhi l-fāḍili jamāli 'l-udabā'i wa zayni 'l-fuḍalā'i 'bni 'Abdillāhi 'l-Husayni 'bni Khālawayhi qaddasa 'llāhu rūḥahu. Allafahu li 'l-amīri 'l-jalīli Sayfi 'd-daulati 'l-Ḥamdāniyyi raḥimahu 'llāhu. Wa kānat wafātu 'bni Khālawayhi sanatu sab'ina wa thalāthi-mi'atin, qālahu 'l-Yāfi'ī fi Ta'rīkhihi.*

Written in a different Persian *nasta'līq* hand also probably of the 11/17th century.

(c) *Wa kānat wafātu 'l-amīri Sayfi 'd-daulati 'l-Ḥamdāniyyi fi sanati sitta wa khamsīna wa thalāthi-mi'atin, qālahu 'l-Yāfi'ī wa ghayruhu.*

Written by the same scribe as (b), but in a smaller *nasta'līq*.

(d) *Bahā'u'd-dīni Muḥammaduni 'l-'Āmiliyyu.*

The signature in cipher form, presumably as a mark of ownership, of Bahā' al-Dīn Muhammad (b. Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥārithī al-Jabā'ī) al-'Āmilī (al-Bahā'ī), the celebrated Persian polymath, who died in 1030/1621.[10]) This may be inscribed in the same ink, and thus by the same hand, as (b) and (c).

(e) *Abū 'Aliyyu 'r-Rūdhbāriyyu.*

Fi 'ktisābi 'd-dunyā mudhillatun li 'n-nufūsi wa fi 'ktisābi 'l ākhirati 'izzuhā fa-yā 'ajaban li-man yakhtaru 'l-mudhillata fi ṭalabi mā yaghnī 'alā 'l-'izzi fi ṭalabi mā yabqī. Wa min kalāmihi: Idhā sakana 'l-khaufu fi 'l-qalbi lam yanṭiqi 'l-lisānu illā bimā ya'nīhi.

This inscription is by the same hand as (a). The quotations from the apothegmata of the Ṣūfī Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rūdhabārī of Baghdad, who died in Egypt

10) See C. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 414—5; *Suppl.*, II, pp. 595—7

in 322/934 :[11]) the first of the two sayings is attributed to him in the same form by Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣbahānī.[12])

The text opens abruptly on fol. 2a. under a wide decorative band of illumination in gold, tinged with blue; this band no doubt paired originally with a similar ornament serving as an *'unwān* to the incipit of the book. The style of decoration is similar to that commonly found in the sūra-headings of Kufic Qur'āns.[13])

(fol.2a) باختصار قراءات السبعة واضافة يعقوب بن اسحق اليهم ليكون بحضرته
زادها الله جلالة فيتناول ما يراد منها عن قرب متى تلا تلاه الله عز وجل أو تلى عنده
وأجعل الحروف الشاذة في الحواشي مخرجة بأسم واحد نواحد حتى لا يخفى على الناظر في
كتابنا هذا من القراءات شاردها ومعروفها ونعلم على قراءة السبعة حروف النعم اعتمادا
بذلك الإيجاز والاختصار وقد (fol.2b) قيل اذا كان القليل كافيا كان الكثير صدرا وقيل
ما البلاغة قال لمحة دالة وما توفيقي إلا بالله عليه توكلت واليه أنيب وهؤلاء السبعة
عاصم وأبو عمرو وابن كثير ونافع وحمزة والكسائي وابن عامر فاتنا عاصم نعلامته العين

(ا) (ك) (ح) (ن) (ث) (و) (ع)

بذهب فاذا خالف حفص أبا بكر جعلنا علامة حفص الصاد بحبر فاذا اتفقا ثابت
العين عنهما وأبو عمرو علامته الواو بفضة ابن كثير علامته التاء بحمرة نافع
علامته النون بصفرة حمزة علامته الحاء بحبر الكسائي علامته الكاف بلازورد ابن
عامر علامته الالف بحمرة يعقوب الحضرمي علامته (ي) الياء بسواد (fol.3a)
ومن شاء كتب هذه العلامات بسواد.

The foregoing passage gives a clear and exact account of the purpose which the author had in mind, and the method he proposed to follow, in writing this book; he realized both purpose and method most brilliantly. The instructions detailing the colours in which the Readers' ciphers should be executed (though "if desired these

[11]) See al-Qushairī, *Risāla* (Cairo 1318), p. 30.
[12]) In *Ḥilyat al-auliyā*, X, p. 357.
[13]) Cf. for instance *Survey of Persian Art*, V, pl. 930A, 931A. H. Glück & E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, p. 497.

symbols may be written in black") have been followed exactly in Mr Chester Beatty's copy, and the effect is a triumph of artistic brilliancy, despite the inevitable oxydization of the silver, and some fading of the "wine" colour.

The preface is followed by brief biographies and chains of authority of the Readers:

fol. 3a *Bābu dhikri hā'ulā'i 'l-qurrā'i wa kunāhum: 'Āṣimu 'bni Bahdalata.*

fol. 3b *Abū 'Amri 'bni 'l-'Alā'i.*
Ibnu Kathīrin.

fol. 4a *Nāfi'u 'bnu Abī Nu'aymin.*
Ḥamzatu 'bnu Ḥabībi 'bni Ismā'īla 'l-Kūfiyyi.

fol. 4b *al-Kisā'iyyu.*
Ibnu 'Āmirin.
Ya'qūbu 'l-Ḥadramiyyu.
Bābu asānīdi hā'ulā'i 'l-qurrā'i.

The work proper begins on fol. 7b. The "orthodox" readings are given sūra by sūra in the main body of the text, while the *shawādhdh* are written in the margin. The following extracts indicate the character and arrangement of the book.

fol. 7b *Fātiḥatu 'l-kitābi: Mālikin k y a'l-bāqūna malikin. Aṣ-ṣirāṭu yā az-zirāṭu [ ] al-bāqūna bi 'ṣ-ṣādi. 'Alayhum yā 'alayhumū [ ] al-bāqūna 'alayhim.*

fol. 86a *Sūratu 'l-ḥajarāti: La-taqaddamū bayna yaday 'llāhi yā bi-faṭḥi 't-tā'i 'l-bāqūna bi-ḍammihā. Ikhwatukum iy bi 't-tā'i jamā'uhu 'l-bāqūna bayna ikhwaykum 'alā 'l-ithnayni. Lā ya'litkum w y bi 'l-hamzi 'l-bāqūna yalitkum. Wa 'llāhu baṣīrun bimā ya'lamūna th bi 'l-yā'i 'l-bāqūna bi 't-tā'i laysat fīhā yā'u iḍāfatin.*

fol. 92b *Sūratu Nūnin: Nūnun wa 'l-qalamu k y bi-idghāmi 'n-nūni 'l-bāqūna bi-iẓhārihā. An kāna ay mamdūdatun bi-hamzatin wāḥidatin 'a'an kāna ḥ bi-hamzatayni 'l-bāqūna an kāna bi-hamzatin wāḥidatin min ghayri 'stifhāmin wa kadhālika Hafṣun. La-yazlukūnaka n bi-faṭḥi 'l-yā'i 'l-bāqūna bi-ḍammihā.*

fol. 100b *Sūratu 'l-ikhlāṣi: Qul Huwa 'llāhu aḥadunu 'llāhu 's-ṣamadu. Wa yaqifu 'd-dālu wa yuqṭa'u 'l-alifu 'l-bāqūna Aḥadunu 'llāhu 's-ṣamadu yanūnūna wa yaṣilūna. Kuf'an ḥ bi-iskāni 'l-fā'i wa 'l-hamzati ba'duhā kufuwan ṣ muthaqqalun min ghayri hamzi 'l-bāqūna kufu'an bi 't-tathqīli wa 'l-hamzi.*

The variant readings are followed by:

fol. 101a *Bābu dhikri 'l-idghāmi.*

fol. 104b *Bābu 'l-hamzi.*

fol. 105a *Bābu 'l-imālati.*

Author's colophon (fol. 105b):

Qāla 'bnu Khālawayhi: Hādhihi abwābun katabnāhā fī ākhiri 'l-Badī'i min uṣūli qirā'ati 'l-qurrā'i li-taqarrubi mutanāwilihā wa tasahhuli 'alā man arāda ḥifẓahā. Tamma Kitābu 'l-Badī'i etc.

To shew the relation between the text of the *shawādhdh* as given in the Chester Beatty manuscript, and the form these assume in the later separate recension, I quote below some extracts from Bergsträsser's edition, and the corresponding passages in the manuscript.

Bergsträsser p. 1.

الحمد لله الحسن البصرى وروية . الحمد لله ابراهيم ابن ابى عبلة . الحمدَ لله عن بعض العرب هو وروية ابن الحجاج ، مَلِكَ يوم نصب على النداء ابو هريرة وعمر بن عبد العزيز . مَلِكَ يوم الدين ابو حيوة شريح . مَلْكَ عبد الوارث عن ابى عمرو . وَمَلَكَ يوم انس بن مالك فعل ماض . مَالِكَ هارون الاعور فى الغو فى غير قراءة . مَلِيكِ بعضهم ، مِيَّاكَ بالهاء ابو السوار الغنوى . إِيَّاكَ بتخفيف الياء عمرو بن فايد ، إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدْ الحسن البصرى . أَيَّاكَ نَعْبُدْ بفتح الهمزة الفضل الرقاشى ، نِسْتَعِين بكسر النون جناح بن حبيش المقرئ ، اهدنا اجماع الا ابن مسعود فانه قرأ أرشدنا ، صراط الذين تخفيف اللام اعرابى.

Manuscript fol. 7b.

الحمد لله الحسن البصرى وروية الحمد لله ابراهيم ابن ابن عبلة الحمدَ لله عن بعض العرب . مَالِكِ يوم نصب على النداء ابو هريرة وعمر بن عبد العزيز ملك يوم ابو حيوة لشريح مَلْكِ عبد الوارث عن ابى عمرو مَلِكَ يومَ انس بن مالك فعل ماض هرون الاعور مالك فى الغو فى غير قراءة . مِيَّاكَ بالهاء ابو السوار الغنوى اياك بتخفيف الياء عمرو بن فايد اياك نَعْبُدْ الحسن البصرى . نِستعين بكسر النون جناح بن حبيش المقرئ . اهدنا اجماع الا ابن مسعود فانه قرأ ارشدنا . صراط الذين انعمت عليهم ابن مسعود غيرَ المغضوب بفتح الراء النبى صلى الله عليه وآله وعمر بن الخطاب والخليل بن احمد عن ابن كثير

عليهمْ بضم الهاء والميم ابن ابى اسحق عليهِم بضم الهاء وجرّ الميم الحسن البصرى وعمرو ابن فايد . ولا الضّالّين بالهمز ايوب السختيانى صراط الذين بتخفيف اللام اعرابى قال ابو عمرو ابنُ العلاء سمعت اعرابيا يقول الله الذى يُخَفِّف . ايّاكَ بفتح الهمزة الفضل الرقاشى.

قال ابو عمرو بن العلاء سمعت اعرابيا يقول الله الذى يُخَفِّف ، صراط من انعمت عليهم ابن مسعود ، غيرَ المغضوب بفتح الراء النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم وعمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه والخليل بن احمد عن ابن كثير عليْهِمْ بضم الهاء والميم ابن ابى اسحاق . عليْهِم بكسر الهاء وجرّ الميم الحسن البصرى وعمرو بن فايد ، ولا الضّالّين بالهمز ايوب السختيانى . ذكر الخليل بن احمد فى العين ان امير المؤمنين على بن ابى طالب رضى الله عنه كان يقرأ اياكَ نعبد واياكَ نستعين بتشبع الضمة فى النون فكان عمرٌ يّا قَلْبًا اى محضا . قال ابن خالويه وقد روى عن ورش انه كان يقرؤها كذلك .

Bergsträsser p. 182.

احدُ الله بغير تنوين نصر بن عاصم وابو عمرو وقد رُوِيت عن عمر رضى الله عنه ، الله احد النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم بغير قل . وقال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من قرأ الله احد فانه يعدل القرآن كله. هو الله احد بغير قل عبد الله وأبىّ . الله الواحد عبد الله والاعمش ، لم يولد ولم يلد مقدم ومؤخر رؤية ، وقال سيبويه ربما قرأ الجفاة من الاعراب ولم يكن احد كفؤا من لا يدرى كيف هى فى المصحف وكذلك ما هو بشرٌ ، ثم شهاد هذه السورة

Manuscript fol. 100b.

احدْ الله بغير تنوين نصر بن عاصم وابو عمرو وقد رُوِيت عن عمر رضى الله عنه هو الله احد بغير قل الله احد النبى صلى الله عليه وقال ابىّ او عبد الله الله الواحد عبد الله والاعمش لم يولد ولم يلد مقدم ومؤخر رؤية وقال سيبويه وقال سيبويه ربما قرأ الجفاة من الاعراب ولم يكن له احد كفؤا من لا يدرى كيف هو فى المصحف وكذلك ما هو الا بشر .

It is clear from this specimen collation, that the text as it came to Bergsträsser had been somewhat inflated from its recension in the Chester Beatty manuscript, but otherwise the tradition is accurate enough. The marginalia have a separate colophon in the manuscript (fol. 101a):

fol. 101a *Tamma 'sh-shawādhdh fi 'l-Badī'i wa 'l-ḥamdu li 'llāhi ḥaqqa ḥamdihi wa ṣalla 'llāhu 'alā Muḥammadini 'n-nabiyyi wa ālihi wa sallama.*

Finally, a few words about date and style of the manuscript. As indicated above, it is a very large copy, of noble proportion and design, giving the impression of having been made for a royal or a wealthy patron. The inks are brilliant and fast, and with few exceptions have not been in the least affected by the passage of time. The script is extraordinarily interesting. The chapter headings are in thick, solid cufic, executed in a bold hand in various inks (black, red, green, bule; the first heading, on fol. 7b, is in gold, and the second in silver which has oxydized); the *alif* is 1 3/8″ high and 1/4″ broad. The main body of the text is also in splendid cufic, of the variety which has been called "Persian" and miscalled "Badī'"[15]) The margins are written in a hand very close to the oldest known specimens of calligraphic *naskh*, not yet wholly liberated from cufic tendencies; they are executed in bands of red, black and blue ink. Altogether the manuscript is a masterpiece of calligraphy, and must rank as one of the finest specimens of Islamic art. Though it is undated, there can be little doubt that it belongs to the 4/10th century; it would not be extravagant to suppose that this is the copy that was executed under the author's supervision for his royal master, Saif al-Daula of Aleppo. It is my hope and intention to publish the manuscript in due course.

ARTHUR J. ARBERRY

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[14]) See E. Schroeder, *What was the Badī' Script?*, in *Ars Islamica*, IV, pp. 232—48; M. Minovi, *The so-called Badī' Script*, in *Bulletin of the American Institute for Art and Archaeology*, V, No. 2, pp. 143—6.

THE ORIENTAL DOCUMENTS IN THE SWEDISH STATE ARCHIVES

Swedish relations with the Ottoman Empire and its vassal, the Khan of the Crimea, go far back into the past. Even in the times of the Vasa dynasty Tatar khans entered into negotiations with Swedish kings, and ever since Charles XII's sojourn in Turkey the amicable connections between the Government of Sweden and the Sublime Porte have continued uninterruptedly.

Moreover, in the eighteenth century Sweden concluded treaties of peace and commerce with the Barbary states in Northern Africa, Algeria (1729), Tunisia (1736), Tripoli (1741) — nominally parts of the Ottoman Empire, but in point of fact military republics, choosing their own rulers and living by piracy — and the independent sultanate of Morocco (1763). At that time these ferocious pirates controlled Mediterranean commerce and exacted considerable tributes, disguised as presents or ransoms, from the seafaring peoples of Europe. Such questions are often discussed in international correspondence.

In the course of time the Government of Sweden received numerous official documents from Turkey and the Barbary states, which are now preserved in the Swedish State Archives in Stockholm. Some of the above mentioned treaties have been published in Swedish in *Sverges traktater med främmande magter*, and Professor Herman Almkvist has catalogued all of them in *Meddelanden från Svenska Riksarkivet* IV, 329—333; no attention, however, was paid to the other Oriental documents until Helge Almquist, keeper of the records, asked me in 1932 to compile a catalogue of the rest. During the same year the archives of the Swedish legation in Istanbul were sent to Stockholm and included in the old collection. The catalogue now contains:

Vol. I.	Vol. II.
I. Turcica (1—134).	I. Turcica (869—1733).
II. Tatarica (135—213).	II. Tatarica (1734).
III. Persica (214—218).	III. Persica (1735—1740).
IV. Tripolitana (219—269).	IV. Tunisica (1741—1747).
V. Tunisica (270—720).	V. Algerica (1748—1750).
VI. Algerica (721—748).	
VII. Maroccana (749—868).	

I then published *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv verzeichnet und beschrieben* [Nos. 1—218], Uppsala 1945.[1])

Most of the Tripolitan documents consist of official notes from Pashas to Swedish kings or consuls, representing receipts for the ordinary tributes or reminders of payment, if it was too long in coming. Moreover, as a rule (*mithl al-ʿāda*) every new consul had to give presents to different persons on his appointment, cf. No. 254 entitled *bayān al-ʿawāʾid alladhī yuʿṭī al-qunṣul al-jadīd lammā* (sic) *yaʾtī li-kull aḥad ʿaynan ʿaynan*. The renewal of the treaty of 1154

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[1]) See also *Svenska Riksarkivets orientaliska urkunder* (Hist. tidskr. LVI, 71—81).

Turkiska studier i Sverige (Lychnos 1941, p. 1—27).

A. N. Kurat und K. V. Zetterstéen, *Türkische Urkunden hrsg. u. übs.* (Monografier utg. av K. Human. Vet.-Samf. i Uppsala 1).

W. Björkman, *Die schwedisch-türkischen Beziehungen bis 1800* (Festschr. Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag 26. Mai 1932 gewidmet, p. 9—23).

W. Björkman, *Schwedisch-türkische Beziehungen seit 1800* (Mitt. d. Sem. f. Or. Spr. XXXV, II, 149—161).

J. H. Kreüger, *Sveriges förhållanden till Barbaresk staterna i Afrika* I, II, Stockholm 1856.

V. Söderberg, *Sveriges mellanhafvanden med Tripolis* (Svensk tidskr. II, 91—110).

C. F. Wandel, *Danmark og Barbareskerne 1746—1845*, København 1919.

E. Olán, *Sjöröfvarna på Medelhavet och Levantinska Compagniet*, Stockholm 1921.

Maria Nallino, *Documenti arabi sulle relazioni tra Genova e il Marocco nella seconda metà del secolo* XVIII (Riv. degli studi or. XXI, 51—76), containing a detailed description of Moroccan documents and a most valuable bibliography.

B. Lewin in *Nord. tidskr. för bok- och biblioteksväsen* XXXIII, 103 sqq.

(1741), dated the 24th of Dhu-l-Qaʿda 1210[2]), as well as several papers concerning al-Ḥājj ʿAlī Efendi and al-Ḥājj ʿAbdarraḥmān Āgha, the envoys who visited Stockholm on behalf of the Pasha in 1744 and 1772, and their negotiations with the Government of Sweden about commercial affairs form some of the most important acts. Other documents contain notifications of successions to the throne in Tripoli or congratulations to Swedish kings, e. g. to Adolphus Frederick on his accession to the throne, to Gustavus III on the occasion of the revolution in 1772[3]) and the birth of Gustavus Adolphus in 1778. It is also worthy of note that in 1742 Aḥmed Pasha wrote to the King of Sweden (No. 220), saying that he had been informed by Swedish sailors of the declaration of war against Russia, the enemy of Turkey, and he was glad to hear it; if it were not too far, he would send Sweden auxiliary troops and ships. The most interesting documents from an historical point of view are Nos. 265—267, which contain a detailed account of the violent insurrection in the year 1834 after the abdication of Yūsuf Qaramanli in favour of his son, the tyrannical and detested ʿAlī, whose appointment was confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the unexpected result that the Tripolitan sheikhs appealed for help to the Swedish Consul and other deputies of European and Mohammedan powers on behalf of the native population.[4]) The Tripolitan collection ends with a proclamation against slavery, which was issued by the British consulate in 1842.

As Turkish was originally the official language of the Tripolitan Government, the oldest documents are written in it, but in the course of time it was superseded by Arabic, the mother tongue of the native population. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Turkish documents are not without orthographical and grammatical faults, as *khaṭīr-i-ʿaṭīr* instead of *khāṭir-i-ʿāṭir* (No. 219), *dhāl* instead of *zā* in *rūdh, üdherimize, lādhīm*, i. e. *lāzim* (No. 223), and even *vefāṭ etmish-tir* "he has died" (No. 220). In Arabic,

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[2]) Dhu-l-Qaʿda 1210 began May 8, 1796.

[3]) See below.

[4]) See Kreüger, l. c. I, 449 sqq.; *Enzyklopaedie des Islām* II, 800; L. Ch. Féraud, *Annales tripolitaines publ. par Aug. Bernard*, Tunis & Paris 1927, p. 360.

too, the influence of the vulgar tongue[5]) is sometimes noticeable, as *naḥnu mutawajjihīn* (No. 260) and *hā'ulā'i-l-marākib amtā'unā alladhīna hum yūjadūna fauq marṣat Ṭarābulus* "questi nostri Bastimenti che sono sul porto di Tripoli bordeggiando" (No. 252).

In No. 262 one *Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abdallāh ad-Dālīmark*, in Italian *Dalimarki*, is mentioned, probably a renegade, originally named *Dalla Marca* or *Dalle Marche*[6]) from the province of *Le Marche* in Northern Italy.[7])

Many Tripolitan documents have been translated, partly into Swedish by the renowned orientalists Rubens,

[5]) Giuseppe Scialhub, *Grammatica italo-araba*, Milano 1913, p. 194: „La lingua araba letteraria era un giorno fiorente nelle terre della Libia; ne fanno fede i non pochi scrittori, fra i quali eccelle il celebre scrittore *Ibn Khaldûn;* sotto la dominazione turca gli arabi della Libia caddero in un torpore morale, fisico e intellettuale e la lingua decadde dal suo antico splendore. Auguro che al soffio potente della nuova civiltà conquistatrice il grande arabo idioma risorga alla prisca grandezza, dischiudendo un' êra di nuovi trionfi al fervido genio degli arabi."

[6]) According to Bruno Bassi, the Italian lecturer at the university of Uppsala, both forms are possible. As for 'Abdallāh, the name of the father, see F. Giese, *Der Islam* II, 294: „Noch heute erhält der Vater eines Renegaten auf Urkunden irgendeinen mit 'Abd zusammengesetzten Namen, für gewöhnlich 'Abdallāh." On the Mediterranean coasts there was no lack of renegades, see Féraud, l. c., p. 123: „Les corsaires d'Osman ne cessaient de courir les mers; leur flottille ne comptait pas moins d'une vingtaine de bâtiments, la plupart commandés par des renégats, au nombre desquels se trouvaient entre autres Beyram, renégat provençal, raïs-amiral, Mourad, renégat hollandais, Châban, renégat dunkerquois, Ali, renégat grec, Mustapha-Campana, renégat espagnol.' Cf. also G. Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes, samlede der i Landene fra Ao. 1760 til 1768*, København 1779, p. 140: „Til at blive *Mohamedan* behøves alleneste at sige det bekiente: *La Illáh elá Alláh Mohamed Rasúl Alláh*, om man enskiønt ei veed mere end dette af den hele Religion. Herpaa bliver Renegaten sat paa en Hest i *mauriske* Klaeder, og ført med Musiqve og et stort Følge igiennem Gaderne, giver sig et andet Navn, og udsøger sig en Fader, som altid tager ham i Forsvar. Dagen derefter bliver han omskaaren, (untagen naar han var en Jøde), og er saaledes en fuldkommen *Maur*."

[7]) *Ad-Dālīmark* may also be a clerical error for *ad-Dānīmark* „Dane", but this is not probable, no Danes being mentioned among the pirates.

Aurivillius, and Åkerblad, and partly into English, French, or Italian.

No. 227.

'Alī Pasha's congratulations to Gustavus III on the conclusion of the revolution in 1772.[8])

الحمد لمستحقه والصلاة والسلام على

اشرف خلقه وسراج افقه

وبعد السلام التام والاكلاه المجسام فالذى ينهى الى

رئيس الملّت العيسويّه وعظيم المملكة النصرانيّه افضل من تعبّد بالانجيل

وحافظ على العهد الذى لا يعتريه تغيير ولا تبديل صاحب الرأى السديد

والمنظر البعيد ملك ملوك الروم محبّنا الراى الصويد لا زال محمود

العواقب مأثور المناقب انّه اتّصل بعلمنا الكريم نبأ عظيم حيث

ضبطت امور السياسة وسرت بهداية عدل ورياسة وحفظت البرّ

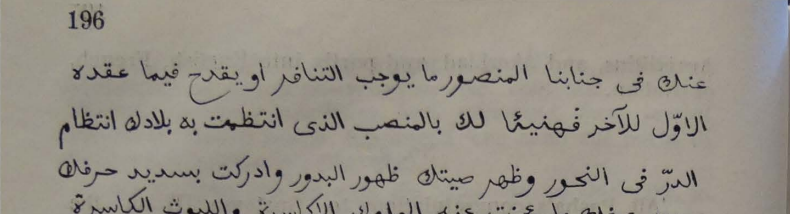
والبحر حتى قمت بهاذا الامر وحصل لك الملك بالاستقلال على رغم

انوف الرجال فاتيت بما عجز عنه الملوك الذين كانوا وذُعيت باعظم

الاسماء صُوّرات نتيجة اتّفاركم كالتجارب للامور وكان أمْرُ اللّٰهِ

قَدَرًا مَقْدُورا فانت من اهل الصلح الصحيح والعهد الصريح ولم يصدر

[8]) L. 1. Instead of the Maghribine types for *fā* and *qāf* the common forms have been used throughout. — L. 6. The title of *malik mulūk ar-Rūm* is often bestowed on the Swedish King in other contemporary documents too. *Ray aṣ-Ṣawīd* also occurs; *ray* from Ital. *re* or Spanish *rey*. — L. 11. *Ṣūrān* is the Ital. *sovrano*. — L. 12. Qur'ān 33 : 37. — L. 19. Shauwāl 1186 began on December 26, 1772.



The official notes from Tunisia are mostly written in the name of the Bey, sometimes in that of the Prime Minister, and are generally addressed to the Swedish Consul, only the oldest being sent to the Swedish King. With comparatively few exceptions they date from the nineteenth century, an interesting period in the history of the Barbary states; at the same time as they refer to divers matters in public or private life, they offer a perspicuous picture of the development of Tunisia from a savage robber republic into a modern civilized state founded on European methods. The variety of contents appears from the following survey without any regard to the chronological order: le Pacte fondamental (*ʿahd al-amān*) of 1857, civil and criminal law (*qānūn al-jināyāt wal-aḥkām*), mixed tribunals (*majālis mukhtaliṭa min aʿḍāʾ muslimīn wa-naṣārā*), the financial commission, the national debt, reforms in the monetary system, the establishment of an Anglo-Tunisian Bank, proceedings against contrabandists and coiners, exports and imports, customs tariffs, control of passports, directions for navigation, lighthouses, advertisements concerning steamer routes, railways, and telegraphic lines, trading with spirits and tobacco, marketing, the slave-trade, the board of health, quarantine and other prophylactic measures against plague and cholera, street cleaning, closing-time for the cafés, prohibition of firework displays, mad dogs running in the streets, hunters trespassing upon standing crops, Italian organ-grinders disturbing sleep with their musical performances, foreigners causing soldiers to sell or pledge their weapons and regimentals, complaints against foreign subjects who do not pay their rates and taxes and merchants

encroaching upon the districts of the natives, incorrect statements in French newspapers, the Italian periodical entitled *Il Vivere*, and placards in European languages (*bissūrī*) affixed to walls and offered for sale in the streets, the prohibition of secret political meetings, the official journal *ar-Rāʾid at-Tūnisī* in Arabic and French, exhortations to obey the native police, the disorderly behaviour of Jews, Jewish persecutions, the arrogance of French troops, etc.

Only the oldest documents are written in Turkish, the rest being in Arabic. In private papers, contracts, etc., grammatical slips sometimes occur, but in official documents the language is always correct. Nos. 523 and 524 are dated the 30th of Jumādā II, although this month has only 29 days; in the same manner we find the 30th of Shaʿbān in No. 653.

The Scandinavian names are most frequently easy to decipher. In No. 647 two ships, the *Ṣndrwāl* and the *Knk krli* (without vowels) are spoken of under the command of *Giovanni Lindlḥn* and *Giovanni Afrsn*; from *Tunisica II, 1. Register 1794—1863* it appears that the names of the ships are the *Sundsvall* and the *Kong Carl* (Norwegian) and the captains *Joh. Lindholm* and *Joh. Evensen.*

Some documents have been translated into Swedish, French, Italian, or English. A great many of them are accompanied by epitomes in French, which have been disfigured by Arabisms and are teeming with other mistakes. Among these may be included a letter (No. 673) from the Prime Minister to the Swedish Consul, containing a declaration from the local council announcing that some ramshackle and dangerous houses must be demolished. This is rendered thus: "5 Caada 89[9]) le conseil municipale dit qu'il y a une discution à nos voisins." The Arabic text runs as follows: *wa baʿdu faʾinna-l-majlisa-l-baladīya ʿaraḍa annahu waqaʿa tadāʿin li-baʿḍi judrāni shawāriʿi-l-hādirati* and in the sequel: *wa-ṣadara-l-idhnu-l-ʿālī bi-hadmi-l-mutadāʿī min dhālika.* The translator, apparently an illiterate interpreter who did not understand Arabic much better than French, has probably seen in the dictionary that *tadāʿā* means not only "menacer ruine", but also "se disputer", and to crown his misfortune he has read *jīrān* "voisins" instead of *judrān*.

[9]) Dhu-l-Qaʿda 1289 began December 31, 1872.

pl. of *jadr* "wall." But as the Swedish consulate in Tunis had since 1779 been administered for about a hundred years by members of the same family (Tulin)[10], they had probably studied Arabic sufficiently to be able to interpret the official documents themselves.

No. 279.

Notification of the Swedish Consul's death[11] and his replacement by the British.[12]

افتخار الامراء الملّة المسيحيّة ومختار الكبراء
الطايفة العسسويّة مصلح مصالح امور الجمهور النصرانيّة
صاحب اذيال الحشمة والوقار صاحب ولايت المجد والافتخار

حقيقتلو قديمى اولو دوستمز اسوج قرالى ختمت عواقبه

بالخير والرشاد قبلنه دوستلق ومحبّته اوفق ومصافات ومودّته
اليق وسزا اولانلرغ محبّت واصناف مودّت ايصالى لازمهٔ پرسش
خاطر عاطر مخالصتمكارلريله تذييل وتتميم قلندقدن صكره مخلصانه
انبا ومحبّانه انها اولنان بو دركه بو اثناده طرفمزدن اولان
قونصلوزيكز بامر الله تعلى فوت اولمغله يرينه طرفكزدن بر
آخر قونصلو نصب وتعيينى اولنوب بو طرفه كلنجه دكين جميع
اشيالرينك واورادلرينك رجزنى وكلّى واقع اولان مصالحى
وامورلرينك رؤيت وتمشيتيچون طرفمزدن اولان انكليز قونصلوسى
معتمد واليق وكار كذار اولمغله كندويه حواله وسپارش اولندى

اوبابجه معلومكز اوله باقى همواره عمر افزون دايم باد
تحريراً فى ١٩ حجّه سنه ١١٩٢
على مير ميران محميّه تونس

[10]) See J. A. Almquist, *Kommerskollegium och riksens ständers manufakturkontor samt konsulsstaten* (Meddel. fr. Sv. Riksark. N. F. Ser. 2, IV), p. 626.

[11]) His name is not mentioned; from J. A. Almquist, l. c., p. 571 it appears that the consul in question was J. A. Molinari, d. December 25, 1778.

[12]) L. 1. Cf. *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden*, p. VIII. — L. 3. Generally *dalā'il al-majd wal-i'tibār*. — L. 4. After *Isvej krali* name left in blank. — L. 11. "Current business", see Zenker, *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan*, s. v. *wird:* "en gén. tout ce qu'on fait régulièrement ou ce que l'on répète toujours". — L. 15. Dhu-l-Ḥijja 1192 began on December 21, 1778.

In the Algerica there is a renewal of the treaty of 1141 (1729) in Turkish and Swedish, dated the 6th of Shauwāl 1206 (No. 731)[13]) and confirmed by several later deys. The other documents chiefly consist of letters in Turkish from the deys to the Swedish kings concerning tributes and the activity of the Swedish consuls: they are often accompanied by Swedish translations, done by Rubens, Aurivillius, and Åkerblad. In other documents captured or chartered ships are discussed. This collection ends with two proclamations in Arabic to the natives, one from the commander-in-chief of the French, the other anonymous.

No. 725.

Official acknowledgement of the king's letter and refutation of the report that Consul Logie[14]) had withheld some of the royal presents.[15])

چون عون عنايت ربّانى وصون صيانت صمدانى برله
شبو زمانمز پادشاهى السلطان البرّين وخاقان البحرين السلطان
ابن السلطان السلطان ابو النجات الغازى محمود خان ادام الله
ايّامه وابّد سلطنته حضرتلرينك ركاب همايونلرى خدمتى
ايله شرفياب اولان حالا جزائر غرب بكلربكيسى وداكيسى ابراهيم
پاشا دام مجده حضرتلرينك اسوج پادشاهى پادشاه عاليشان
حضرتلرينه محبّت نامه سيدر كى

[13]) Shauwāl 1206 began May 23, 1792.

[14]) Captain George Logie was born in Scotland, but a Swedish subject and the first Swedish consul in Algiers. When he went to Tunis by order of the Government, a relation of his, George Gordon was entrusted with the administration of the consulate. At that time the presents of the Swedish king arrived, but as Georg Giædda, secretary of the consulate, maintained that Logie had withheld some of them, Logie wrote to the Government and asked for the removal of Giædda. This was done, and the dey declared himself convinced of Logie's innocence. Kreüger I, 236; J. A. Almquist, p. 517 and 562.

حالا سویقوذ وواندهلوذ وقوصوذ سوواحللرینکن
ممالکی اولان افتخار الامراء العیسویّه مختار الکبراء عمدة
السلاطین المسیحیّه صاحب الوقار رأی تدبیر کیاستنده کار
کذار دولتلو صداقتلو محبّتلو سلطنتلو غایت الغایات جمله دن
عزیز بیوک دوستمز ایشوع پادشاهی پادشاهان مسیحیان
حضرتلرینک دولت اقبالکزینه لایق اولان تعظیم ایله مراسم
دعوات وافیات ولوازم تکریم ایله محبّت صافات مودّت
غایات عرض واهدی اولندقده نصکره اوّلا حال وخاطر عزّتلری
سوالی مهام آخره تقدیم وترقیم اولنور دائما خدای لا نظیر
وجود موجودیکزی بلیّات سماویدن مصون ومحفوظ ایدوب عمر
طویل ایله سریر دولتده بر قرار وصحّت تن وعافیت بدن ایله
کرسیء سلطنت عزّتده بر دوام قایم اوله سز آمین بحرمة عیسی
روح الامین اثر ذا بنم مودّتلو وصداقتلو بیوک دوستم پادشاه عالیشان
حضرتلری عمر دولتکز مزید اولسون صحّت خبریکزه مترقّب وانتظار
اوزره ایکن ما بینمزده منعقد اولن دوستلغه بناءً ارسال بیوریلان
مکاتیب محبّت اسلوبکز تاریخ ورقه ده ینه بوجانبه قونصلوق خدمتنه
تعیین ومأمور بیوریلان قولکز جورجی لوجی داعیلرینک وکیلی ما
یصدر قوردون قولکز یدیله طرفمزه وارد اولوب درون مکتوب همایونلرینده
تحریر وانشا بیوریلان آثار محبّتلری جملةً تفهیمز زیاده ممنون ومسرور
اولمشدر الله تعالی حضرتلری سز دوستمزی دائما مسرور ایلیه مأمولدر
که بوندن بویله قلبکزده دوستلغی طرفمزه قوی وزیاده ایدوب ممکن
اولدقجه محبّت نامه کزی قطع اتمیه سز بنم محبّتلو صداقتلو دوستم
حق برکات ورسون مقدّما ارسال بیوریلان هدیّهٔ بهیّه لریکز بالتمام
واکمال ینه طرفمزده اولن قونصلوکز جورجی لوجی قولکزدن تسلیم وبرلو

یرینه ادا اولنمشدر لکن هدیّه کزی کتورن اشتروان قولکز قونصلودن
بیهوده شکّ ایدوب بعض شیلری ورمدی دیو افترا ایلمش حاشا
موسی الیه قونصلو جورجی لوجی قولکزدن اول مرتبه احانت صادر اولمدی
واولمق دخی محالدر کرک جناب مابکزینه وکرک طرفمزه دوستلق وصداقت
اوزره خدمت ایدوب کندوسندن بوآنه کلنجه ذرّه قدر حیله سی ظاهر
اولمیوب وبا خصوص جناب مابکزی آخر دوستدیمزدن صادق بیلوب وموسی
الیه قونصلو قولکزه آخر قونصلولردن زیاده عزّت وحرمت ومحبّت ایده رز
وتاریخ ورقه دن بر قاچ آی مقدّم بعض مهمّ مصالحکز ایچون جورجی لوجی
قولکز محروسهٔ تونسه روانه اولوب یرینه ینه کندو اقره باسی ما
یصدر قوردون نام قولکزی وکیل بداغوب موسی الیه قولکز دخی غایت
ایله ایو آدم وایش کذار وتفهیم کلام اولمغین کندوسندن مسرور اولدق
مرقوماندن ذرّه مقدار حیله ظاهر اولمیوب طرفینه صداقت اوزره خدمتلری
سبقت اتمشدر بونلر ایچون طرف همایونکزه بر غیری کونه تلخیص ایدر لرئیسه
اعتماد اولنمق زیاده مأمولمزدر وجورجی قونصلو قولکز دخی قریب زمانده
طرفمزه کلمکله اوزره در وبوندن بویله بوجانبه مخصوص بر خدمتکز
واقع اولورئیسه اعلامنه موقوفدر ادا سیله ممنون اولدغمز لا ریبدر باقی
همیشه عمر دولت باد

شهر ذی الحجّهٔ مبارک من هجرة النبی فی ۱۵

سنه ۱۱۴۹

بمقام دار الجهاد محروسهٔ جزائر غرب

Seal :

الواثق بالمنّان عبده ابرهيم باشا بن رمضان سنة ١١٤٥

As is the case with the Algerine documents, the Moroccan ones deal with foreign politics, and here relations with Sweden are treated exhaustively, whereas such detailed information concerning internal affairs as is to be found in the Tunisica does not occur. In 1192 (1778) Mohammed I issued a proclamation to Algeria and the Christian powers (No. 761), stating that he was at peace with all of them except the Ragusians (*ar-Ragūzīwā 'lladhī huwa Dūbra bandīq*)[16]). In 1203 (1788) he wrote to Gustavus III (No. 768), saying that he had just been informed of the alliance of Denmark with Russia, which seemed to him to be unjust (*ẓalām*), and at the same time he sent word to the Danish Consul in Tangiers, saying that "han agtede de Danske højt, og at det ikke var hans Hensigt at bryde Freden med dem, men allene at sige dem, at det Parti, som de havde tagit, stod ham ikke an", G. Høst, *Den Marokanske Kajser Mohamed Ben Abdallah's Historie*, København 1791, p. 302. On being informed, however, that the Danes had only acted in accordance with earlier engagements, he again wrote to Gustavus III (No. 769) and advised him to become reconciled with Denmark, as war would only cause difficulties (*min jihat buṭlān tijāratkum allatī hiya mu'ẓamhā fi-s-sufun*), and on the same day he wrote to Christian VII in these terms: "Paa den ene Side vil I faae mange Bekymringer og meget Arbejde, og paa en anden, da I ere

[15]) L. 2. *as-sulṭān al-barrayn* (sic). — L. 8. Corruption of *Sveriges, Götes och Vendes* (konung), *Suecorum, Gothorum Vandalorumque* (rex). — L. 14. Probably a clerical error for *muṣāfāt*. — L. 20. In Nos. 722 and 723 *bi-ḥurmat 'Īsā rūḥ rabb al-'ālamīn*. — L. 24. "Mister Gordon". — L. 26. Some form of *tefehhüm etmek* 'to understand' might be expected, cf. *tefhīm-i-kelām olmaghin* below. — L. 32. Conjecture: *ushturbān* 'camel driver'; MS. *ushqurwān*. — L. 49. MS. *hījra* (sic), in No. 724 too. — Dhu-l-Ḥijja 1149 began on April 2, 1737. — L. 52. Year 1145 began on June 24, 1732.

[16]) Cf. Fr. Babinger, *Ein marokkanisches Staatsschreiben an den Freistaat Ragusa vom Jahre 1194/1780* (Mitt. d. Sem. f. Or. Spr. XXX, II, 191—201).

Naboer, vil I tabe Eders Handel og mange Skibe, uden at have nogen Nytte af de Ulykker, som I tilføje hinanden," Høst, p. 306. In addition to this, he sent the two kings sumptuous presents, which were so similar that the two Consuls in Tangiers had to draw lots for them.

In the Maroccana the correspondence of the Swedish consulate occupies considerable space. It is obvious that all consuls were not acquainted with so difficult a language as Arabic; at all events two of them, Jacob Gråberg af Hemsö, the learned compiler,[17]) and J. F. S. Crusenstolpe,[18]) translator of the Qur'ān,[19]) did not confine themselves to the vernacular, but also took an interest in the classical language. The consulate correspondence was generally carried out by dragomans, see Gråberg in *Nouveau Journal asiatique* II, 201: "Ce que personnellement je puis assurer comme un fait positif, c'est que, dans leurs communications diplomatiques avec le sulthan de Maroc, qui se font presque toujours par écrit, les consuls des puissances chrétiennes, quand ils ne savent point l'arabe, sont toujours obligés, pour rédiger leurs missives et comprendre les réponses, de se servir de deux interprètes, savoir, d'un Taleb qui connaisse et la langue écrite et la vulgaire, et d'un interprète maure ou juif qui, parlant une langue européenne, explique au Taleb, en langue vulgaire de Maroc, ce que le consul veut faire écrire, ou *vice versâ* au consul, en langue européenne, la traduction que le Taleb fait, en langue vulgaire, du contenu de la lettre marocaine. J'ai souvent été témoin moi-même de la difficulté, quelquefois presque invincible, éprouvée, soit par le Taleb, soit par l'interprète, pour s'entendre l'un l'autre, surtout lorsque la diction et le style des réponses sont un peu figurés et asiatiques."

At first Gråberg was in favour with the Sultan, but suddenly he was banished from Morocco. In May 1820 Sultan Sulaymān ordered twenty cannons of bronze from Sweden; they arrived at Gibraltar in December 1821, and

[17]) H. Rosman, *Jacob Gråberg af Hemsö* (Personhist. tidskr. XXXVI, 50—71).

[18]) *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* IX, 435.

[19]) *Koran öfversatt från arabiska originalet, jemte en historisk inledning*, Stockholm 1843.

in January 1822 the Sultan sent Charles John, king of Sweden, the following letter of thanks (No. 778):[20])

الحمد لله وحده وصلّى الله على من لا نبيّ بعده

Seal:

سليمان بن محمّد بن عبد الله غفر الله له وتولّاه

الله محمّد ابو بكر عمر عثمان علي
وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ وَإِلَيْهِ أُنِيبُ

السلطان الذى له المحبّة العظمى فى جانبنا والوقوف الكبير فى قضاء مَعَارِبِنا جبرًا منه على عادة آبائِهِ فى محاولة الفخر المديد عظيم زوايا ارضه كَرْنُوس اخوان سلطان سواد السّويد ابقاكم الله مَدْرَجَةَ نَجاح لمن اتى عليكم ووُجْهَةَ فلاح لمن توجّه اليكم وبعد فقد وَصَلَنا وَصَلَ اللهُ فى جانبنا مَوَدَّتَكم واطال بمنّه جزاء لما تودّونه من الخير لنا مَسَرَّتَكم عشرون مَدْفَعا بإقامتها وما يُتَوَقَّف عليه من آلاتها التى وجّهتم بها الى حضرتنا

[20]) L. 5. Qur'ān 11 : 87. — L. 8. According to the Spanish form *Juan*. — L. 9. "The King of Sweden" also *ṭāghiyat Sawīd*, but generally *'aẓīm Sawīd ('aẓīm as-Sawīd)*. — L. 21. E. Fumey, *Choix de correspondances marocaines*, Paris 1903, p. 108: "Le mot Consul se transcrit de différentes manières: *qunṣū, qūnṣū, qunṣul* et *qunṣūl;* ces mots font au pluriel: *qunāṣū, qunṣuwāt, qunāṣil* et *qunāṣil* (sic)", No. 858 also *qawānīṣ*; cf. Maria Nallino, *Documenti arabi*, p. 73, note; in No. 279 (see above) *qūnṣulū* and *qūnṣulūz;* No. 852 *qūnuṣ;* Zenker, *Dictionnaire: qonsolos;* H. Stumme, *Gramm. d. tunis. Arab.*, Leipzig 1896, p. 62 *qoñṣur*. "Monsieur Gråberg". — L. 24. Rabī' II began on December 26, 1821.

العالية بالله نجاوت على النعت الذى أردنا وعلى الشكل الذى ما سواه قصدنا إحكاما واتّقانا وابتداعا واحسانا وذالك الظنّ بكم وممّا تحققنا به انّ محبّتكم لنا لا يشوبها كدر وانّ تعرّفكم لنا لا يعقبه غِيَر وانّ مسيرتكم معنا حميدة وانّ معرفتكم حاجة اكيدة ولذلك كتبنا اليكم فى امر ما ذكرنا بالتخصيص وعدلنا عن غيركم فى شأنه الى ذكركم بالنصيص فالله تجازيكم من جنس عملكم ويكافيكم عليه عامين ونحن على ما تعهدونه فى جانبكم وان احتجتم الى شىء عندنا فأيّقِنوا به ان شاء الله عندكم واكتبوا فيه الى بساطنا الشريف على يد لسانكم عندنا وقونصوكم مُسَيّ اكْرُبَل فإنه خير لسان هنا لديكم فاعرفوا له ذالك وأفرِدُوه على عمله او فزيدوا له فيه فإنّه يستأهل ذالك لمروءته وزيادة وقوفه فى قضاء اغراضنا من عندكم والسلام وفى 14 ربيع الثانى عام 1237

But when Gråberg requested payment, the Sultan's secretary Mohammed Akensūs[21]) sent him the following answer (No. 852), showing that Gråberg had fallen into disgrace:[22])

الحمد لله وحده

قونص السويد امّا بعد فتحاك الله ولعنك افى ثلاثة آلاف ريال تكتب لمولانا ثلاثة مرّاتا قيمة الهديّة وقد كان جنسكم يهدى لسيدى محمد بن عبد الله الثلاثين الف ريال ويقدّم ثلاثة آلاف ريال لصاحب قادوس او الزوين لتقبل هديّته. والآن سِرّ فى لعنة الله فلا امان لك ولا عهد وقد اجّل لك مولانا اربعة اشهر التى امر الله بها امانا حتّى تخرج وقد حلف سيدنا نصره الله لا جعل مع السويد عهدا ابدا فانظر شومك وطمعك ما ادّى اليه نعوذ بالله من الشره. فى 22 ربيع الثانى عام 1237

كاتب الاوامر المولويّة محمد بن احمد اكنسوس وليه الله

[21]) See Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt. Suppl.* II, 884.

[22]) L. 3. Sic in Gråberg's transcript instead of *thalāth marrāt*. When writing Arabic, he generally avoided bad mistakes, although his philological education left much to be desired.

This letter was accompanied by another from Akensūs without any date and subscription; according to Graberg it was written in the following terms (No. 853):

الحمد لله وحده

محبنا قونص السويد امّا بعد فقد ادخلنا كتابك لمولانا
وقرأناه عليه فقام وقعد وامرنى ان اكتب كتابا بين يديه وهو ينظر
فكتبته رغما على انفى ويصلك الكتاب المذكور ولا يهمّك ذالك ان
شاء الله ولاكن سيدنا كان بقى فى نفسه حيث امرك بدفع المال
فاعتذرت عليه وتأخّرت واوجد دينمارك خمسين الفا مع انّه لم
تجب عليه كلّهم ولكنّ مولانا انّك ما فعلت ذالك الّا نكاية والسلطان
اذا امر لا يرضى ان لا يمتثل امره ولو كان المال حاضرا لسهل
الامر والآن لا يكن اعتناوك الّا جمع المال وتسلّف واقدم علينا به
اينما كنّا ولا يكن الّا خيرا واكتم امرك ولا تتراخ فيما ذكرنا

When Gråberg learned that the Sultan had forced Akensūs to write the insulting words quoted above, he informed the latter that he had tried in vain to borrow money and was, therefore, obliged to pay for the cannons himself. As for the rest, he asked the secretary to put in a good word for him to the Sultan. But before Gråberg received any answer, he was put on board an English ship bound for Gibraltar.[23]) A letter now arrived from Akensūs; he simply advised Gråberg to procure the money and to appease the Sultan. When the commander of a Scandinavian fleet, Count G. R. von Rosen, asked for an explanation, he received the following answer (No. 858)[24]):

[23]) Kreüger, l. c., I, 188.
[24]) L. 9. Rajab 1237 began on March 24, 1822.

الحمد لله وحده ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله

قبطان مراكب جنس السويد كُسْطَافْ رُبَرْطْ ذى رُوسَنْ:. اما بعد
فقد وصل كتابك للحضرة السلطانية المعتصمة بالله المقتدرة بحوله وقوته
فاعلمْ ان مولانا نصره الله لا يجلس بايالته السعيدة من القوانص الا
من اراد وما طرد قونصوكم الا لانه لا يليق به والآن ان كان مرادكم
فى الصلح فوجهوا قونصوء اخر يسكن بداركم ويقضى مئاربكم ولكم
من العهد والامان والا فلا عهد لكم ولا امان فافعلوا ما بدا
لكم فالله مولانا وكفى به وليا ونصيرا فى 24 رجب الفرد سنة
1237

عن اذن وصيف المقام العالى بالله القايد فراجى كان الله
له آمين

The end of it all was that the Sultan was given the cannons as a present. In the meantime Gråberg remained in Spain. In December 1822 he was appointed Swedish Consul in Tripoli, and in April 1823 he assumed the functions of this office.[25])

The Moroccan documents are often accompanied by translations into Swedish or Spanish, seldom into French.

In the second volume of the Turcica there are about forty documents referring to the times of Charles XII, and these belong to the original collections. The rest consists of the archives of the Swedish legation in Istanbul and contains official notes from the Ottoman authorities on divers matters — from the financial difficulties of the Sublime Porte to disturbances in the theatre in Pera, the

[25]) Kreüger, I, 436.

European quarter in Istanbul; hence these documents supply valuable contributions to the knowledge of the state of things in the Ottoman Empire — or rather in its capital, Istanbul, — during the nineteenth century, especially as regards foreign subjects, whereas the native population is more rarely spoken of.

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UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM MITLAUTBESTAND DES UGARITISCH-SEMITISCHEN

Der Mitlautbestand der seit kurzem erschlossenen Ugaritisch-semitischen Sprache war schon mehrmals Gegenstand wissenschaftlicher Erörterungen.[1]) Der stetige Fortschritt in der Erfassung des Sinnes der Texte muss jedoch notgedrungen manche Resultate modifizieren; daher scheint mir eine neue Untersuchung der Grundlagen der ugaritischen Phonetik nicht belangslos zu sein. Da mir nur beschränkter Raum zur Verfügung steht, kann ich die zu Grunde liegenden Textstellen nur ausnahmsweise anführen. Diese sind in meinem in Handschrift vorliegendem ugaritischen Glossar ausnahmslos notiert. Vgl. vorläufig das Glossar in Gordons Grammatik. Die während des letzten Krieges veröffentlichten ugaritischen Texte (II—III Keret u. s. w.) konnten leider bei diesen Untersuchungen nicht berücksichtigt werden, da sie mir nicht zugänglich waren.

Gleich den übrigen semitischen Sprachen scheint auch das Ugaritisch-Semitische in seinem Mitlautbestand dem vorausgesetzten Ursemitischen gegenüber eine teilweise, regelmässige Verschiebung der Lautwerte aufzuweisen. Diese meldet sich in geringerem Ausmass bei den *Laryngalien* an, in grösserem Mass jedoch im Gebiet der *Dentalien* und *Sibilanten*.

A) Unter den *Laryngalien* weisen der *Aleph*-laut (ʾ) und *ḥ* dem Ursemitischen gegenüber nur wenig Änderungen auf. In einigen Fällen geht der Sibilant des Kausativs anscheinend in den Aleph-laut über. Auch *ḫ* und *ḫ*, *ʿajin* und *ʿ*$_2$(= *ġ*) entsprechen im Durchschnitt dem ursemitischen Lautbestand.

I. Bei der Besprechung der ugaritischen *ḫ* und *ḫ* kommen hier nur solche Wurzeln in Betracht, die in jenen semitischen Sprachen Entsprechungen haben, welche in der Schrift diese Laute auseinanderhalten. Diese Sprachen sind das Nord- und

[1]) Vgl. unter Anderem: Cantineau, J.: *La langue des Ras Shamra. Syria*, 1932, 164—170; Guérinot, A.: *Remarques sur la phonétique des Ras Shamra. Syria*, 1938, 38—46; Czeglédy, K.: *A zöngés veláris spiráns az ugariti sémi fetiratokban*, Budapest 1940; Gordon, C. H.: *Ugaritic Grammar*, Rome 1940.

Südarabische (auch das Äth.), sowie das Akkadische, in welchem die Entsprechung des *ḥ*-Lautes schriftlich unbezeichnet bleibt.

a) H. In beiden berücksichtigten Sprachenfamilien (im Ost- und im Südwestsemitischen) weisen denselben Laut (oder dessen Entsprechung) die folgenden ugaritischen Wurzeln auf: 1) *ʾḥd* (eins); 2) *dbḥ* (Schlachtopfer darbringen, ar. *dabaḥa*, opfern äth. *zebḥ* Opfertier, akk. *zību*, Opfer); 3) *ḥbl* (Schwarm, ar. *ḥabl*, äth. *ḥabl*, Strick, akk. *eblu*); 4) *ḥdṯ* (neu, ar. *ḥadaṯ*, äth. *ḥadaṯ*, Jüngling, akk. *ešše*); 5) *ḥm* (Hitze, Wz. *ḥmm*, ar. *ḥumm* Hitze, akk. *ummu*, Hitze, *emmu* heiss); 6) *ḥmr* (Esel, ar. *ḥimār*, südar. *ḥmr*, akk. *emēru*); 7) *ḥnn* (in II D 1, 17 *ḥnt*, Flehen, Gebet; vgl. ar. *ḥanna*, verlangen, zärtlich klagen, akk. *enēnu*: um Gnade flehen); 8) *ḥrṯ* (pflügen, ar. *ḥaraṯa*, akk. *erēšu*, aber vgl. auch vgl. auch *ḥarāšu*, pflanzen!); 9) *ḥrš* (etwas mit Sorgfalt, oder zauberhaft herstellen, ar. *ḥarasa*, bewachen, Sorge tragen, *ḥarrīs*, umsichtsvoll, sorgfältig [*Dozy*]. akk. *eršu*, weise); 10) *ṭḥn* (mahlen, ar. *ṭaḥana*, äth. *ṭeḥn*, Gerstenmehl. akk. *ṭēnu*); 11) *jḥd* (einsam. ar. *waḥīd*, äth. *waḥada*, einer sein, akk. *wēdum*, einer); 12) *lḥm* (essen, ar. *laḥama*, mit Fleisch speisen, akk. *laʾāmu*, *lēmu*, aber auch *laḫāmu*, kosten, geniessen); 13) *lḳḥ* (empfangen, nehmen, ar. *laḳiḥa*, vom Hengst empfangen, akk. *laḳū*, *leḳū*, nehmen); 14) *nḥ(w)* (sich wohin begeben, ar. *naḥā*. akk. *neʾū*, wenden); 15) *phm* (Kohle, ar. *faḥm*, akk. *pēntu*); 16) *pṯḥ* (öffnen, ar. *fataḥa*, akk. *petū*); 17) *ṣḥr* (blass, verdorrt, ar. *ṣaḥrāʾu*, weiss mit rot gemischt; viell. akk. *ṣēru*. Feld, Steppe, Wüste); 18) *rḥm* (Mitgefühl, Liebe, ar. *ruḥm*, Erbarmen, akk. *rēmu*, Mutterleib, Erbarmen); 19) *rḥṭ* (hohle Hand, ar. *rāḥāt*, akk. *rettu*, Handfläche); 20) *šḥr* (Morgengrauen, ar. *saḥar*, akk. *šēru*); 21) *šlḥ* (senden, schmelzen, ar. *saliḥa*, Exkremente lassen, akk. *salū*, werfen, schleudern).

Im Akkadischen ist nicht belegt: 1) *brḥ* (behend, ar. *bariḥa*, verlassen); 2) *wṯḥ* (eilen, ar. *waṭaḥa* IV, ungestüm (drängen); 3) *ḫbḳ* (umarmen, ar. *ḫabbaḳa* sammeln); 4) *ḥdg* (Frauensänfte. ar. *ḥidāǧa*); 5) *ḥṭṭ* (Weizen, ar. *ḥinṭa*); 6) *ḥj(j)* (leben, ar. *ḥajja*); 7) *ḥkm* (weise sein, ar. *ḥakama*); 8) *ḥlb* (Milch o. ä., ar. *ḥalab*); 9. *ḥlm* (träumen, ar *ḥalama*); 10) *ḥmd* (begehren, ar. *ḥamida* loben, gut finden); 11) *ḥṭḳ* (zeugen o. ä., ar. *ḥaṭaḳa*, abschneiden); 12) *lḥ* (schimmern, ar. *lāḥa*); 13) *lḥṭ* (Hieb, Schlag; ar. *laḥaṭa*, schlagen, prügeln); 14) *mḥ(w)* (verwischen, ar. *maḥā*); 15) *mrḥ* (Stolz o. ä., ar. *mariḥa*, munter, stolz sein); 16) *mšḥ* (zerschmettern, ar. *masaḥa*: abwischen, zerschmettern); 17) *nhl* (Besitz erhalten, beerben, ar. *naḥala* beschenken); 18) *nḥṭ* (entschälen, sich entschälen, ar. *naḥaṭa*, abschaben, glätten); 19) *ṣḥḳ* (lachen, heiter sein, ar. *ḍaḥika*); 20) *rḥ* (Wind, Duft, Zorn, ar. *rūḥ*, Lebensatem, Geist, *rīḥ*, Wind); 21) *rḥm* (Dualis: Handmühle, ar. *raḥān*); 22) *rḥb* (Wz. weit sein, in *rḥbt*, ein Trinkgefäss grossen Umfanges. ar. *raḥiba*, weit sein); 23) *šph* (Nachkommenschaft, ar. *safaḥa*, vergiessen, VI huren); 24) *tḥt* (unter, zu Füssen, ar. *taḥta/u*); 25) *tpḥ* (Apfel o. ä., ar. *tuffāḥ*).

Im Arabischen ist nicht belegt: 1) *ḫbr* (Genosse, akk. *ebru*); 2) *rḥḳ* (weit sein, sich entfernen, akk. *rēḳu*).

Abweichungen von der regelmässigen Entsprehung weisen folgende ug. Wurzeln auf: α) Gegen ar. und akk. *ḫ* hat *ḥ* ug. *thm* (Entschluss, Auftrag, gegen ar. *taḫama*, abgrenzen, akk. *taḫūmu*, Grenze). — β) Gegen ar. *ḫ* hat *ḥ*: 1) *ḥdr* (Kammer, ar. *ḫidr*, Vorhang, inneres Gemach, jedoch äth. *ḫadara*, wohnen!); 2) *ngḥ* (mit Hörnern stossen, ar. *naǧaḥa*: anprallen). — γ) Gegen akk. *ḥ* hat *ḫ*: 1) *ḫln* (Fenster, aus d. Wz. *ḫll*. durchbohren, akk. *ḫilāni*, das westsem. Lw. zu sein scheint; dagegen steht ar. *ḫalla*, lösen); 2) *ḫrb* (Schwert, Messer, Sichel. akk. *ḫarbu* (?), Messer (?), dagegen ar. *ḥarba(t)*, Lanze)[2]); 3) *kḫṭ* (Stuhl, in einer kanaan. Gl. *kaḫšu*, nach *Friedrich* ZDMG 1942. 491 Entlehnung aus hurr. *kišḫi*); 4) *lḫ* (Wange, akk. *laḫū*, Kinnlade, gegen ar. *laḥj*, Kinn); 5) *pḫl* (Esel zum Reiten, akk. *puḫālu*, männliches Tier, Hengst, gegen ar. *faḥl*, Hengst); 6) *ṣḫ* (laut rufen, akk. *ṣāḫu* gegen ar. *ṣāḥa*, schreien); 7) *rḫṣ* (überschütten, waschen, akk. *raḫāṣu*, überschwemmen, abspülen, gegen ar. *raḥaḍa*, waschen, äth. *rḥḍ*, schwitzen); 8) *ḫmṭ* (Mauern in den Tell el Am.-Briefen *ḫumūtu*, gegen ar. *ḥamā*, schützen, behüten). Nur im Akk. ist belegt: 9) *ḫmdrt* (Dürre, akk. *ḫamadirūtu*) und 10) *prsḫ* (niedersinken, akk. *purasuḫu*, *pulasuḫu* IV 1, sich niederwerfen).

Die vorgeführten Beispiele legen nahe, dass das Ugaritische in der Anwendung des *ḫ* fast stets dem Ursemitischen folgt.

b) Ḥ. Dieser ug. Laut hat im Arabischen und im Akkadischen übereinstimmende Entsprechung in: 1) *ʾḥ* (Bruder, ar. *ʾaḫ*, akk. *aḫu*); 2) *ʾḥḍ* (ergreifen, nehmen, ar. *ʾaḫaḍa*, akk. *aḫāzu*, äth. *ʾaḫza*); 3) *ʾḥr* (nachher, ar. *ʾaḫara* aufschieben, akk. *eḫēru*, zurückbleiben); 4) *ʾrḥ* (Kuh, ar. *ʾarḥ*, junger Stier,

[2]) Vgl. Chenet, G., *Ḫrb de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Mél. Dussaud* I. 49—54.

akk. *arḫu*, Wildstier, Rind); 5) *ḫbt* (plündern o. ä., ar. *ḫabata*, erniedrigt werden, unterworfen sein [Lane], akk. *ḫabātu*, plündern); 6) *ḥṭ'* (verfehlen, ar. *ḫaṭi'a*, akk. *ḫaṭū*); 7) *ḥmš* (fünf, ar. *ḫams*, akk. *ḫamšu*); 8) *ḥnzr* (Eber o. Schwein, ar. *ḫinzīr*, akk. *ḫumṣēru*); 9) *ḥrt* (Höhle, Wz. *ḥrr*, ar. *ḫurr*, Loch, akk. *ḫurru*, Loch, Höhle); 10) *ḥrṣ* I. (Gold, ar. *ḫurṣ*, goldener Ohrring, akk. *ḫurāṣu*, Gold); 11) *ḥrṣ* II. (e. scharfer Gegenstand, etwa Lanze, ar. *ḫarṣ*, *ḫirṣ*, *ḫurṣ*, Rohrlanze u. dessen Spitze, akk. *ḫarāṣu*, abschneiden, graben); hieher gehört wohl ug. *ḥrṣn* (Beil, ar. *ḫaṣīn*, akk. *ḫaṣinnu*, äth. *ḫaṣin*); 12) *ḥršn* (Gebirg, ar. *ḫuršūm*: zerrissenes Felsgebirg, akk. *ḫuršānu*, Gebirg); 13) *ḫtn* (mit jmd. durch die Frau verwandt w., ar. *ḫatan*, Schwager, Schwiegervater, Schwiegersohn, akk. *ḫatānu*, Schwiegersohn, Schwager); 14) *ṭbḫ* (schlachten, kochen, ar. *ṭabaḫa*, kochen, akk. *ṭabāḫu*, schlachten; 15) *yrḫ* (Mond, Monat, ar. *warraḫa*, datieren, akk. *warḫu*, *arḫu*, Mond, Monat); 16) *mḫṣ* (zerschmettern, ar. *maḫaḍa*, heftig schütteln, akk. *maḫāṣu*, schlagen, erschlagen); 17) *nḫ* (ruhen, ar. niederknien [v. Kamel], akk. *nāḫu*, Ruhe geben, ruhen; äth. *nōḫa*, ruhen); 18) *nḫl* (Tal mit einem Bach, südar. Tal, Palmpflanzung, ar. *naḫl*, Palme, junger Baum, akk. *naḫlu*, Bachtal); 19) *npḫ* (blasen, ar. *nafaḫa* u. *nafaḥa*, akk. *napāḫu*); 20) *ph* (Falle, ar. *faḫḫ*, Schlinge, Fangnetz, akk. *paḫu*, Vogelschlinge [?]); 21) *šḫn* (entzündet s., ar. *saḫana*, heiss w., akk. *šaḫānu*, dass.); 22) *šmḫ* (sich freuen, ar. *š(!)amaḫa*, hoch sein, akk. *šamāḫu*, üppig, sprossen, gedeihen).

Ug. *ḫ* ist im Akkadischen in folgenden Wz (bisher) nicht belegt: 1) *ḫlb* (Fette, ar. *ḫilb* Zwerchfell); 2) *ḫlp* (Wz. wechseln in *mḫlpt*, Zopf, Locken, ar. *ḫalafa*, hinter etwas her sein, an dessen Stelle treten); 3) *ḫmt* (Zelt, ar. *ḫajmat*); 4) *ḫrṭ* (rupfen [e. Vogel], ar. *ḫaraṭa*, entrinden, den Zweig abstreifen); 5) *ṭḫ* (bestreichen, ar. *ṭāḫa*, beschmutzen); 6) *mṣḫ* (anstossen, ar. *maṣaḫa*, wegstossen); 7) *mrḫ* (überziehen, ar. *maraḫa*, salben, einreiben); 8) *rḫ* (Erleichterung, Entspannung, ar. *raḫḫa*, weich, schlaff s., auch *rāḫa* [med. *j*], schlaff, matt s.).

Ug. *ḫ* hat im Arabischen keine Entsprechung in: 1) *ʿnḫr* (e. Meertier, etwa Delfin, akk. *nāḫeru*, „Schnauber", auch *sisu ša tāmti*, Meerespferd, genannt); 2) *ḫbr* (Gemeinde?, akk. *ḫubāru*, Gesamtheit, Versammlung); 3) *ḫḫ*, Unrat, Auswurf?, akk. *ḫaḫḫu*, Unrat); 4) *ḫṭ* I. (schauen, in Traume, akk. *ḫāṭu*, sehen, Gesicht, Vision); 5) *ḫṭ* II. (Stab, Szepter, akk. *ḫaṭṭu*); 6) *ḫl* (kreissen, akk. *ḫālu*); 7) *ḫlk* (zugrundegehen, akk. *ḫalāku*); 9) *ḥm'ṭ* (Butter o. ä., akk. *ḫemētu*); 9) *ḥṭ'* (wegraffen, akk. *ḫaṭū*, niederschlagen, hinraffen); 10) *lḫš* (flüstern, akk. *laḫâšu*); 11) *phd* (e. Tierjunges, akk. *puḫādu*); 12) *phr* (Versammlung, akk. *puḫru*); 13) *tbth* (Bett?, akk. *tapšaḫu*, Ruhestätte); 14) *trḫ* (Brautpreis, akk. *terḫātu*).

Es liegen mir keine Beispiele vor, in denen ug. *ḫ* im Akkadischen so behandelt wird, wie ursemitisches *ḫ*. Im Widerspruch mit arabischen *ḫ* hat des Ugaritische *ḫ* in folgenden Wzz.: 1) *ʾnḫ* (seufzen, ar. *ʾanaḫa*, dagegen akk. *anāḫu*); 2) *Ḥss* (e. Götterepitheton: „der Sinnvolle", ar. *ḥassa*, fühlen, hören, wissen dagegen akk. *ḫasāsu*, denken, klug sein, *ḫassu*, st. c. *ḫasis*, weise, klug); 3) *ḫprt*, Junges, die Milchzähne verlierendes Tier, ar. *ḫafira*, die Milchzähne verlieren); 4) *šḫṭ* (schlachten, ar. *saḫaṭa*, dag. akk. *šaḫāṭu*, gewaltsam abziehen [d. Haut].

II. Das Ugaritische hält den im Ursemitischen sicher vorhandenen Unterschied zwischen *ʿAjin* (ʿ) und *ġ* (ʿ₂) aufrecht. Zum Vergleich genügt es das Arabische (und Altsüdarabische) heranzuziehen, da die übrigen semitischen Sprachen in der unserer Kontrolle zugänglichen Zeit den Unterschied zwischen beiden Lauten wenigstens in der Schrift aufgegeben haben.

a) Unter den ca. 127 untersuchten ugaritischen Wurzeln, die *ʿAjin* (ʿ) enthalten, kann man etwa bei 80 Wurzeln eine sichere oder leidlich wahrscheinliche Bedeutung annehmen. Darunter entspricht bei 74 Wzz. auch mit Arabischen der ʿAjin-laut. Ich kann mich wohl auf die Notierung der 6 von dieser Regel abweichenden Fälle beschränken. Diese sind: 1) *ʿm* (Weihrauchwolke, ar. *ġāma*, mit Wolken bedeckt s., *ġajm*, Wolke); 2) *ʿn(j)* (*tʿn* in V AB 23: jauchzen o. ä., ar. *ġanā*, ein Lied singen); 3) *ʿrb* (eintreten, ar. *ġaraba*, weggehen, untergehen, in Min. *ʿrb*, untergehen); 4) *ʿrr* (erregen, wohl Pālel-Stamm von der Wz. *ʿwr* oder *ʿjr*, vgl. ar. *ġār*, med. *j*., eifersüchtig sein); 5) *pʿr* (aussagen, nennen, ar. *faġara*, den Mund aufsperren); 6) *tʿj* (ein Schaf o. ä. opfern, ar. *taġā* IV ein Schaf schlachten, *tāġijat*, [blöckendes] Schaf).

Es mögen hier noch einige Beispiele vermerkt werden, in denen ug. ʿAjin einem akk. *ḫ* zu entsprechen scheint; 1) *mtʿ* (forttragen, ar. *mataʿa*, dass., entspricht akk. *matāḫu*, aufnehmen, verladen, I 2: davontragen); 2) *nsʿ* (herausreissen, ar. *nazaʿa*, äth. *nazaʿa*, wegnehmen, ausreissen) entspricht akk. *nasāḫu*, ausreissen, verw. *nesu*, sich entfernen, entfernen; 3) *npʿ* (steigen, heranwachsen, ar. *jafaʿa*, ersteigen, heranwachsen) scheint akk. *napāḫu*, Aufgang der Gestirne, zu entsprechen; dies ist dann von *napāḫu*, blasen, zu trennen.

Es ist schon längst bekannt, dass in der akk. Keilschrift gelegentlich in der Umschrift fremdsprachiger Wörter, westsemitisches ʿAjin durch *ḫ* vertreten ist.[3]) Die beste Erklärung für die vorgeführten Beispiele dürfte sein, wenn man annimmt, dass im Akkadischen die Aussprache eines ursemitischen ʿAjin und *ġ* in einigen Wörtern erhalten blieb und durch *ḫ* bezeichnet wurde, da dieser Laut als stumme laryngale Spirante den tönenden laryngalen u. spirantischen ʿAjin-Lauten in der Aussprache nahe stand.

b) In der Deutung des ug. ʿ$_2$ standen noch vor kurzem verschiedene Auffassungen nebeneinander. Nach meiner Ansicht dürfte es nun als gesichert gelten, dass ʿ$_2$ von Haus aus den *ġ*-Laut bezeichnet.

Es mögen in den Folgenden vorerst jene deutbaren ug. Wurzeln zusammengestellt werden, in denen ʿ$_2$ sicher oder wahrscheinlich ursemitischem *ġ* entspricht: 1) *bʿ$_2$j* (suchen, erforschen, anschauen, ar. *baġā*, anschauen, betrachten, *buġā*, Suchen, akk. *baʾū*, auch *baḫû* (!) geschrieben: suchen); 2) *zʿ$_2$t* (Gebell, ar. *zaġada*, bellen); 3) *jʿ$_2$l* (Futter o. ä., ar. *waġl*, dichtes Blätterwerk); 4) *jʿ$_2$r* (Wut, Zorn, ar. *waġr*, Zorn, Groll, Tumult); 5) *nʿ$_2$š* (wackeln, wogen, ar. *naġaḍa*, *naġaša*, dass.); 6) ʿ$_2$*dd* (anschwellen lassen, wohl eine Pālel-Form, ar. *ġadda*, einen Kropf haben, *ġuddat*, Fleischknoten, Kropf); 7) ʿ$_2$*zr* (üppig, stark, ar. *gazura*, im Überfluss vorhanden, reichlich sein); 8) ʿ$_2$*l* (Kind, ar. *ġāla*, säugen); 9) ʿ$_2$*ll* (eintauchen, ar. *ġalla*, hineinstecken); 10) ʿ$_2$*lm* (Jüngling, Diener, ar. *ġulām*); 11) ʿ$_2$*lp* (e. kosmetisches Mittel, ar. *ġalafa*, sich parfümieren); 12) ʿ$_3$*mʾ* (ermattet sein, ar. *ġumiʾa*, in Ohnmacht fallen); 13) ʿ$_2$*pr* (begnadigen o. ä., ar. *ġafara*, bedecken, verzeichen); 14) ʿ$_2$*š*$_2$*j* (gütig stimmen, ar. *ġaḍā* IV: die Augen zudrücken, VI nachsichtig s. [Dozy]); 15) ʿ$_2$*r* (eifersüchtig wachen, ar. *ġāra*, med. *j*, eifersüchtig s.); 16) ʿ$_2$*r* (vordringen?, ar. *ġāra*, med. *w*, in eine Niederung hinabsteigen, eindringen); 17) ʿ$_2$*š*(*j*) (hinsinken, o. ä., ar. *ġušija*, bedeckt w., in Ohnmacht fallen, akk. *ḫašû (!)*, bedeckt, verfinstert, schwach w.); 18) *Pʿ$_2$t* („Duttverbreitung", weibl. Name, ar. *faġġat*); 19) *pš$_2$*ʿ$_2$ (aufschlitzen o. zerquetschen, ar. *faḍaġa*, zerbrechen); 20) *šʿ$_2$r* (klein, jung, ar. *šaġīr*, akk. *šeḫru (!)*; 21) *rʿ$_2$b* (hungern, ar. *raġiba*, begehren); 22) *rʿ$_2$t* (an der Mutter saugen, ar. *raġata*, dass.); 23) *tʿ$_2$b* (Tor, vgl. ar. *taġara*, spalten).

[3]) Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarna-Br.* § 6; Delitzsch, *Ass. Gr.*[2] § 53.

Das ug. ʿ$_2$ entspricht in folgenden Fällen arabischem ʿAjin: 1) ʿ$_2$*nb* (Frucht o. ä., ar. *ʿināb*, Traube, akk. *enbu*, Frucht, Obst, aber auch *ḫanābu*, emporspriessen, Frucht tragen, *ḫanibu*: Frucht); 2) *šʿ$_2$d* (emporsteigen lassen [intens.], ar. *šaʿida*, emporsteigen); 3) ʿ$_2$*šr* (begrenzen, ar. *ʿašara*, schützen, akk. *ḫašāru (!)*, umgeben, schützen).

Schon in mehreren vorgeführten Beispielen (s. u. *bʿ$_2$j*, ʿ$_2$*nb*, ʿ$_2$*šr*, ʿ$_2$*šj*, *šʿ$_2$r*) konnten wir bemerken, dass ug. ʿ$_2$ im Akk. *ḫ* als Entsprechung hatte. Weitere Beispiele, bei welchen die arabischen Entsprechungen fehlen, sind: 1) ʿ$_2$*r* (Berg, akk. *ḫurru*, Berg, sum. *ḫur* (o. *ḫar?*) *-sag* = *šadû*, Berg); Tell el Am. 74, 20 hat *ḫa-a-ar-ri* als kan. Gl. zu ḪUR.SAG; vgl. noch hb. *hār*, Berg, dies könnte Lehnwort aus dem Sum. sein. Das Ug. hat noch ein ʿ$_3$*r* in der Bed. „Schmer" o. ä.; diesem dürfte akk. *erru* entsprechen, mit dem man sum. *ḫar* = *ḫašû*, Eingeweide, Lunge (Deimel 401, 31), oder = *kabittu*, Leber, Inneres (Deimel 401, 33—34) vergleichen mag. 2) ʿ$_2$*rmn* (e. Körperteil) könnte im akk. *ḫarmil* (ein Körperteil eines Rindes) seine Entsprechung haben; 3) *Sʿ$_2$sr* vergleicht Gaster OLZ. 1936, 403 mit *Šaḫišara* in den *Nairi*-Ländern.

Die beiden ugaritischen Stämme *mʿ$_2$j* (kommen, erreichen, wohin gelangen) und *nʿ$_2$r* (Hüter o. ä.) hat man öfters mit ar. *maḍā* (vorübergehen), bezw. *naẓara* (betrachten), verglichen und daraufhin auf Entspechungen des ug. ʿ$_2$ mit ar. *ḍ* und *ẓ* gefolgert. Diese wären jedoch zu isoliert; darum dürfte es besser sein diese Stämme bis auf weiteres hin als ugaritisches Eigengut zu behandeln. Mit *nʿ$_2$r* dürfte ar. *ġāra* (med. *j*), eifersüchtig sein (siehe oben *b*) No. 15) und *naġara* aufwallen, vor Zorn wüten, verglichen werden. Die Bedeutungsentwicklung wäre dann: eifern > eifrig bewachen.

B) Der Sachverhalt der *Sibilanten* (und *Dentalia*) ist insofern etwas verwickelter, da der Anschein vorhanden ist, dass der ursemitische Lautbestand im Ugaritischen eine Verschiebung erlitten hat. Die Beurteilung des Sachverhaltes ist dadurch erschwert, dass die ug. Rechtschreibung bei einigen dieser Laute nicht immer folgerichtig ist.

a) Bei der Untersuchung des ug. *š* können ausser dem Arabischen noch das Aramäische und das Äthiopische herangezogen werden, da in diesen Sprachen die mit hebr. und akk. *š* gedeckten drei ursemitischen Laute (*š*, *ḏ*, *ṯ*) wenigstens

teilweise verschiedene Behandlung erfahren haben.[4]) Das ug. *ṯ* entspricht teils ursem. *ṯ*, teils ursem. *ḏ̄* (arab. *ḏ̄*).

α) Das ursem. *ṯ* ist in folgenden ug. Wurzeln (oder Stämmen) erhalten: 1) *ʾṯbʿ* (Finger, Kralle, syr. *ṯebʿā*, ar. *ʾaṣbaʿ*, *ʾiṣbaʿ*, *ʾuṣbaʿ*, äth. *ʾaṣbāt*); 2) *bṯr* (spähen, ar. *baṣira*, wahrnehmen, sehen); 3) *dʿṯ* (springen, tanzen, ar. *daʿaṣa*); 4) *ḥṯb* (niederhauen, aram. *ḥăṯab*, behauen, refl. metzeln); 5) *ḥrṯ* II (Lanze, ar. *ḥarṯ*) u. *ḥrṯn* (Beil, syr. *ḥaṯinā*, ar. *ḥaṯin*, äth. *ḥaṯin*), vgl. A. I*b*) no. 11; 6) *lṯb* (ernste Miene, ar. *laṯiba*, fest an etwas sitzen [Haut an Knochen]); 7) *mṯʾ* (gelangen, finden, aram. *mĕṯā* Af. finden lassen; äth. *maṯeʾa*, hingelangen); 8) *mṯḥ* (anstossen, ar. *maṯaḥa*, wegstossen); 9) *nʾṯ* (verachten, beschimpfen, jüd. aram. *neʾūṯā*, Schmächung); 10) *nṯb* (stellen, aufstellen, aram. *nĕṯab*, pflanzen, einsetzen, ar. *naṯaba*, erheben, aufpflanzen); 11) *ʿ₂ṯr* (begrenzen, ar. *ʿaṯara*, schützen, j. aram. *ʿăṯar*, zurückhalten, aber auch ar. *ġaḏura*, zurückhalten, hindern, abschneiden); 12) *prṯ* (öffnen o. ä., aram. *pĕraṯ*, durchbrechen, ar. *faraṯa*, spalten); 13) *ṣbrt* (Schar, aram. *ṣibbūra*, Gesamtheit, Gemeinde, ar. *ṣubrat*, Getreidehaufen); 14) *ṣḏ* (herumstreifen, aram. *ṣād* u. ar. *ṣāda*, jagen); 15) *ṣdk* (recht, Gerechtigkeit, aram. *ṣidkā*, Gerechtigkeit, ar. *ṣadḳ*, Wahrhaftigkeit, äth. *ṣadaḳa*, gerecht s.); 16) *ṣḥ* (laut sprechen, aram. *ṣĕwaḥ*, ar. *ṣāḥ*, vgl. oben unter A. I *a*); 17) *ṣḥr* (weiss, bleich?, ar. *ṣaḥrāʾu*, weiss mit rot gemischt, vgl. unter A. I *a*); 18) *ṣlj* (rösten, verdunsten lassen, aram. *ṣĕlā*, rösten, ar. *ṣalā*, äth. *ṣalawa*, braten); 19) *ṣll* (in *mṣltm*, Zymbeln, syr. *ṣal*, ar. *ṣalla*, klirren, klingen); 20) *ṣmd* (Keule?, ar. *ṣamuda*, massiv sein); 21) *ṣmkm* (Rosinen, aram. *ṣimmūḳā*); 22) *ṣmt* (vernichten, syr. *ṣammet*, zu Schweigen bringen, ar. *ṣamata* II dass.); 23) *ṣʿ* (Waschbecken?, aram. *ṣaʿā*, Schüssel, ar. *ṣāʿ*, ein Hohlmass, auch ein Trinkgefäss [Lane]; 24) *ṣʿ₂ḏ* (intens., emporsteigen lassen, ar. *ṣaʿida*, emporsteigen, vgl. unter A. II *b*); 25) *ṣʿ₂r* (klein, aram. *ṣĕʿar* Pa. verhöhnen, ar. *ṣaġīr*, klein, vgl. A. II *b*) no. 20); 26) *ṣp* (Blick, o. Heiterkeit, ar. *ṣafw*, Reinheit, Heiterkeit, aram. *ṣĕfā* Itpe. ausschauen); 27) *ṣpr* (hungrig, ar. *ṣafira*, leer sein); 28) *ṣrrt* (die Höhen?, ar. *ṣirār*, Höhen, die das Wasser nicht erreicht); 29) *ṣt* (Ruf, Stimme, ar. *ṣaut*); 30) *ḳlṣ* II (beispringen, Hilfe leisten o. ä., ar. *ḳalaṣa*, springen); 31) *ḳmṣ* (hüpfen, ar. *ḳamaṣa*, galoppieren, springen); 32) *ḳṣ* (schneiden, schlachten, syr. *ḳaṣ*, abscheren, ar. *ḳaṣṣ*, abschneiden, stutzen); 33) *ḳṣʿt* (e. Waffe, ar. *ḳaṣʿat*, e. Napf); 34) *ḳrṣ* (nagen, benagen, aram. *ḳĕraṣ*, abkneifen, ar. *ḳaraṣa*, kneipen, zupfen, aber auch *ḳaraḍa*, zernagen); 35) *rḳṣ* (schnellen, ar. *raḳaṣa*, tanzen, springen).

β) Wir konnten schon in einigen Fällen (vgl. oben *ʿ₂ṣr*, *ḳrṣ*) die Bemerkung machen, dass dem ug. *ṣ* im Arabischen neben der Form mit *ṣ* auch eine andere Form mit *ḍ* entspricht. Den letzteren Laut finden wir als Entsprechung für folgende ug. Wurzeln (Stämme)[5]: 1) *ʾrṣ* (Erde, aram. *ʿarʿā*, ar. *ʾarḍ*, südar. *ʾrḍ*); 2) *jṣʾ* (ausgehen, herauskommen, aram. *jĕʿā*, hervorkommen, syr. *ʾīʿā*, wachsen, ar. *waḍaʾa*, an Reinheit übertreffen, äth. *waḍʾa*, herausgehen); 3) *nʿ₂ṣ* (wackeln, ar. *naġaḍa*, vgl. A. II *b*); 4) *ʿṣ* (Holz, Stock, aram. *ʾāʿ*, ar. *ʿiḍat*, Abschnitt); 5) *ṣʾ₂n* (Kleinvieh, aram. *ʿānā*, ar. *ḍāʾin*); 6) *ṣbʾ₃* (Heer, ar. *ḍabaʾa*, jmd zu überfallen suchen, äth. *ḍabʾa*, Krieg führen); 7) *ṣbṭ* (in *mṣbṭm*, die beiden Griffe [des Blasebalges], ar. u. äth. *ḍabaṭa*, festhalten); 8) *ṣḳ* I. (packen, aram. *ʿāḳ*, eng s., ar. *ḍāḳ*, äth. *ṭōḳa*, dass.); 9) *ṣr* (befeinden, aram. *ʿarar*, Pa., widerstehen, ar. *ḍarra*, schaden); 10) *ṣrḳ* (versagen, ar. *ḍaraḳa*, alterschwach s.); 11) *rbṣ* (sich lagern, anschmiegen, aram. *rĕbaʿ*, sich lagern, ar. *rabaḍa*, mit übereinander geschlagenen Füssen daliegen); 12) *rḥṣ* (überschütten, aram. Pap. *rḥʿ*, ar. *raḥaḍa*, dass., äth. *raḥeḍa*, schwitzen); 13) *rmṣt* (Brandopfer?, ar. *ramaḍa*, e. Schaf auf heissen Steinen rösten, *ramiḍa*, Steine glühend machen); 14) *ʿrṣ* (furchtbar, aram. *ʾeraʿ*, begegnen, ar. *ʿariḍa*, einen entgegen treten u. ihn schrecken).

In einigen Fällen hat die entsprechende aramäische Wz. nicht ʿAjin, sondern *ṣ*, so in: 15) *bṣʿ* (zerreissen, aram. *bĕṣaʿ*, ar. *baḍaʿa*, zerstückeln) wegen folg. ʿAjin, um *bʿʿ* dissimilativ zu vermeiden; in 16) *ṣḥḳ* (lachen, ar. *ḍaḥika*, äth. *šaḥaḳa*) hat zwar j. aram. ebenfalls *ṣḥḳ*, aber syr. *gĕḥeḳ*, mand. *ghḳ*, wobei *ḍ* > *ġ* zu *g* dissimiliert ist (Brockelmann, Gr. d. vgl. Gr. I. 135); 17) *ṣmd* (binden, anspannen, ar. u. äth. *ḍamada*, anbinden, syr. *ṣĕmad*, vgl. Brock. Gr. I, 135); 18) *ḳṣb* (abschneiden o. ä., ar. *ḳaḍaba*, dass., syr. *ḳaṣṣābā*, Fleischhauer, vgl. aber auch ar. *ḳaṣaba*, schneiden). In 19) *mḥṣ* (zerschmettern, ar. *maḥaḍa*, heftig schütteln) hat Syr. *mĕḥā*, schlagen, wegen Dissimilation des ʿAjin zu ʾAlef (Brock. Gr. I. 242). In 20) *ḥrṣ* (Gold), das man mit der ar. Wz. *ḥrḍ* zusammengestellt hat, hat Syr. ʿAjin in *ḥerāʿā*, gelb, jedoch daneben

[4]) Vgl. Brockelmann, *Gr. d. vgl. Gr.* I. 128 ff.

[5]) Das Aramäische hat in solchen Fällen ʿAjin.

steht $ṯ$ in ar. *ḥurṯ* (goldener Ohrring); die letztere Form dürfte Lw. sein. — Abseits stehen Fälle, wie 21) *kl̠ṯ* (verhöhnen, aram. *kl̠s*, preisen, jedoch im Hebr. verspotten, ar. *ḳalasa*, speien) und 22) *ḳnṯ* (genitales Empfangen, aram. *kĕnas*, versammeln, ar. *kanasa*, sich in das Lager zurückziehen), in denen beim ug. $ṯ$ wohl partielle Assimilation des *s* an emphatisches *ḳ* im Spiele sein wird. Vgl. *Albright* zu II A 3, 12 (in 1934).

b) $Ṯ_2$. Bei der Feststellung der fonetischen Lage des ug. Lautes $ṯ_2$ sind vorläufig jene Formen auszuschalten, in denen $ṯ_2$ anscheinend orthographische (oder dialektische?) Variante anderer Laute ist, so die Formen *jṯ₂'* für *jṯ'*, *mṯ₂'* für *mṯ'*, *'rṯ₂* für *'rṯ*, *ṯ₂ḥḳ* für *ṯḥḳ*, *l̠ṯ₂pn* für *l̠ṭpn*, *ṯ₂ḥr* für *ṭḥr* in den Gedichten BH und NK. In diesen Formen steht $ṯ_2$ im Durchschnitt für ug. $ṯ$, seltener für ug. *ṭ*.

Von diesen Varianten abgesehen entspricht $ṯ_2$ in der grösseren Zahl der Fälle ursemitischem *ṭ*, in den übrigen Fällen ursemitischem *ḏ̄* (ar. *ḍ*).

In der ersten Reihe der Fälle (urs. *ṭ* > ug. $ṯ_2$) hat das Aramäische *ṭ*, das Arabische *ẓ*, das Äthiopische *ṣ* als entsprechenden Laut. Hieher gehören folgende Entsprechungen: 1) $ḥṯ_2$ I. (als Anteil erhalten, ar. *ḥaẓẓa*; aeg. aram. *ḥṭ*, Pfeil; verwandt ist ar. *ḥaẓija*, beglückt werden, südar. *ḥṭj*, Gunst); 2) $ḥṯ_2$ II. (Lanze?, vgl. ar. *ḥ(!)aẓij*, Lanze); 3) $ṯ_2l$ (Schatten, aram. *ṭullā*, ar. *ẓill*, äth. *ṣelālōt*); 4) $ṯ_2lm$ (vergewaltigen, syr. *ṭēlam*, dass., verläumden. ar. *ẓalama*, jmd Unrecht tun); 5) $ṯ_2r$ (Rücken, ar. *ẓahr*); 6) $ḥṯ_2r$ (Wohnstätte, vgl. ar. *ḥaẓara*, abschliessen, mit Mauer umschliessen, *ḥaẓīrat*, Pferch, verwandt ist noch ar. *ḥaḍr*, *ḥaḍar*, fest bewohnter Ort, syr. *ḥīrtā*, Lager); 7) $'ṯ_2m$ (Knochen, ar. *'aẓm*, chr. pal. *ṭmā*, j. aram. *ṭemajjā*, hingegen äth. *'aḍm*); 8) $ḳṯ_2$ (Sommer, aram. *ḳaiṭā*, ar. *ḳaiẓ*).

Ursemitischem *ḏ̄* (ar. *ḍ*) entspricht ug. $ṯ_2$ in folgenden Fällen: 1) $rṯ_2$ (botmässig machen?, vgl. ar. *rāḍa*, med *w*, bändigen); 2) $pṯ_2'_2$ (aufschlitzen, zerquetsehen, j. aram. *pṣ'*, spalten, zerschlagen, ar. *faḍaġa*, zerbrechen; im Aram. müsste *p''* entsprechen, dies erscheint mit Dissimilation als *pṣ'*); 3) $'_2ṯ_2j$ (gütig stimmen, vgl. ar. *ġaḍā*, finster sein und alles bedecken, IV die Augen schliessen, VI nachsichtig sein [Dozy]; ähnlich ist ar. *ġaḍḍa*, die Augen schliessen oder abwenden). Es scheint möglich, dass diese Wurzeln im Ursemitischen betreffs der Aussprache dieses Lautes dialektisch zwischen *ṭ* und *ḏ̄* schwankten.

Indem wir nun uns wieder der Besprechung des $ṯ_2$ als orthographischer Variante zuwenden, lässt sich leicht feststellen, dass $ṯ_2$ — wenigstens durchschnittlich — nicht für ursemitisches $ṯ$ steht. In den Formen *jṯ₂'*, *'rṯ₂*, *ṯ₂ḥḳ* entspricht dem Zeichen $ṯ_2$ ursem. *ḏ̄* (vgl. ar. *waḍa'a*, *'riḍa* u. *ḍahika*); die ursem. Entsprechung für *mṯ₂'* ist nicht offenkundig, jedoch liegt die Verwandtschaft dieser Wz. mit ar. *maḍā*, aram. *mēṭā* im Bereich der Möglichkeit. BH 1, 37 steht *jmṯ'₂j* parallel mit *jm'₂j*. Man wird sich nicht dem Eindruck entziehen können, dass ug. $ṯ$ in der Aussprache nicht einheitlich war und die Variante $ṯ_2$ Zeugin einer von ursem. $ṯ$ verschiedenen Aussprache ist, die in der Schrift nicht konsequent bezeichnet wurde.

c) Ugaritischem *s* entspricht in den übrigen sem. Sprachen in den weitaus meisten Fällen ebenfalls *s*. Als Abweichung von dieser Regel können wir vermerken: 1) *ḥsp* (schöpfen, Wasser zubringen, hb. *ḥaśaf*, abschälen, schöpfen); 2) *krs* (Bauch, hb. *kārēś*; ar. *kirš*, *kariš*, zweiter Magen der Wiederkäuer, akk. *karšu*, *karašu*, äth. *karš*); 3) *msk* (mischen, übereinstimmend mit hb. *māsak*, dagegen im Aram. *mĕzag*,i ar. *mazaǧa*, verwandt akk. *mazū*, mischen, mit partieller Assmilation des ursem. *s* an den sonantischen *m*-Laut); 4) *ns'* (herausreissen, überinstimmend mit hb. *nāsa'*, aram. *nĕsa'*. akk. *nesū* (vgl. noch *nasāḫu!*); ar. u. äth. *naza'a* hat ebenfalls *z* in partieller Assimilation an das sonantische *n*); 5) *sgr* (verschliessen, in Übereinstimmung mit hb. *sāgar*, aram. *sĕgar*; dagegen steht ar. *šaǧara*, hindern, binden, akk *šigaru*, Verschluss; letzteres ist wohl sumerisches Lw.); 6) *sk* (spalten, vgl. hb. *śukkōt*, scharfe Waffe, *śēk*, Dorn, ar. *šakka*, mit Lanze durchboren, akk. *šakāku*, mit der Spitze hervorragen, *šikkatu*, Pflock, Nagel); 7) *skn* (Figur, Statue, Form, vgl. akk. *šiknu*, Bauwerk, Bildnis, Figur); 8) *spr* (zählen, erzählen, rezitieren, hb. *sipper*, zählen, erzählen; *sēfer*, aram. *sifra*, ar. *sifr*, Schriftstück, Buch, wohl alles Lw. aus akk. *šipru*, Sendung, Brief, Schriftstück); 9) *šns* (hineinstecken, vgl. akk. *šanāšu*, *sanāšu*, dass.). — Es ist bekannt, dass babylonisches *š* im Assyrischen *s* ausgesprochen wurde; dies macht wahrscheinlich, dass solche Wörter, wie *skn*, *spr* vom assyrischen Sprachgebiet her in das Ugaritische übernommen worden sind.

d) In der überwiegenden Anzahl der Fälle vertritt das ug. *š* den ursem. *š*-Laut; anderseits dient es aber auch zur Bezeichnung des Lautes, der ursem. *ś* vertritt, wobei unent-

schieden bleibt, ob die Aussprache in beiden Entsprechungen gleich war, oder die alten Differenzen weiter bestanden, wie es auch im Hebräischen trotz der einheitlichen ש — Bezeichnung der Fall war. — Es ist mir kein sicherer Fall bekannt, in welchem ug. *š*, so wie ש im Hebräischen, der Nachkomme eines ursemitischen *ṯ* wäre.

Ursemitisches *ś* wird in folgenden Fällen mit dem ug. *š* bezeichnet: 1) *bšr* I. (Fleisch, Körper, hb. *bāśār*, syr. *besrā*, dass., ar. *bašar*, Haut); 2) *bšr* II. (frohe Nachricht bringen, hb. *biśśēr*, aram. *bĕsar*, ar. *bašara*, akk. *b/pašāru*); 3) *hpš* (sammeln o. ä., hb. *ḥāfaś*, suchen, j. aram. *hfs*, chr. pal. *hfs*, graben, ausgraben, ar. *ḥafaša*, sammeln, zusammenraffen); 4) *ngš* (essen, nh. *nagas*, dass.); 5) *šbm* (mit Mundpflock bezähmen?, ar. *šabama*, e. Knebel in den Mund stecken); 6) *šd* (Feld, hb. *śādē*); 7) *šn'* (hassen, befeinden, hb. *śānē*, aram. *sĕnā*, ar. *šani'a*); 8) *š'r* (Gerste, hb. *śᵉʿōrīm*, aram. *seʿārtā*, ar. *šaʿīr*); 9) *špk* (intens.: versehen, hb. *śafaḳ*, reichlich, genügend s., aram. *sĕfaḳ*, überströmen, reichlich s.).

Unter den bisherigen Fällen haben wir ein einziges Beispiel, in welchem die akkadische Entsprechung mit ursem. *š* übereinstimmte (no. 2: *b/pašāru*). In den folgenden Wurzeln (Stämmen) geht das Akk. nicht mit dem Hebr. und Aram., sondern mit dem Arabischen und Äthiopischen: 10) *nś'* (heben, hb. *nāśā*, aram. *nĕsā*, jedoch akk. *našū*, dass., äth. *naše'ā*, ar. *naša'a*, wachsen); 12) *'šr* (zehn, hb. *ʿeśer*, aram. *ʿăsar*, jedoch akk. *ešru*, ar. *ʿašr*, äth. *ʿašrū*); 13) *ḳrś* (Park?, akk. *ḳarāšu*, abtrennen, ar. *ḳaraša*, absondern); 14) *š* (Kleinvieh, Schaf, hb. *śē*, akk. *šu'u*, Schaf, ar. *šāt*, dass.); 15) *šb* (graue Haare haben, hb. *śib*, aram. *sīb*, akk. *šēbu*, ar. *šāba*, äth. *šībat*, graues Haar); 16) *šbʿ* (sich sättigen, hb. *śābaʿ*, aram. *sĕbaʿ* akk. *šebu*, ar. *šabiʿa*; ganz irregulär ist äth. *ṣagba*, vgl. Brock. Grundr. I. 169., 239., 273.); 17) *šm'l* (Links-seitiges, hb. *śemʾōl*, aram. *śĕmālā*, ar. *šamʾāl*, *šamāl*, akk. *šumēlu*); 18) *šmḥ* (sich freuen, hb. *śāmaḥ*, akk. *šamāḫu*, üppig spriessen, gedeihen, ar. *šamaḥa*, hoch, stolz s.); 19) *špt* (Lippe, hb. *śāfā*, aram. *siftā*, akk. *šaptu*, ar. *šafat*, *šifat*); 20) *šrp* (brennen, verbrennen, hb. *śāraf*, akk. *šarāpu*).

Ursemitisches *š* wird in Ugarit auch dann mit *š* wiedergegeben, wenn das Akkadische dafür, in wenigen Fällen, *s* hat. So in: 1) *šʿb* (schöpfen, hb. *śāʾab*, dass., ar. *saʾaba*, trinken, akk. *saʾābu*, *sābu*, schöpfen [Bezold, Deimel]); 2) *šbʿ* (sieben, hb. *šebaʿ*, aram. *šĕbaʿ*, ar. *sabʿ*, äth. *sabʿū*, akk. *sibi*); 3) *šlḥ* (senden, schmelzen, hb. *šālaḥ*, ausstrecken, senden,

aram. *šĕlaḥ*, dass., ar. *saliḥa*, Exkremente lassen, akk. *salū*, werfen, schleudern). Dieser Umstand erhöht die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Annahme, dass ugaritisches *š* in der Aussprache nicht vollständig einheitlich war.

e) Unter den *ṯ* enthaltenden ug. Wurzeln gibt es besonders viele, deren Bedeutung derzeit noch nicht zu ermitteln ist. In den deutbaren Fällen jedoch entspricht ug. *ṯ* mit grosser Konsequenz ursemitischem *ṯ*. Nur wenige Stämme erfordern besondere Erwähnung. Es möge die allgemeine Bemerkuug vorangestellt werden, dass bekanntlicherweise ursem. *ṯ* im Nordarabischem erhalten blieb, im Hebr. und Akk. aber zu *š*, im Aeth. zu *s* und im Aram. zu *t* verschoben wurde.

1) *'ṯr*. Diese auch dem ug. Gottheitsnamen *'ṯrt* zugrunde liegende Wz. hat anscheinend als Grundbedeutung „bezeichnen, ein Zeichen o. eine Spur hinterlassen". Ihr entspricht ar. *'aṯira* II, Spuren hinterlassen, hb. *'āšar*, gehen, akk. *ašāru*, *ašru*, Ort, Stelle, Heiligtum; dem altaram. *'šr* steht späteres aram. *'aṯar* gegenüber, was jedoch nicht so zu deuten ist, als ob ursem. *ṯ* zuerst in *š*, dann dieses in *ṯ* rückverwandelt wurde, sondern so, dass in der altaramäischen Schrift von Zendžirli, Nerab und Assyrien das *š*-Zeichen auch der Bezeichung des dem *š*-Laut nahestehenden *ṯ*-Lautes diente. — 2) *bṯn* (e. Schlangenart) entspricht im ar. *baṭan*, im Akk. *bašmu*, im j. aram. *pitnā*, im Hebr. gegen die Regel *peten* (statt eines zu erwartenden *bešen*), wohl eine Entlehnung aus dem Arabischen oder Aramäischen. — 3) *ḫṯr* (Schaufel oder Sieb?), im Neuhebr. *hāšar*, sieben, ausstreuen, im Aram. gegen die Regel *hāšar*, dass., letzteres dürfte ebenfalls Lw. sein; 4) *ktr*, eine in Gottheitsnamen (*Ktr*, *Ktrt*) und auch sonst häufig vorkommende Wz. hat wohl als Grundbedeutung „tüchtig, tauglich, geschickt sein"; dem entspricht in der Bedeutung hb. *kāšar*, gelingen, *kiššārōn*, Tüchtigkeit, akk. *kešēru*, ausbessern, *kušir*, passend, glücklich (KB 2, 165); Schwierigkeiten bereitet das lautlich entsprechende ar. *kaṭara*, an Zahl übertreffen, *kaṭura*, viel sein, da es scheinbar andere Grundbedeutung hat, und aram. (syr.) *kĕšar*, recht, tauglich s., das sich phonetisch nicht fügt (das lautlich genau entsprechende *ktr*, bleiben, warten, scheint in keinem semantischen Zusammenhang zu stehen!). Sicher kann man annehmen, dass die Wz. *kšr* nicht aus dem Hebr. entlehnt ist, da sie in mehreren aram. Dialekten (syr., j. aram., palm.) vertreten ist, eher ist das umgekehrte der Fall, da *kšr* nur in den späteren Büchern des AT (Esth., Koh.) vorkommt. Dann wird aber kein direkter etymologischer Zu-

sammenhang zwischen ug. *ktr* und aram.-akk.-hebr. *kšr* anzunehmen sein, und ug. *ktr* mag eine Nebenform zu ursem. *kšr* vorstellen. Ar. *ktr* (viel sein) kann in der Bedeutung mit ug. *ktr* insofern zusammenhängen, dass „tüchtig, geschickt" aus dem Begriffe „vielbeschäftigt, fleissig, rührig" entwickelt werden kann. — 5) *mt, mtt* (I* A 5, 22; I K. 143, 289; II D 5, 16, 22, 28) wird wohl „Kind", bezw. „Tochter" bedeuten und dürfte mit aegypt. *mes*, Sohn, zusammenhängen (*Dussaud* 1935). — 6) *ntk* (beissen) entspricht hb. *nāšak*, akk. *našāku*, äth. *nasaka*; das Ar. u. Aram. hat mit Transposition *nakaṭa*, auflösen, zerstören, bezw. j. aram. und neuhebr. *nkš* Pa: (Pi.), beissen, ausreissen, jedoch syr. *nēkat*, beissen. — 7) *tdt* (sechster), *tt* (sechs) hat betreffs der Sibilanten in äth. *seds* u. *sessū*, hb. *šeš*, akk. *šeššu* das regelrecht Entsprechende; südar. *sdt*, syr. *šet* scheint auf älteres *šdt* zurückzuweisen, woraus durch Assimilation in Fernstellung ug. *tdt* (regressiv) und anderseits ar. *sādis* (progressiv) hervorgegangen sein mag. — 8) *tt'* (fürchten o. ä.) hat genau Entsprechung in hb. *šātā'* Is. 41, 10 (vgl. Gordon, *Ug. Gr.* 55), ungenaue in ar. *šati'a*, niedergeschlagen, ungeduldig s.

f) Ug. *z* entspricht im Durchschnitt ursem. *z*. Zu den wenigen, unsicheren Ausnahmen gehört etwa: 1) *zd* (weibl. Brüste) in C. 24; der Vergleich mit Z. 61 zeigt, dass diese Form eine Variante zu $š_2d$ ist. — 2) *ztr* (ausgehen machen, aufsteigen lassen, von der Weihrauchwolke) in D II mag seine Entsprechung in akk. *zateru*, Thymian, haben (dieses Wort hängt mit gr. *thymiama*, Räucherwerk, zusammen); verwandt ist etwa ar. *ṣadara*, ausgehen, erfliessen. — 3) *mzl* (Ruhestätte, Bett? vgl. akk. *maṣallu*). — 4) *'rgz*, vgl. etwa ar. *'urǧūd*, Dattelstiel. — 5) *zbr*, vgl. ar. *ṣabara*; anbinden.

g) Das ug. *d* deckt zwei ursemitische Laute: *d* und *ḏ*. Entsprechungen für letzteres haben wir in folgenden Wurzeln (Stämmen): 1) $'_2dk$ (dann, hernach, ar. *iḏḏāka*, damals); 2) $'_3dn$ (Ohr, hb. *'ōzen*, ar. *'uḏn*, aram. *'udnā*, äth. *ezn*, akk. *uznu*); 3) *'ḫḏ* (ergreifen, nehmen, hb. *'āḥaz*, ar. *'aḫaḏa*, aram. *'eḥad*, akk. *aḫāzu*, äth. *aḥza*); 4) *d'p* (das W. steht parallel zu *npš*, Seele), vgl. ar. *ḏa'afa* VII den Atem verlieren, ersticken, hb. *za'af*, Zorn); 5) *db* (etwa: Wildstier, ar. *ḏubb*, Büffel, wilder Stier); 6) *dbḥ* (Schlachtopfer darbringen, hb. *zābaḥ*, aram. *dēbaḥ*, ar. *ḏabaḥa*; akk. *zību*, äth. *zebḥ*, Opfer); 7) *dll* (niedrig, unterwürfig s. hb. *zālal* II, niedrig, verachtet s., syr. *dallūlā*, wenig, ar. *ḏalla*, gefügig, gering, verachtet s.,

akk. *zalālu* II 1, verachtet s., äth. *zahlala*); 8) *dkn* (Bart, Kinn, hb. *zāqān*, aram. *diknā*, ar. *ḏaqan*, akk. *zeknatu*); 9) *drj* (worfeln, hb. *zārā*, aram. *dērā*, ar. *ḏarā*, akk *zarū*, äth. *zarawa*); 10) *dt* (nota genetivi, vgl. ar. *ḏū, ḏī, ḏā, ḏāt*); 11) *kd* (so? vgl. ar. *kaḏā*); 12) *'db* (legen, richten, zubereiten, hb. *'āzab*, verlassen, lassen, j. aram. *'ăzab*, dass., südar. *'db*, machen, ar. *'aḏaba*, lassen, unterlassen, *'azaba*, abwesend s., fortgehen, akk. *ezēbu*, lassen, übrig lassen, ausfertigen).

Ug. *d* scheint ursemitischem *z* zu entsprechen in 1) *dkrt* (Weinschlauch o. ä., ar. *zukrat*, kleiner Schlauch); 2) *dr'* (säen, hb. *zāra'*, aram. *zēra'*, ar. *zara'a*, akk. *zerū*, äth. *zare'a, zare'a*). — Im Hebr. scheint der Laut *t* zu entsprechen in 1) *tpd* (stellen, legen, hb. *šāpat*); 2) *šrd* (huldigen, im Ritus, hb. *šērēt*, dienen).

h) Zuletzt behandeln wir den fonetisch am schwierigsten deutbaren Laut des Ugaritischen: $š_2$. Einsteils ist die Zahl der bekannten, diesen Laut enthaltenden Wurzeln recht gering anderseits weisen die mit leidlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit feststellbaren Entsprechungen in den übrigen sem. Sprachen in verschiedene Richtung.

Die ursprüngliche Funktion des $š_2$-Zeichens mag die Bezeichnung des *ḏ*-Lautes (interdentalen *d*-s) gewesen sein. Es vertritt nämlich nachweisbar in einigen Fällen ugaritisches *d*, falls es ursem. *d* entspricht: 1) $'ḫš_2$ in BH 2, 33—36 für *'hd* (ergreifen, s. unter *g*) 3); 2) $š_2$ in NK 45: $š_2p'_2d$, statt des gewöhnlichen *dp'₂d* (*d* nota genetivi = hb. *ze*, aram. *d*, ar. *ḏā*). Als Entsprechung für ursem. *ḏ* steht $š_2$ noch in 3) $'š_2r$ (Hilfe leisten, parallel mit *plṭ* in III D r. 14); vgl. hb. *'āzar*, aram. *'ăḏar*, südar. *'dr*, dass., akk. *ezertu*, Hilfe, ar. *'aḏara*, entschuldigen); 4) $š_2mr$ (tapfer verteidigen, tapfer sein, ar. *ḏimr, ḏāmir*, tapfer als Beschützer, *ḏamārat*, tapferes Einstehn für die Seinigen); 5) $š_2r'$ (Arm, hb. *zērō'a*, syr. *dērā'ā*, ar. *ḏirā'*).

Anderseits scheint $š_2$ eine Alternative für sonstiges ug. *š* zu sein, und zwar in seinen beiden Funktionen: α) für ursem. *š* (ar. *s*): 1) $kš_2d$, Variante für *kšd* in I* A 1, 17 (Streben nach etwas, Begehren, vgl. akk. *kašādu*, gelangen, zu erreichen suchen); 2) $ḥš_2š_2$ (etwa: gemeine Soldaten, gemeines Volk, vgl. ar. *ḥassa*, unedel, gemein s.); 3) $š_2d$ (Berg, Gebirg, ar. *sadd*, akk. *šadu*); 4) $š_2hrt$, $š_2rt$ (wirres Träumen o. ä., aram. *šehar*, wach sein, ar. *sahira*, die Nacht durchwachen; Rosenthal beruft sich Or. 1938. 228 auf die Bedeutung „schlafen" des entsprechenden mandäischen Zeitwortes). — β) Für ursem. *ś*

(ar. *š*, hb. *ś*) steht ug. *š*$_2$ in: 1) *ʿš*$_2$*(j)* (verfertigen, vgl. hb. *ʿāśā*); 2) *ʿ*$_2$*š*$_2$*(j)* (hinsinken, ohnmächtig, o. ä., ar. *ǧušija*, in Ohnmacht fallen); 3) *š*$_2$*rḳ* (frisch blutend, roh [vom Fleisch], hb. *śārōḳ*, rot, aram. *sĕraḳ*, schminken, ar. *šariḳa*, sich röten [Blut], akk. *šarku*, helles, reines Blut).

Ein einzigesmal steht *š* als Variante für *ṯ*: *š*$_2$*d* C. 61 neben *ṯd* II A 6, 56 und *zd* C. 24 (weibl. Brust). Es besteht die Möglichkeit einer fonetischen Variante. Vgl. hb. *dad* und *šad*, akk. *didā*, aram. *daddā* u. syr. *tĕdā*, ar. *ṯadj*.

Die Bezeichnung des aus ursem. *ḏ* entstandenen Lautes mit *š*$_3$ lässt vermuten, dass ugaritisches *d* zur Bezeichnung zweier in der lebenden Sprache noch getrennter Laute, *d* und *ḏ* diente. Etwas ähnliches finden wir schon im Hebr. vor (שׂ steht für *ś* u. *š*), und hieher gehört wohl auch das Gegenteil des ug. Verfahrens in den altaramäischen Inschriften: die Bezeichnung des interdentalen *ḏ*-Lautes durch das *z*-Zeichen.[6])

Als Zusammenfassung der bisherigen Untersuchungen können wir feststellen, dass — gemäss des regulären alfabetischen Schriftbestandes — im Vergleich zum Ursemitischen in vier ugaritischen Lautpaaren Vereinfachung und Verschiebung stattfand: aus ursem. *ṣ* und *ḏ̄* ging *ṣ*, aus ursem. *ṯ* und *ḏ̄* ging *ṣ*$_2$, aus *š* und *ś* ging *š*, und aus *d* und *ḏ* ging *d* hervor; *ṯ*, *ṯ*, *t*, *d* und *z* behalten ihre alten Werte. Diese anscheinende Lautvereinfachung und Verschiebung zeigt eine von denjenigen der übrigen semitischen Sprachen im manchen Punkten verschiedene Richtung und Gruppierung.

Zu einem ganz verschiedenem Resultat gelangen wir jedoch, wenn wir uns nicht an das Schriftbild, sondern an die wahrscheinlichen Aussprachsverhältnisse halten. Da ursem. *ḏ̄* sowohl durch *ṣ*, als durch *ṣ*$_2$, ursem. *ḏ* sowohl durch *d*, als durch *š*$_2$ vertreten erscheint und im Kanaanäischem *š* und *ś* trotz der einheitlichen שׂ-Bezeichnung in der Aussprache auseinandergehalten wurde, ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass sich im Ugaritischen auch die ursem. Laute *ḏ̄*, *ṯ̄*, *ś* und *ḏ* in der Aussprache weiterhin behaupteten und die Vereinfachung des Bestandes nur das Schriftbild betrifft. Wir können also annehmen, dass das Ugaritische so ziemlich den ganzen Mitlautbestand des Ursemitischen bewahrt hat und dann in dieser Hinsicht dem Nordarabischen und Südsemitischen (Südar. u. Äth.) bedeutend näher steht als dem aus den Inschriften bekannten Nordwest- und Ostsemitischem.

[6]) Vgl. D. H. Müller (bei Rosenthal, Fr.: *Die aramaistische Forschung* 56—57), einfacher als bei H. H. Rowley: *The Aramaic of the OT.* 1929. 16 sqq. u. andern, die eine doppelte Lautverschiebung annehmen.

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wā'iẓ, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ

With the ancient Arabs the art of the spoken word played an overwhelming rôle; how strong was the power of the Word had been pointed out by Goldziher. That the verbal art also had been of importance at the appearance of Islam finds its expression in the doctrine that the Qur'ān is *mu'jis*, a view that is not put forth as a dogma, but is claimed to be a comprehension which only presupposes a sufficient knowledge of Arabic. Practitioners of the art of the spoken word in pre-Islamic times were the poet, *shā'ir*, and the rhetorician, *khaṭīb*. In Islam the poet maintained his influence in public life, and as the one who stimulated the Prince; and likewise poetry entered the service of religion. This fact, however, failed to provide the poet with any preferential position within Islam. Otherwise with the rhetorician. He obtained a position as the one who in continuance of the Prophet's function as a leader addressed the congregation from the *minbar* during Friday's service. Besides this official preacher, *al-khaṭīb*, the congregation, however, at an early period got another pulpit orator, who more at his liberty might instil needed teachings and influence people's turn of mind. The term of *wā'iẓ* is the best to characterize his profession, but the two above mentioned terms are employed also. Even his activity has its roots in the old Arabian community.

The root of *w'ẓ* is well-known from Hebrew and Aramaic. The Hebrew word *'ēṣā* means 'counsel' i. e. an idea stamped by will and ready for action. To give advice means to induce another to catch a like idea. The Israelitish king had a *yō'ēṣ*, a man with a special gift for backing him up in this way. He stimulated the king by helping him to conceive efficacious plans.[1]) In Arabic usage the verb

[1]) cf. my *Israel*, I—II, pp. 130, 183; III—IV, Index *s. v.* counsellor.

wa'aẓa is closely related to its use in Hebrew, it being applied to express imparting of knowledge, and through it inducing to the right action. It is often employed in the Qur'ān as characteristic of the activity of the prophets. It refers to the Israelitish prophets (7, 164), the ancient Arabic prophets like Hūd (26, 136) and Luqmān (31, 12); and Muḥammad is called upon to address a *wa'ẓ* to the unreliable and to say a penetrating word to them (4, 66). The whole Qur'ān is a *wa'ẓ* (*'iẓa, maw'iẓa*) as was the Law of Moses (7, 142) and the Gospel (5, 52). "Remember God's benefactions towards you, and the Book, and the Wisdom by which he admonishes you (*ya'iẓukum*)" (2, 231.). The Qur'ān is for the believers the truthful rule, admonition, and reminding (*al-ḥaqq wa-maw'iẓa wa-dhikrā*, 11, 121, cf. *maw'iẓa wa-hudā*, 3, 132). It is pointed out that this *maw'iẓa* is a cure for the soul, guidance, and mercy from God (10, 58, cf. 2, 276). Thus God directs his *wa'ẓ* on to Noah lest he should belong to the witless (11, 48). So in the commentaries on the Qur'ān the word is often rendered as *nuṣḥ* and *irshād* (good advice, and communication of the Right, e. g. Baiḍāwī *ad* 4, 66; 34, 45). What is contained in the good advice is naturally the subordination to Allāh's will and that of the Prophet's, and the inducement may be implied in the attractive pictures of Paradise that are called *wa'ẓ* (4, 61). The word may be used for a lenient appeal to the believers, e. g. concerning the treatment of their wives (2, 232; 65, 2; cf. 4, 69) and also for a direct order to act righteously and a prohibition against bad deeds (16, 92). It is applied to designate rebuke of the recriminations against 'A'isha, this being administered in order to prevent a recurrence to take place (24, 16), but it also means plain punishment as the penance laid on the one who undertakes *ẓihār*-divorce (58, 4, cf. 4, 38). Accounts of previous acts of punishment are called *maw'iẓa* (2, 62; 24, 34), as they serve as an example (*'ibra*). The one who acts according to the prompting, *itta'ẓa*, 'is appropriating the admonition'.

In the same way is used *tadhakkara* (13, 19; 20, 46 etc.), *dhakkara*, 'remind', being employed in much the same meaning as *wa'aẓa*, probably, however, somewhat less forcibly (5, 16, 17; 6, 44; 25, 73; 32, 15; 37, 13 etc.). It is mentioned as a task of the Prophet's (50, 45; 51, 55; 52, 29 and elsewhere), and in a singular passage he is charac-

terized as a *mudhakkir* "reminder" (88, 21). Like *dhikrā* also *dhikr* can be applied to the admonishing preaching of the Prophet (7, 61, 67), and, corresponding to the mentioned verb, *tadhkira*, which is used both for the preaching of the Qur'ān (69, 48; 73, 19; 74, 50, 54 etc.) and earlier occurrences containing admonishing teachings, as the deliverance from the Deluge (69, 12), the gift of Fire to Man (56, 72) that bears witness to God's might and his benevolence towards him (cf. 36, 80). The most frequent term used as a characterization of the activity of the Prophet is *nadhīr*, admonisher, which is more threatening than those mentioned above, and accordingly is often brought into equilibrium by the corresponding *bashīr*, "messenger of good tidings" (2, 113; 5, 22; 11, 2 and elsewhere).

Naturally this usage is not created by the Qur'ān. Says ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ, "Men do not arouse to understanding (*lā ya'iẓu*) the one whom Time does not arouse to understanding, and it is no good seizing (a man) by his breastfold", i. e. to urge him.[2]) It is a characteristic trait with the ancient Arabs to say that "Time", i. e. the Fate, "admonishes" Man, that is, to perceive the changeability of everything and to act accordingly. Thus says Labīd, "Tell him (the man), when he settles his plan: Has not Time aroused you to understanding (*a-lammā ya'iẓka 'l-dahru*) — may your mother become childless! — that you know that you cannot grasp what is past, and that you cannot escape of what the soul is afraid",[3]) in short once more the same teaching given by the inconstancy of life about the humbleness and destitution of Man. The connection between pre-Islamic and Qur'ānic *wa'ẓ* is to be found in the fact that in his conception of the transitoriness of the world and the humbleness of Man, Muḥammad is on a line with the ancients, but just in this fact he finds an admonition to submit to God's revelation. It is an interesting fact that some verses of a like character as those mentioned are said to have been pronounced by ʿAdī b. Zaid to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir as a *maw'iẓa* for Christianity. He makes a tree say, "How many horsemen have halted by us, drinking wine with clear water. — Time *(al-dahr)* has snatched them away, and they are lost; thus does Time do anon and anon." And a burial place says, "Oh, you horsemen, who eagerly trot over the ground! We have been like you, and you will become like us". Al-Nu'mān declared that he understood that the poet would arouse his understanding (*aradta 'iẓatī*) and asked how one might be delivered, upon which ʿAdī pointed to Christianity, and Nu'mān adopted this religion.[4])

[2]) ed. Lyall, *Gibb Mem. Ser.*, 1913, I 19.
[3]) ed. Brockelmann, Leiden 1891, XLI, 4.

We have no evidence that the story about the *wa'ẓ* of ʿAdī to al-Nu'mān is historical, but the fact of a poet addressing a chief with *'iẓa* is in concordance with the character of the ancient Arabic poet. ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ says, "When thou art one who gives no heed to counsel *(ra'y)*, nor follows advice *(mushr)*, nor inclines to the voice of him who points out the right way *(murshid)*, then art thou not ... one fit for chiefship preeminent, nor near to being a chief", and ʿAbīd says. that he himself is a man of judiciousness *(ra'y)* through the excellency of which life is created.[5])

Wa'ẓ in the face of sovereigns happened to play a distinct part in Islam, of which fact Goldziher has rendered an account in his edition of al-Ghazzālī's pamphlet against *al-bāṭinīya*.[6]) It did not turn upon certain men appointed to that end but people of acknowledged piety and wisdom of life, whom the ruler honoured by asking of them instruction with the word *'iẓnī* "give me an admonition", the continuance of which he demanded with the word *zidnī*, "give me some more". Some specimens of such a *wa'ẓ* is given in *Kitāb al-bayān* of al-Jāḥiẓ, in *Al-'iqd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, and above all in *Sirāj al-mulūk* of al-Ṭurṭūshī. In these speeches to the sovereign the transitoriness of life is figuring largely. On the death of Alexander a sage is said to have uttered, "Yesterday he was more loquacious than today, but today he is more 'admonishing' than he was yesterday", an utterance that is also employed in a poem of Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya: "From your life I have got *'iẓāt* (admonitions), and today you are

[4]) *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 3d ed., 2, 96; v. also Ṭurṭushī, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, Cairo 1919, p. 13 sq.
[5]) ed. Lyall, XXX, 10, 14, 21.
[6]) Introduction, pp. 97 sqq.

more admonishing than you being alive."[7]) Especially this subject is used as a warning against haughtiness due to power. Hārūn al-Rashīd said to Ibn al-Sammāk "*'iẓnī*." He just had a drink of water in his hand, and Ibn al-Sammāk asked if he would admit that if this drink was kept from him, he would give his kingdom for it. This, having been answered in the affirmative, Ibn al-Sammāk went on asking that if the Khalīfa were prevented from making water of what he had drunk, would he give his kingdom to have it granted? As this also was answered in the affirmative the sage declared that the kingdom was worthless, since it was not worth either a drink or urine.[8]) Al-Nu'mān, the erector of the castle al-Khawarnaq, is blamed by a sage for his delight in it, because he is going to die and to lose it without that.[9]) On the whole, the idea is constantly recurrent that nothing in the world has any real worth, because it is gained at the death of a predecessor and is to be given up at the death of oneself. The sage also may give general exhortations to reign according to God's commandments,[10]) or propound rules of life often reminding of the logia of the Ṣūfīs, or as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī they may quote a Qur'ānic text.[11]) Al-Baihaqī (circ. 300/912) tells among other things about several pious men who were summoned to al-Manṣūr to give him advice, and who frankly censured his encroachments. In the speeches communicated by him, in which connection also a Bedouin makes his appearance, the contrast between this transitory world and the other world plays a leading part.[12]) The corruptibility is found expressed under the following form: Where is Adam, father of the first and the last of men? Where is Noah, chief of the messengers? Where is Idris etc.[13]) Becker inquired into this topic of "ubi sunt qui ante

7) *Sirāj*, p. 13; *Al-bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1345, I, 255.
8) *Sirāj*, p. 8.
9) ibid., p. 9.
10) e. g. *Bayān*, 2, 236 before al-Mahdī.
11) *Sirāj*, 24 (Sūra 26, 205—207).
12) al-Baihaqī, *Kitāb al-maḥāsin wa l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, pp. 364 sqq. (the section on *wa'ẓ*). Some of the tales here mentioned are also to be found in al-Jāḥiẓ' work with the same title, ed. v. Vloten, Leiden 1898, p. 172 sq.
13) *Sirāj*, p. 7, cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-mudhish*, Baghdad 1348, pp. 222, 256, 343 and elsewhere.

nos in mundo fuere" in European and Oriental literatures and made out that the same rhetoric form occurs in Cyril of Alexandria and Efraem Syrus.[14]) From that he draws the conclusion that the Islamic penitential sermon is an image of the corresponding Christian sermon. The connection with the penitential exhortations of Christianity cannot be denied, but it must not be overlooked that the whole fundamental idea can be traced back to the Qur'ān, and thence to the ancient Arabic poetry.

We have dwelt upon the *wa'ẓ* aimed at the rulers, because in it an aspect of the activity of the monitor is at hand which is also connected with something pre-Islamic, namely the appearance of poets before the sovereign, a tradition that was carried over into Islam. By his *madḥ* the poet gives the sovereign a stimulus which is necessary for his self-assertion, or he gives him good advice. Thus the Islamic *wā'iẓ* gives him a guidance that will keep him in the path of Islam, warn him against arrogance, open his eyes to the frailty of Man, and at the same time strengthen his Muslim mind with good advice.

This activity, however, did not aim exclusively at the sovereign. Already one of the Prophet's companions, Sa'd b. 'Ammāra, was addressed by a man who said, "*'iẓnī*", and Sa'd recommended him punctually to fulfil the purgation before the prayer on the one side, and to avoid having many needs on the other.[15]) People would seek guidance by a man who was able to give them advice. In the above mentioned writings similar "admonitions" from 'Umar, 'Alī and others of the Prophet's companions are to be found. But with a view to revival and guidance to the congregation, people who were apt for it were appointed to work for Islam in the spirit of the Prophet alongside with the qāḍī and the Qur'ān-teacher. In older times the term used for those preachers of calling was not *wā'iẓ*, but *qāṣṣ*, and alongside with it *mudhakkir*, in accordance with the use made of this word by Muḥammad in the Qur'ān as mentioned above.

Already in Ṭabarī's description of the battle at Yarmūk in the year 13 with Saif as an informer, mention is made

14) C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, I, 1924, pp. 501—519.
15) *Usd al-ghāba*, II 287, a passage to which Goldziher has drawn the attention.

of Abu 'l-Dardā' as *qāḍī* and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb as *qāṣṣ*, while Miqdād functioned as *qāri'*, "reciter of the Qur'ān", figuring in a list of participators of the battle. Abū Sufyān opened the battle with some encouraging words to the army and prayer for victory.[16]) From this account we notice that a *qāṣṣ* acts as an official orator in the field to rouse the warriors. The verb *qaṣṣa* is frequently employed in the Qur'ān concerning God's tales of how people fared in earlier history; moreover it is used in connection with the tale of Joseph and his dreams (12, 5), and the tales of the prophets (6, 130; 7, 33.175). The appellation indicates that the tale was his most important pedagogic means; also the Prophet, when being present at parties, would tell stories, to which effect the tale about Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith bears witness.[17])

At any rate the employment of *quṣṣāṣ* in the war to excite the warriors was no extraordinary feature in the times of old, for in the year 65/685, when the 'repentent' Shī'ites under command of Sulaimān b. Ṣurad delivered a fight against the army of Marwān, they had, according to Ṭabarī, three *quṣṣāṣ* with them, and one of these, Rifā'a b. Shaddād al-Bajalī, incessantly *yaquṣṣu wa-yuḥaḍḍiḍu 'l-nās*[18]) on the right wing. Hence it appears that *al-qāṣṣ* carries on the activity of the Prophet and the poet of former times as one who excites to fight, and that the verb *qaṣṣa* has acquired the corresponding shade of signification.

At an early time preachers were attached to the mosques. As the first is mentioned Tamīm al-Dārī, who is said to have attached himself to Muḥammad in Medina and to have influenced him as a former Christian.[19]) He is said to have been *qāṣṣ* in Medina, and even if this may be as unlikely as the story of the Prophet's giving him Hebron as a fief the statement is of evident interest. After having rejected it at first 'Umar allowed him to admonish *(yudhakkiru)* in the mosque on Fridays before the arrival of 'Umar, and under 'Uthmān he got permission to speak

16) Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I 2095.

17) Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 191, 235.

18) Ṭabarī, II 559, 10 sqq.

19) v. Levi della Vida, *s. v.* in *Encycl. of Islām*.

twice a week.[20]) In all this the discussion about the lawfulness of *qaṣaṣ* makes itself felt. Another *qāṣṣ* from the times of the Prophet, al-Aswad b. Sarī', was the first at the mosque of Baṣra;[21]) in the year 38 or 39 Sulaim b. 'Itr al-Tujībī was appointed the first *qāṣṣ* at the 'Amr-mosque in Cairo, some time as a *qāḍī*, too. We are told that during the prayer, in connection with *al-qaṣaṣ*, he raised his hands, a manner introduced later on by 'Abd al-Malik at the advice of his learned counsellors, imposing it upon all the *quṣṣāṣ*. We come to know about them in the main cities of the East.[22]) It is suggestive what is related by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) on the basis of al-Quḍā'ī (d. 454/1062) about the further history of this institution in Egypt, i. e. in the 'Amr-mosque. While being governor in Egypt 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam acquired a precious copy of the Qur'ān that was brought every Friday from his abode to the mosque where a recital was made, upon which a *qaṣaṣ* was held, and, on closing up, the Qur'ān in question was taken back. The then *qāṣṣ* (from the year 76 onwards)[23]) was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥujaira al-Khawlānī, being at the same time a *qāḍī*; after him came Abu'l-Khair Marthad b. 'Abdallāh al-Yazanī, sometime *qāḍī* in Alexandria. Later on followed 'Uqba b. Muslim al-Hamdānī, who in the year 118 was succeeded by Thawba b. Nimr al-Ḥaḍramī who was a *qāḍī*. During his tenure of office the precious copy of the Qur'ān was deposited in the mosque, and the salary of the one who recited from it amounted to three dinars a month. According to al-Kindī (p. 342), he was appointed in 115. Upon him followed Ismā'īl Khair b. Nu'aim al-Ḥaḍramī in 120, also being a *qāḍī*. He read aloud from the Qur'ān standing, while seated when

20) al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1326, IV, p. 16 sq. As far as I can see he is not mentioned by al-Jāḥiẓ but by Ibn al-Jawzī.

21) *Usd al-ghāba*, I 86; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 89 and text p. 346; Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiqāq*, p. 152 infra; al-Jāḥiẓ mentions him as the first one in *Bayān*, I 234.

22) In his *Essai*, pp. 141 sqq., Massignon has enumerated a series of *quṣṣāṣ*, in particular from al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, and Ibn al-Jawzī, *K. al-quṣṣāṣ*. Unfortunately, I only know the book mentioned from reports, among others by Goldziher, and summaries in the glossary of the Goeje to Balādhurī, p. 88 sq.

23) According to al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, ed. Guest, pp. 314, 315, 320, he became qāḍī in the year 69, 70 or 71.

delivering the *qaṣaṣ*, being the first who acted in this way,[24]) and it took place every Friday, until Abū Rajab al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿĀṣim al-Khawlānī became *qāṣṣ* in 182 (beginning 22nd of Febr. 798). He spoke on Mondays. Al-Muṭṭalib al-Khuzāʿī, al-Maʾmūn's emir for Egypt, had fixed a salary of ten dinars for him. Behind him Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī took part in the prayer during his stay in Egypt, and he declared that he had not partaken in any *ṣalāt* better than that. In 240 ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāq, the emir of al-Mutawakkil, designated Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaimān as a *qāṣṣ*, and he recited from the magnificent Qurʾān-copy on Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays. In 292 Ḥamza b. Aiyūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Hāshimī took over his post by writ from al-Muktafī. He held the *ṣalāt* in the background of the mosque, as it was molested, and he had the Qurʾān brought there in spite of protests against this novelty. He declared, "Bring it me, for the Qurʾān has been descended to us and has come to us." This was not repeated until the 20th of Shaʿbān 403 (7 March 1013), when Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Sūsī took over *al-ṣalāt wa 'l-qaṣaṣ*, and had the magnificent Qurʾān-copy placed close by *al-fawwāra*. "By that the matter has been at rest until now." It is interposed that Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim al-Malaṭī, who became *qāṣṣ* in 301, recited from the Qurʾān daily for some short time.[25])

This information is supplemented by al-Suyūṭī who in his work on Egypt[26]) enumerates a few of the *wuʿāẓ* and *quṣṣāṣ* of Egypt, above all four, each from his own century, namely Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Wāʿiẓ al-Baghdādī, who held a big *majlis waʿẓ*, and is entitled the first man of his age in regard to *waʿẓ* by Ibn Khaldūn. He wrote books on *ḥadīth*, *waʿẓ* and *zuhd*, and al-Dāraquṭnī among others passed on traditions from him (d. 338/949). Moreover Ibn Najā al-Wāʿiẓ, a Ḥanbalite from Damascus, who studied fiqh in Baghdād and Damascus, and arrived in Egypt under Saladin, who estimated

[24]) In al-Kindī, *op. cit.*, p. 303 sq., it is said of al-Tujībī that he held his *qaṣaṣ* standing, but was rebuked for this aberration from the practice of the Prophet by one of the Prophet's companions.

[25]) al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* IV, pp. 17—19.

[26]) *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, I, p. 264 sq.

him highly (d. 559/1203). Then Zain al-Dīn from Andalus, a scholar and poet, being imām for *al-waʿẓ*. He died in Cairo 684/1285. Lastly Shihāb al-Dīn al-Shādhilī, who made a powerful impression through his *waʿẓ*-meetings (d. 749/1348).

This survey of conditions in Egypt[27]) makes the impression of an institution that for centuries remained largely untouched by changing circumstances. The "narrator" is closely connected with the official religion and fills a reputable and influential position. His activity, making up a link in the service of the mosque, consists on the one side in the recital of the Qurʾān, a circumstance that is stressed in some distinct way here in connection with a certain honoured copy of the Qurʾān, on the other side in leading the prayer, and lastly in the succeeding speech. The importance of his position appears from its frequent connection with the office of *qāḍī* and the fact that its incumbent is designated by the governor or even by writ from the far-away Khalīfa himself. Of a few we hear that they introduced reforms into the practice of *ṣalāt*. Thus it is said about Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ that he forbade pronouncing the *basmalah* at the prayer (of al-Tujībī it is related that he spoke it aloud) and ordered to pray five *tarāwīḥ* instead of the accustomed six. And Abū Rajab al-Khawlānī, whose *ṣalāt* was praised by al-Shāfiʿī, was the first to deliver two *taslīmas* instead of one at the close of the prayer in the mosque in conformity with a letter from al-Maʾmūn.[28]) It may therefore cause no surprise that al-Suyūṭī is able to mention several people who were erudite theologians and highly respected orators at the same time. A *qāṣṣ* may discharge his task both as *imām*, as *qārīʾ*, and as *khaṭīb*. The difference between him and the *khaṭīb* in the proper sense is that his speech is no part of the Friday's service and consequently he is a *khaṭīb al-yaqẓa*[29]), a revivalist preacher. For that reason he might be employed in warfare in older ages, even as Muʿāwiya caused his *quṣṣāṣ* to bless him and the people of Syria after the prayers at sunrise and

[27]) Several distinguished *quṣṣāṣ* are mentioned by al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I 234 sq.

[28]) al-Maqrīzī, IV, p. 18.

[29]) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-mudhish*, p. 200, 2.

sunset, because he had heard that 'Alī cursed them after the prayer.[30])

The popular evaluation of this commission finds its expression in the outcry of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hujaira's father, when he came to know his son's appointment to *qāṣṣ*, "Thank God! My son praises God and admonishes *(dhakara wa-dhakkara)*," and after his appointment to *qāḍī*: "My son has been befallen with a misfortune and leads into misfortune".[31]) It is evident that the preacher here ranks above the judge.

Also from 'Irāq we hear of the high position of the free preacher among the theologians. Al-Nadīm mentions a *qāṣṣ*, Abū 'Umar Muḥammad al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī (d. 300/912), who was an influential theologian and among other things wrote on *tawḥīd*, following the *madhhab* of the Baṣrians, and whose meetings were attended by many of *al-mutakallimūn*. Both these and ordinary people did he move to tears by the beauty of his narrations *(qiṣaṣ)* and the delicacy of his linguistic style.[32]) Al-Maqdisī, who wrote at the same time as al-Nadīm (375/985) likewise mentioning *al-quṣṣāṣ wa 'l-mudhakkirīn* in his writings, refers to Bukhārā (Numujkath) as a principal seat of thorough scholarship where only the student of law and the Qur'ān commentator deliver sermons *(yudhakkiru)*.[33]) When he declares that in Baṣra the *imām* preached *(yakhṭubu)* and invoked God every morning, this *khuṭba* must fall under the same heading as a sermon delivered by a *qāṣṣ*. They thought it to follow the *sunna* of Ibn 'Abbās.[33a])

The free preacher continued playing a great part. Ibn Baṭṭūta (d. 779/1377), who travelled some four hundred years later than al-Maqdisī gives an account of one *faqīh wā'iẓ* who visited the sultan Shāh b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq in Dihlī and stayed with him a year or so. Before

30) al-Maqrīzī, IV 17 supra. A quotation from Ibn Ḥajar in al-Kindī, *Governors*, p. 304. It is not correct that 'Alī and Mu'āwiya employed the *quṣṣāṣ* to curse each other according to Maqrīzī, loc. cit., as asserted in my article Masjid C3 in *Enc. of Islam*.

31) cf. al-Kindī, *Governors*, p. 315. His father lived in Syria.

32) A formerly unknown fragment of the *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, *ZDMG*, 90, 1936, p. 306 sq.

33) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, III 2, 13; 281 annot. h.

33a) *op. cit.*, III 130, 14 sq.

he left, the sultan caused a *minbar* of white sandalwood to be erected, covered with gold and precious stone, and he preached for the sultan, his court, and the scholars an eloquent *khuṭba*, *wa'ẓ*, and *dhikr*. The sultan embraced him and distinguished him with an honorary gown, presents, and a big pageant in which he was carried on the back of an elephant,[34]) a testimony to the importance that was attributed to a man of his standing.

The information about the older *quṣṣāṣ* shows that their activity consisted in interpreting the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, enforcing law, and impressing people with fear and hope. This is *tadhkīr* or *wa'ẓ*. The preacher is not only expected to scare, but also to encourage. Sufyān b. Ḥabīb said of a *qāṣṣ* in Baṣra, Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī, "He is no *qāṣṣ*, he is a *nadhīr*, "warner, one who scares".[35]) Both in *wa'ẓ* and *tadhkīr* something positive is involved. Abū 'Ubaida wrote to 'Umar that Abū Jandal, who had been scourged for wine-bibbing, should become downcast, "if God does not bring him a joy through thee; write to him *wa dhakkirhu*."[36]) As we have seen in connection with the *wa'ẓ* to the sovereign he must be a counsellor in possession of experience of life; thus *wa'ẓ* becomes identical with *waṣiya*. This word is employed for advice and exhortations given by a father to his son, or on the whole from one more experienced or superior to another, and the verb *awṣā* means to give such guidance. It is used both for concrete advice and ordinary rules of life. Al-Jāḥiẓ communicates a whole lot of such pieces of advice from father to son and uses for them either forms of *wṣy*, or *w'ẓ*.[37]) It is easily understood how the signification of bequest as a legal notion is developed from it. It is used for

34) Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Riḥla*, Cairo 1322, II 51 sq.

35) *Bayān*, I 235; on p. 79 infra is quoted a saying of Ibrāhīm b. Hāni', a paradox-monger, to the effect that a blind *qāṣṣ* spoke best. Naturally such persons turned up, e. g. Ṭabarī, III 560, 2.

36) Ṭabarī I 2572, 6, cf. *Kāmil*, 100, 20, where *dhakkara* has the meaning of 'inspire and encourage'. As specimens of "bad *mawā'iẓ*" two tales are adduced in the two above mentioned (annot. 12) works of al-Jāḥiẓ and al-Baihaqī, terminating in the result that the one who solicits a soothing response gets a pessimistic retort instead of it.

37) *Bayān*, I 56 infra, 245; II 94; 153, 3—5; 215, 9—10; III 252 sq., 265.

the admonitions of the Prophet and the early Khalifas,[38]) and of God's biddings to the Prophet.[39]) In the same way as one asks *'iẓa* of some prominent person, one asks for *waṣīya*.[40]) The word is used in the Qur'ān with similar shadings.[41])

Of the greatest import was the fact that the free preachers were subjected to be influenced by the ascetic view of life and the mysticism that made its way into Islam. It is obvious that the free preacher, whose task it was to influence people individually and to act upon the souls, was more fit than anybody else for propagating the new conception of life. It might mean only a slight deviation from the early Islam. This had, as mentioned above, inherited from the ancient Arabs the feeling of the fluctuation of all values in this life. The ancients called for resignation, but their pessimism was counterbalanced by their obligations to the claims of honour maintained by the individual and the tribe. From these facts the conclusion was drawn in Islam that one ought to accept the joys of the ordinary mode of life, but submit to the Almighty in obedience, after which He would grant the believers the joys of everlasting durability. The only new thing conveyed by asceticism often consisted in a claim to a more stressed independence from the benefits of this world through a life that was wholly occupied with the beyond, resultant in the resumption of asceticism by Oriental Christianity. Important as the new tinge might be occasioned by this, it did not bring about any fundamental renewal until it was connected with that form of mysticism which placed Man's experience of the unity with God in the centre of life, because in that case one has acquired the full bliss already in this world. His thought is not conditioned upon the

38) *op. cit.* II 32 infra, 36, 48.

39) *Awṣānī rabbī, op. cit,* II 33 medio. *Waṣīya* and *waṣāt* generally of commands, Zuhair, 15, 22; *K. al-aghānī*, 3. ed., III 243, 5; al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, XI 206 infra.

40) *Bayān*, II 116, 3; III 102, sect. 4.

41) Sūra 2, 126 *waṣṣā* of Abraham's admonition to his son; 4, 130; 6, 145, 152 sqq.; 29, 7; 31, 13; 42, 11; 46, 14 of God's ordinances for Men, espec. the Prophet, 4, 12; 19, 32 *awṣā* in the same meaning; 51, 53; 90, 17; 103, 3 *tawāṣaw* of the mutual exhortation of people to something; 2, 178 *awṣā* about setting up of a last will; *waṣīya* used for bequest 2, 241. 176; 5, 105.

inferiority of this world, but it is a consequence of his experience. Both of these shades of meaning left its traces deeply on the activity of the preachers.

Some of the older representatives of asceticism are met with among the Khārijites. Ṭabarī tells us about Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrih, who lived in Dārā between Nisibis and Mardin in northern Mesopotamia, where the life of monks and anchorets had flourished so vigorously. In the years until 71, when he joined the opposition, he had lived here in ascetic piety (*nāsikan*), with his face sallowed, occupied with worship (*'ibāda*), teaching people the Qur'ān and *fiqh*, and delivering sermons to them (*yaquṣṣu 'alaihim*). One man related that he possessed his sermons (*qiṣaṣ* or *qaṣaṣ*), which consequently must have been committed to writing by then. In a letter that is quoted it runs as follows, "I advise you (*ūṣīkum bi*) fear of God and continence (*zuhd*) from the world and desire for the hereafter, and to be mindful of death, withdrawal from the sinners and love for the believers. For continence from the world arouses the desire of the servant for what is with God and makes free his body for obedience to God. And much mindfulness of death inspires the servant with fear of his master, so that he cries out to him and subjects himself to him."[42]) This is a typical *qaṣaṣ* from one of the earlier ascetics, not very much different from what the Syriac Christians thought and uttered. Characteristic of these older *nussāk* is an utterance as the following, "Your abodes are before you and your life after your death." It is quoted among a series of utterances collected by al-Jāḥiẓ.[43])

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) vented the true mysticism in his sermons. His *mawā'iẓ* are known through some reproductions, especially as given by al-Jāḥiẓ.[44]) In the following time there exists a close connection between *wa'ẓ* and *zuhd*. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (ob. 328/940) entitles the section of his book, reproducing some sermons, *al-mawā'iẓ wa'l-zuhd*. The genuine mystics, however, confined themselves to their own circle, and their influence upon the preachers corresponds to the momentum they gained over the ordinary Islamic piety.

42) Ṭabarī, II 882.

43) *Bayān*, 3, p. 73, *K. al-zuhd*.

44) Espec. *Bayān*, 3, 76 sq; cf. Massignon, *Essai*, pp. 152 sq.

A *wā'iẓ* of great importance was Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), the well known Ḥanbalite and opponent of mysticism. He not only wrote a book about *al-quṣṣāṣ* but besides that several books on *wa'ẓ*, in which are found collections of the speeches he delivered as a celebrated *wā'iẓ*, mainly in Baghdād.[45]) Ibn Jubair gives an impressive account of his own and others' activity during his visit to Baghdād in the year 580/1184.[46]) He extols the teachers of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* in Baghdād, and the local *wu"āẓ* and *mudhakkirūn*, who all but daily held meetings. He listened to Raḍī al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, the *ra'īs* of the Shāfi'ites and teacher of *fiqh* at the Niẓāmīya-school, who spoke at a gathering in this *madrasa* on Friday the 5th of Ṣafar after the *'aṣr*-prayer. He ascended the *minbar* and placed Qur'ānic reciters on chairs, *karāsī*, in front of him. After their recital he held a dignified *khuṭba*, in which he interpreted the Qur'ān and sayings from the *ḥadīth*. Next a bunch of written questions was handed over to him, and gathering them in his hand he answered them one by one until evening. Ibn Jubair designates it as a *majlis 'ilm wa-wa'ẓ* and declares that his *wa'ẓ* induced to humility and tears. The meeting was pervaded with blessing, gentleness, and dignified peace. It was resumed the next Friday in the presence of the *sayyid* of the Khurāsān scholars, and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Khujanjī, the ra'īs of the Shāfi'ite *imāms*.

Ibn al-Jawzī held two meetings a week, one on Saturday morning, opposite his residence on the river in the Eastern district of the city, and another on Thursday morning in the Caliphal palace. Ibn Jubair heard him in both places and gave a rapturous description of the gatherings and the man, who was no common "'Amr or Zaid". At the Saturday's meeting (the 13th of Ṣafar) the arrangement was like that of the meetings just mentioned. More than twenty Qur'ān-reciters recited in chorus, alternately, with an artful delivery, while he stood on the *minbar*. Then he held his *khuṭba*, which was permeated by a challenging *wa'ẓ* that called forth groans and moanings from the penitents

[45]) Cf. the list of his works in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.* I 504 sq. and Suppl. I 918. Cf. note 22.

[46]) *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. Wright, 2nd. ed. de Goeje, *Gibb Mem. Ser.*, 1907, pp. 219—224.

(*al-tā'ibīn*), some fainted, and terror took hold of them at his *tadhkīr* on the dreads of the day of the Last Judgement, while at the same time a yearning (*ishtiyāq*) was stirred up in their hearts. After that notes were produced with questions, which he answered unhesitatingly. The Thursday's meeting (the 11th of Ṣafar) had its special flavour being held within the palace, where the Khalīfa (al-Muqtadī) and his mother were present together with people from the court. He showed his deference by taking his *ṭailasān* off his head, and when the Qur'ān-reciters had recited a dozen of verses he interwove his *khuṭba* with a praise of the Khalīfa and a prayer for him and his mother, upon which he went over to the *wa'ẓ* that made a violent impression on the listeners. People repented of their sins and showed signs of *tawba*, they revealed their secret yearning (*shawq*), and their reason (*'aql*) was wasted away. Towards the end he recited erotic verses (*ash'ār al-nasīb*) that aroused yearning, tenderness and passion (*wajd*), and the erotic topic went over into ascetic yearning (*zuhd*). His recital ended with the following words:

"Where is my heart? Molten by passion (*wajd*)! Where is my heart? It has not known of sobriety (*mā ṣaḥā*) ever since.

Oh, Sa'd, heighten my passion through their remembrance (*dhikr*) of God! Address me with 'Be thou redeemed, oh Sa'd!'"

The tears flowed, and when he left the *minbar*, the audience was shaken by commotion. "We had not imagined that an orator in this world might acquire such a mastery over the souls and play upon them as this man. Praise to Him who distinguishes with perfection such of his servants as He decrees; there is no God but He."

Ibn Jubair listened to other *wu"āẓ* in Baghdād, who surpassed what he knev of theologians (*mutakallimūn*) in the West, but everybody, even in Mekka and Medina, were second to this man. At another Saturday's meeting that Ibn Jubair attended, Ibn al-Jawzī himself was so moved while he quoted some erotic verse of ascetic yearning that he jumped from the pulpit raving (*wālihan*) and the listeners behaved as if intoxicated.

It is a matter of some interest to notice that the pattern of this service is quite the same as in the — by several hundred years older — services of the same kind in

Egypt mentioned above, but the influence of Ṣūfism is apparent. It appears from the emphasizing of sin and conversion (*tawba*), the stress that is laid upon shunning the world, *zuhd*, the typical Ṣūfic notions of *shawq*, *wajd*, the conquering of *'aql*, the abandonment of sobriety, *ṣaḥw*, and not least the erotic poetry and the whole ecstatic behaviour. From Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-mudhish* we are able to check the picture drawn by Ibn Jubair. In the first place it contains some remarks on the Qur'ān and some details of names, several linguistic phenomena etc. Next follows *dhikr al-mawā'iẓ* divided into two sections: *al-qiṣaṣ* and *al-mawā'iẓ wa'l-ishārāt*. The first of these communicates tales of pious people in the past, starting with Adam, the second is a collection of sermons, *mawā'iẓ*. In these the instability of the world is markedly underlined, the ancient Arabic talk about *dahr* and *manāyā* rings out afresh, and we recognize the pre-Islamic turn of phrase: *yā man ya'iẓuhu 'l-dahru*.[47]) The world is a carcass that invites to weeping.[48]) Sin and desire are condemned, and claim is made for *zuhd* and *tawba* for the soul,[49]) that must be fought with *jihād;*[50]) overcome with *wajd*[51]) he quotes erotic verses, bewailing that nearness *(qurb)* has been displaced by remoteness *(bu'd)*, and that he in his love cannot bear the veiling, that he is intoxicated and "even if the eye does not see you, the heart is near to you."[52]) He avails himself of expressions as *fanā'*, *waṣl* and *hajr*[53]), *shawq* and *ṣabr*,[54]) *waḥsha* and *īnās*,[55]) he quotes mystics as Ibn Adham, Rābi'a, Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh, al-Shiblī etc. Even if no mystic experience in proper sense is involved, a state of mental sore makes itself felt that originates from mysticism and uses its phraseology, and as a matter of consequence must lead to scenes like those depicted above.

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47) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-mudhish*, p. 238, cf. 221, 271, 302, 371, 384 etc.

48) *op. cit.*, 205, 206, 222.

49) *op. cit.*, 204, 205, 209, 222, 304.

50) *op. cit.*, 211.

51) *op. cit.*, 222.

52) *op. cit.*, 388.

53) *op. cit.*, 224.

54) *op. cit.*, 290.

55) *op. cit.*, 221.

In the account of Ibn Jubair we notice a tendency of drawing a distinction between the more official *khuṭba* and the reviving and crushing *wa'ẓ* in the sermon, and Ibn al-Jawzī himself distinguishes between *wa'ẓ* and *qiṣaṣ*, the latter, however, becoming a part of the *wa'ẓ*. This agrees with what he says in the introduction to his *k. al-quṣṣāṣ*[56]) to the effect that *qāṣṣ* is the one who delivers narratives about the past and expounds on matters that give an example and an admonition (*'iẓa*), while on the other side *tadhkīr* is a teaching about God's benefactions towards the creatures and an appeal to thankfulness and a warning against opposing God, and *wa'ẓ* is the inspiration with fear, by which the heart becomes sensitive; but many use the term of *qāṣṣ* about the *wā'iẓ* of which he dissapproves. The later tendency of supplanting the word *qāṣṣ* with *wā'iẓ* is obvious here, but at the same time the recognition of the connection with the old usage, as *qaṣaṣ* is employed about the element of narration that goes into the sermon.

The free character of the activity of these preachers and the personal turn in their locution invested them with great influence, but also gave rise to the criticism that was whirled up against them. This was due not only to those "narrators" that entertained people in the streets and exercised all sorts of juggleries as has been described by Goldziher,[57]) but also to the real preachers. The main attack came from Ṣūfic circles, as clearly appears from the statements of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) in *Qūt al-qulūb* in several passages. He remarks somewhere that *qaṣaṣ* did not come into existence until after Abū Bakr and 'Umar at the same time as *al-fitna*. 'Alī opposed it and turned out *al-quṣṣāṣ* from the mosque of Baṣra, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar made the police chase out a *qāṣṣ* from the mosque, which shows that it cannot have been reckoned among the *majālis al-dhikr*, since Ibn 'Umar was well-known for his piety and asceticism. A tradition is mentioned to the effect that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī declared it for *bid'a* and recommended to someone to pay visits to the sick as something better than to listen to a *qāṣṣ*. He also narrates that 'A'isha being disturbed by a *qāṣṣ* who delivered a sermon outside her abode, made Ibn 'Umar turn him

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56) Communicated by de Goeje in Balādhurī, p. 89.

57) *ZDMG*, 28, 1874, p. 320; *Muh. Studien*, II, pp. 159 sqq.

away in which he broke a stick on his back. It is objected to them that men and women gather around them raising their voices and uplifting their hands, which is a *bid'a*.[58]) Al-Makkī also declares that a *qāṣṣ* is a *mutakalliʃ*, 'one who meddles with affairs of others' concern', which presumably means that he functions without any authorization; and he speaks of bygone things, which are not needful at the moment, wherefore the activity of *al-qāṣṣ* is to be disapproved of *(makrūh)*.[59]) In earlier generations, he says, the men of knowledge were asked about the permissibility of settling down in a *majlis* with *al-wā'iẓ wa 'l-mudhakkir*, and this was answered to the effect that his orthodoxy, his intelligence, and his taste had to be examined beforehand. If he held heretical opinions, he was speaking with Satan's tongue; if he had a bad taste, he was speaking of his own accord; and if he did not possess sound intelligence, he spoiled with his tongue more than he gave of service, and people ought to keep away from him.[60])

A similar criticism he puts in a more concentrated shape in connection with a mention of Manṣūr b. 'Ammār (d. 227/beginning 21st Oct. 841). This personality, being mentioned by al-Nadīm as an *'ābid zāhid* and the composer of a book on *zuhd*, and by al-Sha'rānī and al-Dhahabī as one of the best of *al-wā'iẓūn* who touched the hearts and set the minds astir in Baghdād, Syria and Egypt, is nevertheless the object of no little criticism cited by al-Dhahabī, claiming above all that he used weak *ḥadīths*.[61]) Al-Makkī says that he heard many beautiful stories about Manṣūr b. 'Ammār from Bishr b. al-Ḥārith, and that he belonged to the famous *wā'iẓūn*, but Bishr and learned people of his contemporaneous equals like Abū Thawr and Aḥmad, did not reckon him among *al-'ulamā'*, but among *al-quṣṣāṣ*, a

[58]) *Qūt al-qulūb*, Cairo 1310, I, 148 sq. As to uplifting the hands cf. what is stated above of al-Tujībī.

[59]) *op. cit.*, 1, 132, 1 sq.

[60]) *op. cit.*, 2, 288, 10 sqq.

[61]) *Al-fihrist* p. 184; al-Sha'rānī, *Al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1315, I, p. 71; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, Cairo 1325, III, p. 202 sq. Massignon, *Essai*, p. 208 mentions that according to b. al-Jawzī it was he who introduced *wa'ẓ* into Baghdād. It is difficult to suppose this to be understood literally.

fact that Bishr made known to him in a rather harsh way. Al-Makkī assumes a difference between *'ālim* and *mutakallim*. The really learned man is silent until he is asked, and then answers according to what God has enjoined on him, but forbears answering, when silence is the best. In this respect he refers to Mālik b. Anas.[62]) On the contrary, *al-qāṣṣ* at once betakes himself to tell tales, from which he has got his appellation. Moreover the great saints only spoke to few, for "distinct knowledge (*'ilm al-khuṣūṣ*) is only for the distinct ones *(al-khuṣūṣ")*. In this there is a difference between the two sorts of *majlis*. *Al-qaṣaṣ* is unlimited and for the multitude, so from the time of Ḥasan to that of al-Makkī the *majālis al-quṣṣāṣ wa 'l-mudhakkirīn wa 'l-wā'iẓīn* gathered hundreds of people. "One of our scholars has said: In Baṣra there were one hundred and twenty who were spokesmen in the service and admonation (*mutakallim fi 'l-dhikr wa 'l-wa'ẓ*), but there was nobody who was a spokesman in the science of intrinsic knowledge and certainty and stages and states *(yatakallamū fī 'ilm al-ma'rifa wa 'l-yaqīn wa 'l-maqāmāt wa 'l-aḥwāl)* apart from six, among them Abū Muḥammad Sahl and al-Ṣubaiḥī and 'Abd al-Raḥīm". Bishr says that "*haddathanā* and *akhbaranā* is one of the doors to this world."[63])

Thus the criticism centres around general views on the one side, like disorder at the meetings, lack of certainty in the doctrine and abuse of weak *ḥadīths* and in markedly mystic views on the other side: the preachers are destitute of the true knowledge that is given by the mystic experience, and therefore talk superficial nonsense to the multitude. That the Ṣūfīs felt prone to advance this criticism was so much more at hand as both they and the preachers wanted to affect the inner spiritual life, and the gatherings of the latter must seem to be a caricature of the Ṣūfic *majālis al-dhikr*, not the least because to a large extent they imitated their style of speech.

The preachers continued retaining their great importance. Hundred odd years after al-Makkī, al-Ghazzālī deals

[62]) By the way, a *Risālat wa'ẓ* to Hārūn al-Rashīd and his minister is ascribed to Mālik, see Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, I, p. 176.

[63]) *op. cit.*, I. 153 sq., 156.

thoroughly with them,[64]) especially in his principal work *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn.*[65]) In al-Ghazzālī's view the preacher is an aid to that impersonation of the religion which is the result he has reaped from the activity of Ṣūfism. The goal is to become one's own admonisher. "When God loves a man he procures him a *wā'iẓ* out of himself and a reviver of his heart, who gives him command and prohibition" (4, 236, 8sq.). First when Man has carried through the admonition to his worst enemy, that is his own soul, he can admonish others (4, 299, 15—21). For this he must train himself by picking up the *wa'ẓ* he gets in considering the flux of time, and he must stand by with vigilance and prayer (4, 303, 11sqq.), just as he must seek *wa'ẓ* through God's word, the sunna and study (4, 271, 31; 283, 16).[66]) Through instruction and *wa'ẓ* he gets aid in approaching to God (4, 308, 34). The one who wants to act as a *wā'iẓ* must imitate the "master of admonition", that is the Prophet, availing himself cautiously of tales that inspire with fear and hope, according to his need, which he has to ascertain by examining the inner causes (*al-'ilal al-bāṭina*) of the state of the person concerned. If he does not heed this he causes more mischief than benefit by his *wa'ẓ* (4, 107, 6. 10; 109, 17sq.). Reference is made to Ḥanẓala, who related that he had stayed with the Prophet "who admonished us by an admonition, by which the hearts were moved and the eyes overflowed", and edifying in this way he went away, but then entertained himself in wordly wise with his wife and forgot his previous mood. But the Prophet consoled him when he accused himself of hypocrisy (4, 118, 13 sqq.). It is also related how the Prophet gives a *wa'ẓ* in the shape of good rules of life (4, 330, 30). Likewise David is mentioned as a great *wā'iẓ* upon the

64) One of his tracts, *Risālat al-wa'ẓ wa l-i'tiqād*, in the same impression as *Faiṣal al-tafriqa* etc., Cairo 1325, holds as a main topic that God has given Man a speaking and a silent *wā'iẓ*, namely the Qur'ān and Death. His pamphlet against the Bāṭinites directed to the Khalīfa al-Mustaẓhir contains an appeal to the Khalīfa to submit to the admonition from *mawā'iẓ mashā'ih al-dīn*, see Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī*, 1916, pp. 95 sqq.

65) Cited here from the ed., Cairo 1322.

66) He compares the "comprehensive perception" with somebody who is mastering both *qaṣaṣ* and books from the different parts of the world (4, 81, 14 sqq.).

admonition of whom 30.000 out of 40.000 persons met death (4, 131, 34), which of course is meant as an illustration of the willingness to sacrifice oneself.

Al-Ghazzālī gives an indication of what must be the contents of the sermon. He warns earnestly against arousing false hopes and quenching the fear, which reminds of the methods of quacks (4, 13, 8sq.; 37 sq.). He sees the impossibility of solving the individual problems and adapting the *wa'ẓ* to every person, so the preacher must say what is needful to a plurality of people, and he recommends the use of the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*, tales about the Prophet and the saints of the past, and the demonstration of the punishment of sin in this very life. Such a *wa'ẓ al-'āmma* is a daily nourishment to the benefit of the public, but he regrets that too many of the *wu"āẓ* display rhymed prose and poems and discourse obtained at second hand, while their talk ought to issue from the heart in order to reach the heart (4, 38—41; 99, 21 sqq.). They must revive and animate, moving those who are indifferent and benumbed in their hearts (3, 58, 24 sq.). The application of extraneous measures is not prohibited to them. The good *wā'iẓ* is free to recite poems on the *minbar* to tunes that move the hearts, and to weep so as to bring his audience into tears (2, 188, 36 sq.). But several times al-Ghazzālī warns against the dangers that threatened the preachers, ambition, emulation, and self-righteousness, thinking that, when they speak of fear and hope, patience (*ṣabr*) and thankfulness (*shukr*), devotion (*tawakkul*), abstinence (*zuhd*), certainty (*yaqīn*), sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*), truthfulness (*ṣidq*) or the like, they possess these qualities themselves (3, 277, 29 sqq.; 291, 36 sq.; 4, 272, 30 sqq.).

What *al-wu"āẓ* introduced „in these times" of tawdry words and pathetic phrases connected with poems that do not serve the religion, by inspiring the Muslims with fear and on the contrary raising bright hopes and urging to sin by all kind of loose anecdotes, must be cleared away, for they are the agents of Satan (3, 227, 25 sqq.). Those preachers who force their way to the pulpit without any scientific accomplishment, and whose aim it is to delude the hearts of the vulgar and to coax them out of their property, in reality belong to the same category as impostors and jugglers, ḥashīsh-dealers, amulet-sellers and soothsayers (3, 158, 30 sqq.). And al-Ghazzālī describes

with psychological acumen the *wā'iẓ* who finds a singular joy in his own *wa'ẓ* and the impression it makes upon the hearts of his listeners, being moved to crying and moaning. Thus he is prompted to speak according to the tastes of the multitude to gain a repute in their hearts, and he is led by desire to domineer spiritually, not by joy for knowing the right way (3, 226, 30 sqq.).

It is well-known that al-Ghazzālī availed himself of al-Makkī's work on a large scale. It is of some concern that he (without making mention of his source, however) took over the saying mentioned above that there were one hundred and twenty *mutakallimūn* of *wa'ẓ* in Baṣra, but only six who spoke in *'ilm al-yaqīn*, with the exception that al-Ghazzālī says "three", namely those three mentioned by name (1, 59, 15 sqq.). But al-Ghazzālī's view of *al-wā'iẓ* is very different from that of al-Makkī, according to whom their activity is objectionable. Al-Ghazzālī has a tale about 'Abdallāh b. Khalīf, who travelled from Egypt to Tyrus to profit from two men who lived there in meditation *(murāqaba)*, but when after the lapse of some time he said to one of them, "*iẓnī*, give me advice", he got the answer that they were in that stage where the hearts are overcome by the Majesty and could not engage in anything else, and he had to look for others who might give him *wa'ẓ* with their deeds, not with their tongues (4, 286, 9sqq.). He also has a tale relating how a penetrating *wa'ẓ* might have a deadly effect upon a listener (4, 135, 20 sqq.).

But al-Ghazzālī does not apply the standard of pure mysticism to the preacher, he attributes to him his traditional position as a guide and helper for the common Muslims to realize their religion. He testifies to their great influence even in his time, and just for al-Ghazzālī their activity must needs be of great importance. The idealized picture he draws of the preacher is shaped to his own likeness. Nothing tends to show that al-Ghazzālī had mystic experiences properly speaking. But he put himself in possession of the knowledge of the mystics that gave him a foundation for certainty in his own belief and realization of the claims of Islam to the development of the inner life of the soul and refinement of the spiritual foundation for the extraneous acts. So it was immensely important that men with a pure belief and with spiritual tact made useful their

faculties for educating the multitude and the individual characters, in the same way as he found himself obliged decidedly to warn against preachers who were devoid of these capacities.

One hundred years after al-Ghazzālī we see in Ibn al-Jawzī how mystic modes of expression are employed by a preacher who was no mystic, mainly in al-Ghazzālī's spirit though in a different style. From the 8th/14th century onwards we still have accounts of the free preachers, among whom the above mentioned *wā'iẓ* who met so much honour with the sultan of Dihlī. In the West we have the same evidence of the stern social chastener, the Maghribī Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336). In particular he inveighs against the partaking of women in the *mawlid*-festivals, on which occasions people make their appearance with tales of the Prophet, wherein they make additions and subtractions, and the women fall into disbelief without anybody to guide them. And they sit among men and youths listening to a *wā'iẓ* or a *wā'iẓa*, who speaks from the *minbar* swaying to and fro, with cries and gesticulations, beating the *minbar* or the *kursī* with his hands or feet under hypocritical moaning and weeping. He quotes al-Makkī's criticism and assertion that the whole of it is *bid'a*, and that older authorities have forbidden to attend *al-quṣṣāṣ*, i. e. *al-wu"āẓ*, in the mosque and elsewhere.[67]) He also refers to the fact that Ibn Rushd declared *al-qaṣaṣ* to be *makrūh* according to the *madhhab* of Mālik. It is the duty of the *imām* of the mosque to take care that disciples do not sit listening to a *qāṣṣ*. Utterly revolting it is when also women are present.[68]) It is of some interest that also female preachers made their appearance. But from the severely denouncing of Ibn al-Ḥājj we cannot expect to get an objective description of phenomena that he did not acknowledge.

We also get information of them in the works of a more administrative character, thus by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qurashī, nicknamed Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d. 729/1329), in his book on *al-ḥisba*, as *al-muḥtasib* is also in charge of supervising the visitors to the mosque and

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[67]) *K. al-madkhal*, Cairo 1320, I, p. 158, 160 medio.

[68]) *op. cit.*, II, 13, 50.

al-wu"āẓ.[69]) In this book it is said that the person who wants to be a *wā'iẓ* must be famous for knowledge of the Qur'ān, the *ḥadīth* and tales of the saints. If he passes a test in this, he is to be permitted to the *minbar* in any mosque. If someone professes some knowledge about it and makes himself an income through it, it is allowed but he must not set foot upon the *minbar*. The author says that in „these times of ours" *al-wā'iẓ* is only resorted to on occasions of burials and weddings or frivolous gatherings, and improper behaviour is said to take place, as men and women associate freely with one another. The exact range of their activity is not stated. He says that the scholars call them *quṣṣāṣ*, and that their gatherings are good when they are conducted decently and they do not tell untrue stories and introduce *bid'a*. He denounces the fact of their having Qur'ānic reciters before them, who do not recite correctly, and they must not make themselves smart or indulge in poetical quotations, gestures, and movements. At best women ought to keep away, and if they take part in it, there must be a screen between men and women. In short, *al-wā'iẓ* still acts according to old tradition, but seems to be employed in a new way in private dwellings, and *qāṣṣ* has become an obsolete word.

Half a century later al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) mentions both *al-wā'iẓ* and *al-qāṣṣ*, but here is no real distinction between *al-wā'iẓ* and *al-khaṭīb*, while *al-qāṣṣ* is nothing but the street-preacher who is charged with enjoining the keeping of the Islamic law on the public. We perceive a reverberation from al-Ghazzālī when he declares concerning *al-wā'iẓ* that "if the speech does not come from the heart it does not reach the heart".[70])

As has been pointed out, the distinction between two kinds of *qāṣṣ* is an old one. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) says that the lawyer al-Laith b. Sa'd (d. 175/791) maintained a distinction between *qaṣaṣ al-'āmma* and *qaṣaṣ al-khāṣṣa*.[71]) Al-Maqrīzī affirms that in his time *majālis al-wa'iẓ* took place in the mosque of al-Azhar, and at the solemn consecration of a new minaret in the same mosque

[69]) *Ma'ālim al-qurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba*, ed. R. Levy (*Gibb Mem. Ser.*), 1938, ch. 48.

[70]) *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, ed. Myhrman, 1908, p. 161 sq.

[71]) *Khiṭaṭ*, IV, 17.

al-wu"āẓ made their appearance together with Qur'ānic reciters.[72])

In the following centuries the approach between *khaṭīb* and *wā'iẓ* seems to have been in the increase, and in consequence the importance of *al-wā'iẓ* as an independent official of the mosque has been diminished. Lane does not mention this institution, and he says that the sermon on Fridays is called *khuṭbet al-wa'ẓ*.[73]) Nevertheless, the institution is still in existence, and from recent times we have got a collection of *mawā'iẓ* by Nu'mān b. Muhammad Alūsī, who was muftī in Baghdād under 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II and at the same time occupied himself with *al-wa'ẓ* and *tadhkīr al-khawāṣṣ*.[74]) His sermons show that the old tradition as to the customary contents of such speeches has been kept alive. Other works of a similar kind may have appeared. It admits of no doubt whatever that the whole of this institution has been of great importance to the religious life in Islam, and its history gives an illustration both of the connection of Islam with its Arabic past and its own religious development.

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[72]) *op. cit.*, IV, 54.

[73]) *Manners and Customs* (Everyman's Library), p. 87 (ch. 3).

[74]) *Ghāliat al-mawā'iẓ wa-miṣbāḥ al-mutta'iẓ wa-qabs al-wā'iẓ*, Ṭanṭā, I—II, 1329 1911.

NOUVELLE BIBLIOGRAPHIE HALLAGIENNE

Ignace Goldziher qui se montra pour moi le maître et le guide, dans mes recherches hallagiennes, avait particulièrement insisté sur une bibliographie des sources. Voici donc, en hommage fidèle à sa mémoire, les compléments à la *bibliographie* parue dans la "Passion d'al-Hallâj" en 1922, pp. 1—80 de l'appendice. (Sigle Rc. = Recueil de 1929).

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120. 'Ubaydallâh Ibn Abî Ṭâhir, *akhb. Mu'taḍid* = abr. de *126—a*.

123bis. Ibn Waḥshîya, *filâḥa nabṭîya*, extr. ap. *214*.

135bis. M-b-Farrukhân Dûrî+359, *ḥikâyât*, ap. Khaṭîb, VIII, 114; Is. 84.

136. 'AA. Farghânî; écrit en 336 (Yaq. *ud.* VI, 427).

137. 'AA. Salâmî+374 Bukhâra; *i'tidâl*, II, 80; Kh. III, 98; X, 148; Is. 210.

138. A-b-M-b 'Abdaljalîl Sijazî écrit en 380 h. (= 358 Yazd.) le *jâmi' shâhî fî'l-mawâlid*, ms. LM. f. 1b.

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160. Ibn Bâbawayh; cf. 1238, I, 296; *'aqâïd* (distinctes des *i'tiqâdât*).

162. Mhs. Tanûkhî, *nishwâr*, éd. Margoliouth, 1921, p. 80—88, 248; Rc. 217.

165. Bâqillânî, *k. fî'ajz* = *al-bayân wa'l-farq*, ms. Tübingen 93, f. 24a (com. Winkler); — b) extr. ap. *251-a*, et Ibn Diḥya, *nibrâs*, éd Azzawi, 1946, Bagdad, p. 100 sq.

165bis. 'Alî Qazwînî Ṣayqalî, *surûr al-asrâr* (Kh. VIII, 114); Is. 216.

168. M-b-A-b-Ism. Ibn Sam'ûn.

170. Sulamî; g) *'uyûb al-nafs*, éd. Beyrouth, s. d., p. 21; Is. 332.

171. Miskawayh, éd. Margoliouth (*"Eclipse . . ."*), Oxf. 1922: I, 32, 76—82; IV, 36, 84—91; VII (index); cf. J. Sauvaget, *histor. arabes*, 1946, 75—81.

173. Ibn Ajrûd: à transférer à *605* (car il est mort en 836/1432).

175. 'Alî Daylamî (ex-*362*): cf. H. Ritter, *DI*, 21 (1933), 91; et R. Walzer, *JRAS*, juillet 1939, 407.

179. Mufîd; b) *sharh 'aqâïd al-Ṣadûq*, éd. Shihristânî, Tebriz, 1359, 218; cf. Khuyyî *(1236)*, VI, 239, 274, 283, 285, 305; *924a*, 131; *1238a*, I, 296, Is. 333.

180bis. Ḥ-b-M-b-Ḥabîb Naysabûrî + 406, *'uqalâ 'l-majânîn*, Damas, 1343, 152; Is. 224.

183. A-b-M-b-Zakariyâ Nasawî: Is. 206.

186. anonyme: *ta'rîkh inbâ 'l-anbiyâ wa'l-khulafâ* (ad 422 h.), ms. Londres, Or 8583, f. 105a.

189. supprimer; car le véritable Abû Ḥâtim Ṭabarî, maître d'Ahwâzî (Kh. II, 218), était un disciple direct de Shiblî (Kh. XIV, 391); Is. 115.

190. Bêrûnî, *āthâr*, = ms. Paris, supp. ar. 713, miniature copiée sur ms. Edinburg Univ. 161 (Th. Arnold): cf. ms. Salemann, *Bull. Acad. Pétersb.* 1912, 861, c) *tafhîm* (? mq. dans éd. Ramsay Wright, 1934), où la citation sur Tâlaqân indiquée par Nûrallâh Shûshtarî *(1175-a)* proviendrait du *mu'tabar* de Sijazî (138).

191. Ibn Bâkûyé: voir notice Is. 324 (ap. Mélanges Félix Grat, 1946. I, 387, 411—412.). Ms. Majm. 81 (Ājurrī) Damas, 7me *risāla*, ff. 96a—109b.

201. Baghdâdî: *farq:* trad. Seelye (N. York, 1922) complétée par Halkin, Tell Aviv, 1936, 80—84; son *mukhtaṣar*, dû à 'A. Razzâq-b-Rizq. Ras'anî (écrit en 647), publ. Ph. Hitti, Caire, 1924, 160 (cf. trad. Ph. Hitti).

211. Ibn al-Qâriḥ, *risâla;* réimpr. Kurdaly *rasâil al-bulaghâ*, Caire, 1331, 200; la lacune après "Shiblî" provient du ms. unique Jazâîrî, fonds Taymur, majm. 80, f. 353b (copié in ms. Taymur (an 1327) No. 753, f. 12.).

214. Ps. Majrîtî: a) *ghâyat al-ḥakîm*, éd Ritter, 381; cf. trad. lat. "Picatrix", et trad. hébr.

231. Qushayrî, d) *tartîb*, ms. AS 2910 (chap. VI), Rc. 89;-e) cf. *rasâil* ms. Hakim Oghlu 942.

250. Khaṭîb, *ta'rikh Baghdâd*, éd. Caire, 1831, t. VIII, 112—141, voir notice Is. 301 (= ap. Mélanges F. Grat. 1946, I, 390—391, 410).

252. Sh. Isfarâînî, *tabṣîr fî'l-dîn (= al-farq)*, éd. M. S. Na'îmî A'ǧami, Tunis, 1939, 119—121; et éd. M. Z. H. Kawtharî, Caire, 1940, 77—78.

253. Abû Shakûr M. Sâlimî Kashî, *tamhîd fî bayân al-tawḥîd*, ms. India Office 384 et 1033; ms. Calc. ASB ar. 440, f. 177 (Ivanow).

259. Shaydhalâ Jîlî + 494, *lawâmi'*, ms. Berlin 3083, 45b, et 3082, 158—163 (publ. S. Pines, Orientalia, 1938, VII—4, 333); fragm. ap. ms. Vatic. ar. 32, 97a, cf. Levi della Vida, *elenco*, 281.

261. Ibn 'Aqîl, *juz'* = *intiṣâr*(?): Is 408 (Mélanges F. Grat, I, 391—92, 423).

278. AB. Sarrâj: vérif. éd. abr. Biqâ'î, ms. Paris 3065.

280. Ghazâlî, *iḥyâ:* ap. *'ibâdat (ʿilm* 1—3), *'âdât (samâ'* VIII—2), *muhlikât (dhamm al-ghurûr* X—3, *munjiyât (tawba* 1—4; *tawḥîd* V—I; *maḥabba* VI—I; *tafakkur* IX—3). *e) mishkât*, éd. 1322, p. 56 h) *radd jamîl*, éd. Chidiac, Paris, 1940, 38 i) *sirr al-'âlamayn*, éd. Caire. 1327, 39; j) *mizān al-'amal*, éd. C. 1328, 29.

281. Aḥmad Ghazâlî; *b) wa'z* (cf. *370-i*), Rc. 96 (= Ibn Abî'l-Ḥadîd, *sharḥ al-Nahj*, I, 35; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzî, *mir'ât*, éd. 1907, 737; Sha'rânî, *lawâqi*, 1343, 57. *c) sawânih*, éd. Ritter (en persan = *1082-c*).

282. Ibn al-Hamadhânî + 521, *ta'rîkh* = *'unwân al-siyar; k. al-wuzarâ* (sur la visite du vizir Ibn al-Muslima au maṣlib al-Ḥallâj en 437): selon 'Aynî, *'iqd*, ms. Sélim Agha (Gül 683), 212a, ms. Welieddin 2388 (an 450); Is. 414.

287. Abû'l-'Abbâs A-b-M. Ibn al-'Arîf + 536, *maḥâsin al-majâlis*, éd. Asin Palacios, Paris, 1933; cf. *Dîw. Ḥall.* p. 40 (= ms. Alex. f. 149a).

289. transférer ici Qurṭubî + 520 (= No. *461*).

308. 'Ayn al-quḍât Hamadhânî + 525, *shakwâ*, ms. Berlin 2076, f. 42 (cf. éd. J. M. Abdaljalîl, *JAP*, 1930, I, 252—253); pour *zubda, maktûbât*, cf. *1082;* Meier, *DI*. XXIV (1937), 1—9.

328. Qaylawî + 603 (corr.)

330. Kirmânî:Is. 401.

334. Ibn 'Asâkir + 571, *ta'rîkh*, ms. Paris 2137, 96b.

335. Ibn Ḥamdûn + 553, *wuzarâ*, ms. Paris 1570, 35b.

339. 'Azâz (sans tashdid).

340. Shaykh 'Adî + Lâlish (corr.); cf. *999—02*. Le hallagisme des 'Adawiya est attesté par le ms. Caire Tal'at 4528 f. 28a de la Qiṣṣa (Mél. F. Grat, I, 303 n. 1).

341. Kîlânî Bûshtîrî; *c), e), f)* = *fuṣûl*, éd 'AR-b-Yf. Ibn al-Jawzî (605 + 656; Tâdhifî, 17), d'après Ibn al-Manṣûrî (+ 635); *g) fatḥ rabbânî*, 186, 199; (recension Yâfi'î, *khulâṣa*). Rc. 104.

353. Badr Bidl Tibrîzî, *tuḥfat al-awliyâ* (en 560), ms. P. 4842, 251—252.

357. A. Marwân Ibn al-Kardabûs Tûzarî (v. 580), *iktifâ fî akhbâr al-khulafâ*, ms. T. Ragragi (= *126a* = *330b* = *275a);* Rc. 62—64.

358. Ibn al-Dahhân Baghdâdî, *taqwîm al-naẓar*, ms. P 788, f. 88 col. 4=ms. P. 789 f. 141 col. 4.

360. 'Alî-b-A. Muṣfir + 636 Hamâh (Ibn Taǧrib., ms. P. 1780, 138b)

361. Rifâ'î; c) extr. ap. *739bis*, 161b (Mufarrij Shaybânî), 218a (AF. Wâsiṭî).

363. Suhrawardî Maqtûl, h) *jadhb al-qulûb* (apocr.), Alep 1328, 21; i) *kalimât dhawqiya wanukât shawqiya*, ms. 'Ashir Eff. 1451, 37b—42b, publ. D. Günzburg, mms. arabes de l'Inst. Lg. Or. St. Pétersb., 1891, p. 2·9 = ms. 230, 61b—67b); j) *i'tiqâd al-ḥukamà*, ms. P. 1245/7, 144b.

364. Ibn Ma'mûn Baṭâ'ihî+580, *ta'rikh al-Amîr*, cf. *618-a*.

365. Ibn Rushd+595, *tahâfut*, éd. Caire, 113.

366. Hibatallâh Azajî+591, *radd 'alà... Ibn 'Aqîl fî nuṣrat al-Ḥallâj*, cf. Dhahabî, *ta'rîkh*, s. a.

367. Shihâb M-b-Maḥmûd Tûsî Sanâbâdhî + 596, *fatwà* ap. Abû Shâma, *dhayl*, ms. P. 5852, 17b.

370. Ibn al-Jawzî; a) *muntazam*, f. 128b (cf. éd. Hyderabad, VI); b) *talbîs*, éd. Caire, 1923, 181—183, 355, 388, 413 (=ms. Rûhar 120, lith. Dehli, trad. urdu); g) cf. *535-b*; h) *ru'ûs al-qawârir*, Caire, 1332, 58; i) *quṣṣâṣ, ms.* Leiden W. 998, f. 135; j) *ṣayd al-khâṭir*, Caire, 1345, 72, 178, 339.

371. Mub. Ibn al-Athîr, *mukhtâr:* cf. Spies, *MO*, 1930, 39.

380. R. Baqlî, b) *manṭiq al-asrâr*, ms. LM, daté de 665, f. 3a, 7a-b, 8b, 27b—55b, 66a, 72b; 2 mss. Mashhad.

385. Fakhr Râzî + Hérat; b) *fatwà fî "Ana'l-ḥaqq"*, ms. Taymur majm. 193, f. 85 (cf. ms. Arles 428, p. 394; viâ Najm Dâya, *K. al-manârât*): (G. Vajda). c) *tafsîr kabîr*, I, 149.

386. Ibn al-Bitriq,+606, imâmite; *mustadrik (567-b)*

389. AH. 'Alî Harawî, muḥtasib, + Alep v. 625 (épitaphe ap. J. Sauvaget, *Perles*, 116 n. 1), *riḥla*, ms. P. 5975, 68b; ms. Caire, nouv. cat. VI—32, f. 34b—35a.

402. Jawbarî, *mukhtâr*, ms. Es'ad 1703; ms. Cheïkho *(Mashriq*, 1909, 191; éd. Caire, 1302, p. 19—20 (tronqué).

404. 'Izz Ibn al-Athîr + 603 (fr. de *371, 420*), *lubâb fî tadhhîb al-ansâb*, Caire, 1357, I, 330.

419. 'Umar Ibn Dihya 633, *nibrâs*, éd. Azzawî, Bagdad, 1946, 99—107 *(165-b)*.

421. Ibn 'Arabî; b) *futuḥât*, t. I, c. XX, LXIX, LXXII; t. II, c. LXXIII, (p. 13, 139), CLXXVIII (p. 372, 375, 388), CLXXIX (403), CLXXXV (413), CXCVII (433), CXCVIII (452), CCXLVII (607), CCLXXX (683), CCXVII (732); t. III, c. CCCIII (19), CCCX (44), CCCXXXI (132); t. IV, CCCCLXIII (90), DV (157), DVII (160), DXVI (171), DXLI (204), DLV (214), DLVIII (265,321), DLIX (s. 5=362, s. 20=367, s. 212=413, s. 367=444), DLX (502, 606).; c) resté introuvable; f) *tajalliyât*, publ. Rc. 116—117; g) id. Rc. 33—36=*futuḥât*, 11, 113; j) publ. Rc. 118; k) douteux; k) publ. *Dîwân ḥallâj*, 135; n: *k. al-hujub*, p. 29—30; o) *kalimât... Hallâj* (ms. Asaf, Hyderabad, ap. *Lâïḥa* Krenkow, p. 9 = *Akhbâr al-Ḥallâj* N° 41); p) *tuḥfat al-safara*, ms. P. 6614, 24a, 13b, 15b.

423. Ḥarîrî; a) p. 67, 114 (=ac. 66, 228); son fils Ḥasan vivait en 699.

425. Fatḥ D. 'Alî Bundârî (v. 639), *ta'rîkh Baghdâd* (perdu).

430. Ibn al-Najjâr+645, *dhayl*, ms. P. 2131, 33a *(Najîramî)*, 106a (Ibn Jahdam).

431. Ibn Abî'l-Ḥadîd, *sharḥ al-Nahj*, I, 297 (extr. Ibn al-Hayṣam); III, 27, 17, 73.

432. Ibn Sawdagin; cf. *REI*, 1933, 399; Br. S. I, 806.

440. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzî, *mir'ât*, ms. P. 1506, 54b (an 450), 117a (461) (Jawâd).

441. 'Izz Ibn Ghânim Maqdisî (corr.: 629+18 shaw. 678, hanbalite, biographié 'Aynî, ms. P. 1543, 233a), b) *sharḥ* = Rc. 122.

442. 'Ar-b-Yf. Ibn al-Jawzî (+656; Juwaynî, *jahângushâ* III, 465): cf. *341*.

443. 'Izz A. Sayyâd-b-'A. Rh. b—'A. Rifâ'î+670, *waẓâïf (739 bis*, 161b, 220b).

444. Safî A. Ibn 'Alawân + 665 Tafrîsh (Yémen), ms. LM = ms. Kratchkovsky, 138b—141b = *dalâlat al-muḥibb* (ms. N. Beyhum).

445. Abû Shâma 599+665, *dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, ms. P. 5852, 17b.

446. Ibn Sab'în+669: a) *ajwiba yamaniya... ṣaqalliya*, ms. Bodl. I, 456—5, 317b = Rc. 125—126 éd. Sherefettin Yaltkaya, P. 1943, 38-41; b) *budd al-'ârif*, ms. Berlin Wt. II, 1524, 69b=Rc. 123—124; dont *miftâḥ* ms. Brousse, Eminyé 1494 (5h. y.).

447. Shushtarî+668 Tîna (enterré Damiette); b)= Dîwân, 135—137; d) *qaṣîda fî'l-sulûk* = Dîwân 137—138, Rc. 139.

449. Qutb Ibn al-Qastallânî+586 *(830*, V. 397=*660-b)*.

458. Z. Qazwînî, *âthâr al-bilâd*, in fine des *'ajâïb*, ms. P. 2235, 60a—61a, ms. P. 2236, 71a-72a.

460. 'Abdalghaffâr Qûsî, *wafîd*, ms. P 3525, 86a-b, 138b, 209a, 211b, 212a.

464. Ibn al-Ḥâjj. Rc. 107.

466. A-b-M-bKh. Barqî, *rawḍa*, et *tibyân* (hist. perdues: cf. *810-a*).

474. Lire: Balyânî.

480. Kasirqî, ms. Caire, cat. I, 143.

500 A-b-M-b-'A. Karîm Ibn 'Aṭa'Illâh + 709, c) *mawâ'iẓ*, ms. P. 1299, 35a.

501. Ibn Ṭiqṭiqâ, b) éd. Ahlwardt, 1800; trad. persane, cf. *1118*.

504. Rashîd al-Dîn, c) *tawḍîḥât*, ms. P. 2324, 72b, 158b, 139b, 145b.

512. Ibn Taymiya, e) *kawâkib darârî*, compilés par Ibn 'Urwa (cat. Manâr 1330, p. 25); j) *majmû' al-rasâ'il al-kubrâ*, Caire, 1323, I, 73, II, 95 sq.; k) *minhâj al-sunna*, Caire, 1322, III, 93—96 (crit. *1059*); l) *sharḥ 'aqîdat Iṣfahâniya*, Caire, 1329, 74 (tiers exclu); m)=j, II, 95—98.

514. Abû Ḥayyân, *baḥr*, III, 449.

518. M-b-'Alî Ibn al-Sâbûnî (+ 680), *takmilat al-Ikmâl*, bibl. Evkaf, Bagdad, ms. 852, p. 118 (sur Ibn al-Qaṣṣâṣ = *275*). (M. Jawâd).

519. 'Ulwân (v. 731), *jawhar maḥbûk*, impr. 1329, 50, 68. (transférer ici *722*).

522. Rukn ... Semnânî, d=e) *iqbâliya* = *malfûẓât* (trad. pers. d'Iqbâl Sîstânî); ms. Calc. 1446, 59a-b=Rc. 144 (Ivanow).

527. Sa'd ... Kâzerûnî, a) = Rc. 189—190; b) *musalsalât*, ms. Caire, majm. 403, 14a, cf. Mélanges Grat, I, 419).

528. Taqî 'AR-b-'A. Muḥsin Wâsiṭî Anṣârî + 744, *tiryâq al-muḥibbîn*, extr. ap. *739bis*, 11a, 44a.

531. Jildakî, *ghâya*, ms. Calc. ASB (G. C. 11, 72), 25b-28b (autre attrib.)

534. D. Qaysârî, e)=Rc. 68.

536. Barazî, + Hamâh.

540. Ṣafadî, *wâfî*, XI, s. v. Husayn, ms. Tunis 4845 (cf. Gabrieli, CR. Lincei, oct. 1912, 75).

541. Yâfi'î c) impr. marge *959-a*: Dîw., 139; e) *marham*, éd. D. Ross, sect. mq.

543. 'A'Azîz Ibn Jamâ'a Kinânî + 767, *qâmûs al-shu'arâ*, ms. P. 3346, 77b-79-b (Jawâd).

546. L. Ibn al-Khaṭîb + 776, *iḥâṭa*, ms. P. 3347, 209b (= *447-c*) éd. Caire, 1319, I, 97; *rawḍat al-ta'rîf*, ms. Zahir. tas. 85, ff. 75b, 113a, 126a (dont un *mukhtaṣar*, ms. Teymur, majm. 283, p. 57).

547. Ibn Ḥ. Nubahî, *ta'rikh quḍât Miṣr*, éd. Lévi-Provençal, Caire, 1947, 36.

552. Ibn Râfi', *dhayl*, éd. Azzawi, Bagdad, 1938, 10.

559. cf. *977ter*.

561. Ibn Farḥûn + 799, malikite, *dîbâj*, 242.

567. Sh. Makkî, b) *majmû'* (de *386*), ap. *1238*, I, 296.

579. Ḥurayfîsh, d) = *Dîwân*, 139—147 (cf. ms. Damas *191-a*, in fine.)

601. Jîlî, g) *manâẓir ... ilâhiya*, ms. Saba'î, p. 25, 58, 63, 119 = ms. LM = Rc. 149.

605. Ibn Ajrûd (ex. *173*).

618. *Maqrîzî*, *khiṭaṭ*, 1, 459—460 (d'après Musabbiḥî) (G. Wiet).

631. 'Aynî, *'iqd* XIV (cf. suprà *282*).

632. Ibn Ḥajar, b) *lisân al-mîzân*, éd. Hyderabad, II, 314—315 (Najîramî: cf. Is. 338), IV, 205.

633. Lire: Ibn Abî 'Udhayba (comm. Azzawî).

645. Ibn Abî'lfutûḥ Ṭâwûsî Abarqûhî, 790 + 871 (*ḍaw'*, 1, 360), *jam' al-firaq* (extr. *919-a*); notice, Mélanges Grat, 1, 396, 417—418.

660. Ibn Taghrîbirdî, b) *manhal*, V. 94 (v. Birzâlî, ms. Köpr. 1047, an 686).

664. Makhzûmî, a) = *739bis*, 50a.

689. A-b-Yh. Ibn al-Ḥafîd Harawî + 906, *durr naḍîd*, Caire, 1322, 196.

690. Suyûṭî, f) *manâhil al-ṣafâ* (cm. *310-a*), lith. 1276, II, 329.

698. Ardabîlî, *ḥadîqa*, extr. Khuyyî, *1236*, VI, 177, 197.

703. Kürküt (cf. *1327bis*).

720. Ṣafî A-b-'AA. Khazrajî + 923, *khulâṣa tahdhîb al-kamâl*, Caire, 1322, 72 (cf. *530-d*).

722. (tr. *519*).

728. Ibn Kamâl, a) attr. à Akmal M. Bâburtî + 786 (cat. Hâlat Eff. N° 2851).

737. Shams M-b-'Alî Ibn Ṭûlûn + 953, a) *fulk mashḥûn*, Damas, 1348, p. 48; b) *k. al-ḥajâj min akhbâr al-Ḥallâj* (cit. *737-a*).

739. l.: Lârî ... ms. 3324.

739bis. A-b-M. Witrî + 970, Bagdad, poète, rifa'î: *rawḍat al-nâẓirîn* ms. P. 6495. 11a, 14a, 15b, 24, 33a, 44a, 57a, 77b, 161b, 220b.

741. Sha'râwî: e) cf. 730-a.

743. M. Ghawth-b-Khaṭîraldîn + 970, *jawâhir khamsa* = Rc. 169.

760. 'Alî Tchelebi Sarûkhânî Iznîqî, v. 980, alchimiste, *durar al-anwâr*, ms. Caire, majm. 151 (Kraus).

765. M-b-Mûsâ Ḥâjj Mu'min Khurâsânî + 984, imamite, a) *qawâ'id al-ṣûfiya (923-a*, p. 236), b) *fatwâ* (1236-a, VI, p. 267).

766. Abû'lfaraj-b-Zakî Nahrawâlî, *fatwâ fi'l-Ḥallâj*, ms. P. 1317, 124a (G. Vajda).

767. Ibn al-Baqarî (Anṣârî), *qiṣṣat al-Ḥallâj*, ms. P. 1618, f. 192a—198a (Jawâd); notice in Mélanges Grat, I, 393 n. I; cf. ms. 1618, f. 188, et *Khiṭaṭ jadîda*, IX, 100.

791bis. Mirza AQ. Bâbâ Quṭb Dhahabî, sûfî imamite, *qawâ'im al-anwâr*, c. V (Khuyyî, *1236*, VI, 263).

792. Ṣibghatallâh Barwajî Ḥusaynî + 1025 Médine, shattari, râwî de *743-a*, l'édite, ms. P. 1197 (f. 126b), P. 5359 (f. 107a).

795. Munâwî, b) *manâqib*, ms. P. 6490, 157b-159-a, 339b.

811. Khafâjî; Rc. 156.; IV, 537 (S. A. R. Mohamed Aly).

813. Quṭb Ishkavèrî, cadi uṣûlî, élève de *805* (selon nafas, 65): a) *maḥbûb al-qulûb*, ms. Sepahsalar, Tehran, f. 274b—276b.

815. A. Dajjânî Qushâshî + 1070, *ṣimt majîd*, Hyderabad, 1327, p. 20 (cit. *231-d*).

820. Lâqânî; cf. *889; 955*.

821. Muqbilî, a) = éd. Caire, 1328, 378 (cm. *530-d*).

830. 'Akarî; V, 64, 397.

831bis. 'A-Qâdir Fâsî, + 1091, *nawâzil*, 163; et. ap. *843bis*.

832. M. bey Uzbekî Makkî, en 1091: *'aṭiyat al-wahhâb*, en marge de *1176* t. III, 173—174.

834. M-b-M b Sul. Rûdanî, traditionniste, et sab'îni, a) *ṣilat al-khalaf* ms. P. 4470, f. 43b (= *191-a*), 76a (= *261-a*) (Jawâd); notice, Mélanges Grat, 1, *392, 419*.

834bis. A-b-'AA. Baghdâdî + 1102, *'uyûn akhbâr al-a'yân*, ms. P. 6677, 930.

835. Majlisî, b) *biḥâr*, XIII, 100; XIV, 150—151; c) *wajîza* (in *1238*, I, 296).

836. Istafan Duwayhî + 1116 (chrét.), *ta'rîkh al-muslimîn*, ms. P. LLO 475-c, p. 21 (an 309).

841. Dulunjâwî (son dîwân, ms. P. 3260).

843bis. A. Ibn 'Aṭiya + 1119, *silsilat al-anwâr (962)*.

845. Muṣṭ.-b-Kamâl Siddîqî, en 1128: *kashṭ... fi ziyârat al-'Irâq . .*, ms. Cambridge 930 (K. Dujayli); Rc. 244.

846. copie de *605* (ex. *173*).

848. Ḥâjj M-b-Ibr. Idrîsî Zarhûnî (Tasafṭ), *riḥlat al-wâfid*, trad. Justinard, Rabat, 1939 (où la notice sur Ḥallâj a été omise).

850. A. Shâkir Abû'lṣafâ Dimishqî + av. 1177, *qaṣîda*, v. 25 *(951-a*, p. 380).

861. 'Umarî, b) = ms. syriaque Berlin 336, f. 187a.

862. Zabîdî Bilgramî, *'iqd:* ms. Taymur, tas. 332 = Rc. 171; notice Mélanges Grat, I, 417—419.

889. M-b-al-Amîr Sunbâwî, malikite, + 1232, *sharḥ 'alâ'l-jawhara lil-Lâqânî* (extr. Nashâshibî, *999—11*).

908. 'Abdallaṭîf-b-'AR-b-H-b-M-b 'Abdalwahhâb (vers 1264), *risâla XIXme* à 'AA.-b-Mu'aydhir (majm. ras. m. wahhabite, t. III. Caire, 1345, 136, 140).

910. Alûsî, c) *fayḍ wârid*, p. 41.

914. Jalâl 'Azm, *'uqûd al-jawhar*, Beyr. 1276, I, 174 *(512)*.

919. Sanûsî, *salsabîl* = Rc. 169—170.

924. Ni'matallâh Jazâirî, shi'ite akhbârî, *zahr al-rabî'*, lith. Bagdad, 1341, p. 131 *(179-a)*.

927. Nawfal + 1887, Tripoli.

937. Saîd Sharṭûnî, *'aqrab al-mawârid*, s. v.

939. Ṣiddîq Ḥasan Khân (Bhopal) + 1307, *tâj mukallal* = Rc. 230.

949. sh. 'Alî Na'îm; voir *990bis*.

951. Abûlhudâ, a) p. 380. Rc. 107.

955. M. Murâd Manzalawî, d'Ufa (né 1272), naqshî, trad. en 1316: a) *1176*, Mekke, I, 213, II, 5, 144—145; III. 48—49, 166—167; b) *aḥwâlé Sirhindî*, en marge de *a)*, Mekke, I, 94' 99; 112, 125—126, 175.

959. Yf. Nabhânî, de Beyrouth, ami des seyyids sûfis du Hadramôt, a) *jâmi' karâmât al-awliyâ*, Caire, 1329, I, 403.

960. Alûsî = Salâmî.

962. Fatḥallâh Bannânî, cadi, Rabat (né 1281), *tuḥfat ahl al-futûḥât*, Caire, taqaddum, p. 38, 39.

969. 'A. Qâdir Jazâîrî (Abdelkader) + 1883, *mawâqif*, éd Nabîhé Hanem, Caire, 1327, t. I, 32, 46, 65, 315; III, 4, 47, 61, 216—217.

973. Réchid Ridâ, + 1935; b) *ta'rîkh al-shaykh 'Abduh*, Caire, 1931, I, 121.

974. Sul.-b-Yûnus Juhanî, shâfi'î khalwatî vivant), *fayḍ al-malik al-ḥamîd*, Caire, 1320, p. 16, 17, 149.

977. J. Zahâwî + 1936, b) *qasîda "thawra fî'l-jaḥîm"*, ap. "Duhûr", mars 1931, p. 642—669..

977ter. 'Alî Maḥfûẓ +, *ibdâ' fî maḍarr al-bida'*, Caire, 3me éd. 1348, p. 101—102 (= *559-a*).

989. P. Anastase Kirmilî + 1947; f) critique de la bibliogr. hallagienne ap. "Dâressalâm", 26. XII. 1920, p. 410—412.

990bis. 'Isä 'Imrân, *sharḥ al-Bustân lil-Nâ'im, (949)*, écrit en 1312 (ms. LM34).

994. M-b-Slimân Ibn 'Awda, derqaoui de Nédroma, *irshâdât rabbâniya*, Alger, I, 18, 24, 40, 53.

995. A-b-Must. Ibn 'Aliwa, + 194. Mostaganem; *minaḥ qudûsiya*, Tunis, 1329, p. II, 54, 60, 119, 157, 185, 194, 333, 346.

996. Kâẓim Dujaylî, Bagdad, lettre du 1/8/1924 = Rc. 244.

998. Zakî Mubârak, *al-taṣawwuf al-islâmî*, 1938, I, 48, 189, 190, 203, 211—220, 231, 296, 297, 368, 396—97.

997bis. Khayr D. Ziriklî, *al-a'lâm* (dict. 2 vol.), Caire, I, 261a-b.

998. M. Luṭfi Gum'a, a) *muḥâkamat al-Ḥallâj*, "Râbiṭa 'arabiya", 1939 (du 4 janv. au 5 avril): N⁰ s 132 (p. 35). 133 (22), 134 (25), 135 (25), 136 (21), 137 (23) 139 (22), 140 (24), 141 (23), 142 (24), 143 (28), 144 (p. 21; inachevé); b) compte-rendu du "Dîwân al-Hallâj". dans *minbâr al-sharq*, 14/5/40; c) *balâgh yawmî*, 1945.

998bis. Muṣṭafä Jawâd, a) *al-sanawât al-ḍâ'i'a min al-ḥawâdith al-jâmi'a* (en ms.); b) qaṣîda "dhikrä' l-Ḥallâj al-muḥzina" (16 vers). Cet historien a relevé plusieurs inédits sur Ḥallâj.

998ter. Maḥmûd Mas'adî, ap. "Tafâhum", oct. 1942, 8—9.

999—01. 'Abbâs 'Azzâwî, *ta'rikh al-Yazidiya*, Bagdad, 1353, 55—56; *ta'rikh al-Irâq*, II, 52 (Nesimi).

999—02. Ism. bey Tchôl (+), yazidi, Beirut, 1934, 89, 93, 107.

999—03. S. 'Anhûrî, ap. Rev. Ac. Damas, 1931, 743.

999—04. Dâwûd Tchelebî, *k. makhṭûṭât Mawsil*, Bagdad, 1927, 143 (8), 190, 204.

999—05. Mhd. Darînî, ap. "Akhbâr", Caire, 20 sept. 1928.

999—06. 'Abdalḥayy Kettani, *fihris al-fahâris*, Fés, 1346, I, 336, 313.

999—07. 'Abdalḥamîd Ḥamidu (Tlemcen), *sa'âda abadiya*, 1935, 17.

999—08. Jabbûr 'Abdennûr, *al-taṣawwuf*, Beyr. 1938, p. 5, 7, 55, 71—72, 112, 142—146, *nażariyât*, 1945, 317, 318, 329, 330.

999—09. 'Abdalrazzâq Ḥasanî, *'ibâdat al-shayṭân*, Bg. 1931, 20.

999—10. M. A.-b 'AA. Madanî (+ Alex. 1334), *silsila dhahab. shâdhiliya*, ms. Padwick.

999—11. Maḥmûd Nashâshibî, *firaq islâmiya*, Caire, 1932, 84—85 *(889-a, 201-a)*.

999—12. Paul Kraus, extr. *Akhb. Hallâj*, ap. "Ḥadîth", Alep, 1944, juil. 289—300, nov. 1944, 459—468 (posthume).

999—13. Bishr Farès, *kalimat al-shâ'ir*, "Muqtaṭaf", Caire, avr. 1945, 9, 14.

999—14. Râjî Ra'î, rev. "Adîb", Beyrouth, 1942—IX, p. 34.

999—15. M. Must. Ḥilmi, *Ibn al-Fâriḍ*, Caire, 1945, 42, 74, 144, 163, 172, 207—209, 233—238, 248—253, 287—288, 289—300; *al-ḥayât al-rûḥiya*, C. 1945, 111—119, 140.

999—16. A. Sabri Shuwayman, *ḍaw' fî t. al-tawḥîd*, Bg. 1364, 291, 375.

999—17. 'Abdalwahhâb 'Azzâm, *taṣawwuf* (*'Aṭṭâr*), C. 1945, 27—30, 53, 61, 68, 85, 123.

999—18. Ḥasan Ibrâhîm, *ta'rikh al-Islâm* . . . C. 1946, III, 388—392.

999—19. 'AR. Badawî, *shakhsiyât qaliqa...*, 1946, 59—91; *min ta'rikh al-ilḥâd*, 1945, 102; *tirâth yûnânî*, 1940, 9; *insâniya wawujûdiya*, 1947, 70—71, 99—103.

999—20: 'Umar Farrûkh, *al-taṣawwuf fî'l-Islâm*, Beyrouth, 1947, p. 37, 48, 65—69, 80, 90.

IV. Auteurs Iraniens

1016. (anonyme), en 372 h.: *ḥudûdé 'âlam* (géographie); 1ère éd. ap. Gâhnâma 1352 (de Jalâl Tehrani), Tehran, 79; trad. angl. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937, 128.

1021. a) — b) = Rc. 88.

1055. Hujwîrî, *kashf*, éd. Zhukovski, Leningrad, 1926, 74, 189—191, 199, 214, 235, 236, 258, 285, 320, 332, 334, 361, 367, 390, 402, 448. Écrit avant 476 (+Sahlagi).

1059. A. I. Anṣārî Harawî, + 481 Gâzergâh; b) *faṣl* = Rc. 68, 90, 91; e) *kanz al-sālikîn* (apocr.), ms. Calc. E 147, 52b, 26b; f) *munâjât*, Sp. P. 1358, 4b—5a. g) *purdâhé-hijjâb*, ms. Shehit 'Ali, majm. 1383, p. 101, 103, 105 (de B.).

1081. Ibn al-Dâ'î (ou plutôt AQ. Murtaḍâ-b-Ḥy-b-Ṭâhir + 436?), a) 2me éd. Eghbal, Tehran, 1313, 122—126.

1082. 'Ayn al-Quḍât Hamadhânî + 525 (cf. *308);* a) *zubda* = *tamhîdât*, c. II, IV, VI (2), IX (4), X (5): ms. India Off. pers. 445, 6b, 11a, 35a, 57b (2), 63b, 65b, c. X (4); ms. P. Sp. 36, 10b, 33b, 54a, 63b, 68b; ms. P. Sp. 1356, 71b, 78b, 80a. b) *maktûbât*, ms. P. 1084, 100a, 142b; ms. P. Sp. 1356, 71b, 78a, 80a. b, *maktûbât*, ms. P. afp. 35, 126b, 218a, 267a, 271b, 278a, 310b, 317b. c) *lawâïḥ*. trad. pers. augm. des *sawânih (281—c:)* ms. P. Sp. 38, 38b, 43a, 68a (= Rc. 95—96), 79b.

1083. Ḥakîm Sana'î + 550, Ghazni, *ḥadîqé*, ms. P. Sp. 1494, 32b-33b (qaṣîda al-sulûk; sur Ḥallâj) = éd. Bombay, 1267, p. 44; b) miniature de la crucifixion selon un vers de la *ḥadîqé*, ap. majm. coll. Naṣrullâh Taqawî.

1087. Suhrawardî Maqtûl (cf. *363), lughaté murân* (éd. Spies-Khatak, Stuttgart, 1935 "three treatises", p. 3, 7), *safiré Sîmûrgh* (id., P. 28, 32, 37); c) *pûré Jibrayil*, éd. tr. Corbin-Kraus, *JAP*, juil. 1935, 1—82 (notes); d) *mu'nis al-'ushshâq*, ap. notes de la tr. Corbin, "recherches philos." P. 1932—33; e) *'aqlé surkh*, éd. Mahdi Bayani, Tehran, 1316, p. 11.

1088. Aḥmadé Jâm + 536: *dîwân* (apocr.), lith. 1898 (Ivanow).

1089. Mḥd.-b-Munawwar (biogr. Abû Sa'îd); *asrâr*, lith., p. 91 (= Nicholson, *Studies*, 32.)

1090. lire: Jâgîr.

1091. AM. Rûzbihân-b-Abî Naṣr Baqlî Daylamî Fasa'î, 530 (et non 522) + 606 (cf. Ivanow, *JASB*, 1928; Ritter, *DI*, 1933); b) *shaṭḥiyât*, trad. faite après 591, du manṭiq de 570: plaçant Ḥallâj au niveau de Bisṭāmī, et supprimant les deux références à Manṣûr fils de Ḥallâj; ê) *'abhar al-'âshiqîn*, ms. AS 1959 (rien).

1101. Ferid 'Aṭṭâr, + 617 (selon Fuwaṭî, *REI*, 1946, 117 n. 4). Notice, ap. *REI*, 1946, 117—144: "l'oeuvre hallagienne d'Aṭṭâr". L'éd. Lucknow est de 1872; d) *Jawharé Dhât* est divisé en 2 parties; e) *manṭiq*, réimpr. Stockholm, v. 2261—2272 (p. 88—89), 4233—4240 (p. 168); f) *Ushtūrnâma* I (cit. Ritter), II, III (c. 162: ms. P. Sp. 1795, 275b—382a); h) *Esrârnâma* (ms. P. afp. 256, 8b—9a; cf. Ritter, *ZDMG*, 1939, 177, n. I); i) *Bésarnâma* (ms. P. Sp. 1485, Ia-7a; j) *Waṣlatnâma* (208 vers ms. P. Sp. 654, 11b-18b (c'est ce *WN* qu'on appelle aussi *Manṣûrnâma);* k) *Ilahi nâma*, éd. Ritter, Istanbul, 1940, 107; l) *rubâ'iyât* (in fine de a) dans ms. LM, c. VIII (28), XLVIII (27, 28).

1102. Ḥamîdaldîn Nâgûrî + 643 (Inde): *tawâlî' al-shumûs*, ms. Calc. E 126—127, 98b, 137, 173b, 201, 211, 252, 272b, 303b, 304, 353 (Ivanow).

1107. Najm Dâya Râzî, *mirṣâd*, ms. P. Sp. 1082, 67a (= Rc. 119—122: lac. de 6 l., p. 121 l.5, et de 2 l., même p., l. 11) = lith. Bagdad, 1322, 168; id., lith. Tehran, 1312, p. p. 68 (Sherefettin Yaltkaya); cf. *1325a.*

1111. Jalâl Rûmî, a) *methnewî*, éd. Nicholson, 1933: I, 1809; II, 305, 1398, 2523; III, 692, 4214; V, 2035; VI, 2095; b) = Rc. 141—143; c) 3 citations (Nicholson): ms. Hamîdiya 689; d) = *Waṣlatnâma* de 'Aṭṭâr.; e) cf. *1131;* f. *rubâ'i*, ap. Asaf Hâlet Celebi "Mevlâna", Ist. 1939, N° 65; g) *ghazal* (les 2 vins), ap. Foruzanfar, extr. *methnewî*, 122.

1112. bis. Shems Tebrîzî; a) *maqâla*, ms. Shiraz (contre "naḥnu rûḥân . ."); b) *jadhbât ilâhiya*, extr. *ghazaliyât*, éd. Asadallah Ized Khoshasp, Ispahan, 1320, p. 16 (= *1111-g*), 18, 250.

1112. Naṣîr Ṭûsî, *awṣâf*: trad. arabe, ms. Berlin 3014.

1113. Shams M-b-Ḥakîm Kishî + 694; a) *risâla der sherḥé du'â Manṣûré Ḥallâj der waqté qatl wé dûbayté "Uqtulûnî"* (cit. *1118, 1124*).

1114. Fakhr Ibr. 'Irâqî + 688, Dumas; a) *lama'ât*, ms. P. Sp. 1851, 66b? 71b, 76a = éd. Arberry; b) *ashi''ât* comm. de a) Jâmî.

1116. Nizâm Awliyâ + 725; *malfûzât*, ms. Calc. E 137, 38 *(308-a).*

1117. Sulṭân Weled + 712; *methnewî* (4 citations) (Ivanow).

1118. Hindûshâh-b-Sanjar Nakhjawânî Ṣâḥibgîrânî: en 724: *tajârib al-salaf* (tr. de *501-a*), éd. Eghbal, T. 1313, 198—200; (ms. Belshah-Browne).

1119. Rukn 'Imâd, *shamâïl anqiyâ*, ms. Calc. E 125, p. 10, 100, 167, 174.

1120. Mas'ûdé Bâk + 800 Dehli, *mir'ât al-'ârifin*, ms. Calc. E 174, 41b? 78b, 93b, 95, in fine; disciple de AQ. Hamadhânî comme Sharaf Minyarî (cf. *955-ab*).

1121 bis. Mîr Ḥusayn Sâdât Harawî + 720 Hérat, *dîwân* (S. Guyâ).

1122. Rashîd aldîn (cf. *504*): *jâmi' al-téwârikh*, ms. P. Sp. 2001, 94b.

1123 bis. Iqbâl Sîstânî: cf. *522-d*.

1124. Nikpay-b-Mas'ûd, *ta'rîkh*, ms. P. afp. 61, 423b—424b (cf. *1113*).

1125. 'Abdalrazzâq Kâshî + 754, *kashf al-rashf*, ms. Calc. GC. 1818, f. 14, 62.

1128. Khwâjû Kirmânî + 742 (élève *522*), *dîwân*.

1128bis. Zayn Badr 'Arabî, *ma'dan al-ma'ânî*, ms. Calc. III, 38, f. 170 (édite lettres de Sharaf Minyarî (cf. *1120*).

1131. Shams Eflâkî + 754, *manâqib* = *kâshif*, ms. P. afp. 114, 83a (tr. *1665-h*)

1131 bis. Nizâm 'UA. Zâkânî + 772, *akhlâq al-ashrâf* (cite Akhb. Ḥall. N° 15) = *laṭâ'if*, éd. Cple 1303, p. 14—15 (H. Massé).

1132. 'Imâd faqîh Kirmânî + 773, *dîwân*.

1132bis. M-b-Hindûshâh Dâmeghânî, écrit 778 (Neïriz), *zubdat al-ḥaqâ'iq* où il cite Ḥallâj (cat. bibl. Bankipore, XII, 107, N° 910).

1133. Ibn al-Bazzâz (biogr. séfévide), *ṣafwat*, lith. Bombay, 1329.

1133bis. M-b-M. Ḥâjj Ḥarrâs Kâzerûnî, *baḥr al-sa'âda*, ms. Calc. E 128, f. 6.

1133 ter. Niẓâm-b-Ḥâjj Gharîb Yamanî, *laṭâ'if Ashrafî* (vie d'un saint bengali, après 789), ms. Calc. E 166, 292b, 308—310.

1135. Ḥâfiẓ: voir *1242-a*.

1136 bis. Ṣalâḥ-b-Mub. Bukhârî (après 790), *anîs al-ṭâlibîn wawa'dat al-sâlikîn* (biogr. naqshies), ms. Calc. G. C. I. 89, f. 39b.

1136ter. (anonyme), *siyar al-awliyâ*, ms. Calc. D 218, f. 189, 281.

1136 quater. Jalâl Ḥusayn Bukhârî Makhdûmé Jahaniyán + 785, *khulâṣat al-alfâẓ* (sermons à Dehli en 782), ms. Calc. E 63, f. 71—72, 203b.

1137 bis. M-b-Yf. Gîsûdirâz Tchishtî + 825 Gulbarga; *malfûẓât* (en 803), ms. Calc. E 114, 232b; *'ishqnâma*, ms. Calc. E 131, 22, 39b.; *maktûbât*, (coll. Kâlpûrî en 852), ms. Calc. E 189, 8b;? ms. Calc. E 70, 117b.

1137 ter. Mhd. Quhistânî, exécuté 802, disant un vers sur "pâydâr" (Dawlatshah, Browne, *LHP*, 11, 195).

1138bis. Ni'matallâh Walî + 834 Mâhân, *risâlat al-sulûk*, ms. Calc. f. 409. Nd. 16.

1140bis. (anonyme), *k. sittîn* (sur Qur. XII), ms. Calc. E 140, f. 26.

1145. Ḥy-b-H. Khwârizmî + 845; *dîwân* (identique, selon R. Q. Hidâyat, *riyâḍ al-'ârifîn*, au "Dîwân Ḥallâj" persan *(1262)*; *jawâhir*; comm. de *1111-a*.

1146. a) ms. IEI, c. IX (n° 38), XII (Muqtadir).

1150. Jâmî, c) *behâristân*, éd. Schechter-Wessehrd, 7; Nicholson N° 170; tr. H. Massé, 49.

1154bis. Ibn (Abî) Jumhûr + 900, *jam' al-jam'* (extr. *813*).

1156bis. Mu'în Miskîn Harawî + 907, *dîwân* ("Anâ'lhaqq"), ms. Calc. Curz. 240.

1158bis. Sh. al-sh. Buhlûl (avt. 970), *waṣlatnâma*, ms. Calc. Curz. 206 (plagié de 1101-j).

1161. Khwandamîr + 939; c) *dastûr al-wuzarâ*, éd. S. Naficy, T. 1317, p. 77; a) *ḥabîb al-siyar*, ms. coll. Mullâ Mhd. Siddîq Akhundzâdé, (Hérat), glose mentionnant, en marge de l'obit de Behzâd, les miniatures qu'il fit pour Bâïqarâ *(1157)* sur la vie de Ḥallâj, d'après 'Aṭṭâr *(1101-c)*: copie Sèrvèr Guyâ Etemâdî.

1161bis. Ibr. Gulshânî + 940, Caire, *ma'nawî* (réponse à *1111-a*).

1163. Ṣadr Manṣûr Ghiyâth al-muḥaqqiqîn + 948 Shîrâz (extr. *813*).

1165. Muḥyî D.-b.-Hy. Raḍwî (v. 950), *malfûẓât Shâh Mînâ* (+ 884, Lucknow), ms. Calc. GC. III, 61, f. 26b, 145, 152, 154.

1165bis. Walî Jarbehâdurî, *sharḥé Ghawthiya*, ms. Calc. 11, 197, 64b. + 1006.

1167. 'AQ. Badâ'ûnî, *najât al-rashîd* (éthique), ms. Calc. E 204; = Iv. ASB, f. 1263, f. 80 (rêve de Shiblî), 163 (rép. à Ibr. Khawwâs).

1173. Sulaymân-b-' AA. Baḥrânî, + 1021: *ḥâshiyat al Bulgha* (cit. *1237-a*).

1173 bis. Mûsä-b-Dâwûd, *nafs raḥmânî*, ms. Calc. E 211, 71.

1173 ter. Sharaf Lâhûrî (en 1080), *kanz al-Hidâya* (d'après Sirhindî mort 1035), ms. Calc. II, 174, f. 41.

1173 qter. Ism. Sindihî (en 1037), shaṭṭârî: *makhzané da'wât*, ms Calc. I, 916, f. 259, 297b (prière magique attr. à Ḥallâj par *zubdat al-da'wa*).

1173 quinquies. (anonyme), *ḥujjat al-dhâkirîn*, ms. Calc. Ia, 130, f. 45b.

1175. a) lith. Tehran, 1299, p. 270—71.

1176. A-b-' Abdalaḥad Fârûqî Sirhindî, 971 + 1035, ḥanafite, naqshî, shuhûdî: a) *durar maknûna nafîsa*, Mekke, 1316, I, 213, 282; II, 5, 144—145; III, 48, 49, 116—117, 166—167.

1177. Bahâ 'Âmilî, a) = *923-a*, p. 635.

1178. Mullâ Ṣadra Shîrâzî, + 1050, philosophe: *kasr al-asnâm al-jâhiliya* (extr. in *1238-a*, II, p. 60).

1178 bis. Sharaf Ḥusayn, *nathâr al-'âshiqîn*, ms. Calc. Oa 34, f. 30.

1178 ter. (anonyme: discours mystiques), ms. Calc. E 70, 117b.

1179. Taqî Majlisî: b) *biḥâr al-anwâr*, VII, 243; XIII, 100—101, 104; c) index (= *1238—*) des *biḥâr;* d) *wajîza* (cit. ap. c).

1179bis. Ishkawèrî, *manzûma* (ap. *813*).

1183bis. (Murâdâbâdî), *tuḥfat al-akhiyâr* (hist. écr. 1076), ms. Calc. GC III, 92 (an 309).

1185. prince Dârâ Shukûh + 1069: c) = *shaṭaḥât*, Rc. 159; trad. urdu, p. 18.

1186. Ja'far-b-M. Abû Sa'îd Qâdirî (en 1097), *âdâb al-dhikr*, ms. Calc. Oa 30, f. 37 (= Rc. 169).

1187. a) = Rc. 66.

1188. Mḥd. 'Alî Ṣâ'ib Iṣfahânî + 1087, poète: *muntakhabât*, éd. 1305, p. 144—145 (9 fragments), 164 (pièce de 9 vers).

1190. Sèrmèd + 1071 Dehli (tombe près de la gde mosquée); cf. *1810—11*; et Isl. Cult. 1933.

1191. Ḥy. Qashmîrî, *hidâyat al-a'mâ*, ms. Calc. E 223 (longues anecdotes).

1192. 'AR-b-'A. Rasûl 'Alawî, Tchishti de Radawli (Oude): ms. Bankipore, VIII, p. 50, N° 676, ff. 162b-168.

1193. Maḥmûd Baḥrî-b-M. Bâqir Pîshagî, en 1117: *'arûsé 'irfân*, ms. Calc. E. 129, f. 26 = Rc. 167.

1194. Shâh 'Iṣmatallâh Qâdirî, en 1142, *mażhar al-asrâr*, ms. Calc. E 183; f. 13b.

1199. 'AA. Khwîshagî (afghan), v. 1170, *taḥqîq al-muḥaqqiqîn*, ms. Calc. E 42, f. 131 sq. (= c. XXXIII).

1205. Sh. Kh. Banbanî, en 1218: *mir'âté afitâb-nâma*, ms. Calc. GC II, 347, 88b = II, 348, f. 148 (hist. gén. an 309).

1202. a) est-ce *makhzan al-sâlikîn wa maqṣad al-'ârifîn* (Burhân Tchishti) vers 1075.

1220. "*zamjî-nâma*", manuel corporatif, Lahore: cf. REI, 1927, 264.

1221. S. Mhd. Akhbârî Nishapurî + 1225, prohallagien.

1223. Khâlid, *ḥadâ'iq*, abr. arabe M. Rukhâwî, *anwâr qudsiya*, Caire 1344, 121, 126, 210.

1226. Furûghî + 1274, *ghazal*.

1227. Zeïnal Shirwânî (1194 + 1258), *bustâné siyâḥet*, Tehran, 1310, 27—28.

1228. Ma'ṣûm 'Alî Shâh + 1333/1915: *ṭarâ'iq al-ḥaqâ'iq*, I, 105, 144; II, 181, 185, 189, 212, 215, 254, 298; III, 287.

1230. I'timâd. b) *mir'ât al-buldân*, lith. 1294, p. 237.

1235 bis. (anonyme de Khotan), poème shi'ite attr. à Manṣûr Ḥallâj, ms. P. Sp. 2039, 542a.

1236. Khuyyî, *sharḥ Minhâj al-bara'a*, t. VI, 177, 178, 263, 266—269, 274.

1236 bis. Ḥâtif Iṣfahânî, poète (cit. Rice, *1782 ter*, 142).

1237. 'AA. Mâmuqânî, *tanqîḥ al-maqâl*, Ia 200, Ib 140; I, 346—347.

1238. 'Abbâs Qummî, *safînat al-Biḥâr*, I, 296; II, 56, 58, 60, 63 (vers persan).

1240. S. Mḥd. Iqbal + 1938 Lahore, *jâwîdnâma*, L. 1932, p. 48—60, 133—161, 175—178; in "the Urdu", N° oct. 1938, p. 818, 988, art. Khalifa 'Abdalhakîm.

1241. S. Naficy, *intijâ' 'Aṭṭâr*, 115, 128.

1242. Dr. Qâsim Ghanî, *Ḥâfiz*, t. II (28 cit. Ḥallâj: cf. index).

1243. 'Abbâs-b-M. Riḍâ Qummî, *hadyat al-aḥbâb*, Najaf, 1348, p. 125—126.

V. — Auteurs Afghans:

1285. Âkhund Darwîza Ningarhari + 980, *makhzan al-Islam*, ms. India Off. 2632—2638 (polémique anti-shi'ite; cite *253-a*).

VI. — Auteurs Turcs:

(cf. "la légende de Hallâcé Mansûr en pays turcs", *REI*, 1946, 67—115)

1301. Ahmed Yesewi, a) *hikam*, éd. Kazan 1295: XI (p. 28—31), XXI (cit. *1641);* éd. 1311, X (p. 38—42), XXI (58—59), LXXIII (135—136), LXXXI (152), LXXXIII

(153—157), CVIII (202—203); éd. Kazan, 1905; c) (apocryphe du XV⁰ s. "Qiṣṣé Manṣûré Shaykh", ms. P .S. 1191, f. 83b—93b). Rc. 105—106.

1311. Yûnûs Emre, vers 707: *dîwân,* éd. Burhan Toprak, Ist. 1933—34: t. I. 119, 157, 158, 171, 195, 197, 220; t. II, 248, 252, 287, 340, 348, 361; t. III, 32, 92—93.

1314. Maḥmûd-b-M. Karîm al-dîn Aqsarâi + 722: *musámarat al akhbâr,* éd. Usman Turan, Ankara, 1944, p. 92.

1320 bis, Ahmedi Kermiyânî + 805: a) *dâsitâné Mansûr,* ms. P. aft. 111 (Babinger): ex. N⁰ *1364-a;* 557 vers; Rc. 152—154. ex. *1364-a.*

1321. 'Imâd Nesimi + 829: *dîwân,* éd. Ist. 1260, p. 6, 23, 28, 37, 38, 40, 51, 52, 53(=109), 57, 59(=86), 62, 71, 72, 74, 76, 85, 87, 92, 95, 99(2), 100, 102, 111, 116, 126, 130, 137, 138, 143, 144, 146, 154, 155, 166(2), 172, 176, 177, 179.

1322. (Maḥmûd Mînâsoghlu, v. 825 (Qastamuni), *ḥikâya,* ms. P. aft. 13, 242b—243b.

1327 bis. Shâhzâdé Kürküt, *ḥarîmî,* Feïzié, 1764 (in fine). ex-*703.*

1328 bis. Khaṭaï (= Shâh Ismâ'îl Ṣafawî) + 930, *dîwân,* ms. P. t. 1307, 15b (Minorsky).

1328 ter. Silâḥli Maṭrâqî, en 942, *bayâné manâzil,* ms. Yildiz 2295 (cf. Gabriel, ap. "Syria" 1928, 328): miniature de la tombe (cf. Rc. 244, et Diw. Hall., h. t.).

1335. M-b-'Uthm.-b 'Alî Lâmi'î + 958 Brousse: b) *munsha'ât* (lettre sur "Ana'lhaqq" selon Hammer); c) *gülqaṣîda,* ms. LM, 59 (tr. Hammer, *GOD,* II, 40).

1335 ter. Waṣîfî, de Castoria (Hammer, *GOD,* II, 552).

1336 ter. Fuzûlî + 980, Ḥillé: *qaṣîda ra'iya* sur Bagdad, v. 32 *(nafâïs,* 166).

1336 quater. Murîdî + 1004: *Manṣûrnâmaî Ḥallac,* 970 vers (XXI séances); Rc. 152—154; REI, 1946, 85—88.

1336 quinquies. Quyûn Oghlu, *wârsaghî,* ms. Wien 2006, 134b.

1336 sexties. Bâbâ Kaighûsuz, *abdâlnâma* (Hammer, *GOD,* IIII, 357).

1338. Sa'd aldîn, trad. de *231-a* (cf. celle de Mehmet Tewfiq, ms. Umum. 3303).

1340. Evliyâ, *siyâḥetnamesi,* éd. Istanbul, 1314, t. I, p 589.

1342. Ẓuhûrî M. Qaraçelebizâdé + 1042, *ghazal* (cit. *1371,* p. 302).

1342 bis. Wehbî, *ṣuwarnâma,* ap. Mejelle umûr belediye, Ist., I (1928), p. 590.

1345 bis. Naqshî Aqkermânî + 1062: *dîwân,* ms. Moïse Metzger, f. 77b, 78a, 80b, 81b, 84b, 88a, 89b, 91ab, 96a (G. Vajda).

1346. 'Abdal 'azîz Ef. Qaraçelebizâdé + 1058, *rawḍa,* ms. P. St. 133, f. 98b.

1347. Ṣârî 'AA. + 1071; c) *sherḥé-Methnewî,* éd. 1288, t. V. 112—113, 118—120.

1347 bis. Na'ili Qedîm + 1077 (extr. *1386-a,* frontispice) (tr. fr. R. N. Darago).

1349 bis. Must. Topqapûlizâdé Feïzi + 1099, *ghazal* (Hammer, *GOD,* III, 548).

1353 bis. Na'îma Must. Ḥalabî + 1128 (id. *GOD,* IV, 85).

1356. Naẓmîzâdé b) *ta'rîkh awliyâ Baghdâd,* ms. Hâlet 241; et tr. arabe, ms. Londres, Or 8865, 50 sq.

1356 bis. Isma'îl Ḥaqqî + 1137 a) *shèrhé rümuzaté Yûnûs Emre* (ap. *1311-b,* t. III, p. 92—93); b) = *844-a, rûḥ,* add. I, 138—139, 286, 353 (Sherefettin Yaltkaya).

1360. a) autre trad. de *601-c:* d'Abdalbâqî Kafâlîzâdé, ms. 'Umum. 3299.

1361 bis. Ghâlib Dédé + 1210, *dîwân (GOD).*

1363 ter. Rushdü Aḥmet Qara-Aghajî + 1251, *hallé-rumüz* (base de 1386-a).

1364 bis. M. 'Arif Eff. Ketkhudâzâdé + 1263, *manâqib* (recueillies par Ḥâjj Amîn). Ist. 1294, p. 9 du Supplément de Sul. Nash'at-b-Ahmet.

1367 bis. Rifâ't Eff., en 1293, *mir'ât al-maqâṣid,* p. 268—269 (riposte à 1367).

1367 ter. Yénishèhirli 'Awnî + 1301, extr. ap. *1386-a,* p. 111.

1371. Brusali Mehmet Tâhir Bey + 1926 a) *Osmanli mu'ellefleri,* Ist. 1338, I. 17, 73, 74, 82, 85, 96, 141, 389; II, 145, 146, 150, 271, 302, 415, 419, 433, 476.

1377. 'Alî Emiri + 1923.

1378. Köprülü M. Fu'at. a) *Türk Edebiyatende ilk mutasawwifler,* Ist. 1919, p. 19, 172, 174—176, 331; —b) *Türk Sâz Shairlere,* III, 97; IV (Gevheri), 143, 154, 161.

1379. Mehmet 'Ali 'Ayni. a) *shaykh Akbari nitchèn*

sèvèrim, Ist. 1922, p. 15, 24, 51; b) ap. rev. "Sébil-urréchad", Ist., 1923 (XXII), 134—136.

1380. Wéled Tchélébi Izbudak, ap. "Sébil-urréchad", XXIII—77, 69—72.

1381. A. Ziaeddin, *majmû' al-ahzâb*, ms. Padwick.

1381 bis. Kürdizâdé A. Râmiz, *dîwâncéî Dehri*, Ist. 1330, p. 8.

1382. Nûrî Ra'fet ("Aqsham" 26. 10. 27, et 6. II; rép. Osman bey Gamâl, "Milliyet", I. 11, 27; "Aqsham" 3. 11 27) = Rc. 171—172.

1383. Abdülbâkî (Gölpinarli) a) *melamelik ve melamiler*, Ist. 1931, 204, 260, b) Kaygusuz, 1932, 145; *Yunus Emre hayati*, 1936, 23, 89, 98, 99, 105, 192.

1384. Valâ Nurettin, "Aqsham", 17. 5. 40, p. 3, col. I.

1385. Sabri Essad (Ist. 7. 2. 40): formulette pour que Mansûr fasse cesser les pleurs des enfants.

1386. Salih Zeki Aktay, *Hallac-i-Mansur*, Türkiye Yayinevi, Ist. 1944, 111 p. (drame en cinq actes sur la passion de Mansur).

1387. Kilisli Rifat + 1947, éd. *"manîler"*, Ist. 1928, N° 920 (Deny).

1388. H. Z. Ülken, *Islâm düshüncesi*, Ist. 1946, 164 et index.

VII. — Auteurs Malais:

1392. 'Abdalsamad Palembânî, v. 1760, sammânî: *RMM*, XXXIX, 50.

1393. Nûr Ranîrî (Atjèh): *tibyân fî ma'rifat al-adyân*, ms. Leiden 3291, f. 93 (cit. b), *latâîf al-asrâr: RMM*; XXXIX, 47.

1396. (anonyme); cf. *RMM*, XXXIX, 47 (Siti Djenar-Lemah Abang).

VIII. — Auteurs Hindustanis et Bengalis:

1407. (Dîdâr), *Dânzda mansa* (extr. Garcin de Tassy, *chrest... dakhni*, 125, cf. *1619-b*, 124n.).

1408. Shîvrâjpûrî = Rc. 168.

1415. Sul. Nadwî, ap. "Ma'ârif", Azamgarh, 1917, 2/4, p. 4—22; id., 1922, 10/3, 162 (cite *1695-1*).

1416. inscr. madfan Hallâj à Mahmudbandar (Hamidullah, *REI*, 1938, 104).

1417. Khalifé Abdulhakim (*Iqbal*, "the Urdu", N. Delhi, oct. 1938, p. 818).

1418. Muzammel-Haq, *maharshi Mansur*, Calc. 1896; 8me éd. 1945, 128 pp. (= Dharma-vîra Mahâtmâ Mansûr Hallajer alaukika jîvana kâhinî). cit. *1810-13*, p. 18—22).

IX. — Auteurs Syriaques et Ethiopiens:

1431. trad. éthiopienne de Ghiorghis ualda 'Amid *(462-a)*.

X. — Auteurs Israelites:

1450. ms. coll. Firkowitsch (cité ici. p. 252).

1452. comm. Cantiq. des cantiq. XIII[0]s, (Friedländer, "Festschr. Steinschneider", Leipzig 1896, p. 51) = vers de Hallâj (Diw. p. 46, v. I) (G. Vajda).

XI. — Auteurs europeens:

1548. J. G. de Chaufepié, *dictionnaire* (suite de Bayle), la Haye, 1750, t. 2, p. 21—22 (cf. *1540*).

1549. A Pétis de la Croix + 1751, trad. *810-a*, ms. P. ar. 4462—4464, f.

1550. Marigny, réimpr. ap. "Hist. univ. depuis... jusqu'à présent", trad. de l'anglais en fr.; I[0] Leipzig, 1761, XVI, 170—172; 2[0] Paris, Moutard, 1782.

1556. J. Delacroix et A. Hornot, *anecdotes arabes et musulmanes*, Paris, 1772, Vincent, p. 497—500 *(1540)*.

1562. Anquetil-Duperron, *Oupnekh'at, sive secretum tegendum*, Paris-Strasbourg, 1784—1804, t. 2, 816 (animadv. ad p. 720 n. I = *1560, 1561*).

1602. Hammer—Purgstall, d) *Gesch. der Osm. Dichtkunst*, Pest, 1837, t. I, 125; II, 40, 557; III, 357, 548; IV, 85, 395.

1613. J. G. Scholl, *l'Islam*, Neuchâtel, 1874, p. 95.

1619. Garcin de Tassy, b) *manticuttaïr* (cf. 1101-c), Paris, 1854, texte et trad., p. 123, 236.

1624. Mehren, a) Ibn Sab'în, *JAP*, 1849 (VII), p. 386 (cf. *446-a*).

1636. Pizzi, c) *storia della poesia persiana*, Torino, 1894, I, 186, 189, 202, 205, 208.

1637. H. W. Clarke, trad. de *1135-a* et *1126-a*, en 3 vol., 1891.

1640. Ign. Goldziher + 1921, d) tr. fr. F. Arin, *le dogme et la loi de l'Islam*, P. 1920, 129, 146; h) *Richtungen*, 1920, 208, 221 n. I, 222.

1642. Syed Ameer Aly, *the Spirit of Islam*, Calcutta, 1890 & 1902, 121.

1644. Osw. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895, 363, 367, 371, 372.

1657 bis. Paul Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1896, 151 *(135-a)*.

1665. Huart, h) *les saints des derviches tourneurs* (= tr. *1131-a)*, H. E. XXII, XXXVI, I, III, 117, 201, 254, 368; II, 89, 159, 167, 210; *Journal des savants*, mars 1923, 60—72; *JAP*, juin 1923, 315—320.

1670. Blochet, e) *la conquête de l'Asie centrale par les schiites*, ap. Rev. Orient chrétien, 1925—26, p. 76, 78, 123—124.

1671. Carra de Vaux, c) *les penseurs de l'Islam*, 1923, IV, 207—217.

1673. E. G. Browne, a) t. IV, (Furûghî), 357 (Khwansari).

1675. Amedroz, c) *the Eclipse* . . (= tr. *171-a)*.

1684. Schiaparelli + 1919.

1692. R. A. Nicholson, m) *Studies in Isl. Mysticism*, Cambr. 1921, 32, 54, 79, 80, 81, 84, 88, 107, 121, 136, 139, 140, 158, 193, 230; *the Idea of Personality in Sufism*, C. 1923, 11, 14, 25, 26—37, 52, 59.

1695. L. Massignon, o) la présente contribution; p) = *Essai.*, 1922 (index); q) "philosophies", P. mars 1925 (repris ap. IV⁰ Congr. Oostersch Genootsch., Leiden, 1925, 22—25; r) *Mélanges R. Basset*, I, 259—270; s) *Orient. Studies . . . for E. G. Browne*, 1922 (tr. turque, ap. *D. F. Ilahiyet Fak. Mecm.*, nîsân 1929, 103—109; t) note à *1771-a;* u) *Recueil . . .*, 1929, 57—72, 255; u) éd. *Akhbâr . . .* (avec P. Kraus, 1936; v) *dîwân, JAP*, 1931 (extr. ap. "Vaincre" 2/2, 15/XI/34); *REI*, 1932, 523 sq.; *Revista de Occidente*, Madrid, fév. 1933, 239—240; *Selmân Pâk*, 1934, p. 36. *Études carmélitaines*, oct. 1937 & 1938; *Eranos-Jahrb.*, Zürich, 1937—1946.; *situation de l'Islam*, P. 1939 (pl. IX, calligraphie de Kamil Akdik); "Dieu vivant", P. 1945, c. IV; *REI*, 1946, 67—144.

1709. Field, *Dict. of Oriental Quotations*, 1911, 209 (Mosl. Wld, 1911, 200).

1712. Victoria de Bunsen, *the Soul of a Turk*, London, 1910, 79.

1719. O de Lebedew = Gülnar.

1721. Max Horten, e) *die Philos. des Islam*, München, 1924. 115, 117, 126, 134, 138, 139, 141, 145, 147, 151, 154, 167, 171, 212, 228, 239, 246, 251, 256, *289*, 293, 294; et *A.* 97, 109, 119, 124, 211, 252; f) *Indische Strömungen in der isl. Mystik* = heft XII, Materialien Buddh. Walleser, Heidelberg, 1927, 1—17; g) *Grundlinien v. Lebensystem und mystische Weltanschaaung des Hallag*, ap. Arch. gesch. der philos. (L. Stein), 1926—VIII, 161—180; k) *Sammelbericht über Isl. Philos. und Hallag* (Philos. Jahrbücher, 1926, 39 sq.; cf. h) art. ap. *Köln. Volksztg.* 1926, N⁰ 512, 13 juli, et i) *Aus dem oriental. Geistesleben*, art. ap. "Germania", 1925); l) *Neues über indisches Abhängigk. isl. Geistesleben* (Festgabe Dyroff, 1925).

1724. b) *CR. Ac. Sc. Russie*, 1924, p. 15, 172 (ms. Kazan).

1725. Miguel Asin Palacios + 1944, b) *la espiritualidad de Algazel . . .*, Madrid-Grenade, II, 358, 468; III, 171; c) *Islam cristianizado*, 1931, 249, 257, 279, 283, 327, 492.

1728. H. Lammens + b) *Syrie*, 1922, I, 175.

1729. R. Hartmann, b) ap. *DI*, VI, 32, 35, 38, 39; *DI*, VIII, 157—203.

1733. V. Zhukovsky (= Joukovskij), ap. *Zapiski*, XXII (1915), p. XXXVI *(1695-l)*.

1737. A. Cabaton, ap. *RMM*, XXXIX, 47.

1738. C. Nallino, *RSO*, 1920, 521 n. 4, 553.

1739. Myriam Harry, 'Temps', Paris, 26/9/1920, p. 3.

1740. Pierre Ghaleb, *protectorat rel. de la Fr.*, Avignon, 1920, 21—22.

1741. Georges Samné, *Syrie*, p. 359, 362—363 (1695-g).

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1743. Abr. Danon, *interrogatoire . . . de 1619*, *JAP*, 1921, 283, 289.

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1761. H. H. Schaeder, *DI*, IV (1924), 2—3, 41, 43—44, 51—54, 58 n., 72; *OLZ*, oct. 1927, 834—849 (critiq. de Horten, *1721-f*).

1762. Navshirvanov, ap. *Nowy Vostok*, 1923 (IV), 275.

1763. E. Lehmann & H. Haas, *Textb. z. Religgsch.* Leipzig, 1922, 369 *(1753-a)*.

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1768. G. Ahlbert (Kachgar), ap. Mosl. Wld., jan. 1925, 59—62 *(1692-n, 1695-n)*.

1769. H. de Castries, ap. "Hespéris", 1924, 249, 250, 251 n.

1769 bis. L. Gauthier, ap. *RHR*, 1925 (XCI, I—2), 77—96.

1770. E. Berthels, ap. *CR. Ac. Sc.*, Leningrad, 1924, 59, 60.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO QUR'ĀN AND ḤADĪTH INTERPRETATION

A great deal has been written about the Jewish and Christian elements in the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. Goldziher's works on Qur'ān and Ḥadīth interpretation have been, from the first, epoch-making. He laid the foundation for the researches in these fields; his orientation and method became the guide for further investigations. Yet more attention was directed to the history and sources of the Qur'ān and the development of Ḥadīth. Although many scholars have devoted themselves to the study of its language and style, they dealt mostly with the linguistic elements, obviously strange to the Arabic language, which were borrowed from other languages, chiefly from Hebrew and Syriac. But there are still more words and expressions which are seemingly Arabic and will prove, nevertheless, on closer investigation, to be foreign loanwords. This is still more the case with such words and expressions as are Arabic in origin but alien in spirit. They were coined chiefly by the Jews of Hidjaz, who as admitted by Nöldeke, Goldziher and other authorities, had the greatest influence on Muḥammad and the Qur'ān.[1])

I have, therefore, made a special study of these elements, particularly of those which emanated from Jewish circles, and I propose to give here a series of examples to illustrate the nature of their formation and the extent of their use.[2]) These Arabicized Hebrew words and the new

[1]) This was stressed most emphatically on every occasion by Nöldeke, e. g. Nöldeke—Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans* (p. 6), and by Goldziher. The Muḥammadan scholars maintained this all the time. It is interesting what Ḥājjī Khalīfa (d. 1658) said about it in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, new edition, Istambul 1941, p. 32: *wa hum banū Isrā'īl wa kānat 'ināyatuhum bi-'ulūmi 'sh-sharā'i' wa siyari 'l-anbiyā'i wa kāna aḥbāruhum a'lama 'n-nāsi bi-akhbāri 'l-anbiyā'i wa bad' i l-khalīqati wa minhum akhadha dhālika 'ulamā'u 'l-muslimīna.*

Arabic coinages were current among the Arabic-speaking Jews in Medina, and were used by them in their religious teaching. They were simply taken over by Muḥammad and later by the authors of Ḥadīth.[3])

It can be generally said that the study of Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, from this point of view, is very important, because only by the wording and mode of expression can it be decided whether a Qur'ān or a Ḥadīth passage goes back direct to a Hebrew source, and hence transmitted by Jews, or whether it comes from Syriac and has been communicated by Christians. This is particularly the case with Biblical references, because the informants followed, more or less, the text of the Scriptures. There can be no doubt that the Jews of Arabia had an oral, if not a written, translation of the Bible; in any case, of the Pentateuch, the Haftarōth and the Psalms, particularly for instruction in the schools. In a Ḥadīth attributed to Abū Huraira it is said that the Jews read the Thorah in Hebrew and explained it to the Muslims in Arabic.[4]) Still more significant is another saying which relates that Muḥammad saw a leaf of the Taurāt in the hands of the Caliph 'Umar; he got very angry and said to him: "Did I not bring it to you fair and clean? By God, if Moses were alive he could not but follow me."[5]) But the Qur'ān itself confirms the saying of Abū Huraira. It is said in S. 3, 87: *"fa'tu bi't-taurāti fa'tluhā in kuntum ṣādiqīna."*

[2]) The present selection is only a portion of the material I have collected for the past 40 years. As far back as 1912, I drew attention to it in my introduction to *Bachya's Ethical Work al-Hidāya ilā-Farā'iḍ al-Qulūb*, Leiden 1912. Most of the examples quoted here were the subject of lectures I gave at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, 1932, and at the American Oriental Society in Boston, 1943.

[3]) No one doubts that e. g. *khalāq* and *sakīna* are Hebrew; or *qissīs* and *qiyáma* are Syriac, or *ḥawwāriyyūn* and *mishkāt* are Ethiopic. Likewise, it is certain that, e. g. *junūd as-samawāt* Sūra 48, 4 and 7, is a translation of צבא השמים (cf. below p. 302).

[4]) Bukhārī 3, 198: *kāna ahlu 'l-kitābi yaqra'ūna 't-taurāta bil-'ibrāniyyati wa-yufassirūnahā lil-muslimīna bil-'arabiyyati.*

[5]) *A-lam ātikum bihā bayḍā'a naqiyyatan? lau kāna Mūsā ḥayyan mā wasa'ahu illā ittibā'ī.* See Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Būlāq 1284. This can only mean that the leaf was written in Arabic, and contained notes showing discrepancies between the Qur'ān

Muḥammad could not challenge the Jews to read the Taurāt before him if it had not been in Arabic.

It is equally certain that the Christians of Medina used parts of the Old and New Testaments in Syriac, and that episodes from the New Testament and apocryphal literature were related to Muḥammad by the Christians in an Arabic mixed with Syriac elements.

Although the Christian influence on Muḥammad was substantial, and loanwords of Aramaic origin came to Muḥammad from Christian sources, it is by no means to be taken for granted that all Aramaic loanwords originated from Christian sources.[6]) The Jews of Medina were well acquainted with Aramaic through the Targum of the Pentateuch, which they recited every Saturday in their synagogues, so that many Aramaic words borrowed by Muḥammad were used by the Jews in their Arabic dialect.[7]) This is more particularly the case with the Jerusalem Aramaic, as evidenced by many examples.

The more we study the relationships between Jewish sources and the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, the more it becomes certain that the Jews of Medina, at the time of Muḥammad, were much more learned in Halacha and Haggada than it was hitherto known. They had a vast Midrashic and Haggadic literature, mainly from Palestine; these contained traditions which are neither in the Talmud nor in the classical Midrashim at our disposal, and hence remained unknown to us.[8]) These traditions have however been preserved by the Yemenite Midrashim and only came to light recently. They provide us with the sources of some details and enigmatic passages in the Qur'ān, which remained hitherto unexplained or wrongly translated because the sources were unknown.[9])

The following examples will confirm our statement about the language of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, and incidentally show that some gaps can be filled in by going back to the Hebrew sources.[10])

I. QUR'ĀN

1. Aẓ-Ẓulla

In Sūra 7, 170, we read that God lifted Mount Sinai over the heads of the Israelites, as if it were a *ẓulla*. The commentators conceive this passage to mean that God lifted the mountain, like a roof.[11]) Geiger, *Was hat Mohamed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen?* Bonn 1833, p. 164 f. already noted the Jewish source in the Talmud: „he held the mountain like a גיגית over Israel, and told them, 'If you accept the Thorah, — well and good; if not, here will be your grave'."[12]) It is evident that the *ẓulla* in the Qur'ān conveys the same idea as in the Talmud. But neither the Muḥammadan commentators nor the European translators of the Qur'ān are certain about the meaning of *ẓulla*. Baiḍāwī, as we have seen,

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and the Taurāt. Muḥammad dismissed him by saying that in the Qur'ān he had given them "a fair and clean" copy of the Taurāt. See also Goldziher, *ZDMG* 32, 345 about the Book (*sifr*) Ka'b al-Aḥbār gave to 'Umar. It must have been in Arabic because otherwise the Caliph could not read it. The Jews of the Orient always called the Thorah ספר and so did the Jews of Arabia call it *sifr*.

The two Ḥadīths quoted above are a challenge to Horovitz's exaggerated scepticism about the Jews having an Arabic translation of the Bible *(Der Islam* 13, 68).

[6]) A. Mingana insists that all the Aramaic words are from Syriac *(Syriac Influence on the Style of the Kur'ān* in *Bylands Bulletin,* 1927). But most words which he ascribed to Syriac influence can as well have been supplied by Jews.

[7]) As C. C. Torrey showed in his book *The Jewish Foundation of Islam,* many words of Aramaic origin were as familiar to the Jews as they were to the Christians. This is still more the case with words and conceptions formed in Arabic from Hebrew words.

[8]) S. Liebermann discovered new material from the Yemenite Midrashic literature in *Yemenite Midrashim,* Jerusalem 1941, cf. further below on p. 288.

[9]) In my lecture at the Royal Asiatic Society in 1932, I showed that the Jews of Arabia were closely acquainted with the Aramaic and the traditions of Palestine. In a further publication I shall deal with the subject more extensively.

[10]) To save space and not to burden the reader, I confine myself to the minimum of notes and quotations, as the reference books in question are accessible to everybody.

[11]) For instance, Baiḍāwī: *Ka'annahu ẓullatun ay saqīfatun.* The original informant conceived גיגית as diminutive from גג. Sūra 2, 60 refers to the same episode.

[12]) Aboda Zara 2b. and Sabbath 88a כפה הקב"ה הר כגיגית על בני ישראל ואמר להם אם אתם מקבלים את התורה מ"ט ואם לא שם תהא קבורתכם.

conceives it as "roof"; the European translations have a "covering overhead" or a "canopy" or a "coverage". It is therefore necessary to determine the meaning of גגית in order to understand the episode. In Sanh. 77a, the question is discussed whether an indirectly caused death could be called murder, for instance, by putting a גגית over him, thus causing him to die of suffocation.[13]) The identity of the expression כפה הר כגגית and גגית in the latter case leaves no doubt that in both cases, here and in the above passage about the mountain of Sinai, גגית means one and the same thing.[14]) Since a person dies of suffocation under a גגית, it is evident that it is a large vessel of clay, which does not permit the penetration of air.[15]) We get the same picture in the episode of Sinai: God seized the mountain at its peak, lifted it up, and held it over the heads of the Israelites, as if it were a hollow trough or bowl. He then threatened them that if they refused to accept the Ten Commandments, they would be suffocated under the mountain. As we can see from Baiḍāwī, the Muḥammadan tradition described the scene exactly as the Talmud has it, using the same phraseology, but instead of a vessel indicated by גגית he uses the word *ẓulla*.

Now what is the exact meaning of it? This we learn from Sūra 36, 56, where it is said that the faithful in

[13]) כפה עליו גגית ופרע עליו מעזבה

[14]) In the Samaritan Targum כד Gen. 24, 18, 45, "water-jug" is translated by גגית. It seems to be a large amphora-like jug of clay for drinking water. This is evidenced by Shemoth Rab. sect. 9: המצרי ויושראלי בדורה אחת והגגית מלאה מים ומצר הולך למלאת קיתנו וכו׳ It is still today in use in the Orient, and also in some parts of Spain. In the Talmud it refers to a larger clay trough, in which the malt for brewing beer was softened; Sab. 18b, and in Sabbath 157a only a large trough can be meant. In all the places mentioned in Kohut s. v., גגיתא can only be conceived as a large trough and not as jug, potsherd. It is to be noted that גגיתא occurs several times in the Talmud Yerushalmi, and was used in Palestine Aramaic.

[15]) To explain how such an idea could have arisen, it should be pointed out that in the Orient a trough or large mould (*mi'jan* or *ma'jūn*) is actually used to cover objects, such as eggs or meats and foods, in order to keep them cool, or to prevent dogs and cats from reaching them.

Paradise together with their wives, will lean on cushions *fī ẓilālin*, which is translated as "shades", or "shady groves".[16]) This is, however, a makeshift translation, and the real meaning of *ẓulal* is "booths of foliage made for shelter".[17]) The Jews in Arabia called *ẓulal* pl. of *ẓulla* "the booths", סכות they erected for the Feast of Tabernacles.[18]) The Jew who told the story to Muḥammad found some difficulty in explaining the word גגית and chose the word *ẓulla* "booth", which was familiar to him, and which admirably reproduces the picture of the lifted mountain, in seizing it at the top and removing it as if it were a "booth", and raising it over the heads of the Israelites.

This explains also *ẓulal* in S. 36, 36; they are "booths", not "shades", as rendered by translators. It is to be observed that the Jews thought the "pillar of cloud" Ex. 13, 22, as "booths of clouds" *ẓulal min al-ghamām* S. 2, 206, exactly as the Targum has it משלת ענגין "booth of clouds".

The same is also S. 39, 18: the idolator will have "booths of fire" *ẓulal min nār*, above their heads, and inverted booths of fire beneath them, thus they will be shut in them like in a covered pot. S. 31, 31: *wa idhā ghashiyahum mawjun ka 'ẓ-ẓulali* is to be translated: "and when a wave covered them like booths".

As to *yaumu 'ẓ-ẓullati*, S. 26, 189, it is not clear to which episode it alludes. The commentators say that *aẓ-ẓulla* was a cloud under which they sought refuge from a terrible drought, but they were destroyed by the fire

[16]) It is written *ẓilāl*, but is to be taken as plural from *ẓulla* and read *ẓulal*, not *ẓilāl*. The same is S. 76, 14 and S. 77, 41. Cf. Baiḍāwī to 36, 56.

[17]) *Lisān* 13, 443: *aẓ-ẓullatu huwa mā yustaẓallu bihi min al-ḥarri wal-bardi.*

[18]) The word *ulla* was probably formed by the Jews under Aramaic influence. Targum has for סכות Gen. 33, 17, "foliage booths for cattle", מטלן and renders חג הסכות, Lev. 23, 34, the Feast of Tabernacles by חגא דמטליא plur. of מטלא. Jonah 4, 5 has מטללתא. *Lisān*, ibid., says that *ẓulla* is of Nabatean, that means of Aramaic, origin.

[19]) Baiḍāwī: *sallaṭa 'alayhimi 'l-ḥarra ... fa-aẓallatahum saḥābatun ... fa-amṭarat 'alayhim nāran fa-'ḥtaraqū.*

which poured upon them.[19]) From the expression *yaumu 'ẓ-ẓullati* it appears that it referred to a punishment on a well-known occurrence on that "day". It is therefore reasonable to assume that here allusion is made to an episode on the Sinai, the day when God lifted the mountain upon the Israelites like a booth. As a matter of fact, it is related in the Midrash that the Israelites were punished for two things they asked before they went up to Mount Sinai: to see God, and to hear His voice. When they arrived, and God revealed Himself to them, "their souls were blown up", i. e. they fell dead. But the Thorah invoked for them mercy of God, and they came again to life.[20]) To this very same episode, reference is made in S. 2, 52f.: "And when you said, 'O. Moses, we will not believe you until we see God openly, so the thunderbolt overtook you' .. Then we raised you to life after you have been dead".[21])

2. The Golden Calf and the Sāmirī

S. 20, 87, 90 and 96, speak of the 'Samaritan' *(as-Sāmirī)* who made the golden calf. It is not clear what the *Sāmirī* has to do with the golden calf, and who was meant by the *Sāmirī*.[22]) The clue to it is given in the words of v. 87 "the *sāmirī* has misled them" *wa-aḍallahumu 's-sāmiriyyu*. The Jew who related the story to Muḥammad, told him that Jeroboam, too, made two calves of gold and declared them, like Aaron, to be the gods that brought them out of Egypt (1 Ki. 12, 28). In telling him that the Jew called Jeroboam *Sāmirī*, because he was King of Samaria, and used the word *wa-aḍallahum* which is an exact rendering of what is said of Jeroboam, 1 Ki. 14, 16. that "he made Israel sin" אשר החטיא את ישראל, Muḥammad did not retain this detail, and introduced the *Sāmirī* in

[20]) Shemouth Rab. sect. 29: כיון שבאו לסיני ונגלה להם פרחה נשמתם אבל התורה בקשה עליהם רחמים ... מיד הזרה נשמתם

[21]) S. 4, 152 refers to the same episode, cf. Geiger, p. 165.

[22]) Fraenkel, *ZDMG* 54, 73, thinks that the Jews accused the Samaritans of having made the golden calf. He hints to Hosea 8, 5f. and says that the Jews used it as a proof that the Samaritans worshipped the golden calf! Jeffery, *Vocabulary of Foreign Words in the Qur'ān*, p. 158, seems to have accepted his view.

the story as the only one responsible for the golden calf. He did not attribute it to Aaron, and only accused him of consenting to and hailing the crime of the *Sāmirī*.[23])

There is, however, another detail in the story of the golden calf which is to be explained. After Moses had admonished Aaron, he turned to the *Sāmirī* and asked him (v. 96) why he made the golden calf,[24]) whereupon the *Sāmirī* replied that "he saw what they have not seen", so Moses announced to him his punishment: to have to say in his whole life *lā misāsa* "untouchable", i. e.: "beware from touching me!"[25]) In what did the punishment consist, and why had he to shout "touch me not"? Wherefrom did he get this phrase? The answer to it is that the Jew told him that a leper was unclean, and that he had to cry: "unclean, unclean" (Lev. 13, 45), to prevent the passers-by from coming in contact with him. This makes it certain that Moses condemned the *Sāmirī* to be a leper for his whole life.[26])

Now we have to explain the enigmatic words put into the mouth of the *Sāmirī* (v. 96): "and I took a handful from the footsteps of the Messenger and threw it in" *fa-qabaḍtu qabḍatan min athari 'r-rasūli fa-nabadhtuhā*. The commentators tell us the following story: The *Sāmirī* saw the angel Gabriel (meant by the 'Messenger') riding on a horse, probably to take Moses to Mount Sinai! As the footsteps of the angel had the miraculous property of giving life to whatever they touched, the *Sāmirī* took

[23]) In Sūra 7, 146 ff. he seems to have corrected the story, and there is no mention of the Sāmirī. This Sūra belongs to the third, the 20th sūra to the second Meccan period.

[24]) *mā khaṭbuka yā sāmiriyyu* means "what hast thou to say" and not "what was thy object, thy design" in making the golden calf. Cf. SS. 12, 51; 15, 57 (= 51, 32); 28, 23.

[25]) Goldziher's view about *lā misāsa*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1908. No. 268, is far-fetched. It is more than likely that the whole combination of the existence of a Samaritan sect named the *lā-misāsiyyūn* was built upon the present passage. Al-Bīrūnī (f. 1048) is mentioned by al-Maqrīzī (f. 1442) as the earliest authority for it.

[26]) Halévy, *Revue Sémitique* 16, 419, saw the connection of *lā misāsa* with Lev. 13, 45. But it is strange that neither he nor all those who dealt with the *Sāmirī*, did see that Jeroboam was behind it.

a handful of dust from beneath his feet, and threw it in the melting-pot to animate the calf (see Baiḍāwī). The source of this story remained unknown until it was discovered in all its details by S. Lieberman,[27]) who has shown that it emanates from a Midrash of Yemenite provenance. In a fragment of the Cairo Genizah, published by Louis Ginsberg, it is said that when the Israelites went out of Egypt and crossed the sea, they saw the likeness of a bull marching at God's left-hand side; they took a handful of dust from beneath his feet and when they made the calf, they threw it in the fire, whereupon the calf came forth and was kicking with its legs.[28])

The Qur'ān has not preserved all the details of the picture, and confounded the bull with the 'Messenger', who obviously is Moses, and made the *Sāmirī* take a handful of dust from beneath his footsteps to throw it in the molten calf.[29]) The commentators had some knowledge of this Midrash, but offered a distorted picture of the story.

Now we also understand the words (v. 90): *wa-kadhālika alqā 's-Sāmiriyyu.* The Israelites threw the loads of the jewels they received from the Egyptians in the fire and they added, "and so did also the *Sāmirī* throw in," namely, the handful of dust.[30])

In some instances Muḥammad has two contradictory versions which, however, go back to two different informants who drew their knowledge from different versions in the Pentateuch, which seemingly contradict themselves. This is evidenced by S. 20, 97, where it is said that the

[27]) *Yemenite Midrashim*, p. 17 f.

[28]) Ha-Gōren, vol. 9, p. 66, וכשראה ישראל דמות שור שהוכך נשמאלו (של הפיכד) נטלו עפר מתחת רגליו וכשעשו את העגל נטלו את העפר והשליכוהו לתוכו (של העגל) והיה מיפס. This Midrash was published first by al-Qabbāṣ in אימת אהבים, Venice 1552.

[29]) Observe that the words *fa-qabadtu qabdatan min athari 'r-rasūli fa-nabadhtuhā* (v. 96) corresponds literally to נטלו את העפר etc. Also the words *baṣurtu bimā lam tabṣurū* (ibid.) reflects the words quoted by Menachem Ziōnī in his commentary on the Pentateuch, Cremona 1560, p. 57 בי היה [מיכה] מסתכל בצפיית המרכבה כשעברו הים (Liebermann, ibid.).

[30]) At the end of v. 90 *fa-nasiya* has no connection with either the foregoing or with the following words; it is very tempting to assume that it has strayed from S. 20, 114.

golden calf was burned and its ashes scattered in the sea; and S. 20, 87, "that they were made to drink the calf into their hearts". The first version goes back to Deut. 9, 21, where it is said that Moses burned the calf and cast the dust into the brook; whereas S. 20, 87 coincides with Ex. 32, 20, where it is said that he made the Israelites drink the burned calf. The two passages, however, are not contradictory, but complete each other: in Deut. 9, 21 he mentions the detail of throwing the dust into the brook; this does not preclude that he made the Israelites drink the water from the brook, but made it clear that the ashes had to be thrown into the brook, so that there was sufficient water for all the Israelites to drink, otherwise there could not be enough vessels to contain the water for all of them.[31])

After having told the epidose of the golden calf, S. 7, 154, the Qur'ān continues: "And Moses chose out of his people seventy men for *'an appointment'*, and when the earthquake overtook them, he said: „My Lord! if Thou wished, Thou couldest destroy them before together with me; Wilt Thou destroy us for what the fools have done?" Here the episode in Num. 11, 16 and 28, where Moses was ordered "to gather seventy men of the Elders of Israel" whom "he set round about the Tabernacle", is brought in direct connection with the worship of he golden calf, and immediately upon it follows the episode of the earthquake, which swallowed Korah and his crowd in Num. 16, 31, "And the earthquake clave asunder that was under them. And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up", whereupon it continues with Moses pleading in Num. 16, 22, "if one man commit a sin, will Thou be wroth with all the congregation?". Obviously Muḥammad was told consecutively the stories of the golden calf, and the complaints of the Israelites for "not having flesh to eat" (Num. 11, 18) and the rebellion of Korah and his followers, but he mixed them all together. Furthermore, *li-miqātinā* is a literal translation of לְמוֹעֵד "appointed time" and must have been used by the Medina Jews in their translation of the Pentateuch, where it occurs several times, e. g. Gen.

[31]) This measure was taken as in the case of the adulteress (Num. 5, 17ff.) as a test both for the people who worshipped and those who did not worship the golden calf.

18, 14; Ex. 13, 10; 34, 18 with the prefix ל just as here and in Sūras 7, 139; 26, 37.

3. *Majlis*

Sūra 58, 12 speaks of *majlis* which is interpreted by the commentators as 'assembly halls'; the faithful, it is said, are ordered not to overcrowd the public assemblies, but to 'make room' (*tafassaḥū*) for the Prophet, or his companions, and to stand up *(unshuzū)* if commanded to do so, to make room for the others, or to pray, or to join a holy war and the like (Baiḍāwī). This interpretation does not accord with the true meaning of the passage, and the purpose given for "standing up" is far-fetched.

Before I proceed, however, to explain this passage, it must be made clear that Muḥammad, in the very earliest period of the Hijra, visited Jewish houses of prayer and learning (*bayt al-madāris*), and discussed many questions with the Rabbis and learned men.[32]) Here he closely observed their mode of prayer in detail, and took over not only many elements of the prayers, but also became acquainted with many ceremonies and customs.

If we examine all the passages of the Qur'ān concerning prayer in this light, this fact will be found to be confirmed in language and mode of expression. Indeed, it is only in this light that many expressions become intelligible, so that all the difficulties disappear which led even the oldest commentators to all kinds of assumptions and speculations. This is especially the case in the Medina Sūras in which Jewish influence is most apparent.

The meaning of *majlis* mentioned in this passage was no longer understood by the Arabs, and consequently they did not know how to explain the verse. How doubtful they were about its meaning is shown by their diverse interpretations.[33])

[32]) Ibn Hišām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 383, brings a whole chapter about the visits paid by Muḥammad to the learned Jews in *bayt al-madāris*; cf. also p. 394ff. about the case of adultery. Muḥammad uses *darasa* in several places, e. g. S. 3, 73; S. 6, 105 and 157, etc., for the study of the Scriptures and the Rabbinical literature.

[33]) *Lisān* 7, p. 338, "public assembly", or "consulting room of the Prophet" *majlisu 'n-nabiyyi*, or the "seat of the war council" *maqā'idu 'l-ḥarbi*.

Lammens was the first to prove that *majlis* was the oldest designation for *the prayer room of the Prophet*, and the *masjid* came into use[34]) only later. Nevertheless, Lammens did not understand the correct meaning and origin of *majlis*. He thought that the meeting place for consultation served also as a prayer room. In reality, however, it is understood quite differently. It is evident that *masjid* was formed under the influence of Syriac סגד 'to prostrate oneself at prayer', and applied to Christian and heathen habits of worship, even before the Hijrah. It is likewise to be regarded as certain that *majlis* originated from Jewish circles, with whom Muḥammad stood in close relations in the early times of the Hijrah. It is formed from *jalasa* "to sit" and is an exact translation of the Hebrew word ישיבה from ישב: "to sit", i. e. 'a sitting place', whereby the Jews denoted their houses of prayer, which, at the same time, served as houses for the study of the Thorah. It is therefore an expression which the Jews themselves must have coined and used in Arabic. Muḥammad took it over from them and applied it to his 'prayer room', before he adopted the word *masjid* from the Christian environment. It is only now that the whole passage becomes intelligible. Muḥammad speaks here of the rules determining which prayers are to be performed sitting or standing. *Tafassaḥa* means 'to make oneself comfortable'. He thinks of the manner to sit down with legs crossed under the haunches, as people still do in the synagogues in the Orient and in mosques; and *nashaza* means 'to rise, to stand up'.[35]) Thus Muḥammad says to the worshippers: "When you are told to make yourselves comfortable by sitting down in the prayer room, so sit down; and when you are told to stand up, so stand up." But *nashaza* designates also a movement like 'springing up, jumping up.'[36]) In this case Muḥammad commanded the worshippers to "spring up" at the mention of Allāh, in imitation of the springing-up motion at the mention of the name of God in the Kedusha prayer among the Jews.

[34]) Ziyyad ibn Abihi p. 88ff., Mu'awia in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, 1907, pp. 203ff.

[35]) See *Lisān* 5, 376 and 7, 285.

[36]) Cf. *Tāj al-'Arūs* 4, 86 *an-nashīza* "a hopping mule, or ass".

A further reference to Jewish prayers is contained in Sūra 3, 187f. It is said: "Forsooth! in the creation of the heavens and of the earth, and in the alternation of night and day, are signs for those who have understanding. Those who recall God, standing, sitting and (leaning) on their sides, and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth (praying): O, our, Lord! Thou hast not created (all) this in vain." One is tempted to ask: What connection is there between "the alternation of night and day" and "those who recall God standing, or sitting, or leaning on their sides?" As we have seen above, Muḥammad was well acquainted with the forms of Jewish prayer and worship. Here he thinks of the Jews, who in their evening prayers remember God and His alternation of time into day and night. This is evidenced by the mentioning of the "standing, sitting and leaning on their sides", which can only apply to the Jews in the synagogue. He refers to the Jews who perform their prayers of 18 benedictions עמידה "standing" and the other prayers by "sitting" or "leaning on their sides", as is still customary with the Jews in the Orient, especially in Yemen. The wording *wa 'khtilāf al-layli wa 'n-nahāri* is reminiscent of the passage in the night prayer ומהליף את הזמנים

4. Cain and Abel

A very striking instance for the help supplied by the recourse to the Hebrew source to restore the original connection between the Qur'ān and the source, is given in the following case. In Sūra 5,33ff. the story of the murder of Abel by Cain is described in the same manner as in the Hebrew source. It is said that when Cain killed his brother, he did not know what to do with him in order to conceal his crime. Thereupon Allāh sent a raven to dig up the earth, so that it might show him how to bury his brother.[37]) The Qur'ān then proceeds, v. 35, literally: "For this reason (*min ajli dhālika*) did we prescribe to the Children of Israel that whoever destroys a soul, it is so as if he destroyed the whole of mankind; and whoever keeps it alive, it is so as if he kept alive

[37]) see Geiger, *op. cit.*, 104f. According to Pirke De Rabbi Eliezer, 21, Adam and Eve, and not Cain, are mentioned in connection with the raven.

the whole of mankind." The connection of this prescription with the murder of Abel, by linking up with ' for this reason," has been since old times a crux interpretum, as it cannot be understood how this prescription can be directly deduced from the murder of Abel. The commentators tried to explain the difficulty by all kinds of lexicographical and grammatical combinations. Now in reading the comment made in the Mishna, Sanh. 4.5, on Gen. 4, 10, we can fill in the gap. It is said there that the Scriptures do not say דם for "blood of thy brother", but דמי 'bloods" in the plural, to make clear that the shedding of the blood of one man, implies the shedding of many "bloods", namely, the blood of all generations to come. The comment goes on to say: This is to convey unto you that "Whoever kills one soul of Israel, is considered as if he annihilated a whole world; and whoever keeps alive one soul of Israel, is considered as if he kept alive a whole world".[38]) Muḥammad eluded the philological argument, and in connecting this prescription and the episode, he linked up the two verses by "for this reason we did prescribe to the children of Israel."

It is remarkable that the conversation between Cain and Abel preceding the murder, related in the verses 30—33, is based on Targum Jerushalmi to Gen. 4, 8. which is not known elsewhere. Here we see again that the Jews in Arabia were more acquainted with the Jerusalem tradition than with the Babylonian.[39])

5. Sūra Yūsuf

a) *Muttaka'*

Very few narratives are so permeated with Hebrew phraseology as the 12th Sūra on the story of Joseph. Although many scholars have dealt with this Sūra, there

[38]) אינו אומר דם אחיך אלא דמי אחיך . . . ללמדך שכל המאבד נפש אחת מישראל : מעלה עליו הכתוב כאלו אבד עולם מלא וכל המקיים נפש אחת מישראל כאלו קיים עולם מלא In Aboth De Rabbi Nathan 31, 2 there is another version with little alteration.

[39]) The words *au fasādan fi 'l-ardi* in verse 35, have no connection whatsoever with the text. The efforts made by commentators to explain the difficulty only confirms this fact. It is a gloss to verse 37 as indicated by *au*. As a matter of fact *fasādan fi 'l-ardi* is a better reading than *fi 'l-ardi fasādan*.

is still much to be said about it. In the following example it will be shown that an Arabic word, the origin of which has caused many comments and various explanations, can be definitely explained by its use in the Arabic dialect spoken by the Yemenite Jews.[40]) In this dialect there are still living some reminiscences of the Arabic spoken by the Jews of the Hidjaz at the time of Muḥammad, and can therefore contribute in some way towards the better understanding of the language of the Qur'ān.

The word for the banquet which Potiphar's wife gave for the women of her city is *muttaka'* (S. 12, 31). The commentators are in doubt whether it is to be read *muttakan* (without *hamza*) or *muttakā'an* and derived from *waka'a*, whether the party was called so because the guests "leaned on cushions"; or it meant "a meal" because they used to lean on one side whilst eating; or it meant generally "food", which had to be cut with knives; or it is to be read *mutka'an* and to be derived from *taki'a*, or it was a noun *mutkun* from *mataka*, signifying "citrus," and the knives were given to the women to peel them.[41])

The doubt about the real meaning of this word is due to the fact that leaning on a cushion during a meal was generally unknown to the Arabs.[42]) But this was familiar to the Jews, as evidenced in 1 Sam. 16, 11 where "to lean" is used simply for taking a meal; it is still practiced on the night of Passover every year.[43])

Now the Jews of Yemen call the little cushions, upon which they rest their elbows during their meals "*muttaka'*." These are small cushions stuffed with wool

[40]) In a forthcoming article I shall deal with other words in the Qur'ān still in use among Yemenite Jews.

[41]) See Baiḍāwī and Zamakhsharī on this verse.

[42]) This custom was regarded by orthodox Muslims as luxury, and may have been adopted by wealthy Arabs. As a matter of fact, the "leaning" during meals was prohibited by a later Ḥadīth as a "luxurious habit" (*'ādat al-mutrifīn*).

[43]) The expression מסב is "carpet" or "cushion" upon which one leans to rest, as is evidenced by מסבו Cant. 1, 12. Different from מסבה is סעודה because it is associated with another conception, namely, "to support, to sustain the heart" with food סעד לבך פת לחם Judges 19, 5; the same 19, 8; Gen. 18, 5; Ps. 104, 15.

or cotton, and two or three of them are put one upon the other as an elbow support.[44]) They are not only used for meals, but also at other times during a conversation. Eminent and learned members of the community bring such cushions to the synagogue, and use them during the study of the Thorah after prayers. In schools it is the privilege of the teacher to enjoy the comfort of such a cushion, and the more cushions there are, the more respectable he appears.[45]) It is also a particular honour for the guest, when the host offers him some of his cushions. In the Yemenite dialect they simply use *'ittaka* for "to sit at the meal" in the same manner as in Biblical Hebrew.

It is evident that *muttaka'* was used by the Jews of Medina for these cushions offered to the guest at meals; and was extended to 'banquet';[46]) *'a'tadat lahunna muttakan* simply means "she prepared for them a banquet."[47])

b) *A'tada*

But not only does *muttaka'* point to a Jewish origin, *a'tadat* too, in the sense of 'preparing' is hardly genuine Arabic. The fact that in the Qur'ān it occurs only in the fourth form, is already strange. It seems to me that it is

[44]) Cf. אבן ספיר by Jacob Sappir, Lyk 1866, I, 57b; read מתכא for מדכא (in the note) אתכא for טכא, and מתבי for משבי.

[45]) B. Kamma 86, seems to refer to such an honour where Rabbi Johanān gives to Rabbi Zērā his cushions (ביסתירקי) one after the other. ציצית הכסת, of whom it is said that even the dogs in his neighbourhood did not bark (of hunger), got his name from his guests having always made to lean on (ת"ח) costly cushions upon carpets.

[46]) We find the same use in the Mishnah חסב, Berach. 6, 6. This is not from סבב "around the table" or "around the food"; since they had no "tables", there can be no mention of "around the table", as Kohut s. v. suggested. It is derived from סוב "to stretch oneself" on the side, on the elbow, upon the carpet on which the dinner is served.

[47]) In Sūra 56, 15f. in describing the joys of paradise he has the same scene in mind, when he says that the faithful *'alā sururin maudūnatin muttaki'īna* "are reclining on thrones encrusted with gold and precious stones". The same also in S. 36, 56 *'alā 'l-arā'iki muttaki'ūna* "reclining on thrones"; and 52, 20 *muttaki'īna 'alā sururin maudūnatin* (cf. below p. 301).

formed from עתד which was in use among the Jews in this meaning. It is interesting that it was particularly in use in Jerusalem Aramaic, so for instance, עתד ליה תכריכין "he prepared for him shrouds" in Jerushalmi B. Bath. II, 12b; or "so that I be prepared תֶּעָתֵד when the Messiah will come" in Jer. Kethubboth XII, 35a (cf. Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch)*. Moreover, the whole phrase in the Qur'ān — "she prepared for them a banquet" has a Hebrew flavour and is a good Biblical phrase for preparing a meal; so, Prov. 6, 7, 30, or for preparing provisions, Jos. 1, 11; cf. also Gen. 43, 16 and 25.

c) *Yūsufu 'ṣ-ṣiddīqu*

There are some expressions which are stereotypically translated from Hebrew, and were undoubtedly in use among the Jews of Medina. Thus *Yūsufu 'ṣ-ṣiddīqu* v. 48 is = יוסף הצדיק. This is exactly the manner the Jews spoke of Joseph because of his self-control, when the women tried to seduce him; cf. Midrash Hag-gadol p. 582, line 9; 591, line 17, Joseph is the only one so called.

d) *Ṭaraha arḍan*

The phrase *Uqtulūhu au iṭrahūhu arḍan* (v 9) is conceived to mean "kill him or drive him to an unknown foreign country" (so) Baiḍāwī and others But *ṭaraha* means 'to cast, to throw down', not 'to drive away', and *arḍ* is never applied as accus. loc. to an 'unknown land'. It is obvious that *iṭrahūhu* literally reproduces Gen. 37, 20 ונשליכהו, but instead of בארץ הרחוקה the Qur'ān has *arḍan*. Now *iṭrahūhu arḍan* exactly renders the idiom השליכו ארצה with ארץ as accus. loc. in the meaning of 'throwing to the ground' (cf. Ez. 19, 12; 28, 19); this means not to kill him directly, but cause his death by throwing him so violently to the ground that his fall proves fatal.

e) *Rabb = master*

Further the use of *rabb* for chief, master, verses 23, 33, 41, 42, and 50, for Pharaoh, contrasts with its use for God throughout the Qur'ān scores of times.[48]) This is

[48]) The use of *rabb* is exclusively applied to God, and according to a Ḥadith it should never be used otherwise.

due to the fact that in the Midrash it often refers to Potiphar by רב e. g. כיון שראה רבו כן Br. Rab. sect, 7; also in Midrash Hag-gadol 588 הרויו מעברת עליו את הדין לפני רבו and in several other places. The Jewish narrator who told the story in accordance with the Midrash, used at the same time the word *rabb*. Note that this word occurs only in a story like Joseph's, conveyed to Muḥammad by Jews.

In the story itself, both Midrash Hag-gadol and the Qur'ān agree in that the women did not come to look at Joseph on their own initiative, as it is said in Midrash Tanchuma, but that the wife of Potiphar gave them the chance to look at him in order to vindicate herself. In v. 50 Joseph refused to leave the prison, unless he would be exonerated by the women, who cut their hands; this presupposes that they also had accused him of hunting them, so that they, as well as Potiphar's wife, were responsible for his incarceration. Of this there is, however, no mention in the Qur'ān. This gap can be filled by a detail in Midrash Hag-gadol 590 אמרה להן אם אני לבדי אומרת לבעלי אינו מאמין בי אלא אם תאמר כל אחת ואחת לבעלה תספני יוסף אף אני אומרת לבעלי תפשני יוסף ויתבשנו.

f) *Confusion in the text*

There is also some confusion the compilers of the Qur'ān brought into the story. In the first place vv. 9 and 10 are displaced. I suggest to restore the text as follows: *la-fī ḍalālin mubīnin* (vv. 11—15[a]) *qālū yā abānā . . . fa-lamma dhahabū bihi (qālū)* (vv. 9—10): *Uqtulū Yūsufa . . . fā'ilīna* (v. 15[b]) *wa ajma'ū an yaj'alūhu*. A greater confusion they caused in the text vv. 45 to 50. Here the story can be restored as follows. After v. 45 *fa-arsilūna* comes v. 50 *wa-qāla 'l-maliku 'tūni bihi fa-lammā jā'ahu* (until v. 54) *wa-qāla 'l-maliku 'stakhliṣūhu li-nafsī fa-lammā* [*jā'ahu*] *qāla*, followed by v. 46 *li-Yūsufa 'ṣ-ṣiddīqi* until *ya'ṣirūna* in v. 50, upon which follows v. 54[b] *fa-lammā kallamahu*. The error was caused by *fa-lammā* before *jā'ahu* and *fa-lammā* before *kallamahu*. I have inserted *jā'ahu* in v. 54[a] and corrected *li-Yūsufa ayyuhā*.

This and some other confusions in the text are to be ascribed rather to the compilers or redactors of the Qur'ān. The insistence of all the traditions that not one letter was altered from the original revelations, and, not least, the

fact that Muḥammad himself spoke several times of the discrepancies between the Qur'ān and the books of the Jews, must, however, be taken as proof for the authenticity of the text exactly as Muḥammad and the compilers transmitted it to us. Of course, Muḥammad maintained that in these cases the Jews had distorted and forged the Scriptures.

6. Ad-dunyā

How can it be explained that *ad-dunyā* "the Lower" was chosen to designate the 'earthly world'? Was it a genuine and original creation of the Arabs? We know that they borrowed *'ālam* from their Jewish or Christian surroundings, but as the heathen Arabs could hardly have had any conception of a "higher" and a "lower" world, how did the term *ad-dunyā* originate? Hence we must assume that it came from those circles where the idea of "upper" and "lower" or "higher" and 'lower" world was known. Now it is striking that the word ארעא which originally was equivalent to ארץ "earth", later, on receiving the meaning 'low, lowly', became popular in Jewish circles through the Targum. Thus Ez. 26, 20 ארץ תחתית is rendered by א־ע ארעיתא; Deut 32, 22 שאול תחתית by שאול ארעית (Targum Jerusalmi I and II have ארעותא); Ez. 41, 7 for תחתונה and עליונד, the Targ. has אַרְעָתָא ועלי יתא. Targ. Jerus. uses it simply for 'depth': Ex. 15, 19 באר־עית ימא for בתוך הים. In Num. 33, 26, Targ. Jerus. ויהנו בתחת does not regard תחת as the name of a city, but interprets it as meaning 'Lower' מקרלות, and translates ושרו בארעיה מקרלות. It is striking that just the Targum Jerush. shows this idiom most often, whilst the Peshita renders by *thot* wherever the Bible has תחת never by *ar'a*. This definitely proves that the association of ארעא for "earth" with ארעא "low, lowly" came through the Targum, particularly through the Jerusalem Targum, to the Jews of Arabia. This expression which was formed from the conception of 'earthly' as opposed to 'heavenly', developed from an abstract conception to a very concrete one; and when its origin had been forgotten, the same word ארעא, the "lower", was used for "this world". The Jews formed for it the word *ad-dunyā* "the lower one" for "this world," and it was adopted from them by the Arabs.

And not only *ad-dunyā* but also *al-ākhira* "the other world", was borrowed from the Jews, who translated עולם הבא into עלם אחרן as evidenced by Targ. Jerush.; cf., for instance, Gen. 4, 8 לית עלם אָחֳרָן (II. Jerus. אוחרן) "there is no 'other world' "

This fact lends additional support for the view that many expressions in the Qur'ān coincide with the Jerusalem Targum, and that the Jews of the Hidjaz, and later the Jews of Yemen, were very familiar with the Jerusalem Aramaic and the traditions derived from Palestinian sources.

7. Al-'udwān

The commentators interpret it as an 'act hostile against God'. But *'adā* means "to do injustice to someone" or "violate the rights of someone", and is developed from the basic idea of transferring, transposing, transgressing. Even in the Qur'ān it does not mean 'hostile act' but 'act of transgression' parallel to *ithm* "sin, crime" in S. 2, 79; S. 5, 3 and 67; S. 58, 9 and 10. Even in S, 4, 34 it cannot be interpreted as 'hostile act', but as 'transgression', and it is clearly evidenced by S. 2, 189 and S. 28, 28, where it can only mean 'sin'. 'Hence all the passages of the Qur'ān coincide in that *'udwān* is formed from the basic meaning of *'adā* "transgressing". This brings us to the assumption that it is a Jewish coinage corresponding to עברה "sin, crime" from עבר to "transgress", particularly in post-Biblical Hebrew, cf. Levy, *WB.*, s. v. עבר, especially, Joma 88b, Kiddushin 20a.

It is noteworthy that although *'udwān* occurs several times in the Qur'ān it is seldom used in Arabic literature.[49])

8. Thaqafa

Sūra 2. 187 *ḥaythu thaqaftumūhum* is interpreted "wherever you encounter them", as in S. 4, 91 *ḥaythu wajadtumūhum* or "take hold of them" like S. 3, 108. In all these places *thaqafa* is always interpreted according to the con-

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[49]) *A'dā* and *ta'addā* "passing over, transfer or being transferred" was used of disease which 'passed from one to another', e. g. of scabby camels which were not to be mixed with healthy camels, for fear of the contagious nature of the scabs "that might go over" *in yata'addā min al-jarab*. This precaution practised by the Arabs was prohibited by Muḥammad "becauses it was Allāh who causes the ailment." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-nihāya fī Ghārīb al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1312, II. p. 73.

text, because its usage in Arabic is quite different from that in the Qur'ān. In reality it is the Hebrew word תקף "attack, assail upon", and this meaning is perfectly suitable to all the passages. This is evidenced more particularly by S. 8, 59, which is interpreted "overpower, conquer" to suit the context, because it speaks of a battle. But here it can only mean: „if you assail them, fall upon them"; the same is obvious in S. 62, 2 and S. 33, 61.

9. Fatīl

Sūra 4, 52 says that the Jews who justify themselves shall not be wronged by God in the least manner possible. For this the word *fatīl*, supposed to mean here "the fiber in the cleft of a date-stone," is used to convey that not even as little wrong as a "fiber" will be done unto them.

When Muḥammad speaks of the Jews he very often uses their language. He employs here the Hebrew word *yuzakki* for "justify" and he does so also with *fatīl* which is more likely a "twisted thread" from *fatala* "to twist" (like Hebrew פתיל Num. 19, 15 and more often).

The Jews may have used *mithl al-fatīl* proverbially like כחוט השערה literally "a thread as thin as a hair" which was and is still common among the Jews for a minimum quantity.[50])

10. Al-qā'im wal-ḥaṣīd

The word *al-ḥaṣīd* occurs several times in the Qur'ān and means the reaped corn: in S. 50, 9 *ḥabb al-ḥaṣīd* "the grain that is reaped" in S. 10, 24, S. 21, 15 *ja'alnāhā ḥaṣīdan* "we made (or rendered) it reaped grain". But together with *al qā'im* it occurs only once in S. 11, 102: "an account of the cities of which we wish to relate unto you" *minhā qā'im wa ḥaṣīd*. According to the commentators *qā'im* signifies "standing, i. e. mature grain". It is antithetic to *ḥaṣīd* and both are proverbially used. *Qā'im* in the sense of "mature grain" is hardly genuine Arabic, and is nowhere else employed in this meaning. But it coincides with Hebrew קמה "standing, mature grain", in Deut. 16, 2; 23, 26. It is used antithetically to קציר "a heap, a stack of reaped corn", and both together denote the whole growth. The Jews of Medina coined this idiom on the Hebrew pattern, and Muḥammad adopted it from them in the sense: A part of the cities is ripe to be reaped, that is, to be destroyed; and part is already reaped, that is, ceased to exist and has gone.

[50]) Cf. Jebamoth 121b הקב"ה מדקדק עם סביביו כחוט השערה "God is particularly severe with those who surround him to a thread of a hair", i. e. to the hair's breadth.

11. Nataqa

There is another word in Sūra 7, 170, which attracts our attention: Of the lifted mountain over the Israelites, it is said: *wa-idhā nataqnā 'l-jabala fauqahum*. The commentators explain *nataqa* as "uprooting" (*qal'a*) or "shaking" (*za'za'a*) in accordance with the context. It occurs only once in the Qur'ān and cannot be derived from the basic meaning of *nataqa*.[51]) I, therefore, think that it is the Hebrew word נתק "move away, draw away," as used in many Biblical passages and especially in post-Biblical Hebrew.

12. Lā ta'ūlū

In Sūra 4, 3 *ta'ūlū* "do injustice" is, in my opinion, a Hebrew derivation from עול 'injustice", as it cannot be explained from the Arabic root *'aul*. No-one doubts that *ḥub* in the previous verse is the Hebrew word חובה or the Aramaic חובתא "sin", employed in Talmudic, especially, in Jerusalem, Aramaic. The fact that most of the laws contained in this Sūra are an adaptation of or reaction against Jewish laws, makes it more plausible that *ḥub* is borrowed rather from the Jews than from the Christians.

13. Maṣfūfa

In Sūra 52, 20 *surur maṣfūfa* and in Sūra 88, 15 *namāriq maṣfūfa* is translated "thrones" and "cushions set in rows" from *ṣaff*, gives no satisfactory sense and is a makeshift interpretation. The correct meaning is "covered, encrusted with gold", as evidenced by the parallel S. 56, 15 *mauḍūna*, It is from the Hebrew צפה "to cover, overlay with gold", Ex. 25, 21, "studded, encrusted with precious stones", cf. particularly 2. Chr. 3, 6. It was also used in post-Biblical

[51]) A woman of many children is called *natīq*, because "she casts, throws out the children". *tarmī bil-aulādi ramyan*, a curious motivation; *nitāq* is a raised, elevated building (?).

Hebrew, for instance, of the phylacteries "covered with gold", Megilla 24b., or of the "opening" of the blowing-horn (שופר), Rosh Hashana 26b, when covered with gold.[52])

14. Āyāt wa maṣābīḥ wa-junūd as-samāwāt

There is no doubt whatsoever that Sūra 17, 13 refers to Gen. 1, 14. The day and the night are here called *āyāt*, "signs", as the sun and moon in Genesis אותות and the words *li-ta'lamū 'adada 's-sinīna wal-ḥisābi* refer to ולשנים למועדים ליומים (cf. S. 2, 159 and S. 3, 187). Likewise *maṣābīḥ* "luminaries", in *wa-zayyannā 's-samā'a 'd-dunyā bi-maṣābīḥa* S. 41, 11 (= S. 67, 5, also S. 37, 6) and "the Hosts of Heaven", *junūdu 's-samāwāt* S. 68, 4 and 7 are Jewish translations of מאורות ברקיע השמים Gen. 1, 14 and צבא השמים Gen. 2, 1; Deut. 4, 19 and elsewhere.

It is noteworthy that Muḥammad locates here the "luminaries" in the "low sky", the first of the seven skies (S. 65, 12). This is exactly what is said in the Yemenite Midrash, namely, that the sun and moon were fixed in the first, i. e. the lowest, of the seven skies, which is called וילון "the curtain." [53]) That this is the lowest of the seven skies, is very common in the Haggadic and Midrashic literature.[54]) Also the idea that seven earths were created together with the seven skies *wa-min al-arḍi mithlahunna* is mentioned in many Midrashim. [55])

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[52]) Possibly *aṣ-ṣuffa* which is interpreted by *Lisān* 13, 443f. as "huts of a mosque covered with palm leaves", is also from the same root: *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*, "the poor of the covered hut", was said of the poor who emigrated with Muḥammad to Medina, and lived in "covered huts"; cf. ציפא "mat, carpet" (of a synagogue!) which covers the ground.

[53]) Cf. Midrash Hag-gadol 41, נטל וילון וקבע בו חמה ולבנה וכוכבים ומזלות

[54]) Cf. e. g. Chagiga 12b; Lev. Rabbati 29, 11 and Midrash Hag-gadol 14 below, שבעה רקיעים ברא הקב"ה ואלו הם וילון רקיע שחקים זבול מעון מכון ערבות

[55]) As Geiger already mentioned, the words „and we blotted out (obscured) the sign of the night" is an allusion to the Haggada that God punished the moon by reducing her light to one-sixth of that of the sun, for having complained that the sun was given the same brightness. For more details, see L. Ginsberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. I. p. 23f. and Notes, vol. v.

15. The dietary law and dhakka as a term for ritual slaughtering

Sūra 5, 4 deals with foods and meats prohibited to Muslims: viz. the flesh of a dead animal *(al-maitatu)*; the blood *(al dammu)*; the flesh of the pig *(laḥmu-'l-khinzīri)*; of an animal slaughtered under the mention of another name than that of Allah *(mā uhilla li-ghairi-'llāhi)*; the flesh of a strangulated animal *(al-munkhaniqatu)*; or killed by blows *(al-manqūdhatu)*, or by a fall *(al-mutaraddidatu)*, or by being gored *(an-naṭiḥatu)*; and of an animal that has been mauled by a beast of prey *(mā akala 's-s-sab'u)*. It is added that only if the dying animal is slaughtered its flesh may be eaten *(illā mā dhakkaitum)*.

Before I explain the origin of *dhakka*, it may be observed that all the cases here mentioned are prohibited by Jewish law. For the first three cases see Deut. 14, 21 לא תאכלו כל נבלה (also Lev. 22, 8); Lev. 7, 27 וכל דם לא תאכלו, and about the prohibition of the pig, Lev. 11, 7. The last cases are even mentioned together in the same order in Mishna Chullin 3, 1: an animal with a hole in his gullet, or with a broken windpipe [56]) נקיבת הוושט ופסיקת הגרגרת; an animal fallen from a roof [57]) נפלה מן הגג; an animal whose ribs were broken (through an accident or by blows [58]) נשתברו צלעותיה; or if mauled by a wolf or a lion [59]) דרוסת הזאב . . . או דרוסת הארי.

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[56]) This was interpreted by *al-munkhaniqa*, that is an animal which is on the point of dying by an accident occured to its throat. It cannot mean an animal "killed by strangulation" as is commonly translated, because in this case it would be included in *al-maitatu* "dead animal", as there is no difference how the animal dies. See *Kitāb al-fiqh*, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarīrī, vol. 11, p. 5, where it is said: "The strangulated and the others (i. e. the four other cases), if it is slaughtered whilst there is still life in it" *(al-munkhaniqatu wa-mā ma'ahā idhā dhubiḥat wa-fīhā ḥayātun)*.

[57]) In commenting on *al-mutaraddidatu*, it is expressly said in the fiqh-literature *(Kitāb al-fiqh*, ibid. p. 4.), *al-wāqi'atu min 'uluwwin*, "which falls from a high place".

[58]) Talmud Chullin 51a: If he has beaten it (the animal) with a stone or a stick; and the parallel: *wa-hiyya al-madrūbatu bi-ālatin*, i. e. "if beaten by an instrument" *(Kitāb al-fiqh*, ibid.).

[59]) The first case refers to small cattle, e. g. goats or sheep; the second case to large cattle, e. g. oxen and cows.

For the case in which the slaughterer does not mention the name of God, see Mishna Chullin 2, 8.: "He who slaughters in the name of the mountains, in the name of the hills, in the name of the seas, in the name of the rivers, of wildernesses, his slaughtering is invalid."[60])

Also the validity of slaughtering in the event that it is done whilst the animal is at the point of death has its parallel in Jewish law.[61])

As to whether the exception "unless you slaughter it", refers only to the "mauled by beasts of prey", or to all the five cases, opinions differ (Baiḍāwī). But it obviously includes them all; as in each of the five cases the condition is that the animal is not expected to survive, but is not yet dead.[62])

As to *dhakka*, according to the commentators, it means "ritual slaughtering"[63]) at which the mention of the name of Allah is obligatory. It occurs only here and corresponds to the Aramaic דכי, whereas *zakka*, identical with the Hebrew זכה, is used several times in the Qur'ān, although both *dhaka* and *zaka* have the same basic meaning. It is

[60]) Although the Mishna does not mention a "gored animal," the Talmud Chullin 51a, however, speaks of "bulls goring each other", זכרים המנגחין זה את זה, between "the fallen" and "the mauled", so that all the five cases follow each other in the same order as in the Qur'ān.

[61]) Chullin 2, 6: "If a man slaughters a beast that was at the point of death, Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel says: [It is not valid] unless it can jerk a fore-leg and a hind-leg (עד שתהיה מפרכסת ביד או ברגל) If a small beast (sheep, goat etc.) stretched out its fore-leg, but did not withdraw it (שמשטה ידה ולא החזירה), it is invalid". The Tosefta quoted in Chullin 38b has: פשטה ולא כפפה. Cf. with it *Kitāb al-fiqh*, ibid.: *'in maddat rijlahā lā tu'kalu wa-in qabaḍathā ukilat.* "If it stretches its leg out, it is not to be eaten; but if it draws it back it may be eaten". Observe that the terms *maddat* and *qabaḍat* correspond exactly to פשטה and החזירה and more closely to *Tosefta*, כפפה.

[62]) *Kitāb al-fiqh*, ibid: "If it (the animal) does not reach a condition after which there is no hope for life". (*idh lā taṣilu ilā ḥālin lā turjā lahā 'l-ḥayātu ba'ḍaha*).

[63]) That is by cutting the throat with a sharp instrument (*al-muhaddadu*) e. g. a knife, a sword, a *flint* or a *reed* or a bone. Cf. to it Chullin, 1, 2: "If he slaughters with a hand-sickle or with a *flint* or with a *reed* (בצור או בקנה) his slaughter is valid".

admitted by many scholars that *dhakka* was not borrowed from the Syriac of the Christians, but from the Aramaic of the Jews, because the "differentiation of clean and unclean meats meant nothing to the Christians" (Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, p. 135).

Here we have a case which clearly points to a word which was used in Jewish circles as a technical term for the meaning of "declaring ritually clean": thus the Targum translates ושחרו הכהן Lev. 13, 6 and 28, "and the priest shall pronounce it clean", by וידכינה כהנא; and it is also used for the same purpose in Talmud and Midrash (Cf. Levy, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.). The Jews used it in the sense of *declaring* a slaughtered animal clean for eating, after the prescribed examination. But Muḥammad thought that it was used in the sense of "*slaughtering*", and it became a technical term for "ritual slaughtering" in the whole of the Fiqh and Ḥadīth literature.[64])

Some other parallels to Jewish law in substance and terminology are to be found in the corresponding chapters of Fiqh. See also *Kitāb al-fiqh*, vol. II, p, 4—5.

In view of the exact parallels between the Qur'ān and the Mishna, one is tempted to assume that the terms contained in Sūra 5, 4 have been formed by Arab Jews, as such cases were foreseen in Jewish dietary law only.

On the other hand, precisely these parallels show how very well acquainted the Jews of Medina were with the Mishna, and that their informations given to Muḥammad, insofar as they were not misunderstood by him, were in perfect conformity with Jewish law and tradition.

II. ḤADĪTH

1. Ziyādat al-kabid wal-bālām

Many expressions are altogether unintelligible, and could never be understood, if the alien origin were not detected. It is only then that we realize that they are stereotyped literal translations from Hebrew, Syriac or

[64]) *Al-nihāyatu fi 'l-ḥadīthi*, s. v.: *al-tadhkiyatu, al-dhabḥu wal-naḥru*, and generally for the hadīth the definition is: *al-dhakātu fi 'l-ḥalqi wal-lubbati;* cf. Wensinck, *Concordance et indexes de la Tradition Musulmane*, s. v. *dhakā*. To *naḥr* cf. Levy s. v. *neḥar*.

other languages. Thus in a Ḥadīth it is stated that among the dainty dishes reserved for the faithful in Paradise are *bālām* and a giant fish, and that from a portion of their liver 70,000 of the faithful can be fed.[65]) For the portion of the liver the Ḥadīth has *ziyādat al-kabid*, an expression which has perplexed the lexicographers and Ḥadīth commentators, because it does not at all sound like Arabic. If this expression be taken literally, it would mean "that which remains from the liver" or "a portion which goes over the liver".[66]) But on closer examination, we find that it coincides literally with יותרת הכבד which occurs frequently in the Pentateuch (Ex. 29, 13, etc.), and denotes a piece of fat, an appendage to the liver. which is to be found only in Hebrew; and as an Arabic expression for this appendage was unknown to the Jew, he offered a verbatim translation of the Hebrew.[67])

As a matter of fact, the whole Ḥadīth harks back to the Talmud, Baba Bathra 74b, where it is said that the righteous in Paradise are to be fed from the body of the Leviathan. The Jew who transmitted this saying as a Ḥadīth rendered לויתן into *ḥūt* or *nūn*, a large fish, and added the detail or the "liver appendage" in order to give an idea of the gigantic size of the fish, that even this small portion of the liver sufficed to feed 70,000 of the faithful.

Now that the Hebrew source has been detected, it is possible to explain the strange word which occurs in this Ḥadīth, namely *bālām*[68]) which is said to be reserved for the

[65]) Al-Bukhārī 7, 181, 13ff. (Qasṭalānī, vol. 9, 302): *fa-atā rajulun min al-yahūdī fa-qāla: a-lā ukhabbiruka bi-ādāmihim? qāla: bālāmu wa nūnun. Qālū: wa mā hādhā? Qāla: thaurun wa nūnun ya'kulū min zā'idati kabidihimā sab'ūna alfan.* Cf. also *Kanz al-'ummāl* 7, p. 232, No. 2, 589: *awwalu shay'in ya'kuluhu ahlu 'l-jannati ziyādatu kabidi 'l-ḥūti* (p. 236, No. 2655).

[66]) *ziyādat al-kabid* is again mentioned in Bukhārī 4, 249, among the questions put before Muḥammad by 'Abdallāh b. Salām who became a convert to Islam; cf. my edition of Bachya, *Al-hidāja ilā farā'iḍ al-qulūb*, p. 74.

[67]) It is called in Arabic *hanat al-kabid* or *hunayyat al-kabid*; but it is not established whether this anatomical term was known in pre-Islamic times.

[68]) J. Barth, who referred to this Ḥadīth without knowing its origin and meaning (*Festschrift für A. Berliner*, p. 35), conceived the name wrongly as *lām*, mistaking the *bā* for a prefix.

pious in Paradise. The Hebrew source shows that it is nothing else than an erroneus transmission of the Hebrew word בהמות which is mentioned in the Talmud together with the Leviathan.[69]) To make the Ḥadīth more interesting, the Jew retained the Hebrew word in Arabic transliteration in a wrong singular בהם = *bāhām* from בהמות, and a later copyist, not knowing its meaning, reproduced it by *bālām*, a blunder which happened in many other similar cases of foreign words.

The interpretation of בהם as "ox"[70]) is, however, due to the ignorance of the Jew because he did not know that בהמות (Ps. 50, 11) is not the plural of בהמה but is the Nile horse, the hippopotamus, mentioned in Job 40, 15.

2. *Gharghara*

Another very strange expression occurs in a number of Ḥadīths in various versions on the great value of repentance: "Even if one repents a day before one's death, all one's sins will be forgiven; even if only half a day, even an hour, even a moment before death": *ḥattā yugharghiru binafsihi* which is explained "until he gurgles his soul", referring to the death rattle, cf. *Kanz al-'ummāl* vol. 2, Nos. 5199ff, 5137ff., 5153ff, 5312. The strange character of such an expression was felt by the commentators; but it only becomes intelligible if we look up the Jewish sources from which it is taken: in Aboth 2, 10 it is said that "one should repent a day before one's death",[71]) and in Psikta Rabbati 44 it is said: "So great is the power of repentance that as soon as the sinner merely considers in his heart to repent, his repentance immediately mounts to heaven".[72]) The Hebrew expression for "consider" is הרהר. The translator did not understand the word and sought for an Arabic word sounding like the Hebrew word. He took

[69]) Baba Bathra 74b כל מה שברא הק"בה בעולמו זכר ונקבה בראם אף לויתן... ואף בהמות בהרי אלף (Ps. 50, 11) זכר ונקבה בראם... ושמרם לצדיקים לעתיד לבוא.

[70]) The Jews generally call the ox בהמה.

[71]) ושוב יום אחד לפני מיתתך.

[72]) גדול כחה של תשובה שכיון שאדם מהרהר בלבו לעשות תשובה מיד היא עולה.

the onomatopoetic expression *gharghar* for "agonize", which is not used in Arabic, and is nowhere else exemplified.

3. Al-muṣāb

In *Kanz*, II, 5306 Abū Huraira said that the Prophet came across a crowd who had come together. When he asked them about their purpose, he was told that they were attracted by a madman who came along the road. The Prophet then said: "Lo! he is not insane, but possessed with an evil spirit. Insane is only he who persists in disobedience to God!" (*laysahu bi majnūnin lakinnahu muṣābun innamā 'l-majnūna 'l-muqimu 'alā ma'ṣiyati 'llāhi*). The source of this saying is in the Talmud, Sota 3a, אין אדם חוטא אלא נכנסה בו רוח שטות "no man commits a sin, unless he is penetrated by a spirit of foolishness."

4. I'mal wa lā tay'as

In *Kanz*, II., 5294ff. we are told of a man who came to the Caliph 'Umar (or 'Uthmān) and said to him, "I have killed a man, can penitence redeem me?" The Caliph read to him the passage of the Qur'ān which promises the forgiveness of sin, and the acceptance of penitence; and added *I'mal wa lā tay'as*, "do and despair not". This saying is transmitted in an abbreviated form from the Hebrew source עשה תשובה ואל תתיאש מן הרחמים "Do penance and despair not of (God's) mercy."

The identity of the expression *lā tay'as* and אל תתיאש gives the clue to the source, and the source supplies the missing part of the saying.

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ABOUT FIVE-TONE-SCALES IN THE EARLY HEBREW MELODIES

Already A. C. Idelsohn and lately E. Werner have remarked a special trait of certain Jewish melodies, the so-called anhemitonic five-tone scale.[1]) In the last years it has become apparent that the presence of that archaic style — in contrast to the opinion of Idelsohn — is not a primitive phenomenon but, on the contrary, it is a speciality of the early highly developed cultures in every continent.[2]) Through this perception Jewish pentatonic melodies will appear to us in a new light.

Actually it is the question of but a few melodies. Their presence is, however, the more remarkable as they form a continuous chain of evolution. There leads a direct way from the bichordal and trichordal patterns to the developed pentatonic melody-types and from there still farther on, to the point where the diatonized variants of the five-tone melodies enlarge still more the tonal material, passing on to the territory of the heptatonic (diatonic) style.

Let us first examine the most primitive trichordal (tritonal) melodies which persist in some East-European

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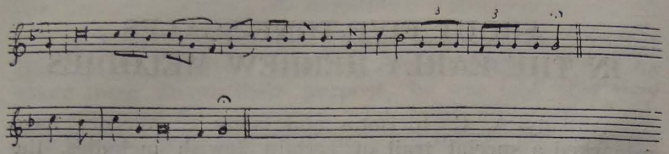
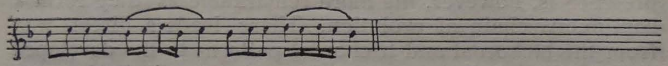
[1]) Pure five-tone melodies are — as A. Z. Idelsohn already had stated (*Hebräisch—orientalischer Melodienschatz* II, 1922 26) — rather rare in Jewish music but not unknown. Such a melody is in our liturgy the Yom Kippur-closing "Boruch Shaym k'vod"-intonation. (M. Wodak, *Hamnazeach*, Wien 1897, Nos. 786—87. and ib. Nos. 566, 568, 578, 689, 747.) This melody which has lately been transcribed by Z. Kodály is the most akin to that ancient Hebrew-Gregorian formula which we called Western Asian pentatonic type. (*Five-tone Scales and Civilization, Acta Musicologica* 1944.) A pentatonic form shows also the "dargo-tevir" formula of our Neghina-system; in the Kaddish-melody which introduces the "N'eelah" of the Day of Atonement, we may also guess a pentatonic base. (Wodak, l. c., Nos. 773—76.)

[2]) See our essay quoted above

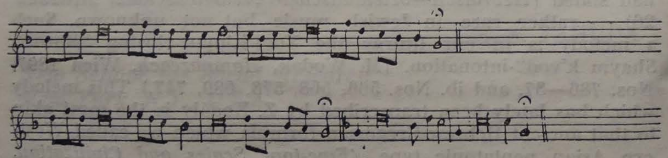
Ha lachma-ditties (for Passover) and put beside them that archaic double bichord we know from the *Omer*-benediction or the *Mi she-berach*-formulas:



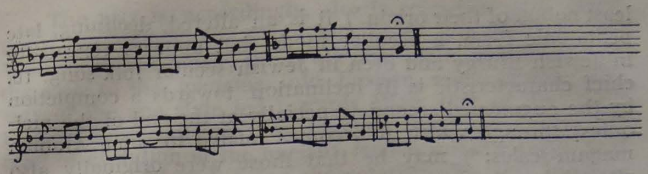
We can observe there that the examples of the whole Jewish pentatonism represent the direct continuation of this stage of evolution. And here it becomes evident that there does not exist even within the circle of early Jewish melodies a *unique* five-tone style but several ones. Such typical Yemenite trichordal melodies:



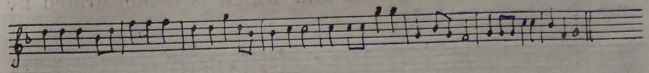
had been organically completed in the Gregorian psalmodies (e. g. in the doxology of the I. psalmi-tonus) to a pentatonic scale, and we can recognize its more developed successors also in some Jewish psalmodic forms. (Among them the Hebrew original of the Gregorian "tonus peregrinus".)



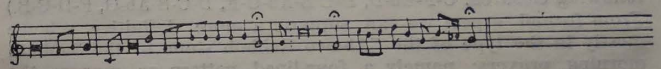
Such pentatonic melody, however, which we know from the Torah-cantillation or from the closing *Haftorah*-benediction does not show the trichordally developed disposition of the five tones but a different one:



and again another one ("Middle Asian type") appears in the pentatonic mode, almost Hungarian- or Mongolian-like, of some Zemiroth published by A. Nadel.[3])



The most characteristic feature of pentatonia is its ignoring the dominant-function as well as the real final; it is on the whole an "endless melody-line" without a stabilized system of functions, even there where the final tone seems to be fixed, like in the Hungarian and Chinese style. The more striking is the slackness and openness of the tonal structure in one of the altered, secondary branches of the five-tone-scale in that characteristic type of *hemitonic* pentatonia which seems to be a mediaeval heritage of Oriental-Ashkenas (Polish, Ukranian, South-Russian, Hungarian) liturgy and which we might call with Idelsohn "Ahavo Rabboh-Weise".



The scale of that melody-type: F-G-B-C-D, with its peculiar tritone (augmented fourth) is characteristic also regarding a great part of Roumanian melodies of the district of Bihar and the Slovakian melodies of the district of Zólyom (collection of Bartók), although we have not the

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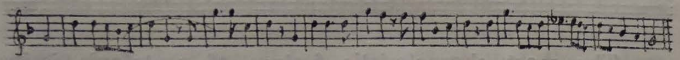
[3]) A. Nadel, *Die häuslichen Sabbatgesänge*, Berlin 1937, p. 14, *Kol mekaddesh* II.

[4]) Idelsohn, *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* VIII, 1932, pp. XI—XII (28 examples of the style), and VI, pp. XXV—VI. The source of our communication is Wodak, I. c.. No. 221. — To that melody-type belongs a great part of our Sabbath-recitatives; besides it is adapted to prayers of the High Feasts and to certain Selichot too.

least notion of their origin.[5]) It is an altered, declining, late pentatonic form, a peculiar mode that appears repeatedly in Jewish liturgy and even in Jewish secular folk-song. Its chief characteristic is its inclination towards a completion by the augmented second (especially at the end of the melodies) through which it becomes related to some Arabian maqam-scales;[6]) may be that those were originally also altered hemitonic-pentatonic scales of this kind. Their completion may be regarded as a parallel to that other completion of the anhemitonic pentatonia which opens into our heptatonic system and which is demonstrated by our *Wayhullu*-melody.



[5]) See my article, *About an Ancient Jewish Scale*, Libanon (Budapest) 1938, No. I. To that style pertain besides the above-mentioned melodies the "Kerowa-Weise" of the High Feasts and the closure of the Selichot (Idelsohn VIII. p. 14 and the melodies Nos 137—39, 141, 160 ib., etc.). — How deeply the melodies of the Jewish recitatives are penetrated by that tonal system, is proved among others by the fact that melodies of an apparent minor or aeol character are frequently closing on the second, fourth, fifth and seventh degrees of theirs scales (e. g. Wodak, No. 77—85), which induces us to guess a latent pentatonic disposition. (E. g. in an apparent C minor mode with following closures: C-F-Eb-D, D-C-B-Ab-G-F, D-C-B-Ab-G, F-D-C-B.) From formal aspect we can suppose a more definitive scheme mostly in the type of the "Ahawo Rabboh"-tune of the Sabbath morning prayers: namely a four-lined pattern or *maqam*, the first melody-line of with ascends until G-B, the second until C, eventually D, the closure of the third line declines from C to F, the fourth falls back through B-A flat to G. That this structural principle had deeply influenced the relative secular songs also, can be demonstrated by numerous examples. (Idelsohn IX, No. 504, 507,, 515, 523, 533, 535—37, 539, 544, 546—48, 551—54, 556, 563, 565, 569, 586, X, No. 154.) Indeed. the melodies of the Sabbath Shaharith evoke such a special atmosphere that after it the listener feels to arrive, with the modern major-melodies of the Thorah-exhibition and with the Neghinoth of the Thorah-reading, formally into other cultural spheres.

[6]) A. Z. Idelsohn, *Der jüdische Volksgesang im Lichte der orientalischen Musik, Ost und West*, 1916, p. 253 and 331; see especially the examples of the "Maqam Hidshas" and "Maqam Saba" published on pp. 331—32.

The way is, accordingly, clearly traced in both directions: the anhemitonic pentatonia bends into diatonia, into Western minor music, the pentatonia with semitones into the scale of the maqams, into Eastern minor music. The way of the one style led towards West, that of the other towards East; but just thus, together they may show the road of evolution of the ancient Jewish melody-world, that road which, although being characteristically dual, bi-spheric, yet bears in its foundation a common, unique archaic model.

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THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN VOTIVE BEAD FOUND AT TANIS

A brief note about the progress of the French excavations at Tanis which appeared in 1940 in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (vol. XXVI, p. 162) contained a rather unexpected bit of information, namely a laconic statement to the effect that "one bead with a cuneiform inscription" had been discovered among the precious necklaces of gold and lapis lazuli found upon the mummy of king Psusennes I (1085—1067 B. C.).[1] The curiosity of Assyriologists which this communication could not fail to arouse has now been satisfied by Professor Edouard Dhorme of the Collège de France. In an article published recently in *Monuments Piot* (vol. XLI, pp. 23 ff.) he not only repeated his own interpretation of the cuneiform legend in question as first published in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1945, pp. 83 ff.[2]), but also communicated the facsimile of the text made by the late Professor Paul Kraus of Cairo when the excavator of the royal tombs of Tanis, Professor Pierre Montet, showed him the inscribed bead.

[1]) As is learnt from an article by Dhorme, to be quoted presently, a detailed description of those necklaces as well as of that particular bead of lapis lazuli is found in a work by Montet published in 1942. This publication, the exact title of which was not quoted by Dhorme, is inaccessible to me.

[2]) Dhorme read and translated the inscription as follows:

1. *šá* 𒁹 *Ni-iq-šamu-ú bêlu rabû ana (sinništu) Na-bal-te mârti-šu rabî-te*

2. *šá irammu êpu-uš šá Aššur (ilu)Bêl (ilu)Nin-líl ilâni Šu-pi-e-(ilu)Bêl*

3. *uq-nu ṭa-be lâ tatabbali šùm ili u šarri lâ tazakkari-šu-nu-ti*

1. [Objet] que Niq-shamû, seigneur grand, pour Nabaltu, sa fille aînée,

2. qu'il aime, a fait. [En l'honneur] d'Assur, de Bêl, de Ninlil, dieux de Shupî-Bêl.

3. Le beau lapis-lazuli tu n'enlèveras pas; le nom du dieu et [celui] du roi, tu ne les prononceras pas.

On the basis of this copy I propose the following transliteration and translation of the three lines of cuneiform script:

^{1}*šá* ^{m}*Ibašši-ilu sukkallu*[3]) *rabû ana*[4]) *balâṭ*[5]) *na-pùl-ti mârti-šú* (!) *rabîte*^{te}

^{2}*šá irammu êpuš*^{uš} *šá Aš-šur* ^{d}*Enlil*[6]) ^{d}*Nin-líl ilâni*^{meš} *šu-ut* $^{âl\,(!)}$ *Bal* (!)*-til*

^{3}*dannu*[7]) *lâ erriš*[8]) *lâ itabbal nîš*[9]) *ili u šarri lâ izakkar-ma lâ ilaqqi*[10])

^{1}(Ex voto) of Ibašši-ilu, the Grand Vizier[11]). He made (it) for the life of the soul of his eldest daughter

[3]) LUḪ; to judge from Kraus' copy, the single *Winkelhaken* at the right end of the sign is perhaps not as closely linked with the two horizontal wedges as is usual.

[4]) As was noted by Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, p. 24, Kraus reproduced the signs GAL = *rabû* and DIŠ = *ana* as if they constituted a single sign.

[5]) As may be seen from the context, the sign which, on Kraus' copy, looks like SAL is TIN = *balâṭu*; cf. below, pp. 317 f.

[6]) BAD; for ^{d}BAD = ^{d}*Enlil* see especially Nötscher, *Ellil in Sumer und Akkad*, Hannover 1927, p. 1 and cf. Meissner in *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, Leipzig 1926, p. 28, note 7, who correctly observed "^{d}BE ist in assyrischen Texten *Enlil* ..... zu lesen".

[7]) For UG = *dannu* see Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, Roma 1925 ff., No. 130, 5.

[8]) KAM; for KAM = *erêšu* "to desire", "to request" see especially Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, Leipzig 1939, pp. 144 f. and Gelb, Purves and MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, Chicago 1943, p. 300.

[9]) MU; on MU = *nîšu* "oath" (lit., "life") see Meissner, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*, Leipzig 1910, No. 725. and Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXIII, 1926, p. 27, note 2.

[10]) TI; for TI = *liqû* see Deimel, *op. cit.*, No. 73, 14.

[11]) As is well known, "Vizier" is the usual, though not exact, rendering of the title *sukkallu;* on the occurrence in other Middle Assyrian inscriptions of the term *sukkallu rabû* "Grand Vizier" and its significance see below, pp. 325 f.

[2]whom he loves. It belongs to[12]) Aššûr, Enlil (and) Ninlil, the gods of Baltil[13]).

[3]May no mighty one desire (it, and) may he not carry (it away)! May he not claim (it by swearing by) god and king and not take[14]) (it)!

In order to prepare the ground for the solution of the question as to how an Egyptian king of the 21st Dynasty may have acquired a precious stone inscribed with an Assyrian dedicatory inscription as old as the first half of the 14th century, we now discuss the single clauses of our text. The commentary will at the same time show why a considerable part of Dhorme's afore-cited rendering[15]), as well as his conclusions as to the original owner of our bead of lapis lazuli and as to the significance of its legend, cannot remain undisputed:

Clause 1: That the first word is to be rendered by "ex voto of" follows from the observations of Thureau-Dangin *apud* Contenau, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXIX, 1932, p. 30. He has noted that in certain cases in which the legend of a seal cylinder or some other precious object begins with *ša* and a personal name, the introductory words of the text characterize the object as a present or as an ex voto of the person in question. Since, in its third clause, the legend here under discussion actually contains a statement to the effect that our bead was the property of the deities of Assyria's ancient capital city, it is in fact defined as a votive inscription, obviously to be assigned to the class of

[12]) Lit., "(It is the property) of"; cf. the commentary below.

[13]) On the occurrence in an Assyrian historical inscription of the term ^{âl}*Bal-til* — an occurrence on which our slight emendation of the second line of Kraus' copy of the text here under discussion is based — and on the use of ^{âl}*Bal-til*, as well as of the variants *Bal-til*^{ki} and *Bal-ti-la*^{ki}, as a designation of Assyria's old capital city, see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIX, 1946, pp. 467 ff.

[14]) Lit., "May he not mention (by) the life of god and king and may he thus not take!" For the use of the expression *nîš ili u šarri zakâru* "to mention (in swearing by) the life of god and king" in the sense of "to swear an oath by god and king in order to raise claims upon something" see below, pp. 319 f.

[15]) See above, note 2.

texts analysed by Thureau-Dangin. As regards the name of the high-ranking personage mentioned in the first clause, it cannot reasonably be doubted that, following Zimmern[16]), Tallqvist[17]) and others[18]), ^{m}I. GÁL. DINGIR is to be regarded as the ideographic spelling of ^{m}*Ibašši-ilu*; for it is certainly not a mere coincidence that both the Sumerogram ^{m}I. GÁL. DINGIR and its Akkadian equivalent ^{m}*I-ba-aš-ši-ilu* occur within the onomastic material contained in the Nuzi documents[19]), i. e. a group of texts which, as will be shown presently, is not only contemporary with our votive inscription, but also contributes to the understanding of its last clause.

Clause 2: From parallel passages found in the Middle Assyrian inscriptions T 94[20]) (ll. 41 ff.) and T 350[21]) (ll. 88 ff.) it results that *na pùl-ti* represents a dialectal pronunciation of ZI^{ti}, i. e. Babylonian *napišti*. Since, furthermore, the term *ba-laṭ na-piš-ti*[22]) (variants: *balâṭ napšti*[23]), *ba-la-ṭa nap-šá-a-ti*[24]), *balâṭ napšâti*^{meš}[25]), etc.) occurs, in most cases as a part of the well-known expressions *ana*

[16]) *Apud* Behrens, *Assyrisch Babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 4 f.

[17]) *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, p. 93.

[18]) As, for instance, Ebeling (see below, p. 324, note 50).

[19]) Most of the references are found in Gelb, Purves and MacRae, *op. cit.*, p. 71 s. v. *Ibaššī-Ilu*.

[20]) Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, II, Leipzig 1922, No. 61.

[21]) *Ibidem*, No. 60.

[22]) Thus in l. 6 of the Neo-Assyrian text published by Jacobsen *apud* Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, Chicago 1936, p. 133; cf. the letter B. M. 87 — 7 — 27, 30 (Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, VII, Chicago 1902, No. 667), ll. 17 ff.: *ba(!)-laṭ na-pi[š-ti] ûmê*^{me} *ru-q[u-ti] a-na šarri be-lí-iá i-da-an*.

[23]) Thus in the inscription published by Essad Nassouhi, *Textes divers relatifs à l'histoire de l'Assyrie*, Leipzig 1927, p. 14 sub V B.

[24]) Thus in K. 523 (Harper, *op. cit.*, III, Chicago 1896, No. 324), ll. 7 f.

[25]) Thus, for instance, in the brick inscription published by Thompson and Hutchinson, *The Excavations on the Temple of Nabû at Nineveh*, Oxford 1929, pl. XLV and p. 124, No. 70.

balâṭ napišti (var. *napšâti*) *X epêšu* and *ana balâṭ napišti* (var. *napšâti*) *X qâšu*, in numerous dedicatory inscriptions, we cannot agree with Dhorme when he finds in the second clause of our text[26]) an otherwise unknown West Semitic personal name *Nabaltu* "Éminente" and concludes, mainly on the basis of this untenable assumption, "que l'un des colliers retrouvés sur la momie de Psousennès avait appartenu à une princesse étrangère qui, dans des circonstances que nous ignorons, avait été incorporée au harem des Pharaons".

Clause 3: As in the centuries prior to the time of Psusennes both Aššûr and Enlil were looked upon as the divine protectors of the Assyrian capital[27]), it is obvious that l. 2 of our text names this city[28]); consequently, the far-fetched assumption of Dhorme *(loc. cit.*, p. 26) that clause 3 mentions the gods of a distant Babylonian town of **Šupî-Bêl* can be dismissed — all the more easily since the town of *Ša-pi-i-*^{d}*Bêl*, of which he thought, did not play any rôle in the history of Assyria in the Middle Assyrian epoch to which our text must be assigned on the basis of epigraphic, linguistic and onomastic criteria.[29]) The nam-

[26]) In order not to misrepresent the views of Dhorme, it seems advisable to mention that he sees in the words *ana balâṭ na-pùl-ti mârti-šú(!) rabîte*^{te} *šá irammu êpuš*^{uš} "He made (it) for the life of the soul of his eldest daughter whom he loves" not the second clause of our inscription but part of its first clause, an opinion which compels him to intimate *(loc. cit.*, p. 26) that the ancient author of the text disregarded an elementary syntactical rule of the Akkadian language. It goes almost without saying that our interpretation of the text makes it unnecessary to resort to such an assertion.

[27]) For the evidence attesting an exceedingly old cult of Enlil at Aššûr see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIX, 1946, pp. 470 ff.

[28]) That Baltil is an ancient designation of the oldest part of the city of Aššûr was already mentioned above, p. 316, note 13.

[29]) Note that in order to obtain his reading, Dhorme was compelled not only to emend the text, as copied by Paul Kraus, but also to advance the hypothesis that the original name of that Babylonian-Elamite frontier fortress was not *Ša-pi-i-*^{d}*Bêl* but *Šu-pi-e-*^{d}*Bêl*! As regards the reading *ilâni*^{meš} *šu-ut âl(!) Bal(!)-til* which we prefer to Dhorme's *ilâni*^{meš} *Šu-pi-e(1)-*

ing of the goddess Ninlil after Enlil, and not immediately after Aššûr, is likewise significant. It shows that the officer who dedicated the bead to the gods of the city of Aššûr lived at a time when Ninlil was still regarded as Enlil's divine consort. Since Šulmânu-ašarid I (1272—1243) is the first Middle Assyrian ruler in whose inscriptions she appears in her new rôle as Aššûr's spouse[30]), this detail furnishes a chronological indicium which, as we shall see below, pp. 321 ff., is in perfect agreement with the other data permitting us to reconstruct the history of our precious stone up to the moment when it was sent to Egypt.

Clause 4: Dhorme's reading of the first words of this clause is inacceptable to me, *inter alia*, because it carries with it the tacit supposition 1^{0} that the author of our inscription was not acquainted with the correct phonetic spelling of the word *uknû* "lapis lazuli", 2^{0} that he failed to make the case ending of an adjective agree with that of its substantive, and 3^{0} that, in contradistinction to his contemporaries, he paid no attention to the grammatical rule according to which an accusative object cannot have the form of a nominative.

Clause 5: My reading of the words *nîš ili u šarri lâ izakkar-ma lâ ilaqqi* is based upon the use legal texts make of the expressions *nîš ilim zakârum* "to say by the life of the deity", i. e. "to swear by the deity", and *nîš šarri zakâru* "to swear by the king". As was noted by Landsberger[31]) and others[32]), Ḫammu-rapi's law-code and numerous Old Babylonian documents relating to proceedings in court

^{d}*Bêl*, we refer especially to the use of *šût* "those of" in the well-known idioms *kakkabâni*^{meš} *šu-ut* ^{d}*En-lîl, kakkabâni*^{meš} *šu-ut-*^{d}*A-nim etc.*, as occurring in texts such as B. M. 86378 (published by King in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets etc. in the British Museum*, XXXIII, London 1912, pl. 1 ff.; cf. the transliteration by Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, Leipzig 1915, pp. 35 ff.).

[30]) See Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott*, Helsingforsiae 1932, p. 22.

[31]) *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXV, 1922, col. 408.

[32]) Koschaker und Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, VI, Leipzig 1923, p. 139; Koschaker, *Orientalia* IV, 1935, p. 60 with note 3; San Nicolò in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, Berlin und Leipzig 1938, p. 305.

employ the first of the two cognate idioms when dealing with legal cases necessitating the corroboration by oath of the assertions of one of the parties involved.[33]) The use of the other idiom is elucidated by certain documents found at Nuzi and briefly discussed by Koschaker[34]). The relevant texts suggest that if a person laid claim upon real or other property in the possession of someone else, he could by "swearing by the life of the king" affirm the validity of his claim and dispossess his adversary at least until the latter proved before a law-court or the king himself that he was the rightful owner of the contested object. Since in clauses 4 and 5 the exclamations "a mighty one may not desire and carry away, may not swear by god and king!" are followed by *-ma lâ ilaqqi* "and may not take!", there is little doubt that the author of our text uses *nîš ili u šarri zakâru* in the sense in which the contemporary Nuzi documents employ *nîš šarri zakâru.*[35]) The choice of the fuller wording "oath by god and king" hardly affects the purport of the clause; for it is a fair assumption that whenever an Assyrian took an oath in order to affirm the truth of his assertion, he invoked a deity.[36]) So far as the

[33]) It would take us too far from our subject to discuss here the interesting question as to whether the "swearing by the life of the deity" is actually a "swearing to the deity", as it seems possible in consideration of Old Babylonian passages such as *at-ti a-na Ištar ta-ta-mi* (see ll. 15 f. of the document 88—5—12, 160, published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets etc. in the British Museum*, VIII, pl. 12[b]; latest transliteration and translation by Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, Leipzig 1913, No. 260).

[34]) *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLIII, 1936, pp. 205 f.

[35]) Consequently, it is unnecessary to resort to Dhorme's bold assumption *(loc. cit.*, p. 27) that clause 5 of our text is prompted "par un souci évident de ne pas révéler aux étrangers le «nom» du dieu ou celui du roi du pays d'origine", namely of the imaginary princess Nabaltu. As another argument against Dhorme's reading of the last words of clause 5, I mention that he is compelled tacitly to emend the sign *ma* to *šu* and furthermore to assume that our text uses the suffix *-šu-nu ti* in a place where Middle Assyrian documents employ *-šu-nu*.

[36]) It might be well to note that the association of god and king, familiar to Orientalists from Biblical passages such as 1 Ki. 21: 10 ff., occurs elsewhere in cuneiform inscriptions of the Middle Assyrian period. I refer especially to the idiom *ki rib-ti*

Old Assyrian epoch is concerned, this is actually attested by the document AO 8728[37]) in which an oath is prefaced by the words *šî-me ilum* ... "Hear, oh god ...".

As was mentioned before, our inscription is most likely to antedate the reign of Šulmânu-ašarid I, because its third clause obviously refers to the goddess Ninlil as Enlil's, and not as Aššûr's, consort. In other words, it is a legitimate assumption that the cuneiform legend here under discussion is at least as old as the period in which, according to the diplomatic correspondence found at El-Amarna, the kings of Egypt and Assyria exchanged precious gifts. Since, furthermore, the lapis lazuli bead inscribed with our text could well be compared with a date[38]), one is reminded of a passage in one of the two pertinent Assyrian letters from El-Amarna, *viz.* the tablet known as Chassinat, No. 1[39]), according to which "Aššûr-uballiṭ, the king of Assyria" (1362—1327), sent to Egypt *1 aban ú-ḫi-na ša aban uknê banê[e]* "1 date(-shaped) stone of beautiful lapis lazuli". Hence it is certainly not too daring to infer that the "lapis lazuli bead with a cuneiform inscription" discovered by Montet upon the mummy of king Psusennes is identical with one of the presents dispatched from Assyria to Egypt when Aššûr-uballiṭ sent his first envoy to that country.[40])

Judging from the fact that one of Aššûr-uballiṭ's first gifts to the contemporary Pharaoh bears an inscription defining it as a dedication to, and the property of, the gods of Assyria's capital city, it appears that the Assyrian ruler was in a rather precarious situation when he decided to

ili u šarri "blessed by god and king", as found in l. 3 of B. M. 96947 (latest edition with transliteration and translation by L. W. King in Budge and King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I, London 1902, pp. 388 ff.).

[37]) Published by Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, Deuxième série, Paris 1928, No. 49; transliterated and translated by J. Lewy in Eisser und Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, I, Leipzig 1930, No. 284.

[38]) Cf. the photograph published by Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, pl. IV.

[39]) For a transliteration and translation of the letter see Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, I, Leipzig 1915, pp. 124 ff.

[40]) The other gifts were a war chariot and two horses.

enter into diplomatic relations with Egypt[41]). This conclusion is borne out by the comparatively humble tenor of the afore-cited letter, Chassinat No. 1, with which Aššûr-uballiṭ introduced his envoy: He designates himself only as "the king of Aššûr", and not as "the king of Aššûr, the great king, your brother", as he subsequently did when dispatching other presents to Amenhotep IV, together with the letter Cairo No. 4746[42]); whereas he frankly states in this latter document which gifts he expects to receive from "his brother", that first letter does not contain the slightest allusion to the possibility that the Pharaoh might be willing to reciprocate. This difference in the tenor of the two letters is all the more striking since we know from the brick inscription, Aššûr No. 16315[43]), that Aššûr-uballiṭ's father, Irêba-Adad I (1389—1363), had already assumed the proud title of a *ša-ki-in* ^{d}*En-líl* which characterized him as the ruler of a state much larger than the

[41]) Perhaps it should be expressly stated that Biblical sources such as 2 Ki. 16: 5 ff. and Assyrian records such as Sennacherib's so-called Chicago-Prism (V, 31 ff.; cf. the transliteration and translation by Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Chicago 1924, p. 42) show that ancient Oriental kings were more or less wont to open the treasuries of their gods and to send their precious contents to foreign rulers whose help or friendship they wished to secure in times of danger or misfortune. As for the Middle Assyrian period, this custom is attested by the first two paragraphs of the treaty concluded by Aššûr-uballiṭ's younger contemporary Mattiwaza of Mitanni with Šubbiluliuma of Ḫatti (VAT 7423, published by Weidner in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, I, Leipzig 1923, No. 3; cf. Weidner's transliteration and translation in *Boghazköi Studien*, VIII, Leipzig 1923, pp. 36 ff.). I refer especially to l. 5 which mentions, among gifts sent to the Assyrians by Mattiwaza's adversary, the usurper Šuttarna, *nam-ḫa-ra-ti ša kaspi*^{meš} *ša bît na-a[r]-ma-ak-ti* "silver vessels from the house of the libation(s)" (thus in consideration of the Old Assyrian term *narmak Aššûr* "libation for Aššûr", which I discussed in *Archiv Orientální* XI, 1939, p. 45 with note 5).

[42]) Cf. the transliteration and translation by Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 ff., No. 16.

[43]) Published in transliteration and translation by Meissner in *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, Leipzig 1926, pp. 36 f., No. XVI, 2.

small district which constituted the "land of Aššûr" proper[44]). Hence we shall not err in concluding that the "Assyrian" bead discovered among the treasures of Psusennes was sent to Egypt in the early years of Aššûr-uballiṭ's long and successful reign at a time when, owing to reverses suffered by Irêba-Adad, Assyria's rise had temporarily been interrupted. The inference that some sort of a set-back had occurred in Irêba-Adad's later years agrees well with the fact that younger sources extolling Aššûr-uballiṭ are comparatively numerous[45]), whereas references to Irêba-Adad I are but rarely found[46]). In addition, our conclusion

[44]) On the history of the title *šakin Enlil* "deputy of Enlil" and its significance, see my remarks in *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIX, 1946, pp. 471 ff. According to Weidner, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* XXVI, 2, 1921, p. 37, the Assur-stela No. 27 even attests the use by Irêba-Adad of the title *šarru kiššati* "king of the totality", but it is probable that the stela in question was erected in honor of Irêba-Adad II (1055—1054), as subsequently assumed by Weidner, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II, 1924—25, p. 35, note 1 and by Unger, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, Berlin und Leipzig 1932, p. 190.

[45]) Cf. especially the well-known praise of Aššûr-uballiṭ's achievements which constitutes the climax of the genealogical section of the inscriptions of Abad-narâri I (Assur 780 etc.; cf. the transliteration and translation by Weidner in *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, pp. 57 ff., No. XX, 1) and the glorification of his wars against the Babylonians in the epical text published by Thompson in *Archaeologia* LXXIX, 1929, pp. 126 ff., No. 122 A (latest transliteration and translation by Ebeling, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* XII, 2, 1938, pp. 6 ff.). It is also most significant that Assyria's last king who, after the disastrous defeats of the Assyrians in the years 614 and 612 B. C., "set himself in the city of Ḫarrân upon the throne for the sovereignty of the country of Aššûr" assumed the name Aššûr-uballiṭ.

[46]) Not counting Irêba-Adad II, who may or may not have been named in honor of the first Irêba-Adad, Ninurta-apal-êkur (1191—1179) is so far the only ruler of the second half of the Middle Assyrian epoch who laid stress upon his descent from Aššûr-uballiṭ's father: according to the text Assur 13058 ds, quoted by Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIII, 1939—41, p. 123, note 31, he called himself $^{m\,d}$*Nin-urta-apal-êkur šar mât* ^{d}*A-šur mâr Irêba-*^{d}*Adad šar mât* ^{d}*A-šu[r]*. But this is merely due to the fact that he belonged to a branch of the royal house of Assyria whose claim to the throne was based upon its de-

helps to explain the contradiction seemingly obtaining between the first paragraph of the so-called Synchronous History[47]), according to which Irêba-Adad's third predecessor, his father Aššûr-bêl-nišêšu (1416—1408)[48]), negotiated on more or less equal terms a treaty with his Babylonian contemporary Kara-indaš, and the letter B. M. 29785[49]), in which the latter's third successor, Burnaburiaš II (1379—1349), insists that, being vassals of his, the Assyrians were not entitled to establish relations with Egypt.

As was already intimated, the name of the man whose votive gift to the supreme deities of Aššûr was precious enough to be deemed by Aššûr-uballiṭ a suitable present to the ruler of Egypt occurs so frequently in the records of the Middle Assyrian period that it belongs to the onomatological characteristics of that epoch[50]). Much the same is

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scent from Irêba-Adad I; cf. Poebel, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* II, 1943, p. 59. A text of considerable interest to the historian, the fragment Th. 1905—4—9, 447, published by King in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets etc.*, XXXIV, London 1914, pl. 15 f., in which an ^{m}*I-ri-ba-*^{d}*Ad-ád* is mentioned in the beginning of the reverse (l. "26"), deals with the second king of this name.

[47]) For a transliteration and translation of the passage, see Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. XXII with note 5.

[48]) For the rôle Aššûr-bêl-nišêšu is likely to have played in Assyria's slow rise to independence from the Mitannian overlordship symbolized by the name *Sa-uš-ša-tar mâr Pár-sa-ša-tar šar Ma-i-te-ni*, see Hildegard Lewy, *Orientalia* XI, 1942, pp. 325 f.

[49]) For a transliteration and translation see Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff., No. 9.

[50]) Ebeling, *Die Eigennamen der mittelassyrischen Rechts- und Geschäftsurkunden*, Leipzig 1939, p. 43 distinguishes no less than eighteen men named *Ibašši-ilu*. Although the *limu* listed by Ebeling sub 17 appears twice in his enumeration, that number is hardly too high. For his list possibly does not include the *limu Ibašši-ilu* who, according to the so-called canon C[f] (discussed by Schroeder, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* I, 1923, p. 88 and Ungnad, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, Berlin und Leipzig 1938, p. 437; cf. also Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIII, 1939—1941, pp. 310 ff.), held office at the time of Aššûr-uballiṭ.

to be said of his title. As was duly noted by Forrer[51]) and others[52]), three of the inscribed stelas excavated at Aššûr and published by Andrae[53]) were erected in honor of high ranking Assyrian officials whose fathers or ancestors had served the "king of Ḫanigalbat" as *sukkallu rabû* during Mitanni's supremacy over Assyria. In other words, there is evidence to the effect that, at the time when Mitannian *sukkallu*-officers played an important part in the adjacent Arrapakhitis[54]), the title *sukkallu rabû* was borne by influential members of the Assyrian aristocracy. On the other hand, it is a matter of fact that the titles *sukkallu* and *sukkallu rabû* continued to be conferred upon high officials after Assyria's liberation from Mitannian overlordship. Not to speak of the reference to *ištên i-na sukkallutte ša pa-ni šarri* which occurs in a well-known paragraph of the so-called Middle Assyrian Laws, the ritual VAT 9583 + VAT 9936 + VAT 9978[55]), a source which, with K. Fr. Müller[56]), must be considered but slightly younger than the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242—1206), mentions the *sukkallu rabû*, as well as the *sukkallu šanû*, among the officers present and active at the coronation of the king of Assyria. Moreover, a stela from Aššûr[57]) perpetuates the memory of a *sukkallu rabû* Eru-apla-uṣur whose activities fell in the time of Aššûr-dan I (1178—1133) and his son Ninurta-tukul-Aššûr[58]). Summing up the evidence for the use of the title *sukkallu rabû*, we may therefore say that

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[51]) See especially his dissertation *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 11.

[52]) As, for instance, Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 1, Stuttgart und Berlin 1928, pp. 133 f. and J. Lewy, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 104 f.

[53]) *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, Leipzig 1913, pp. 6 ff. See also Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, pp. 437 ff.

[54]) See Hildegard Lewy, *Orientalia* XI, 1942, pp. 2 ff.

[55]) Published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1919 ff.), II, No. 216; I, Nos. 135 and 137 and joined, transliterated and translated by K. Fr. Müller, *Das Assyrische Ritual*, I, Leipzig 1937, pp. 4 ff.

[56]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 5 f.

[57]) No. 128; Andrae, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 f.

[58]) See Weidner, *loc. cit.*, p. 314.

its occurrence in the first clause of our text is perfectly in line with the indications on the basis of which we concluded that Psusennes' "Assyrian" bead is identical with a gift sent to Egypt a few years after Aššûr-uballiṭ, in 1362, ascended the throne of Assyria in succession to Irêba-Adad I.

As the original owner of the bead recorded in its inscription only his title, but not his father's name, it is, of course, difficult to determine his identity, all the more so since, as we have seen, our sources mention a great number of persons named Ibašši-ilu. However, it is self-evident that he was not only a high ranking officer of the king, but also a man of royal wealth. Hence we may reasonably raise the question as to whether the documents covering the time prior to Aššûr-uballiṭ's accession to the throne mention an Ibašši-ilu among the members of the royal house of Assyria. The following facts will suffice to show that this question is to be answered in the affirmative. According to the year-date of the contract VAT 8799[59]), king Aššûr-nirâri II, the father of Aššûr-bêl-nišêšu and grandfather of Irêba-Adad, had a son Bêr-nadin-aḫḫê[60]), who, consequently, was an uncle of Irêba-Adad. On the other hand, we learn from VAT 9028[61]) that a business transaction carried out in the eponymy of a grandson of king Aššûr-bêl-nišêšu[62]) was recorded in the presence of a certain ^{d}*Šamaš-ki-di-nu mâr Ibašši-ilu mâr* ^{d}*Be-er-nadin-a-ḫi aklim*[63]), whence it follows that that uncle of king Irêba-Adad had a son Ibašši-ilu. The inference obviously to

[59]) Published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1927, No. 174.

[60]) See ll. x+10 f.: *li-mu* ^{m} ^{d}*Be-er-na-din-aḫḫê*^{meš} *mâr* ^{d}*A-šur-ni-ra-ri aklim*^{lim}.

[61]) Published by Ebeling, *op. cit.*, No. 8.

[62]) See ll. 36 ff.: *li-mu* ^{m}*A-bu-ṭâb mâr Irêba-*^{d}*Adad aklim mâr* ^{d}*A-šur-bêl-ni-še-šu aklim.*

[63]) On the title *aklum* (in Old Assyrian *waklum* and hence in Middle Assyrian probably to be read *uklum*), which in the epoch here under discussion usually denotes the king of Assyria, see for the present J. Lewy, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXV, 3, 1935, p. 100, note a.

be drawn from these data, namely that prince Ibašši-ilu was an adult person when his cousin Irêba-Adad I ruled over Assyria, is fully confirmed by VAT 8938[64]). For this text which concerns a loan given by ^{m}*Ibašši-ilu mâr* ^{d}*Be-e[r-na-d]in-aḫḫê*^{meš} [65]) was written in the eponymy of an ^{d}*A-šur-bêl-k[a-la]* [66]), i. e. in the same year as VAT 9009[67]), an administrative record bearing Irêba-Adad's royal seal. In conclusion, we may therefore well assume that the unknown event by which the *sukkallu rabû* Ibašši-ilu was moved to dedicate to the deities of the city of Aššûr a particularly precious bead "for the life of the soul of his eldest daughter" — a great-granddaughter of king Aššûr-nirâri II — occurred three hundred years before Psusennes' accession to the throne of Egypt, namely a few years prior to, or during, the reign of Irêba-Adad I of Assyria.

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[64]) For reasons never explained, Ebeling published this document twice in the same volume; see *op. cit.*, Nos. 64 and 68. A transliteration and translation of the text is found in David and Ebeling, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, Stuttgart 1929, pp. 47 f., No. 54.

[65]) When translating this passage in the publication quoted in the preceding footnote, Ebeling read $^{(m)}$*ibaši-ilu mâr* $^{(il)}$*adad-na-din-aḫḫê*$^{(meš)}$, but on p. 43 of the more recent publication cited above, p. 324, note 50, he tacitly abandoned this obviously faulty reading. In these circumstances it is difficult to see why he abstained from listing the passage *ibidem*, p. 34 s. v. *Bêr-nadin-aḫḫê.*

[66]) This reading, first suggested by Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, p. 442, was confirmed by an inspection of the original; see Weidner, *loc. cit.*, p. 312.

[67]) Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1920, No. 209, who transliterated and translated the text in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXIV, 1922, p. 163.

REMARKS ON PSALM 91[1])

1.

אמתו (verse 4). The original reading was modified by the Massorah. In the description of the angels after the feather (אבר) and the wing (כנף) it put instead of the forearm *('ammato)* bearing the shield and the buckler a word of a different vocalisation, *'ammito* 'his faithfulness' because, according to later Hebrew usage, the word *'ammā* was not suitable for the description of angels.

2.

In verses 5 and 6 four kinds of pointed weapons are mentioned. It appears from the context that פחד does not mean 'terror' here[2]) but 'trap, snare, pitfall' as in Job 39:22 where the word has been misinterpreted by many. The pitfall is dangerous by night, and arrows by day when aiming is possible.

3.

The third weapon is 'the spear that walketh in darkness'. The word דבר can not mean 'pestilence' since it is no more dangerous by night than by day; its correct rendering is 'spear'. We have to do here with the same case of metathesis as in the group כבש-בשכ. The root of the word is to be found in דרבן 'goad'[3]) and in דבורה 'bee', thus named for the sting.

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[1]) This is the English of a Hungarian note found in the literary remains of Immanuel Löw (d. in 1944). It is with reverence for the memory of the great friend of Ignace Goldziher that the editors publish his posthumous writing in the *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, just as a posthumous paper of Ignace Goldziher appeared in the Immanuel Löw Anniversary Volume *(Erklärung einer Stelle in der Tefillah, Festschrift Immanuel Löw zum 80. Geburtstage*, Breslau 1934, pp. 117—9).

[2]) Cf. S. Krauss, *Der richtige Sinn von "Schrecken in der Nacht"*, *HL II, 8, Gaster Anniversary Volume*, London 1936, p. 330.

[3]) Cf. 1 Sam. 13:21.

LA CÉRÉMONIE DU TEWḤĪD À VIDIN

En étudiant la langue et le folklore des Turcs de Vidin, j'ai recueilli plusieurs textes qui se réfèrent aux formes populaires du culte mahométan. Un de ces textes contient la description de la cérémonie connue sous le nom de *tehvit*. Évidemment, c'est l'arabe *tawḥīd* qui, selon la nouvelle orthographe turque, doit être écrit *tevhit* et qui, à Vidin, est usité sous la forme de *tehvit*. Néanmoins, au point de vue sémantique, cette fois il n'est pas question de l'acception la plus générale de ce terme qui, ayant été enregistrée par les dictionnaires et ayant jouée un rôle considérable dans l'histoire de l'Islam, a été l'objet de plusieurs études récentes (Massignon). Bien au contraire, nous avons affaire à une acception très spéciale du mot, qui est introuvable dans les travaux antérieurs. Le terme *tawḥīd* implique, entre autres choses, l'idée qu'il y a un seul Dieu et que l'homme professe sa foi dans ce dogme. "*Kelime-i tewḥīd lā ilāhe illallāh kelimāt-i mūbārekesi-dir*" — "La formule du *tewḥīd*, dit Vidždānī dans son ouvrage sur les melāmīs (p. 60), est identique aux paroles saintes: 'il n'y a pas d'autre Dieu que Dieu' ". C'est précisément cette conception qui fait comprendre le sens profond de l'acception enregistrée par nous à Vidin.

On peut dire que le terme *tevhit* sert à désigner, entre autres, une réunion ou une cérémonie qui a pour but la profession de la foi dans l'unité de Dieu par la répétition fréquente de la formule *lā ilāhe illallāh*. Les dictionnaires occidentaux qui sont à ma disposition ne connaissent point cette acception; dans ceux de Redhouse, Chloros, Zenker et Bianchi—Kieffer on ne rencontre que d'autres acceptions mieux connues, et naturellement, cette constatation vaut aussi pour les dictionnaires de moindre dimension. En revanche, les lexicographes turcs connaissent aussi l'autre acception du mot que nous venons de mentionner. Selon le dictionnaire intitulé *Qāmūs-i türkī* de Sāmī Bey: *tewḥīd* '... *3. lā ilāhe illallāh terkīb-i šerīfinin*

telaffuẓ ve tekrārī: ẕikr u tewḥīdle mešġūldur' ['prononciation et répétition de la sublime formule "il n'y a pas d'autre Dieu que Dieu"; ex: il s'occupe à réciter des formules religieuses et à professer sa foi en Dieu seul']. Selon Mu'allim Nādžī: *tewḥīd '... tewḥīd-i ilāhīji müštemil ẕikr*' ['exercice religieux comprenant la profession de la foi dans l'"unicité" de Dieu']. On trouve des explications analogues dans les dictionnaires de Meḥmed Ṣalāḥī et d'Aḥmed Vefīq Paša. En parlant des cérémonies des derviches, d'Ohsson dit: „Ces exercises singuliers sont consacrés sous le nom de *Moucabélé* (exaltation de la gloire du Dieu) et encore sous celui de *Tewhhid* (célébration de l'unité de Dieu): de là le nom de *Tewhhid—Khané* que l'on donne à toutes les salles destinées à ces pratiques religieuses" *(Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman,* IV, 639).

C'est à cette acception qu'on doit rattacher la signification encore plus spéciale que j'ai recueillie à Vidin. Le *tehvit* y sert à désigner la "cérémonie célébrée, le quarantième jour après l'enterrement, à la mosquée ou dans une maison; au cours de cette cérémonie les assistants profèrent soixante-dix-mille fois la formule *lā ilāhe illallāh* pour l'âme du défunt".

Mon texte se réfère à un *tehvit* célébré dans une maison particulière, mais je dois insister sur le fait que cette cérémonie peut (ou a pu) se dérouler aussi à la mosquée. J'en ai entendu parler à Vidin et je peux citer à l'appui aussi un conte populaire que I. Kúnos a publié parmi ses *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale (Materialien zur Kenntnis des rumelischen Türkisch,* I). Voici le passage qui nous intéresse (28:29): "*Hoga ... der ki: ben bügün gelemejeġem, zere ġāmida tehvid var, oraja gidejim*". L'éditeur l'a traduit de la manière suivante (op. cit. II, 40): "Der Hodscha sagte ...: ... ich werde diesen Tag nicht kommen, ich habe nämlich in der Dschami ein Gebet zu verrichten". La traduction n'est pas exacte: en guise d'excuse, le hodja ne renvoie pas aux prières qu'il a à dire dans la dchami, mais à quelque chose de plus important: à son obligation d'y conduire la cérémonie du *tehvit*.

Lors du *tehvit* qui a lieu à la mosquée, on facilite le compte des formules proférées au moyen de petites pierres qu'un serviteur donne aux assistants dans un sachet.

D'une manière générale, il y a quarante personnes ou même plus. Un autre moyen du compte est le chapelet que chacun apporte à l'église. On prétend que la formule *lā ilāhe illallāh, Muḥammed resūlullāh* peut être prononcée 1500 fois par heure.

Ceci dit, voyons les renseignements qui m'ont été fournis par une Turque de Vidin. Cette fois je n'en donne que la traduction; le texte turc correspondant paraîtra dans mon ouvrage sur cette colonie turque.

"Si, après quarante jours,[1]) on organise un *tehvit,* on y invite au moins 40 ou 50 personnes. 'On vous fait saluer, [dit-on,] veuillez assister demain au *tehvit.*'

On engage un cuisinier et on prépare des plats froids pour ce jour-là. Si tu veux savoir, quels sont ces plats, [les voici:] on prépare quinze à vingt assiettes de *paluze,* quinze à vingt assiettes de *mahallebi,* de même qu'une soupe, *jahni, pača, bajīldī, bamia. pilav, helva·* on prépare de la *helva* dans des plats; [dans les autres plats on met] de la *helva* et du fromage. [Enfin,] si les melons d'eau sont déjà mûrs, on en offre aussi avec du fromage. S'il y a beaucoup de raisin, on en offre avec du fromage.

Les gens qui viennent assister au *tehvit* se réunissent deux heures avant le *gušluq* (= tard dans la matinée). Les gens qui y vont procèdent aux ablutions rituelles, mettent des vêtements propres, enveloppent la tête de la couverture employée pour les prières *(namazlīq)* et, le chapelet à la main, ils se rendent au *tehvit.* Dans la chambre où la cérémonie a lieu on apporte un pupitre fait pour le Coran. On étend là-dessus une serviette propre pour y mettre un vase plein d'eau de rose; il y a des gens qui mettent l'eau de rose dans un vase de verre. Quand le *tehvit* commence, chacun plonge son chapelet dans l'eau de rose [placée] dans le vase, ensuite on le retire. On tourne le chapelet entre les mains et ensuite on se frotte le visage avec elles.

Le hodja apporte une sacoche où il y a des noyaux de datte [Brown, *The Dervishes,* 57, 60]. Il compte soixante-dix noyaux et les dépose devant soi. Il donne dix [graines

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[1]) Dans le chapitre précédent le sujet m'a renseigné sur les usages funéraires.

de maïs] à chacun. Il commence la lecture du Coran en implorant le pardon de Dieu [*istiġfār*]; après cette implo-ration [suit] la lecture du Coran. Après l'avoir achevée, il récite quelques prières. Après ces prières, tous les assistants disent cent fois, le chapelet à la main, la formule demandant le pardon. Ensuite, en guise de transition, on récite une prière, puis on dit cent fois, comptant la série sur le chapelet, la formule: il n'y a pas d'autre Dieu que Dieu [La phrase *Muḥammet resūlullāh* n'y est ajoutée qu'une seule fois]. Ensuite c'est le hodja qui récite une prière. Puis on dit trente-trois fois, toujours le chapelet à la main[2]): 'je demande le pardon de Dieu et je m'adresse à lui' [*estāwfirulla ve etūbu ilejh*].

Quand on a terminé, on chante un hymne. [On m'a pourtant fait remarquer que dans certains endroits on n'en chante pas pendant le *tehvit*].

Ensuite on commence à réciter les formules [proprement dites] du *tehvit*, les comptant sur le chapelet: 'il n'y a pas d'autre Dieu que Dieu, il n'y a pas d'autre Dieu que Dieu . . .' Quant aux dix grains [de maïs] qu'on avait distribués, on s'en sert pour réciter la formule du *tehvit* mille fois, c'est-à-dire dans dix tours dont chacun se compose de cent formules[3]). Quant on a terminé la récitation, on l'annonce au hodja en élevant le chapelet. Le hodja le considère comme une [série] et jette un noyau de datte par terre. Quand il y a soixante personnes ou, d'une manière générale, moins de soixante-dix, on dit: ce n'est pas complet. Alors deux personnes se mettent à réciter la formule conformément aux dix noyaux [c'est-à-dire au reste des noyaux]. Quand la formule a été répétée soixante-dix-mille fois, la récitation est terminée.

Puis on dit des prières et le hodja en récite une qui est longue. Tous les gens disent 'amen'. Pour terminer, les gens récitent une *fātiḥa* et se frottent le visage avec les mains. Ils envoient [leurs prières] vers le tombeau du

[2]) Le rosaire ou chapelet se compose de trois secteurs dont chacun a 33 boules; les secteurs sont séparés par une boule plus grande dite *duraq*.

[3]) Toutes les fois qu'on achève de réciter la formule à cent reprises, comptées sur le chapelet, on dépose devant soi un grain de maïs.

défunt. Ensuite on couvre d'une serviette les épaules de tous les assistants et on les invite à table.

A chaque table il y a un homme qui sait réciter des prières. Quand on est sur le point de se lever de table, cet homme-là récite une prière et tous disent: 'amen'. Quand la personne en question a terminé sa prière, tous les gens disent une *fātiḥa* et se lèvent. On donne à chacun une cuvette et une aiguière; on se verse de l'eau afin que les hôtes se lavent les mains. On distribue aussi des serviettes afin qu'ils s'essuient les mains. Ensuite ils se retirent; on débarrasse la table.

On invite alors d'autres hôtes à table, ils seront au nombre de douze. [Jusqu'à ce moment ces invités ont attendu dans une autre chambre.] Quand ces derniers, ayant terminé le repas, sont sur le point de se lever de table, on récite de nouveau une prière: tous disent une *fātiḥa* et se lèvent. Pendant que ces hôtes se lavent les mains, on met de nouveau la table. On met la table autant de fois qu'il est nécessaire. Chacun à son tour: jusqu'au soir on sert le repas à tous et on termine la cérémonie."

En ce qui concerne les autres régions musulmanes de la Bulgarie et, d'une manière générale, de la Péninsule balkanique, je n'ai aucun renseignement sur les détails locaux de cette cérémonie. Après ce que nous venons de dire, il est à présumer que le rite varie sensiblement d'un endroit à l'autre.

Comme il ressort des études qui m'ont été acessibles,[4]) on rencontre des rites commémoratifs analogues même dans plusieurs autres pays musulmans. La commémoration qui a lieu le quarantième jour après les funérailles peut revêtir des aspects assez variés.

Commençons par l'Égypte.

"Il est de règle, surtout dans la classe aisée, de recommencer une manifestation de deuil quarante jours après l'enterrement. C'est une réunion qui se fait la nuit, avec le plus grand nombre possible de "fokaha" pour la récitation du Coran. On tue un animal (mouton généralement), ou bien on se procure une quantité de viande qui sert pour le repas qu'on offre aux récitateurs et dont on

[4]) L'article de M. A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Funeral Customs*, *BSOS* IX (1938), 653—661 m'a été inaccessible.

distribue une partie aux pauvres. Cette séance s'appelle "arbe'in" (quarantaine), et existe de la même façon chez les Coptes que chez les musulmans, seulement, au lieu des "fokaha", c'est le prêtre qui vient pour dire les prières. Les Juifs la font également, mais elle a lieu trente jours après l'enterrement. Les prières sont dites à la maison par le rabbin et on ne fait pas de sacrifice, ni de consommation de viande" (M. Galal, *Essai d'observations sur les rites funéraires en Égypte actuelle relevées dans certaines régions campagnardes*, *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1937, p. 192).

Ailleurs et même en Égypte la commémoration se fait d'une manière plus ou moins différente. Selon Lane, le quarantième jour après l'enterrement ou, pour mieux dire, le premier jeudi ou vendredi qui suit le quarantième jour, les Musulmans d'Égypte procèdent auprès de la tombe à certaines cérémonies qui n'ont rien de commun avec le *tehvit* balkanique. Entre autres, on distribue des gâteaux aux pauvres (Lane, *Sitten und Gebräuche der heutigen Aegypter*, III, 165).

Voici les données de Bourrilly sur le Maroc: „Pendant quarante jours on observe à table la part du mort que l'on donne aux pauvres. Enfin, le quarantième jour, on bâtit le tombeau et on fait également une *sadaka* aux *tolba* (pl. de *taleb* 'clerc') et aux pauvres" *(Éléments d'ethnographie marocaine,* Paris, 1932, p. 112).

À Constantinople on fait des beignets qu'on distribue, le quarantième jour après l'enterrement, aux parents et aux amis pour l'âme du défunt (Mészáros, *Keleti Szemle* VII, p. 324).

Dans le livre de M. Stanislaw Kryczyn'ski, *Tatarzy litewscy* (Les Tatares lithuaniens), Warszawa 1938, p. 249 on lit: "Après quarante jours on répète auprès de la tombe les rites funéraires. On lit aussi la sura Yāsīn. Au surplus, les riches Tatars organisent ce jour-là un dîner pour les membres de la parenté, pour les pauvres et pour ceux qui ont lavé le mort. Un tel repas du soir ou du midi pour les pauvres a lieu, en mémoire du défunt, à l'anniversaire du décès."

L'usage d'une telle commémoration des morts est connu aussi aux Perses; H. Massé le décrit dans les termes que voici:

"*Tchellè* ou *arba'in* (quarantaine). Après quarante jours, on se rend au cimetière où l'on passe une à deux heures auprès de la tombe" *(Croyances et coutumes persanes,* I, p. 107).

La cérémonie du *tehvit* rappelle dans une certaine mesure celle du *ḫatm* (Massé, *op. cit.*, I, p. 104—6) qui a lieu en Perse le lendemain du décès ou dans un délai de trois jours. On y retrouve l'emploi de l'eau de rose, la récitation du Coran et le repas; la commémoration des personnes haut placées se fait à la mosquée, mais la plupart des cérémonies de ce genre se déroulent à la maison.

Certaines peuples altaïques arrangent également des cérémonies et des repas le quarantième jour après le décès. (Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker,* p. 521 ss.) On rencontre chez les Roumains la croyance que l'âme du défunt se trouve à la terre pendant quarante jours encore après le décès (selon l'aimable communication de Mlle Edit Fél.)

Il est encore à remarquer que le quarantième jour même les Bulgares font une cérémonie tantôt auprès de la tombe, tantôt à l'église. Lane (l. c.) rappelle aussi le verset suivant de l'Ancien Testament: „Et quarante jours y furent employés, car c'est le nombre de jours qu'on met à embaumer. Et les Égyptiens le pleurèrent (c. à. d. Jacob) soixante et dix jours." (Génèse, 50:3).

Inutile de dire qu'il serait facile de multiplier les exemples. Néanmoins, même ces quelques données nous suffisent pour dire que le rite en question semble être issu du mélange de quatre motifs essentiels:

a) commémoration des morts le quarantième jour après l'enterrement;

b) autres commémorations des morts;

c) certaines formes rituelles;

d) repas funèbres, distribution de comestibles.

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NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL

I.

In the 19th century the prevalent view of Biblical scholars was that the author of the Book of Daniel had lived in the period of the Maccabaeans and disclosed to his reader events of a remote age in the shape of prophecies.[1]) Most of them, however, stressed that the author had not intended to mystify his reader but only used a poetical mode of expression peculiar of his time.[2]) But as soon as they set out from this point of view to expound the details of the text they met with considerable difficulties, especially in chapters 1—6. After the difficulties having been discerned the view became predominant that the first part of the book, i. e. the Aramaic chapters, can not be attributed to any author living in the Maccabaean period but we have probably to do with the adaptation of some more ancient matter.[3])

[1]) There were authors already at the beginning of the 19th century who advocated the authenticity of the book, especially Hengstenberg, *Die Authentizität des Daniels und die Integrität des Secharja* (Berlin 1831); for others see Steuernagel, *Einleitung* (Tübingen 1912), p. 140. From among modern authors we mention Ch. Boutlower, *In and around the Book of Daniel* (London 1913); cf. also Baumgartner, *Neues keilinschriftliches Material zum Buche Daniel? (ZAW* XIV, 1926), pp. 38—56.

[2]) See Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 210; H. Junker, *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel* (Bonn 1932), Einleitung 1.

[3]) Cf. Haller, *Das Judentum (Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, Göttingen 1925), 272: "In dieses Buch aber hat der Verfasser eine Reihe *aramäisch* geschriebener *Legenden* aufgenommen, die aus früherer Zeit stammen (Kap. 1—6)." Ibid. p. 273: "Diese Annahme, dass im Buche Daniel *eine ältere aramäische Legendensammlung* (Kap. 1—6) samt visionärem Anhang (Kap. 7) und *eine jüngere hebräische Visionensammlung* (Kap. 8—12) zusammengefügt worden seien, erklärt auch am einfachsten die auffallende *Zweisprachigkeit* des Buches." More recently, there are authors who place also parts of the later chapters in the times preceding the Maccabaean period; thus *ZAW*, LVI, 1938, p. 143, and St. Szydelski, *De recto sensu vaticinii Danielis 70 hebdomadum (Dan. IX, 24—27)* in *Collectanea Theologica* 19 (1938), pp. 59—114, where we read: "Dan. 9 gehört zu den ältesten Bestandteilen des Buches, die auf Daniel selbst zurückgehen und darf daher nicht nach den makkabäischen Partien erklärt werden. Das richtige Verständnis der 70 Wochen ist daher auch das messianische, nicht das makkabäische."

[4]) Thus Marti, *Das Buch Daniel (KHC*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901), chapter XI.

[5]) According to others: 1. Babylon, 2. Media-Persia, 3. Javan, 4. Rome. For the different views on this point cf. H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (Cardiff 1935), pp. 6—8.

There is no uniformity in the views on the age of the origin of these chapters. Most of the adherents to the critical school cautiously but explicitly endeavour to approach it to the age alluded to in the text.

Of the chapters referred to the most important is chapter 2 for it contains comparatively the fewest miraculous elements. Instead, it is the adaptation of historical matter, the appearance already in this chapter of the idea of the four subsequent kingdoms which will be followed by the fifth, the kingdom of God.

The idea of the four, respectively five, subsequent "kingdoms" or "realms" is contained in verses 29—45. The first of them is interpreted in verses 37—38 as Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, i. e. Babylon, and the fifth in verse 44 as the Messianic kingdom. The three kingdoms in between were identified by some authorities[4]) on the basis of the later chapters of the book as follows: the second was Media (7:5; 8:3, 20), the third Persia (7:6; 8:3—20; 11:2), and the fourth Javan (7:7 ff., 23—25; 8:5—14, 21—26; 11:3—45.)[5])

The identity of the fourth kingdom with the Greek rule was considered to be established by the text which divides it into two parts, and, consequently, would imply the antagonism of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. This hypothesis would be supported by the phrase מתערבין

לתתן בזרע אנשא in verse 43 which would be a passage parallel to 11:6 and 17 containing, according to most of the modern interpreters, an allusion to the matrimonial link between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, whereby their antagonism could be eliminated.[6])

Recently, the allusion to the two Greek empires is not insisted upon. Instead, it is alleged that Babylonian historical matter is mixed up with Jewish traditions in this chapter. The legends are supposed to relate the historical events of the Second Babylonian Empire. Thus Nebuchadnezzar would be nobody else but Nabonidus, the last monarch of the Second Babylonian Empire, about whom the priests of Mardok had told various invectives, and it was these tales which were incorporated by a later Jewish author into his own collection and transformed according to his own viewpoints.[7])

Simultaneously with this theory there appeared a large work on the Book of Daniel[8]), according to which it

[6]) See the modern commentators on the passage: Marti, *op. cit.*, Behrmann (Göttingen, 1894), Lambert (Kiev, 1906), Goetsberger (Bonn, 1928), according to whom Ptolemy II Philadelphus married his daughter Berenice to the Seleucid Antiochus III the Great in order to bring about an approach between the two empires. However, his attempt failed, for the former wife of Antiochus III had Berenice murdered, whereby the relation of the two empires became all the more critical.

[7]) See Wolfram von Sodden, *Eine babylonische Volksüberlieferung von Nabonid in den Danielerzählungen (ZAW,* LIII, 1935), p. 83: "In den Erzählungen c. 2—6 sind nun, wie ich glaube, (mindestens) zwei Überlieferungsstränge von ganz verschiedener Herkunft verarbeitet. Der eine wurzelt im Judentum; aus ihm stammen offenbar die Gestalten des weisen Daniel und der drei jüdischen Frommen mit ihren babylonischen Namen, sowie die in allen Geschichten gleichartige erbauliche Tendenz. Die andere Überlieferung ist in Babylonien gewachsen und enthält Geschichten von neubabylonischen und persischen Königen; sie wurden von den Juden in Babylonien aufgenommen und zusammen mit den Legenden der jüdischen Überlieferung nach und nach zu den jetzt vorliegenden Danielerzählungen ausgestaltet."

[8]) M. A. Beek, *Das Danielbuch. Sein historischer Hintergrund und seine literarische Entwicklung* (Leiden 1935), cf. pp. 38—40. The same wiew is held by B. D. Eerdmans, cf. Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 166—73.

is the history of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors as well as the appearance of the Persian Cyrus who had overthrown the Second Babylonian Empire that is wrought up in this chapter. Accordingly,

the first kingdom of gold would be the reign of Nebuchadnezzar,

the second kingdom of silver would be the reign of Evil-merodach,

the third kingdom of brass would be Nergal-sharezer,

the fourth kingdom of iron and clay would be the reigns of Nabonidus and Belshazzar, and

the stone of the fifth kingdom which crushed all the four previous ones, would be the reign of Cyrus.

Doubtless this is an ingenious and new solution of the problem but it is not without its deficiencies:[9]) 1) the reign of Nergal-sharezer would extend to "the whole world" according to this theory, but this is not substantiated by any evidence; 2) the author disregards Labashi-marduk, the son of Nergal-sharezer, who reigned between him and Nabonidus in 556; 3) our information of Nabonidus and Belshazzar does not support this theory either.

II.

We think to come nearer to the understanding of the chapter if, after abandoning the „dogma" of Maccabaean origin, we also try to get rid of the other "principle" connected with it, which alleges this to be a case of *vaticinium ex eventu.*

It does not seem improbable that this chapter treats of an episode of Nebuchadnezzar's life, especially when consideration is given to the problems prevailing in the mind of the great conqueror when he had been about to solve the question of the succession to the throne. The historical information of the last Assyrian dynasty and the Second Babylonian Empire entitles us to interpret the verses in question in this sense. Let us briefly enumerate the most important events that are necessary for the understanding of our text.

[9]) See the cristicism of L. Baumgartner in *OLZ* XI (April 1937), pp. 226—28; and Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 161—73, 176—88.

Sargon II (722—705), the usurper of the Assyrian throne,[10]) played a decisive part in Jewish history also.[11]) He himself stated to have taken Samaria in the year of his succession and deported 27,290 men from there.[12]) It was at that date that the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes ceased to exist as a State. Sargon II successfully continued the policy of the powerful Assyrian conqueror, Tiglath Pileser III, to whom he is very similar in respect of talent and strategic qualities. After his death his son Sennacherib (705—680) succeeded to the throne of the Assyrian empire. He was a ruler of not quite a happy disposition whose abilities were not appropriate to his grandiose schemes, most of which failed. His father destroyed the kingdom of Israel; he himself nearly abolished the kingdom of Judah. After laying waste and ravaging 46 Palestinian towns he already laid a siege to Jerusalem[13]) when he had to return home hastily. Putting aside his elder sons he made his younger son, Esarhaddon, his heir: however, he fell victim to the vengeance of his discarded sons who had to flee from the heir designated by their father.[14])

The military successes of Esarhaddon (680—669)

[10]) See *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III, *The Assyrian Empire* (Cambridge 1925), pp. 43–60.

[11]) It is remarkable that the Scripture knows the names of most of the kings of the New Assyrian Empire and the Second Babylonian Empire. *New Assyrian Empire* (745—606): *Tiglath Pileser III* or *Pul* (745—27): 2 Ki. 15:19, 29; 16:7—10; 1 Chron. 5:6, 26; 2 Chron. 28:20; *Shalmaneser V* (727—22): 2 Ki. 17:3; 18:9; *Sargon II* (722—705): Isa. 20:1; *Sennacherib* (705—680): 2 Ki. 18:13; 19:16, 20, 36; Isa. 36:1; 37:17, 21, 37; 2 Chron. 32:1 ff., 9 ff., 22: *Esarhaddon* (680—669): 2 Ki. 19:37; Isa. 37:38; Ezra 4:2; *Assurbanipal* (668—626): Ezra 4:10, where Asnapper is probably identical with him. *Second Babylonian Empire* (605—538): *Nebuchadnezzar II* (605—562): 2 Ki. 25:22; Jer. 27:6, 8, ff.; *Evil-merodach* (561—560): 2 Ki. 25:27; Jer. 52:31; *Nergal-sharezer* (559—556): Jer. 39:3, 13, where he is mentioned as a captain of Nebuchadnezzar, and may be identical with the king of the same name.

[12]) See Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (Berlin und Leipzig 1926), p. 349; Jirku, *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig-Erlangen 1923), p. 175.

[13]) See Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Jirku, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[14]) Cf. 2 Ki. 19:37; Isa. 37:38.

secured the internal order of the empire. Under his reign Assyria regained her importance which had been rather diminished under Sennacherib. By the conquest of Egypt in 670 he succeeded in extending Assyrian power practically to "the whole world". In order to secure the future of the empire he divided it between his two sons: the younger but far more gifted Assurbanipal was given Assyria proper and the provinces, whereas the elder Shamash-shumukin got Babylonia. This solution of the problem of succession, however, proved very soon fatal to both parts of the empire. Had Assurbanipal been given the whole of the empire, he could doubtless have developed it in the wake of his father. But as matters stood he had to contend with Shamash-shumukin (668—648) and his party. The internecine war ended with the suicide of the latter and the taking of Babel by the former. This fratricidal struggle contributed not a little to the fall of the New Assyrian Empire. Egypt had recovered her independence during the lifetime of Assurbanipal, and after his death the whole of his empire decayed.[15])

This process of decay was started by the Chaldean Nabopolassar (625—605). He succeeded to the throne of Babylonia after the death of Assurbanipal; first he was a vassal of Assyria, but later he not only made himself independent of her but also became one of her destroyers and her principal heir. The two decades of his reign coincided with the two decades of the death agony of the Assyrian Empire.

His son, Nebuchadnezzar (605—562), was the most prominent king of the Second Babylonian Empire. It is probable that with his father's succession to the throne of Babylonia the existence of the whole of Assyria, at least that of Sargon's dynasty, was regarded as practically a thing of the past. Nebuchadnezzar's military career was rich in grandiose conquests. In 587 he occupied Jerusalem and

[15]) It is interesting that the Scripture makes no mention of the Assyrian kings succeeding Assurbanipal, doubtless because they were so insignificant that they did not interest the Jewish circles. In like manner the Bible disregards Nabopolassar under whose reign it was still believed that Babylonia would play no important part in the history of Juda. Instead, it was Egypt that wanted to recover the hegemony of these territories.

put an end to Judah's independence.[16]) Towards the end of his life, however, grave cares tormented his soul.[17]) He may have spent a great many sleepless nights in worrying about the destiny of his empire after his death, for he had no son fit for ruling over his newly-founded empire. His son, Evil-merodach (561—560), was incapable of and incompetent for fulfilling such a task; indeed, after a short reign he fell victim to a court revolution. His brother-in-law Nergal-sharezer (559—556) was then put on the throne of Babylonia; at that time he may have been no young man since in 587 he also partook in the siege of Jerusalem.[18]) He died after a short reign; his son Labashi-marduk was dethroned by the opposing party nine months later, and a Babylonian priest, Nabonidus (556—538)), was put in his place.[19]) His reign ended the Second Babylonian Empire, which was followed by the reign of the Persian Cyrus.

It is beyond dispute that Nebuchadnezzar, before deciding on the question of the succession to the throne, had intently studied the history of the empire and the dynasty, the continuation of which was the Second Babylonian Empire and the dynasty of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar respectively. In the first place his interest may have been taken in the correctness of Esarhaddon's decision on dividing his empire in view of his elder son's inability of securing the future of the empire. Perhaps the right course to be taken by him also would have been the division of his empire between Evil-merodach and Nergal-sharezer. Evidently, he may have had counsellors who would have liked to persuade him to do so, whilst others may have drawn his attention to Esarhaddon's failure, since the very division had resulted in the fall of his dynasty. These dynastic cares may have condensed in his uneasy dreams and appeared in the shape of the image as described in chapter 2 of the Book of Daniel. He may have had a presentiment of the significance of this dream and its interpretation for the future of his whole empire. He feared that, should he tell his dream to the "Chaldeans", they would not worry much about it but would with their oneirocritical methods invent some sort of beautiful, entertaining tale consistent with it but not concerning the gist of the matter, and, on their part, would settle the affair thereby. Instead, he desired the interpreters to tell him the purport of the dream, by which means he would have been convinced of the reliability of their "expert knowledge".[20]) He hoped that the interpreters would in their mortal fright endeavour to fathom the matter.

Daniel really succeeded in "guessing" the purport of the dream by means of his divine inspiration. Those who are averse to supposing such "supernatural" phenomena would, provided they are inclined to see historical material in the narrative, certainly prefer to suppose here the embellishment of the author who, desirous of exaggerating the wisdom of Daniel, would have disclosed also the purport of the dream to the king. Actually, however, Nebuchadnezzar told him the dream itself and became sensible of its grandiosity only in its interpretation; this was why he distinguished Daniel with so great an appreciation.

Psychologically it is not impossible that a profoundly thinking "expert", who also knows the cares and anxieties

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[16]) The Babylonians had been willing to grant a modest Jewish autonomy in Palestine under the guidance of Gedaliah; however, the unruly elements, headed by princes of the House of David, like "Ishmael the son of Nethaniah the son of Elishama, of the seed royal, and the princes of the king" (cf. Jer. 41:1), put Gedaliah out of the way.

[17]) According to the date in the text, the events of Dan. 2 would have happened in the 2nd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. This was, however, considered as incorrect by ancient Jewish authorities already, who preferred to think of the second year after the destruction of the sanctuary (see Seder Olam, Rashi, and Josephus Ant. X, 10. 3 where we read: "2 years after the subjugation of Egypt"). Marti would prefer to read 12th year instead of 2nd, but I think to come nearer to the truth by reading 42nd year instead of 2nd; thus we are at the end of Nebuchadnezzar's reign.

[18]) See Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* vol. 3 (Stuttgart 1927), p. 11.

[19]) According to the supposition of Dougherty, Nabonidus, like Nergal-sharezer, had married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar (see Beek, *op. cit.*, p. 42), which would have given him a title to claiming the throne of Babylonia.

[20]) For this well-known motive see the material collected from later literature by B. Heller, *Das Traumerraten im Buche Daniel* (*ZAW* XLIII, 1925), pp. 243—46.

of his "client," should, at such a risky moment, find out what sort of shape the anxiety in question can have assumed in the dream.[21]) The text itself does not assert either that Daniel would have considered the "finding out" of the purport of the dream as a common occurrence; nay, he laid particular stress precisely on this event as some kind of peculiar divine elucidation of his soul. He can have thought of an image because in Babylonia herself such monstruous statues were in use as emblems of power.[22]) Perhaps during the weeks or months before his dream such a statue had been actually erected at the court or at least preparations had been made to do so. The other important element of the dream is the expression of the succession of powers by metals of successively decreased value, which is a well-known motive in ancient Oriental literature.[23]) The order of the metals is: gold, silver, copper, iron mixed with some other matter. It is not accidental at all that this was found out by a Jewish "Chaldean". Parallelly with the fulfilment of the doom of Sargon's dynasty, the destroyer of the one Jewish State, the fate of the successors of Nebuchadnezzar, the destroyer of the other Jewish State, was also followed with attention. There was a general conviction that even if God gave the rule of the world into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar's

[21]) Most interesting is a parallel passage in the Talmud (Berachot 56b; cf. Heller, *op. cit.*, p. 245) in which an "expert" interpreter foretold the Roman emperor (general) that he would dream (of what engaged his mind all day and of what he was afraid) that he would fall into the captivity of the Persians (Parthians), where he would have to do the meanest sort of drudgery; another "expert" interpreter told the Persian king the same thing in another form.

[22]) See Kuhl, *Die Drei Männer im Feuer* (Giessen 1930), p. 6 ff., who in connection with Daniel 3 enumerates the monstruous statues of ancient literatures.

[23]) See Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Berlin 1921), vol. II, p. 190: "Die Lösung des Rätsels gibt das Awesta. Im Sudkar-Nask, dem ersten Buch desselben, war im siebenten Fargand berichtet, dass Soroaster eine Offenbarung erhält über die vier Perioden, in die das mit ihm beginnende Jahrtausend zerfällt: erst Gold, dann Silber, dann Stahl, dann "gemischt mit Eisen" (d. i. wohl Eisenerde), also, gerade ebenso wie z. B. nach der Lehre des Budhismus oder wie bei Hesiod, eine ständige Degeneration . . ."

dynasty this would be for a definite period only.[24]) Similarly, Jewish circles were sensible of the tragic consequences of the bi-partition of an empire, especially in the decades after 587, when with the fall of Judah's independence their hope of restoration seemed to vanish. We know that immediately after the abolition of Israel's independence experiments were made by Hezekiah to re-establish the religious and political connections between both territories,[25]) just as Josiah had endeavoured to unite both kingdoms in the years previous to the fall of Sargon's dynasty.[26]) The idea of the unification of both kingdoms was constantly alive, both during the existence of Israel and after her fall. The prophets too, in projecting to their hearers the picture of a new Jewish State in construction, only regarded it as realizable by a re-unification of Judah and Israel.

[24]) Cf. Jer. 27:6—7: "And now have I given all these lands into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; . . . And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come; and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him".

[25]) Cf. 2 Chron. 30—31. At the time of Sennacherib's accession Hezekiah attempted to take part in a coalition which aimed at the independence of Palestine and the adjoining States from Assyria. Had he succeeded in it, the dynasty of David could have regained possession of the lands of the Ten Tribes. Against this attempt Sennacherib marched up with a large army, of which we obtain information form his inscriptions.

[26]) Probably after the death of Assurbanipal in 625, when Nabopolassar succeeded in assuming the sovereignty of Babylonia, Judah and the other small States cherished hopes of getting rid of the Assyrian oppression and recovering not only their independence but also their territories lost. The reforms carried out under Josiah, religious as they were, made the way for political aspirations also. The particular importance of the feast of Passover was due to its symbolising the deliverance from captivity (see the Passover of Hezekiah). It was hoped that after the fall of Assyria the independence and prosperity of the Jewish State could be secured. Necho was held up by Josiah in his march northwards and compelled to fight because the latter wanted to ward off a new Egyptian thraldom which menaced to take the place of the old Assyrian oppression. His attempt, however, failed and he himself fell in the fight.

III.

Let us now try to interpret the text on the basis of what has been said above.[27])

a) The Dream (Dan. 2:32—35).

v. 32. *This image's* (i. e. the dynasty of Sargon)
I. *head* (i. e. Sargon) *was of fine gold,*
II. *his breast and his arms* (i. e. Sennacherib) *of silver,*
III. *his belly and his thighs* (i. e. Esarhaddon) *of brass,*

v. 33. IV. *His legs of iron, his feet*[28])
a) part of iron (i. e. Assurbanipal) *and*
b) part of clay (i. e. Shamash-shumukin).

v. 34. *Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out* (i.e. Napopolassar, making himself independent of Assyria, assumed the sovereignty of Babylonia) *without hands* (which was a miraculous, unexpected event), *which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces* (i. e. after the death of Assurbanipal, who reigned together with Shamash-shumukin, the disintegration of the Assyrian Empire set in).

v. 35. *Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together* (the whole Assyrian Empire broke up, and all that had been acquired by the earlier members of the dynasty,

[27]) The most important commentaries are enumerated by Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart 1939), *s. v.* the Book of Daniel.

[28]) It is interesting that this verse mentions the thighs and and the feet separately and only the latter as consisting of two materials, whereas the interpretation does not mention the thighs but only the feet and toes as being of iron and clay. This vacillation may have been due to the circumstance that the interpreter was unable to cope with the difficulty of representing the relation of Assurbanipal and Shamash-shumukin in which the dual reign did not continue up to the death of both kings, for Shamash-shumukin committed suicide as early as 648 when, as is supposed, Assurbanipal himself became king of Babylonia under the name of Kandalanu. Moreover, the interpretation was to point out that the collapse would only happen at the end or after the dual reign.

perished), *and became like the chaff of the summer threshingfloors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them* (i. e. the Assyrian Empire ceased to exist altogether, and the members of the dynasty of Sargon all perished): *and the stone that smote the image* (i. e. Nabopolassar who started the decomposition of the Assyrian Empire) *became a great mountain* (i. e. he founded a powerful dynasty), *and filled the whole earth* (i. e. the Second Babylonian Empire succeeded to the Assyrian Empire).

b) The Interpretation (Dan. 2:36—45.).

Whether Daniel actually found out the purport of Nebuchadnezzar's dream or came to know it in some other manner, at the time of interpretation he was certainly aware of the dream signifying the fate of Sargon's dynasty, or rather of its reflecting Nebuchadnezzar's cares and anxieties of succession. Some phrases of the interpretation, and exactly those which put most difficulties in the way of exegesis, give reasons for this suggestion, and only become plain by adopting it.

It goes without saying that the head of gold signifies the first and most perfect of kingdoms (v. 38.). Likewise it is not strange that the second kingdom of silver should be inferior to the first (v. 39.). It is true this suits to Sennacherib in comparing him to Sargon, for the usurper's son is, as a rule, not so talented as the founder of the dynasty; however, this was not such a strange phenomenon as to infer conclusively from it, since the same was the case with other dynasties as well. All the more conspicuous is Daniel's statement on the third kingdom of brass, *"which shall bear rule over all the earth"* (v. 39.).[29]) This clearly refers to Esarhaddon who finally succeeded in subduing Egypt to Assyria. If it is actually he who is concerned

[29]) Marti, loc. cit., vindicates this in emphasizing the superiority of the Persian Empire to the previous Median Empire. Goetsberger, loc. cit., eliminates this difficulty with the following idea: "Ist im Silber bloss die Minderwertigkeit gegenüber dem Golde betont, so kann und wird das Erz wegen seiner Zähigkeit auch einen Hinweis auf die Ausdehnung der Gewaltherrschaft einchliessen."

here, or rather if the dream represents the fate of Sargon's dynasty this explanation is reasonable; otherwise the third kingdom would have been supposed to be inferior to the second, just as brass is less precious than silver.

As regards the fourth kingdom, the much-discussed phrase of v. 43: מתערבין להון בזרע אנשא *"they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men"*, which was generally considered to refer to the marriage link between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, becomes more intelligible by thinking of the relation of Assurbanipal and Shamash-shumukin who were the descendants of one man.[30])

It stands to reason from the phrases referred to that Daniel saw quite clearly what sort of events were reflected in the vision told to him; on the other hand, he was also aware of the anxieties the dream was due to. However, there are some points in the interpretation which do not give an exact parallel to the fate of Sargon's dynasty. The division of that dynasty namely took place after the third king, whereas in the Second Babylonian Empire the necessity of division would arise already after the second king, provided that Nabopolassar is considered as the founder of the dynasty. The confrontation of both dynasties gives the following synopsis:

New Assyrian Empire	*Second Babylonian Empire*
Sargon II.	Nabopolassar
Sennacherib	. . . . .
Esarhaddon	Nebuchadnezzar
Assurbanipal and	Nergal-sharezer and
Shamash-shumukin	Evil-merodach

The parallel, therefore, would not be perfect in this manner either. It becomes especially deficient in putting Nebuchadnezzar beside Sargon II, in which case the problem of division would arise as early as after the first important member of the dynasty.

But there is no need of complete parallelism. The interpreter had to put Nebuchadnezzar in the first place under all circumstances, for even if this powerful king had not been the real founder of the dynasty, as he actually had

[30]) Cf. Jer. 31:27: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man, and with the seed of beast."

been, the interpreter could not have helped naming him the gold, to wit, the most perfect of all. He made no object of drawing a parallel between such events of Nabopolassar's and Nebuchadnezzar's dynasty as were *known* to him and the fate of Sargon's dynasty, but he tried to emphasize the leading principle: the kingdom of the founder of a powerful dynasty collapses as soon as it is divided for the purpose of settling the disputes of succession thereby. This is why the description of the second and third kingdoms plays no important part in the interpretation; the only thing is an allusion in connection with the third kingdom to Esarhaddon's *"rule over all the earth"* (i. e. including also Egypt) as a sort of reminder of the starting-point. The pith of the interpretation is the characterisation of the fourth kingdom:[31]) the fact of the Second Babylonian Empire will be fulfilled in consequence of the division just as the fall of the New Assyrian Empire had been caused by such a division. From such a description of the future Nebuchadnezzar could comprehend the tragical consequences of the division of an empire, in whatever shape it might happen. If we consider the verses of the interpretation relating to the fourth kingdom we shall see there is no need supposing at all events later insertions or unnecessary repetitions in the text.

v. 40: *"And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise."* At first the interpreter only emphasizes the might and all-shattering power of the fourth kingdom the future of which is seemingly secured but does not refer yet to its weakness. In the following verse he calls the king's attention to a new idea.

v. 41: *"And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes,*[32]*) part of potters' clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay."* The kingdom will, therefore, be divided; it will not be entirely of iron; consequently, it will be only seemingly strong, despite of the division. Emphasis is laid on the

[31]) For the different views of the fourth kingdom cf. Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 70—138.

[32]) See note 28.

existence of clay beside iron. This idea is still more stressed in the following verse which points to the consequences of the division.[23])

v. 42: *"And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken."* The king could see from what was said before that such a division of the kingdom, due to the apparent weakness of the legitimate crown-prince, and the necessity of placing one half of the kingdom under a strong-handed ruler, does not put an end to evils, since the fact that one half of the kingdom has a strong ruler does not imply that the other half of the kingdom under the week ruler will be similarly strong. On the contrary, the words *"partly broken"* distinctly intimate to the king that the kingship of two rulers does not repeal the adversity of the situation. The interpreter bore in mind the relation of Assurbanipal and Shamash-shumukin of Sargon's dynasty: both were brothers, yet attacked one another, and this family-war consumed the strength of the empire. With verse 43 we come to the gist ot the interpretation.

v. 43: *"And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay* (i. e. there will be a weak empire beside a strong one, just as for some time there reigned the weak Shamash-shumukin beside the strong Assurbanipal), *they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men* (i. e. even if Nebuchadnezzar divides his empire between his next-of-kin, his son Evil-merodach and his son-in-law Nergal-sharezer): *but they shall not cleave one to another* (i. e. they do not complete one another, just as the brothers mentioned did not live at peace one with another and did not support one another), *even as iron is not mixed with clay* (i. e. the laws of nature are unalterable: the strong man and the weak man can not get on together, for the weak man will be envious of the strong man for his greater share, and the strong man will be discontented even with his greater share; thus both will turn one upon another).

From this interpretation Nebuchadnezzar could have inferred that the idea of the division of his empire would

[33]) Regarding vv. 41—42 a new theory was set up by Junker, *Untersuchungen über literarische and exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel* (Bonn 1932), p. 13 ff.

not be expedient: by entrusting one half of his kingdom to his more qualified son-in-law Nergal-sharezer he would not save either his kingdom or the future of the legitimate crown-prince, his son Evil-merodach. Consequently, he settled the question to the advantage of Evil-merodach who, weaker as he seemed to be, would be able to cope with the incumbent difficult tasks with the aid of wise advisers.

Accordingly, the interpretation was the vote of the Jewish circles for Evil-merodach. By adopting this hypothesis the philosemitism of Evil-merodach referred to in some other passages of the Scripture[34]) becomes quite justified.

c) The Canonisation.

As mentioned above, the fate of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom was not indifferent to Jewry. The foreign conqueror, the abolisher of Judah's independence, the destroyer of the sanctuary, was nothing but a means of punishment in the hands of God. The years of his kingdom and dynasty are counted. Jeremiah estimated at one generation, i. e. 70 years, the subsistence of the power of Nebuchadnezzar or the Second Babylonian Empire.[35]) In a passage[36]) of his book he actually prophesied that Nebuchadnezzar's s "son and son's son" would reign, to be sure, but the time would also come when his dynasty would smart for the destruction of the kingdom of God and the oppression of the people of the Eternal. It was with this prophecy of Jeremiah that the second chapter of the Book of Daniel was connected by those Babylonian Jews who were waiting for the time to come, especially when these two prophecies appeared to be fulfilled almost word for word. In fact, not considering Nabopolassar, there were four members of the Second Babylonian Dynasty who ascended the throne: 1) Nebuchadnezzar, 2) Evil-merodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, 3) Nergal-

[34]) See 2 Ki. 25:27—30; Jer. 52:31—34.

[35]) See Jer. 25:12: „And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations." Cf. Jer. 29:10; Jes. 23:15—17; Ps. 90:10.

[36]) See Jer. 27:6—7.

sharezer, son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, 4) Labashi-marduk, grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.[37]) Evidently, together with the Book of Jeremiah this chapter of the Book of Daniel was also classed with the texts that were recognised as prophetical. Later, however, some chapters of the Book of Daniel were considered as belonging to such texts as were not annihilated but were not classed together with the holy books either. This may have been due either to the many stories which were connected with the name of Daniel but the canonisation of which was not considered as desirable, or to his many prophecies concerning the future which were circulating among the people and were not regarded yet as fulfilled with the commencement of the Persian era.[38]) Yet in the Maccabaean period when the chapters of Daniel on the Greeks also seemed to be fulfilled they were placed among the canonised texts. During the centuries which elapsed in the meantime, however, the interpretation of this chapter may also have been modified. Then it conformed to the idea dominant in the subsequent chapters that the Messianic rule would come not after four kings of one dynasty but after the collapse of four empires: Babylon, Media, Persia, and Javan.

In this article I have tried to give evidence of the genuineness of an interesting and much-discussed chapter of the Scripture by elucidating an attractive episode which links Babylonian and Jewish history together.[39])

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[37]) They may have seen the dualism in the accession of Nabonidus who rebelled against Labashi-Marduk and was supposed by some authorities to belong to Nebuchadnezzar's family. Cf. note 19.

[38]) I do not want to support the genuineness and authenticity of the whole Book of Daniel, which would necessitate a more extensive and detailed study than the present.

[39]) At the time of writing I could not see the pertinent books or papers published before or during the Second World War, thus the article of W. Baumgartner, *Zu den vier Reichen von Daniel 2 (Theologische Zeitschrift,* 1945), pp. 17—22, of which I know from H. H. Rowley, *European Scholars and Publications Chiefly Relating to the Old Testament during the War Years* (Printed for Private Circulation, 1945).

ADH-DHAHABĪ'S RECORD OF THE DESTRUCTION OF DAMASCUS BY THE MONGOLS IN 699—700/1299—1301

I. Introduction

Never did Islām experience such a time of terror as in the second half of the 13th century A. D. when after a subsistence of five centuries the 'Abbāsid caliphate was destroyed by the Mongols. Already the conquests of Jengis Khān had intimidated the Muslims, and their religious quarrels as well as the decadence of the political and military power of the last 'Abbāsids actually enticed the Mongols to an easy invasion of the whole Near East. Within a few years the 'Abbāsid caliphate was put an end to: in 1257 the Assassins were subdued, in the following year Baghdād was captured and harried[1]), then, in 1259, practically the whole of Syria, including Damascus and Ḥalab, was occupied. There, however, the Mongolian army was so far from its base of operation that in 1260 the Mamlūks of Egypt succeeded in vanquishing at 'Ayn Jālūt the army of Ketbogha, general of Hūlāghū Khān, and thus prevented the Mongols from invading Africa.

After this victory Syria became a province, nay, the favourite province, of the Mamlūks of Egypt: as a matter of fact, she owed much of her prosperity to the Mamlūk Sulṭān az-Ẓāhir Baybars (died in 676/1277-8). During his reign Damascus became the second city of the Mamlūk empire, and her governors were appointed from among prominent Mamlūks, which gave rise to a sort of rivalry between the Sulṭān of Egypt and his dignitaries residing at Damascus. To intensify the influence of the former the commander of the citadel of Damascus was appointed by

[1]) For this event see my paper *A qaṣīda on the Destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols, BSOS,* London 1933, pp. 40—48.

the Sulṭān himself and independently from his Syrian governor. This state of affairs frequently resulted in collisions between the two dignitaries in Damascus, for the governors aimed at what may be termed a practical independence from Cairo, whereas the commanders of the citadel representing the power and interest of the Mamlūk sulṭāns, endeavoured to suppress all the contrary tendencies, as e. g. the revolt of the governor Sunqur al-Ashqar in 678/1279-80.

It was due to such a revolt that the Mongols could take and destroy Damascus for the second time. After the assassination of the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Ashraf Khalīl the Sulṭān Ketbogha was invested in the citadel of Damascus by the troops faithful to the governor and forced to abdicate in 696/1297—98. It was a fugitive *nā'ib* of Damascus, Qypchāq, who induced the Mongol Khān Qāzān — or Ghāzān — to invade Syria[2]). In fact, he had some wrongs to avenge on Syria[3]): the attacks made by the Mamlūks on Cilicia, their capture of Qal'at ar-Rūm, and the welcome they gave to the fugitive Uyrads and to Sulamish. His ambition was only increased by the advice of the Egyptian fugitives, by the distressed state of affairs in Egypt where the usual anarchy incident to a government of a military aristocracy prevailed, and, last not least, by the zeal of a recent convert of Islām. Waṣṣāf tells us[4]) that when he embraced Islām, which happened on 4 Sha'bān 694/19 June 1295[5]), he sent word to the Egyptians as follows: "If my good fathers were the enemies of your country, it was because of the indifference of faith. Do not entertain for the future any fear that you will be attacked by our victorious troops! May the merchants of both countries freely traverse each! Contrary to what has been hitherto, consider peace with us as the principle of your eternal prosperity! Be assured that all countries now owe us obedience, and particularly Egypt, where the throne has

[2]) See M. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2nd ed., La Haye et Amsterdam 1837—52, vol. IV, pp. 206—8; Waṣṣāf, *Ilkhāns*, II, 84—5; Abulfidā, V, 161.

[3]) See Sir Henry Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876, vol. III, pp. 434—5.

[4]) See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 227, note.

[5]) According to d'Ohsson, vol. IV, 132—3.

passed from kings to slaves, and where there is no longer any difference between masters and servants!"

The last sentence of this message contains, in fact, the main justification of Qāzān's attack on Syria. To put down the turbulent Mamlūk dynasty might well be deemed worthy of a Muslim prince. All the *imāms* and *'ulamās* whom Qāzān called together, declared in their *fatwās* that it was the duty of such a prince to repress violence exercised against the faithful by truculent oppressors.

Qāzān meditated an invasion of Syria in Muharram 698/9 October to 7 November 1298, and the *nā'ib* of Damascus and other *amīrs* made preparations to resist, but, according to an-Nuwayrī[6]), the Mongol troops which were collected for the purpose of the invasion, were struck by lightning, many of them being killed and others dispersed. In the following year, however, a still greater army was ready for the invasion[7]), and in the autumn of 1299 Qāzān found the time appropriate for the war.

The second Mongol campaign in Syria is known to us from a number of Arabic, Persian, and Armenian authorities to which references are made in our notes. It is on their narratives that the records of C. Mouradja d'Ohsson and Sir Henry Howorth[8]) are founded. There is, however, a very important and hitherto unknown authority on this subject, the famous Damascene scholar Shamsaddīn abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāimāz ibn 'Abdallāh adh-Dhahabī (from 673/1274 to 748/1348). He was a witness of the Mongol campaign in his own city, and all that he had experienced he described in a very detailed report which is at the end of his voluminous and hitherto unedited principal work, the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*[9]). He also gave a brief and succint record of the

[6]) See al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), p. 83, and also in Howorth, vol. III, p. 429.

[7]) For the preparations of both sides for the war see *Ilkhāns*, II, 85—9; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 227—30; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 435—7.

[8]) See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, from p. 212 onwards; Howorth, vol. III, from p. 431 onwards.

[9]) See my paper *The Ta'rīkh al-islām of adh-Dhahabī*, *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 815—55.

campaign in his compendious work, the *Kitāb duwal al-islām*.[10])

Adh Dhahabī's narrative in his *Ta'rīkh al-islām* begins with the battle in the Wādī al-Khazandār — or-Khaznadār — on 27 Rabī' al-awwal 699/22 December 1299 in which Qāzān's army of about 100,000 men beat the three times as small army of the Mamlūk king 'Abdalmalik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn. The defeat called forth great excitement at Damascus: many of her inhabitants fled to Egypt, while the *nā'ib* Arjawāsh with a body of defenders intrenched himself in the citadel. At the beginning of Rabī' ath-thānī/the end of December 1299 Qāzān seized the city and proclaimed in his *farmān* that the Mongols invaded Syria in order to put an end to the Mamlūk governors' misrule over their subjects: that is why he forbade his soldiers to commit any atrocities against the population.

Forsaken by the governor and higher officials, the inhabitants of Damascus behaved rather friendly towards the Mongols: Qāzān was even invested with kingly power by the *nā'ib* of the city. The situation, however, aggravated on 10 Rabī' ath-thānī/4 January 1300 when the about 10,000 man strong army of Qypchāq and Bektemir began to sack and kill the inhabitants in the surroundings of the city. The commander of the citadel, Arjawāsh, was summoned to surrender: he, however, repeatedly declined to do so. In vain did the *shaykh* Ibn Taymiyya endeavour to protest with Qāzān against the Mongol atrocities: they plundered the whole district of aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya whose inhabitants took refuge in the convent of al-Muqādisa, where they, as well as the inhabitants of the villages of al-Mazza and Dārayyā, were plundered and taken prisoners by the Mongols. After the unavailing protest of the *shaykh* Ibn Taymiyya with Qāzān against these brutalities the Mongol occupation of the city was unavoidable: great requisitions *in natura* and the large sum of 3,600,000 *dirhams* were laid upon the inhabitants. At the same time the Mongols prepared to take by assault the citadel where Arjawāsh valorously defended himself. The siege lasted for ten days and was frustrated on 12 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/4 February, but

[10]) See the edition of Hyderabad 1337/1919, vol. II, pp. 157—60.

the Mongols destroyed many fine monuments as well as the district of al-'Ādiliyya. After their failure the Mongols marched off from Damascus, the administration of which was taken over by Arjawāsh. When on 17 Rajab/9 April the *khuṭba* was said at the cathedral mosque for the sulṭān of Egypt again, the hundred days long terror ended and there were general rejoicings. One month later the Egyptian army marched into the city and Mamlūks were appointed to all the offices.

The cause of Qāzān's retreat from Syria is not mentioned by adh-Dhahabī. According to the testimony of Haythūn[11]) this was caused by the invasion of his eastern borders by the Jagatai Mongols. Qāzān's own historians attribute his hurried withdrawal to the approaching heats of summer, which is rather ridiculous as it was only February at that time[12]). All the more detailed is adh-Dhahabī's description of the terrible devastations of the Mongols. These horrors impressed upon the memories of the Muslims so deeply that even one and a half century later Kamāladdīn ibn Kamāladdīn ibn Qāḍī Shuhba said as follows: "The vicissitudes of fortune have let loose seven scourges upon us, and no one can protect us from their assaults: famine, Qāzān, war, pillage, perfidy, apathy, and a continual grief"[13]).

In the following year 700/1300-1 Qāzān reiterated his attack on Syria. The army of the Mamlūks proved entirely inefficient this time also and returned to Egypt, so that in Rabī' ath-thānī/14 December to 11 January the Mongols could easily cross over the Euphrates and invest the city. At this news a general panic broke out at Damascus: whoever could fled to Egypt or the surrounding fortresses, while into the citadel only such were admitted as were willing to fight. People were relieved on hearing that on 17 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/28 January a Mongol troop near Ḥalab was defeated by the Syrian post of Ḥamāt. The *shaykh* Ibn Taymiyya resumed his diplomatic activities: he went to Egypt to ask for help, but before the Mamlūks could

[11]) See his chronicle, chapter XLIII; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 256.

[12]) See Howorth, vol. III, p. 446.

[13]) See al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 160—1.

send relief the Mongols had already quitted Syria. When the Mamlūks returned to Damascus again, they divested of their offices the non-Muslims protected by the Mongols, and imposed restrictions upon them.

The cause of Qāzān's retreat is not given by adh-Dhahabī. Rashīdaddīn diplomatically covers it by the excuse that Qāzān did not wish to shed the blood of true believers, but it is more probable that he was greatly troubled to hear of the death of Satilmish, the son of Burdighi and a relative of Altaju Aka.[14])

The Mongols' second campaign on Syria is known to us from the *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī[15]) and other sources too. It is, however, related by adh-Dhahabī with the vivacity of an eye-witness and the care of a citizen anxious of the destiny of his own city. All that he relates was his personal experience, which accounts for the fact that he does not quote any authority with the exception of a certain Dau ibn Ṣabāḥ az-Zubaydī who witnessed the battle of Ḥimṣ[16]). The lack of references is striking with an author like adh-Dhahabī whose strong side is the careful quotation of his literary sources. As a matter of course, he put down his narrative shortly after the campaign when he could not yet have any written records at hand. But his record is all the more interesting and important. It clearly appears from it that but for the rivalry between the Mamlūk sulṭāns of Egypt and their governors at Damascus the Mongols would have never ventured upon such an attack on the most important city of Islām after the fall of Baghdād. Nor were they ignorant of the disorganisation and inefficiency of the Mamlūk army;[17]) in fact, the failure of their attempt in taking Damascus was due solely to the heroic defence of the citadel by its commander, Arjawāsh. It is also

[14]) See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 256; Howorth, vol. III, p. 456.

[15]) See Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamloucks*, Paris 1837—41, vol. II (part II), from p. 147 onwards.

[16]) See the MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540, fol. 124, l. 13.

[17]) It is characteristic in this connection that when on 5 January 1300 Qāzān encamped at Marj Rākit, the notabilities of Damascus called on him to do him homage. Qāzān, never weary to express his contempt for the parvenu ruler of Egypt, asked his visitors who he himself was. After hearing them

evident from adh-Dhahabī's narrative that although the Mongols favoured the non-Muslims, they were not hostile to the Muslims for all that. They proclaimed their king to be a Muslim, and there can be no doubt whatever that but for their atrocities they would have easily gained possession of Syria, the more so as the Christian West followed their venture with sympathy[18]). Qāzān sent envoys to Edward I, King of England, and other European sovereigns, summoning them to join in his venture on the Mamlūks. Many people in Western Europe expected from such an alliance the liberation of the Holy Land from Islām and its passing over to Christianity again[19]).

Incomplete as adh-Dhahabī's narrative is of the Mongol invasion of Syria, it is very important for us, being a reliable diary of the reign of terror Damascus lived through in consequence of Qāzān's campaign. In very lively tones it describes the apprehensions of the population from the approaching Mongol army, their hurried flight, the exertions of the leading men to save their city from destruction, and the heroic defence of the citadel by Arjawāsh. We learn from adh-Dhahabī the names of the persons who filled the chief posts in the city at that time. He regulary records also the prices of victuals and commodities during the siege.

Thus adh-Dhahabī's record as an eye-witness's account is a valuable contribution to the history of the Mongol invasion of the caliphate and, at the same time, a true descrip-

enumerate his descendance he asked them who was the father of Nāṣir, the Egyptian sulṭān. On their reply that he was Qalā'ūn the son of Alīfī, a slave bought for 1,000 ducats and with parents unknown, he answered them: "Your living ones are good for nothing, but your dead (i. e. the famous and holy men buried at Damascus) are worthy indeed, and for their sakes I granted you pardon." See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, 249—50; al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), p. 155; Howorth, vol. III, p. 443.

[18]) How much so, it appears from the Chronicle of Cyprus by Florio Bustron where we read that on the demand of Qāzān the King of Cyprus actually helped him against Egypt, first with two galleys and two frigates, later with a fleet of fifteen frigates. See Howorth, vol. III, pp. 769—70. — Qāzān's conquest of Syria also brought him a letter of congratulation from James II, King of Aragon. See Howorth, vol. III, p. 488.

[19]) See Howorth, vol. III, pp. 488—9.

tion of the conditions of Damascus at the end of the 7th century A. H. The fact that adh-Dhahabī's narrative, as a whole, corroborates and, in details, supplements our information of this period, testifies to his trustworthiness in selecting and using his references. For this reason his record can justly be considered as an important addition to the history of that mournful period of Muslim past.[20])

II. The Translation of adh-Dhahabī's Record

(From the MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540, fols 123—34).[21])

1. A. H. 699/28th September 1299 to 15th September 1300.

On 8 Rabī' al-awwal/3 December the Sulṭān al-Malik an-Nāṣir[22]) marched into Damascus and the city was decorated (on this occasion). He had stayed in front of Ghaza[23]) for a long time, and there came into Damascus refugees from Ḥalab, Ḥamāt, and those districts, who endured cold weather and mire. The situation became difficult and the confusion great. The Sulṭān, after staying nine days at the citadel, went out to meet the enemy. The Tatars under King Qāzān crossed over the Euphrates with 60,000 men and even more: so that they

[20]) That as such it was ever appreciated in the Orient, is evident from an interesting reference of Pétis de la Croix in his *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan*, Paris 1710, to the Persian translation of an extract from the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, treating of the history of the Mongol kings. See my paper in *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 829—30.

[21]) See the *British Museum Supplement Catalogue*, No. 486. This MS. was rather carelessly copied by a later hand. With the help of other pertinent sources I have tried to correct many corrupted names and passages.

[22]) Brother of al-Malik al-Ashraf who was assassinated on 13 December 1293. He ascended the throne twice: first in 1293 at the age of 9, when he was deposed by Ketbogha and this latter succeded by his vice-roy, the Amīr Manṣūr Lāshin; and secondly in 1299 at the age of 14, when he was made king by the Mamlūks. (See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 212—24, and Howorth, vol. III, pp. 429—33.)

[23]) Laying siege to it.

were said to be 100,000, which was not correct.[24]) Many prayers were said and people recited the *qunūt*-prayers in the divine service, and at the mosque recitals of the Qur'ān were held. The Muslim armies forgathered at Ḥimṣ while people presented themselves at Damascus to recite al-Bukhārī.[25]) The Shayk of the Dār al-ḥadīth took a special copy of it and, accompanied by the qāḍīs, carried it on his head to the mosque where they placed it under the (cupola of) an-Naṣr[26]). On 24 Rabī' al-awwal/19 December they made the procession round it, praying and imploring; the school-teachers (also) took the children and made processions with them in the mosques, invoking and imploring Him who be blessed and sublime! The Jews and the Christians did the same, carrying their Thorahs and Gospels with them.

As for the army, they were drawn up in battle-array and remained equipped on their horses on Tuesday, but nobody came up to them[27]). It was reported to them that the Tatars were near Salamiyya and wanted to withdraw: this was, however, an ignominious stratagem. The Sulṭān rode out on Wednesday at day-break, and they marched off from Ḥimṣ to the Wādī al-khazandār.[28]) The sun was shining already when the battle took place at 5 o'clock in the morning on Wednesday, the 27th of the month/22

[24]) According to Rashīdaddīn, this happened on 16 October 1299, and according to Waṣṣāf, *Ilkhāns*, II, 85—86, on 22 November.

[25]) Customary in times of hardships.

[26]) The Qubbat an naṣr, now very dilapidated, is on the summit of the Jabal Qāsyūn. See Th. Wiegand, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 5: K. Wulzinger & C. Watzinger, *Damaskus die islamische Stadt*, Leipzig 1924, p. 139.

[27]) See al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 141—44.

[28]) Or al-khaznadār or al-khazindār, i. e. "the Valley of Treasures", called also Mujma' al-murūj, i. e. "Union of Meadows". It was situated at a distance of a half-day's march from Ḥimṣ, between the Mausoleum of Khālid ibn Walīd at the foot of the so-called "Victory Hill" and a river called Āb Bariḥ by the Persians and Narin su by the Mongols. See Abulfidā, V, p. 165.

December,[29]) in the Wādī al-khazandār north-east of Ḥimṣ, at a distance of about 2 or 3 farsakhs from Ḥimṣ. The combat raged violently: there was continual fighting with lances and duelling, and the massacre of the Tatars became vehement. The marks of victory appeared already, and the Muslims stood firm until the afternoon, as also the Sulṭān and the body-guard held their own completely. However, the right wing of the Muslims was broken through, and there happened something with them that they had never experienced before, for the army was not complete at that time: they were 20,000 and odd whereas the enemy was three times as strong[30]). They began to flee, — the matter was predestined for "we belong to Allāh and to Him shall we return!"[31]). The officers taking the Sulṭān with them, returned, and were at their wits' end, and trying to cover their retreat, passed Ḥimṣ, and proceeded on the way to Ba'labakk to the road leading to al Biqā'. People from the army passed Damascus, overburdened with shame and pain. As for us, on Thursday at noon there dropped a note carried by a messenger-pigeon to the effect that the overseer[32]) Aqjabā and a number of wounded men had arrived at Qāra, that the battle-array had still held together and that nobody knew what would happen after their departure. For Arjawāsh, the commander of the citadel[33]), concealed that, so that it was not until evening that the rumour of the breaking through

[29]) According to al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 147—49, the battle lasted from 9 o'clock in the morning till 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

[30]) For the composition of the armies and the description of the battle see al-Maqrīzī, loc. cit.; Waṣṣāf, II, 91—93; Ḥaythūn, pp. 62—63; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 233—37; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 437—39; Weil, vol. IV, pp. 228—29; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pp. 630—31.

[31]) *Qur'ān* 2:151, much used for expressing the highest degree of horror.

[32]) *Al-mushidd* means 'overseer' or 'architect': here it is either the name of a functionary or Aqjabā's family-name derived from it.

[33]) According to al-Maqrīzī, II, 155, his name was 'Alamaddīn Sinjār Arjawāsh.

of the right wing was circulating. Later it was even said that the whole army was crushed, and we spent a night God knows what sort it was. The minds were comforted by the praying, and on the following day the festive drums were beating for calming (the minds): then their deception became evident[34]). Thereupon Arjawāsh ordered the moats of the city to be inundated with water: then on Friday in the afternoon the festive drums were beating (again): people, however, cared nothing for it, but remained upset in disorder and confusion. At that time there came men from the army and officers whose horses were stopped and whose equipments were lost: they tore their clothes and threw off their shields. A great number of men in the battle array fell as witnesses of the faith, and people began to flee to Egypt. People spent the night of Saturday in great confusion, and they were near the difficult situation (i. e.: anxiety). It was reported that five thousand were killed of the Tatars, (according to others even) ten thousand, whereas in (our) army only about two hundred men were killed[35]).

Ḍau ibn Ṣabāḥ az-Zubaydī related to me as follows: "Never did I see the courtiers more useful than (they were) when I saw them at the gate of Ḥimṣ at sunset making a sudden onslaught on the Tatars and slaughtering among the Tatars, then returning to the Sulṭān". And somebody else said: "Allāh struck them with flight, and they took to flight after sunset with their backs turned (towards us). There remained the equipments and implements jumbled up (on the ground); they filled that ground as well as the lances, weapons, and spears."[36])

As for us, people began to talk about the affair of the Tatars and relate a great deal about them: (thus) that their king was a Muslim, that their army spared the lives of the deserters and did not kill anybody, but if they found anybody they only took his horse and weapon

[34]) I. e.: it soon appeared that there was no reason whatever for rejoicings.

[35]) According to an-Nuwayrī, the Mamlūks lost 1,000 men and the Mongols 14,000 men: see Howorth, vol. III, p. 439, and al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 149—50 who also estimates the losses of the Mongols at 14,000 men; he also enumerates the Damascene notabilites who fell in the battle.

[36]) So also in Waṣṣāf, loc. cit.

from him and let him go. Suchlike tales[37]) increased (i. e. circulated) so much that a man of high rank said: "Hush! they are better than our soldiers." Yet people did not notice that.

On Saturday[38]) at noon there was much rumour and disquieting alarm in the city: the men rushed out and the women tore their clothes asunder. It was said: "The Tatars have entered!" At the Bāb al-Faraj[39]) people thronged together so that about ten of them died: among them was an-Najm al-Baghdādī who recited the stories of the Prophet's campaigns under the cupola of 'Ā'isha.[40]) Then in a moment (he) became silent without any good reason. The notabilities of the city gathered and deliberated on the affair: they were Fakhraddīn ibn ash-Shīrajī, nāẓir of the city, 'Izzadīn ibn ad-Qalānisī, Wajīhaddīn ibn al-Minjā, 'Izzaddīn ibn az-Zakī, and the sharīf Zaynaddīn ibn 'Adnān. And with the fugitives there left that night the qāḍī of the city Imāmaddīn, the Mālikite qāḍī, the muḥtasib, and the wālī Ibn an-Naḥḥās. The roads were filled with people from al-Ghauṭa and al-Ḥawāḍir, and the people (i. e.: the convicts) of the prison of the Bāb aṣ-ṣaghīr[41]) set the prison on fire and left it all: they were above two hundred[42]), and broke through the Bāb al-jābiya[43]) and went out by it. On Sunday, 2 Rabī' ath-thānī/27 December people started to put out (the fire) and restore (the gate); among them there was such a one who fled to Egypt with his children, and also such a one who relied on the righteousness of the Tatars and (said) that at that time the lieutenants of Hūlāghū, who together with their king were yet infidels, treated them fairly well: how much more so now that they have embraced Islām![44])

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[37]) See also in Howorth, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 440—41.

[38]) I. e. on 1 Rabī' ath-thānī/26 December.

[39]) For the gates of Damascus see H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas, JA, IXe série,* pp. 372—76 and p. 409, note 23, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* Heft 5, pp. 182—87. For the Bāb al-faraj see pp. 184—85.

[40]) It was the Eastern cupola of the mosque, built in 160/776—7. See ibid., p. 163.

[41]) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* Heft 5, p. 183.

[42]) According to Howorth, vol. III, p. 441, they were 150.

[43]) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* Heft 5, p. 185.

[44]) This is the sense of a defective phrase in the text.

Then the notabilites assembled in the Masjid 'Alī[45]) and conferred on their going to the king and asking safety of him. There were present Ibn Jamā'a, al-Fāriqī, Ibn Taymiyya, Wajīhaddīn ibn al-Minjā, the qāḍī Najmaddīn ibn Ṣaṣarī, 'Izzaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī, the ṣāḥib Ibn ash-Shīrajī, Sharafaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī, Amīnaddīn ibn abī Shuqayr, 'Izzaddīn ibn az-Zakī, Najmaddīn ibn abī Ṭayyib, Shihābaddīn al-Ḥanafī, and others. They, about two hundred persons, went out with presents of food on Monday at noon. It was proclaimed in the city on behalf of Arjawāsh: "Nothing should be sold from the equipments of the army since your Sulṭān remains (here)!" Nevertheless, horses and equipments were sold at lowest prices. The country remained without a wālī and without a qāḍī. As for the Shāfi'ite qāḍī, he fled as well as the Mālikite (qāḍī); as for the Ḥanafite qāḍī, he was present at the battle-array, and joined it and disappeared. As for the Ḥanbalite (qāḍī), he stayed with the inhabitants of aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya[46]) and they hoped for a good outcome. As for the muḥtasib of the city and his clerk, they fled both. The price of bread rose, and evil and tumult increased, and we remained so till Thursday night. The prices of flour and bread advanced for want of mills and firewood which (latter) was insufficient for the ovens.

The sharīf al-Qumayy[47]) hastened to the Tatars and returned on Thursday. There were four Tatars with him, one of them wore a Muslim robe with a cap (calotte) with (turban-cloth) of muslin ... They entered and passed by ornately-clad people.[48])

When the morning of Friday dawned, no gate was opened in the city. Later the lock of the Bāb Tūmā[49]) was broken — it was done by the nā'ib of the wālī ash-Shajjā' Himām and Ibn Tā'ūn, — and the Sulṭān was not mentioned in the sermon. After prayer there arrived a number of Tatars at the outside of the city, among them

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[45]) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* Heft 5, p. 156.

[46]) Western suburb of Damascus, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* p. 34.

[47]) Or al-Qamī.

[48]) Here follows a corrupted phrase in the text.

[49]) I. e. Thomas Gate, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* Heft 5, p. 184.

King Ismā'īl, the relative of Qāzān, and descended by a garden on the outside, which is at aṭ-Ṭarn. He brought with him the decree of the king in which safety was promised. It was proclaimed in the city: "Open your booths, and reassure yourselves, and pray for King Maḥmūd Qāzān![50]" There arrived the notabilities of the city and related that they met Qāzān at an-Nabl: he stopped for them and ate of what they offered him. He who addressed him was the ṣāḥib Ibn ash-Shīrajī, and he who prayed for the king was the khaṭīb Ibn Jamā'a, and they said to them (i. e.: to the Damascenes): "We have sent you safety in advance before you came (here)." They said that the king would take up his quarters at al-Marj[51] and that only one gate would be opened.

On Saturday in the afternoon[52] there repaired to the preacher's *maqṣūra*[53] Ismā'īl with the amīr Muḥammad and a body of Tatars who were in ordinary with both of them, and they both sat down there. There appeared the khaṭīb, Ibn al-Qalānisī, Ibn ash-Shīrajī, Ibn al-Minjā, Ibn Ṣaṣarī and many others, and people assembled to give a hearing to the *farmān* which was read aloud by a man from among the helpmates of the Tatars and transmitted (to the listeners) by the mu'adhdhin reciting with a loud voice. It was worded as follows: . . .[54]

When he had done reading, gold and silver were cast on him in the *maqṣūra*, and the sharīf Zaynaddīn who was befriended with them cast about ten dinars on him, despite of the penury. People were alarmed, (but after) they had prayed for the king their excitement became allayed a little. King Ismā'īl was made nā'ib of the city[55]: he

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[50]) The prayer for him would have involved his acknowledgment.

[51]) Or al-Marja, a plain south of the river Barada. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 103.

[52]) I. e. on 8 Rabī' ath-thānī/2 January.

[53]) An enclosed place in the mosques for princes and other notabilities.

[54]) See an-Nuwayrī in Quantremère's *Noten zu Makrizi*, II (part II), pp. 151—54. I omit the translation of this *farmān* that is known to us from other sources also; see the English translation of it in Howorth. vol. III, pp. 441—43. and the French translation of it in d'Ohsson. vol. IV, pp. 245—49.

[55]) See also in d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 249.

put up at al-Qaymariyya[56]), was clever and peacable (or also: a good Muslim), and, generally speaking, was not too bad.

Then on Sunday they (i. e.: the Tatars) required goods and horses from the people. On 10 Rabī' ath-thānī/4 January the army approached al-Ghauṭa[57]); confusion and disaster began, and a number of the inhabitants of the country (were) killed (by them), and those who remained over on the estates were plundered. Qyqchāq and Bektemir[58]) and their retinue arrived and took their quarters on the Maydān[59]). They conferred with the mutawallī of the citadel, 'Alamaddīn Arjawāsh al-Manṣūrī, and prevailed on him advising him to surrender the citadel, but he did not accept (this advice) and was firm, and this was good[60]). Then the notabilities of the city were ordered to repair to him on the following morning. They assembled with him and begged (him to yield to the Tatars) and said: "There is saving of the blood of the Muslims in this (i. e.: in the surrender)." He, however, did not yield to them but fortified the citadel, arranged all its affairs, and concealed them. A number of the population of the country came up into it.

On 12 the month/6 January the Sulṭān marched into Cairo, and his army accompanied him. On the same day Qypchāq entered the city and stayed at al-'Azīziyya[61]),

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[56]) Certainly the alms-house al-Qaymariyya is meant here, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 13.

[57]) According to Howorth, vol. III, p. 443, and d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 250, Qāzān pitched tents at the Marj Rākit, in the eastern part of al-Ghauṭa, frequently styled "a second paradise" by the Orientals for its magnificent trees, gardens, vineyards, waters, etc.

[58]) According to d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 250, also al-Begui and A'zaz.

[59]) This was the Maydān al-khāṣṣa, with which Qāzān was so delighted that he ordered it to be preserved from damages and seven of its gates to be shut, and on the 8th of the month/2 January he commanded a guard to be mounted at the Bāb Baghdād. See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 249—50; al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), p. 155.

[60]) See also d'Ohsson, loc. cit., and al-Maqrīzī, loc. cit.

and ordered the notabilities to remonstate with Arjawāsh. They talked with him but he did not yield to them and (even) offended them. They all stopped at the gate of the citadel and asked him for a messenger; however, on his refusing (to comply with their demand), they sent some one to talk with him. He spoke harshly to him and said: "You hypocrites! You have met the Tatars and have delivered the city up to them and emboldened them!" Besides that, here is the letter of the lord of Egypt (saying that) they gathered on Ghaza and defeated the troop that pursued them. and the leader Būlāy had stimulated behind the soldiers who were about 10.000, and arrived at Ghaza, devastating the country, taking prisoners, and plundering.

On Thursday, the 13th of the month/7 January people talked about Qāzān's saying his prayer in the city on Friday: people became alarmed and blocked the roads and blocked up the doors with clay and stones. The Tatars (began to) frequent the houses of the inhabitants, searching for horses and taking them away, and doing (much) damage. Qypchāq spent his night at 'Izzaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī's. In the city the khaṭīb speaking on Friday said the prayer for the Sulṭān Muzaffaraddīn Maḥmūd Qāzān,[62]) who was presented in the cupola, which (happened) in the presence of a great many Mongols. Then after prayer Qypchāq and Ismā'īl mounted the pulpit, while the mu'adhdhin 'Abdalghanī shouted out and enumerated the surnames of Qāzān. Then it was promulgated to the people that Qypchāq was invested with the office of the nā'ib of Damascus and the appointment of the qāḍīs and nā'ibs would be due to him[63]). (These decrees) were transmitted by the mu'adhdhin 'Abdalghanī to the multitude, and gold and (silver) coins were scattered among the inhabitants. Rejoicings were manifested at the

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[61]) This was the Madrasat 'Azīziyya, founded by Malik al-'Azīz, where the Sulṭān Saladdin was buried; see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 63 and 65.

[62]) Which involved his acknowledgment as legal overlord: see d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 251—52.

[63]) See these decrees in more detail in al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 156—59 in Quatremère s'*Noten;* in the Notes to *Ilkhāns,* vol. II, p. 94; and in Howorth, vol. III, p. 444.

investiture of Qypchāq. Qypchāq took very much pains with the Tatars[64]), but he was clever, artful, self-willed and experienced, who knew their policy (too well).

There came down the shaykh ash-shuyūkh of Qāzān, whose name was Niẓāmaddīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī ash-Shaybānī, to the Madrasat al-'Ādiliyya[65]). He was angry with the leaders because they did not pay their respects to him, and claimed to arrange their affair and deliberate with them on what would be done in the matter of the citadel, and he demeaned himself as if Qypchāq and people like him were under his orders.

As to the inhabitants of aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya[66]), they became confused, and there came a superior[67]) to them whom a *shihna*[68]) had appointed: he 'ate them and milked them' (i. e.: extorted money from them). The qāḍī married a young girl to him but he could not avert (the extortions) from them. The Tatars (thereupon) began to plunder aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya and do harm and destruction there, and their disaster aggravated and their harm increased each day they remained there. From there they took a great deal of wheat, grains, clothing-materials, and supplies; they took out the windows, and broke and scorched (what they could find), and took the carpets of the mosques with them. The inhabitants fled to the Dayr

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[64]) Because Qāzān's generals desired to plunder the city under the pretext that the citadel had not surrendered to them. See Weil, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 233, Note, and d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 252—53.

[65]) The great Madrasat al-'Ādiliyya is north-west of the cathedral mosque, east of the convent of the Shihābiyya dervishes, and opposite the gate of az-Ẓāhiriyya. It was constructed by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam who in 619/1222—23 ordered his father to be interred in it. See Sauvaire, *op. cit., JA,* IX, 3, pp. 423—24, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 61.

[66]) At the foot of the Mount Qāsyūn, one hour from Damascus, and famous for the gardens and country-seats of its surroundings. See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 253, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 34 and 36.

[67]) Certainly Būlāy who is mentioned above.

[68]) An official title, see Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s. v.

al-Muqādisa[69]) and gathered in it. The Tatars surrounded it on the 18th of the month/12 January, entered it and harried what was there, and captured the women and children. The shaykh al-mashāyikh an-Niẓām went out to them in company of Tatars with what they amassed. A troop repaired to (the village of) Dārayyā, the inhabitants of which took shelter in the mosque,[70]) and surrounding and entering it, sacked, killed, and dispersed the inhabitants of Dārayyā. They continued to loot the mountainous districts and capture their inhabitants by and by, whilst one troop went away and another troop came up. They took possession of rolls of stuffs and household utensils, and punished and tortured (people). The last that they attacked was the convent which they considered as allowed and in which they left nothing but the old women in cold, hunger, and nakedness. The men entered naked and barefooted in worn-out clothes, as if they had been beggars, nay, even weaker than beggars, for these are not in such painful punishments, hunger, severe cold, sleeplessness, and loss of children and wives. "Verily, we belong to Allāh and to Him shall we return![71])"

A troop went to al-Mazza[72]). Most if its inhabitants were deceived and remained (at home); they overcame them with intimidation, plunder, and annihilation. In those days the shaykh Taqīaddīn ibn Taymiyya went to see such persons as he hoped could be useful; the shaykh al-mashāyikh, the mu'allim Sulaymān, and Qypchāq; then, accompanied by a party, on the 20th of the month/14 January he went to Qāzān who stayed at Tall Rāhiṭ.[73]) He was admitted to him, but was not permitted to tell Qāzān what the Tatars had committed, for they dreaded that he would fly into a passion and kill people from among the Mongols[74]). (At last) he was granted to say a prayer in

[69]) One of the many convents in aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya.

[70]) This mosque was erected by Nūraddīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī. See Sauvaire, *op. cit., JA,* IX, 7, pp. 240—41.

[71]) Cf. note. 31.

[72]) Village in which the people of rank resided and all sorts of fine fruit was grown. See Sauvaire, *op. cit., JA,* IX, 7, pp. 442—43, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* Heft 5, pp. 28 and 34.

[73]) Thus also in d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 254.

[74]) Which would have challenged the Mongol chieftains to treat the inhabitants of Damascus ruthlessly.

haste. The wazīr Sa'daddīn and the councillor of government ar-Rashīd al-Yahūdī advised him not to complain about the Tatars (but say as follows): "We are engaged in improving the conditions, but it is absolutely necessary to satisfy the Mongols because a great many of them have got nothing as yet." The shaykh returned to the city; then, on the following morning of the 22nd (of the month)/16 January, it came to be generally known that it was unavoidable that the Mongols would enter the city and harry it, and so it happened. The shaykh al-mashāyikh scraped together a baggage from al-'Ādiliyya and went out to the Mongol camp; he advised those whom he knew to leave the city. Then the notabilities came to him in a hurry, and offered riches to ransom the city, and implored him to intercede in their favour. He was a covetous shaykh who had perhaps done so to deceive (them), but others maintained that Qāzān would be favourably inclined towards the Muslims. Then, in the course of the night, a decree was issued by him with the words: "Whoever appeals to me for the sake of Damascus shall die!" As for the people, they spent that night alarmed and were seized with violent tribulations and excessive cold. A multitude gathered at the shaykh al-mashāyikh's and induced him to beware of him (i. e.: Qāzān); however, he was stubborn: he did not relieve their sorrows and had pity on no Muslim. Then Allāh was benevolent and frustrated that (i. e.: his intention). It was, however, doubled what was imposed upon the people, and the riches were damaged. People did penance on (receiving) the indication of many riches (which were to be delivered up to the Mongols). At that time 10,000 horses and all the asses that remained over were imposed upon the people: there was much scuffle, hanging, and exaction. There were imposed 100,000 dirhams upon the Sūq of the Wool-Carders[75]), 100,000 (dirhams) upon the lance-makers, 60,000 (dirhams) upon the people of the Sūq 'Alī[76]) and 70,000 (dirhams) upon each of the notabilities like Ibn al-Minjā and Ibn al-Qalānisī, (but) it reached (even) 100,000 (dirhams in some cases). Upon

[75]) Later called Sūq al-kumaila: see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.,* Heft 5, p. 78.

[76]) Completely: Sūq 'Alī pāshā; see ibid., p. 52.

(people of) the second category 30,000 (dirhams) were imposed, and so on[77]). They forced al-Mughīth into the jāmi', into the Mosque al-Jadīd,[78]) the notabilities were treated harshly, a number of leading persons were beaten; there was much plunder, and (even those) were destitute who supported (them). The news of this spread on Friday, 28th of the month/22 January, and there was much unrest on top of the houses, and people wailed from their roofs. The shaykh Shamsaddīn ibn Ghānam was carried sick to the mosque and was demanded 100,000 (dirhams). Those who slept and those who reviled (the Mongols) were molested. He who made the demand publicly known was 'Alāaddīn, the instructor (or: steward, *ustādh*) of the house of Qypchāq; he who fixed (the sums imposed) upon the people was aṣ-Ṣafī as-Sinjārī: he arrived with the Tatars, and instructed and fed (literally: gave milk to) the children of al-Ḥarīrī. The (number of) accidents which became public increased, and villains appeared who caused much anger and made false accusations. The utensils and the houses of the amīrs were sacked. The shaykh Wajīhaddīn ibn al-Minjā related that all that was carried to the treasury of Qāzān amounted to 3,600.000 (dirhams), except what was due to him by order and from bribery and what he extorted from the notabilities for other persons, so that the shaykh ash-shuyūkh got about 600.000 dirhams[79]).

The distress increased and many people perished and became impoverished during the exactions up to this date: among them was Ruknaddīn. Taxes were imposed upon the heads of some people and their outfits. Then on the 29th/23 January it was made public in the city that the exactions were remitted, and the notabilities returned to their homes. By the end of the month Qypchāq resided at the Dār as-sa'āda, and used to go there from the district of the foreigners[80]). He was flung with (stones of)

[77]) See also Howorth, vol. III, pp. 444—45, and al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 160—61.

[78]) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 48.

[79]) Thus also in al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 160—62, and Howorth, vol. III, p. 445.

[80]) Adh-Dhahabī probably means the district of the Christians: it was the Eastern part of Damascus; see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 38.

the catapult and fire from the citadel, and it (i. e.: the Dār as-sa'āda) was set ablaze. At that time the investment of the citadel of Damascus[81]) was begun from both the inside and the outside of the city. The Mongols were ordered to enter (the city) for the investment. They took the Bāb al-Barīd[82]) as far as aẓ-Ẓāhiriyya[83]) and the parts around al-Khāṭūniyya[84]) as well as the district of al-Balāṭa[85]), and remained there. In those days the catapults for the Tatars were set up at the mosque of Damascus: for them (i. e. the catapults) precious sorts of timber were felled from al-Ghauṭa, and the large trunks of trees were carried into the mosque. The Turks spent the night watching over them, and the shops at the Bāb al-Barīd[86]) were broken in and sacked. All the people of those districts who were on the roofs surrendered during the night, lacking their belongings and provisions, and being befallen by and enduring hardships, (so that) nobody remained in that district from its inhabitants. At that time the Dār as-Sukkar[87]) was sacked and destroyed by the mob.

As for the (Mamlūk) armies they entered Cairo, and the Sulṭān happened to be among them. They began to buy horses and equipments, (consequently) the prices of these things rose, so that the breast-plate which

[81]) For a detailed description of the citadel see ibid., pp. 166—82.

[82]) The west gate of the cathedral mosque. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 66.

[83]) I. e. the Madrasat aẓ-Ẓāhiriyya "extra muros" on the outside of the Bāb an-Naṣr, east of the Ḥanafite Khāṭūniyya "intra muros" and west of the convent of the Hishāmiyya dervishes, between the rivers Bānyās and Qanawāt on the southern Sharaf: it was erected by al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir ibn 'Abdalmalik an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥaddīn. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, *JA*, IX, 3, pp. 418—20, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 59—61.

[84]) This is the Madrasat al-Khāṭūniyya "extra muros" on the southern Sharaf, erected by the Princess Zumurrud Khāṭūn, wife of Tājalmulūk aṭ-Ṭaurī (died in 557/1161—2). See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, *JA*, IX, 4, p. 526.

[85]) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 70.

[86]) There were fruit- and other food-shops there. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, *JA*, IX, 7, p. 372.

[87]) Correctly Dār al-Ḥadīth as-Sakariyya, of which also adh-Dhahabī was prior. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, *JA*, IX, 3, p. 276.

(usually) cost 10 dirhams (was sold) at 100 dirhams or so. There was vast expenditure, like which was never seen, especially among the Damascenes; it probably exceeded 1,000,000 dīnārs. The shortcomings of the army were redressed by every possible means[88]: Salār took pains about that and endeavoured (to do so) as much as he could. They sent away messengers to bring them news from Damascus: they provided them with plenty of money. The people remained in their houses and feared that the Tatars would force upon them the filling of the moat of the citadel and other (works). On 2 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/25 January there remained at the Dayr al-Muqādisa a few objects and a few women and men, (among them also) the Ḥanbalite qāḍī. A troop of Tatars came up to it and ransacked it, plundering and taking prisoners. They took prisoner the Hanbalite qāḍī whom they took away bareheaded, and put a rope round his neck. Upon this the people of the Dayr (al-Muqādisa) took to flight and entered the city depressed and denuded, (so that) whosoever saw them wept more than they themselves did. Then the qāḍī Taqiaddīn entered the city: his daughters and many of his relatives had already been taken prisoners; he saw the horrors, and perhaps that is why Allāh endowed him with mercy. The defenders of the citadel, seeing that the Tatars invested them, cast firebrands into the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya[89]) and its surroundings, and into al-'Ādiliyya[90]), the Dār al-Malik al-Kāmil, the Dār Maktab al-'Alā[91]) and the greatest part of the surroundings of the citadel, whereas ad-Dammāghiyya,

[88]) See also al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 165—67; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 260—62; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 448—49.

[89]) At the Eastern gate of the citadel, west of the Usrūniyya and north of the Ḥanafite Qaymāziyya, finished by al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffaraddīn Mūsā, son of al-'Ādil (died in 625/1227—8), and opened in Sha'bān 630/13 May to 10 June 1233. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 61, and Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

[90]) It is the Madrasat al-'Ādiliyya; see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 61.

[91]) Probably connected with the mosque al-'Alā, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 81.

al-'Ammādiyya, and al-Qaymāziyya[92]) remained safe. The mosque was full of strangers, inhabitants, and peasants who were under the citadel. It was said that about 4,000 people were taken prisoners from aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya, and many from the other districts, and from Jerusalem to Nablus and al-Biqā', whose number only Allāh knows. It was said that in aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya about 400 men were killed, and an indescribable and numberless (quantity of) things like doors, pieces of marble, windows, and other things, were carried away from the other places both inside and outside that were round the citadel: they were offered for sale at low prices. The rest of the population of the city wore scant clothes and old head-gears for fear of being plundered and of the recurrence of violent exactions and punishments. A great sum of about 100,000 (dirhams) were required from the madrasas, the inspectors and 'āmils were dealt harshly, and the prices rose[93]).

On Friday a farmān was read aloud at the jāmi' ordaining to spare the mosque and preserve the waqf-estates. It also gave directions to the end that what was taken from the armouries should be employed in the way of Allāh and for the ḥajj, and that coins should be minted of pure silver.

On 12 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/4 February Qāzān left al-Ghauṭa for home; his nā'ib Kutlugh Shāh with a troop remained back at the palace. On 13 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/5 February the inhabitants of al-'Ādiliyya were ordered to evacuate it because they intended investing the citadel. They went out in trouble and misery, leaving (behind them) most of their belongings and provisions which were destroyed.

On 18 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/10 February a number of Mongols entered the city and invested the citadel which they pierced through from its West (-side). The inhabitants of aẓ-Ẓāhiriyya[94]) remained there, full of misfortune and for fear of the camel-troops of the Tatars, and that they, fallen short of water, would perish; they feared lest the Tatars

[92] See note 89.

[93]) See also in al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), p. 163.

[94]) This is the Madrasat Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 59—61.

should deal with them in the same manner as they did with (the inhabitants of) al-ʿĀdiliyya. They cast fire on the houses and its inhabitants who fled from the roofs with very much grief. The Tatars, Georgians, and Armenians set fire to the Jāmiʿ al-ʿUqayba [95]), the mountain-hospital [96]), ad Dahsha [97]), the Madrasat aṣ-Ṣāḥibiyya [98]), the Ribāṭ an-Nāṣirī [99]), and other places of prominent beauty and many (inhabitants). They burnt down al-ʿĀdiliyya on the night of 21 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/13 February, on which occasion fled also those who belonged to az-Ẓāhiriyya [100]).

On Friday, the 19th of the month/11 February there was promulgated the installation of Qyqchāq in the office of nāʾib, and the investiture of Nāṣiraddīn Yaḥyā ibn Jalāladdīn ibn Ṣāḥib Khuttan with the *mishadd* [101]).

In the (same) year we shall return to our country after we have left 60,000 (men) from our army at Damascus; we shall return to Egypt in autumn.

On the 22nd of it/14 February the investment of the citadel was discomfited to the Tatars, and people wandered (back) into these districts. There remained over uninhabited stretches after the fire and devastation, and the gates and wooden utensils vanished.

On the 23rd/15 February the work of the catapult which was brought down from the precipice of the citadel failed. They spread terror and did destruction to it, and seizing the sharīf al-Qumayy, took him prisoner and brought him to the citadel. The two nāʾibs Kutlugh Shāh

[95]) On the slope of the Qāsyūn, achieved by Muẓaffaraddīn Kūkuburī Zaynaddīn Kūchik, lord of Arbil. See Sauvaire, *op. cit., JA*, IX, 7, pp. 241—43, and Th. Wiegand, *op cit.*, Heft 5, p. 48.

[96]) It was built by the amīr Sayfaddīn abul-Ḥasan al-Qaymarī in 646/1248—9 and 655/1257. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 124—7.

[97]) Probably miswritten from al-Buqsa; see ibid., p. 39.

[98]) On the slope of the Qāsyūn, erected by Rabīʿa Khāṭūn bint Najmaddīn Ayyūb, sister of Ṣalāḥaddīn (died in 643/1245—6), see Sauvaire, *op. cit., JA*, IX, 4, pp. 468—70.

[99]) Also on the Qāsyūn; see Sauvaire, *op. cit., JA*, IX, 5, p. 379 as "le rébat d'et-Tekrity".

[100]) See also al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 163—4.

[101]) Originally it means 'corset, stays': here 'a kind of dress of state'.

and the lord of Sīs drove up to the city, whence the Tatars went away in great haste and struck their tents from their sites. People felt relief, and we went through the Bāb al Barīd, and lo, it was nicer than an inn as to its lodging: its shops carried on trade, on its soil there were baskets heaped up to about the height of the upper part of the arm. When we arrived at the Bāb an-Naṣr [102]) the festive drums were on that day beating in the citadel as a proof that it remained safe, for which the praise is due to Allāh (alone)! On that day aṣ-Ṣafī as-Sinjārī and the amīr Yaḥyā went out of the city, in which it was proclaimed: "Go out to-morrow to meet your sulṭān Qypchāq! Allāh has already diverted the enemy from you!" The amīr Sayfaddīn, Qypchāq, the silāḥdār Bektemir, al-Bakī, and a troop from the army returned: they arrived to him from the city, appeared before him, and the turbans from the tomb of the late al-Malik aẓ Ẓāhir Rank al-Malik as-Saʿīd [103]) were taken to him and were put upon his head by a lance, (whilst) swords were drawn before him. He put up at the palace, and people went out to al-Ghauṭa and to the mountain, lamenting for their houses on the one hand, and rejoicing at their safety on the other hand.

Ibn Taymiyya related to us how he and the qāḍī Taqīaddīn al-Ḥanbalī and another person went up to Kutlugh Shāh to the palace, how they spent the night at al-Munaybiʿ [104]), and, jeopardising their lives, appeared before Kutlugh Shāh. He (Ibn Taymiyya) saw him grown old, lank-haired, pale, large-faced, enraged, and malign: he descended from the generation of Jengiz Khān. He saw that the lord of Sīs was in his service, and told us (how) he was together with Qāzān of whom he asked peace: (how) he was together with the two wazīrs Saʿdaddīn and Rashīdaddaula aṭ-Ṭabīb, the Jewish nobleman al-Kahḥāl, the shaykh ash-shuyūkh, the inspector of the treasury as-

[102]) South of the citadel and communicating with the palace of Barqūq. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 185.

[103]) This was the so-called "Baybars-turba" begun by al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars (died in 676/1277—8) and finished by al-Malik as-Saʿīd (died in 678/1279—89). See ibid., p. 43.

[104]) District around the Madrasat al-Khāṭūniyya. See Sauvaire, *op. cit., JA*, IX, 7, pp. 435—6.

Sayyid al-Quṭb, and al-Uṣayl the son of an-Naṣīr aṭ-Ṭūsī, the inspector of the waqf-estates: these were Tatars wearing turbans, Christians and Jews[105]), and such people as despised the ḥadīth: (nevertheless) no one refrained from (following) their manners, except a few.[106])

The prices rose: the flour reached (the price of) 300 dirhams, and 2½ oqas of raisins (or also: figs) cost 1 dirham, 1 raṭl of meat 9 dirhams, 1 oqa of cheese about 1 dirham or so.

Qypchāq remained behind to exercise full authority, and he used to ride about with policemen and staves[107]). About 100 horsemen gathered round him: we saw them clothed as the *sharābīsh* were. His ustādhdār ʿAlāaddīn was the wālī of the city: he made him amīr and fitted out about 1,000 Tatars to persecute robbers. Shamsaddīn ibn aṣ-Ṣafī as-Sinjārī excercised the office of the muḥtasib of the city: he rode in order to bestow the robe of honour upon him. (On this occasion) the gates of the city were opened with the exception of those which were round the citadel.

On Friday, 4 Jumādā 'l-Ākhira/26 February the amīr Yaḥyā prayed in the mosque, at which time the festive drums were beating in the citadel and at the gate of Qypchāq, who lived at the Dār Bahādur Āṣ.

In the middle of the month/about 9 March wine and immorality were proclaimed to be prohibited at Damascus: this was begun in the house of Ibn Jarāda at as-Saʿba, and was imposed upon about 1,000 (men) a day. A troop broke out of the citadel and drove to the vicinity of the Bāb al-Jābiya, and the Tatars fled from before them. The crowd beat the Tatars whereby confusion arose, the Bāb aṣ-

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[105]) In the text *bīʿat al-kutub*, ('the temple of the books'): it certainly means 'the possessors of the books' *(ahl al-kitāb)*, i. e. Christians and Jews.

[106]) The following phrase in the text is parallelism, which is — as so often in Oriental texts — immaterial for the context: for this reason we have omitted the translation of it.

[107]) When Qāzān left Damascus, Qypchāq was left behind, first as a nominal ruler, the real one being Kutlugh Shāh, then ten days later, after the departure of Kutlugh Shāh, as the real ruler of the city. See Howorth, part III, pp. 447—8.

Ṣaghīr[108]) was closed, and a troop (or: number) of Tatars were said to be killed.

On the 20th of the month/14 March Būlāy returned with his vanguard from al-Ghūr: they went to the outside of Damascus. People became terrified, and from the city a sum was collected as a ransom for them (i. e. the Tatars). Then a troop went out of the citadel and secured the cattle of the Tatars and killed a number (of people), whereas a number of them were also killed: there was a riot in the city.

On the 28th of the month/22 March the khaṭīb Badraddīn marched into the citadel with a number of followers, among them with the nāʾib of the amīr Yaḥyā; they conferred with Arjawāsh upon the peace to be concluded between him and the nāʾibs of the Tatars and Qypchāq, but no agreement was come to. On 2 Rajab/24 March Qypchāq gathered the notabilities and the qāḍīs into his house and made them swear in upon the dynasty of Qāzān in faithfulness and without (the intention of) misleading them. Ibn Taymiyya betook himself to the tent of Būlāy on account of the prisoners and the deliverance of them from his companions. He was absent for three days, then on 3 Rajab/25 March a number of chiefs in quest of him repaired to the tent of Būlāy and returned on the following day. They were plundered at the Bāb ash-Sharqī,[109]) and their turbans and clothes were taken away. They entered on the same day: some of them hid themselves, the rest went away. (When) Būlāy and the Tatars left, they took with them Badraddīn ibn Faḍlallāh, Amīnaddīn ibn Shuqayr, ʿAlāaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī, and the child of Shamsaddīn ibn al-Athīr; by the Euphrates they released Ibn Shuqayr who arrived at Ḥalab.

On 4 Rajab/26 March people mounted the minārats and told that they saw a multitude of Tatars go away from ʿAqaba Dummar.

Būlāy rode to Baʿlabakk and al-Biqāʿ, and the environs of Damascus as well as the city (itself) were cleared of them. On 10 Rajab/1 April people went to al-Qatla and ash-Shammāl. On that day, on Friday, Qypchāq

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[108]) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 183.

[109]) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 183—84.

prayed amidst a large and numerous congregation (whilst) the weapons were in the *maqṣūra* of the preaching.

On 13 Rajab/4 April the city was alarmed on account of the return of a troop of Tatars to the outside of the Bāb ash-Sharqī. People were discovered in the quincey-groves: they hurried back, (but) some of them were struck down and some of the youths were taken prisoners. Then this was the end of the period (of the encounter) with the Tatars: may Allāh suffice (i. e.: finish) their affair! As for Qypchāq, on the day of the middle of Rajab/6 April he with his followers left the city, — 'Izzaddīn al-Qalānisī was with him, — and went to Egypt[110]). The city was administered by Arjawāsh[111]), who ordered the walls to be defended and the building on them[112]) to be fitted out. Whosoever spent the night in his house was hanged, and the city-gates were locked. Then after dawn people unlocked the Bāb an-Naṣr and were terrified with the crowds.

On Friday, 17 Rajab/8 April at Damascus the khuṭba was said for the lord of Egypt again, after it had been said for al-Ḥākim bi amr Allāh. People made noise and rejoiced at that: it (i. e.: the prayer for the Sulṭān) had been omitted for 100 days. At that time the houses of Ibn Taymiyya and of his companions were such that "the wine-shops were renewed, and the wine was shed, and the goblets cracked, and the wine-merchants were honoured"[113]). From Saturday morning on the city was decorated.

On 10 Sha'bān/1 May there arrived al-Aframm, nā'ib of Damascus, with troops at Damascus[114]); then, two days later, there arrived the amīr Salār and the Egyptian left wing; then the right wing entered, commanded by the ustādhdār al-Ḥisām; then, on 14 Sha'bān/5 May there marched the main body in, commanded by Salār, nā'ib of the realm: they all put up at al-Marja.

In that (month) there officiated as qāḍī of Syria Ibn Jamā'a, as Ḥanafite qāḍī Ibn al-Ḥarīrī; there taught at the al-Amīniyya[115]) Jalāladdīn, substituting his deceased brother. As overseer of the dīwān there functioned Ibn ash-Shīrāzī, substituting the deceased Ibn ash-Shīrajī. As wālī of the city there functioned the amīr 'Izzaddīn Ubayk ad-Dawīdār an-Najībī.

On 8 Ramaḍān/28 May Salār returned with the army to Cairo. In Shawwāl (20 June to 18 July) the sharīf Zaynaddīn ibn 'Adnān was sent back from Cairo in chains: he was imprisoned in the jail of the Bāb aṣ-Ṣaghīr.

In Shawwāl/20 June to 18 July the malik al-umarā al-Afram repaired to Jibāl al-Jurd to their tribe, for in the army they had already learned the outcome of the defeat, and captured, killed, and robbed whatever was still possible. Their aim was to become deserters; moreover, people said: "They are heretics deviating from the religion", they were (,however,) subdued, became obedient, and were overcome. A large amount of property was imposed upon them, and they were compelled to render everything they had taken away for the army, and their estate was confiscated.

In Dhul-Qa'da/19 July to 18 August people were compelled to hang out their equipments: they were ordered to learn archery. The heroic deeds were proclaimed among the people; that (proclamation) was sent by the chief qāḍī to all the madrasas and lawyers, and in the same sense the whole of Syria was informed of it in writing.

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110) In order to swear allegiance to the Sulṭān again; see Howorth, vol. III, p. 449.

111) Who reconquered the city on 8 April; see ibid.

112) This is certainly the tower which was erected in 569/1173—4 and rebuilt in 699/1299—300, i. e. the year of our record. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 186—7.

113) The meaning of this parallelism is: there were general rejoicings.

114) He dealt harshly with such people as were agents of the Mongols; some of them were crucified, others hanged, of others again their hands, feet, or tongues were cut, or their eyes put out. See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 263—67; Weil, vol. IV, p. 236; Abulfidā, vol. V, p. 173; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 449—50, where the new governors appointed by the Sulṭān are also enumerated.

115) The oldest madrasa in Damascus: it was founded by the amīr Amīnaddaula in 414/1023—4. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p, 72.

2. A. H. 700/16th September 1300 to 5th September 1301.

On the 1st of it/16 September the dīwān held a meeting and ordered that four months should be fixed for all the estates and waqfs that were in Damascus and outside of it to be tilled (for public purposes). This weighed heavily on the people, many of whom fled and others kept in hiding. Then there were many rumours of the coming of the Tatars (again), and people began to flee to Egypt and the fortresses[116]). Conditions became (still) worse in Ṣafar/16 October to 13 November, the charges for jobbing animals advanced so that the charge for a camel foal reached 500 dirhams, (whereas) implements and coppers were sold at low prices. Then it was proclaimed in the cities that no one should depart without a (special) permit. When the Muslim messengers came (with the news) that the Tatars would drive (into the country) the city was alarmed; then the festive drums were beating at the (news of the) riding of the Sulṭān from Egypt (to Syria). Later, however, there fled from the city the people of Ibn Faḍlallāh's in a large number, then the people of the chief qāḍīs and the families of Ibn Ṣaṣarī, Ibn al-Qalānisī, Ibn al-Minjā and many other people. In Rabī' al-awwal/14 November to 13 December the (disquieting) news proved unfounded and the Sulṭān arrived at Ghaza.

But when Rabī' ath-thānī/14 December to 11 January began, the disquieting rumours about the Tatars increased again, and some of them arrived at al-Bīra. The whole Damascene army marched out, (in whose rank and file) the common folk as well as scholars and other (prominent) people were to be seen: their number reached 5,000. In Damascus there officiated as successor of Aqjabā the amīr Sayfaddīn Balbān al-Jaukandār al-Manṣūrī al-Hājib. In it (i. e.: the same month) the forsaken (i. e.: by God) enemy crossed the Euphrates: the khaṭīb recited the *qunūt*-prayers and the amīr was locked in. The Tatars entered Halab; their nā'ib, however, was too late to arrive at

[116]) About this second invasion of the Tatars in Syria see d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 282—5; *Ilkhāns*, vol. II, pp. 106—8; al-Maqrīzī, vol. II (part II), pp. 174—6; Abulfidā, vol, V, p. 175; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 454—7.

Ḥamāt. The charge for a camel foal was 300 (dirhams) People fled pell-mell. Then it was proclaimed by the end of the month that the taxation proved insufficient, so that all the more taxes were imposed: everbody was exposed, weak, and flying, and Allāh did not make useful to them what they had taken away from the belongings (of the people) and (what) they ate up and deformed. The rainy weather and the mire increased enormously, and the fugitives suffered tribulations in the roads, so that the imām prayed for fine weather in his khuṭba. Al-Manṣūrī rode to the Sulṭān who camped at Bud'ūsh near Qāqūn[117]) in order to inform him that the enemy was in the country (already) and approached (them). The army, however, desisted from action and behaved cowardly. The Sulṭān went (back) to Egypt: his departure, however, did not prove beneficial. The hearts were intimidated, the city became alarmed, and people were vexed in the roads.

When Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/12 January to 10 February began people were God knows in what condition. That time our shaykh Ibn Taymiyya went out to al-Marj and met the nā'ib of the Sulṭān who made him steadfast and firm: he spent two days with him, then he rode to al-Barīd to the Sulṭān but could not meet him there, and the affair was frustrated. He then rode to Cairo which he entered on the day the army marched in.

On 7 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/18 January the silāḥdār Bektemir arrived with 1,000 horsemen. People were convinced that the Egyptians had returned to their country and remained in slumber, and there was a general leaving of and fleeing from the country.

On the 9th of the month/20 January people became exceedingly terrified: this was because the wālī of the city Ibn Naḥḥās himself startled the people by stepping up to the merchants in the sūqs and saying: "Why are you sitting (here)? Whoever can depart must make haste (to do so)!" Then this was proclaimed in the city that (day at) noon; the women and children shrieked, the sūqs were closed, and people remained in terror and excitement and

[117]) In Palestine, near Caesarea, called Caco by William of Tire. See Abulfidā, vol. V, p. 129 and note 84.

said: "The Muslim soldiers have declined (to obey) the command."

The Egyptians had (meanwhile) returned (home). The Syrian soldiers had not in mind how to meet Qāzān even if they had stood firm anyhow: they resolved on fleeing. The nā'ib al-Aframī, whoever would have induced him for the encounter, even if the army had clung to him and had not relinquished him and gone away from before the enemy, would not have raised it (i. e.: the army).

People said that Qāzān would ride to us from Ḥalab on 10 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/21 January: many people entered the citadel that day with their provisions and belongings, so that it became close for the people and so crowded that many people were content to find enough room where to sit down, but sleeping was not possible in it, and they were restless in their crowds. Then on the 10th of the month/21 January it was proclaimed: "Whoever intends to go to the Holy War should remain (here) and prepare himself for it; whoever is unable (to do so) should save himself!" Thereupon there left the citadel a crowd possessed with distress and affliction and fled to Egypt and to the fortresses. There left (also) those of the notabilities who had (formerly) remained in the city and had been denuded. There left the chief qāḍī Ibn Jamā'a, the qāḍī Najmaddīn ibn Ṣaṣarī, the qāḍī Shamsaddīn ibn al-Ḥarīrī, Sharafaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī, Wajīhaddīn ibn al-Minjā who functioned as the deputy of Ibn Jamā'a in the qāḍī-and khaṭīb-offices, at-Tāj al-Ja'barī, and al-Burhān al-Iskandarī. There went out to al-Marj: the shaykh Zaynaddīn al-Fāriqī, the shaykh Ibrāhīm ar-Raqqī, the shayk Muḥammad ibn Qawwām, the shaykh Sharafaddīn ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Jabbāra, and a number (of people) encouraging al-Aframī to stand firm and complaining to him of what had descended upon the people and what they had extracted from them; he was greatly afflicted for that and promised good (i. e.: improvement of the situation). They, dispirited, intended (seeing) the amīr and rode after him into the desert for one or two days' march from the city; they met him and pressed him to return and encounter the enemy together with al-Aframī. He answered them (i. e.: agreed with them), and they were seized with fear in the desert (because) Arab

robbers rushed upon them with swords drawn: Allāh (,however,) saved them. Then the amīr 'Izzaddīn al-Ḥamawī arrived at Ḥabamāya (Ḥamīdiyya?) from Ṣarhadd.

On the 17th (of the month/28 January the sentry of the people of Ḥamāt pounced upon the horde of the Tatars and Allāh helped them to victory. There were killed about 100 from among the Tatars, according to others more than 200 men, and a few times ten people were taken prisoners from among the Tatars. A letter was caught reporting that the ringleader Qāzān had already returned from Ḥalab and crossed the Euphrates for his country on the 11th of the month/22 January. The qāḍī of Ḥamāt begged valour and temerity (of the people). People rejoiced; their first group arrived and implored Allāh to divert their unluck from them. Then, on the 19th of the month/30 January, al-Burayd arrived and verified that (report) to them. The Tatars who remained behind in the country round Ḥalab were numerous but were extremely afflicted with weakness, cold, and snowfalls. During this week (the price of) meat rose in Damascus so that it amounted to 9 dirhams a raṭl, and the sale of two head (of cattle) was effected at 500 dirhams. On the other hand (the prices of) grain lowered to 100 dirhams on account of the (general) flight (of people from home). (When) Shubāṭ/February began, there were a great many rainfalls.

On 25 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/5 February there arrived the letter of Ibn Taymiyya (informing) that he had entered Cairo after seven days and was together with the notabilities of the empire, and good was derived from his instigating (them), rousing (their) emulation, and intimidating (them), so that the concern of the amīrs was awakened and they excused themselves (for the omissions). At Cairo the Holy War was proclaimed and the resolution (for it) became firmer. He put up at the citadel, then arrived to us on 27 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/7 February.

Thereupon people left the citadel, the minds were reassured, thank God, and on 3 Jumādā 'l-Ākhira/13 February people recited the *qunūt*-prayers, and the (alarming) conditions were over.

Then on the 13th/23 February al-Aframī entered the city from al-Marj after staying there for four months: there

entered with him the silāḥdār Bektemir, ʿIzzaddīn al-Ḥamawī and Bahāaddīn Yaʿqūb. The ignorants (i. e.: those who did not know what happened) began to come (back) from aṣ-Ṣabiyya and the fortresses. (When) this (happened) the Tatars were descending on the district of Darīsāl and on Gharās[118]) moving to and from in the meadows and doing damages (while) there was nobody to prevent them or drive them away. They did not cross the Euphrates until 2 Rajab/13 March.

On 11 Rajab/22 March the destitute amīrs entered Ḥimṣ, and people learned of the Tatars' leaving Syria, and praised Allāh to whom (alone) thanks are due.

In Shaʿbān/11 April to 9 May at the appearance of al-Aframand the qāḍīs the regulations concerning the non-Muslims were promulgated. An agreement was made that they should be removed from the wālī-offices and prevented from riding on horse-back and leaving the country. They were compelled to wear yellow garments and blue turbans. They made haste (in enforcing) that (measure), which remained (in force) from that time on.

Im Ramaḍān (10 May to 8 June) Sayfaddīn Aqjabā al-Manṣūrī entered the citadel and was appointed adjutant to Arjawāsh.

In Dhul-Qaʿda/8 July to 6 August there functioned as Ḥanafite qāḍī Jalāladdīn ar-Rūmī in lieu of Ibn al-Ḥarīrī: he was appointed by the nāʾib, and as wazīr the amīr Shamsaddīn al-Aʿsar who had arrived already. Then he went to the north of the country for inspection and returned after a month.

The legate of the king Qāzān[119]) arrived (at Damascus) and made preparations (for going) to Egypt. May Allāh preserve the cause of Islām in good state and welfare!

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[118]) This is the ancient Gerasa. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 4, *Damascus die alte Stadt*, pp. 34, 42, and 75.

[119]) This was Kamāladdīn Mūsā, the chief judge of Mauṣil, accompanied by Nāṣiraddīn Khojā from Tabrīz. For their mission see d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 286 ff.; Howorth, vol. III, p. 457; Waṣṣāf, *Ilkhāns*, vol. II, p. 109 ff.

SUR QUELQUES ÉLÉMENTS JUIFS ET PSEUDO-JUIFS DANS L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE MAGIQUE DE BÛNÎ

Les vocables et formules hébraïques qui ont pénétré dans les écrits magiques des Arabes, après être venus étoffer dès l'antiquité le vocabulaire de la magie grecque, copte et araméenne, ont retenu de bonne heure l'attention d'Ignace Goldziher. Il en parle dans un travail de jeunesse (*Linguistisches aus der Lit. der muh. Mystik*, ZDMG, 26, 1872, pp. 764—785) et il y reviendra vingt-deux ans plus tard dans une note assez brève, *Hebräische Elemente in muhammedanischen Zaubersprüchen*, ibid., 48, 1894, pp. 358—60, après que, dans l'intervalle, Grünbaum eut également réuni quelques données relatives au même sujet (ZDMG, 31, 1877, pp. 271—2 et 40, 1886, pp. 247—8). Qu'il nous soit permis, dans ce *Mémorial* consacré à son souvenir, d'apporter une modeste contribution au même problème.

Nous attacherons nos observations à cette Somme de sciences magiques qu'est le *Kitâb Shams al-maʿârif* d'Aḥmed Bûnî (mort en 622/1225; voir Brockelmann *GAL* I², 655—6, *Suppl.* I, 910; cet ouvrage fournit une partie notable de la documentation, excellemment mise en oeuvre, d'Edm. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909).

On peut observer — et l'observation a été souvent faite — que les éléments magiques (ou qui sont devenus tels par l'usage qu'on en fait) empruntés à une langue étrangère se prennent à vivre de leur vie propre dans le milieu où ils se trouvent être transplantés. Ils changent de sens — cela d'autant plus facilement qu'ils sont souvent incompris — et ils "prolifèrent", c'est-à-dire donnent naissance par ressemblance phonétique, graphique ou simplement par association d'idées à des éléments dérivés qui ne tiennent plus des originaux que par une similitude

devant laquelle notre logique demeure le plus souvent déconcertée.

Une étude critique exhaustive de l'immense fatras accumulé dans les livres arabes de magie est encore un desideratum; le travail, remarquable dans son genre, de Doutté, ainsi que ceux de Winkler et de Ruska (voir les indications bibliographiques chez Brockelmann), sont conçus selon des points de vue particuliers et le commentaire de Ritter et de Plessner sur le *Ghâyat al-ḥakîm* n'a jamais vu le jour. Aussi bien ne pouvons-nous classer que de façon tout à fait rudimentaire les quelques textes qui vont nous occuper ici.

Nous allons parler successivement: a) des noms divins; b) des anges; c) de la notion de *teqûfa;* d) et e) de deux textes du *Shams al-ma'ârif* (cité ici d'après l'impression du Caire, 1347 h.) qui nous paraissent avoir des accointances juives.

A. Quant aux noms divins empruntés à l'hébreu, le livre de Bûnî n'offre rien de remarquable. I, 66 nous lisons dans une conjuration s'adressant aux anges[1]) אהיה אשר אהיה et IV, 76 les mêmes vocables sont dits constituer en hébreu le grand Nom de Dieu (en syriaque l'équivalent serait תניר נ'ושא ce dont je ne sais rien tirer). III, 119, dans la description d'une amulette אהיה אשר אהיה אדוני אטיוש (!) cf. IV, 3; et IV, 27 אל אלהים אל Banalités qu'on retrouve partout dans les textes magiques arabes.

B. Pour les anges, les matériaux sont naturellement plus abondants. À côté des noms d'anges authentiquement hébreux, les désignations pseudo-hébraïques se chiffrent par douzaines et il y aurait là pour un érudit patient et disposant de loisirs un supplément considérable à colliger au *Vocabulaire* de Moïse Schwab. Je retiendrai seulement ici quelques passages fort curieux (que pour des raisons techniques je transcris en lettres hébraïques) concernant Meṭaṭron.[2])

Dans la partie de son livre consacrée aux spéculations sur les lettres de l'alphabet arabe selon la méthode

[1]) Je remets sans scrupule en hébreu ces groupes de lettres dont l'identification n'est point sujette à doute.

[2]) Cf. Grünbaum, *loc. laud.*, p. 272 et Doutte, pp. 133—4 (d'après Ibn al-Ḥâjj).

nommée *taksîr*,[3]) Bûnî parle à plusieurs reprises de la "couronne" *(tâj)* et de la "lance" *(ḥarba)* de Meṭaṭron.

III, 93 : פצל פי מערפה תאני מיטטרון עכד רכה בכלאם אלמאהנשאה
cf. p. 98 : אלחרכה אלמאהנשאה אלכביר

puis

([4] חרכה מי ע ר' ואלמאהנישאה אלצגיר

III, 93: פצל פי מערפה חרכה תניתיא ([5] אלמלך והי חרכה
מיטטרון אלמלך עכד אלקאהר

III, 94: פצל פי מערפה חרכה עזראיל והי אסמא מלאיכה
אלמסמא אלראבעה עלי אלתכסיר . . .
פצל פי מערפה חרכה יושע בן נון והי חרכה
מיטטרון אלמלך עכד אלמולי בכלאם אלסניע והי
אסמא מלאיכה אלמסמא אלתיאלתה עלי אלתכסיר
מן כתאב טוה זיא תאני אלחרה.

L'identification de la lance de Meṭaṭron avec celle de Josué (celui-ci porte un javelot, *kîdôn*, d'après la Bible, Jos. VIII, 18) revient encore à la page 98. Des deux derniers textes transcrits ci-dessus il ressort, si je ne me trompe, que ces lances sont le symbole de forces magiques réalisées par la possession de certains noms d'anges qu'on obtient par les procédés du *taksîr*.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de la couronne de Meṭaṭron, celui-ci apparaît en compagnie d'une entité angélique nommée Sharâtîl (pp. 93 et 97). Schwab cite un סראטיל, ange de la constellation du Lion, et un סריטיל, ange de la constellation du Sagittaire, l'un et l'autre d'après Athanase Kircher. Tout cela serait à vérifier de près. Il est assez vraisemblable que cette fois-ci nous avons affaire à des emprunts, plutôt de seconde que de première main

[3]) Lire le résumé de la théorie ap. Ibn Khaldûn, *Prolégomènes*, trad. de Slane, III, 189 et suiv.

[4]) Je ne sais rien dire au sujet du „grand" et du „petit" *Ṭâhanshâh*.

[5]) Que penser de *Hanîthâ?* Ne serait-ce simplement le mot hébreu חנית = *ḥarba*, pourvu d'une désinence „araméenne" (le mot n'existe ni en judéo-araméen, ni en syriaque) dont on affuble souvent toutes sortes de vocables, en les incorporant dans les formules magiques?

(l'insertion dans le système du *taksîr* prouve que ces éléments ont déjà une carrière musulmane derrière eux), à des textes magiques juifs. M. G. Sholem à qui j'ai communiqué ces textes ne connaît cependant aucun document auquel on puisse les référer avec certitude.

C. Les divisions du temps jouent, on le sait, un rôle très considérable dans la magie qui s'amalgame ici indissolublement avec l'astrologie. Dans la littérature juive, les spéculations de cette espèce se déchaînent le plus démesurément dans les fragments réunis dans le *Séfer Raziel*.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, le *Shams al-ma'ârif* contient des textes importants sur les *teqûfôt*. En donnant un aperçu de ces textes nous aurons un excellent exemple de la "prolifération" d'un motif emprunté par les occultistes à une source étrangère.

Tout d'abord le terme, transcrit en arabe aussi exactement que possible *(thâqûfa,* qui fait dans certains textes un pluriel *thawâqîf),* est compris et correctement glosé: *ar-rub' min as-sana,* le quart de l'année, une saison (I, 49, dans une invocation aux anges). Les dates initiales et terminales de chaque *thâqûfa* sont aussi indiquées avec précision (I, 52):

I 21 mars — 23 juin;
II 24 juin — 23 septembre;
III 24 septembre — 23 décembre;
IV 24 décembre — 23 mars.

On nous donne ensuite les correspondances entre les saisons, les points cardinaux et les anges tutélaires respectifs *(ibid.)*:

Printemps	Nord	Asyâ'îl
Été	Est	Dunyâ'îl
Automne	Sud	Ḥizqiyâ'îl
Hiver	Ouest	Dardiyâ'îl.

Cette spéculation est parallèle à celles qu'on lit dans le *Séfer Raziel,* f. 4--5, mais il n'y a pas de concordance dans le détail. Les noms d'anges עשיאל et חזקיאל s'y trouvent, f. 4b, parmi beaucoup d'autres, en connexion avec les *teqûfôt,* mais pas dans les mêmes fonctions.

À la même page cependant où il donnait une définition correcte de *thâqûfa,* Bûnî parle aussi de la *thâqûfa* de Balaam et de celle de Joseph; ce qu'il entend par là ressort de IV, 25 où, à propos de la *thâqûfa* de Moïse et celle de Balaam, il explique que ce sont des *asmâ makhzûna,* des noms (efficaces) réservés aux initiés; ici donc le terme ne garde plus rien de sa valeur primitive. Le même phénomène s'observe encore plus clairement dans un autre texte dont l'appartenance à Bûnî est possible, mais ne saurait être affirmée sans examen plus approfondi. Dans un livre magique que je crois inédit (ms. arabe 5250 de la B. N. de Paris), il est exposé (fol. 5v[9] et suivv.) qu'il y a une *thâqûfa* pour chaque jour de la semaine. Il s'agit en l'occurrence d'une espèce de force magique, mise en rapport avec la planète correspondant au jour (Dimanche —Soleil, Lundi—Lune, etc), la force spirituelle (*rûḥâniyya*) de la planète du jour est évocable par une formule magique appropriée qui est donnée pour chacun des sept jours. Chaque *thâqûfa* a son "roi" *(malik)* ou son "serviteur" *(khâdim,* à partir de mardi), sa "maîtresse" *(sayyida),* son "suivant" (ou peut-être "démon familier", *ṭâbi')* et son ou ses "aides" *('awn).* Pour le dimanche, par exemple, le roi est Yazîd b. Ṭâhir, la maîtresse 'Azîza, le suivant Aflaḥ, l'aide Nâḥid. Voilà comment un terme emprunté à l'astronomie hébraïque et parfaitement compris au début, finit par sombrer entièrement, grâce au jeu des correspondances angélo-démonologiques, dans le syncrétisme magique le plus fantastique.

D. Je signale ici un texte dont le sens m'échappe en grande partie, mais qui me semble contenir au moins un élément de provenance juive.

Bûnî explique quelque part (I, 73) que dans le livre de Dieu préexistant à la création du monde il y a un cercle de lumière étincelante *(dâ'ira sha'shâniyya);* l'aspect ésotérique *(bâṭin)* de ce cercle contient 231 lettres. Ces 231 lettres constituent un rapport postéternels *(nisba abadiyya;* il y a aussi un "rapport prééternel", *nisba azaliyya* dont le chiffre est 130), "qui est caché en lui" *(fîhi,* donc probablement dans le *bâṭin* puisque le suffixe masculin ne peut se rapporter ni à *dâ'ira* ni à *nisba*).

Est-il téméraire d'admettre qu'il y a là quelque rapport avec les "231 portes" du *Séfer Yeçîra* (II, 4), concept qui

repose aussi sur une spéculation au sujet des lettres de l'alphabet?

E. J'attire enfin l'attention sur un texte, peut-être altéré, que je comprends en tout cas trop mal pour en parler avec la moindre sécurité. De plus habiles en tireront davantage.

IV, 89: Dieu fit en sorte que Pharaon qui voulut faire périr Moïse devint son père nourricier, alors que le jour même où sa mère apporta l'enfant à la Cour, le tyran fit mettre à mort 70.000 nouveaux-nés mâles.

"Et la force de ces enfants que Pharaon fit égorger fut placée (??), leurs forces vinrent à Moïse *(sic!* remarquer la syntaxe impossible) et devinrent sa vertu spécifique (*khuçûçiyya*). Et ceux des adversaires de l'Islam qui professent la palingenèse et la migration des âmes demeurent (??), et cet état lui était spécial."

(*waju'ilat quwwat hâ'ulâ'i 'l-awlâd alladhî amara bidhabhihim Fir'awn jâ'at quwâhum ilâ Mûsâ wakânat khuçuçiyyatahu wayabqâ man qâla bid-dawr wat-tasalsul min ba'ḍ mukhâlifî ṭawâ'if al-islâm wakânat hâdhihi 'l-ḥâla khâççatan bihi*).

Ce texte, dont la traduction offerte ci-dessus est naturellement tout à fait conjeturale, ne veut-il pas suggérer que les âmes des enfants massacrés par ordre de Pharaon vinrent s'agréger à celle de Moïse? Et si cette interprétation n'est pas fausse, peut-on considérer cette spéculation comme d'origine juive ou bien relève-t-elle d'une doctrine hétérodoxe d'essence musulmane?

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AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF THE PSEUDO-MESSIAH MORDECAI BEN HAYYIM OF EISENSTADT

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review,* New Series, XIX, p. 137 f., I copied out and described an autograph letter by Judah Loeb ben Enoch of Pfersee,[1]) in which (among other things) reference was made to the activities of the pseudo-Messiah Mordecai of Eisenstadt. From the same MS. in the British Museum, Or. 9165, fol. 158a-b, I now transcribe an autograph letter by Mordecai himself, which fills in, however slightly, the vague and confused outline of his elusive personality. Graetz, to whom this letter was unknown, devoted some pages of text and notes to this strange figure.[2]) He was practically the first of Jewish historians to do so. But the value of his contribution was marred by his strong antipathy for his subject, an antipathy which extended to the whole field of Cabbala and mysticism. It is to be hoped that the future historian of the Jews will deal with the subject more sympathetically, or, at least, with the ironic detachment of a Gibbon rather than the violent prejudice of a Graetz.

The letter was addressed to Abraham ben Michael Raphael Rovigo[3]), a wealthy Jewish scholar of Modena, a

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[1]) The letter has been rescued from its ill-deserved obscurity by Gershom Sholem, who assesses its importance correctly in his article פרקים אפוקאליפטיים ומשיחיים על ר' מרדכי מאיזנשטאט. The article is to appear in ספר היובל לכבוד בן־ציון דינבורג Jerusalem 1947/8.

[2]) *Geschichte der Juden,* Band X, 334 f; 500 f.

[3]) Some account of Abraham Rovigo will be found in G. Sholem, חלומותיו של השבתאי ר' מרדכי אשכנזי, Jerusalem 1938. This Mordecai Ashkenazzī ist not to be confused with our Mordecai of Eisenstadt. On the settlement of Rovigo, together with a band of associates, in Jerusalem in 1702, see Jacob Mann, ציון, vol. VI, 1934, pp. 59—84.

Cabbalist and follower of Shabbethai Ṣebhī. With his bosom-friend Benjamin hak-Kōhēn of Alessandria he was the favourite disciple of the more famous Moses ben Mordecai Zacuto, who combined a profound knowledge of the Mishnah with unremitting devotion to the mysteries of Cabbala. Although overshadowed by his brilliant master and by so imposing a personality as Mordecai of Eisenstadt, Rovigo was far from being a nonentity, as his writings attest. He seems to have been a singularly gentle and generous person to whom the Rabbis of North Italy and Central Europe often turned for help on behalf of their hard-pressed brethren.

Mordecai's letter is written in a mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew. He employs the more sonorous and majestic Aramaic (in which much of the early Cabbalistic literature was written) for the introductory sentences of eulogy and for the address, whilst reserving the Hebrew language for the rest of the letter. Out of the cloud of flocculent language and insincere compliment some facts nevertheless emerge. We learn, for the first time, the name of Mordecai's father. It was Ḥayyīm. We are informed also of the existence of a brother. It was, in fact, this brother, who provided one of the motives for writing the letter. Mordecai, we are told, was concerned to hear that Rovigo had been distressed by a letter which his brother had written. He assured his correspondent that his brother had always spoken in the highest terms of him and had sung his praises at every opportunity. Mordecai now wanted to plead on his brother's behalf. He had assured him that he (Mordecai) was bound to Rovigo by bonds of love as Jonathan had been to David. When the Redemption came, Rovigo would become his viceroy. As Jonathan had said to David: 'Thou shalt rule over Israel and I will be next to thee.' On the Day of Redemption Rovigo would ride in the second chariot: 'And thou shalt be over my house and my people shall be ruled by thy word. Only in the throne will I be greater than thou. Without thee no man shall raise his head or foot.' Mordecai then proceeded to make a momentous declaration. He revealed himself as 'the Messiah, the son of David, for the soul of David shines within me.' He then referred to other matters locked up in his heart, which he could not yet disclose. His lips were sealed. Finally, he sent his greetings to Rovigo and his family as well as to

the godly Baer.[4]) He signed himself characteristically,' the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, Mordecai, the son of Ḥayyīm'.

Mordecai draws upon the Hebrew Bible as a thesaurus of ready-made phrases. His instability and megalomania are everywhere apparent in the letter. Wiliness, too, formed part of this character, for no one can be a successful impostor without it. His grammar was far from impeccable. He perpetrated one grammatical blunder which should have been sufficient to discredit him in the eyes of his learned compatriots.[5]) His jumble of highsounding and sometimes almost meaningless Aramaic phrases does not ring true. It is astonishing that a person like Mordecai should have been able to impress himself upon so many of the Jews in Italy and Central Europe. We are told that Mordecai was a man of imposing presence. A striking physique often impresses more than purely intellectual qualities. The disappearance of Shabbethai Ṣebhī into obscurity had left many of the Jews in a state of suppressed excitement, rather than disillusioned. Mordecai was quick to take advantage of this mood. Fortunately for the peace of much-tried Jewry, Mordecai's spell was but of short duration, nor was his influence as baleful or pervasive as that of his sinister predecessor. He was drawn into the backwash of the Shabbatian movement, but only succeeded in prolonging its dying agonies by a few more years.

Though Mordecai himself was soon to vanish from the scenes of his shortlived triumphs, his own spurious lustre was to be redeemed by the more solidly grounded fame of his son and grandchildren. His son, Judah Loeb Mōkhīaḥ, himself an eminent Talmudist, was destined to be surpassed in reputation as a Rabbinic scholar by his

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[4]) Issachar Baer ben Judah Loeb ben Moses Perlhefter, of the family of Eybeschuetz. Baer was Rabbi of Modena from 1676 to 1681. For a time a follower of Mordecai of Eisenstadt, he was soon disillusioned when Mordecai visited Modena, and turned against him. He was author of the famous letter to Wagenseil (printed by von Lent), in which he exposed the pretensions of Mordecai.

[5]) שנשמת דוד מאיר בי !

children, David and Isaiah Berlin. By a culminating stroke of historical irony, our present generation finds an Isaiah Berlin, direct descendant of his famous namesake, admitted to the Fellowship of one of the most exclusive intellectual societies — All Souls College, Oxford.[6])

We may assign the date of Mordecai's letter to 1679—1681. It must have been written before Mordecai's visit to Modena in 1681, for Mordecai refers in the letter to the prospect of meeting Rovigo. From the letter of Judah Loeb ben Enoch of Pfersee it is clear that Mordecai was contemplating visiting the cities of Northern Italy as early as the autum of 1679. The visit actually took place in 1681, Modena being included in the itinerary on the invitation of Baer Perlhefter, rabbi of Modena, and at the express wish of Abraham Rovigo. Baer's high hopes were soon shattered on meeting Mordecai. Convinced that he was an impostor, Baer chased him out of Italy and turned his triumphal tour into a rout. His letter to Wagenseil, printed by von Lent, reflects Baer's disillusionment and deep disappointment.[7])

Or. 9165. fol. 158a

בה[ז] אי"א [8]

לנשרא ? [9] דדהבא משוקע מרומין באבני בורלא, קנכירי טרקין ועין עינלא [10] דאסתכל באספקלרייא דמאירה ונהיר ליה חשיכא כאורה, טוביני דהכימיא, הכולל במים אדירי' ומעלה בידו מרגניתא דלית ביה טימי, סמקן ירקן וברקן וכרום ימא [11] חסידא ופרישא משתד[לן] באורייתא יממא ולילא אשכל [12] ברעותיה דמאריה תדיר מסתכל ברזא דחכמתא ה"ה אהו' חביבי ידידי ידיד נפשי האלוף התורני העדני והעצני החסיד כמה"ר אברה' יצ"ו יו"יא א"ס [13] של' לרחוק ולקרוב ולכל המסתפי' [14] בצילו, הנה באתי להודיע לכ"ת שקבלתי ג"י [15] הנקוי' ושמחתי ע"ז שמחה גדולה כשמחת בית ה[ש]שואבה ונצטערתי על

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[6]) Dr. Berlin has since become a Fellow of New College, Oxford.

[7]) *Schediasma historico-philologicum de Judaeorum Pseudo-Messiis*, Herbornae 1697.

[8]) בעזרת ה' איש ירא אלהים

[9]) Mutilated in the MS.

[10]) Targum Onkelos, Exodus, XXVIII, 19.

[11]) Targum Onkelos, Exodus, XXVIII, 17.

[12]) See Levy. *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, s. v. אשכל

[13]) = ישמרהו צורו וגואלו יראה זרע יאריך ימים אמן סלה

[14]) = המסתפיח.

[15]) = גלילות ידו

שכ"ת היה נותן אל לבו ותתפעם רוחו בקרבו איזה צער עבור הכתב שכתב אחי מעלת הרב הגדול נר"ז לכ"ת ובאמת באתי להליץ בעד אחי נר"ז שהוא בטוח בצדקתו ובענוותו דכ"ת שעל כל פשעי' תכסה אהבה ונאמנים פצעי אוהב ונעתרות נשיקות שונא כי אחי נר"ז שלם עם כ"ת מאד מאד ומספר בשבחו דכ"ת בכל פעם ושעה ועי"כ [16] טובה תוכחת מגולה מאהבה מסותרת כי אין אדם רואה חובה לעצמו והיה סובר בדעתו לפים ריחטא שבא על נכון כדבר זה ובאמת הגדתי לאחי נר"ז מקדם על כ"ת שמים רבים לא יוכלו לכבות את האהבה ונקשרנו שנינו בעבותות האהבה כאהבת דוד ויהונתן כנ"ל ונפ[ש יה]ונתן נקשרה בנפש דוד ושם נאמר במאמר יהונתן אל דוד ואתה תמלוך עלי ישראל ואנכי אהיה לך למשנה כדמיון זה יהיה נ"כ בנדון שלנו שבודאי מע"ת בזמן הגאולה ירכב במרכבת המשנה אשר יהיה לי בע"ה ואתה תהיה לי על ביתי ועל פיך ישק כל עמי רק הכסא אגדל ממך ובלעדיך לא ירים איש את ידו ואת רגלו וזהו מה שראיתי בפ' [17] לך דוד וגו' כי לכן נקראתי משיח בן דוד על שנשמת דיד מאיר בי ועמך בן ישי של' עמך נגדך בשוה לך [18] ואופן מעמדי ועניני הלא כתבתי למ"ת מקדם כל נזכה להתראות פני' איש אל רעהו נמתיק סוד יחדיו בהני מילא מעלייתא ואת אשר ישים אלקי' בפי אותה אשמור לדבר כי יש הזן למועד וכהיום לא ניתן לי עדיין רשות לגלות מצפוני לבבי בהיות שהכל הוא עדיין סתום וחתו' וצרור ועל דבר השכחה היה בדעתי לש[לו]ח לכ"ת איזה כונה השיך לה ואנכי שולח מטעם הנ"ל ובזה אצא ואומ' של' בחילך ושלוה בארמנותיך ואתה של' וביתך של' וכל אשר לך של' מאדון עול' ומנא [19] אהובך מאד איש מכאובות וידוע חולי מרדכי בן א"א כמהר"ר חיי' ז"ל ותושיש שרבי[ט] הזהב להחכם השלם בוצינא דנהורא הקדוש והטהור איש אשר רוח אלקי' [20] האלוף המרומם כמהר"ר באר יצו' וסגנון א' עולה לכמה [21] נביאות [22] כן זה הכתב השיך לכו"ת [23] שיך גם כן להבה' [24] שלו' ושל' הנינא

Fol. 158b

משחתא דבוצינא רברבא דאתעטף קדם מלכא
בעיטופא דמצוה שמשא דמזקופא דנהיר
במטלנא דנהורא הוא צדיקא דעביד רעותיה
דמריה ה"ה האלוף דתורני העדני והעצני החסיד
כמהר"ר אברהם יצו'
במודינה

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[16]) Another hand (apparently Rovigo's) has crossed through ושעה and inserted וע"כ above the line.

[17]) = בפסוק

[18]) Another hand (apparently Rovigo's) has inserted נגדך above the line.

[19]) = ומנאמן.

[20]) Some word like בו omitted.

[21]) Some other word has been written first.

[22]) Sic.

[23]) = לכבודו וחפארתו

[24]) = להבחורים

Translation [25])

Or. 9165, fol. 158a

By the help of the Lord. To the god-fearing man, the golden eagle, inlaid and glittering with stones of beryl, diamonds and precious stones, large as calves' eyes. He gazes in the clear mirror, and darkness becomes as luminous for him as light. The most eminent of scholars, who encompasses the mighty waters and brings up in his hand a pearl without price. [He is like] a red, green diamond, an emerald, and like a precious stone of carmine found by the sea. The saintly man, who is set apart, and studies the Law zealously day and night. He is to do the will of his Master eager, continually absorbed in the secrets of wisdom. Is he not my beloved friend, the prince, the student of the Law, the man of delight, the councillor, the pious Abraham? Peace to the far and the near, and to every one who attaches himself to his shadow. I am come to inform his honour that I have received his letter, and rejoice over it with great rejoicing like the rejoicing at the Festival of the Drawing of the Water in the courtyard of the Temple. I am distressed at the anxiety and perturbation of spirit caused by my brother's letter and I am come to plead for him. For I know that he has faith in his honour's righteousness and meekness. Love atones for all sins; faithful are the wounds of a friend, though the kisses of an enemy be profuse. For my brother is in accord with his honour and recounts his praise at all times. Therefore is open rebuke better than a love concealed. For a man cannot see what his duty is when he pays attention to the tongue of scandal, undermining our firmly established friendship. Indeed, I told my brother before this that as regards his honour many waters could not quench love and that we were bound together by the cords of love like David and Jonathan. As it is said: 'And the soul of Jonathan was bound to the soul of David.' In the same connection it is said: 'And thou shalt rule over Israel and I will be next to thee.' On the day of Redemption his honour would ride in the second chariot: 'And thou shalt be over my house and my people shall be ruled by thy word. Only in the throne will I be greater than thou. Without thee no

[25]) Some of the honorific and otiose expressions have been omitted in translation.

man shall raise his head or foot.' For so I read the verse, 'Thine are we, David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse;[26]) for the soul of David shines within me.' As for my attitude and opinions, have I not written about them to his honour? Above all, may we meet face to face, and sweeten counsel together in exalted speech. What God will put in my mouth, that will I take care to utter. For there is a vision at the appointed time. But to-day it is not granted to me to reveal what is hidden in me, for all is hidden and sealed and bound. As for a recipe to ward off forgetfulness, it was my intention to send a suitable *kavvānāh*, but I have refrained from doing so for reasons given above. And with this I take my leave and say. 'Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces; and peace to thee and thy house; and peace to all that are with thee from the Lord of the world, and from thy faithful friend, who loves you much, the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, Mordecai, the son of Ḥayyīm (whose memory be blessed).' Do thou extend the golden sceptre to the great lamp, the saintly and pure Rabbi Baer[27]) in whom is the spirit of God. As one idea is common to many prophecies, so this letter to his honour is also intended for his young associates. And peace once more.

Address (fol. 158b).

To the great luminary, who wraps himself before the King in the wrappings of the precepts of the Law, the rising sun, who with his rays sheds light, the righteous one, who performs the will of his Master, the princely scholar in whom men take delight, the wise counsellor the pious Rabbi Abraham, in Modena.

Additional Note to p. 398, lines 2—3.

For an exhaustive and illuminating discussion of the elaborate yearly ritual, known as 'the Joy of the House of Water-drawing' (referred to on p. 398 of this article), *see* R. Patai, *Man and Temple,* London 1948. Patai interprets this ritual as a piece of sympathetic magic designed to secure an adequate water supply in the coming year.

British Museum,
London, England.

JACOB LEVEEN

[26]) 1 Chron. 12:19.
[27]) *i. e.* Baer Perlhefter.

DE PSEUDOPROPHETA NATHAN GHAZATI IGNOTA RELATIO

Dubiis formidolosisque temporibus saeculi septimi decimi, quum bella pro religionum sanctitate et libertate gravissima gererentur novaeque commutationes rerum iterum atque iterum instarent, civitates in Europa Christianae continuis calamitatibus miseriisque percussae humanis viribus iam diffisae spem salutis nusquam amplius nisi in incredibili quadam exspectatione caelestis miraculi collocare coeperunt. Ita animi tum variis casibus afflictorum et sollicitatorum tum ingenti desiderio mutandae sortis et imagine beatitudinis inflammatorum denuo sibi cogitatione depinxerunt, quin potius nunciarunt adventum illius millesimi anni, quo Messiam tandem adventurum atque vitam ordinemque totius orbis terrarum commutaturum esse certo credebant.

Similiter affecti Judaei post tam multas tamque atroces clades acceptas superstites nefariarum caedium, quum acerbissimis contumeliis obnoxii, conculcati in discriminibus identidem exitium minitantibus se haberent, animo in pietatem dei prolixiore solatium vitamque sibi in praesagiis, in divinatione melioris fortunae quaerebant. Plurimi eorum iique viri docti in ambages illas illecebrosas scriptorum celeberrimorum, quae scripta Kabbala inscribuntur, avide se iniecerunt; unde permoti, vel dicam, tamquam e profundis voraginibus emersi in eam mentem delati sunt, ut et sibi et ceteris innumerabilibus Messiam brevi tempore praesto affuturum persuaserint. Quem principio, sicuti e verbis libri, cui Sohar inscriptum, intellexerunt, anno 1648. visum iri pro certo polliciti sunt et confirmarunt; tum rationi Christianorum assensi anno 1666. fore finem laborum orbis terrarum et initium libertatis gentis Hebraïcae vaticinati sunt.[1])

Ille, qui saluti hominibus a Deo missus credebatur, Sabbataï Cevi, Judaeus, Smyrnae natus, profecto anno

[1]) Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*[3], *X.*, 426.

1648., quoad auctori fide dignissimo credere possumus, deinde vero 17 annis post anno 1665. exeunte semetipsum Messiam effatus ingentem tumultum mentis eminus comminus praesertim Judaeis excitavit turbinibus ventis persimilem.[2])

Simul apparuit etiam alius Judaeus, invenis in Sacra Scriptura plurimum versatus, nomine Nathan Benjamin „Levi" et, quia in urbe Ghaza habitabat, cognomine Ghazati vocatus, qui prophetam se declaravit et mente ferventissimo Palaestinae desiderio occupata prodrumum Messiae scilicet illius Smyrnaei viri Sabbataï Cevi perhibuit.

Quem in finem, ut erat mirifico zelo, litteras exstasi spirantes in omnes regiones emisit, quae nunciarent Messiam Sabbataï Cevi anno 1666. cum splendore suae dignitatis et ampla gloria salutem laturum, imperium Turcarum sine armis eversurum et dirempturum, decem tribus Israëlitarum in Benedictam Terram deducturum, atque omnibus populis quietem et pacem redditurum.[3]) Fama in omnes terras divulgata maxima pars Judaeorum quasi temulenti huic spei ac exspectationi praestolabantur. Multos etiam Christianorum incessit admiratio.

Eorundem virorum admirandorum de rebus compositam quandam epistulam, quum alia quaedam in Archivo Status Hungarici scrutatus essem, forte inveni adhuc ignotam.[4]) Quam epistulam praecipue de miraculis pseudoprophetae Nathan referentem et insuper non pauca, quae alibi, quod sciam, desunt, continentem haud supervacaneum et inutile duxi in lucem proferre et arbitrio doctorum virorum tradere.

Textum diligentissime et accuratissime descripsi nulla litera commutata, nulla correctione adhibita; immo etiam vitia orthographiae, quae dicitur, et interpunctionis servavi; solum ea menda, quae rationi et sententiae contraria videbantur, sustuli, vel potius emendanda notavi.

"Verissima deli: natio[5]) Judaeorum u[ti] sentiunt illi seu potius Judaici et miraculosi Prophaetae illius

[2]) ibidem

[3]) Graetz, *X.*, 198.

[4]) *Archivum Stat. Hung.: Archivum Telekianum, Missiles*, fasc. 887—965., fol. 39.

[5]) deli: natio est breviatio mendosa; legas *delineatio*

nomine Nathan Levi, prout ea a multis navigantibus ad urbem Gaza visa et consignata est cum vera enucleaõne[6]) seu descriptione Urbium, Alepo, Constantinopolis, Hÿerozolimae[7]) et Gazae quidve alliquot mensibus cum Propheta eodem contigerit, quâ raõne is Urbem Mecha Sepulchro Mahometis occupato copÿs N'ro 300.000 continentibus repugnaverit, Mahometis feretrum abduxerit, varia patraverit miracula, Nuvumque Regem super suas Sz tarlitilas[8]) 10. tribus nuncxerit et insuper totam benedictam Terram reoccupare intendat.

Candide Lector testantur praecipui Rabini vel Turcarum Legis periti ipsimet in suis Mahometicis Vaticinÿs Monarchiam Turcicam supremum attigisse fastigium eamque non procul, a suo fatali abesse termino. habent insuper singularem quendam Librum paenes Alcoranum quem mirifice suspiciunt, in eo vero Prophetia his expressa verbis continetur: Turcicum Imperium, non plus mille Annos duraturum, adjuncta ulteriori informaõne quod ÿs mille horum Annorum

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[6]) breviatio usitata pro *enucleatione*

[7]) recte Hierosolyma, — orum (Ἱεροσόλυμα); vitiose Hierosolyma. — ae

[8]) Corruptissimus locus in manuscripto *Sz tarlitilas* vel *Sz tarlitilus* eo quod U saepius pro literis *a* aut *o* invenitur. Animadversi autem formam literae *l* secundum hanc scripturam ℒ, ℒ similem esse formae ℰ, qua *e* signatur; praeterea signum ℰ (=e) saepius cum signo ⌐ (= r), confundi posse, item cum V (= v). — Qua de causa pro illud *t*, quod initio vocis scriptum est, posui *r*; pro *r* media voce experiebar *e*. Porro perspexi nonnullis locis deforme signum ℒ idest c pro *l* intelligendum et legendum et ob eam causam vicissim etiam *l* pro *c*. Quare, quamvis ambo *l* in hac voce evidenter ut *l* compareant, censui pro *l* in extrema syllaba c scribendum.

Sz quamquam primo obtutu pro Latino *s* vitiose scriptum esse putavi considerata Hungarica pronunciatione coniunctionis horum duorum consonantum et breviationem esse alicuius vocis suspicatus sum, melius reputando primam literam idest *s* nil nisi deformem I agnovi, postremo *Sz* hoc est Iz cum altera suppositicia voce contrahendum duxi. Unde vox *Izraeliticas* recte *Israëliticas* evasit congruens cum substantivo „decem tribus". Ex qua explanatione mea non descriptoris negligentiam tantum intelligi volui quam videri textum, quem ille describendum suscepisset, corruptum fuisse. Cuius rei exempla plura afferre poteram.

spatio boni aut mali eveniendum foret, cuique Turcarum Imperatores suas accommodant Actiones et vitam. Quod autem Imperium hoc Turcicum non amplius mille Annos sit staturum inter nostrates multi doctissimorum[9]) reperiuntur, qui finem Mahometicae Tyrannidis ex Daniele et Apocalypsi Joannes[10]) demonstrare sategnat.[11]) Secundum hanc sententiam vero initio hujus Anni 1666 esset Terminus Ottomanicae Domus, quoniam in eo prae[me]moratus Annorum numerus finem sortitur. (addit fidem huic maiorem admiraõne plena Novella cujusdam singularis inter Judaeos Prophetae acta, quasi ad vivum delinaonis,[12]) qui in exteris Regionibus et quidem prope Sanctum Crotum[13]) ortum sumsit, cui maxima multitudo 300.000 nempe Armatorum, ex peregrinis atque ignotis populis contracta adhaereret. Prophetae huic nomen est Nathan Levi vir magnae atque eximiae Authoritatis, et staturae, populi autem non sunt admodum procerae staturae sed mediocris Quantittis[14]) nulloque alio Armorum Genere, quam frameis Arcubus, lanceis atque missilibus (de quibus omnibus multae magnae fidei summaeque Autorittis[15]) hnes ab Alepo et Ganza,[16]) qui Prophetam hunc et Ducem videre ipsimet Amsterodamum et alia loca perscripserunt), utuntur Cappulare[17]) quoque varÿ Judaei Marochum, qui sese

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[9]) ductissimorum: legas *doctissimorum*

[10]) Joannes: recte *Joannis*

[11]) sategnat, minus false sategunt: legas *satagunt*, aut potius praeceptis syntaxeos convenienter *satagant*

[12]) delinaonis: legas *delineationis*

[13]) prope Sanctum Crotum: legas *prope sanctam Crucem;* ut *sanctam crucem* legam istam perperam scriptam vocem potissimum eo adductus sum, quod omnes Hebraïci fontes, uti G. *Scholem* vir celeberrimus professor Universitatis Hierosolymitanae in his quaestionibus versatissimus per literas necum communicavit, prophetam Nathan Hierosolymis natum esse confirmant. Vide Graetz, tom. X., pag. 197.

[14]) quantittis pro *quantitatis*

[15]) autorittis pro *autoritatis* recte *auctoritatis*

[16]) Ganza: mendosum pro *Gaza, Ghaza*

[17]) utuntur cappulare ... Marochum

sacrto[18]) in Tabulis Moyses[19]) absprinxere,[20]) quod hunc Prophetam ipsimet viderint cum eoque collocuti sint, insuper narrantes eum variarum lingvarum haud esse rudem et vel ex ipsa Physiognomia facile ab eo conÿci, et dignosci quod[21]) homo mali vel boni in corde foveret, copias jubet progredi sex diebus in septimana quinque aut quatuor meliaria[22]), quae quo libet vespere nigra expandunt Tentoria, harum vero multitudo satis perlustrari nequit ex praenominatis Castris ignis fumusque ingens coelum versus scandit quotidie, septimo vero die aut Sabbathe quiescunt, in totis Castris, nullus ignis, nullusque fumus visitur: Notabile insuper personam foeminei sexus inter se patiantur[23]) nullam [.]

Nuncio hoc Hÿerosolimis de admirabili hoc propheta accepto ordo Clericorum quinque supremos Rabinos ad eum ablegaverit, ad expiscandum num hic Nathan Levi, sit Propheta? Qui ex miraculis atque prodigÿes[24]) prae[s]titis nihil aliud conÿcere quam eum esse Prophetam potuere;

In praesentia quippe Nominatorum Rabinorum in Colle quodam Nonnullos ex copiÿs suis altam jussit fodere foveam, unde magna aenea tuba aut corvum Cornu extracta est (:cujus sonus ad aliquod miliaria perstoperet:)[25]) Similiter Lex Moysis in Duabus perscripta Tabulis, vaticinatus est quoque Rabinis Redemptionem Izraelis praesto esse, super quo commitabatur eos ad sepulchrum Prophetae Zachariae, praecepitque Judaeis poenitentiam agere et coram Propheta Zacharia, cui a majoribus cor[26]) inter Templum et altare crudeliter esset vita extorta orare, quamprimum[27]) vero, Genibus suis innixi praecari

[18]) sacrto: legas *secreto*
[19]) Moyses: recte *Moysis*
[20]) absprinxere: est solito mendosius, recte *adstrinxere*
[21]) quod ... mali vel boni: barbarus usus, emendate requiritur *quid*
[22]) meliaria: recte *milliaria*
[23]) patiantur: legas *patiuntur*
[24]) prodigÿes: *prodigÿs* idest *prodigiis*
[25]) perstoperet: legas *perstreperet*
[26]) cor: breviatio pro *coram*
[27]) quamprimum: recte *quumprimum*

coeperunt, apparuit eisdem Zacharias speciem senis praeferens, tenebatque in manu paropsidem aqua impletam, quibus praecepit Nathan Propheta quo purgaõnem peccatorum suorum, praecarentur, porrigens ÿsdem paropsidem praedictam ut semetipsos mundarent altaque exclamans voce: Esto propitius O Domine remitte peccata populo tuo. Cui respondit Zacharias Propheta remissa atque ablata sunt, disparuitque ab oculis eorum, His ita peractis, nunxit, Nathan Levi Adolescentem Hominem Sabéza[28]) vitae morumque integritte florentem in Regem, aedificavitque Altare in quo Rex sacrificare debebat: Postea russus[29]) Castra moverunt, variasque Urbes nullo sese opponente ceperunt; Quam[30]) enim primum nominata inflatur Tuba subeunt Menia a semetipsis: cujus rei Exemplum ante duos menses in Civitate Meche in qua Idoli Mahometici sepulchrum est inter coetera contigit, quam Urbem in suam reddigere potestatem omnibus exceptis Judaeis misere trucidatis, Mahometis currui feretro apposito, quod inter reliquam haud exiguam abduxere praedam.

Propheta hic quoque de se spergit, quod sese cum noviter Inaugurato Rege coram Turcarum Imperatore Constantinopoli sistere velit restitutionem totius Benedictae Terrae ab eo repostulaturus, una cum Corona quam Regi tandem reddere oportebit, secus omnes Turcas a suis Copÿs interfectum et deletum iri: Unde etiam inter Turcas maxima excitata est formido adeo ut Bassae Hyerozolomitanus, et Gazentis[31]) ab eo manibus exosculatis gratiam petiverint, Concursus autem Turcarum, et Judaeorum existit maximus. Populi hi quemadmodum de his fertur ad rem minime attenti sunt, nec proprÿs commodis inhiant, omnia inter eos vili emuntur et venduntur praecio adeo, ut uno nummo

[28]) Sabéza: In *Theatro Europaeo,* t. *X.,* p. 438. dicitur suppositicius Messias Sevi apud scriptores Judaeos nominibus „Sabeta—Sebi, Sabetay Levi, Sabbathay Sevy" nominari. Ergo „Sabeza" sine dubio idem quod vitiosum Sabeta pro Sabbatai Cevi.
[29]) russus: scribendum *rursus*
[30]) quam enim primum: legas *quum* .. primum
[31]) Gazentis: recte *Gazensis*

ab eis plus quam apud nos decem nummis emere liceat.

Copiae eorum tribus majoribus Distinctae vexillis reguntur quorum primum nigrum existit continens Insignia unius albi et quidem infraenati Equi cum hâc Arabica Inscriptione Aureis expressa Literis latine sit[32]) sonante Non curo ventura tempora fati.

Alterum vexillum est rubrum seu puniceum in quo pictura Cor[33]) capita[n]ei[34]) e recte stantis Arabica Inscriptione latina sit[35]) expressa. Mortis imago.

Tertium vexillum est flavum in quo coronatus Anser cum haebraica inscriptione hanc sententiam latine continens: Nihil fortius.

Quid vero de his Populis sit sentiendum futura nos docebunt tempora[.] Interea certissimum est praecipuis Germaniae Locis Judaeos sese praeparare expectantes Citaonem atque militis Conscriptionem, volunt quoque hinc supposititio Messiae adhaerere eumque sequi. Unde plerique opulentissimorum Judaeorum Amsterodami immobilia bona et fundos cum debitis dimidio praecio, vendiderunt, ut eo commodius atqua promptius in terram benedictam proficisci queant.

In futurum plura de his."

Exemplar, quod fidissime in describendo secutus sum, confectum, ut opinor, ad aliud quoddam exemplar est scriptum manu alicuius, qui inscius et imperitus multas voces exempli, quod sibi describendum proposuit, perperam legit, ceterum, quae recte intellexisse videtur, ea quoque tam negligenter et incaute literis mandavit, ut scriptura multis locis ad legendum ac intelligendum difficilis appareat.

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[32]) latine sit sonante: recte . . . *sic* . . .

[33]) cor: idest *coram* hoc loco vim adverbii habens

[34]) capitanei e recte stantis: ubi „e recte" certe mendosum pro *e recta* vel *erecte*. Nescio an haec scriptura descriptoris textum Latinum male reddat. Nam forma vel figura „capitanei" quomodo mortis imaginem praebeat, vix comprenderim, ni figura ea sit, qua species personificatae Mortis efficiatur. Emendatione mea obscuritatem loci nondum amovisse mihi videor.

[35]) Arabica inscriptione latina sit expressa: A. i. *latine sic* expr.

Quis descriptor ille inconsultus fuerit, cuius manu hoc exemplar descriptum habetur, ignotum est. Tantum autem pro certissimo habendum video Hungarum illum fuisse. Cuius iudicii evidentia indicia ipse in scriptura exhibuit, quum in his vocibus „Hyerozolomitanus" — „Hyerozolima" — „Izrael" — „Izraeliticas"[36]) pro Latinorum litera s pronunciationem usitatam quamvis vitiosam secutus literam *z* posuit, quae litera in lingua Hungarica sic pronunciatur, ut *s* in *rosa* recte profertur in Latino sermone, item in „Rose" apud Germanos, in „exposé" apud Gallos, in „avviso" apud Italos, in „undesiderable, improvise, apposite" apud Britannos.

Fortasse cogitet aliquis hunc textum ab Hungaro illo ignoto etiam conversum esse in Latinum. Verisimile est quidem ex aliqua lingua in Latinum translatum fuisse, neque tamen a quopiam Hungaro. Etenim nil quidquam in accommodatis vocibus, elocutionibus, constructionibus inveni, quod mentem cogitationemque Hungarorum aut consuetudinem loquendi monstrare videatur. Atqui non solum rudes et inconsulti, verum etiam eruditi et cauti non raro accidit, ut in scribendo vel convertendo patrii sui sermonis proprietates proferant inviti.

Quod et quale ante oculos ei exemplum fuerit undeque sumpserit, ex altiore et planiore forsitan indagatione elucescat. Hoc quidem certum videtur archetypum non a Judaeo quodam scriptore conscriptum fuisse. Verumenimvero Christianum eius auctorem fuisse vel exinde apparet, quod credulos Iudaeos sectatores illius Messiae his vocibus memorat: *hi populi*.[37]) Similiter in fine, ubi cum a cunctis Judaeis tum a correptis Messiae studio se videlicet secludit: „Quid vero de *his populis*[38]) sit sentiendum, futura nos docebunt tempora."

Possum et haec adducere:

Scriptor rabbinos Hierosolymitanos clericos appellat. Prophetam Nathan Ghazati „prope Sanctam Crucem ortum" declarat, quod Judaeus aliter expressisset.

Denique res evidentissime confirmatur ex hac sententia:[39]) „. . . inter *nostrates* multi doctissimorum reperiun-

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[36]) vide annotationem 8.

[37]) pag. 405, linea 31.

[38]) pag. 406, linea 14.

[39]) pag. 403, linea 4—7.

tur, qui finem Mahometicae tyrannidis ex Daniele et Apocalypsi Joannis demonstrare satagunt."[40])

Quisnam hanc relationem conscripserit, ne ullum quidem indicum aut signum invenitur; cuiusnam autem nationis, e certis vestigiis coniicere possumus. Quoniam auctor ignotus in praefatione fatetur e litteris multorum hominum fide dignissimis, qui urbem Ghazam accessissent, se cognosse Nathan „Levi" Judaeis prophetam evasisse atque miracula fecisse; quoniam posterius eo loco, ubi copiae a Nathan comparatae et earum arma quae qualiaque fuerint, enarrat, testimonium veritatis nobiscum communicat omnia ea per litteras a viris summae auctoritatis ex urbibus Aleppo et Ghaza Amsterodamum ac in alias urbes allatas tradita fuisse: exinde nos coniectura recte assequi posse arbitror primum illas relationes a mercatoribus quibusdam nationis Hollandae Amsterodamum missas, tum archetypum a sciptore quodam Amsterodami habitanti probabiliter Hollando compositum esse.

Si quis ergo, unde haec narratio originem duxerit et viam qua confecta sit, inspectare velit, iure hanc cum illa epistola comparare queat, quae rogatu et impulsu alicuius in Hollandia negotiatoris ab aliquo negotiatore item Hollando Smyrnae in urbe die II. mensis Aprilis a. 1666. de Sabbataï Cevi data in Theatro Europaeo exstat.[41]) Ceteroquin aliae quoque inter eas similitudines reperiuntur, quarum enumerationem praetermitto.

Sed, quum de genere scriptoris locutus sum, iam fontes quopue scripti attigi. Fontes praeattactos propriis nominibus singulos signare et distinguere haud quisquam poterit. Maxime memorabilem eius certissimumque fontem non coniectura, sed verbis ipsius scriptoris fisi appellare possumus. „Addit fidem huic" — ait — „maiorem admiratione plena *novella cuiusdam singularis inter Judaeos pro-*

[40]) Subiicior hic a G. Scholem viro sapientissimo iam memorato prophetam Nathan Ghazati non e genere Levi ortum ese et cognomen Levi non nisi a Christianis scriptoribus ei inditum. Pro qua admonitione gratias ei debeo.

[41]) *Theatri Europaei Continuatio X. Oder Europaeischer Geschichte zehender Theil* . . . durch Matthaei Merians Seel. Erben. Gedruckt zu Frankfurt am Mayn . . . anno 1703. — p. 437—441. Etliche sonderbare Geschicte, so sich dieses 1666. Jahr über hin und wieder zugetragen . . .: vide pag. 438.

phetae acta, quasi ad vivum delineationis . . ."[42]) Quibus verbis nemo dubitare potest, quin scriptor litteras significet, quas Nathan Ghazati, puto, ad Judaeos Amsterodami lingua Hebraïca perscripserit. At video in hoc scripto pauca vestigia videri, e quibus profecto intelligi possit, quid ipse Nathan per suas ipsius litteras nunciaverit.

Tempus, quo narratio ista confecta est, scriptum exstat in ipso textu: „. . . initio huius anni 1666 esset terminus Ottomanicae Domus . . ."[43])

Textus hic, qui ante oculos nobis est, sive principis librarii sive centesimi manu scriptus comparet, haud pro fido exemplo archetypi habendus est, sed pro epitome solum, id quod vel semel acrius eum contuenti cuivis perspicuum fieri potest. Quod tribus his argumentis probare cupio.

1. Scriptor in praefatione profitetur urbes Aleppo, Costantinupolim, Hierosolyma, Ghazam vere se descripturum, tum res a Nathan propheta gestas praecipue urbem Meccam quo pacto occupaverit ac Mahometis feretrum abduxerit caeteraque narraturum. Nos autem in hoc textu neque ullam illarum urbium descriptionem reperimus.

Sequitur, ut excerptum e copiosiore quodam opere iudicari oporteat. Verisimile librarium praefationem archetypi ad verbum descripsisse, inter scribendum autem vel excerpendum promissorum ante factorum immemorem dimisisse curam concinnitatis praefationis et insequentis narrationis.

2. Attendamus animos ad hanc sententiam:[44]) „Nuncio hoc Hierosolymis de admirabili hoc propheta accepto ordo clericorum quinque supremos rabbinos ad eum ablegaverit ad expiscandum, num hic Nathan Levi sit propheta . . ."

In eis, quae antecedunt, nihil usquam hactenus admirabile de Nathan retulit. De magnitudine quidem castrorum et de multitudine copiarum eius, de generibus armorum, quibus milites eius instructi erant, de quiete sabbatorum severissime observata satis narravit. Attamen nihil omnino tale quid protulit, quod efficiat, ut eum, scilicet Nathan,

[42]) pag. 403, linea 10—12.
[43]) pag. 403, linea 8.
[44]) vide pag. 404, linea 15—18.

prophetam esse sentiamus et mirifica facultate, ne dicam potentia praeditum. Nihil est igitur hucusque, cur ille admirandus sit. Quapropter animus nobis quodam modo percutitur, si repente audimus quinque rabbinos ad Nathan ablegatos esse spectatum, utrum propheta esset necne.

Hinc efficitur, ut hoc loco, scilicet ante adductam sententiam „Nuncio hoc . . .“ lacunam non mediocrem esse putem, vel potius descriptorem non pauca reliquisse coniectem. Postmodum sequuntur nonnulla miracula rabbinis aspectantibus.

3. „Concursus autem Turcarum et Judacorum exsistit maximus. Populi hi, quemadmodum de his fertur, ad rem minime attenti sunt . . .“[45])

Cohaerentia primae istius sententiae cum superiore non potest quidem prorsus negari: sed concursus ille quid velit exprimere, quo spectet, qualis et quem ad finem factus, parum liquet. Esto, tribuantur haec auctoris negligentiae aut inscitiae artis scribendi. At vero sequens sententia „populi hi . . .“ cum antecedenti profecto non apte cohaeret, potissimum, quia solum de Judaeis pergit loqui. Igitur rimam et scrissuram, etiamsi non tam evidenter et quasi manifeste quam supra, tamen hoc loco quoque iure me ostendere existimo. Nam quibusdam partibus et pro prima et pro secunda sententia omissis ordo, qui ratione rerum exigitur, turbatus et diruptus est, quandoquidem epitomator contractionem parum attente et inepte effecit.

Quibus ita tractatis ad Latinitatem[46]) huius epistulae redire velim non, quo barbare dicta aliaque peccata arguam et enumerem, solum eum in finem, ut originem eius exquirere experiar. Sunt enim hic nonnullae elocutiones,[47]) quae id genus loquendi indicent, quo lingua Germanica maxime dignoscatur. Sed, quia huiusmodi argumentis difficile persuadetur iis, qui aliter sentiant, et, quia germanismi, qui dicuntur, saepe fieri potest ut committantur etiam a homi-

45) Pag. 405, linea 30—32.

46) vide pag. 407, linea 13—19.

47) . . . „quidve aliquot mensibus cum propheta eodem contigerit“ (pag. 402, lin. 4—5.) — „secundum hanc sententiam . . . initio . . . anni 1666 esset terminus (pag. 403, lin. 7—8.) — „cui maxima multitudo . . . adhaereret“ (pag. 403, lin. 14—16.) — „In praesentia rabbinorum . . .“ (pag. 404, lin. 21.) — „super quo (=worauf . . .) comitabatur eos (pag.404, lin. 27.) et cetera.

nibus alius nationis ac Germanicae, melius eas elocutiones remitto. Magis nitor argumento huius sententiae: „Interea certissimum est praecipuis Germaniae locis Judaeos sese praeparare exspectantes citationen atqua militis conscriptionem, volunt quoque *hinc* supposititio Messiae adhaerere eumque sequi.“

Textui ergo labor in Germania iniunctus et additus est. Id additamentum revera magni momenti mihi esse videtur.

Considerando cuncta, quae diximus, licet eloqui hanc recapitulationem: Textus e fontibus, quos supra monstrare videbamur, in Hollandia haustus et compositus, tum in Germania ab aliquo partim excerptus partim auctus et in Latinum conversus, dein in pluribus, puto, regionibus divulgatus devenit in Hungariam et Transylvaniam, proprio nomine Erdeliam.

Transylvania, terra a ceteris Hungaris illis temporibus seiuncta, principatus Hungaricus, inter imperium Germanorum interque imperium Turcarum, pariter hostium, sita, in continuis certaminibus pro libertate servanda nil mirum, si avidis auribus auscultabat praedictiones vel vaticinationes nunc tyrannidis Germanicae alias despotatus Turcici finem nunciantes. Hac ratione ista de Judaeo propheta relatio quasi suspirium libertatis delata est in archivum Michaëlis Teleki archicancellarii per longum tempus et secundi a principe Michaële Apafi moderatoris Transylvaniae.

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Haec sunt, quae de hac ignota relatione explicanda putavi comparatione cum aliis huius rei relationibus singillatim atque caeteris quaestionibus, quae ad Nathan Ghazati ac Sabbataï Cevi attinent, hoc tempore praetermissis. Nihilominus considerato et reputato textu id tantum statuere velim, in hac, ut ita dicam, densa silva inanium cogitationum hominum illius temporis exstasi perductorum paucissima vestigia speciem veritatis historicae praebentia inveniri.

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EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE HAGGADAH

In the first post-Biblical millenium the Haggadah is the most considerable product of Jewish intellectual power. To its ocean there lead channels from the Iranian, Babylonian, Hellenistic, Latin, and, in a smaller degree, the Egyptian and Indian civilizations. Here only the Egyptian elements of the Haggadah are considered. They were investigated in the widest scope by N. Brüll,[1]) and were fathomed deepest by Güdemann[2]) and Jakob Horovitz;[3]) the latter with his immense knowledge and admirable sagacity wanted to refute that the Haggadah was influenced by Egyptian mythology. We want to survey the results of their researches, and point out what the Haggadah knew from Egyptian mythology and in what manner Egyptian motives penetrated into certain Haggadahs.

1. Egyptian Names of Gods and Deities

The clearest allusions to Egyptian deities are contained in the Mishnah, Tosephtah and Baraitah of the tractate Aboda Zara on idolatry. The Mishnah III, 1, says: "The usage of all the idols is forbidden . . .; according to the wise men such a one is forbidden only as holds a staff, a bird or a globe in its hand". The Tosephtah (V, 1),[4]) is more detailed: „Only such an idol is forbidden as holds in its hand a staff, a globe, a bird, a sword, a crown, a ring or an image of snake . . . if anyoody finds a ring with the image of the Sun, the Moon or the dragon on it, let him throw it into the dead sea (lest it should be of any use to him); the images of the sucking woman and Serapis are likewise forbidden". R. Yahuda adds to this: "The images

[1]) In *Jahrbücher* etc., 1874, pp. 144—51.

[2]) In his *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien,* 1876, pp. 3—40.

[3]) In his book *Die Josephserzählung,* 1921, pp. 120—46, 154—56.

[4]) Ed. Zuckermandel, 468.

of the sucking woman and Serapis are forbidden: the sucking woman represents Eve who brought up the whole mankind, and Serapis is nobody else but Joseph who reigned over the whole world and set it at ease; the image of a man is forbidden if he holds a measure in his hand, that of a woman if she sucks her son" (Baraita Aboda Zara 43a).

Serapis is quite certain here; it was the name of Osiris with the Greeks and Romans who, together with Isis, was regarded by them as the principal deity of Egypt. In the next chapter we shall see that Joseph was also identified with Osiris. The pun only proves the already subsisting identification. It is also evident that the sucking woman holding a child in her bosom can not be anybody else but Isis who was far and wide represented as pressing the infant Horus to her breast. Her identification with Eve is a mere Haggadic addition.

In my opinion the symbols representing deities can also be most simply deduced from Egyptian mythology. The measure as the symbol of the male god reminds us of Osiris, god of measure and justice, who in the nether world puts on the scales the actions of the people getting there. The globe and snake together likewise reminds us of Serapis. On one of the pictures Serapis is lying on a couch, with ears of grain waving round about, and a snake winding in the field; from his head radiate seven rays, his robe is spangled with stars, his left hand holds the globe representing his dominion over the world.[5])

More dubious are other connections. Güdemann[6]) ingeniously explains into a Haggadah of R. Simlai on the embryo (Nidda 30b) a gesture of Horus-Harpokrates. הנסנסיא as the translation of חמנים (Lev. 26:30) induced J. Levy and N. Brüll to find the Egyptian Sun-god Khons as well in the Targum. N. Brüll[7]) also sees the traces of the myth of Horus in the Midrash relating to פי החירות (Targ. Jon. ad Exod. 14:2). But this is as improbable as his attempt to discover Isis in the fallen angel Uzza, and also the Egyptian main god Ra elsewhere. It seems that the

[5]) See Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter,* 1930, p. 36.

[6]) *Op. cit.,* pp. 7—23.

[7]) *Op. cit.,* p. 148.

Haggadah, like ancient Greeks and Romans, looked on Egyptian pantheon as consisting of Osiris-Serapis and Isis only.

Samuel Krauss thoroughly analysed the names of Egyptian and Syrian deities in Talmud, Tosephtah, and Midrash.[8]) In the name נתברא (Aboda Zara 11b) he wants to discover the combination of the names of the Egyptian gods Neith and Pire though such a combination of names occurs nowhere. He also wants to discover the Egyptian god Arueris in the names אדורי, אהדורי, אדוריא and their variations. However, these identifications testify more to the sagacity of their author than to their validity. It is much more noteworthy that he wants to find the Egyptian god Apepi in the איפופי repeated in Palest. Nedarim 42c.

2. Osiris and Joseph's Coffin

Among all the Haggadas the poetic legend of Joseph' a coffin has the most striking parallel to an Egyptian myth. This legend is found in numerous parallel passages.[9]) Its summary is as follows. When the time of Israel's exodus had come people remembered that Joseph had sworn his brothers to take his dead body with them to the Holy Land. In wild haste Moses was running for three days and nights to find traces of Josep's grave. At last he met a woman who led him to a place on the Nile where the Egyptian magicians had sunk Joseph's coffin 500 of quintals in weight in order to prevent Israel' sons, not finding the coffin, from going out of Egypt. It is due to Joseph's coffin that Egypt has obtained its fertility. Moses implored: "Joseph, Joseph, the hour has come when Israel can fulfil the oath taken to you. If you come up it is good; if not, we are exonerated from our oath." By the aid of the miraculous God's name Moses made the heavy coffin flow up; however, there stood the golden hounds made by the Egyptian sorcerers which barked at Moses, but he silenced them and took the coffin with him to the Holy Land.

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[8]) In his *Aegyptische und syrische Götternamen im Talmud,* in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Dr. Alexander Kohut,* Berlin 1897, pp. 339—53.

[9]) See J. Horovitz, *op. cit.,* p. 154, and for the translation of the passages G. Kittel, *Die Probleme des palest. Spätjudentums und des Urchristentums,* 1926, pp. 169—79.

This legend can be compared to an Egyptian myth preserved in its entirety only by Plutarch in his *De Iside et Osiride.* Of the marriage of Geb, the god of the earth, and Nut, the goddess of the sky, there were born the gods Osiris and Seth, and the goddesses Isis and Nepthys. Osiris married Nepthys. The dominion over the earth was given to Osiris. The jealous Seth decoyed Osiris into a box, covered it, locked him in, and threw him into the Nile. On the 17th of the month of Athyr Isis searched for Osiris in wild haste; finally she found him. As the resurrection of Osiris was celebrated on the 19th of the mont of Thyar, Osiris had, consequently, searched for him for three days.

The coincidence of the two legends is conspicious. Both Joseph and Osiris were sunk into the Nile. Both were searched for for three days, and found by women. In the myth of Osiris the three days were accounted for by Osiris being the god of the Moon which is invisible for three days, that is to say, it dies at the end of every month. As in the legend of Joseph the three days are not accounted for, this particular was evidently borrowed from the Egyptian myth.

The traces of the Moon-god character of Osiris—Joseph can be followed in the later Muslim variation of the legend of Joseph. Ath-Tha'labī and ad-Damīrī related that when Israel went out of Egypt the sky darkened over them and they could not see their way; however, as soon as they, led by a woman, found the dead body of Joseph the Moon began to shine over them.

It is only with reservation that I dare to mention that the combination of Joseph and the Moon can perhaps be also found in the so-called Testament of Joseph, at the end of which he stipulated as follows: "Take my bones with you! If you do so God will be with you in brightness, and the Egyptians will be covered by Beliar with darkness."

3. Osiris and Daniel's Coffin

Osiris was not only the god of the Moon but also the god of the Nile; its mud was his body, and its water his blood. What did the Nile owe its fertility to? Evidently to Osiris. Artapanos accounted for the fertility of the Nile as being due to the staff of Moses he had raised over the Nile. The Haggadah knows another reason for it: the Egyp-

tians had sunk Joseph's body into the Nile that its waters should be blessed (Sota 13a). The struggle that was going on between Isis-Osiris on the one hand and Seth on the other, can also be explained as the natural struggle between the soil fertilized by the Nile and the desert.[10]) A later variation of this legend has been preserved by al-Kisā'ī in his narrative. According to him, Joseph was buried near Fayoum. This region began to bloom in abundance and fertility, but the opposite bank became arid and barren. Therefore Pharaoh begged Ephraim to bury his father in Egypt. He was buried on the barren bank of the Nile, but then it was that region that abounded in blessing and fertility, and the opposite bank became barren. At last the coffin was sunk into the Nile that its fertilizing blessing should extend over both the banks of the river.

This variation of the legend of Joseph gave rise to the legend of Daniel's coffin. Already Theodosius in the 6th century A. D. knew that this coffin was guarded at Susan. According to a later Arabic authority, when Susan was taken by the Arabs about 640 A. D. the Muslim general temporarily turned off the flow of the river, sunk Daniel's coffin into the dried-up river-bed, and then turned the flow into its course again so that its waves rolled over the body of the prophet.

Benjamin of Tudela and a little later Petachiah of Ratisbon, both travelling in the 12th century A. D., related a different variation of this legend. Accordingly, Daniel's coffin was long guarded at Susan on the bank of the Tigris. There the Jews lived in abundance and welfare. But the poor people of the opposite bank also wanted to share in the blessing due to the coffin. They made an agreement with the inhabitants of the other bank that the coffin should rest alternately on the one bank for one year and on the other bank for the second year. However, Sanjar, Shah of Persia, was shocked at the shifting of the coffin so injurious to the piety due to the prophet. He ordered the bridge of the Tigris to be measured, and from its middle made the glass coffin hung down by means of chains.

[10]) See Bertholet-Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, p. 456.

From the 18th century A. D. a more recent tradition has been known which placed Daniel's coffin in Tarsus, Asia Minor. W. B. Barker wrote on it as follows: "In the city of Tarsus the Turks guard with veneration Daniel's coffin in a mosque which was formerly a Christian church. The coffin is sunk 40 feet below the surface of the earth. A branch of the river Cydnus flows over it."[11])

Thus the myth of Osiris has through the Haggadah of Joseph lived on in the legend of Daniel wellnigh up to our time.

4. The Wild Charger of Pharaoh

It is not without hesitation that we insert into this frame a legend the audaciousness of which may be astounding. In a Midrash we read a Haggadah of R. Josua b. Karkha: When Pharaoh galloped to the sea he rode a charger (Aboth R. Nathan A. XXVII). More explicit is a later Midrash: The Egyptians recoiled from the sea flowing back. What did God do? He appeared on a mare's back. Pharaoh's charger running after the mare dashed into billows. (Pirke R. Eliezer XLII.)

Muslim legend, taking exception to this fiction bordering on blasphemy, mitigated its narrative. Haman seated the Egyptian army on 7,700.000 chargers. When the sea split asunder before Pharaoh his charger recoiled and flinched. Then the archangel Gabriel descended from heaven on a mare's back. Pharaoh's charger getting scent of the mare, rushed after her into the yawning whirlpool.[12]) To this narrative of aṭ-Ṭabarī al-Kisā'ī added: The archangel Michael drove the other chargers also into the whirlpool in which they all got drowned.

This bizarre motive has a prototype in old Egyptian literature. On the rocky grave of Amen-em Hebe, general of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II (15th century B. C.), on the west side of Theben there is an inscription narrating the glorious deeds of the general. Among other things he vaunted thus: The prince of Kades loosened a mare from the enemy army and made her rush into the Egyptian army, manifestly with the intention of making shy the mares put in the Egyptian warchariots. But I dis-

[11]) See Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 1929, pp. 298—303.

[12]) Cf. aṭ-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. I, p. 480.

mounted, ran after it on foot, killed her with my lance, and took her tail triumphantly to the king.[13])

Thus this legend may possibly be of Egyptian origin, and the Haggadah without religious restraint but with lively sense of local colour, inserted this motive of Egyptian origin just in its legends on Egypt.

5. A Grain of Astrology

Finally, let me hint at an astrological problem. In the records of one of the most outstanding Palestinian Haggadists, Joshua ben Levi, numerous points refer to the astrological effects of the stars on the persons born under them. For instance, whoever is born under the Mercury will become an enlightened and wise man because Mercury was the scribe of the Sun (Sabb. 156a.).

I have the impression that here we have to do with more marked astrological motifs. Mercury was identified with Thot-Hermes by Hellenistic age. Artapanos went further: he identified Moses with Thot-Hermes. Now Thot was the inventor of writing, the scribe of the gods, among them also of Osiris in the nether world, and the god of sciences. With Joshua ben Levi Mercury was the scribe of the Sun, and Osiris the god of the Sun. With the Arabs one of the names of Mercury is the Scribe (*al-Kātib*).

Egyptian influence is not the only possibility here. We can also think of Babylon. In Babylonian mythology Nebo was the scribe of the gods in heaven, and the goddess Belit-sheri in earth. Nebo was the god with the pencil who recorded the fate of men on New Year's Day, as was ordained by Marduk. This motive manifestly got from Babylon into Haggadic poetry and from that into Jewish folklore. So we can vacillate whether here we have to do with Egyptian or Babylonian influence on the Haggadah.

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[13]) See Gressmann, *A. O. T. B.* Vol. I. p. 89.

*) This contribution is the English of a Hungarian article by the late compiler of the *Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher* (d. in 1943). Its Hungarian original appeared in the *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Edward Mahler,* Budapest 1937, pp. 436—41.

A SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE LITERARY WORK OF IGNACE GOLDZIHER

It is to the conscientious and thorough researches of the late Professor Bernard Heller that we owe the list of the literary work of Ignace Goldziher. His book bears the title *Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher* and appeared at Paris in 1927 as a volume of the *Publications de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes.* In the course of the past two decades some additional data have come to light. Many of them were inserted by Bernard Heller in his own copy of his *Bibliographie,* and others were collected by myself during my bibliographical researches of many years. Valuable information has been contributed by Professors Charles Goldziher and Paul Gulyás, both of Budapest, the latter placing at my disposal his manuscript article on Ignace Goldziher which is to appear in his work *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (The Life and Works of Hungarian Authors). Prof. S. D. Goitein called the attention to two Hebrew articles of the young Ignace Goldziher (cf. Kirjath Sepher XXIII. 1947. pp. 251—252.), which are to be found already in the great bibliographies of Moïse Schwab *(Répertoire des Articles relatifs à l'Histoire et à la Littérature juives parus dans les Périodiques de 1783 à 1898.* I Paris, 1899. p. 139.) and of B. Wachstein — I. Taglicht — A. Kristianpoller *(Die hebräische Publizistik in Wien.* I. Wien, 1930. p. 75.). I owe some data to the friendly courtesy of Mr. J. Leveen and Mr. C. Moss, both of the British Museum, London; Prof. G. Vajda of Paris; Prof. J. Somogyi of Budapest; Prof. S. D. Goitein and Mr. S. Shunami of Jerusalem. Finally, I am indebted to Mr. Nicholas Szabó for helping me in supplementing the Russian data; he called on Prof. I. Kratschkovsky of Leningrad who was good enough to supplement and correct the Russian material.

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(„The Arabic translation contains the first three chapters of „Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung" [Cf. No. 371.]. It is preceded by an Introduction and a detailed Table of Contents. The text as well as the footnotes are translated. The references and the spelling are not always accurate. The translation of the German text to page 179 extends to page 174, and is followed by a general supplement (Ta'qīb Ijmālī) of 10 pages, in criticism of the statements and attitude of Goldziher and Orientalists in general." Communication of Prof. Edwin E. Calverley, Hartford, Conn., U. S. A., to Joseph Somogyi in his letter on 27th April 1946.).

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(not included in Heller's list)

74. Fővárosi Lapok (616).
75. Izraelita Tanügyi Értesítő (625).
76. Jogtudományi Közlöny (644).
77. Kelet Népe. Das junge Europa (638).

78. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (610).
79. Protestans Egyházi és Iskolai Lap (603).
80. Uj Élet (675).
81. Ungarisch-jüdische Wochenschrift (608, 609).
82. Warte des Tempels (617).
83. Zsidó Szemle (646).
84. כבוד הלבנון (605).
85. כוכבי יצחק (604).

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QUELQUES ADDITIONS ET CORRECTIONS à la „Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher par B. Heller, Paris 1927".

Page *6*. N-o 53 au lieu de 380 (entre parenthèses) il faut lire 271.

Page *10*. N-o 18 au lieu de 380 (entre parenthèses) il faut lire 379.

1893. Ajoutez: Compte-rendu substantiel des NN-os 98, 124, 131 et 136 par Baron V. Rosen dans „Записки Восточного Отделения Императорского Русского Археологического Общества", volume VIII, pp. 170—194.

1903. Au lieu de N-o 245 lisez: *1904*. История мусульманства. Самостоятельные очерки, обработки и дополненные переводы из Дози и Гольдциэра А. Крымского. Изд. второе. Часть I и II. Москва 1904. (Труды по востоковедению, издаваемые Лазаревским Институтом Восточных языков. Выпуск XII и XVIII.)
Partie II, pp. 39—87 = traduction du N-o 131 (Muhammedanische Studien, I.), pp. 1—39.
Partie II, pp. 83—161 = traduction du N-o 131, pp. 40—100.
(La première édition a été lithographiée en 1901 au nombre de 100 exemplaires.)

1906. N-o 271. Lisez: „Žuze" au lieu de „Luze" (en russe Жузе = arabe Ǧūzī).

1907. N-o 281. Si l'année est vraiment 1904, ne faut-il pas changer la place de l'article?

1910. N-o 307 — doit être biffé, comme n'étant à sa place; voir le N-o 317.

1910. N-o 308. Il faut lire plus exactement: „Игнатий Гольдциер. Исламская и еврейская философия" dans „Общая история философии. Том первый, СПБ 1910", pp. 79—110 (= Traduction du N-o 305).

1911. N-o 317 — il faut biffer „voir N-o 307" et ajouter: „traduction du N-o 269".

1912. Ajoutez: А. Э. Шмидт. Очерки истории ислама, как религии" dans la revue „Мир ислама", vol. I, pp. 32—55, 185—202, 562—581 (Résumé du N-o 306).

1922. „В. В. Бартольд. Игнац Гольдциэр." dans „Известия Российской Академии Наук", pp. 147—168 (Nécrologie avec des nombreux extraits des lettres de Goldziher au Baron V. Rosen).

1923. „И. Крачковский. Памяти Игн. Гольдциэра (1850—1921)" dans la revue „Восток, книга 2, 1923, 162—163". (Nécrologie avec quelques reminiscences personnelles).

1938. И. Гольдциэр. Культ святых в исламе (Мухаммеданские эскизы), ОГИЗ. Москва, 1938:
Pp. 21—102 et 155—169 traduction du N-o 136, pp. 275—378;
Pp. 103—116 et 169—171 traduction du N-o 199;
Pp. 117—127 traduction du N-o 469;
Pp. 128—151 et 171—180 traduction du N-o 131, pp. 229—263;
Pp. 152—154 et 180 résumé du N-o 131, pp. 219—228.

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