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To the Memory of Professor

Károly Czeglédy
(1914-1996)

Happy is the man *that* findeth wisdom,
and the man *that* getteth understanding.

Proverbs 3.13



CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Preface | vii |
| Alexander Fodor (Budapest): <i>Šūfī Magic – Greco-Egyptian Magic</i> | 1 |
| Francesca M. Corrao (Naples): <i>Laughter Festival and Rebirth: Ibn Dāniyāl's Shadow Plays, an Example of Cultural Tolerance in the Early Mamlūk Ages</i> | 13 |
| Saber El-Adly (Budapest): <i>Yā ṭālī'a š-šāğara</i> | 29 |
| Shawki Abd El-Kawi Uthman Habib (Cairo): <i>Iḥtifāliyyāt al-ḥitān fī Miṣr</i> ... | 43 |
| Till Raczek (Tübingen): <i>Magic and Popular Medicine in Spanish Aljamiado-Texts</i> | 55 |
| Sabine Dorpmüller (Münster): <i>The Magician's Handbook: "Sitz im Leben" of a Text Type</i> | 63 |
| Mariëtte Errazki-van Beek (Leiden): <i>The Image of the Moroccan Saint in Oral and Written Hagiography</i> | 75 |
| Jehan S. Rajab (Kuwait): <i>Failaka Island – Kuwait, An Island of al-Ḥidr, the Green Man or Elias, the Servant of God</i> | 89 |
| Zourabi A. Aloiane (Budapest): <i>Re-construction of Šayḥ 'Adī b. Musāfir's Biography on the Basis of Arabic and Kurdish Sources</i> | 95 |
| Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska (Warsaw): <i>Les traces de principes d'honneur des arabes de anteislam dans les coutumes et proverbes contemporaines</i> | 105 |
| Avihai Shvitiel (Leeds): <i>Customs, Manners and Beliefs as Reflected by Some Arabic Proverbs and Idioms</i> | 113 |
| Kinga Dévényi (Budapest): <i>On the Animal World of Omani Proverbs</i> | 123 |
| Seeger A. Bonebakker (California) <i>Appendices to "The Vicissitudes of Two Lines of Poetry"</i> | 143 |
| Ida Fröhlich (Budapest): <i>Magic, Sorcery, and Myth in Jewish Pseudepigraphic Literature (The Ethiopic Book of Enoch)</i> | 163 |
| László Kákosy (Budapest): <i>Magical Healing Statues in Ancient Egypt (Summary)</i> | 177 |

PREFACE

The present volume is the second and last part of the Proceedings of the Colloquium held at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest between 18-22 September 1995.

The Colloquium which was devoted to the logos, ethos and mythos of the Middle East and North Africa, both ancient and contemporary, attracted, because of its diversity, scholars from different parts of the world, whose interests in the area cover a wide scope of subjects and disciplines.

As indicated in the first volume, the papers presented for publication were divided into two broad sections. The first devoted to various aspects of Arabic linguistics and literature, mainly classical, while the second volume, which contains fourteen articles, concerns itself with history and culture of the area, mainly popular culture, including folklore, magic, proverbs and the like.

Thus, Alexander Fodor, Till Raczek, Sabine Dorpmüller, Ida Fröhlich and László Kákosy deal with various aspects of magic; Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, Kinga Dévényi and Avihai Shivtiel write on Arabic proverbs; Seeger A. Bonebakker further elaborated his paper published earlier in the first volume of the Proceedings; Francesca Corrao, Shawki Habib and Saber El-Adly concern themselves with some aspects of customs and beliefs, while Mariëtte Errazki-van Beek, Jehan Rajab and Zourabi A. Aloiane discuss some real and legendary personalities and images.

The variety of topics and diversity of themes covered by this Colloquium and those which preceded it prove that Eötvös Loránd University has now established itself as a centre for Middle Eastern and North African cultural studies, and the scholars who have actively participated in these colloquia demonstrate their confidence in the venue. It is therefore our pleasure to offer all those who have contributed to the success of these conferences our thanks and gratitude.

Budapest, 21 December 1996

The Editors

ŞŪFĪ MAGIC - GRECO-EGYPTIAN MAGIC

Alexander Fodor

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In a previous paper I tried to show the close connection between practices of bowl divination as described in the Greek magical papyri and recipes of similar contents offered by modern Arabic magical literature¹. I also referred passingly to the evident Şūfī colouring in the description of the “banquet of the spirits”, the main scene in the divinatory operation which presented the familiar requisites of Şūfī feasts with processional flags and scenes of gatherings for common meals.

This time I wish to examine this Şūfī background, the relationship of Şūfis to magic in present time, their role in propagating magical practices and their general indebtedness to Greco-Egyptian magic. The special connection between Şūfis and magic in general has long been registered by such well-known sources as Pseudo-al-Mağrīṭī's *Picatrix* and Ibn Ḥaldūn's *Muqaddima*. The *Picatrix* mentions that according to Şūfī opinion the original state of things can be altered through the utterance of the “greatest names” (Ritter 1933:38, Ritter-Plessner 1962: 36). This famous work of astrological magic also refers to Ġābir ibn Ḥayyān as “The Şūfī” when it speaks about the alchemist as the most outstanding master in talismanic art (Ritter 1933:146, Ritter-Plessner 1962:153).

Ibn Ḥaldūn in his openly manifested effort to defend Şūfism against possible accusations of dealing with magic, claims that the Şūfī practice of *kaşf* (“removal of the veil of sensual perception”) which occurs after mystical exertions, retirement and *diker* exercises is “different from the similar act of sorcerers, Christians and other ascetics since the former realize this through straightforwardness” (Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddima* III, 81f). The *Muqaddima* also asserts that “Şūfis are able to exercise an influence upon worldly conditions”. In Ibn Ḥaldūn's view, however, this art cannot be considered as sorcery since it is brought about with divine support (*ibid.*, 167). At the same time Ibn Ḥaldūn acknowledges that letter magic was specifically connected to Şūfī practitioners and al-Būnī, Ibn ʿArabī and others wrote numerous works on it (*ibid.*, 171).

Modern studies on Şūfism have regularly indicated the Şūfī involvement in magic but have not paid particular attention to this accepted fact. Trimmingham, for instance, emphasizes al-Būnī's (d. 1225) role in the process of “systemizing the sciences of divination, astrology and magical invocation” (Trimingham 1971:28). Others tend to regard the increasing growth of magical practices in Şūfī circles as a typical sign of

¹ See Fodor 1994:96, n. 49.

degeneration or deviation which characterizes the later developments of Sūfism. So, Winter says that by aš-Šaʿrānī's time Sūfis became the main exponents of the occult sciences, although the famous Sūfi sheikh disapproved of this practice (Winter 1982: 173-176). Arberry speaks about an "age of decline" when "charms and amulets came to acquire a special value" (Arberry 1972:120f).

Lings stresses the point that the devotion to jugglery and sorcery represented the deviation of only a few among the Sūfis². Whatever the exact numerical proportion of those Sūfis who practice magic may be presently, we have different proofs about their constant interest in the problem. Among the sources which show the Sūfi involvement in magic mention must be made of their own publications which never miss to condemn these practices. The common view of "official" Sūfism can be summarized in the following; the use of invocations (*ruqya*) is allowed when they contain only passages from the Book of God, His Names, His attributes or anything else which is intelligible and uttered in Arabic language. Another important condition for the employment of these licit *ruqyas* is that the invoker must firmly believe that the efficacy of the incantation is due to God's will alone. Accordingly, the strange words, artificially created expressions, imaginary spells and repulsive fumigations (*kalimāt ḡarība*, *alfāz muṣṭanaʿa*, *ʿazāʾim mūhama*, *buhūrāt munaffira*) are strictly forbidden. Neither is it permitted to make a living on this kind of activity³.

To demonstrate that these statements cannot be considered simply as theoretical expositions but reflect daily problems facing the Sūfi organizations, suffice it to quote some of the Laws of an Egyptian Sūfi Order, the Ḥamīdiyya Šādīliyya (Gilsenan 1973:210f):

"25. It is not permissible for anyone of our *ṭarīq* to believe in pantheism, or unity of the world with God (*ittihād*) or modality: or the Truth is the same as creation or to say what Ḥallāj said."

"27. It is not permissible for anyone to use magic or anything similar to it for this cuts the relation with God."

"36. Every *khalīfa* or higher than he who teaches his students names which are not Arabic or makes them enter the *khalwa* or orders them to pray the unlawful *awrād* or orders them to make *dhikr* with 10,000 names in every day and night; or orders them to make devotions which stop the eating of all things which were alive; or to make a fast for many months; or to use the *djinn* or anything like

² Lings 1969:268. For the connection between Sūfism and magic, see also MacDonald 1934:445; Doutté 1908:52-56; Shah 1982:335-344.

³ aš-Šādīli, 1987:54. Lawful incantations are legalized by claiming that they heal the soul (*ibid.*, 56). For similar views, see *Abḡadiyya*, 67ff. The custom of eating glass or snakes is rejected together with other arts of jugglery on the basis that neither did the Prophet practice them, nor are they useful: aš-Šādīli, 1987: 58f. The popularity of magic among Iraqi Sūfis and its severe criticism are well demonstrated by al-Kasanzānī (*Taṣawwuf* 290-298) who gives detailed descriptions of the magical operations in use.

that; he is responsible for what he does and the consequence is on him; for the *tariq* is free from that.”

In the light of these regulations it will be of special interest to examine several passages chosen from modern Arabic magical books compiled by ‘Abdalfattāḥ aṭ-Ṭūḥī, a prolific writer and a practising Şūfi, a member of the Naqşabandī *tariqa*⁴. The texts actually present the vices which have prompted their condemnation in the Laws of the Order. The passage in question reads as follows (aṭ-Ṭūḥī, *as-Siḥr al-‘ağīb* II, 77):

تبتدئ بالرياضة حسب الوقت المناسب، بأن تقدم صلاة الله بنية بدء الرياضة، وبعد الصلاة تصرف العمار بقراءة الزلزلة ثلاث مرات، وتكرر (أشتاتا) ثلاث مرات في كل مرة، وتوكل بصرف عمار المكان حتى يتم عملك، ثم تتلو الأسماء ١١١ مرة، والدعوة ٢١ مرة، والبخور مطلوب وهكذا يكون بعد كل صلاة، وفي جوف الليل تتلو الأسماء ١١١١ والدعوة ٧٠ مرة، وذلك مدة الرياضة الأولى، وبهذا يمكن استخدام الملك طهشير في قضاء الحوائج بدون رؤيته، أو التكلم معه مشافهة، (أي سماع كلام) اللهم إلا أن في بعض الليالي تراه كعمود من نور، وتسمع أحيانا بعض ألفاظ قليلة خاطفة كالهمس، ويكون الإلهام عندك أشد من الجميع - أما المنام فترى كل شيء فيه، سترى وترى العجائب لو صبرت وداومت، وقبلت الشروط، فكل آت قريب ثم تداوم على الورد الخاص يوميا صباحا ومساء، قراءة الأسماء ١١ مرة، والدعوة ٣ مرات.

أما إذا أردت السماع والرؤية، فادخل الخلوة المدة المناسبة، بالشروط السابقة في الرياضة، ليكن الطعام خفيفا دون الشبع، البعد الكامل عن الروح أو ما خرج منها، البعد عن كل نجس ثوبا وبدنا ومكانا، البعد عن الناس إلا للضرورة، التدقيق في صحة العدد حال التلاوة، فلا تزيد ولا تنقص، وإلا وقع الخلل، وبطل العمل.

“You should start with the religious exercise (*riyāda*) according to the appropriate time on the condition that you introduce the prayer to God by [expressing] the intention (*niyya*) of starting the *riyāda*. After the prayer you should dismiss the spirits (*ummār*, literally “the inhabitants”) by reciting the Sūra of the Earthquake [Q 99] three times. You should repeat “scatterings” (*aštātān*, Q 99,6) three times on each occasion. You should take charge of dismissing the spirits of the place until your work (*‘amal*, i.e. “the magical operation”) is finished, then you should recite the names 111 times and the invocation 21 times. [In the meantime] the incense should be fumigated. It should be in this way after each prayer. In the middle of the night you should recite the names 1111 times and the invocation 70 times. This should [happen] during the period of the first *riyāda*. By this it is possible to use King ṬHŞYR in settling the affairs without seeing him or speaking to him orally (that is hearing the speech). Except that, oh my God, in one of the nights you will see him as a pillar of light and you will hear sometimes a number of a few brief words like whispering. Inspiration with you will be stronger than with all. As for the dream, you will see everything in it. You will see and see the wonders if you will be patient and if you will continue and if you will accept the conditions. So, everything will happen soon. Then you should continue with the special office (*wird*) every day, in the morning and in the evening. The recitation of the names should be 11 times and the invocation 70 times.

As for [the situation] when you wish to hear and see, then enter the seclusion (*ḥalwa*) for the appropriate period on the conditions [mentioned] formerly in [connection with] the *riyāda*. Let the food be light without [causing] saturation. [There should be] complete abstinence from the animated things [i.e. meat] and what came out of it [i.e. meat products]. [There should be] abstinence from every impure, [let

⁴ See aṭ-Ṭūḥī, *Wilāya* 54ff where he speaks about dream visions in which Naqşabandī sheikhs appeared to him. See also Fodor 1994:76.

it be] the clothing, the body and the place. [There should be] abstinence from the people unless it is necessary. [There should be] accuracy in the soundness of the number during the recitation. Do not add and do not reduce, otherwise a disorder will take place and the operation will be futile.”

Summarizing the basic elements of the magical praxis preceding or accompanying the invocation proper, the following points emerge as essential:

1. The main preparatory action is the so called *riyāda*, a kind of devotional exercise, well-known from Šūfī practice. There it has a double meaning in the sense that, on the one hand it aimed at the physical preparation of the soul by such mortificatory acts as the forbearance of hardships, vigilance, hunger etc. On the other hand it helped to realize the spiritual preparedness of the soul by training it morally⁵. The two aspects of the term complement each other since both of them are supposed to bring the soul into a state which enables it to receive revelation through a divine (or demonic) encounter, or to be ready to embark upon a magical operation. It is also worth to be noted that the recipe insists on the existence of the “intent” (*niyya*) on the part of the practitioner before starting the operation. With the introduction of this idea another bridge came to be built to the Šūfī world⁶.

The period of the *riyāda* and its starting day this time are determined by calculations using the numerical value of the letters in the practitioner’s name and of the Sūra of The Djinn but usually the period is prescribed in advance⁷.

2. The fasting makes up an integral part of the *riyāda* but it is treated separately, especially in connection with the practitioner’s seclusion from the outer world. Recipes always advise him to eat only bread prepared with barley and crushed in good olive oil. At the same time a complete abstinence is required from “animated things” (meat) or what came out of an animated thing (meat products)⁸.

3. The seclusion (*ḥalwa*) refers to the procedure itself and to its place. Seemingly a clearly defined territory is meant by it, completely separated from the rest of the world. Among the main requirements for the *ḥalwa* as a place of retreat, its purity, remoteness from noise, the orientation of its entrance towards the *qibla* and the total exclusion of other people are frequently enumerated (*ibid.*, II, 14, 16).

Apart from the ordinary daily prayers, the oral part of the operation comprises the invocation (*da‘wa*), the main instrument in the conjuration of the spirits. As the following passage reveals, certain unintelligible groups of letters called *damā’ir* and belonging to the invocation must have a special importance in establishing the contact with the spirits (*ibid.*, II, 25).

⁵ For the *riyāda*, see e.g. aš-Šarqāwī, *Mu‘ǧam* 163f. See also Doutté 1908:96ff.

⁶ On the importance of *niyya*, see e.g. Massignon 1954:186.

⁷ For a *riyāda* of 21 days, see e.g. aṭ-Ṭūhī, *Siḥr al-kubhān* 24.

⁸ See e.g. aṭ-Ṭūhī, *as-Siḥr al-‘aǧīb* II, 16.

وتكتب ضمائر الدعوة الآتي [sic!] في إناء عند الشروق بمسك وعنبر وزعفران وتحوها بماء الورد. فإذا أردت الشرب تشرب من هذا الماء مدة النهار - وتكتب ضمائر الدعوة أيضا مرة أخرى عند الغروب وتشرب منها مدة الليل وهكذا تكون الكتابة في الشروق لشرب النهار - وفي الغروب لشرب الليل مدة جميع أيام الخدمة. رياضة وخلوة. وهذه ضمائر الدعوة المطلوبة: أبريج وريج ومستدرج هيج هيج طهريج نجز هجز لجز. وتتلو الدعوة عقب كل صلاة ٢١ مرة. والبخور شغال. وهو العجم، وأصول اليبروج⁹، وبذر الخشخاش، وبذر الخس، والميعة، والكندر، والمستكى التركي.
 "And you should write the following *damā'ir* of the invocation in a bowl with musk, amber, saffron at sunrise and you should wipe it off with rose water. If you wish to drink, you should drink from this water during daytime. You should also write the *damā'ir* of the invocation once more at [sun]set and you should drink from it during the night. [The practice is supposed to be continued] during each day of the service [let it be] the *riyāda* [or] the *halwa*. The necessary *damā'ir* of the invocation are as follows: ABRŪĠ, RYĠ, MSTDRĠ, HYĠYĠ, HYĠ, ṬHRYĠ, NĠZ, HĠZ, LĠZ. You should recite the invocation after each prayer 21 times, while incense is fumigated. This should be [mixed] from black raisin, root of the mandrake, poppy-seed, lettuce-seed, styrax, [Lebanese] frankincense, and Turkish mastic."

These *damā'ir* (sing. *damīr*) which here appear as magical names representing the substance of spirits to be adjured can obviously be identified as the familiar technical term for "pronoun" used in linguistics but taken over by the Şūfis in the sense of "le moi conscient de l'homme" (Massignon 1954:40). The recitation of the magical names represents a constant part of the conjurations and some recipes call this *wird* in imitation of the Şūfī practice of reciting daily offices (aṭ-Ṭūhī, *as-Sihr al-ʿaġīb* II, 42).

According to our prescription a direct encounter can take place between the practitioner and the spirits at the peak of the continuous invocations during the *halwa*. Other recipes describe the scene in a detailed way, emphasizing the occurrence of the following elements¹⁰: The appearance of the light frequently indicates the arrival of the spirit or spirits who exchange greetings with the magician, ask about his wish to be fulfilled, and conclude a pact (*ʿabd*) with him. This pact which may oblige the practitioner to accept several conditions (like the promise not to use the spirits in actions of disobedience towards God), resembles very much the traditional pact concluded between the Şūfī sheikh (*muršid*) and his disciple (*murīd*) as an important rite in the latter's initiation ceremony¹¹.

This repertory of Şūfī technical terms combined with an evident effort to adhere to the regulations of official religion tries to disguise an essentially magical operation, the main components of which present a striking parallel to the descriptions of similar procedures from Greco-Roman Egypt.

The eagerness to encounter a deity or a spirit alone, face to face, characterized people's attitude in their quest for a personal religious experience, as a first century A.D. document, the letter of the physician Thessalus attests to it (Festugière 1939:57-

⁹ In the original text: أصول البروج which has no sense here.

¹⁰ See e.g. aṭ-Ṭūhī, *as-Sihr al-ʿaġīb* II, 17f.

¹¹ For this, see e.g. Gilsenan 1973:239f.

64). Thessalus in his letter relates that he failed when he wanted to use the recipes of the famous magician, Nechepso. In his search to discover the cause of his failure, he went to Thebes to speak to the priests. One of them was ready to help Thessalus in arranging an encounter with a god. Upon the priest's order the physician fasted for three days then went to the priest at the dawn of the third day. The priest prepared a chamber for him which was to serve as the place for consulting the deity. He seated Thessalus in front of a throne then, in compliance with Thessalus' wish invoked Asclepius with the help of mysterious names and finally left Thessalus alone. After this preparation Asclepius really appeared in a beautiful form, greeted Thessalus, inquired about his wish and upon his request revealed the cause of the failure with the magical recipes. At the end Asclepius promised Thessalus that soon people would greet him also as a god.

The memory of a similar experience is preserved in an inscription of the temple of Mandulis in Nubia (modern Kalabsha) which received many visitors especially in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The text (not later than the second half of the 3rd century A.D.) relates that the anonymous visitor who wanted to know whether Mandulis was identical with the Sun, practiced chastity for a long time, offered fumigations with incense, then had a vision in which Mandulis manifested himself to him in the temple and gave him the affirmative answer (Festugière 1950:49f).

In my former article I had already tried to show the existence of parallel elements in the Greek magical papyri and the Arabic magical literature from Egypt. This time the terminological coincidences will be set in the focus from the Šūfi point of view.

In a spell for acquiring an assistant demon the practitioner is instructed in the following way¹²: "After the preliminary purifications, (abstain from animal food) and from all uncleanness and, on whatever (night) you want to, go (up) onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment ... (and say) the first spell of encounter as the sun's orb is disappearing..." The word for practicing purification is derived from the term ἀγνεία referring to the state of ritual purity¹³ which may also imply the soul and the heart (Williger 1922:63).

Instructions for fasting and particularly the requirement of abstinence from "animated things" (ἐμψύχος) were especially basic for achieving purity. In many respects, the role of this purification rite can be compared to the function of the Arabic *riyāda*. We can also find the reference to barley meal for breaking the fast¹⁴.

It is another common feature that the place where the practitioner should perform in complete solitude, either in the case of Thessalus (chamber, οἶκος), or in the vision of Mandulis (temple), or in the magical papyri [the roof of the house, a clean, dark

¹² PGM I, 54-58; Betz 1992:4. See also PGM IV, 52; Betz 1992:38, 52, 175; PGM IV, 734, XIII, 114.

¹³ For this idea, see Arbesmann 1929:8f, 20; Williger 1922:49, 53; Hopfner 1974:843-861.

¹⁴ PGM III, 411f; Betz 1992:29. For the importance of barley, see RE 7, 1281-1284.

room, without light (*PDM* XIV, 150; Betz 1992:204), the Eastern section of the village, the city or the house (*PGM* IV, 58f; Betz 1992:38), or even a tent (*PGM* XIII, 99f; Betz 1992:175)] is always a separate place like the *halwa* with occasional indications to its orientation [to the South (*PDM* XIV, 119; Betz 1992:202), to the West (*PGM* XIII, 8; Betz 1992:172) or to the East (*PGM* XII, 212, Betz 1992:161)].

As for the magical formulae in the Greek magical papyri by which the deity or the spirit are invoked, a basic component reveals that the magician using the secret, mysterious names, actually claims to be identified with the conjured god or demon. After uttering the names of Hermes in a love spell, the magician invokes the god with these words:

“I know you Hermes, and you know me. I am you, and you are I. And so, do everything for me...”¹⁵. In a love spell the magician identifies himself with the figures of different deities like the Sun or Horus (*PDM* XIV, 435-440; Betz 1992:220). In another spell to grant memory the deity is called to enter the magician’s mind ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) (*PGM* III, 412; Betz 1992:29).

As we have seen, the Arabic magical prescriptions are usually content with speaking about the encounter with the spirits and seem not to go as far as alluding to the realization of a union between the practitioner and the invoked spirit. This cautious attitude is quite understandable since any attempt to hint at such a possibility would probably expose him to charges even more serious than those of illicit magic. Among the many accusations levelled against Şūfīs, the practice of union with God (*ittihād*) has proved to be the most dangerous, which the partisans of Şūfism have always tried to repel by every possible means¹⁶.

In spite of all this precaution and readiness of the magicians to censor themselves, we can still find recipes with prescriptions implying the union between the conjurer and the conjured. In a spell the “servants” of certain letters are invoked to go to a person in the magician’s “image” (*miṭāl*) and “capacity” (*ṣifa*) (aṭ-Ṭūḥī, *Siḥr al-kuḥhān* 8). The spirit may also be called to enter the magician’s “shape” (*ḥay’a*) (*ibid.*, 29) or “figure” (*ṣūra*) (*ibid.*, 23).

The examination of the composing elements in the descriptions of the previously treated magical practices – Greco-Egyptian and Arabic alike – allows us to try to form an idea about the spiritual background which seem to be firmly rooted in Late Antiquity, first of all in late Neoplatonism.

Through the activities of Proclus and Iamblychus ideas of popular religion, especially those connected to magical practices gained acceptance among philosophers (Praechter 1927:209; Wallis 1972:105; Segal 1981:364). This magical material practically came to be reinterpreted and was put to the service of the main goal of achieving

¹⁵ *PGM* VIII, 49f; Betz 1992:146. See also *PGM* XIII, 795; Betz 1992:191.

¹⁶ See e.g. aṣ-Şarqāwī, *Muṣṣam* 25f, 59, 227.

union with God with the help of theurgy (Dodds 1951:287, 291f; Eitrem 1942:50). In the case of Neoplatonists this meant that popular magical practices coexisted with high philosophical ideas (Dodds 1951:282; Wallis 1972:2f). The connecting link between the two was the jointly shared fiction of the law of sympathy governing the whole universe (*ibid.*, 70, 107).

Some of the philosophers also advised fasting and abstinence from "animated" things to reach the state of purity as a preparation for the union with God (Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia* 44,2, 49,2, 34,3). Some of them were reluctant to turn to theurgic practices to realise their sublime goal, but others were willing to profit from the magical techniques (Luck 1989:204). So, Proclus was also well-known as a magician, who practiced divination, could bring about rain or avert earthquakes.

This duality in the character of Neoplatonism (Segal 1981:373), the simultaneous existence of vulgar magic and philosophical religion within a common framework is equally manifested in the Greek magical papyri and Sūfism. Explanation may be sought in the necessity felt by people to differentiate between their local, personal problems to be solved by the intervention of familiar spirits and demons and between affairs and goals belonging to the sphere of high religious ideas (*ibid.*, 371f).

In other words, this is to say that the position of magic in Sūfism reflects a situation rooted in Greco-Egyptian spiritual life. Research has accepted Sūfism as the result of an inner development within Islam and has admitted the influx of outer influences, like that of Neoplatonism as secondary only and rather late¹⁷.

The first problem with this attitude is that it has looked upon Neoplatonism as a pure philosophy neglecting magic as an organic part of the system, equal to philosophy in rank. The second problem arises from the fact that usually Mesopotamia¹⁸, notably the Šābians have been taken into consideration as a possible channel for transmitting Neoplatonic ideas. As a matter of fact, the *Picatrix*, the main expositor of the Šābian tradition, both in its general world view, completely subordinated to astrological considerations, and in its magical recipes seems to differ in several aspects from the Greco-Egyptian tradition represented by the Greek magical papyri.

For research, the role of Egypt in this respect has remained in the background, in spite of the fact that its magical tradition might have been continuous. The best proof for this can be offered by the person of Dū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 859), the great mystic from Akhmim who must have been a real Neoplatonic figure, who like Proclus was equally interested in magic and philosophy, so might have played a decisive role in the preservation and transmission of local tradition. He spent a lot of time searching the ancient Egyptian temples to gain knowledge in alchemy and other

¹⁷ See e.g. Lings 1969:*passim*; Trimmingham 1971:2; *Abğadiyya*, 19ff; Stoddart 1976:43. But cf. also Abdel-Kader 1976:115 for the early influence of Neoplatonism.

¹⁸ See e.g. Massignon 1954:73-81.

occult sciences. He also produced miracles (*karāmāt*)¹⁹. In fact, his different preoccupations were in perfect harmony with the idea dominating the first centuries A.D. which looked upon magic, philosophy and wonder working as essentially similar²⁰. In conclusion we may emphasize again that the spiritual background behind this idea has manifested itself in Şūfī magic and its practitioners. The dimensions of the influence of Greco-Egyptian magic are well illustrated by the fact that Jewish mystical and magical literature of the period reflects the same characteristics as we have seen both in the Greek magical papyri and in the Arabic magical literature²¹.

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¹⁹ On *Ḍū-n-Nūn*, see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīḥ* 185; Nicholson 1906:322ff.

²⁰ For this, see Segal 1981:362.

²¹ For this Jewish connection, see Lesses 1996:60.

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LAUGHTER FESTIVAL AND REBIRTH
Ibn Dāniyāl's Shadow Plays,
an Example of Cultural Tolerance in the Early Mamlūk Ages

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Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow plays are a rich source for the study of the role and cultural meaning of festivals and entertainment during the first Mamlūk reign in Egypt. This great masterpiece of the *muğūn* (comic) literature is rich in its content and shows the different examples of both classical and vernacular poetry. The author composed in both classical metres and *muwašṣahāt* or *zağal*, according to the need of the rotation between the dialogues and the singing. The plays are divided into three pieces, *bābāt*, the first and the third resembling a *maqāma*, and the second to the *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya* by Abū Dulāf. Ibn Dāniyāl enriched his plays with sophisticated quotations from the most representative authors of *muğūn* productions, like al-Ḥamaḍānī, al-Ḥarīrī, Abū Dulama, and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Ḥamaḍānī. The striking originality of Ibn Dāniyāl lies in his ability to quote both scientific passages, like the *Qānūn* by Ibn Sīnā, and the elegant verses of the court productions, as well as the vernacular remarks of the street dealers. The plays were shown during festivals. Standing behind a tent lit with an oil lamp, the puppeteer would move his marionettes projecting shadows onto the white cloth and he also gave the voices to the different personages, helping his imitating ability with special devices for altering the utterance. A small orchestra with a lute, a flute and a tamburine accompanied the singing. This simple show, of eastern origin, enjoyed great success among the élite as well as the poor, with its funny satire of daily life events.

Many artists had fled from Baghdad after the Mongol defeat of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate (1269) and as an effect of their migration into Cairo, the city was flourishing with great cultural activity. The Sultan Zāhir Rukn ad-Dīn Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (658-676/1260-1277), had stopped both the Mongol invasion at ʿAyn Ḡālūt, and the Crusaders advance in Palestine, giving new hope to the people. Cairo was the capital of the Middle East, and due to the Sultan's will it had been transformed into a creative laboratory for both the arts and the sciences. The Sultan wanted to leave a sign of his power in the architecture of the city and therefore ordered the building of gardens, hippodromes, mosques and military constructions. Baybars, and the Mamlūks, loved the horse races and the polo game, both of which flourished greatly in Mamlūk time. During that age betting was wide-spread and only lightly blamed by the orthodox, as long as people did not dilapidate their fortune. The strong social tensions and the radical changes stimulated a need for a more general rebirth, a celebration of life through rejoicing festivals. The culture of public

entertainment was popular in the Islamic world and it was now flourishing as a sign of creative rebirth in Egypt¹.

Amusement has always been considered lawful, because, like laughter, it lightens the heaviness of daily life, but entertainment must always be within the sphere of what is lawful; the infractions of laughter and games must be both moderate and temporary. Betting, like horse racing, was never condemned.

During the first days, the Islamic community had opposed the pagan rituals and the mocking of the pious Muslims in order to underline the seriousness of the newborn religion. Being earnest and steady were considered important values, but they did not imply a refusal of laughter and joy. On the contrary, within the frame of the Islamic culture there emerges the coexistence of two trends, a humorous and a moralistic one. These two trends reflect the two faces of a single conscience, one open minded and tolerant and the other radical and dogmatic. The balancing of these two conflicting tendencies has always been the result of a restless struggle.

Important studies have been devoted to the diffusion of dances, singing and amusement in the Islamic society; here I will recall only a few opinions surrounding the debate of lawfulness of fun and games. al-Ġāhiz̄ (d. 867) had a positive approach to laughter, he used to quote a passage from the Qur'ān, saying that both good and evil were powerfully concentrated in God's hands, to stress that man should enjoy, recognize its value, and be grateful for the pleasures entrusted in him by his Creator.

This conception was strongly opposed by al-Imām al-Ġazālī (d. 1111), who condemned fictitious stories and festivals celebrating non-Islamic beliefs. The historian Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 1234) accused all the pre-Islamic legends of being false, such as the stories of the Persian kings and the one of the Pharaohs, because they referred to polytheist beliefs which were as blameworthy as the pagans' lies condemned by the Prophet. Ibn al-Aṭīr used to quote only a few of the Persian mythological stories and used to make fun of the belief that the king was of divine origin; he also denounced the evil influence of these stories on a popular level, especially the feast of the death of the old year celebrated during the festival of Nawrūz on New Year's Eve².

¹ Corrao 1990; the translation of the plays has been done on the following manuscripts, the first Egyptian codex is in the Dār al-Kutub, Adab Tal'at, n. 4772; the second is m. 186; the third, Al'āb Taymūr 16, and the fourth Adab 462; the al-Azhar manuscript is Adab 463 / Abāza 7095; the Escorialensis codex is ms. Kasimir n. 467, cat. Derenbourg 469; and the Istanbul copy is in the Sulemaniyye Millet Kütüphanesi, but it belonged to the Hekimoğlu Millet Kütüphanesi. I have confronted my translation with the edition published by Hopwood and Badawi, which had been previously prepared by Kahle, with a critical apparatus by D. Hopwood (Hopwood & Badawi 1992). Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Hita* II, 45, 159, 198; al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ* IV, 47. See also Corrao forthcoming.

² For the *ḥadīth* where the Prophet mentions the games see, Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fath* XIII, 334-336 and VI, 150 b 31-33; Ibn an-Naḥḥās, *Maṣāriʿ* I, 448.

Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow plays stand on the side of the tolerant and open minded approach. The choice of using the shadow play as a means to represent the comedy of life reveals the philosophical ideals of the author. He believes, like the mu'tazilites, in the freedom of human action. Furthermore as Ibn al-Fāriḍ had explained, Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow plays affirm that God is like the puppeteer who moves in good and evil the destiny of the marionettes which act freely in the earth scene until the final act when they repent to rejoin their God (Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Tā'iyya* 68).

Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1254) was very critical of the immoral behaviour people had during his time, blaming it on the vanity of the games, and warning against the danger of leading a corrupted life. He appealed to the Muslims to follow the righteous path shown by the Prophet, admonishing them not to go to the Christian festivals, or mingling with people of different faiths.

Ibn al-Hāḡḡ (d. 1336/7) a man of law, who lived nearly a century later, affirmed that ignorance was the cause of corruption and moral decay. Woman's ignorance was the most dangerous because it led them, unwillingly, to corrupted behaviour. Ibn al-Hāḡḡ exhorted the pious Muslims to reconduct their women to the modesty established in the Qur'ān; among the immoralities mentioned in his reproach were the narration of indecent stories, like *Thousand and One Nights*, singing and dancing with men, the pilgrimage to the saints' tombs in promiscuity with the other sex, their frequentation of the market and the public bath and most of all their waking at night in the cemetery on the occasion of the dead's anniversary (Ibn al-Hāḡḡ, *Madhal* I, 266-270). The fear of corrupting the original spirit of Islam was the real reason behind the lack of tolerance for the transgressive ambiguities of the feast. These less tolerant men of law saw in the lack of moral correctitude the cause of the historical crisis faced by Islam; some even thought that since the Mongols were Muslims, their attack was a divine punishment.

During the festivals, like in the time of the shadow plays, the spirit of the public was well disposed to jokes and ready to tolerate any kind of coarseness and to accept the seduction of fictitious stories. The ambiguity of the time of the feast, like the behaviour of the jester, is based on the quick and unexpected rotation of events; the fast rotation from the seriousness to the humorous is a breakthrough the order of expectations, which is in itself an element of disorder that provokes laughter. The pleasant entertainment seems to be a superficial aimless pleasure, but deeply it responds to the need of a spiritual renewal; it is a process that was represented by the traditional festivals and it was well known to the Egyptian people whose beliefs were strongly rooted in the ancient non-Islamic traditions. For these very reasons the festivals and their pagan message were strongly criticised by the rigorists.

The festival is an extraordinary moment of general catharsis. Even if ideologically it recalls a new edition of an older myth of the origins, or to a legend or to the foundation of a new worship, it always celebrates a renewal. In Egypt there were many festivals, some of them were directly linked to the natural season cycles, like

the festival of *Nayrūz* and *Mibriḡān* (spring and autumn), or the *Haliḡ*, at the breaking of the water canal that watered the land. Other celebrations took place on the occasion of religious anniversaries, of Muslims, Christians and Jews, and also at the departure for a military campaign. The abundance and display ostentated in these occasions were considered to be propitiatory of a long period of prosperity. These extraordinary events served to renew the dream of the time of the rebirth, when the regenerated nature banishes all the sufferings from the daily miseries of life. The collective rejoicing of the amusements removed the pains and the feeling of loneliness; the individual drew the source of satisfaction and reassurance from this communicative and participant sociality³. The entertainment techniques like dance, music, games, mimes and jests, provoked the very much needed evasion. The festival is not the symbol of an escape but one of transformation and of preservation. The reversal of the established order, which takes place during the feast time confirms the immutability of the existing order. It makes it more acceptable. From this temporary reversal people could also draw the needed energy to face the daily struggles for survival, and in this sense it performed a regenerating function⁴. Life conditions were in fact very hard for the poor in a time ravaged by war, the plague and famine and the rivalries among the Mamlūk clans.

From time to time, to appease the ill humour of the people, the Mamlūks granted special tax relief and involved the poor people in the preparations for the festivals. During the limited period of the feast, all the world would be turned upside down, the oppressive government giving generously instead of imposing new duties, and the merchants financing the games and the parades instead of their normal stealings.

Egypt knew since the time of the Pharaohs the sacred representation of an happy land rich with wealth, restaurating the cosmic order. The golden age for the Ancient Egyptian was the mythical projection of a reality which was the dream of the poor and oppressed people; they hoped for the other world, the wonderful land where wheat grows as high as a man. Added on top of this conception of the ultramundane world, was the Islamic idea of a Paradise where every wealth is obtainable without any effort. In the representation of the heavenly there is the solicitation of an happy and ordered world opposite to the current one. In this way the ancient, like the medieval Egypt, was expressing, through the image of the upside-down world, a magic-religious need which was translating real life experiences. The feast anticipated the heavenly time, and in those days Cairo lived according to rules and criterions opposite to the normal one. The barriers were abolished, and Muslims were peacefully taking part in the Christian festivities and vice versa.

³ Bachtin 1979:215-304; Camporesi 1976:3-31; Trigger *et al.* 1989:390-391.

⁴ Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ* I, 319, 333; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḡ* VII, 10; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥitat* II, 209.

Among the Muslim celebrations the most popular ones were those which were related to the departure of the *Mahmal*, accompanying the pilgrims to Mecca, and those occurring at the end of the religious fasting, the Lesser and Greater *Bayram*. The travellers and the historians of the Mamlūk age left us with rich witnessings of these extraordinary events. Many common elements emerge from the numerous travel memories, and even if recorded in different centuries they show that these festivals remained unchanged for a long time. A first striking example comes from the scenes representing the musicians, the jesters, the dancers and the trained animals that we find painted on the papyrus and on the wall of the tombs of the Pharaohs. In particular the paintings of the musicians look like those carved on a wooden ornament of the Fāṭimid Age decorating the tomb of the Mamlūk Sultan Qalā'ūn (678/1280)⁵.

At the time of the festivals the roads in Cairo were crowded with music players, jesters, buffoons, storytellers, acrobats and all sorts of animal trainers. A fresh image of such a colourful and rejoicing environment is drawn by Ibn Dāniyāl in his second *bāba*, *ʿAğīb* and *Garīb*. Here he describes an acrobat:

Wattāb al-Baḥṭiyārī appears with his ropes and poles; he walks on the rope wearing his wooden clogs, while the people anxiously fearing his fall clap their hands; as all the eyes are fixed on him he recites: "My art is based on delicacy and not on strength, to my fall medicine has no remedy * through climbing I've reached the peaks of glory, and my strange position becomes normal * my light body flies away gracefully, praise be to Who keeps me in the air"

A similar scene was described two centuries later by the German mercenary J. Wild:

On attache plusieurs cordes en double à la manière à peu près de nos escarpolettes (balançoires) dans chaucune il se met un homme qui s'y tient des deux mains, et d'autres personnes qui sont en bas leur donnent le branle et les font mouvoir par un corde qui tient à l'escarpolettes et dont il font à peu près la même chose que s'il sonnoient un cloche. Mais si ceux qui sont suspendus vennoient à tomber comme la corde où ils sont assis est extrêmement haute, il ne leur en pourroit pas moins couler la vie (Corrao 1990:173-174; Hopwood & Badawi 1992:83; Wild 1973:235, 281-282).

In an atmosphere of extraordinary abundance people ate a lot and drank away all the money they had gained during the year; the roads were decorated with carpets hanging from windows, and were invaded by a storm of charlatans, trainers of lions, elephants, bears and dogs. Ibn Dāniyāl gives us an example of these scenes in the following lines:

Šibl as-Sabbāʿ (the lion cub) appears and with him the lion tied up with chains and bolts. He walks at first arrogantly and then like a murderer, he seizes it by the mane, as big as an elephant; then he curbs him and gets closer to the head that looks like a crown, and the beast neither hesitates nor is scared, he shows abnormal fangs. And during this time Šibl as-Sabbāʿ tames him; at times it is heavy to pull him and pick him up, but he sings with courage and a fearless heart. Then Mubārak al-Fayyāl (the elephant tamer) appears with the elephant, he recites in Indian in a loud voice: *Ṭalā ṭalīlan talandā wa akindā akarawā rākarandā*. Then he strikes a hooked iron bar on the head of the elephant, he orders him to obey and kneel to serve as a slave; he executes the order then he stands up in the

⁵ al-Maqrīzī, *Hiṭat* tr. 609-611, 194-196; Wildung 1989:57.

way with his huge proboscis while Mubārak al-Fayyāl sings. Then Abū l-ʿAḡāb (the cat tamer) appears with his golden ram, he makes a sign to the ram and he moves the bows of his horns; then he orders him to stand up on two feet and to show him a legitimate child; he helps him mounting on few wooden pieces, and on a chair; then he sings exposing his request: "In vain I've transmitted my teachings to a ram who became my zodiacal sign, though I ignored the stars * but the ram is wiser than he who doesn't understand the teachings". He goes away with his handful (of money) followed by the ram. Abū l-Qiṭṭāt comes out with the mouse and a basket, he makes a sign to the cat and sings a poem: "I made a virtuous one whose nature was degenerated and I subdued the stubborn * I had put cats and mice together until love and friendship among them were sure". Then he says: Numayr (little tiger) mount on the circle and be careful don't bite al-Fa'ra (little mouse). Oh Sammur the caudate get out and follow him. Oh Sinān the blazing take the red fur, and you take the yellow one, and you oh Summān the quail of the field attack Singāb (squirrel) on the wall; and you Ṭalīq (saxicola) jump on his back, and you Abū l-Qurmān (father of the rat) bite him on the back! (he goes out) Za'bar al-Kalbī and his friends appear, the puppies and the dogs, he sits down and sings (*mutaqārib* metre): "I have learned from their nature I have no friend as faithful as them * they are patient, they watch over the house, and defend me from the friend in the quarrel * he keeps an eye on me when I sleep in the desert and protects me from the wilderness of the wolves * they are dogs but better than certain people that go around dressed". (he goes out)

Abū l-Waḥš appears with the bear, the stick and beats the stirrup as if it was a bell, and says: Oh Ḥamīs play the flute! And sings: "The company of the bear have taught me to fight and to distinguish the good from the evil behaviour * I have a friend among the bears who has a rude character, arrogant and disobedient he repels stubbornly * When he heard me my stick educated him, though when he is happy the place rejoices". Then he says: The fat people walk like that, the lazy boy sleeps like this. (he goes out)

Natū comes out with the drums, the sugar-loaf hat and the beast, brandishes the pole, he makes a turn around himself and goes up and down the road, opens his eyes wide, and with two fingers opens the corner of his mouth, jumps like a mule, dances with the rhythm of the drum (he sings and then goes out).

Maymūn al-qarrād appears with the monkey and says: In front of you Ṣayḥ an-Naḡdī has arrived, he plays the drums, blows the flute and let the monkey dance! He sings (*kāmil* metre): "A monkey that understands, she almost speaks, the beauty of her elegance is so as to fall in love with her * she hurls herself like an eunuch and hypocrite slave, sometimes she dances with the drum or claps her hands". Then he lets her dance with the veil and the sugar-loaf hat, she turns around on the rope, she dances and turns⁶.

Later scholars recorded the existence of the animal trainers' corporation. For a long time this profession had enjoyed a good fortune, but we are not sure that it had a

⁶ Corrao 1990:173-174; Hopwood & Badawi 1992:74-82. On trained animals see al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* as follows: on the lion I, 229; II, 124, 212-213; IV, 152, 425; on the elephant VII, 99, 120, 226-231; on the ram II, 139, 150; V, 464-466, 471-473; on the cat and the mouse, see Ibn Rusta, *A'lāq* 199; Ibn al-Faqīh *Buldān* 297; al-Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm* 31, 436; al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* I, 298, 373; II, 54, 153, 298; IV, 298-299; V, 224, 252, 271, 290, 338; on dogs see Viré 1990; al-Ġāḥiẓ writes that they are the closest to human beings and says that their trainers entertain the public of the market with their games, cfr. al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* II, 179-180, 215; VII, 218; al-Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm* 40, 146-147, 188, 200, 202, 211; on the bear see al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* II, 215, 316; VII, 218; on the Sudanese trainer see Jacob 1910a; on the monkeys and their understanding see al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* II, 179-180, VII, 218. See also Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ard* 39; Ibn al-Faqīh 37; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ* (tr.) 485-489, 491, 1355; al-Iṣṭahrī, *Masālik* 27; Mercier 1927:155-167, 197-204; Rosenthal 1975:30-78.

consolidated tradition as early as the 13th century. These characters also appear in the *Bānū Sāsān* poem but without dialogue. It is interesting to note that in these dialogues Ibn Dāniyāl always stresses the logic of the upside down world and the animals' superiority over human beings. During the period of the Pharaohs there were already paintings portraying funny scenes of animals acting as human beings, such as playing musical instruments. Later al-Ġāhiz and some Arab travellers wrote many detailed accounts on the animals' skill of imitating. The people appreciated very much this type of entertainment, and loved to bet on the animals fighting like the cocks or the rams, without disdain for the human competitions, where men were covered only with underwear and grease and would struggle in the all-in wrestling. Ibn Dāniyāl describes with crude realism these scenes in his third *bāba* where he introduces a series of challenges between the two lovers, al-Yatīm and al-Mutayyam⁷:

Mutayyam sings (*dū bayt* metre): "I haven't but a cock Abū l-ʿUrf Šabbāḥ * the brawls between cocks are cackles and pecks * the quarrelsome has stretched the wings forward the fight * you accept it and in so doing you have no blame". Yatīm says: "Don't recall your cock Šabbāḥ until you've seen the merits of Šiyyāḥ, who has never been defeated by any cock and therefore is the best of the country". He recites (*basīṭ* metre): "My cock is Indian, beware of his violent attack * when his beak breaks has the strength of an iron fist * his crest is like cornaline reflected on the rose of his cheek * when incited to peck he attacks like a lion his opponent * he plays the peacock among the chickens, like the lord among the slaves * among these who sees him stretches forward in love for the ever munificent * Enough, my beloved cock whose beauty disturbs the envious". Yatīm's cock appears followed by the one of Mutayyam and the betters put their bet in the hand of the arbiter Zihūn. The arbiter stands between the two with a stick and they peck him on the neck, he breathes and then starts saying: "Praise to God who creates the break of dawn, inspires the cock whose song scans the time. He crowned him with a crest of cornaline, and covered him with a mantle of cornaline, and dressed him with an embroidered scarf, and erected him with the pose of the crowned, and distinguished him for his nobility and generosity, and so doing he preferred him among the other birds, he has attributed to him the prerogative to defend the poultry-pen, and resist the opponent. The prayer, the peace, the salute and the regard to the Lord of the messengers, to the Prophet of the Sovereign of the universe, to his family and all his Companions. Indeed the struggle between the fellow creatures is not exclusive of an animal species, the fight between cocks is the best that rejoices kings and the poor, because it is elusion and contest, resistance and skirmish. These two cocks are ready to come to blows, stubborn in their boldness; the one who dodges the pecks finding shelter in the flight, will get what has been established, and there is no shame for the defeated who comes back and curls himself up. To you, in the name of God oh Šiyyāḥ! I put you under the divine protection oh Šabbāḥ!" Then the arbiter incites them one against the other to the brawl in the way the marionette is accustomed. The cock of Yatīm asks to be dispensed from the fight, then defeated and put to flight, hides himself in a corner.

The artist choses to protract the challenge between the two lovers as an excuse to present another typical animal fight, the one between the rams:

If my cock runs away from Šabbāḥ, take care from my ram Naṭṭāḥ (the one who knocks down with his horns). Every player knows he is like a wild lion, with his horns he almost knocks down the

⁷ Corrao 1990:203-210; Hopwood & Badawi 1992:100-104, *Abū l-ʿUrf Šabbāḥ*, the one of the morning crest.

towers, and with his two horns he breaks into pieces the bastion of Gog and Magog! The red that is in the air is the twilight of the glory, is the sign that the stars are hiding; with him I have tried to win seriously, I didn't put grease on his horns. Call an arbiter so that he can fulfil his duty. The messenger calls: "Oh arbiter Zayhūn!" And he answers: "To God we belong and to him we return, after the fight we go back to fight, we come from the boredom of laziness, as if in the fight we bore a feather. Give, my lord, where is your bet? When a man goes through a trial he shows whether he is noble or miserable! Few words, each horn recognizes his pair "who siffles doesn't hide his bear"⁸, who among you faces this challenge and kills this small yellow gazelle? And who wins exclaims "Oh arbiter, for him I had wished the victory!" Mutayyam appears and says: "Oh arbiter of the arbiters, this young has shown me a ram from Bašmūr⁹, famous for his attack, he has not a big size, he knocks down with his horns the mountains, he is a demon!" The people have assembled, the games are over, the hit makes a great noise, and the bet is compulsory! Then he puts himself in between the two, Waḥṣī and Abū šīn standing still, then the rams fight. The two rams clash as the marionettes used to do in this field. Yatīm's ram is defeated.

The city was lit with thousands of torches, candles and fire lights while the market roads were animated by any kind of game and amusement. This tradition had remained unaltered throughout the centuries, but it was always surprising for the people and a source of inspiration for the poets, like 'Alī al-Ballanūbī (11/12 cent.) who described the fire torches illuminating the Nile during the *Mibriḡān* festival: "The Nile with thousands of candels is a sky horizon full of stars" (Corrao 1987:56).

A similar scene is described by Ibn Iyās on the occasion of the Coptic Epiphany, *ḡitās*, and for the celebration of the *miqyās* (nilometre); the latter celebrated the rise of the level of the Nile announcing the flooding of the cultivated areas. The Italian traveller Brocardo wrote the following description of the festival for the opening of the *Halīḡ*: "(the boats) were decorated with many lamps, arranged in different ways, that is to say in the shape of pyramids, cubes and so on"¹⁰.

It seems that the fires were so abundant that the water surface was heated up to the point of burning the poor who jumped in the lake to pick up the coins and the food thrown there by the Emirs as a special present for the occasion. There was a large crowd attending the breaking up of the dam wall, the bolder among the spectators dared to get so close that some ended up being killed by the overwhelming rush of the water coming out¹¹.

⁸ These are typical expressions, the last one means that one who sings is showing off, therefore he cannot hide himself. The last two words are difficult to interpret, according to Kahle it means "dishonest player".

⁹ An Egyptian village close to Damietta, renowned for its fat rams.

¹⁰ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī* I, 212-213; IV, 276-277; Brocardo, *Relatione* MS fl. 67r & 68, the author left Cairo on the 22nd September 1557; Coppin 1720:247 (this part is missing in the IFAO's edition), 93-137, 158; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 39, 60, 66; Sandys 1973:75-88; Villamont 1970:196, 222-223; Sommer 1970:286, 296; Regnault 1855:371-377.

¹¹ al-Maqrīzī, *Hīṭat* French transl. 194-196; Lengherend 1861:182; Palerne 1971:102; Leone Africano MS fl. 42v-43r, 91v-92v; Della Valle 1843 I, 174; Mantegazza 1616:90-111; Castela's travel to Cairo was

The artists came from everywhere to entertain the people during the days of the festivals; the mingling crowds led to lascivious behaviour which sometimes degenerated into obscenities, to the much disgust of some Arab and European travellers. The verses of an anonymous poet quoted by Yāqūt say:

Egypt is the place of the depraved * it troubles who listens * and if you attend you witness * the madness and the malice * buffoons and flatulence * adultery and cuckold * old men and women * choose adultery as a faith * and it is death for the pious * and life for the copulators”

Palerne explained:

Je ne veux point mettre ici quantité des bouffoneries libertines qui se representent dans leur festes publiques, et qui ne sont pas moins dignes de detestation que d'oubly¹².

The Egyptian women were very uninhibited, and their behaviour to the foreigners seemed amazing; they used to walk around very much uncovered, and some of them used to dance and jump with men indecently. The German traveller, John Wild, relates that certain women acted in funny comedies on the roads. In the most popular areas women used to ride donkeys, alone or taken by a payed driver, to stroll in places of bad repute, like the *Bāb al-Lūq*, the quarter of the cooks, without paying much attention to the reproaches of their men or of the pious men of religion. A typical woman of the marketplace is the *Ṣāni'a*, a merchant very well described by Ibn Dāniyāl who introduces her in the second *bāba* together with the other entertainer:

The *Ṣāni'a* enters with her blades and cuppings, she raises her voice and calls: “Oh girls, the *Ṣāni'a!*”¹³ She has a bag under her arm and shows a neck shining with chains and earrings, she has sticks decorated with buckles and needles; she wears a long black silk shawl, and shows the white tattooed leg which excites the blood of the men to be in union with her; she uncovers a face nicer than a doll and says: “Oh light of my eyes, sing my beauty”, then she uncovers her ears and turns her voice toward the street and sings: “Oh company of lovers, who resist my call! Oh girls I am the *Ṣāni'a!* * I am the one who bewitches the mind of men * with my gentle curves, my gasps and my blandishments * I make people desire a good meeting * I am the best among the free ones * when I sing: Oh girls, I am the *Ṣāni'a!* * Who has seen in Egypt and Syria * this curl under the tattoo * is like the marguerite or the Syrian beauty * like the green myrth, and the beauty of the plants * Oh girls, I am the *Ṣāni'a!* * I am the bride full of splendour * celebrated in every street * Who sees my flanks and my waist uncovered * cannot but love and die out of passion * Oh girls, I am the *Ṣāni'a!* * when we exchange the cups I suck his soul * and if he faints I kiss and embrace him * I've never wounded anyone with the blade or the razor * but only with my gazelle like languid glances * Oh girls, I am the *Ṣāni'a!* * Who has blood desires her but doesn't go further than the glance and the mouth, she goes out”.

The words of this woman evocated what was considered to be indecent behaviour; Cairo was renowned to be the capital of all kind of corruption, and especially the

done in the year 1600, Castela 1974:447; de Savary 1628:260-263; Pococke 1771:98-102.

¹² Yāqūt, *Muḡam* V, 141; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān* V, 75; Palerne 1971:75-83.

¹³ Wild 1973:235, 281-282; on street comedy see Moreh 1992; on women see Corrao forthcoming; ar-Rāziq 1973:75-76; Lane 1846:42; Kahle 1950:11-15, 100; Corrao 1990:76-77.

Fuṣṭāt quarter had a bad reputation, as is witnessed by al-Muqaddasī: “(there) men never stop drinking wine and women don’t cease making adultery, the Ṣayḥ is drunk and the woman has two husbands (the schools have two different factions) and the language is obscene”¹⁴.

Cairo seemed to be the new Sodoma, where charlatans, prostitutes, musicians and dancers circulated freely between the kitchens and the cabarets; the poorest lived by their wits, begging or showing off real, or apparent, diseases to solicitate people’s compassion. Ibn Dāniyāl dedicated the second *bāba* of his shadow theatre to the artists of begging, the Banū Sāsān. One of the two main protagonists affirms to belong to this group and he reveals their secrets:

In my group there is the one who cuts his bones, the arrogant, the quarrelsome, the choleric and the one who pushes with violence * the profiteer, the submissive and the robber, the coarse and the stingy, the whores, the foolish, and the doped * the coward, the impudent, the stinking * the thief of the houses and of the slim beardless * To share the resting place for them is not an obstacle * when I sleep my bed is the oven’s hot ash, and the bowl is under my cheek * I warm myself with the fire until my body is stained like a leopard. This happens when the situation worsens, the money disappears, the mind falls sick, the gold vanishes, the motivation dies away, the silver is stolen, the recovery blocked. We put aside the decency, we have gathered the public in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, and for us things which were similar become the same. I have claimed false petitions, I have pretended to know the chemistry, and from time to time I have revealed spells and white magic, and other times talismans and adjurations. Sometime I write on the remnants liquid of a vase, because the water of the well has disappeared; I pretend to judge the king of the demons, and I invoke Mīṭaṭrūn and aṣ-Ṣayṣubān, then I exalt myself like a mad man and I produce foam with soap and pull it out from my mouth. I have often declared to be blind and I have glued my eyelids with the chewing-gum. I have blown up my muscles playing diriyās, and I have produced tears with the soap-root because I am a failure. Oh *ra’īs* ‘Alī, I have revealed these secrets only because the drunkenness had the upper hand in my mind, and in my head I have a melody that has to be sung, for the life of your neck that is heavy to bear like the shit in the belly¹⁵.

¹⁴ Yāqūt, *Muḡam* V, 141; cf. al-Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm* 200; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān* 69, 75; Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡ, *Madhal* I, 61; II, 17-18, 46, 52, 57, 297; as-Subkī, *Mu’id* 199-200; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ* tr. 182; and Wild 1973:235, 278, 281-282. On wine and alcoholic drinks see an-Nawaḡī, *Ḥalba* cap. X, ms. Vatican V. 311, 469. Ibn Dāniyāl here mentions the persecutions against drunkard and Christian hosts ordered by Sultan Baybars. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ* I, 363.

¹⁵ de Savary 1628:263-265; In Hopwood & Badawi 1992 (= c.) we find some words taken from a different manuscript than the one I have used; I have chosen the following words because they also correspond to the *qaṣīda* of the Banū Sāsān edited by Bosworth 1976. In *b.* (Escorial ms.) *razdakāhī*, in *a.* (Al‘āb Taymūr 16) *razkādhī*, quarrelsome, while in *c.* is *zakādaḡī*; in *a.* and *b.* *ar-razmadī*, choleric, in *c.* is *zarandī*; in *a.* and *b.* *kadīkān* the one who pushes with violence, in *c.* is *kuwikāt*; in *a.* and *b.* *ḥafnaḡ*, profiteer, in *c.* is *ḥafanḥu*; in *a.* and *b.* *gardāh*, submissive; in *a.* is *bazbāzī* in *b.* *bazbān*, maybe from the Arabic robber, in *c.* is *bazbār*; in *a.* and *b.* *mufakkak* foolish; in *a.* and *b.* *qunb* cannabis, maybe it means “doped”; in *a.* and *b.* *maḥan* impudent, rather than *maḡann*, as in *c.*; in *a.* and *b.* *qamandī* stinking; in *a.* *naḥṭal* while in *b.* *ḥaṭal*, Ḥamāda follows the first (*Ḥayāl* 188), and Jacob (1910c:12) the second, but it is meaningless, like in *a.* in Persian means thief; in *a.* *kaḍ* is house, while in *b.* *kamad* is meaningless. As for *sammāqīn al-‘iṣ* like in *a.* or *sammāqīn al-qīṣ* like in *b.*, I would read as earlier, *sammāqīn al-ḥif*. As for those sleeping in the ashes Jacob writes that at the beginning of this century in Turkey the *kulhanis*

The lower part of the body, the area of the genital organs, is the part that fecundates and procreates and the metaphorical use of this terminology confirms the link between death and rebirth, fertility and renewal. At the time of Ibn Dāniyāl this creative approach was not considered to be vulgar. In the gestures of the buffoons and the charlatans, like in the remarks of Ibn Dāniyāl's characters there is neither cynism nor roughness. All the metaphors, both words and gestures, of this kind are part of a unitary conception of the world as a continuous and contradictory becoming. This unity is represented by the burlesque drama of the death of the old and, at the same time, the birth of the new. It would lead us astray to interpret and to judge the elements of these buffoonery of the market place and of the play, according to their actual meaning, namely to take them away from their historical context. If these elements lose their direct reference to the life-death cycle, they would be transformed into vulgar cynism as a result of their loss of ambiguity. But at the time of Ibn Dāniyāl the popular culture of laughter, which had been formed throughout the centuries and kept in the non-official forms of art, had arisen to the peak of the noble literature and had regenerated it. The radical freedom of the comic culture could be partly explained as opposed to the excessive seriousness of the official religious culture, from where it was banned, and as a result of the internal instability of the regime. The political power was not yet firmly consolidated and therefore it was relatively tolerant towards the masses and their beliefs.

Ibn Dāniyāl in his second *bāba* introduces characters that represent different religious beliefs; we have so far introduced the acrobats, but they are followed by the men of knowledge, like Ḥunayš, the dealer of the antidote against the snakes, then 'Usayla who prepares the electuary and Miqdām al-Mawāsī, the surgeon. The most interesting characters, as to the subject of the cultural tolerance, are the magicians, like Hilāl al-Munağğim, and the enchanters, whose tricks do not accord with Islamic principles. Hassūna al-Mawzūn, as an example "changes the dust into wheat and the cedar into a goose".

While 'Awwād al-Ḥarmātī introduces himself by saying some magic formulas against evil, and the evil-eye; then he claims to be able to free his son who is possessed by some devil, with the help of the following sentences:

(vagabonds) used to sleep by the public bath on a bed of ashes. Also Karagöz is called with the same name (Jacob 1910b:7). Jacob (1910c) translates *hankama* jester, but it is *hanğama*, from the Persian as in the *Qasīda Sāsāniyya* by Šāfī (Bosworth II, 295, v.5., 304, n.5). Starting from this point in *a.* and *b.* the character uses the singular and not the plural as in *c.* To Mīṭarūn is dedicated a chapter of al-Būnī's *Šams* 136-137; he is the king of the spirits. The name is transliterated from the Greek *metāthronou* – close to the throne of the Lord – he is the angel Miḥā'il. The name is used as a magic formula, here it appears together with aš-Šayṣubān, one of the names of the devil; see Doutté 1984:136. Mīṭarūn is also quoted by al-Mas'ūdī, as the little lord invoked by the Hebrews on the day of Kippur (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ* II, 802, French transl. II, 303). Diriyās, from the Persian, is a sort of betting, it consists of throwing nine stones.

I swear against you, community of devils, demons, Iblīs, and rebel angels of the damned Šayḥ Abū Murra's ranks. If you are Jews: *Hiyā'*, evil, *hiyā'*!. If you are Christians: For the truth, oh *šīn* if you are inauspicious go away, *hiyā'*. If you are Zoroastrians then: For the light, the fire, the shadow and the hot wind!. If you are Muslims: I swear upon the Qur'ān, thank to the benediction of *Tāhā*, *Yā Šīn*!¹⁶

At the end of the procession a curious personage appears, Ḡammār Mašā'īlī al-Maḥmal, the torch holder, who escorts the *maḥmal* procession at its departure to the Mecca pilgrimage. He is an emblematic type who introduces himself as a fire worshipper, hinting, by saying so, to a possible Zoroastrian origin; but he confuses the listener because soon after he declares to be Muslim and invokes the name of 'Alī; but at the following remark he prays for the Virgin Mary and all the Apostles; and in the end he concludes with the exaltation of the Torah and of the families of Jacob and Israel¹⁷.

It was typical of the Banū Sāsān to claim to believe in every kind of worship, in order to solicit the alms from the believers of the various existing religions. But it also corresponds to a multi-religious reality to which Ibn Dāniyāl always refers in his shadow plays.

Many sources witness that in Egypt the festivals of different religious communities were jointly celebrated. This is also confirmed by Ibn Taymiyya's and Ibn al-Hāḡḡ's criticism of the Muslims who took part in them and by the remarks of the protagonists of the shadow play. They show a picture of a mass of different religions, which at the time in Egypt were various and articulated. The immigrants brought new elements, which stimulated the showing of alternative religious syncretism¹⁸. They were the refugees escaped from the Mongol invasion, the victims of the Age, like the protagonists of Ibn Dāniyāl's plays, among them were Muslims, Zoroastrians, Mazdeans, Christians and Jews. According to the stereotypes of the slum-dwellers,

¹⁶ «*Hiyā' šarran hiyā'*». The invocation *hiyā' hiyā'* is found within a magic circle described by al-Būnī. As for *šarran*, it is an invocation against the evil, according to Lagarde (1981:24), while for Doutté (1984:123, 148-149), it is an invocation followed by *šarābiā*, which we find in a divinatory formula used to "tie the tongue" and which corresponds to the name of a *ḡinn*; see Fodor 1994:85. The translation of the following sentence is uncertain, *šīn* corresponds to the Arabic consonant, and for al-Būnī it is also a special invocation to evoke the *ḡinn* Ḥirdiyā'īl which is the servant of the *šīn* (al-Būnī, *Šams* 138, 310, 316, 412). According to Jacob 1910b:23, it is the Greek-Christian invocation "in the beginning there was the word".

¹⁷ The man charged to take care of the torches' ashes of the *maḥmal*. In a. "Ḥammāl al-Mašā'īlī and the donkey", there is also added to the first sentence, "and the burning ashes, the crest of fire is spread". This new character is the torch bearer, maybe he belonged to the corporation of the "éclaireurs de nuit du Caire", mentioned by Raymond 1957:156, n. 71. Rosenthal (1971:37) quotes a list (compiled by al-Bakrī in the 17th century) of names of groups of people using the cannabis, and among them he mentions the *mašā'iliyya*.

¹⁸ al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 416, 423, 473; Ashtor 1976:251, 289-290.

with whom they had in common behaviours alien to the orthodox Islam, they were associating themselves with the masses of poor Egyptians.

Only tolerance would allow all these different beliefs to coexist without pogroms, as it happened later in Catholic Spain against the Jews. There were cases of persecutions, and these were not few but isolated, such as in Damascus when the Christians were massacred because they were charged with conspiracy against the Mamlūks with the Mongols; and on different occasions Christian churches were burnt, and hosts were hanged using as a pretext the campaign of moralization. A few cases of anti-semitism were also recorded in Alexandria. This is how Ibn Dāniyāl explains the pretextuous campaign against the Christians and Jews during his time:

Pains would be healed with wine, if the justice was not fickle, and to obey the devil is to disobey the sultan, the seriousness of the punishment, and being punished with the Jews and the Christians.

Historical documents show that there were no forced conversions to Islam, as occurred in the later Middle Ages; at that time the persecutions, as well as the forced conversions were still isolated cases depending on the will of the Sultan. Therefore as they were temporary, the new convert often went back to his original faith and payed the *ġizya*. Ibn Dāniyāl knew the problem and one of his characters, the Christian secretary Šayḥ Babūġ says:

I am half paralyzed like the time, struck by unemployment, and therefore I find myself in the worst condition; if it was not for your nice maid-servant, the monks of the church and being ashamed of Lord Jesus, I would have converted to Islām already, but I am close to making my mind up as I will starve.

The prince Wiṣāl, the Mamlūk protagonist of the first *bāba* shows his tolerance, but at the same time soliciting him says:

If you will become Muslim I will cover you with a splendid robe of honour and I will place you at work in the common land!

Tolerance and the freedom of thought and speech did not last too long. The opinions of the *‘ulamā’* were often contrasting and there did not exist a particular institution that could prosecute the illicit, like the Sacred Roman Rota. If a Šayḥ like Ibn Taymiyya or Ibn al-Ḥāġġ issued a *fatwa*, condemning somebody accused of immoral conduct, it was not taken for granted that the military power would execute it. To give an example a renowned mystic friend of the Sultan Baybars, the Šayḥ Ḥaḍir al-Mihrānī¹⁹, was accused of peculation, fornication and sodomy, and the *fatwa* against him was immediately executed, because it had been issued on the Emirs' request. While a similar condemnation, against the Šayḥ al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1247/8) was never taken into consideration because the Emirs protected him.

In a relatively fluid situation, where the solidarity between the religious and military powers was not steadily consolidated a regime of relative tolerance was

¹⁹ Irwin 1986:53-55; Bosworth 1976 I, 114-115; Chamberlain 1994:171-173; Hopwood & Badawi 1992:12; Corrao 1990:28.

inevitable. Such conditions were always temporary as Ibn Dāniyāl declares in his shadow plays where he announces the end of an epoch of relative freedom. The poet states it in the first *bāba* when he celebrates the accession of Baybars to the sultanate, the restoration of the Islamic Caliphate under his auspices and then sings an elegy for the funeral of the devil. The elegy represents a double testimony, on the one hand the still alive heredity of the Dionysiac and Temmuzian rites, shown by the funeral of the god of the vineyard which here is impersonated by the devil. On the other it marks the renewed solidarity between the political and the religious powers which condemned the comic culture to redescend to the lowest levels of the literary hierarchies. Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow plays, although they are not unique, and did not inaugurate the birth of a new gender, if compared to the other later plays, mark the apogee and the beginning of the decay. With the end of the first Mamlūk Circassian dynasty the culture of the transgressive freedom of laughter and tolerance towards the rites of different religious beliefs, was destined to be drowsed for a few centuries.

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يا طالع الشجرة
ترنيمة إلى المعبودة "حتحور" سيدة شجرة الجميز

صابر العادلي

بودابست

ثمة أغنية الأطفال المصاروة وهم منغمسون في إيقاع حركي يبدو مألوفا، منتظما، متعارفا عليه وتبدو كلمات الأغنية شأنها شأن كل الأغاني التي يؤديها الأطفال غاية في البساطة غنية بالخيال ولعلها - كما سنرى - مفرقة في الرمزية.

يا طالع الشجرة^١
تَحْلِبُ وَتَسْبِينِي
والمعلقة انكسرت
دخلت بيت الله
هات لي معاك بَقْرَةَ
بالمعلقة الصيني
يا مين يربيني
لَقَيْت رسول الله

بَيْرْ غَط فِي حَمَام أَخْضَر يَارْتَنِي أَنَا دَقْتُهُ (عمران ١٩٨٣: ٣١).

وجاء يوم طيرت فيه الأفاق ذكر "يا طالع الشجرة" بين المثقفين والأدباء وغيرهم من المهتمين الذين لم يتفخروا بها. ولكن لتصبح "يا طالع الشجرة" - وباللعب - شاهدا على تضمن المأثور الشعبي المصري لـ "اللامعقول".

والحكاية أن مصر شهدت حملة تثقيفية غايتها التعريف بالمسرح العالمي المعاصر آنذاك، أي في أوائل الستينيات، وقد تركز الاهتمام على الاتجاهات والمدارس التي اتصفت بالحدثة إذ ذاك مثل: اللامعقول، والعيشي واللامسرحي وغيرها. وقد شارك المبرزون من أدباء مصر ومفكرها وقتها بالجهد الفكري والمبثي في تلك "الهوجة" عبر القنوات التقليدية مثل الإذاعة والتلفزيون وتنظيم المحاضرات والندوات والنشر أيضا.

ولقد بلغت الموجة إياها ذراها بإصدار توفيق الحكيم "يا طالع الشجرة". والمعروف أن الحكيم كان مهموما إبان هذه الفترة، بل ومن قبلها بعقدين من الزمان على الأقل بقضية البحث عن قالب، أي الشكل المسرحي الموائم لمسرح مصري معاصر، بقصد تأصيل الفن المسرحي في الثقافة المصرية المعاصرة. وبالطبع ما كان لتوجه مثل هذا أن يغفل روافد التراث الشعبي المصري. إلى أن كان عام ١٩٦٢ حيث كانت محاولة أخرى لربط بعض ملامحنا الشعبية القديمة بأحدث مظاهر الفن المعاصر في "يا طالع الشجرة" وكان تساؤلي فيها هل نستطيع أن نلحق بأحدث اتجاهات الفن العالمي عن طريق فننا وتراثنا الشعبي (الحكيم ١٩٦٢: ١٠).

والآن وقد مضى على الوقائع السالفة ما يزيد على ثلاثين عاما، واستجد على ساحتي الأدب الرسمي والمأثور الشعبي ما استجد، وربما لف النسيان القضية برمتها، فالحق أقول إنني ومن يومها بت وفي نفسي شيء من "يا طالع الشجرة"، ذلك أنه صعب على ما لم يستحل القبول أو الاكتفاء بما ذهب إليه الحكيم عند استنطاقه للنص واتخاذة أنموذجا للامعقول "المسرحي". ومن يومها كان يعاودني الهاجس بأن وراء الأكمة ما ورائها، وأن القضية ليست قضية المعقول واللامعقول (بقرة فوق الشجرة) ولا حتى عصفورة كما حاول المؤلف الشعبي المجهول في تنويعه جد ركيكة:

يا طالع
عصفورة
ع الشجرة هات
وسبع قَمَحَات

^١ هذه الأغنية مغناة عادة بالسجرة بدلا من الشجرة.

والأرنَب والعسْكَر
في العِشَّة مات واقف طابور. (عمران ١٩٨٣: ٤٨)

أظن أنه أصبح في مقدوري أن أقدم التفسير الحقيقي للنص مدعوما بأدلة لها اعتبارها. وأشد هنا على أنني لا أنزع أحدا حقه في استلهام المآثور الشعبي ولا ناقة لنا ولا جمل في دحض رؤية الحكيم. ولكننا نرى أنه لزام علينا التنبيه إلى المخاطر الناجمة عن ذلك المنحى الأناني، نقصد الإتيان بالغريب والطريف والمدوي استجلابا للشهرة، مما يؤدي إلى مظنة أن الفولكلور مرادف للطرافة والسذاجة. مما يوجه مسيرة البحث توجيهها خاطئا، إن لم يصرف النظر عنها استهانة. إن أغنية "يا طالع الشجرة" - فيما نرى - ما هي إلا تجريد بالغ الرقي، تجسيدها لعقيدة ترسخت في وجدان المصريين منذ ما قبل الأسرات، وبمعنى أدق عبادة الآلهة "حتحور"، الأم الكبرى "magna mater" مرضعة الإله "حوروس" وكل الفراعين في الحياة والممات وسيدة شجرة الجميز. وفي نفس الوقت النص يفصح عن تقديس المصريين القدامى والمعاصرين للأشجار. والأغنية كما سنرى هي الوسيط "medium" الذي مكّن عقيدة وثنية من الاستمرار مع عقيدة عارمة القوة صارمة التوحيد، نقصد الإسلام. وغايتنا الآن دعم فرضيتنا، وإذا قدر لنا في ذلك أي نجاح فإننا نكون قد ألقينا ببعض الضوء على دور الفولكلور في تأمين الاستمرارية لعقائد مر على نشأتها زمان طويل ولم تقدر عقائد جديدة على اقتلاعها أو طمسها، لأن العقائد القديمة كانت هي الأصول التي انبثقت عنها العقائد الوافدة (عوض ١٩٨١: ١١٧، ١١٨).

كما قد يتسنى لنا أن نكشف عن بعض من آليات الاستجابة لدى المصريين خلال عمليات الاحتكاك والتغيير الثقافي. ويكون في مقدورنا تفسير الواقع الديني المصري الراهن الثنائي القطب، الشعبي والرسمي وعلاقتها ببعضهما، وفي النهاية سنقدم محاولة للقراءة في جماليات النص، أو لترنيمه ظاهرها الفرح وباطنها موجه إلى حد الأسى الانكسار. إن النص يتغنى بشجرة ويتستر على اسمها، احتراماً أو مهابة أو لأن الجماعة تعرف هوية الشجرة، وقد يكون الاسم أسقط لمقتضيات الأداء، وينطبق على البقرة ما ينطبق على الشجرة من عدم التعيين. وكلتاها تمثل ومثلت في مرحلة هامة وطويلة من التطور الإنساني أمّا للإنسان بالمعنى الحقيقي والمجازي.

في هذا المقام لا نريد تفصيل العلاقة التي لا تنفصم بين الإنسان والأشجار فذلك أمر تنوء به الموسوعات، لكننا نريد هنا تحديد بعض الأطر لهذه العلاقة، خاصة الدور الأمومي الذي تلعبه الأشجار في حياة الإنسان وحتى في أفكاره وتصوراته ونحن جميعا، بصرف النظر عن درجة ثقافتنا وعقائدنا الدينية نحمل من بقايا تقديس الأشجار شيئا. فكثيرون منا يعاتبون صغارهم وكبارهم عند التجرؤ على شجرة بالإيذاء قائلين: ألا تسمعها تبكي؟! ونضيف: "إن لها روحا مثلك". وما من فلاح مصري لا يعتقد بأن حرق الأخضر حرام، وحتى احتطاب بعض أنواع الشجر حرام. وكذا برنارد شو - وهو ليس من العامة بالتأكيد - فقد رد فيما يحكى على بعض ضيفانه المستغربين خلو بيته من الأزهار قائلا: "إنني أحب الأطفال أيضا لكنني لم أقطع رأس طفل لأزين بها بيتي".

وإنه لجدير بالتأمل ما تعمد إليه بعض الشعوب الإفريقية عندما تسجي موتاها على أفرع الشجر حتى التجلل، ثم يجمعون عظامها ويلفونها في لحاء الشجر ويحملونها إلى أكواخهم حيث يبكون على موتاهم لفترة وبعدها تعاد العظام من جديد إلى مواضعها على أفرع الشجر وتترك حتى تبلى. (فريزر: الفولكلور، ج ٢ ص ١٢٦). ألا يبدو لنا إنهم يعيدون ميتهم من جديد إلى الأم الأصل. لقد رأى الإنسان في الأشجار العديد من متوازيات الاستمرار والخلود، فهي الزمان العائد المتكرر الحولي، زمان الفصول. فالأشجار تتحدى الفناء وتقهر الموت، تعرف البعث والقيام فتغير جلدها كل عام، تدب فيها الحياة بعد موت الشتاء، حبلى ومزهرة يجري فيها نسخ الحياة وتشكل المنوالية الخالدة: البذرة ← الثمرة.

الأشجار هي تقاويم شعوب الفطرة. من أطوارها يعرفون مواعيد الغرس والجني، وموعد عودة الطيور المهاجرة، ومتى تتبايض الأسماك وتهب العواصف ويهطل المطر وتفيض الأنهار بالمياه.
يا سيسبان مزروع جوه ماجور
يا سيسبان مزروع في جنينة
عود القنا لا أعوج ولا مكسور
طولك مليح وقوائمك زينة

(من اليكاثيات المصرية - جمع حفني عبد العليم)

ويتجلى مفهوم أمومة الأشجار أيضا في الرواية التوراتية والتي لا يغفل القرآن تناولها، القصة التي تسعى جاهدة لتفسير سر الفناء الإنساني وتفشل، توقر المعرفة الإنسانية وتشكك فيها. إن قيمة الرواية التوراتية ليس في قداستها، ولا لكونها كتابية، بل لذيوعتها وتقبل العامة الواسع لها في الشرق الأوسط وكل العالم المسيحي.

ولا يغفل هنا الميل العام لدى الشعبيين للاعتقاد بأن ستر العورة للمرة الأولى كان بأوراق التين. وفي الشمال الإفريقي كله ما يزال يوجد الكثير من الملصقات الملونة التي تصور الواقعة إياها ولا غرو فإن شجرة التين أسترعت من أكثر من خمسة آلاف سنة في المنطقة. وفضلا عن طيب ثمرها فإنه إذا ما جرحت نزفت سائلا أشبه باللبن لونا وقواما والذي ربما أدى إلى ارتباطها بمفهوم الأمومة عند شعوب المنطقة. فإن مفهوم الأمومة، منذ العهد البائدة يتجسد أول ما يتجسد في أم مرضعة، لكن ما يلفت النظر حقا هو أن الإرث الإنساني الفني يحفظ لنا العديد من أشكال الأمومة في هيئة نسوة يفضن بالخصوبة وخاصة صورهن ولكنهن يظهرن بدون أطفال (مثل فينوس فيلندورف) وفي أشكال كهذه، فإن لبن المرأة يصبح تجسيدا للأمومة بحق، وهكذا فإن الأم الكبرى يعبر عنها بشجرة مدرة اللبن، كما نلاحظ في أشجار مثل التين والجميز وغيرها.

ويبدو الدور المتعاطف الذي لعبته الأشجار في المفاهيم والأفكار والتصورات الإنسانية: شجرة الحياة، شجرة الخلد، شجرة المعرفة، شجرة الوليد، شجرة العائلة. وحتى تمثيل البنات الهيكلية للمؤسسات الهائلة في عصرنا يتجرد في تفرعات "شجرة". وباكتشاف الإنسان ومن العهد السحيقة أن الأشجار مثله مؤنثة ومذكورة واضطلامه بعمليات التخصب قد قرب من مفهوم أمومة الأشجار إليه. وثمة وقائع وشواهد - مثيرة للعجب - تجسد هذه العلاقة الحميمة. وبحسب فريزر فما زالت عادات الزواج الفعلي بين الإنسان والأشجار في الهند وبلاد الشرق (Frazer 1979:10).

الساميون وتقدیس الأشجار:

لا ريب أن النخلة كانت سيدة الأشجار بحق في كل الشرق القديم، بابل وشبه الجزيرة العربية وفينيقيا وكذلك في مصر حيث حظت بمكانة رفيعة باعتبارها مصدر القوات الأساسي وأصل كل المشغولات التي عرفت حينها، وفضلا عن ذلك قد كانت رمزا للزمان والسنة ومن ناحية ميثولوجية صرفة فهي بخضرتها الدائمة أصبحت رمزا للحياة المتجددة، وحظت بالتقدير (خيرت ١٥:١٩٧٠ ٢٥). واكتسبت مكانة خاصة باعتبارها شجرة الأمومة والميلاد، فالفينيقيون ينتسبون إلى النخلة Phoenix dactylifera واسمهم في صورته اللاتينية Punicus، بمعنى "بوني" أو فيني والبونيون هم فينيقيو قرطاجة أيام هانيبال. ومن معاني الكلمة أيضا في اللاتينية "أحمر أرجواني" أي فاقع. ومن المحتمل أن كلمة "جملكة" العامية المصرية في رأي من نفس الاسم. ويرى لويس عوض أن صيغة "بانيقا - بينيكا" التي ترد في الشعر الجاهلي بمعنى عنقاء أي الطائر الأسطوري من نفس الاسم (عوض ١٩٨١:٣٨٤).

ويرتبط مفهوم "أمومة النخلة" بالعبرانيين أيضا فإن Tamara الأم الكبرى تدل على الشعب اليهودي وتعني تمر النخيل، وثمره في العربية هي حمل الشجر، ومعنى الأمومة ليس خافيا. وفيما يتعلق بعرب الجاهلية، فإن المصادر التي وصلتنا يعترها التشوش والتضارب وتفقد الروح النقدية، ومع ذلك فإنها تتفق على تقدیس العرب للأشجار بل وتعبدهم إليها. {أفرايتم اللات والعزى ومناة الثالثة الأخرى} (النجم: ٢٠). ويذكر ابن الكلبي أن اللات كانت أعظم أصنام قريش وأنهم

كانوا يطوفون بالكعبة مرددين: "واللات والعزى ومناة الثالثة الأخرى، فإنهن الغرائق العلاء، وإن شفاعتهن لترتجى". وكانت قريش تخص العزى دون غيرها بالزيارة والهدية، ويزعمون أن النبي صلعم قد أهدى وهو على دين قومه لها شاة عفراء. ورأينا أن المصادر تربط بين الحرم والشجر الموجود به، ولا نعرف يقينا هل انسحبت قداسة الحرم على ما يضم من شجر أو سمر أم أن الشجر كان مقدسا بذاته. وتذكر الروايات أن أهل مكة كانوا يهابون حتى في الإسلام قطع شجر الحرم وحتى قطع كل شجرة دخلت من أرض الحرم في دور أهل مكة، كما أن عمر ثاني الخلفاء، لما قطع دوحة كانت في دار أسد بن عبد العزى فداها ببقرة. وتذكر أيضا أن عبد الله بن الزبير حين ابنتى دورا بـ "القعيقان" ترخص في قطع شجر الحرم للبنيان وجعل دية كل شجرة بقره (علي ١٩٨٠: ٢٢٧/٦-٢٤٩).

ولعل أبرز ما وصل إلينا من معلومات عن عبادة الأشجار هي تلك التي تتحدث عن "نخلة نجران" وهي نخلة عظيمة كان أهل البلد يتعبدونها، ولها عيد في كل سنة، فإذا كان ذلك العيد علقوا عليها كل ثوب حسن وجدوه، وحلي النساء، وخرجوا إليها يوما وعكفوا عليها يوما. (البلدان ج ٨ مادة نجران). وأما "ذات أنواط" فهي شجرة كانت بالقرب من مكة، وكانت عرب الجاهلية تأتيها كل سنة تعظيما لها فتعلق عليها أسلحتها وتذبح عندها، وذكر أنهم كانوا إذا حجوا يعلقون أريديتهم عليها ويدخلون الحرم بغير أريديتها، تعظيما للبيت. والتصور العام أن العزى كانت أنثى ولها ابنتان لعلهما اللات ومناة. (علي ١٩٨٠: ٢٣٨/٦-٢٤٠).

وفي رأينا أن خلع العرب ملابسها وتعليقها على الأشجار وتقليدها لها سيوفهم، وحلي نسائهم وغيرها هو نوع من ممارسة السحر التشاكلي، ويمكننا القول أنه يستهدف تبادل الجلد الأدمي الفاني بلحاء الشجر المتجدد (قارن هذا بالشيخة خضرة التي سنتحدث عنها فيما بعد).

إن اتخاذ العرب من لحاء شجر مكة قلائد لتوفر لهم الحماية كتماثم. فيقيم الرجل بمكان حتى إذا انقضت الأشهر الحرم فأراد أن يرجع إلى أهله قلد نفسه وناقته من لحاء الشجر فإمّن حتى يأتي أهله. (علي ١٩٨٠: ٢٢٦/٦). وهذا اللحاء رمز لجلد متجدد.

ألم تقتلا الحرجين إذ أعودا كما يمران بالأيدي اللحاء المضفر

(المصدر السابق، ص ٤٤٠)

ولا يغيب عن بالنا أن المصريين ما زالوا يحتفلون بـ "حد الزعف" حتى يومنا هذا. ويضفرون من أجود أنواع الخوص قلائد لأنفسهم وذويهم.

إن الميلاد الأسطوري للمسيح تم عند جذع نخلة. {فاجأها المخاض إلى جذع النخلة} (سورة مريم، ٢٣) كما أن العذراء الأم المقدسة كان طعامها هو الرطب (مريم، ٢٥). وكثير من المنمنمات الشرقية المسيحية تصور هذا الميلاد الأسطوري كذا {والنخل ذات الأكمام} (الرحمن: ١١).

على أن الأشجار ليست دوما خيرا خالصا. فالقرآن يروى الكفار بشجرة الزقوم والتي ترد في مواضع ثلاث (الصافات، ٦٢-٨٦؛ الواقعة، ٥١-٥٦؛ الدخان، ٤٣-٥٠) وهي شجرة مروعة طلعها كأنه رؤوس الشياطين، وثمرها في البطن كالمهل (القيح) والمعدن المذاب وهي طعام كل باغ ومكذب وأثيم، ويرى البعض أنها شجرة عرفت بالحجاز ثمرها أشبه باللوز وأمر من الحنظل، ويرى ابن إسحاق أن أهل مكة لم يعرفوها حقا، وإن كان الاسم يرد في السريانية بمعنى بقل أو فول.

لقد حاولنا رسم صورة مختصرة عن الدور الذي تلعبه الأشجار في حياة وأفكار الناس. وانطلاقا من فرضيتنا الأساسية: يا طالع الشجرة ← حتحور الجميزة، فإنني سأعرض فيما يلي العقائد المتعلقة بشجرة الجميز والتي يبدو أنها الشجرة الوحيدة - في زماننا - التي احتفظت بقداستها روح الجميزة.

إذا ما تجول الإنسان في أي من قرى الدلتا مفتوح العينين فلن يفوته أن يلحظ أشجار جميز صغيرة لا تكاد تعلق كثيرا الأكواخ الطينية التي تظللها ولا تحمل ثمرا، ونراها أيضا أي أشجار

الجميز على جسور الترع وروؤس الغيطان وكذلك الضخمة منها تظلل قباب أضرحة الأولياء سواء كانوا مسلمين أو أقباط أو يهود أيضا.

إن المتجول الفطن سرعان ما يلحظ أخذودا عميقا يطوق بعض جذوع تلك الأشجار الصغيرة، فيما يبدو أنه محاولة لم تتم لقطعها. إن ذلك الأخدود العميق هو ما تخلف إثر ممارسة طقوسية قامت بها العائلة صاحبة الشجرة سيئة الطالع. في فجر أحد الأيام السابقة للفيضان - وقد انقطع الآن إثر بناء سد أسوان - توجهت عائلة صغيرة إلى حقلها وتوقفت هناك عند زريبة صغيرة كان يظلها شجرة جميز صغيرة شحيحة العطاء لا تكاد تحمل عجرا، "كانت زي الدكر" فيما يقول الفلاحون. وبدأ شيء غير عادي يحدث، فقد رفع الأب بلطته في الهواء وهو يجأر: "حأقطعك يا بنت الكلب يا عديمة البركة" مكررا ذلك. بينما راحت الأم المختبئة وراء الجانب الآخر من الجميزة تولول مستعطفة: "أعمل معروف، في عرضك يابّه الحاج، جربني"، لكن الأب لم يلق بالا إلى روح الجميزة المتوسلة وهوى ببلطته بكل عزم على جذع الشجرة محدثا أخذودا بالغا ولم يلبث أن بدأ سائل لبني الشكل والقوام ينز. وعندما رفع الأب يديه وقد خلص بلطته من الشجرة إذا بابنه الأكبر يحتضنه وقد شل من حركة أبيه مطوقا ذراعيه زاعقا: "يا خوجاي" بمعنى النجدة، بينما راحت الأم (روح الجميزة) تتضرع: "في عرضك، والنبي ح أطرح سايقة عليك النبي، حلفتك بالصغير صاحبي" - كانت الشجرة تحمل اسم أصغر الأبناء، أي "شجرة فلان". لكن الأب وقد انفك من طوق ابنه انهال بضرباته مثنى وثلاثا وربعا ضربة حذاء الأخرى، مكررا وعيده المؤلم، بينما نهبت تضرعات الأم ووعدها بالإثمار: أدراج الرياح. وعندما اكتمل الطوق الأخدودي ألقى الأب ببلطته وانصرف الجميع إلى الفطور في هدوء.

ومهما بدا صعبا تفسير كيف حملت الشجرة إياها الوفير من الثمر بعد موسمين - لعل علماء النبات يرون لذلك تفسيراً - ولسنا بحاجة الى القول أن مثل هذه الممارسة الطقوسية معروفة في أنحاء عديدة من المعمورة (انظر Frazer 1979:149). لن نخوض هنا في دنيا النظريات؛ الانتشار من مركز مشترك أو نظرية تعدد الأصول، المهم هنا أن الأشجار التي تحظى باحترام يصل إلى حد القداسة تتعرض لما هو العكس أحيانا، أي الوعيد الذي يرقى إلى مستوى الفعل وإن كان رمزيا. ثم أن الخصوبة والوفور كانتا دوما من هموم الإنسان الثقيلة. وثمة إشارة في العهد الجديد فحواها أن المسيح قد أشار على صاحب شجرة بالصبر عليها {وقال أيضا هذا المثل كان لرجل تينة مغروسة في كرمه فجاء يطلب فيها ثمرا فلم يجد. فقايل للكرام ها إن لي ثلاث سنين آتي وأطلب ثمرا في هذه التينة فلا أجد فأقطعها. فلماذا تعطل الأرض. فأجاب وقال له ياسيد دعها هذه السنة أيضا حتى أعزق حولها وألقي دمالا. فإن أثمرت وإلا فتقطعها فيما بعد} (لوقا: ١٣: ٦-١٠). وهكذا فإن الخصوبة يستبق التوقير. ومن ناحية أخرى فإن استجلاب نفع الألهة في الديانات - في مصر القديمة - كان يقوم على التقرب إليها أي الألهة بالقرابين والنذور، أو التزلف والنفاق في شكل ابتهالات وتضرعات، أو القسر وإرغام الألهة على تحقيق مطالب الكاهن بالتهديد والوعيد (Budge 1972:viii-ix). ولنا في أفنانين سب ولعن الألهة شواهد لا تحصى. ففي أوربا كمتنفس للتوتر يلعن الإله، وفي مصر إن فلعن الدين من الأمور المألوفة، ناهيك عن السوريين والعراقيين وغيرهم من شعوب المنطقة.

جوهر ما عرضناه آنفا أن الجميزة هي الشجرة الوحيدة في مصر التي تتعرض لمثل هذا الابتزاز الفاضح والقاسي والذي لا يبرره إلا الاعتقاد بأن للجميزة روحا، ويؤكد ذلك قولهم بان "الجميزة مسكونة، ويخشها الإنسان والحيوان أيضا" ويتجلى ذلك في التحريم الصارم للاقتراب من الجميزة بعد الغروب وحتى صباح الديك. كما أن الحمار خاصة تطرطق أذناه إذا ما مر بها ليلا. وثمة حكاية نمطية مفادها: مات أحد خدم العبادلة - آل عبدالله - إحدى العوائل ذات الحساب في القرية إياها. مات هذا الخادم ميتة غامضة ولعله قتل عمدا إثر شحان، فكثيرا ما دفع الخدم حياتهم عند الانتقام من سادتهم - وليس فقط بحرق المزروعات والدور - كان قتلنا، وقد لقب بالأقرع

في حياته كان مقره "مربط البهائم" الذي تظله شجرة جميز عتيقة مرهوبة الجانب حقا. فلم يكن أحد يجرؤ على تسلسها لتختينها - بمعنى شق عجرها بمدية - وكان على الجانب الآخر بئر مهجورة عظيمة المحيط يحيط بها أجمة من الغاب، وفي النهار كان المكان كله موحشا وكئيبا. وفي الليل كان ظل الجميزة يجثم على المطقة بأسرها، فيقبض النفس حقا، ويجعل اختراق الإنسان فريدا في هذا المسرب مهمة لا تبعث على البهجة. فقد شاع أن النداهة تظهر من حين إلى حين في الليالي القمرية عارية يغطيها شعرها الأثيث لتختار أكثر الرجال فحولة الذين يتبعونها إلى مسكنها في البئر، وبعد ليال ثلاث تعيدهم إلى ذويهم وقد قبّوا على سطح مياه البئر بموتهم غرقا. ولم ينقص المكان إلا موت الأقرع قتيلًا، فكالعادة بدأت النسوة بالشكوى من مداعبات وعبث عفريته السمجة. فقد اعتاد أن يظهر عند الغروب وقبل صياح الديك كاشفا عن قراعه قاذفا طاقيته بالجميز "الباط" (ناضج بدون تختين) وإحيانا ما كان يقفز هو نفسه في المسقا - أو يأخذ غطسا في الساقية، محدثا دوبا وطرطشة. ولم يجد الرجال بدا من الالتجاء إلى "الشيخ الغلام" - والذي كان مرابيا - ولم تفلح كل حيله لإقناع الأقرع بالحسني: لم يختش على عرضه، أي يرعوي أو يستحي. فعزم عليه بعدية ياسين طبعًا، ثم سجنه بندق أربعة مسامير في أركان الجميزة ليحرمه من الخروج والإياب إليها. وكان نسوة القرية يقسمن بأرواح أمهاتهن أنهن كن يسمعن الجميزة تتوجع من ألم وخز المسامير.

وقد حدث أنه كان على الصبي صاحب الجميزة التي هددت بالقطع أن يتوجه إليها بعد الفجر ليحول دون سطو الفلاحين على طيب ثمارها. ورغم وعيه بالمخاطر الكامنة عند الجميزة الشهيرة، إلا أنه غامر واستتصر الطريق مرورًا بها. وكاد يمر بسلام بالجميزة والساقية المهجورة، وما كاد يتنفس الصعداء، فرحا بنجاته إذ به وكل حواسه تنتبه إلى هيئة آدمية منكفئة فوق نفسها فوق كوم سباح واقف لصق مربط البهائم. وراح يصدر عن الهيئة إياها ظراط يبعث على الضحك أكثر منه على الخوف، ولم يكن الفجر قد شقشق بعد. كان الظراط يستمر وينقطع مصاحبًا لضحك مستخف. وتعثرت فتانا بجلبابه وانكفاً هو الآخر على وجهه، وبينما جاهد لينتصب، إذ به يصطدم بصورة غامضة بهيئة تعلوها عبائة وسمع صوتا يأتي من أعماق الجميزة أو البئر مهدئا من روعه، قائلاً: هو عملها فيك إنت الآخر. بالفصيح هاهو قد كاد لك أنت أيضا. وأوصاه قائلاً: في المرة الجاية، قل له كنت إتشطر على إللي قتلك يا أقرع.

ولم يتشكك أي من الفلاحين بأن الأقرع (واسمه عبد العظيم ضيف الله) كان هو الهيئة المنكفئة المنصرف في ظراط سخيّف وممجوج إزاء صبي تعوزه الخبرة وثبات القلب. نلاحظ هنا اختلاط مفاهيم الجن والسلعوه والغول العربية الأصل بالمفهوم المحلي، والعفرية هو شبح الميت القتيل أو الغريق الى آخره. ولكني لم أسمع قط بأنهم قالوا عن ساكن الجميزة (عفرية) فهم يسمونه عادة شيخة كما سنرى.

إننا - مؤقتا - لنشعر بالحيرة والتناقض إزاء العقائد المتصلة بالجميزة، فمن ناحية، نراها مرهوبة الجانب أي "تابو"، أو محرم كما نرى من تحريم صعودها أو الاقتراب منها أثناء الليل، وكذا حرق أغصانها فضلا عن قطعها. ولا ينسحب الخوف منها على الإنسان وحده بل يتعداه إلى الحيوان كما بيّنا سلفا. وتحكي التقاليد أن كبير عائلة الديب مات مشلولًا ولم يلبث أن لحق به ابنه إثر حادثه، وكان سوء الختام اشتعال النار في الجرن، ومنه امتدت إلى الدار. وكل هذا لأنهم تجرؤوا على قطعها لأنها يظلمها وجذعها تسببت في خراب ثلاثة قراريط من الأرض.

على إنه هناك أشجار جميز جد مباركة خاصة تلك التي تقوم بجوار أضرحة أولياء معروفين أو مزعومين، منتشرين في قبلي مصر وبحريها. ففي جزيرة الروضة المطلّة على القاهرة والجزيرة، توجد جميزة تحمل اسما ذا دلالة (الشيخة مندورة)؛ وأخرى في محافظة البحيرة تظلل ضريح سيدي زومل. (حواس - العادلي، ١٩٧٠: ٧٠) وواحدة أخرى في البهنسا وتحمل شجرة مريم، وأخرى في "شرباص" وغيرها الكثير.

وتبدو لنا هذه الأشجار مدقوق في أجزاعها مسامير معلق عليها شعور آدمية، وأغطية رأس كطواقي الرجال ومناديل وطرح النساء ومقاود البهائم وأحيانا ما نجد عند جذوعها شموعا وحلوى وما أشبه. إن هذا كله ليس إلا نذورا وقرايين يقدمها أصحاب الحاجات طلبا لعون الجميزة مثل شفاء من المرض ومساعدة المحرومات من الإنجاب وإعادة الغائبين كبارا وصغارا وحتى مساعدة طلاب المدارس على المرور بالامتحانات أو الالتحاق بوظيفة وغير ذلك من هموم بسطاء المصريين. على أننا لم نعرف ولا سمعنا بوقائع توجه الناس فيها إلى الجميزة لإيقاع ضرر بآخرين (قارن 1924:56-57). (Blackman)

وبالتأكيد فإن أعرق جميزة - كانت موضوعا للعبادة - في مصر الحديثة هي شجرة مريم، بالقرب من هيليوبوليس التاريخية، في ضاحية المطرية والتي كانت مجرد قرية صغيرة إذاك، والشجرة جافة تماما لمساء وقد فقدت كل لحائها، ترقد محمولة على أكتاف من حجر وخشب، وبالقرب منها تقوم أخرى ذات أوراق مخضرة وثمرها الجاف الغير مختون ملقى على الأرض، والشجرتان محاطتان بسور أنيق ملحق به شبك تذاكر تابع لهيئة الآثار. وخصص له خفير وعاملة شبك. وفشلنا في العثور على أي إشارة تفيد بأن طالب حاجة قد غمغم بها معلنا نذره إلى الجميزة الأم الراقدة أو الأخرى التي لا يتطوع أحد بتختينها ربما خوفا من الضرائب وليس من ساكن الجميزة.

ويقال أن الأبياء الفرنشيسكان قد استزرعوا في ١٦٧٢ الشجرة المتداعية من أصل الشجرة المقدسة التي استطلت بها مريم وعائلتها. أما الشجرة الخضراء فعرها لا يتجاوز العقدين. واعتبارا من أوائل القرن الثامن عشر فإن المنطقة أضحت مزارا للمسيحيين والمسلمين على السواء. وتبع ذلك إقامة مسجد فكنيسة. وقد زرنا الكنيسة التي كانت مقبضة للنفس حقا بظلمتها ورطوبتها والإهمال الظاهر عليها وعلى جانبها تقوم رسوم الفريسك التي تصور رحلة الأسرة المقدسة من فلسطين إلى مصر. وهي تصاوير بالغة السذاجة وتفتقر إلى الفن. (للمزيد من المعلومات انظر رؤوف حبيب: المطرية وشجرة العذراء). "قد ينسب الشعبيون الولاية إلى الأشجار الضخمة وأجراع النخلة، فإن هذه لو رأوها يقبلونها، مثل تلك الشجرة التي تدعى الشبيخة خضرة، فإن الزائر يجدهم يتبركون بها ويقبلونها فضلا عن ترك أثرهم عليها معلقا بمسمار، كما أن كل شجرة غليظة الساق يطلقون عليها لقب سيدي الأربعين، وأغلب هذه الأشجار من الجميز، وكثيرا ما يقومون بعمل الموالد لهذه الأشجار". (عمر ١٩٠٢).

إن ما استعرضناه أنفا إنما هو سيرورة وبقاء لتقاليد وثنية ترجع لأكثر من ألف عام قبل الميلاد. ففي هذا المكان قامت أشجار ISHED المقدسة في زمن الفراعنة والتي كانت رمزا لحكمهم السعيد طويل الأمد، على أوراق هذه الأشجار قام الإله تحوت بتسجيل اسم الفرعون وتاريخ اعتلائه العرش ومدة حكمه. ويرجع أصل عقائد تقديس الأشجار إلى عهد جد بعيدة، فيقال أن هذه الشجرة قد انشقت ليخرج من جوفها الإله الشمس عند ما كان رع يصارع أعداءه وقتها. إن هذه الشجرة أصبحت أكثر الأشجار المعبودة في هيليوبوليس شهرة وإن لم تكن الوحيدة. والمعتقد أنها كانت موثلا للحياة والموت. والمتصور أن طالبي النبوءات كانوا يتوجهون إليها، كما كان يحدث في اليونان مع شجرة معبد زيوس الشهير في دودونيا. (لا يجب أن يغيب عن بالنا ارتباط الشجرة هذه المسجل على أوراقها اسم الفرعون ومدة حكمه إلى آخره، بالمعتقد الشعبي الذائع في كل بلاد المسلمين عن شجرة شبيهة مسجل على أوراقها اسم كل حي وموعد ميلاده وموته وحتى نصيبه من الدنيا. وباختصار (اللوح المحفوظ) وحتى يومنا هذا يعتقد الناس أنه باصفرار ورقة ما يعنى قرب أجل صاحبها).

في بردية هاريس (مجموعة ٢٩، فقرة ٣١) يأتي ذكر شجرتين مقدستين في هيليوبوليس، كانت تقدم لهما القرايين من المشروبات. إن أشجار هيليوبوليس كانت هي أكثر الأشجار قداسة في مصر القديمة، ولكننا نعرف بأشجار أخرى مقدسة وهي جميعا ترتبط ارتباطا تاما بإله أو آلهة معينة،

فحتور على سبيل المثال كثيرا ما تلقب بـ "سيدة الجميزة القبلية". كما أن بتاح وتحوت يرتبطان بأشجار الزيتون. والإله رع كان يبزغ كل صباح من بين شجرتي جميز. وقد لعبت الأشجار دورا مهما في العقائد المتعلقة بالموت أيضا، ففي مداخل أوزوريس توجد تصاوير تمثل أشجارا، ويؤكد من أهمية ذلك أن بلوتارخ يذكر أشجارا ذات طبيعة ميثولوجية. في أشجار أوزوريس هذه تسكن روح الإله - البيا - والتي في تصاوير أخرى ليست إلا الطائر الأسطوري _ العنقاء أي الفونكس - الذي يبعث ثم يبعث من جديد (المرجع السابق). [إن الاعتقاد بأن الأرواح تحل في الطيور ما زال شديد الحيوية بين المصريين وإنه من المؤلف في كل مصر وضع جرار فخارية أمام القبور مليئة بالماء ليتسنى للروح العائدة إلى قبر صاحبها عصر كل خميس أن تشرب منها، ويؤكد هذا القول الذائع عند طلب الإنسان للشرب: "اسقي أمواتك".

مينا حطني طيرة على السجرة وأشوف بعيني مية الغربية
مينا حطني طيرة على الأبريق وأشوف بعيني ميتك يا غريب
وأغامر بالجزم أن هذا المفهوم قد انتقل إلى العرب تحت اسم "الهامة" وهي الطائر الذي يكون عند أولاد الميت في محلته ويوافي روحه بأخبار آله، كما يقول الصلت بن أمية لبنية:
هامي تخبرني بما تستشعروا فتجنبا الشعاء والمكروها

(انظر: علي ١٩٨٠: ١٣٢/٦)

والوجه الآخر للهامة هو زعم العرب بأن القتيل المطلول الدم أي الذي لم يقتص له يظهر عند قبره طائر ليلي صغير يقال له الهامة وقد يسمى - الصدى - ولا ينفك يصرخ قائلا: اسقوني. حتى يؤخذ بثأر صاحبه، ويقول ذي الإصبع العدواني:

يا عمرو ألا تدع شتمي ومنقصتي أضربك حيث تقول الهامة اسقوني

(انظر: حفني ١٩٧٧: ٥٩)

إن أشجار أوزوريس التي سبق وتحدثنا عنها هي تلك التي نراها اليوم تظلل قباب ومزارات الأولياء. تظهر شجرة إلى الغرب نمت لأجله، في حين أن نظيرتها الواقعة إلى الشرق تنمو من دم "ست" المراق. وفي الفصل ١٩٣ من كتاب الموتى فإن شجرة النخيل هي جسد أوزوريس نفسه. ومن ثم يحرم تجهيز التوابيت منها (إن الجنة شجرة تروى بدماء الشهداء!). وتبدو هذه الأشجار في الرسوم متجاوزة الفضاء الكوني المنظور.

من المثير إننا نشاهد في مقبرة تحوتمس الثالث أحد التصاوير البدائية تمثل شجرة ينبثق منها ثدي يرضع منه الفرعون لتهبه القوة عند ولادته من جديد. إننا أمام لبن أم حقيقي. وها نحن أخيرا أمام شجرة (الجميزة) ترضع، ولا يبقى لنا إلا أن نجد البقرة في الجميزة. وهذا ما سنفصله فيما بعد عندما نتناول بالحديث الآلهة حتحور (انظر الشكل رقم ١).

ومن الموتيفات المؤلفات - في برديات الموتى - شجرة يمتد منها فرع مشيرا إلى الميت مناديا عليه مطمئنا إياه؛ أو يبدو وكأن الفرع يأخذ بيده في طريقه إلى عالم الآخرة.

إن تقديس الأشجار لم يحتل تلك المكانة المرموقة التي حظت بها عبادة الحيوان، ولكن جمالها وخصوبتها وغموضها خلّب الباب المصريين، ومع أنها لم تحظ بالحوية والديناميكية والقوة التي تكمن في الحيوان ولذا لم تصبح قط آلهة بذاتها، لكنها اكتسبت مكانتها بارتباطها بإله أو آله ذات مكانة. (إن هذا يفسر لنا ما بدى غامضا حتى الآن من العلاقة بين الشجرة وضريح الولي؛ ويؤكد تفسيرنا ذلك أنه ما من قرية في مصر تقريبا إلا وتضم مزارا لسيدى الأربعين. والذي هو بالتأكيد الإله أوزوريس وأملى أن تثبت تلك الفرضية - أوزوريس = سيدى الأربعين - في دراسة لاحقة.

جبة أبو الحجاج عليها طبنجة وملايين وسبعة لحيل بلدنا
وإن وفق الله فوق أعتابك ندبحو ونخش الضريح نزين الغندوري
وكارة البلح جوه الضريح مرمية (جمع أحمد رشدي صالح)

إنه ليدهشنا بحق صمود الأشجار واحتفاظها باحترامها و قداستها متفوقة بذلك على الألهة المصرية القديمة وكذا المعبودات الحيوانية، ومع التغيرات الدينية التي اعتورت مصر من المسيحية إلى الإسلام، فما زالت الأشجار ممثلة في الجميزة تشكل جزءاً رئيسياً من عقائد المصريين المعاصرين. وحتى يومنا هذا تزرع بعض النباتات والأشجار عند القبور كما تخرج النسوة كل خميس في "طلعة الرحمة" حاملات المقاطف والسلال المليئة بالتمر وقرص الرحمة ومغطاة بسعف النخيل الذي يوضع على القبور عوضاً عن الأشجار.

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| نزرع ها النخيل ع اللحد | تاخذ بلحها وتعمله مغلي |
| نزرع ها النخيل ع البوررة | تاخذ بلحها وتعمله فورة. |
| يبين للحدود لا بير ولا جنينة | ولا ساقية تتسبح الزينة |

(أرشيف مركز الفنون الشعبية - القاهرة)

وثمة أمثلة عن سفاح لا يرعوي قتل ٩٩ رجلاً وألحت عليه الرغبة في التوبة فاستشار ذا علم وتقوى الذي طلب منه أن تغرز نبوته الذي قتل به ضحاياه في الجبانة ويتركه هناك للصباح، فإن اخضر فقد لحقت به رحمة الله وإلا. وامتلئ صاحبنا للمشورة ولدهشته المغرقة، وجد نبوته قد أصبح شجرة. ولم تكن دهشة شيخه بأقل. ولما استفسره عن سره أخبره إنه عندما غشى الجبانة مساء ليرشق نبوته، سمع صوتاً من أحد القبور فلما استبان له أن هاتكا يهم بالفعل بجثة دفنت لتوها، فار دمه وقال: خسرانة خسرانة، وأكمل عدد قتلاه مئة، ثم غرس نبوته المخضب بدم ضحيته.

وبصرف النظر عن الدلالة الأخلاقية الظاهرة فإن العلاقة بين الجبانة والدم والشجرة جلية. تحور سيدة شجرة الجميزة:

تجمع المصادر على عبادة المصريين منذ ما قبل الأسرات هذا وقد صورت في الفن المصري القديم بأشكال تكاد لا تحصى، ولكنها غالباً ما كانت تصور كبقرة أو بشكل امرأة يزين رأسها قرص الشمس بين قرني بقرة، وفي كثير من الأحيان كانت تمثل كامراً لها رأس بقرة تحمل قرص الشمس. وقد اختلطت الفكرتان، رأس المرأة ورأس البقرة تدريجياً حتى انتهى الأمر إلى تمثيلها برأس امرأة وأذني بقرة. وكانت تحور مرضعة حور ابن أوزيريس، وكانت آله فرحة جدلانة ومن ثم لقبت بربة البهجة وسيدة الرقص والموسيقى وسيدة التيجان وانتهى بها الأمر أن تصبح ربّة الجبانة ترعى الموتى وترأهم. وكانت تسمى فيما تسمى "الأولى بين البقرات" نظراً للدور الذي كانت تلعبه بشكلها الحيواني. وفي منف وإلى الجنوب من معبد بتاح عبدت حتحور ولقبت بـ "سيدة الجميزة القبلية" عند كوم الكالة الحالية.

ويري بعض المؤرخين أنها ربما كانت أصل عبادة العجل عند بني إسرائيل، الذين يعتقد أنهم صاغوا العجل الذهبي تمجيداً للاله البقرة "حتحور" والتي عرفت عبادتها في سيناء. ولا غرابة فلقد كان من أسمائها الذهبية. والمثير أن ابنها كان يدعى "إيحي" أو "آحي" (ربما يفسر لنا هذا بكاء المصريين على الموتى من الأطفال بالنواح: "أحيه عليه، أحيه عليه". وأري أن هذا ما بقى في الذاكرة الجمعية من ذكرى ابن حتحور).

والمهم في حالتنا هذه أنها كانت تمثل كسيدة لشجرة الجميز وقد بزغ قرناها من الشجرة التي تنمو على شاطئ النهر. ومثلت حتحور كذلك كبقرة ترضع الفرعون الميت وكذا أرواح موتى آخرين، فما في هيئة امرأة أو بقرة.

وإذا تركنا جانبا المراجع التقليدية وبحثنا في الفولكلور أو المأثور الشعبي فإننا نجد نصاً نشر في عام ١٨٨٥ يصور بدقة مذهلة العقيدة الحثورية؛ البقرة → الأم ← الشجرة، والنص كما يلي: كان فيه واحد متجوز مرّة (امرأة)، خلفت له ولدين، وتوفت، والراجل إتجوز ثاني. جاب منها ولد وبنت. وكان عندهم بقرة، المرأة تدي ولدها وبنتها أكل عظيم والولدين التانين إल्ली موش أولادها تدي لهم عيش الكلاب. الأولاد يأخذوا البقرة يسرحوا ويدوا العيش للبقرة، ويقولوا: يا بقرة

حنّي علينا زي أمنا ما كانت تحن علينا. البقرة بقيت تدي لهم أكل كويس ويأكلوا ويشبعوا كل يوم. المرأة بقيت تتلفت تلتقى أولادها بطلانين وتلقى الولدين التانيين عافيين. بقيت تدي العيش بتاع الكلاب لأولادها، تخمينها حتى يصيروا زي إخوانهم، لكن ما نفع شيء أبدا، بعده قالت: يا ولد روح مع إخوانك، شوف يأكلوا إيه في الخلاء؟ قال لها: طيب. راح مع إخوانه في الخلاء، قعدوا الأولاد جعانين وخايفين من أخوهم لحسن يقول عليهم. قالوا: يا أخينا إذا جينا حاجة ما تقول شيء علينا؟ قال لهم: طيب يا إخواني. بعدها إدوا العيش للبقرة، وقالوا لها: يا بقرة حنّي علينا زي أمنا ما كانت تحن علينا. جابت لهم فطيرة مليانة لبن، وأكلوا وشبعوا. اتلقت المرأة ولدها، قالت له: أكلتوا إيه في الخلاء؟ قال لها: ما كلنا شيء ولا حاجة إلا عيش الكلاب. اليوم الثاني قالت للولد: أقعد إنت ما تروحشي خللي أختك تروح، راحت أختهم، قعدوا جعانين قالوا: يا أختنا، إذا جينا حاجة ما تقولي شيء علينا؟ قالت لهم: طيب ياخوانتي. إدوا العيش للبقرة وقالوا: يا بقرة حنّي علينا زي أمنا ما كانت تحن علينا، جابت لهم مخروط بقيوا يأكلوا والبنت بقيت تهطل على الهدوم وروحت. قالت لها أمها: أكلتوا إيه في الخلاء؟ قالت: اسألني توبي قبل أن تسأليني، اسألني برنسي قبل ما تسأليني. شوفي أكلنا مخروط جابته البقرة. المرأة كان معاها رفيق، قالت له: أنا عيانة، إنت تعال وقل أنا الطبيب المداوي إلي أداوي، مالها شى دواء إلا كبدة بقرة سودة غطيس، قال لها: أعملك كده. لما آجي إبقى قولني أنت هاتوه جوه الباب، عملت عيانة هي، جابوه جوه الباب شاوره جوزها، قال: دواها بعيد. قال له جوزها: قول وأنا أجييه، قال: دواها كبدة بقرة سودة غطيس، قال جوزها: البقرة عندنا، وجابوا البقرة ودبوها. وبقيا الأولاد يبكوا ويقولوا إنها صحيت. نزل جوزها ورفيقها في اللحم أكل والولاد بيلموا العضم وحطوه في الزير، وإتخلق نبقة، وبقيا الأولاد قاعدين تحت النبقة يأكلوا ويشربوا، وبقت النبقة عوض أمهم اللي ربتهم، والبقرة اللي طلعتهم، وقعدوا ميسوطين في أمان الله (Dulac 1885).

إن النص على نمطيته بالغ التعبير وثمة تنوعيات أخرى له قد عمدت الى هذا النص لقدمه. ومهما يكن فالبقرة هنا أم راعية ليتامى صغار، وبذبح البقرة وتجميع عظامها في الزير تصير شجرة (نبق) ولكنها تظل تمارس دورها الأمومي، فالنص يقول: "وبقيا الأولاد قاعدين تحت النبقة يأكلوا ويشربوا وبقيت النبقة عوض أمهم اللي ربتهم" ولا يقول: عوض البقرة. بينما يقول "البقرة اللي طلعتهم"، أي التي جاءت بهم الى الوجود. وإننا لنعجب لتلك المباشرة المدهشة لتجسيد الدور الأمومي للبقرة - فيقول عن الأم الميتة اللي ربت - الأم الحقيقية هنا هي البقرة: بقرة لها علامات - سوداء غطيس. "إن تحنور وهي أقدم الألهة المصرية طرا، وربما كانت في البدء مجرد نوع من الجاموس الأسود، ثم أصبحت بعد ذلك بقرة من النوع العادي". (مري ١٩٥٧: ٢٦٠)

وثمة تقليد لايمكننا غض الطرف عنه أورده لين وهو يتحدث عن "عجل العزب": "كان سيي (سيدي) العزب وهو ولي ميجل من تفاهنه (تفهننا العزب) في الوجه البحري يملك عجلا، ويقوم على خدمته. فتقود الرفاعية منذ وفاته تربية العجول في بلدة هذا الولي أو مدفنه، وتدريبها على صعود السلم والاضطجاع عند ما تؤمر بذلك. ثم يذهب كل منهم وعجله متجولا في البلاد لجمع الصدقات. ويمضي لين: وقد دعوت مرة أحد هؤلاء الدراويش إلى منزلي (Dulac 1885: 32-34)، وكان العجل هو الوحيد الذي رأيته، جاموسا يتدلى منه جرسان أحدهما في طوق حول عنقه والآخر في حزام حول جسمه، وقد صعد السلم جيدا إلا أنه أظهر ضعف مرانه. ويعتقد العامة أن عجل العزب يجلب الى المنزل بركة الولي" (لين: ص ٢١٥).

إن ما أورده لين صورة لم تضمحل كثيرا للبقرة تحنور التي ظهرت في عشرات الرسوم على جدران المقابر الفرعونية تحت اسم "MEHET-WRT" انظر الشكل رقم ٢ والذي تظهر فيه البقرة ملفوفة برداء أحمر اللون عادة ومغطاة بحب الخرز المحبوك (الملضوم) وفي عنقها قلادة "مناه". وفي عهد رمسيس الثاني ١٢٥٠ ق.م. تظهر البقرة وفوق كشحها صولجان الاله "مين" بينما يظهر عند حافرها الأمامي RE-HOR-AKHTY ومكتوب في أعلى المشهد "حور الباشق الذي يطير الى

السماء سيد MEHET-WRT “ (Lamy 1981:82). إن عجل العزب ليس إلا استمرار لـ “البقرة” التي تحدثنا عنها. وما زال هناك أبقار تترك طليقة ترعى في الغيطان مزدانة بالكيفية التي أشرنا إليها تقريبا، لكن بالطبع دون الخرز والصولجان اللذين سبق الإشارة إليهما. قبل عيد الأضحى خاصة يطاف بالبقرة إياها (الضحية) في القرية بزفة من الأطفال. إن هذا التقليد ليس هو آخر ما تبقى من ذكرى حتحور في وجدان المصريين، فإن التقويم الحقيقي للفلاحين يحمل أيضا اسم حتحور وقد حرف إلى هاتور، وهو الشهر القبطي الذي يبدأ من ١٠ نوفمبر إلى ٩ ديسمبر، ويقال عن هذا الشهر: “هاتور أبو الذهب المنثور”، وهذا إبقاء مباشر على واحد من ألقاب حتحور، والتي كانت تسمى “السيدة الذهبية”. فضلا عن تقليد آخر مهم في الفولكلور المصري، ألا وهو - بقرة حاحا - وهذه ليست صيغة إضافة ولكن الكلمتين تشرحان بعضهما البعض، فما “حاحا” إلا البقرة، وهو اشتقاق مباشر من حتحور و MEHET - WRT وتعرف اللهجة العامية المصرية، تقليد إضافة كلمة عربية إلى كلمة مصرية قديمة كترجمة لها أو الدلالة عليها، وكمثال، نداء باعة الجبن: حالوم يا جبنة، فكلمة حالوم كانت تعني الحليب والطازج وأصبحت تدل على الجبن أيضا. كما وأيضا العبارة: كاني ماني، دكان الزلباني، فكاني وماني هما في القبطية سمن وعسل ودكان الزلباني يعنى الإشارة الى الاسمين.

وما زال هناك النص الشعبي للأغنية - بقرة حاحا - ذائعا حتى يومنا هذا:

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| بقرة حاحا | حاحا |
| تحلب وتحب | حاحا |
| شخبين حاحا | راحوا فين |
| حاحا | |

وقد اكتسب النص السابق ذيوعا وشهرة عندما استلهمه الشاعر الشعبي أحمد فؤاد نجم في قصيدته التي أحدثت ضجة كبرى إثر هزيمة ١٩٦٧:

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| ناح النواح والنواحة | على بقرة حاحا النطاحة |
| والبقرة حلوب | حاحا |

إن رواج الأغنية وذيوعها العظيم وقتها، مصدره بالتأكيد هو المكانة التي تحتلها حاحا البقرة في عقيدة المصريين ولو تحت الوعي.

ونصل الآن إلى نقطة حاسمة في فرضيتنا، فلقد ثبتت العلاقة بين الجميزة والبقرة وعرفنا من خلال عشرات الرسوم الفرعونية (انظر الأشكال رقم ٣، ٤، ٥) التي تصور حتحور تطل من الجميزة مقدمة الطعام والشراب للأحياء والأموات على السواء، واستمرار العقيدة الحتحورية في وجدان الشعب المصري. ولا ينقصنا الآن إلا أن نورد بعض الترانيم أو الأناشيد أو الأهازيج التي وصلت إلينا من الأدب الفرعوني القديم. وسأكتفي هنا بإيراد نصين يتغنيان بالجميزة:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| الجميزة تنبس بكلماتها | أوراقها تمتد لتقول |
| ما أجمل أن غُرست | في حديقة سيدتي |
| سأنمو لأجلها | تلك النبيلة مثلي |
| وإن لم تكن لها جارية | فأنا جاريته |
| جَعَلْتهم يفرسونني في حديقته | لكنها لا تقدم لي الشراب يوم العيد |
| ولا تملأ جزعي بالماء من القرب | سيجدونني مدعاة للضحك، لظمائي |
| كيف تعيش روعي، يامحبوتي | ستحملين إلى المحاكمة |

والنص الثاني يقول:

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| شجرة الجميز التي غرستها يداي | تتأهب لتقول |
| وكلامها كالعسل | |

زهرها يقول، ما هو أحلى من العسل جميلة هي وأغصانها تتلألأ

أشد خضرة من الفيروز
وأشد حمرة من المرجان
وملاً بطيب الثمر الناضج
شجرتي ملتقى العشاق

(Faulkner 1972:314-315) (هذه ترجمة اجتهادية ملتزمة بالنص)

في النص الأول تشكو الشجرة سيدتها لأنها لا تقدم الشراب يوم العيد من قرب الماء، وهذه إشارة صريحة إلى قرابين ماء كانت تقدم للشجرة، كما أن أولئك الذين لا يأبهون بروح الجميزة سيتعرضون للمحاكمة.

أما عن أناشيد حتحور التي كرس لها فهي لا تعد ولا تحصى وترقى بها إلى مصاف الإله الأعظم والأوحد، وتصفها بأنها الأم الرؤوم وسيدة العالم ألهة الحياة والتنفس، سيدة النور والظلال والرقص والموسيقى، سيدة الطرب الأله الفرحة الجدلثة، سيدة الاحتفالات ومرضعة الفراعنة وأم كل المصريين، الخ من مئات الألقاب، ومن أجمل النصوص التي نشرتها لوسي لامي (ص ٨٢). استطرادا لما سبق، فمن حقنا أن نفترض أن تلك الترانيم والأناشيد التي كانت تؤدي لحتحور سيدة الجميزة وكذا تلك التي كانت تؤدي للجميزة، قد اعترها الانحطاط بمرور الزمان نتيجة لتطور فكرة التوحيد بظهور الإخناتونية وأصل اليهودية، وحتى إلى ما قبل الإسلام. وإن تلك الأناشيد والتسبيحات فضلا عن الألقاب والصفات الإلهية التي أسبغت على حتحور بدأت تنسلخ عنها وتلتصق واحدة بعد الأخرى بإله واحد كانت كل تباشير ظهوره غير خافية، وبمرور الزمان أيضا ومع تأثيرات يونانية رومانية قد امتزجت الترانيم الخاصة بحتحور وكذا الجميزة في ترانيم واحدة وأشكال اختفى منها تقريبا كل ما يتعارض مع الدين الوافد الجديد، أي التوحيد القرآني في أنقى صورته، ولتبدأ عملية بالغة البطء والتعقيد من التوفيقات العقائدية الدينية التي لعبت فيها الديانات التوحيدية الثلاث دورا مؤثرا.

إن حتحور الآلهة الوثنية والتي ترقى إلى مستوى أعظم الآلهة كان عليها أن تختفي تماما من الترانيم التي قام أقباط مصر بعد الفتح الإسلامي بتطويرها واستبعادهم لكل ما يشير إلى الآلهة صراحة، ولكنهم احتفظوا بمضمون العقيدة ذاتها في النص القائل "ياطالع الشجرة هات لي معاك بقرة" ولكننا نلاحظ أن الفقرة الأولى تنتهي بـ "المعلقة انكسرت" وتتساءل "من يربيني" وهو بالغ الدلالة على انقطاع العقيدة، أي وصول الإسلام التوحيدي. إن انكسار الصيني في الفولكلور المصري، يرمز الانقسام أو خيبة وإحباط، والانقسام يعبر عنه النص الآتي:

سري وسرك يا أمه
والطبق انكسر يا أمه
في عرق طبق صيني
رحتي يا أعلى من نور عيني

أما النص الذي يكشف عن الإحباط والخيبة:

البنث راحت تجيب عسل
قولو لأبوها
والصحن وقع انكسر
يقشر بصل
(من جمع المؤلف)

أما الشطرات الأربع الأخيرة من يا طالع الشجرة فهي ألفت حتى تعادل النص الوثني الأصل بنص إسلامي. وهي تزج هنا زجا ببيت الله ورسول الله وحمام أخضر، أي أنها تحاول جعل النص إسلاميا مقابل نص كانوا يعرفون أنه تخبئ وراه عقيدة وثنية.

إن الشكل رقم ٦ يمثل تحوتمس الثالث راقصا أمام الألة حتحور، فيما يبدو أنه رقص طقوسي وعلى إبهام يسراه الطائر "خا" الذي يشكل مع "الكا" و"البا" مفهوم الروح عند قدماء المصريين. ويمسك بيميناه ثلاث عصي ترمز لملكه، بينما تمتد حتحور أذاتها الطقسية المسماة "مناة" وتساعد به بإيقاع موسيقي أي بهزها الخرز الذي تتشكل منه الألة. إن أهمية هذا الشكل في أن هذا الفرعون هو نفسه الذي يظهر راضعا من ثدي جميزة، وها هو يرقص للألة هنا، ولما كانت أغنيتنا تصاحب أصلا لعبة للأطفال، فإنه من المرجح أن يكون هذا اللعب النمطي قد تطور عن رقص طقوسي رأينا تحوتمس الفرعون يؤديه وهو نفسه الذي رأيناه وهو طفل يرضع من ثدي الجميزة.

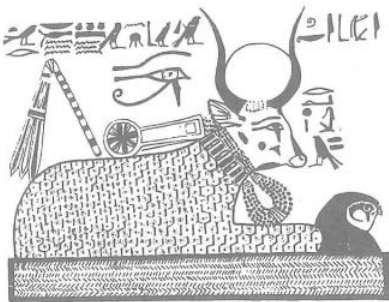
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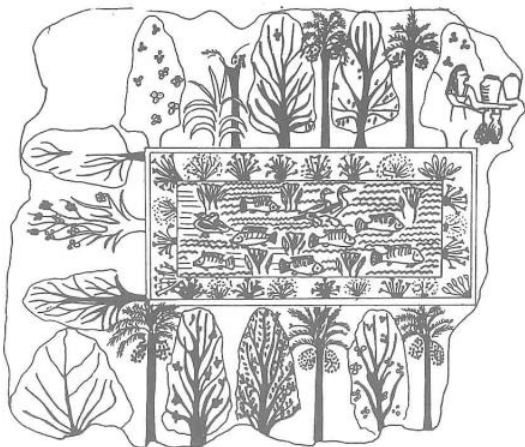
شكل ١



شكل ٢



شكل ٤



شكل ٣



شكل ٦



شكل ٥

احتفالية الختان في مصر

شوقي عبد القوي عثمان حبيب

القاهرة

إن الختان من أقدم الممارسات التي استمرت ولا تزال متصلة عبر السنين. توصل إلى فائدته البشر منذ آلاف السنين وقيل الديانات السماوية. وأقرته تلك الديانات ومارسته. ويمكن القول أن الختان عرف منذ الدولة القديمة وكان عاما، إذ تبينه الباحثون في المناظر العادية للخدم والصيادين والرعاة كما تبينوه في التماثيل العادية والخاصة والجثث السليمة الباقية. ومن أطرف نصوص الختان التي وجدت - نص لرجل من عصر الانتقال الأول - استنتج دونهام منه أنه كان قد اختتن مع مائة وعشرين طفلا ولم يضار واحد منهم. غير أن قراءته لا تخلو من شك ولو صحت لأمكن تقريب هذه الرواية لما يحدث في موالد الأولياء بمصر حتى الآن حيث ينتهز البعض المولد فيختنون أولادهم تبركا بمناسبتها (صالح ١٩٦٦: ٥٢-٥٣).

ولقد أقرت الديانات السماوية الختان وإن تفاوتت درجة الأخذ به، فبينما نجد أن اليهود والمسلمين اعتبروه ملزما نجد أن المسيحيين انقسموا حوله. وجدير بالذكر أن اتباع الكنيستين القبطية والحبشية لا زالوا يقومون بإجراء الختان كميراث مصري قديم (الهواري ١٩٨٧: ٨٤). أما العرب فقد عرفوا الختان قبل الإسلام واستمرت ممارسة الختان بعد ظهور الإسلام رغم عدم ورود ذلك في القرآن الكريم، لكن جاء ذكره في بعض الأحاديث التي اعتبرته واحدا من خصال الفطرة. وإذا انتقلنا إلى احتفاليته في مصر فسنجد أماننا نقصا في المعلومات في بعض العصور التاريخية. فالمصادر التاريخية تحدثنا عن وجود عملية الختان في مصر القديمة كما سبق، ولكن لا تحدثنا عن احتفال يصاحب تلك العملية ولعل ذلك يعني أن الختان في ذلك الوقت كان لا يصاحبه احتفال. وفي عصور مصر البطلمية والرومانية والقبطية لم نعثر على أثر أو كتابة تتحدث سواء عن عملية الختان أو عن الاحتفال به. ولا يعني ذلك أن الختان لم يكن موجودا في مصر في تلك الفترة ولكن من تناولوا التأريخ لتلك الفترة لم يوفوا التاريخ الاجتماعي للمصريين حقه. ويشبه ما سبق من عصور في فقد الكتابات الاجتماعية أيضا العصر العثماني في مصر. أما الكتابات عن الختان في مصر في عصرها الإسلامي خاصة المملوكي فهي إلى حد ما متوفرة ولكنها لا تروي نهم الباحث، ولكن نستطيع القول بأن باحثي تلك الفترة استخرجوا أغلب ما في بطون المصادر، لذلك أراني مضطرا لترك تلك الفترات السابقة بادئا بالعصر الإسلامي. كان الختان لا يمر مروراً عابراً، بل كان أمراً عظيماً يحتفل به، واحتفل به الكافة من غني وفقير وأمير وضيع. كما كانت تلك العملية تجرى لمجموعة من الأطفال في وقت واحد وتجرى لطفل واحد أيضا.

وكان بعض الحكام يقومون - بهذه المناسبة - بالإغداق على الشعب بالمنح والعطايا وكذلك الأمراء لأتباعهم والأغنياء للفقراء، كما كان مناسبة لفعل الخير وإطعام الطعام كما كان يهناً عليه، فنجد لدى القلقشندي نموذجاً لرسالة تهنئة أمير بختان ولدين له (القلقشندي، صبح ٧٥-٧٤). وفي العصر المملوكي أجمعت مختلف الطبقات على الاحتفال بختان الطفل، حيث جرت العادة على أن يقوم المزين بعملية الختان في عصر المماليك وعندئذ يقيم أهل الطفل حفلاً كبيراً يدعون إليه سائر الأهل والأصدقاء. ولا بد للمدعوين في هذه المناسبة من تقديم النقود^١ لأهل الطفل حيث يوضع في الطشت الذي يختن فيه الولد.

^١ النقود هو عبارة عن عطية عينية أو مالية تقدم من الأهل والأصدقاء.

وإذا كان الختان خاصا بأحد أولاد السلطان نادى المنادي بذلك في القاهرة حتى يحضر الأمراء والناس أولادهم ليختنوهم بعد ابن السلطان. وبلغ أحيانا عدد الصغار الذين أحضرهم أهلهم ليختنوهم بعد ابن السلطان أكثر من ألف وستمائة طفل من أبناء الفقهاء والعوام، هذا خلاف أبناء الأمراء والجنود، وكثيرا ما طالت الأفراح بهذه المناسبة، فاستمرت أحيانا بين ثلاثة أيام وسبعة، يأمر السلطان خلالها بعرض الجند والقيام ببعض الألعاب لإظهار الفرح، كما كان يوزع كثيرا من الهبات والأموال والخلع (عاشور ١٩٦٢: ١٢٤-١٢٥).

ويمضي الزمان وتستمر عادة الختان والاحتفال بها، فيصف دي شابرول ما يحدث في أوائل القرن التاسع عشر. ووصف لنا الجبرتي احتفالات كبراء القوم بالختان وأما لين فوصف احتفالات المصريين بالختان في أوائل العقد الرابع من القرن التاسع عشر. وبعد لين بحوالي عشر سنوات يأتي جيرار دي نرفال ليصف لنا حفل ختان في قرية صغيرة في ذلك الوقت هي شبرا. ويأتي كلوت بك بعد جيرار ويذكر في كتابه وصفا لاحتفال الختان، ولم يذكر أين تم هذا الاحتفال. ويأتي ليدر في عام ١٩١٤ ليكتب عن عادات المسيحيين في الصعيد. وتأتي وينفريد بلاكمان إلى الصعيد بعد ليدر بأقل من عشر سنوات لتجمع مادة كتابها.

ولكن ماذا عن العصر الحديث وما تعنيه هنا قبل عقدين أو ثلاثة من الآن. دفعنا هذا إلى التجول في بعض أنحاء مصر المتباينة جغرافيا وثقافيا والممثلة على قدر المستطاع لمختلف المناطق الجغرافية لكي نرى احتفالات أهل هذا الزمان - مسلمين ومسيحيين - الخاصة بعملية الختان أو المصاحبة لها ومقدار التشابه والتغير وعوامل هذا أو ذلك بالإضافة إلى الدوافع وراء كل ما ذكر.

ولهذا سنلتقي ببعض من شاركوا في هذه الاحتفالية أو شاهدوها في مواطنهم، حيث راعيت أن يكون الراوي أو المشارك من نفس المدينة أو القرية.

ومن أقدم أحياء القاهرة حي نشأ كميناء نهري وقامو الفرنسيين واشتهر بالفتوة ونسب إلى أحد الأولياء هو حي بولاق أبو العلا. ولمكانة سيدي السلطان أبو العلا في نفوس أهل الحي خاصة كان ولا بد غالبا أن يكون السلطان نقطة البدء، ولنبداً من البداية. تتم هناك عملية الطهور سواء للولد أو البنت سرا خوفا من الحسد، وليست هناك سن محددة للطهور فيمكن أن يكون عمر المطاهر شهر أو خمس سنوات، كما أنه في أحيان كثيرة يتم عملية الطهور لمجموعة من الأطفال مرة واحدة وليس شرطا أن يكونوا أقرباء، فيمكن أن يكونوا من بيت واحد أو من حارة واحدة، أو جيران، أو معارف. وكانت القلفة أو البظر ترمى في النيل اعتقادا بأن هذا يجعل الجرح يشفى سريعا وربما خوفا من السحر. والأيام التي تلي الطهور لا يحدث فيها أي شيء؛ لا طبل ولا غناء خوفا أيضا من الحسد أو مرض الطفل نتيجة لنظرة عين، ويستمر هذا التعقيم حتى اليوم السابع. اليوم السابع هو يوم الإعلان عن أن هناك طهورا قد تم، فيدعى الأهل والجيران على الغذاء حيث يتم ذبح أحد ذوات الأربع أو شراء لحمه وذلك حسب المقدرة، بالإضافة إلى تناول المدعوين للطعام سواء طعام الغذاء أو العشاء ويطهي صاحب الحفل فته باللحم ويرسلها إلى جامع السلطان أبو العلا، والبعض يرسلها إلى السيدة زينب أو سيدنا الحسين للفقراء. وتقوم السيدات والرجال بتقديم النقود سواء للأب أو الأم، أما المزين الذي قام بطهارة الولد أو البنت قبل ذلك بسبعة أيام فكان يأخذ نقوده في حينه من أهل المطاهر فقط، حيث - كما سبق القول - كانت العملية سرية. تبدأ الزفة من عند جامع أبو العلا قبيل المغرب حيث يمتطي فارس هذه الزفة حصانا، مرتديا جلبابا أبيض وعقالا تحته شال أبيض فوق الرأس وإذا كان الفارس صغيرا يركب وراءه رجل كبير لكي يمسك به خوفا من وقوعه ويقود الزفة الضو^٢ بفرقة المكونة من حوالي عشرة أفراد بطبولهم

^٢ الضو اسم شهرة لأحد الأفراد في حي بولاق وهو الذي كان يقود زفة المطهرين كما كان يحيى أفرانهم بالإنشاد الديني.

ودفوفهم وحناجرهم حيث يقومون بدورة حول الجامع تبدأ من اليمين ثم ينطلقون الى مكان الفرخ. ويسير الرجال خلف الفرقة التي تنشد وبجوارها، وبعد ذلك النساء اللواتي يزغردن ويختلط الصغار بهم ويتقدمهم فارس هذا اليوم. وتصل هذه الزفة إلى مكان الاحتفال حيث نصب صوان وضعت به كراسي للمدعوين، وتنشد الفرقة بعض الأناشيد، وفي بعض الأحيان تحي الفرقة هذا اليوم وفي أحيان أخرى تكثفي بالزفة وبعض الأناشيد الدينية ثم تستكمل الليلة فرقة غنائية أخرى وعلى رأسها عالمة - علي حسب رغبة صاحب الحفل - ويستمر ذلك إلى وقت متأخر من الليل. وكانت الناس تتنافس في تقديم النقوط للفرقة والعوالم. وفي بعض الأحيان كانت الزفة تبدأ من عند السيدة زينب أو سيدنا الحسين وتلف حول السلطان أبو العلا وغالبا ما يحدث ذلك إذا كان هناك نذر. هذه الزفة تتم إذا كان المطهر ذكرا، أما إذا كانت أنثى فالزفة تكون في الحارة أو الشارع فقط ولا تبدأ من عند السلطان، وكان يتم الاحتفال بظهور الأنثى أيضا ولكن ليس بنفس الصورة التي يحتفل بها للذكر، واستمر ذلك نحو عشرين سنة مضت. أما الآن فقد اختفت تقريبا تلك الزفة وأيضا مظاهر الاحتفال حيث نشاهد بين الحين والحين حفلا لطفل مختون خاصة في مولد السلطان أبو العلا، ولكن ليس بنفس الصورة أو الفرحة كما كان يحدث من قبل^٣.

وتختلف الزفة في أبو قير بالإسكندرية عن زفة بولاق أبو العلا حيث تكون الزفة بالكاريتات، فيلبس العريس طاقية وقفطان أبيض مشغول عليه خمسة وخمسة بالخيط الأحمر المزوي، ويكتب على القفطان أيضا الله أكبر، وتتم الزفة بالكاريتات - التي يتراوح عددها حسب مكانة العريس ومجاملة أبيه للأخريين في مناسباتهم - في شوارع أبو قير، وتنطلق الأغاني والزغاريد من الكاريتات، والزفة تتم بالنسبة للذكور فقط. وقبل الزفة يجتمع الناس في منزل المطهر^٤ حيث يقدمون نقوطهم لوالدي العريس، والنقوط عبارة عن نقود أو سكر وشاي أو أي شيء مما يخزن في المنازل^٥. وبسؤال الراوي هل كان المسيحيون يفضلون تختينهم في يوم عيد الختان؟ أجاب: العادة تعلق على كل شيء، والعادة هنا أن الميعاد الأفضل للظهور - من زمن سابق لا نعيه ولكننا توارثناه جيلا بعد جيل - هو أثناء وفاء النيل وفيضانه الذي يعني الطهارة. وكان موعد الفيضان هو شهري أغسطس وسبتمبر بالتقويم الميلادي، ويقابله مسرى من الشهور القبطية^٦. "فلما كانت مية النيل تحمر كانت الناس تقول الوقت ده كويس للطهارة فالجرح يطيب بسرعة". ففي وقت الفيضان كانت معظم الناس من مسيحيين ومسلمين تقوم بطهارة أبنائهم حيث أن الجرح في الشتاء لا يشفى سريعا^٧. وفي يوم الظهور يدعى الأهل والأحباب ويحضر الأطفال الذين يغنون ويدعون

^٣ زينب حسن سلطان، عالمة سابقة، بولاق أبو العلا، الجامع شوقي عبد القوي عثمان، مارس ١٩٩٥.

^٤ يتم علاج جرح المطهر بأن يشتري مر وزيت زيتون أو زيت عادي حوالي نصف كوب وصير سوقطري ومستكة حرة ويغلي الزيت على النار ويوضع ما سبق على الزيت إلى أن يذوب ويترك ليبرد ويحفظ ذلك في زجاجة، وكل يوم يمس للطفل في الصباح وفي الليل حتى يشفي الجرح. وبالنسبة للبنث يحضر شيح وبصلة مشوية ويأخذ قلب البصلة ويدق القلب في الهون ويخلط ذلك ببعض السكر والشح وتتحفظ بها البنث حتى تحفظها من البرد والرطوبة. نوال محمد مصطفى، ٦٢ سنة، قابلة، أبو قير، الإسكندرية. الجامع شوقي عبد القوي، ١٩٩٤.

^٥ نوال محمد مصطفى، فتحية محمد أحمد، ربة بيت، أبو قير الإسكندرية. الجامع شوقي عبد القوي ١٩٩٤.

^٦ مثل النيل وفيضانه دورا كبيرا في حياة المصريين حيث كان يصاحب الفيضان الخصب والنماء، كما أن مياه الفيضان كانت تغسل النهر وتجعله نظيفا بالإضافة إلى أنها تحيي الأرض بعد مواتها. ورغم ما كان يمثله الفيضان من عبء على المصريين لخطورته أحيانا فإنهم كانوا ينتظرونه دوما بشغف ولهفة.

^٧ ذكر ليدر كما سبق أن المصريين كانوا يجرون الختان في سبتمبر بعد موسم الحصاد حيث تتوفر النقود معهم ومعلوم أنه في شهر سبتمبر يكون بعض الفلاحين قد انتهوا من تذرية القمح والذرة لا زالت في الحقول لم تتضح بعد، ومعروف أن القمح ليس محصولا نقديا بالنسبة لفلاح هذا الزمان أو الآن حيث كان يخزن أكثره للاستهلاك، أما المحصول النقدي فكان القطن ولذلك فما ذكره عن اعتقاد المصريين في فترة الفيضان وخواص مياهه هو الأقرب للتصديق.

لعريس هذا اليوم بأدعية جميلة، وغالبا ما يشارك الأطفال كمرددين خلف من هم أكبر منهم سنا. وفي اليوم المحدد لإجراء عملية الطهور كان أهل الطفل يحاولون خداعه لكي لا يقاوم أثناء إجراء العملية ويحضر المزين كضيف وتمت العملية بسرعة، هذا إذا كان الطفل صغيراً؛ أما إذا كان كبيراً ويدرك، فيحاولون إقناعه بأن الطهارة علامة على الرجولة وأنه لن يشعر بالألم فهي تشبه قرصة النملة. وكان الحاضرون يقومون بتقديم النقوط للمزين الذي كان يردد أسماء مقدمي النقوط مقرنا بها التهنة المباركة - كما كانوا يقدمون النقوط لأبوى المطهر وبهذا ينتهي يوم الختان. وكان يحتفظ بالقلفة حيث توضع في حجاب ويعلق أو يوضع تحت الوسادة، والحجاب كان يوضع في كيس من القطفة، وبعض الناس يضعون مع الحجاب أدعية دينية مكتوبة على ورقة، وهذا تعبيراً عن الامتنان لله على أن العملية تمت بنجاح. وسر الاحتفاظ بها أنها جزء من جسم الإنسان. ويبدأ الاحتفال في اليوم السابع حيث كان يلبس المطهر جلابية بيضاء مشغولة باليد ومزينة بالصليب، والآن يلبس بلويزة وينظفوننا وأحياناً صديرياً مطرزا بالماكينه ومزيناً بالصليب وحذاء أبيض. والآن يقدم الأهل والأحباب هدايا عبارة عن شيكولاته أو لعب أو ملابس وقبل ذلك كانت الهدايا عبارة عن شاي أو سكر أو ما يشابه ذلك. وكانت الأولاد تصطف وتجلس وتردد الأغاني خلف إحدى المغنيات من أهل العريس أو من الجيران، المهم سيدة أو بنت تجيد الغناء. ويكون الطفل محمولا بين يدي أقرب الناس إليه وعادة لا تكون الأم، لأنها تكون خائفة عليه. ويلف به على الحاضرين الذين يغنون ويهنتون. وفي المساء يجهز العشاء وهو في هذه المناسبة إما كسكسي أو مسرودة^أ ويوزع الشربات على الحاضرين. ويحضر المزين في هذا اليوم ليفك الرباط ولا ينقط المزين في هذا اليوم، ويتناول أجره عن عملية الطهور في اليوم السابع وذلك حتى يضمن أهل المطهر حضوره لمتابعة الجرح والغيار عليه.

وننتقل الآن إلى بيئة مختلفة وهي واحة سيوة. تتم طهارة الطفل في الصباح الباكر لتلافي حرارة الجو ويكون الطفل مرتدياً جلابياً أبيض جديداً ومشغولاً بخيوط حريرية على الصدر، ويمكث الطفل في الفراش، وتقام مأدبة يحضرها الأقارب والأحباب ويكون عدد الحاضرين حوالي من عشرة إلى عشرين فرداً وتقوم السيدات بعمل زفة للطفل حيث يطبلن ويغنون داخل المنزل. ولا يوجد طهور جماعي ولكن إذا كان للأب أكثر من ولد فيمكن أن تتم طهارتهم سوياً وتدفن القلفة في الصحراء. وفي ثالث يوم بعد صلاة العشاء في جامع الناحية يعلن أن فلاناً قد طاهر ابنه فلان وأنهم سيذهبون إليه بعد الظهر. ويدفع الناس نقوطهم في الجامع حيث يأخذهم كبيرهم ويكتب الأسماء والمبالغ في كشف، ويذهبون بعد صلاة ظهر اليوم التالي للمباركة قائلين: "مبروك مبروك عقبال الصيام والفرح". ويستمر توافدهم للعشاء، والسيدات تعطي نقوطها لأم الولد وهو عبارة عن نقود أو شاي وسكر وغير ذلك، وبعد أسبوع يذبح جدي أو تشتري لحمه حيث يطهى اللحم. أما الأمعاء والطحال فتوضع على قدر مساو لها من دشيخ القمح أو الشعير، وتطبخ وهي ذات طعم لذيذ ويسمى هذا اليوم بيوم الدشيخة. وتوزع على الأطفال حلوة وسكر وملبس. وتتراوح عظمة الاحتفال حسب مكانة الطفل، فإذا كان الطفل الأول يكون الاحتفال والفرحة به كبيرة، أما إذا كان ثالث أو رابع ابن فالفرحة به بسيطة. ولا يحتفل بطهور البنت. والآن لا زالت عملية الطهور والاحتفال تتم كما كانت وإن كان الذي يقوم بالطهور الآن في غالب الأحوال الطبيب ويمكن أن يحضر إلى البيت ويطاهر الطفل ولا يتفق على أجر ولكن يأخذ "شوية تقنوفة" (أي نقود).

وجنوب شرق سيوة بحوالي مائة وثلاثين كيلومتراً وعلى حدود منخفض القطاره توجد واحة جارة أم الصغير في بقعة من أجمل بقاع مصر حيث تتناثر بها عيون الماء حوالي إحدى عشرة عينا تروي سبعين فدانا تقريبا حاصلاتها الرئيسية: البلح والزيتون، كما كانت إحدى محطات

^أ المسرودة هي نفسها القادوسية وهي عبارة عن رفاق يقطع إلى قطع صغيرة وطريقة الطهي كالكسكسي.

القوافل بين سيوة ومطروح. هذه الواحة نمط جيد لعزلة المكان والسكان الذين يبلغ تعدادهم حوالى مائتين وستين فردا ولا تصلها بسيوة أو مطروح أو أي مكان خطوط منتظمة أو غير منتظمة، ولم يلوثها إرسال التلفزيون أو أخبار الصحف فهي في معزل؟ وإن كانت هذه العزلة غير تامة، حيث أصبح الآن كثير من أهلها يسافر إلى سيوة ومطروح لقضاء حوائجهم وأيضا هناك البعض منهم يعملون في بعض المدن المصرية إن كان عددهم قليلا. ويتخاطب أهل الجارة فيما بينهم باللغة السيوية.

ومثل سيوة لا بد من إجراء عملية الطهور (التحليل) في الصباح الباكر حيث يجلس الولد (العويلة) فوق قصعة، ولمداواة الجرح كان المطاهر يردم في الرمل أو يداوى أيضا ببعر الماعز. والسن التي تجرى فيها عملية الطهارة تتراوح بين خمس وعشر سنوات. وفي أثناء الطهور تسمع طلقات النار ابتهاجا. وتدفن القلفة في الرمل، وغالبا ما كانت عملية الطهور تتم بصورة جماعية حيث يحضر المزين من سيوة ويأتي مرة واحدة في السنة يحددها أهل "الجارة"، ثم يعلم أحد أبناء الواحة. والآن تتم طهارة بعض الأطفال في سيوة أو مطروح. وعندما يكون العدد كبيرا يحضر المطهر إلى الجارة. في يوم الطهور تذبح شاة أو أكثر، وعند ما يكون هناك أكثر من أب له أبناء يجرون عملية الطهور - فمن الممكن أن يشتركوا في شراء شاة أو أكثر - وهذاحسب المقدره، ويعزم أهل الجارة على الغذاء. وفي ثالث يوم يحضر الرجال والنساء لتقديم النقود (النحيلة) وذلك حسب المقدره أيضا، فالرجال يقدمون النقود والنساء يقدمن هدايا عينية مثل البيض والشاي والسكر ولأرز وغير ذلك. وفي سابع يوم تتجمع السيدات والبنات في منزل المطهر حيث يطبلن ويزمرن مصاحبات ذلك بالغناء. ويلبس الولد في ذلك اليوم جلبابا أبيض من قماش البفته (البيسة) ويذهب مع أصحابه أخذين معهم فول سوداني وحلاوة وقصعة بها أرز، إلى مقام سيدي يااجة^٩ حيث يأكلون ذلك هنال ويقرأون الفاتحة ويعودون^{١٠}.

ونترك الجزء الشمالي من الصحراء الغربية منطلقين تجاه الجنوب حيث واحة باريس بالواحات الخارجية واحة القصر بالواحات الداخلة. وتتشابه الحياة الاقتصادية في باريس والقصر مع الحياة الاقتصادية في سيوة والجارة حيث يقوم الاقتصاد على الزراعة، وإن كان يوجد تنوع في الحاصلات الزراعية بجوار النخيل، والأرض أخصب والمياه أعزب واحتكاك واحتي باريس والقصر عادة بأهل الصعيد الذين يفدون هناك للعمل والإقامة حيث: أنشئت لهم قرى جديدة خاصة بالخارجة بالإضافة الى وجود نسبة كبيرة منهم تعمل بالقاهرة ونسبة أقل بمدن الصعيد.

وهنا في باريس التي تقع على خط واحد مع كوم أمبو بأسوان، تذكر السيدة "أم عمر" أن عملية الطهور كانت تتم وعمر الولد يتراوح ما بين خمس وعشر سنوات، والاحتفال بهذه المناسبة قاصر على الولد. أما البنت فليس لها احتفال لدرجة أن الجيران والأب والإخوة لا يعرفون بموعد طهارتها. ويبدأ الأعداد للطهور قبل العملية بثلاثة أو أربعة أيام فيجهزون الغلة حيث تغسل وتغريل وتطحن. ويذهب أفراد مكلفون بجمع الحطب استعدادا للخبز والطبخ مقابل تقديم الغذاء لهم، ويسمون "الزوادة" وعند ما يحضروا يقولون: اوين الحطابة، أي أن الحطابة قد وصلوا. فتخرج النساء وتقف أمام الباب مزغردة. ويخطف البعض أعوادا من الحطب تفاؤلا بأن يحدث لهم فرح قريب أو لكي يأتيه الفرح. ويتناول الحطابة الغذاء ويكون عادة شعرية وبلح ويأخذ كل واحد منهم كعكتين ويسمى "المعلوم". ويبدأ خبز العيش في اليوم التالي لجمع الحطب، وثالث يوم يطبخون حيث تحضر النساء للمساعدة وتحضر معها عيش. ويذبح أهل "العريس" - وهو الاسم الذي يطلق

^٩ سيدي يااجة أحد الأولياء، له مقام بالجارة وموقعه أسفل القرية القديمة حيث كانت مبنية على صخرة عالية وبالنسبة للقرية الجديدة فموقعها في مكان مرتفع عنها حيث أقيم على ريوه عالية ولا يعرف تاريخ إقامته.

^{١٠} سنوسي عبدالجواس، مزارع، ٧٢ سنة، جارة أم الصغير، الجامع: شوقي عبد القوي، أبريل ١٩٩٥.

على الولد - جديا أو أكثر أو خروفا أو أي شيء حسب المقدرة. ويدعى الأهل والجيران حيث يقدمون النقود، فمنهم من يقدم نقودا أو قدرا من القمح أو الأرز أو اللحم، والنساء يقدمن الشاي والسكر والأرز والقمح والخبز. ويبدأ تناول الطعام من حوالي الساعة العاشرة صباحا حتى الساعة الثالثة بعد الظهر، وبعد ذلك تتناول السيدات الغذاء. ويقوم نفس من قام بخدمة الرجال بخدمة الحريم، وهم عادة من أهل العريس. وفي أثناء ذلك يكون والد العريس (المطهر) واقفا يرعى توزيع الطعام، فإذا نقص طبق أو صنف أمام أحد من المدعوين، طالب بملئه. وبعد صلاة المغرب يحضر الرجال الذين لم يحضروا في فترة الصباح، وبعد العشاء تحضر النساء ممن لم يتناولن الطعام قبل ذلك، وبعد صلاة العشاء يقام مولد حيث يحضر الموالية للإنتشاد وقراءة المولد، يشارك الحاضرون فيه. وفي هذا اليوم - ويسمى يوم الجلسة - يعصفر^{١١} الجلباب الحرير من الأكمام والذيل ولا بد أم يكون الجلباب أبيض اللون، ويطلق على الجلباب اسم "الرومية" ولا يعرف سبب إطلاق هذا الاسم. كما تحنى يدا العريس وقدماه صباح اليوم التالي ويسمى يوم المدة فيطبخ عدس ويخبز فطير^{١٢} كما تحضر المدعوات فطائر^{١٣} معهن. ويحضر العراسة^{١٤} لتناول الغذاء. وفي العصر يركب العريس حمارا^{١٥} ويرتدي جلبابه الأبيض المعصفر (الرومية) وعقد مشاهرة ملصوم من خرز يحضرونه من الجبل اسمه "كفري" وذلك حتى لا يشاهر الولد أي لا يمرض، ولكي يطيب جرحه سريعا ولمنع الحسد، ويمسك بيده غصنا أخضر من شجر الليمون^{١٦}. وتبدأ الدورة فيلفون القرية من اليمين بالغناء والطبل والزمر وزغاريد النساء اللائي يتخذن أماكنهن خلف الجميع بعد العريس والعراسة والرجال. ويقف هذا الموكب أمام كل بيت حيث يقدم لهم أهل البيت التحية التي هي قمح أو ذرة أو بلع وغير ذلك. والبعض يقدم لهم الشاي والأخر ينثر عليهم البلع والملبس والفول السوداني. وبعد انتهاء الدورة يعودون الى المنزل ولا تذهب هذه اللفة لزيارة ولي أو مقام للتبرك به، ويحضر الحلاق الى المنزل ومعه غالبا أربع قفاف كل قفة لصنف من الحبوب التالية: القمح والذرة والشعير والبلع. ويبدأ الحلاق بالخلافة على المطاهر فيقول مثلا: خلف الله عليك يا أحمد وفلان بيصبح عليك بخير، وهكذا. وينقط الحاضرون الحلاق بالنقود والحبوب وذلك بين الغناء والطبل الآتي صوته من عند الحريم حيث تكون أم العريس وأخوته مرتديات أزهى ملابسهن متحليات بما عندهن من ذهب وفضة ولا بد من حضور الأقارب. وبعد الخلافة يقوم الحلاق بمطاهرة^{١٧} الولد. ويمكن أن تتم عملية المطاهرة لأكثر من ولد وعادة ما تتم عملية القطع - كما تسمى هناك - ساعة المغرب. وتدفن القلفة تحت نخلة ليكون باسقا مثل النخيل أو عند صائغ ليكون المطهر ثريا مثله أو عند مدرسة ليكون محبا للعلم أو تدفن تحت الزير أو بلاص ماء اعتقادا

^{١١} العصفر نبات يزرع في مصر يعطي لونا أقرب الى اللون البرتقالي القاتم ويستخدم أحيانا لتلوين المخللات. ويعصفر الجلباب لتمييز المطاهر حتى لا تلمسه الأولاد خوفا عليه.

^{١٢} الفطير يشبه الرقاق يسمى هناك فطيرا.

^{١٣} قديما في مولد المطاهر كانت الحريم تأخذ فطيرا أبيض معهن (مثل الرقاق من دقيق قمح وملح وميه) وعيشا ويعطينه لوالدة المطاهر.

^{١٤} العراسة مجموعة معروفة من الرجال والشباب في باريس مهمتهم زف العريس وإحياء الليالي الملاح والمناسبات الجميلة وآلاتهم عبارة عن طبل ودف ورق.

^{١٥} أو فرسا أو جملا وتزين الركوبة بالليمون ويوضع عليها حرام من الصوف المزخرف.

^{١٦} ويمكن أن يتم طهور مجموعة من الأطفال في بيت واحد سويا أو أطفال عائلة واحدة ويعمل فرح واحد لهم جميعا وكل واحد أو اثنين يركب ركوبة.

^{١٧} إذا كان المطاهر وحيدا يطلب المزين ديكا ليقطع جزء من عرفه مع المطاهر اعتقادا بأن هذا يمنع العين عن الولد.

بأن ذلك يبرد الجرح؛ وهناك من يعلقها في رقبته مع عقد المشاهدة حتى لا يصاب بالعين. وعادة ما يهب له أحد أجداده لأبيه أو لأمه نخلة بلح أو زمنا في عين مياه حيث أن الملكية في باريس للمياه وليست للأرض^{١٨}.

وتذكر السيدة حامدة ساسة من المكس القبلي، إحدى عزب باريس^{١٩}: "أنهم - كانوا على حد تعبيرها - تدبج له ذبايح ونغني عليه وناخذ ثلاث شهور وإحنا نخط العرس وندق عليه. والله أنا كما معايا واد (ولد) ثلاث شهور يهل الهلال يلاقي الهلال والفرح يدق وده قبل المطاهرة. ونسبع لهم ساعة ما يتم سبع تيام نعمل لهم سبوع وتعمل لهم ليلة فرح بعد الطهور كمان ده زمان كنا نرسل لأهل العريس فطير وعيش وشاي وسكر وحلاوة وكل ده قاعد (مستمر) بس الفطير اللي بطل ما حدش (لا يوجد أحد) له مقدره ع الفطير"^{٢٠}.

والآن لم يعد الاحتفال بالطهور يأخذ هذا الشكل الاحتفالي حيث يقوم الطبيب بعملية الختان غالبا، وإن كان هناك احتفال فيكون قاصرا على الأهل ولا زال الناس الى الآن ترسل هداياها السابقة ما عدا الفطير لأنه لم تعد هناك مقدره على عمل الفطير. كذلك كانت عملية الطهور يمكن أن تتم لمجموعة من الأولاد في يوم واحد والآن أصبحت فردية. وهناك بعض الأفراد القلائل الذين يحتفلون بالطهور، بنفس الشكل القديم الى حد ما وإن كان لا يستغرق هذا الزمن الاحتفالي، ولكن يمكن أن تكون هناك دورة حول القرية وغناء وخلافه وقلة مشاركة^{٢١}.

ومن الأغاني التي تغنى للمطاهر في باريس:

المؤدي دخل المعلم داري موسى ذهب رنان
 المردين دخل المعلم داري موسى ذهب رنان
 المؤدي دخل المعلم عشية لابس ملابس حجية
 يا عريسنات الطبلية وطلع الشاي للخطار (الذين حضروا)
 المردين دخل المعلم داري موسى ذهب رنان
 المؤدي دخل المعلم في الصباح وإحنا ناويين الأفراح
 يا عروسة هات المفتاح وافتحي الباب للغالي
 المردين دخل المعلم داري موسى ذهب رنان
 المؤدي وأمّه قاعدة ومتكية ولايسة الحلق أبو مية جنيه
 وأبوه شايل الصينية يفرق شربات الغالي

وأیضا

مؤدي يا أمه افتحي بابنا خليه يجينا الهوا
 مردين يا أمه افتحي بابنا خليه يجينا الهوا
 مؤدي فتحت باب الرسول وطلعت فيه البخور
 داخل المعلم يقول اجرح وأرش الدوا

١٨ أم عمر مصطفى مهاود، ٤٥ سنة، باريس، شريط ٥ وجه ٢ وشريط ٦ وجه ١، الجامع: شوقي عبد القوي عثمان ١٩٩٣.

١٩ تبعد عن باريس حوالي تسعة كيلومترات.

٢٠ حامد ساسه بري، ٧٠ سنة، المكس القبلي، شريط ٧ وجه ٢، الجامع: شوقي عبد القوي عثمان ١٩٩٣. كان يوجد هذا الشكل من الاحتفال في الخارجة، الخارجة نسخة ٣١ عن الأصل، ٦٣٢ ج ١، ١٩٧١، الجامع: سيدة رشاد مركز الفنون الشعبية. ونجد في بغداد أن أهلها لا تبيحون عملية الختان لطفل واحد وإنما يوجبون اختتان أحد أخواته أو أقربائه، وإذا كان عدد المختونين زوجيا فلا بد من ذبح ديك ليكونوا ثلاثة. كما شاع عدم ختان الولد لوحده إلا بعد قطع "عرق الديك" وذبحه بعد ذلك (القصاب ١٩٨٥: ١٢٩).

٢١ أم عمر مصطفى مهاود، نفس المصدر.

مرددين دخل المعلم يقول خلي الخيات (الاخوة) دول سوا
 دخل المعلم يقول خلي الشقايق (الأشقاء) سوا
 وفي أثناء خلافة المزين على العريس تغنى بعض الأغاني منها:
 مؤدي ازعق يا علي من على المجدية (نوع من النخيل ذو ارتفاع كبير)
 مرددين ازعق يا علي من على المجدية
 مؤدي واحلف يا علي ما خد إلا شاشة
 ولا ولا الجنيه الأخضر ولا فتحة راسه
 ولا القفاف معببة (مملوءة) ومحلية^{٢٢}.

واحتفالات الطهور بالقصر^{٢٣} تشبه الى حد كبير مثلتها في باريس. وكان موعد الطهور غالبا ما يكون مصاحبا لعيد الأضحى. وكانت عملية الطهور تتم بأن يجلس الولد على ماجور^{٢٤} يوضع مقلوبا وتحته فرخة يأخذها الحلاق بعد إتمام عملية الطهور. ويؤتى بوعاء فخار كبير يملأ بالمياه ويلقي الحاضرون بقطع نقود معدنية فيه نقوطا للمزين. وفي القصر أحيانا ينذر لو عاش الولد ليوم طهوره أن يأخذه أبوه ليزور مقام الشيخ فلان، فعلا بعد الطهور يقومون بزيارة مقام الشيخ ويحتون حوائط المقام بالحنة ويطلقون البخور داخله وحوله. ويجدر بنا أن نذكر كيفية إجراء عملية الطهور: "يضع المزين على الجزء الذي سيقطع علامة بقلم كوبيا. ويدفع ثمرة الولد للدخل بقطعة خشب ناعمة كالمرود ويشد الجلد للخارج ويأخذ علامة بالكوبيا على المسافة البعيدة عن الثمرة حتى لا يقطع الثمرة. وبعد أخذ العلامة يحضر المقص أو الموسى ويقطع هذا الجزء ثم يضعه في شادوفة^{٢٥} مملوءة بالطين أو الرمل ويدفن أهل الطفل قطعة الجلد فيها ويروونها بالماء أو تدفن تحت جرة المياه في الطين اعتقادا بأن دفنها في الطين يخفف الألم"^{٢٦}.

وبالنسبة للبنات فالتى تتولى طهارتها هي الداية ولا يحضر الرجال أو حتى والد البنت هذه العملية حيث تتم في سرية وتنقط الداية بنفس الطريقة السابقة ومن السيدات فقط. ويكون عمر البنت عند الطهارة أربع أو خمس سنوات.

ومن الأغاني التي تغنى في تلك المناسبة في القصر:

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| طاهر يا مزين | واصحي تبكيه |
| ده عزيز على أمه | يا رب يخليه |
| طاهر يا مزين | وعدتك مفروطة (أي خارج الكيس) |
| طاهر يا مزين | وخذ القوطة |

وكان عصر عيد الأضحى من الأيام المفضلة للختان، فتم دعوة الأهل والأقارب والمزين على الطعام. وغالبا ما تكون هناك ذبيحة في ذلك اليوم.

ويلبس المطاهر جلبابا أبيض اللون مرسوما عليه بالخيوط الملونة أشكال مثل الجمل والنخيل، وفي أثناء العملية تصدح أرجاء المنزل بالغناء والطبل والزغاريد. وينقط المزين بالنقود من

٢٢ أم فريد الريفي، ٤٠ سنة، شريط ٨.

٢٣ القصر قرية بها كثير من الآثار الإسلامية وهي إحدى قرى الواحات الداخلة واقتصادها قائم على الزراعة، كما تجد بها كثير من الحرف كحرفة الفخار والحداة والحصير.

٢٤ الماجور: وعاء كبير من الفخار.

٢٥ الشادوفة: غلق صغير من الخوص.

٢٦ حلمي سنوسي، ٤٢ سنة، موظف بالإدارة الصحية، شريط ٧ وجه ٢ الجامع: شوقي عبد القوي ١٩٩٢. ماهر عز الدين يوسف، مدرس لغة عربية، ٤٠ سنة، شريط ٧ وجه ٢ الجامع: شوقي عبد القوي ١٩٩٢.

المدعوين بالإضافة الى أخذه للأجر المتفق عليه وأيضاً قطعة من القماش وقطعة صابون أو أكثر أو أي شيء من قبيل ذلك. وتدفن القلفة في طينة باردة اعتقاداً بأن وضعها في الطين البارد يجعل الجرح بارداً ولا يؤلم الطفل. والآن بعد أن انتشرت الوحدات الصحية اختفى دور المزين أو كاد. واختفت معه غالباً تلك المظاهر المصاحبة للختان^{٢٧}.

الختان تاريخياً واجتماعياً ونفسياً وطقسياً

فيما سبق قدمنا وصفا موجزا لاحتفالية الختان كما تجري في مناطق تمثل مختلف الثقافات الطمصرية المعاصرة وعلى أساس الحضور المباشر لمثل هذه الاحتفاليات، وفيما يلي سنعرض للجوانب المشار إليها.

وكما هو ثابت تاريخياً فقد عرف الختان في مصر القديمة ثم أخذه عنهم الفينيقيون والسوريون كما ذكر هردوت (١٩٨٧: ١٢٤، ٢٢٠). ولما كانت تلك الممارسة مفيدة من النواحي الصحية والأخلاقية فقد أقرتها الديانات السماوية، ولذلك صار الاحتفال بها. ولا تنفق مع عبد الحميد يونس (١٩٨٣) في اعتباره الختان اختياراً للقدرة على تحمل الألم ولكن يمكن اعتبار أن الختان - خاصة في مرحلة سنية متأخرة - فرصة لإظهار الرجولة والمقدرة على تحمل الألم. فهو لا يجري كاختبار ولكنه أمر لازم، كما ينتهز البعض فرصة إجراء الختان ليحاول إكساب الطفل ميزة عدم الخوف من أحد، ورد ما يعتبره اعتداءً - وهو عملية الختان - فيقذف الحلاق بببضة تعطي له كما عند عرب مطروح.

ولا نستطيع الذهاب مع دي شابرول في مقولته بأن "الختان يعتبر نهاية مرحلة الطفولة"، خاصة أنه ليست هناك سن معينة لإجراء تلك العملية، التي يمكن أن تتم في الأيام الأولى أو في أي سن من عمر الولد أو حتى بعد العاشرة^{٢٨}. والاختلاف في سن الختان يوجد في القرية الواحدة، بل في المنزل الواحد حيث تختلف السن التي تجرى فيها تلك العملية بين الأخوة حسبما يراه رب الأسرة. وليست هناك شواهد يقينية عن الذي يحكم سن إجراء عملية الختان. ففي البحث الميداني نجد أن طفلاً قد ختن وهو في الثالثة وختن أخوه وهو في السابعة. ولكن هناك مناسبات تتم فيها تلك العملية استجابة للبركة واستبشاراً، فيمكن أن تتم أثناء مولد لولي من أولياء الله بالمنطقة، أو في مولد أحد الأولياء المشهورين كالحسين والسيد البدوي أو مولد لأحد القديسين كما في جرجس أو الست دميانة بكفر الشيخ. كما تتم أثناء مناسبات زواج أحد أفراد الأسرة أو في أحد الأعياد أو المناسبات الدينية، وفي هذه الحالة غالباً ما يكون الغرض منها خفض النفقات لما هو موجود أساساً من طعام في هذه المناسبة.

ويلاحظ أن موعد الختان في المدينة غير ثابت، فواضح أنه يجري في أي وقت، ولكن في الريف أجمعت الأغلبية على أنه يجري في شهر سبتمبر بعد فيضان النيل، فلماذا بعد فيضان النيل؟ تعددت الإجابة، فهناك من أجاب بأنه عند ما تميل مياه النيل للحمرة يطيب الجرح بسرعة، والبعض أجاب بأن الجو يصبح قليل الحرارة وأكثر برودة من أغسطس، وهذا يجعل الجرح يشفى سريعاً. أما ليدر فقد ذكر أن الختان كان يجري في سبتمبر بعد موسم الحصاد حيث تتوفر النقود.

وبالنظر إلى أحوال الفلاحين في شهر سبتمبر نجد أن الفيضان يكون قد بدأ قبل أسابيع، وأن الفلاح انتهى تقريباً من تذرية القمح والذرة لازالت في الحقول، وكذلك القطن حيث يجمع في شهر أكتوبر، وهذه هي الحاصلات الرئيسية له. ومن المعروف أن القمح ليس محصولاً نقدياً بالنسبة لفلاح ذلك الزمن أو الآن، حيث كان يخزن أكثره للاستهلاك، أما المحصول النقدي للفلاح فكان القطن. وما ذكر عن اعتقاد المصريين في مياه الفيضان وخواصها وطراوة الجو، ربما يكون هذا

^{٢٧} ماهر عز الدين يوسف، نفس الشريط.

^{٢٨} لم يعد يتم الختان في تلك السن المتأخرة الآن.

ما ثبت في أذهانهم ووقر في صدورهم، دون تمحيص عن الأسباب الحقيقية، أو هو التفسير الأسهل إليهم.

ولكننا نرى أن أفضلية شهر سبتمبر لإجراء الختان ترجع إلى أن الفلاح ليس لديه عمل كاف في ذلك الوقت، والفراغ يصبح أكثر. هذا عن الفلاح في الوجه البحري، أما فلاح الصعيد أو الوجه القبلي فالأرض تكون قد غمرتها المياه ولا عمل له تقريبا. وبخصوص برودة الجو في سبتمبر فهناك أشهر أشد برودة أصلح للجرح فعلا، فلماذا لا تتم في تلك الشهور الباردة؟ ذلك لأن الليل طويل وبارد في تلك الشهور بالإضافة إلى عدم وجود كهرباء في ذلك الحين والتي لا تشجع على السهر، أما في الصيف فلحرارة الجو تمتد السهر خارج الدور وأمامها. من هذا نجد أن الذي جعل شهر سبتمبر موعدا مفضلا للختان هو الفراغ الذي كان يلم بالفلاح وعدم وجود عمل لديه في تلك الفترة وقبل انشغاله بجمع القطن، إذ يمكننا القول أن فراغ الفلاح هو الذي تحكم في موعد إجراء عملية الختان.

وكان الاحتفال يتم قبل الختان في بعض المناطق وبعد الختان في مناطق أخرى وتتحكم مكانة الولد إذا كان هو الأول بعد أخوة بنات أو بعد طول انتظار في ثراء الاحتفال. وغني عن الذكر أن ثراء الاحتفال يرتبط ارتباطا وثيقا بحالة الأسرة المادية ومكانتها الاجتماعية. فكلما زاد ثراء الأسرة كلما كان الاحتفال بانحفا والعكس صحيح. وطبعاً هناك حالات لا ينطبق عليها ذلك كثري بخيل أو فقير سفيه.

وتختلف مدة الاحتفال بالختان من منطقة لأخرى ففي بعض المناطق تستمر يوماً وفي مناطق أخرى تستمر أكثر من يوم وربما تصل إلى شهور كما كان يحدث في المكس القبلي بالخارجة. ويلاحظ أن مدة الاحتفال تزيد كلما زاد الفراغ كما في الواحات في الصحراء بالإضافة إلى العزلة إلى حد ما. ومن هنا يمكننا القول بأن تلك الاحتفالات هي ثقافة من ثقافات وقت الفراغ كالألعاب والمسامرات وغيرها، فوقت الفراغ يلعب دوراً هاماً في تكوين المأثور.

وبخلاف الاحتفال بسبوع الطفل نجد هنا أن الختان يمكن أن يجرى لمجموعة من الأطفال في وقت واحد ويحتفل بهم جميعاً مرة واحدة^{٢٩}، فالعنصر الحاكم هنا هو الرغبة - بخلاف السبوع - الذي يحكم موعده تاريخ الميلاد. وخاصة جماعية الختان أخذ بها بعض الحكام والكبراء في فترات تاريخية مختلفة حيث كانوا يدعون الناس لختان أطفالهم مع طفلهم على نفقة الداعي الذي يقدم الطعام والشراب للكافة بالإضافة إلى إجراء الختان. هذا فعل ظاهره على ما يبدو العطف والتصدق على أفراد الشعب وباطنه محاولة كسب الرأي العام والدعاية في ذلك الوقت. كما انتهت البعض هذه المناسبة لإيفاء نذر أو العطف على الفقراء والمساكين بإطعامهم حيث يرسل الطعام إلى مقامات الأولياء لكي يتناوله هؤلاء وغيرهم.

كذلك نلاحظ أن الاحتفال قاصر على الذكور دون الإناث فختان الإناث يتم سرا لدرجة أن بعض الرواة يذكر أن والد البنت لا يعلم بختانها. ويبدو أن ذلك راجع إلى الاعتقاد السائد لدى الكافة بأهمية الذكر على البنت وهذه الأهمية تعود إلى أسباب عدة، منها أن الذكر قوة مضافة إلى قوة العمل الاقتصادي، والذكر أيضاً عزوة، وكذلك هو الذي سيحمل اسم العائلة، كما أنه سيحافظ على الأملاك سواء زراعية أو عقارية داخل الأسرة.

وتؤكد لنا الممارسات التي تصاحب الختان هلع المصريين من الحسد وخوفهم منه، ولذلك تتعدد الإجراءات الوقائية التي يتخذونها لمنع هذا الشر الغير منظور. وسيد هذه الإجراءات في هذه

^{٢٩} في قرية الصوامعة بسوهاج لا يحتفل جماعياً بالختان ولكن كل طفل يحتفل به بمفرده رغم أنه من المعروف أنها منطقة طاردة. ولا نعرف إذا كان هذا التقليد متبعاً في قرى الصعيد أم لا ولم يبرر الراوي ذلك وإن كنا نميل إلى أن هذا اعتزاز بالمولود الذي سيضاف إلى قوة الأسرة التي تحكمها العصبية.

المناسبة وغيرها هو الملح الذي يستخدم لمنع العين الشريرة الحاسدة وذلك بالنثر حتى يحجب عن تلك العين الأشياء التي يخاف عليها من الحسد. وتكثر الأقوال الشعبية التي تشير إلى وظيفة الملح في المعتقد الشعبي مثل: حصوة في عين اللي ما يصلي على النبي. وفي الأغنية الشعبية > "يا أم المطاهر رشي الملح سبع مرات" ويبدو عن هذا المفهوم جاء من أن الملح مادة حافظة وأنه حاذق، فبوضعه أمام العين الحاسدة يحجب عنها ما لا يراد له أن يحسد.

كذلك عدم إجراء احتفال الختان إلا في ثالث يوم أو سابع يوم بعد أن تتم عملية الختان التي تجري سرا، وأيضاً قلفة المطهر تعلق له في كفه أو تدفن في مكان بعيد أو تحت نخلة لينمو الطفل باسقا مثلها أو تدفن عند دكان صائغ ليصبح ثريا مثله. ويجدر بنا أن نلاحظ أنه في سبوع المولود يلف بالمولود داخل المنزل لكي يتعرف على المنزل، ولكن في حفل الختان الذي يتم للطفل وهو أكبر سنا يزف الطفل حول القرية أو حول الناحية، ويبدو أن ذلك إعلان على أن الطفل قد انضم إلى الجماعة في الناحية، ولكي يتعرف على ما حوله ويعرفونه، ولا يقوم بختان الطفل أي حلاق في القرية ولكنه حلاق مخصص اكتسب شهرته من مهارته، وكان يطلق عليه حلاق الصحة، فهو الذي يختن أطفال القرية - مسلميها ومسيحيها - ويحقن المرضى، وربما يوجد حلاق آخر معه ولكن ليس كل حلاقي القرية يقومون بإجراء هذه العملية.

يدفعنا ذلك إلى القول بأن الممارسة من ختان واحتفال مصاحب له تؤكد تشابهها لدى كل من المسلمين والمسيحيين ويرجع ذلك إلى أن النبع الذي استقى منه المصريون ثقافتهم كان نبعا واحدا. فرغم أن تعاليم الديانة المسيحية تحتم ختن الطفل قبل التعميد الذي هو عادة يتم في عمر أربعين يوما فإنه جرت العادة على أن يتم ختن الطفل في سن الرابعة أو الخامسة كما كان يحدث قديما، وقد قال مصري مسيحي: "العادة تعلق على كل شيء".

أيضا نجد وحدة تلك الممارسة في جميع مناطق مصر المتباينة جغرافيا، والاختلاف فقط في بعض مظاهر الاحتفال ويوم الاحتفال، هل هو يوم الختن أو قبله أم ثالث يوم أم سابع يوم؟ ويرجع ذلك غالبا إلى عرف سنه أحد الأفراد في فترة سابقة وأخذ به الكل بعد ذلك. والأمر الملفت للنظر هو لون الزي الذي يرتديه المطهر وهو اللون الأبيض، حيث يعم هذا اللون جميع أرجاء مصر ولا ندري سببا لاختيار هذا اللون أو انتشاره بهذه الكيفية. وإن اللون الأبيض في التراث المصري هو اللون الذي يتفاعل به، مثل عبارة «ربنا يخليها سنة بيضه عليك» وأيضا عند التحية «نهارك أبيض». وكذلك هو لون ملابس الحجيج، وهو ذاهب ليتطهر من ذنوبه، وهو لون زي الخير في الحلم «رأيته لابس أبيض في أبيض». وهو لون فستان العروس في يوم زفافها.

ولكن ماذا عن احتفالات الختان الآن؟ في واقع الأمر أن المظهر الاحتفالي الذي عاش بيننا أكثر من ألف عام قد اختنى تقريبا من حوالي عشرين عاما فلم يعد يحتفل به أحد إلا نادرا خاصة في مناسبات الموالد. وإذا تساءلنا عن سبب اختفاء هذا التراث جاءت الإجابة بأنه لم يعد هناك وقت لهذا وأصبح الإنسان مشغولا طوال اليوم، وطبعا هذه إجابة خادعة، لأن رقت الفراغ الآن أكثر عن ذي قبل كما هو ثابت من الإحصائيات العالمية حيث لا يعمل الإنسان في مصر سوى سبع وعشرين دقيقة في اليوم فقط. ناهيك عن اكتظاظ المقاهي وازدحام الشوارع طوال اليوم تقريبا، ولكن أين الحقيقة. تكمن الحقيقة بصفة أساسية في أجهزة الإعلام التي أصبحت تجذب الناس حولها وتبث قيما وعاتات غريبة عن الثقافة المصرية محاولة خلع جذور الإنسان المصري وتعريته من ثقافته التي عاشت وتوحدت معه آلاف السنين. ولا يعني ذلك أن كل الميراث الثقافي نافع ولكن هناك بعض العادات السيئة التي يجب أن نتخلص منها وأن نؤكد في نفس الوقت على العادات المفيدة. فشعب بلا تراث شعب بلا هوية. ولنتأمل تاريخيا في مقولة أن الإنسان لم يعد لديه وقت ليحتفل بمناسبة، حيث لم يتبق من احتفالات مصر سوى الاحتفال بالزواج واندثرت باقي الاحتفالات رغم ما في هذه الاحتفالات من فائدة في توطيد الصلة بين أفراد المجتمع الواحد، حيث يمد كل منهم يد العون

للآخر في تلك المناسبات وبذلك كان المجتمع كتلة واحدة عكس الآن حيث أصبح كل فرد جزير؛ منعزلة بذاتها.

أما عن وقت الفراغ فنرى أنه الآن أكثر من ذي قبل. وإذا حاولنا أن نَعقد مقارنة بين حاصل وقت الفراغ في العصور القديمة والآن على سبيل المثال فإننا سوف نخرج بالحقيقة التالية: امتلأت أوقات الفراغ لدى المصري القديم وهي التي تعقب الفيضانات بالاحتفالات بل إن الحضارة المعمارية التي نشأت في ذلك الوقت يمكن أن نسميها حضارة وقت الفراغ، فالأهرامات والمعابد الضخمة جميعها بنيت في وقت فراغ المصري. بل يمكننا الذهاب في القول إلى أن سمو الديانات المصرية القديمة ووصولها إلى الوحدة إنما هو نتيجة التأمل الذي لا بد وأنه حدث في فترة الفراغ.

والآن أصبح المصري عاجزا حتى عن أن يفرح ويحتفل وينتج، وأهمل كل عاداته تاركا نفسه فريسة سهلة لثقافة الديسكو والهامبورجر التي تهدف إلى تدمير الشخصية الوطنية ليس للمصري فقط ولكنها موجهة لكل شعوب العالم. وهذا هو الاستعمار الجديد فلنحذر منه بالتمسك بالعادات والتقاليد ولنحاول إحياء ما أندثر منها وكان مفيدا.

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MAGIC AND POPULAR MEDICINE IN SPANISH ALJAMIADO-TEXTS

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Introduction

In the following paper some parts of Aljamiado-manuscripts from Spain will be presented that deal with magic and popular medicine. These Aljamiado-texts were written down by the Moriscos, the last Muslims who stayed in Spain after the Reconquista of 1492.

What is so special about these texts is the fact that they were written in Arabic characters, but mostly not in the Arabic language. The language used in the texts is *Aljamía*, Arabic *al-ʿaǧamiyya*, that is the non-Arabic language of Spain, Spanish.

This kind of text is also known from other non-Arabic-speaking Islamic regions. In Bosnia for example, there are also so-called "Alhamijado"-texts. I was also told that we can find texts of this kind in Indonesia.

By these texts we know that the Moriscos were bilingual, *i.e.* they knew Arabic and Spanish. I will even go so far as to say that they were living not only in a bilingual situation but in a bi-cultural world. The world around them was marked by European Christianity, their own tradition, however, was Islamic.

The religious situation of the Moriscos in Spain after the Reconquista became increasingly critical. In the beginning of the 16th century, they were promised a relatively free religious practice, but soon the reality became different. In the course of the 16th century first the restriction of the religious practice of Islam became increasingly serious; Islam had to be practised privately. Later, the Islamic religion was forbidden completely and the Muslims either had to emigrate or they had to convert to Christianity. As a result, some of them emigrated from Spain, others stayed there and became, at least officially, Christians, so-called "*cristianos nuevos*", that meant: second-class Christians. Outwardly, many Moriscos became Christians, but in secret they continued preserving their old faith. Books concerning Islam were forbidden, that is why it was necessary to hide those books. They have been, and are still going on to be discovered in hiding places in old houses sometimes walled in.

In nearly all the manuscripts there are also passages in Arabic, apart from the Spanish text. But here we can often realise that the Moriscos in Spain of that time have already been re-educated successfully. There are lots of mistakes in the Arabic parts of the texts, similar sounds are mixed up. So the reading of the manuscripts is sometimes difficult (Kontzi 1974: I, 8).

As for the content of the Aljamiado-manuscripts, they treat very different subjects such as literary texts like the tale of Paris and Viana, interlinear translations of parts of the Koran, instructions about how a Muslim has to behave correctly, but there are also some texts which deal with magic and give recipes for the treatment of illnesses. Some small parts of these last mentioned manuscripts (those which are about magic and recipes) will be shown here. Then I shall examine some of the forms we can find there and the fields of application. And, above all, I shall try to find out whether the bi-cultural situation of the Moriscos is also reflected in the magic texts, that is, whether they have a Christian European tradition or a North African Islamic tradition.

The magic in the Aljamiado-texts has very different aims and presents itself to us in very different forms. Apart from the treatment of illnesses, which will be called here "curative aims", we find also ways of affecting other persons, whether to awake love or aversion between two persons, or to be warmly received during an audience of the king or another high-ranking personality. As we will see, a great part of the magic of the Moriscos is based on various signs, which look more or less like characters or letters.

The shapes of magic in Aljamiado-texts

1. Amulets

The most frequent form of magic in the Aljamiado-manuscripts is the written form, namely the amulets. An amulet is not just a piece of jewellery. Generally, it is a written form of magic. The word used for it in the texts is *alḥerz(e)* / *alḥirz* (Arabic *ḥirz*). A characteristic feature of the Aljamiado-texts is, besides the fact that most of them are written in Spanish using Arabic characters, the common usage of arabisms¹; certain words like Allah or *an-nabī* are found only in this Arabic form, they are never translated to Spanish. The same applies to the term for amulet, which we can only find in this corrupt Arabic form *alḥerz*. I did not find a Spanish word for it.

Another shape is the so-called *anušra* / *nušra*. It is used in the manuscripts both as a written form of magic and as a potion. The multiple meanings of *anušra* points to the fact, that it is a sort of generic term for a magical application.

a) The characters written on a continuous line (without meaning)

The following amulet that serves to alleviate cold and fever is a good example for it. It is from a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (BN 4937 Fo. 15r)

Enuxra para cortar frío i fiebre. Escrebirás en tres mañanas cada mañana ésto:

¹ See Kontzi 1974: I, 67-160.

The introductory text to this amulet is in Spanish and says: «Magic leaflet against cold and fever. Write on three mornings every morning the following:»

The signs we see in that amulet can be mostly recognised as Arabic characters. They will be called here “characters written on a continuous line”. But these characters don’t form a known Arabic word or sentence. Everyone who knows Arabic writing will see a special sort of “word” in it. On the one hand, we have here the familiar part of the Arabic characters. And on the other hand this collection of characters does not make sense. Something magical is caused by using known parts to form something new, something special, something unusual. The Arabic characters are used for writing in a special language, perhaps the language of the demons, in order to get in touch with just these demons, and then to bring them - in this example - to cure a sick person of cold and fever. Anyway, on this magical leaflet we can already find two very important factors for the magic: On the one hand it is conspicuous, something very special, on the other hand it is mysterious because we are not able to understand what is written on it.

In the magic of the Moriscos, Arabic characters are often used as known elements.

b) The characters written on a continuous line (with meaning)

We can find another example of using Arabic characters in the same manuscript, in an amulet that is meant for destroying the love between two persons: (BN 4937 Fo. 23r)

Alherz para aborrençia a quien querrás. Escribirás estos alhawetimes en-una caña i crebarás la caña en la casa que tienen amor. Pues no se ajuntarán más. A se d-escrebir día de miércoles:



Translation of the introductory text: “Amulet for aversion, effective on everyone you want. Write these seals on a cane and break the cane inside the house where they are in love. Then they will never meet again. You have to write it on Wednesday.”

Here we get to know other components of the Morisco magic. The aim of this amulet is not to cure an illness but it aims at influencing the behaviour and even the feelings of other persons. The love between two human beings is to be destroyed. We can only suspect the reason for it: it could be jealousy, but it could also be the plans of a father who has someone else in mind to be the husband of his daughter (Kontzi 1984: 187).

In this example we also find that the amulet - *alherz* - is, so to speak, the external form of magic. The content however consists of so-called *alhawetimes*. Here is one of the common spelling mistakes in the Aljamiado-manuscripts. This word is the plural form of the Arabic *hātīm* - *hawātīm* that means “seal”. Here we find once again the use of an Arabic word but in this case the usage is not an exclusive one. Be-

sides *alḥawetim* the writers of the manuscripts also used the Spanish “*sillo*” as we will see soon.

In comparison with the first example, the action has been extended. It is no longer enough to write the seals. They must be written on a special object and then a symbolic action has to be carried out with this object: the love shall break as well as the cane in this amulet.

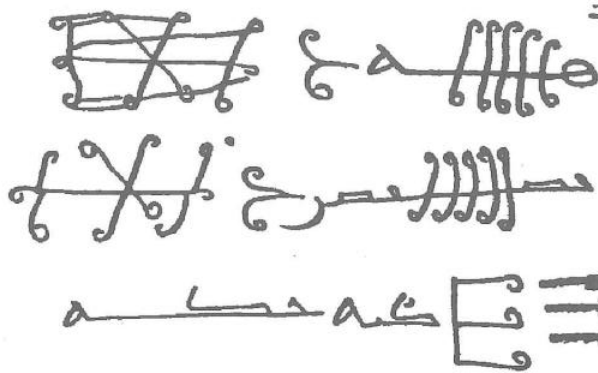
Unlike the first example, there has been found a meaning in the characters written on a continuous line in this case (Kontzi 1984:187): If we put a point below the first character, we get the Maghrebi way to write the Arabic letter *fā'*. Now we can read: *fa-kassiḥu*: “So, give him a kick in the bottom!” This meaning goes also with the content of the amulet, which aims at destroying the love between a woman and a man. It is like a reinforcement of the symbolic action of destroying the cane.

Both examples of the characters written on a continuous line are based on the usage of Arabic letters. It would appear that this points to an Arabic origin. And we really find again this sort of sign if we take a look at pictures of amulets from the Arab areas².

c) Spectacle characters

We are offered a new variation of the appearance of the seals in the next example that is against fear and all evil: (BN 4937 Fo. 43v)

Bebo. Para miedo i-a todo mal, escrebirás estos sillos:



The new elements in this seal are the so-called spectacle characters. These are the signs made by a line with circles at each end of the lines. If we look at only one of these lines with the two circles at the end, we can realise that they look like spectacles. So they were called spectacle characters. There are various theories about

² Like Kriss and Kriss 1960-62: II, picture 20 and Winkler 1930: plate 1 pict. 5 and 6 below.

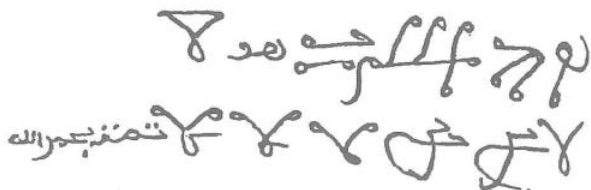
the interpretation of these characters. The most frequent interpretation is that they are originally based on cuneiform script. As time went on, the knowledge of the cuneiform characters was increasingly lost, and so there have been created more or less imaginative shapes. But I think that another aspect is also important. We can find the hint of it in the term spectacle characters. The circles at the end of the lines look very much like eyes. Here we should remember of the importance of the evil eye in the Islamic world.

Once again it is important to mention here that the characters in this amulet are not everyday characters, they are unknown and something special. That's why the Morisco expects a magical effect. But the spectacle characters that we see in this example are also decorated with Arabic letters. At the beginning of the first line (on the right) we find a character that looks like a *hā'* and another one at the end of line. The whole figure looks - in my opinion - like a fish or a scorpion, also an important part of Islamic magic. At the beginning of the second line, we see a *fā'* or a *qāf* without dotting, then a *ṣād* and the spectacle characters and then once again the Arabic letters *ʿayn*, *ṣād* and *rā'*.

In all, we can say that we have here once again the combination of known signs (the Arabic letters) together with the unknown, the fantastic (the spectacle characters).

Another example of the spectacle characters from the same manuscript helps worm-infested animals: (BN 4937 Fo. 15r)

Para los gusanos cuando caen en-el animal. Escribirás estos alḥawetimes i cuélgalos o mételos donde están los gusanos:



Translation: "For the worms when they infest an animal. Write these seals and hang it up where the worms are or put it there."

At the beginning of the second line, we can see a character that looks like the ligature of *lām-alif*, the third, fourth and fifth sign in this line give the same basic form, but here we have spectacle characters. As we can see, many magical signs follow the letters known by a common language, the Arabic language. Some parts are added and then we have a magical sign. The magical action, too, is enlarged. It is not sufficient any more to write the seals; the written leaflet has to be hung up in the stable, near by the animals that are infested by the worms. The magical signs have to be at the same place where they are supposed to be effective.

The spectacle characters as well can be found in Arabic works about magic, such like al-Būnī's *Šams* and at-Tilimsānī's *Šumūs*.

d) Religious elements

Healing effects are not only attached to magical signs, we can also find religious elements to cure illnesses or to reach an objective. I have an example for the religious elements, where the first *sūra* of the Koran, the *Fātiḥa*, is used as remedy against warts: (BN 5267 Fo. 71v)

Translation: "It is the following (you have to write the following) in order to remove the warts:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. (Praise be to God, Lord of the Universe, the Compassionate, the Merciful.) Sovereign of the Day of Judgement. You alone we worship, and to You alone we turn for help. Guide us to the straight path, the path of those whom you have favoured, not of those who have incurred Your wrath, nor of those who have gone astray."

Then it goes on:

B-ism Allah al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. {Fal} yā ayyuhā an-na ātu al-man <bū> tu fi ġildi <-hi>. yamūtu mayyit bi-qudrati Allāh al-ḥayyu al-qayyūmu alladī lā yamūtu.

I meterás <tu mano> encima de las verrugas i dirlas as tres vezes.

Translation: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Oh you, growth, grown on his skin. (It) will die, destroyed by the strength of God, the Living, the Eternal who will not die." The last sentence is in Spanish: "And you have to put your hand on the warts and say it three times."

2. Other forms of Morisco magic - symbolic actions

Other forms of Morisco magic, that are in some cases symbolic, are, for example, fumigation. As we have seen above, it is also possible to hang or tie up the seals.

3. The magical drink

The next form of Morisco magic to be presented here is the magical drink. We find the following text in a manuscript: (BRAH T 13 Fo. 150r)

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It has been told that the Prophet - *alayhi s-salām* - said: Anyone who drinks this potion on seven consecutive days, will be cured of every illness he may have in his body."

Unfortunately we are not told how to mix this potion. The next lines in the manuscript give us only a more detailed list of the other cases in which this potion is effective. But we have here, once again, the appeal to the help of God. Without this help of God, there will be no cure.

In the description of another potion (BRAH T 8 Fo. 226v), we are told to dissolve in water the nest of a swallow. This should be drunk by a woman to facilitate giving birth.

Other contents of magical amulets of the Moriscos, besides the spectacle characters and the characters written on a continuous line are: the seven seals and magical quadrates. But we find them rarely.

4. Recipes - popular medicine

A completely different field that is mostly beyond magic is the great collection of recipes in the Aljamiado-manuscripts. There is one group of recipes that are a kind of transition between magic and popular medicine. In this group there are recipes using on the one hand magical elements and on the other hand ingredients of plants. The other group is made up of recipes with more or less medical ingredients like plants, oils and other natural substances.

In the introduction to the chapter of the manuscript containing the recipes, we read that these recipes are a copy from the works of the "wise medical doctors" Galen, Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), Hippokrates and Averroes (Ibn Rušd).

The following recipe is against cough and shortness of breath (BN 4937 Fo. 33r): Translation: "Recipe. Marvelous against cough and shortness of breath: Take seed of fennel, ground and strained seed of lavender, one ounce, and stir it all with honey." The patient is supposed to take every morning and evening a ninth of it.

Here we have a recipe made by three components: seed of fennel, seed of lavender and honey. The fennel can still be found today as an expectorant component in cough mixtures and teas against bronchitis. The effective parts are the essential oils of the fennel seeds. The same observation can be applied to the lavender. It is used for illnesses of the respiratory tract. Honey is still applied nowadays in medicine because it is highly nutritious. In this example, cough is treated with remedies that could also be used today in similar cases.

If we can trust in the information given in the manuscript, this knowledge is originated in Graeco-Roman works that have been continued by Arabic scholars. As a result, a great part of this knowledge has entered both European and Arabic popular medicine. By the way, all the recipes in the Aljamiado-manuscripts are written in Spanish. There are only a few Arabic words, such as Allah. It reminds of the fact that the help of God is indispensable for the curing of the sick person.

Conclusion

I wished to draw attention to two essential points in this paper:

1) These Aljamiado-texts from Spain have been created in a bilingual situation. But the Moriscos had better knowledge of Spanish than of Arabic as we can see by the many spelling mistakes in the Arabic parts.

As far as the linguistic part is concerned, we find both Romance and Arabic elements. But, as far as the content is concerned, we realise that the magic we find in the Aljamiado-texts has a pure Arabic origin. For all the forms of Aljamiado-magic that I have shown here, examples can also be found in some of the works of Arabic authors concerning magic (like for example the already mentioned Tilimsānī). We can see other elements of Aljamiado magic on pictures of amulets and lucky charms. Briefly, the magic of the Aljamiado-texts is in the Arabic tradition.

2) The tradition of the recipes is not so obvious. In my opinion, these recipes, as a part of popular medicine, have a common popular origin connected to both the European and the Arabic culture.

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THE MAGICIAN'S HANDBOOK: "SITZ IM LEBEN" OF A TEXT TYPE

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”أنا الكاتب الحاسب المنجم أكتب الكتاب وأحكم الحجاب
وأحسب الحساب وأخط بأقلام الطالب فأين الطالب
(من ألف ليلة وليلة)

1 Introduction

This paper wishes to deal with the “Sitz im Leben” of a magical handbook. Due to the lack of an appropriate translation of the expression I shall try to explain it in a few words. The “Sitz im Leben” of a text can be defined as the intended purpose or exact use of a text when it was written or transmitted¹. In order to elaborate this purpose and the functions of the text in everyday life one must determine which type of literature a magical handbook represents and examine the motives and intentions for writing and using this kind of literature.

These problems are to be investigated by analyzing an example of a magical handbook which is a manuscript from the 18th century. A description of this manuscript will be presented in the second part of this paper. In the third and main chapter the contents will be summarized and examined. This will help us to find provisional solutions, presented in the fourth and concluding part, for the array of problems listed above.

The state of research of this subject is still in its initial stages. Modern scholarship in the field of Islamic studies has devoted little attention to the widespread magical literature in the sense of literary studies. And although magical phenomena like amulets, djinn, invocations etc. have been widely examined, in some cases they seem to be taken out of their context. In magical practice, shown *inter alia* in the magician's handbook, such phenomena are interdependent and only effective as a whole.

There are only few studies, e.g. by El-Gawhary (1968) and Pielow (1995), that deal with magical literature. While these centre on the more “scientific” or “sophisticated” magical treatises (see below) and are characterised by a comparative approach, this study tries to analyse a limited corpus of text which enables one to acquire a deeper insight into its structure and into the specificity of its magical practices².

¹ For the expression “Sitz im Leben” see Brackert & Stückerath 1992:135. See also Gunkel 1933:10-12; Seibert 1967:13-15 and Koch 1989:34-48.

² For a similar approach, see e.g. Hamès 1987.

2 The description of the MS Sprenger 1933, 10, fol. 123-139, (Ahlwardt Nr. 4170)³

The manuscript analysed here is kept in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin". It forms part of the "Sprenger" collection⁴, which was acquired in 1857.

This anonymous magical handbook is an untitled fragment. Omissions, misreadings and corrupt forms affect the whole text and some chapters are completely missing. The handwriting of the scribe is clumsy and careless. The number of lines varies considerably from page to page.

The language displays Middle Arabic features. We meet here the typical characteristics of the mixed language of mediaeval texts containing Standard Arabic, Neo-Arabic and pseudo-correct forms⁵ that show the scribe's uncertainty in orthography and grammar.

The manuscript has been identified as a copy from the 18th century. The place of writing is uncertain. In view of the contents and the language it is most probable that it originates from Egypt.

3 The contents

This section is divided into three parts. First the different aims of the chapters will be presented and analysed. After a summary of the magical instructions of the handbook, I shall demonstrate the underlying structure of every single chapter by giving two examples of magical recipes.

3.1 The magical aims⁶

The text comprises 55 more or less complete chapters, each discussing a different magical practice. The chapters are numbered⁷ and vary considerably in size. The precise aims are introduced by the first phrase of the text "If you want to" (*idā aradta an*). At the end of the chapter the aims are usually repeated, so that whenever the first part of the chapter was missing I nevertheless was able to reconstruct the intended aim.

The aims can be classified in six categories. These will be presented according to their frequency. This categorization, however, should be regarded as provisional and heuristic.

3.1.1 Aggressive action or reaction:

³ See Ahlwardt 1891: III, 530.

⁴ For the "Sprenger" collection see Sprenger 1857 and also Kurio 1981.

⁵ Cf. the definition of Fischer 1982: I, 91: "Die zwischen Hochsprache und gesprochenem Dialekt stehende Sprache solcher Texte, die in buntem Wechsel klassische, pseudoklassische und vulgäre, d.h. neuarabische Formen bietet, nennt man seit H. L. Fleischer 'Mittelarabisch'." See also Blau 1988.

⁶ See Hamès 1987:311-314; Doutté 1908:220-306; Pielow 1995:55-67 and El-Gawhary 1968:91-117.

⁷ The chapters are numbered from 1 to 68. Chapters 2, 21 and 22 are completely missing. Number 57 is followed by 68, probably a *lapsus calami* for 58.

Twenty-two chapters belong to this category, each of them giving recipes for causing harm to somebody or something. The motivation for such attacks lies either in the pursuit of personal advantage or in the need to take revenge. The latter occurs more frequently; most of the chapters instructing how to damage somebody or somebody's property stipulate explicitly that this should be directed towards one's opponent, an evildoer, or an oppressor. Such acts include:

- Inflicting a fever on somebody.
- "Degrading" somebody in order to take over his position.
- Inhibiting somebody's urinating functions.
- Inflicting flatulence on somebody.
- Destroying the building of a public bath.
- Inflicting a colic on somebody's riding animal.
- Preventing a woman from marrying.

3.1.2 Restoration of the health of people and animals:

This category consists of 14 chapters. They concern the means to cure illnesses caused by djinn, magical practice etc. Aims of this type are for example:

- Treating a possessed person.
- Healing a non-specific illness.
- Curing a person "bound" by magic.
- Relieving a woman's labour pains.
- Making possible a woman's pregnancy.
- Curing a sluggish and a vicious horse.

3.1.3 Apotropaic recipes:

The 11 chapters of this category provide the means to protect somebody or somebody's property from attacks by other persons, animals, and djinn. The following examples belong to this type:

- Clearing someone's place of scorpions, snakes, geckoes, and wolves.
- Protecting somebody's vineyard, orchard, or plantation from thieves, wild animals, birds, or worms.
- Protecting children from evil djinn.
- Expelling locusts from someone's orchard, plantation, or vineyard.

3.1.4 Recipes which cause somebody or something to act compulsively:

There are six chapters concerning this matter and these deal with, for instance:

- Making men take a woman in marriage.
- Gaining somebody's affection.
- Moving an object to someone's place.
- Bringing a bird to a given place or to an aviary.

3.1.5 Divination:

This category comprises only five chapters, for instance:

- Solving a theft through reconstruction of the act in a dream.

- How to practice *darb al-mandal*⁸.

3.1.6 Discovery of treasures:

Two chapters deal with the problem of how to discover a treasure and how to protect it against unauthorized persons.

One chapter is general and comprehensive. Therefore, it could belong to any of the above mentioned categories. It deals with the handling of a difficult matter of any type.

In general, there are no sharp borders between the different categories. Some magical aims could be classified in more than one category. Chapter 44, for example, that tells us how to protect children from evil djinn also describes how to treat the children if they are already possessed. Therefore, this magical advice could be classified as "apotropaic recipes" or as "restoration of the health of people and animals", as well.

There is no apparent order although some chapters dealing with similar subjects seem to have been grouped together. But these blocks of chapters never contain more than five chapters at a time. For instance after a series of chapters that belong to the category "aggressive action or reaction", the scribe noted down a chapter concerning "divination" which is followed by another block of chapters classified as "apotropaic recipes".

I observed that the magical practices described in some of the chapters have only one specific aim. Others, however, can be employed for a variety of purposes⁹. Let me clarify this with the following examples: Chapter 47 deals with the destruction of a public bath. The aim is clear and unmistakable. In contrast the recipe described in chapter 20 can be used for the capture of an opponent or a thief and for the destruction of a mill, a ship, a public bath and a lucrative trade. The instruction concerning the handling of a difficult matter (Chapter 40) can be called multi-purpose. It could be labelled a universal recipe.

The first three categories "aggressive action or reaction", "restoration of the health of people and animals", and "apotropaic recipes" constitute three quarters of the aims whereas types 4, 5, and 6 are not represented in large numbers. It is noticeable that the descriptions of magical practices with negative or harmful effects make up 22 of the 55 chapters of the entire manuscript.

3.2 The elements of the magical instructions

In the following the elements of the magical instructions will be discussed. It is possible to distinguish between basic or main components and secondary elements¹⁰. The two main constituents of the magical recipes are, firstly, an invocation or conjuring that has to be recited at least once in every chapter and, secondly, the writing-down of a text. Therefore, the most frequent orders are *utlū* and *uktub*. As the text of the

⁸ This is a magical practice in which a fortune-teller, or a medium, prophesies while contemplating a mirror-like surface.

⁹ Cf. Hamès 1987:311 and El-Gawhary 1968:93-94.

¹⁰ See Hamès 1987:314.

invocation is not revealed it seems to have been taken for granted that the magician was familiar with it.

The second central element, the writing-down of a text, occupies large parts of the chapters. The instructions given in the texts are very explicit, above all the various writing materials are specified very accurately. Mentioned are, for example, pieces of pottery, paper, shreds of cloth, a person's hand, pieces of wood, snakeskin, bones of a dog, sheets of lead, a branch of a pomegranate tree, and so forth. The different types of ink do not play such an important role in the recipes. Whenever this is pointed out, the magician usually has to use ink that is made of dissolved saffron. Other inks consist, for instance, of the blood of a mole mixed with the ash of a bird or of liquid tar. Only in one case the required pen is specified as a copper pen.

The texts to be written down contain two recurring elements: firstly, a seal, namely the "Solomonic Seal", which has been described in detail¹¹ and is depicted at the incipit (see plate 1), and secondly, the names of *ar-ru'ūs al-arba'a*. These four chieftains of djinn, already mentioned by Doutté (1908:166), play an important role in this magical handbook. If an invocation has to be recited they are summoned and they have to be written down many times for different purposes. Their names are Māzir, Kumṭum, Qaṣūra and Ṭaykal.

Another important component of the writings are Qur'ānic *sūras* and verses. Due to their sacred character they are considered to be very powerful in magical practice. Their content is taken literally by the magician and is connected directly or by analogy with the magical aims of the recipes¹².

The written recipes quite often require the naming of the person with whom the magical practice is concerned. Unlike the conventional application of the first name in connection with the father's name it is usual in magical affairs to rely on the mother's name¹³. In magical practice the name of a person has a special value. It is connected with this person by spiritual forces. If, therefore, a person's name is "bound" magically, the person himself is "bound" too. Generally speaking, the part (the name) represents the whole (the person) (= *pars pro toto*)¹⁴. This rule also applies to the part or particle of the person (*al-aṭar* 'trace') that serves the same purpose in magical practice. Several chapters speak of the need to obtain a part of persons. Usually such parts are not specified; only in some cases instructions demand specific parts like hair.

Further elements turning up in the texts are magical formulas containing mysterious names, names of gods, angels, and djinn, and groups of letters. Some instructions require the writing of the components in reverse order, like for instance the names of *ar-ru'ūs*

¹¹ See, for example, Winkler 1930; Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1962: II, 74-80; Doutté 1908:155-159 and El-Gawhary 1968:155-165.

¹² See Hamès 1987:317.

¹³ Cf. Ohtsuka 1995: III, 18.

¹⁴ See further El-Gawhary 1968:9-10.

al-arbaʿa. This recipe corresponds with the magical aim¹⁵. In order to achieve the “degradation” and so-called reversal of somebody it is imperative to write down the names of the four chieftains in reverse order.

An indispensable constituent in many chapters is the burning of incense. The ingredients may be olibanum, sandarac, monkey’s hair, excrement of a lizard, and so on. A necessary condition for some magical practices is to perform them at the right time. Usually for each magical recipe the time of performance is fixed by astronomical or astrological means. This time is related to the magical aim or to one or several elements of this recipe¹⁶. The handbook contains only a few of these instructions, which, moreover, give a confused impression. As far as the magician is concerned, he is sometimes expected to fast for a certain time and to purify his body and clothes before being able to carry out a magical practice.

3.3 The chapters’ structure

I shall now translate two chapters of this magical handbook in order to provide a general idea of the chapters’ structure.

Chapter 14 (see plate 2):

If you want to inflict a fever upon a transgressor or an enemy, write down the names of the four chieftains on yellow paper and recite the invocation seven times above it. Hang it into the smoke and recite it seven times for seven days at the end of each daily prayer. Then hang it into the smoke of a seal. He will get fever and will not regain health until you remove it.

Chapter 27 (see plate 3):

If you want to “tie a knot” onto a weapon which is directed at you or at anybody else, take the skin of a wild ass and write upon it the word of the Sublime¹⁷:

“And why should we not rely on Allāh” until His word “the reliant” (Q 14:12); “Do you then think that We have created you in vain, and that you will not be returned to Us?” (Q 23:115); “Deaf, dumb, (and) blind, so they return not” (Q 2:18); “And we have set a barrier before them” until His word “so that they see not” (Q 36:9); “O assembly of djinn and men, if you are able” until His word “but with authority” (Q 55:33); “The flames of fire and sparks of brass will be sent upon you, then you will not be able to defend yourselves” (Q 55:35); Ayūhin Hayūhin Ahyūbin Mahyūbin¹⁸; “And stop them, for they shall be questioned” (Q 37:24); Šamḥā Šamāḥ¹⁹ who is above all *barāḥ*; Hold back and knot all weap-

¹⁵ Cf. Hamès 1987:318.

¹⁶ See also El-Gawhary 1968:176-183.

¹⁷ The translation of the Qur’ānic verses has been taken from °Alī 1951.

¹⁸ These are most probably names of gods, angels or djinn. El-Gawhary (1968:221) pointed out that names of djinn often end with *-āš*, *-ūš*, *-as* or *-us* whereas names of angels end with *-īl*.

¹⁹ El-Gawhary (1968:225) verified the names Ašmaḥ (here: Šamḥā) and Šamāḥ as names of Syrian gods.

ons, oh Mâzir, Kumṭum, Qaşūra and Taykal, and turn them away from the bearer of these names, in the name of Sâdim 2²⁰; "He is the First and the Last" until His word "and He is Knower of all things" (Q 57:3).

Write down the seal, fumigate it with incense and while the incense is burning recite the invocation 21 times for seven days after each daily prayer 21 times. While doing so your body and your clothes should be pure and the ink should consist of musk, saffron and rosewater. Roll up the written (amulet) and carry it with you. End.

The structure of these chapters is representative of the whole volume. The aim is quoted at the beginning of the chapter and is repeated after a description of the rites. I was able to distinguish four constituent elements²¹:

- 1) the announcement of the magical aim;
- 2) the written text that is to be used;
- 3) the rites to be conducted;
- 4) the expected results.

Those chapters that belong to the category "aggressive action or reaction" contain a fifth element:

- 5) the neutralization of the practice.

4 Conclusions

In order to determine the "Sitz im Leben" of this handbook and its functions in everyday life it is necessary to identify the type of text. Obviously this text can be classified as non-fictional. It represents a type of utility literature which is defined as primarily non-artistic literature, composed for use or consumption with a definite purpose²². Furthermore I observed that the structure of a magical handbook is comparable to a recipe or cookery book.

It has been argued that the magical aims reflect the daily needs and concerns of the magician's clientele²³. Therefore let me ask the following question: Do the magical aims paint a picture of the magician's cultural environment or can they be regarded as reflecting universal tendencies?

The handbook contains, on the one hand, magical aims that seem specific for a magician's and his clientele's particular context and, on the other hand, aims that seem to refer to a different cultural surrounding. Those chapters that deal with the protection

²⁰ The number after a name indicates how often it has to be recited or written down. See El-Gawhary 1968:221.

²¹ Cf. Hamès 1987:322.

²² See Best 1989:172 and Wilpert 1989:324.

²³ Cf. Hamès 1987:307-308 and El-Gawhary 1968:91.

of plantations from pests and wild animals may possibly allude to a rural environment. By contrast, other chapters refer to an urban surrounding.

However, in order to determine the geographical origin and the cultural context of the magical practices the analysis of the magical aims alone is not sufficient. It will be necessary to analyse the different elements of the recipes, like the vegetable, animal, and food ingredients. I have found out that in the contents and the structure there are far-reaching parallels with, for instance, magical practices of the Soninké in Western Africa²⁴. Reliable statements on the spread of these magical practices, however, can only be made after this handbook has been compared with similar texts.

In comparison to other magical treatises, like the works ascribed to the well-known al-Būnī²⁵, this handbook seems to be simplified and less systematic. As it only consists of practical instructions it differs from the rather "scientific" or "sophisticated" magical literature which explains for the most part complex systems like planetary constellations and their connection to different magical elements. By contrast, the confused instructions in the handbook about the proper time to perform magical acts reveal by contrast the scribe's uncertainty and ignorance about these complex systems.

In analogy with the different types of magical literature, it is possible to distinguish different types of magicians. The scribe of this handbook is characterized by an inferior level of education as revealed in his handwriting, in the language, in the contents, and in the fact that he remains anonymous.

It can be assumed that the scribe was not a professional one. It seems plausible that the secret knowledge of magical recipes was passed on from teacher to apprentice, from father to son, or from a magician to his colleague²⁶. In order to preserve this secret character outsiders were not involved. Therefore, it is most probable that the scribe was at the same time the magician using this handbook. Moreover, it stands to reason that this handbook is an incomplete copy of a more comprehensive work. These assumptions are supported by the fact that the scribe omitted some parts like the invocation's text as he was familiar with it.

In summary the "Sitz im Leben" of this magical handbook can be preliminarily assessed as follows: It is not a complete theoretical textbook but is intended as a guide for practical use by an individual in an unofficial context. This individual may have been a rather lowly educated magician, who used it in daily practice as a kind of reference book or mnemonic aid.

These preliminary assessments will have to be reconsidered and scrutinized by further research.

²⁴ As described, for example, in Hamès 1987:305-325.

²⁵ Muḥyī d-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Būnī al-Qurašī. For his works see El-Gawhary 1968 and Pielow 1995.

²⁶ See El-Gawhary 1987:20.

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Plate 2: Fol. 127 a

Chapter 14

١٢٦
 الجواب الرابع عشر اذ اردت ان تسلط الهمة
 على احد الظلمة او عدوا كتب على ما غذا من
 اسماء ربه وانزل عليه الدعوة ٧ مرات
 وعلته ~~...~~ واتكلمت ~~...~~ اياها ~~...~~ على طلاه
 لمرانه وتعلقه في الدخان من كفايم فاجتمعت ولا
 يطيب حتى تشبه البان الخامس عشر اذ اردت
 تحريك ~~...~~ اكتب الخاتم واسما الروس الا ~~...~~
 على جلد خلد يد ~~...~~ اودم خفاش ~~...~~ او يد
 خفاش وبالصدقة وانزل عليه الدعوة ٧ مرة وانجز
 عماره ان الخلد في حرقه حوي صغوا او اوطوا في يدك
 اذ اردت حرقه او الذي توبه وكتب عليه اسم ~~...~~
 الاربعه بادم المذكور وسماد الطير وانزل عليه ~~...~~
 ولتراليه في الذي في يده وتقول يا حوام بما فيم ~~...~~
 جرد هذا الحامد من مكانه العنبي في مكانه هذا ~~...~~
 الا ربه عليكم فان يحسن من ساعته البان ~~...~~
 اذ اردت ان تنزع احد من الاعداء ومن الظلمة او مؤذي خوذي
 معنوه دجن احد وطلع الجدي من بطنها قبل ان تلد البخله

Chapter 27

وامعني وخطيه ولا تلتفت اليه فانه ينقله عليه
 الحزن اقد الفقيه والزمان الحزن في كل الزمان
 في باب الالباب الخا بس والاعتراف اذ اذوته
 على احد من بلده ووطنه وغيره عن غيظ طرد
 اكتب الخا في اثره واكتب في رده انظر
 لخص حكم من كل رضى واسما الودك لا رده
 وعني رده حلفت وموسر كبرياء والودك
 الدعوه الاموه والحق وعلان ولذا كان في
 اجدله في شوق صيت واذنته في قنودمي ثابلا
 تمكث ساعه واحده في البذ وغيره من وقت
 وساعتها البان المسك والاعتراف
 اذ اردت حليب طير الى مكان او الى غيره
 اربع خواتم في اربع شقق واسما الودك
 الاربعه ويجوز بالبحر والاعتراف الدعوه
 الاموه والاعتراف في صوم ساعه الودك
 في شرفه وادفنه في مكان وقصده ياخذ
 هذه الاما اجلس الطبيب الى هذا المكان
 او هذا البرج حتى الودك في الاربعه
 ابدأ بالسابع والاعتراف في اذنته
 عند الساعه في صوم ساعه الودك
 وكور الودك واكتب عليه وقت له
 وماذا

وماذا الا انتو كل طوطي اذ الى قده المشرق كلون
 انصبت انا خلقتنا كده عسا وانكر انينا تزجرون
 صم بكر عسي نهم لا يجمعون وحبيلنا مؤسرين
 ايد يهور سدا الى قتي له لا يبصرون يا مهور
 المني لا اسى انا استنقم لي قتي له لا سلطان
 يوسل عليكما مغر افمن تار وفساكي فلا تنجيدون
 اهيرو هيريه اهيرو مهيتيه وقفونم هم
 مملون شغنا سخا في الساي على كل في الخا جو
 واعقدو بامان ووكلم وفضوده وطيبيك
 جميع اسله واصورن هم عن حامل هذه
 لا سما جتن سارم انا الخا اذني في طارش
 طاش مهورش يارش يتشود هذه اذني في
 انا طور هو الاون وكلا خا الى قتي له طيبي
 علم واكتب الخا في وجزء بالبحر وارتو عليه
 الدعوه الاموه في عقب كل صلوة في صوم
 لحن رعلان وانت طوطي الودك والودك
 تمهيك واذعنا تار وما ورجم قنودك اكتب
 وخطله في باب الالباب الخا من غير
 اذ اردت ان تمنع اللص والودك والاعتراف
 كور الودك عن كورك او بستانك او ذنبتك
 تاخذ قنود الودك قبل رينه الودك واكتب

129

THE IMAGE OF THE MOROCCAN SAINT IN ORAL AND WRITTEN HAGIOGRAPHY¹

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In the last few decades the Western world has witnessed a growing interest in hagiography. Although in earlier days hardly any scholarly status was ascribed to saints' legends, the value of this genre is now generally recognized as a source for historical and social research. Saints' legends concerning a particular saint may inform us not only about the times and society in which he lived himself, but about those of his hagiographer as well. In many cases the latter is no contemporary of the former. In addition to this one can try to find connections between, on the one hand, the changing images of sainthood that different legends provide through the ages and, on the other hand, developments of a historical, political, economical, or social nature that take place at the same time. The main questions are, in other words: what are the functions of the saint and the saint's legend in society? What is the role of the saint's legend in the veneration of saints?

Generally speaking, Christian saints' legends have been more thoroughly studied than the Islamic ones. In order to get a clear impression of Islamic saints' legends one cannot confine oneself exclusively to an analysis of written hagiography. Legends form part of a still vivid oral tradition, too. The situation in Morocco is a clear example. During a research project of only two months in Marrakesh (summer 1992) I collected thirty-seven saints' legends (see Errazki-van Beek 1994b). At the same time I studied the rituals that are still performed at the shrines of these Seven Patrons. This proved to be important with regard to the supposed connections mentioned earlier between changes in saints' images and social developments. A brief analysis of a saint's legend that I recorded will elucidate my point².

Changes in images

Changes seem to take place in practices and legends concerning the Seven Saints³. Changes in reputation happen to other saints as well. A few examples will be des-

¹ Thanks to Remke Kruk for her constructive suggestions on the draft of this paper.

² For the results of my earlier research see Errazki-van Beek 1994a.

³ See the examples given in Errazki-van Beek 1994a & 1994b show. For example, Sidī 'Abd al-'Azīz's reputation changed and the type of patients visiting him changed accordingly. His change of image did not, however, imply a loss of visitors. Al-Qādī 'Iyād and al-Imām as-Suhailī, however, seem to have been less fortunate, and people in Marrakesh no longer have much to tell about them.

cribed here. Before the present group of Seven Saints was institutionalized in Marrakesh another group of seven saints is said to have been venerated by the people: seven anonymous brothers who are buried next to each other in seven tombs that can still be visited, close to the sanctuary of Sīdī Abū l-ʿAbbās as-Sabtī. Since Maulāy Ismāʿīl decided for political reasons to form another group of Seven Saints, i.e. those who are at present included under that name, the others have tended to sink into oblivion. But although the historians do not talk about the seven brothers, as they are no longer the 'real Seven', there are still people who even after three centuries still consider them to be the Seven of Marrakesh (Jemma 1972:11).

Conflicting ideas may have a political background, but can also be of a more religious nature. That is one of the reasons why Sīdī ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Maḡḏūb, saint and follower of a heterodox mystical creed (*malāmatiyya*), is sometimes totally ignored in hagiographies (De Premare 1985:32-33, 119-121). On the whole, the written legends on saints tend to focus on the more orthodox versions of Islamic sainthood⁴. This does not mean, however, that the image of the Moroccan saint in hagiography was a static one. The idea of the saint as warrior, for example, became increasingly important from the sixteenth century onwards (Drouin 1975), because of the threatening Western expansion and the influence of Ḡazūlism, an important movement of mystical reformers founded by Sīdī b. Sulaymān al-Ḡazūlī (the fourth of the Seven Saints of Marrakesh). These factors contributed to turning the saints from mere spiritual guides into social and political leaders as well (Cornell 1992). From that time on even saints who had died centuries earlier or who had spent their lives in total seclusion are presented in the legends as waging war against the Christian intruders (Elboudrari 1985:502; Ferhat 1992:195).

The images of saints in legends also show significant changes when we focus, for instance, on the theme of travel. Initially, when the concept of sainthood was still a diffuse one, saints were portrayed especially as people who were able to exceed the limits of time and space: they flew through the sky or walked on water without any effort. Later on, when the foundation of organized brotherhoods accorded to the saint a well-defined and institutionalized position in Moroccan society, he and his disciples were given roles such as that of protecting travellers on the road. In both instances, however, the covering of distances symbolizes the mystical *ṭarīqa* and the access to divine Power (Sebti 1992).

The fact that the environment may have a strong impact on the function and image of a saint becomes clear in the typical Maghrebi variant of the Islamic saint's

⁴ The same can be said of some caretakers of sanctuaries. One *muqaddam* at Sīdī Abū l-ʿAbbās as-Sabtī's shrine for example was clearly reluctant to relate some anecdotes about his saint and the miracles that occur around his tomb. As Gilseman (1990:77-78, 85-87) explains, these people in charge do not want the image of the saint to become too fantastic and spectacular.

legend, too: in the Maghreb saints are often busy creating wells and turning deserts into fertile land (Goldziher [1890] 1971:270, 312-313).

Legends as social phenomena

Although the list of examples may easily be expanded, the material given above may suffice for the moment. The first question which may be asked on the basis of the examples given is: why do changes in images and reputations of saints take place?

It is quite clear that the saint's status is not the same at all times and in all places (see also Geertz 1971; Gilsenan 1990:75-141). Just like anybody else, the saint is a member of society and, accordingly, subject to the changes that take place in society. The examples show that political, religious and even military changes may give rise to the redefinition of sainthood and the function of the saint in the community. But saints and their novices can also, to a certain extent, set in motion these developments themselves, as is clear in the case of *Sīdī b. Sulaymān al-Ġazūlī*, whose disciples and their allies called for *ġihād* and social reform, and many other spiritual leaders in Moroccan history.

The various approaches to sainthood (and the veneration of saints) can be derived from oral and written texts on saints. Yet saints' legends, like the holy men and women they describe, do not only form a reflection of society, but also may have an active function in changing attitudes. Analysis of Christian legends has made this quite clear (see for example Smith 1990). In the Islamic saint's legend similar processes seem to be at work, but no systematic analysis has so far been attempted. The same applies to the Moroccan saint's legend. A considerable amount of research still remains to be done. My research project 'The image of the Moroccan saint in oral and written tradition' intends to contribute something to this field. I will give a brief example of what could possibly result from my study.

A legend about Mūl le-Qṣūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā

In what way do the legends that people transmit through time reflect changes in images and reputations of saints? We have seen that in order to answer this question, it is important to analyse not only the legends themselves, but also the context in a broader sense. In this way the different images that emerge may be linked to (1) political, religious and philosophical attitudes and (2) social and economic conditions prevalent at the times concerned. For example, it is important to see which groups of society were in power at a certain moment, which deviations in religious thought were accepted and which were not, and what rituals were practised by the common people. The social and economic positions of the story-tellers, too, are a factor of influence. A caretaker of a sanctuary may tell a positive story about his own saint and his miracles, but a negative one about another saint. This is to be expected: such a caretaker will obviously promote the sanctuary in his care, because his living depends on it. The caretaker of the other saint's sanctuary may do the same the other

way round. To show that this does actually happen a legend about Mül le-Qšūr (1494-1528) is presented here. The story-teller is Maulāy Ibrāhīm, the *muqaddam* of Mül le-Qšūr's tomb. He belongs to the descendants of the saint, the *awlād al-walī*:

(...) Men l-karamat lli hiya ne'ni matālan dyal-u huwa: kan f-wahed l-weqt ġa 'end-u Sid-i Hmed u Musa « radiya llah 'en-hu », kan ġa b-wasitāt si malik f-dik l-weqt. Ġa 'end-u baš yšuf had l-Gezwani škur a huwa, ašnu huwa šuġl-u u-ašnu hiya umurat-u. U-ħit ġa hadak ta-ygulu 'anna-hu ġa rakeb 'la sbe'. U-ħit ġa tleb men dak l-malik, kan dak l-malik dik s-sa'a tleb men ši wali men duk l-'awlīya' lli ydir li-h ši fatha. Kant ši qadiya 'end-u fa-smiyt-u u-teqda dak l-ġarad u-hadak tleb men dak l-malik baš hada, Sid-i Hmed u Musa, baš yemši 'end had l-Gezwani u-yšuf-u u-ytelle' 'la 'ašya' dyal-u u-l-umurat dyal-u. Fi'läñ, ġa l-'end-u, ġa 'end-u me'rud b-wasitāt l-malik u-dhel 'end-u l-dar-u u-tdaker huwa u-yya-h ne'ni fdak š-ši lli huwa fi-ma bin-ħim tdakeru fi-h, wa-lakin ħit tħett t-fam gal li-h: "Zid taküll!", gal li-h: "La", gal li-h, "ana mwellef ta-nakül ġir z-zemmita." Gal l-u: "Laš?" Gal l-u: "Twa, ana hiya lli mwellef." Gal li-h: "Kul-ha. Ma-'end-na suq." Kal hadik z-zemmita ne'ni matālan weslat wuqit n-n'as 'ta-h mahell fin yen'es. Mul le-Qšur bqa m'a le-ġal dyal-u yedħek u-m'a smiyt-u dyal-u. Gal: "Twa, hada huwa l-wali." Hetta ne'su n-nas fuġit a smiyt-u ga'ed hada u-mnuwweđ kesra u-dak š-ši, l-abūr fayeq be-l-qadiya. Weslat wuqit le-mweddin. Le-mweddin wedden dyal š-šubħ, ma-nad-š Mul le-Qšur fe-l-weqt lli huwa tqelleġ hadak u-bdat ta-tesreq š-šems sifet l-hadem, gal li-ha: "Fiġi had s-seyyed!" Faqt-u ħit ħreġ lqa n-ġum u-lqa hadak. Galt li-h: "A sid-i, bġiti tselli š-šubħe", u-huwa kan ta-yšuf š-šems u-kan ta-yšuf smiyt-u wa-lakin ħit ħreġ wella ta-yšuf le-mweddin ta-ysebbeħ u-smiyt-u. Galt li-h: "A sid-i bġiti le-wdu?", hadik lli heddam 'end-u. Gal li-ha: "Tjeh." Šafet fe-s-sma u-hiya tnezzel wahed setla 'amra be-l-ma ne'ni dafi f-hadik l-weqt a smiyt-u u-twedda u-dak š-ši. Bqa huwa Sid-i Hmed u Musa ta-ygul m'a raš-u: "Wa-h, kif tra l-had š-ši?" Sellaw š-šubħ, dhel l-'end-u, l-le-ftur, gal li-h: "Zid, taküll!" Gal l-u: "La. Ana mwellef b-hadik." Hetta ġed 'end-u telt iyyam dima mwellef hadik z-zemmita. Mul le-Qšur ta-yakül ne'ni matālan bezzaf u-le-lħem, u-l-kesku u-badi u-hadi u-ħit fda u-sala kemelt telt iyyam gal l-u: "A sid-i bit nemši. Ka-yħess-ek te'ti-ni ši ħaġa lli ye'ni hiya matālan neste'med 'li-ha." Gal l-u: "Ašnu hiya?" Gal l-u: "Gadi ngul lek wahed l-kelma Hmed u Musa, ħna ta-naklu be-rtel, u-ta-nšerbu be-š-štel u-ka-nderku ma derku-h hel l-fitar, ma-ši ħna ta-nemšiw n'ebdu llah f-le-ħla bin le-whuš lakinna-na n'ebdu fuq le-fraš u-l-menquš." U-huwa yehreġ kayn neqqez b-dak l-faraħ u-dak š-ši. Hadi weħda men karamat Mul le-Qšur."

(...) One of his miracles was for example: one time Sid-i Hmed u Musa⁵ «may God be pleased with him» came to visit him at the command of the king of that time. He came to find out what kind of person l-Gezwani was, what kind of work he did and in what kind of matters he was further involved. People say that Sid-i Hmed u Musa arrived at l-Gezwani's house while riding a lion. It was on behalf of the king who ruled at the time that he arrived there. The king had just asked some saint to say a *fatha*, a humble prayer on his behalf. The king had had some unknown desire and his wish was fulfilled. Thereupon the king was asked to send Sid-i Hmed u Musa to l-Gezwani so that he could look around at his dwelling place and perhaps reveal something of the matters he was busy with. Thus he arrived at l-Gezwani's because the king had invited him to do so. He entered his home and they were talking together. When the couscous was put in front of them and l-Gezwani said: "Come on, eat!", Sid-i Hmed u Musa said: "No, I am used to eating *zemmita* (food prepared from grilled ground maize, oil, and sometimes honey, ME) only." He asked him: "Why?" He answered: "Well, I am just used to it." He said: "Eat it! It is none of our business." Sid-i Hmed u Musa ate his *zemmita*, then it was time, let us say, to sleep. l-Gezwani gave Sid-i Hmed u Musa a place to sleep, but he himself stayed with his family, enjoying himself and laughing. Sid-i Hmed u Musa said to himself: "This is our saint!" Everybody went to sleep in time, how do you call it, but he was still up and making a lot of noise. This is what Sid-i Hmed u Musa noticed. There came the time of the *mweddin*. He called the people to the morning prayer, but Mul le-Qšur did not get up, while Sid-i

⁵ A Berber saint from the south Moroccan countryside.

Ḥmed u Musa was annoyed about this, because the sun had already started to rise. Thereupon he sent his charwoman and told her: "Wake him up!" She woke up Mul le-Qṣur, but when he went outside, the stars were still in the sky. He found Sid-i Ḥmed and asked him: "O *sid-i*, do you want to perform the morning prayer?" The latter had already seen the sun and how-do-you-call-it, but when Mul le-Qṣur came outside he saw the *mwedden* another time calling for prayer and how-do-you-call-it. The charwoman asked him: "Do you want water for the ablution?" He answered: "Yes." She looked up to the sky and let down a bucket filled with water, I mean getting warm at that very moment. Sid-i Ḥmed washed himself and so forth. He kept on asking himself: "Why, how did she do this?" They performed the morning prayer and Sid-i Ḥmed u Musa went inside to l-Gezwani to have breakfast. He said to him: "Come on, eat!" , but he replied: "No, I am used to this." Three days passed in this way: Sid-i Ḥmed u Musa was eating *zemmita*, to which he was accustomed, every time, while Mul le-Qṣur just continued to eat, I mean to say, a lot and meat, couscous, this and that. After these three days, Sid-i Ḥmed u Musa said to Mul le-Qṣur: "O *sid-i*, I want to go. You have to give me something from which I can derive some blessing." He asked: "And that is? I will tell you something, Sid-i Ḥmed u Musa: we eat a pound at a time, we drink from a bucket⁶ and we swallow what people swallow at the *fiṭar* (the first meal at the end of Ramadan, ME). We feel no need to go to the barren countryside to serve God among wild animals. We serve God in pleasantly furnished and decorated surroundings." Sid-i Ḥmed u Musa left and jumped around for joy. This is one of the miracles of Mul le-Qṣur."

Analysis of the legend

Even a quick glance at the legend of Mūl le-Qṣūr makes clear that he is the one who is favoured. But how exactly is this favourable image brought about? Narratological analysis of the story according to the methods developed by the Dutch scholar Mieke Bal (1985) may help to answer this question. By paying attention to who is talking, who is looking and who is acting in a given narrative text we may find out who is represented as most powerful. We may suppose that the relations thus found are in some way a reflection of what takes place in society. But, as we stated earlier, the narrative is not a mere reflection of society. It is also a means to manipulate and influence. In this case, it is obvious that in the legend of Mūl le-Qṣūr the listener is directed towards an attitude in favour of this saint. The purpose of the narrator is beyond doubt. To reach this goal, a considerable number of narrative devices are used, as we will show.

Narrator and focus

An external narrator tells the legend of Mūl le-Qṣūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā in the Moroccan Arabic dialect of Marrakesh. The external narrator is not the physical story-teller, Maulāy Ibrāhīm. He was not present when the supposed events that he

⁶ The bucket mentioned here may be taken literally by the listener, because there exists a variant of this story in which the saint presents a bucket to Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā to drink from, just to provoke him or to make fun of him.

is telling about took place⁷. We see Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā (mostly) through the eyes of the narrator. The same applies to Mūl le-Qṣūr, but to a lesser extent, because we also get a picture of him through the eyes of his guest. Although it is mostly the narrator who describes Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā's reactions to Mūl le-Qṣūr's behaviour, he gives in one instance some space to the man's personal focus: "This is what Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā noticed." Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā was sent by the king to find out more about Mūl le-Qṣūr and this is exactly what he does. He looks at the saint in a very critical way and clearly does not like the way in which he is behaving himself. He does not find Mūl le-Qṣūr much of a saint. Nevertheless extraordinary things happen at his dwelling place: dawn turns into night again and the charwoman takes a bucket of water from the sky. It is not without meaning that the focus at these important moments at first briefly shifts from the narrator to Sīdī Ḥmad: "This one had already seen the sun and how-do-you-call-it (...)", "(...) he saw the *mwedden* another time calling the people to prayer (...)", and then from the narrator to the charwoman: "She looked up to the sky and let down a bucket filled with water (...)". Now that we are confronted with three witnesses, it becomes more difficult to doubt these miracles. Although Mūl le-Qṣūr does not seem to be the direct instigator of all this, the comments at the beginning ("One of his miracles was for example") and the end of the story ("This is one of the miracles of Mūl le-Qṣūr.") give the impression that he is. He is the hero who is teaching Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā a lesson, as if he knows the latter is criticizing him. This is a characteristic feature of saints: they know not only the visible world, but the invisible and hidden world as well (*al-bāṭin*). That these miracles happen just like that and are even performed by a charwoman gives them an extra dimension. They seem to be part of normal life at Mūl le-Qṣūr's house and nothing to wonder at. But Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā does wonder at all these things. This means that he is not able to do the same thing himself. He cannot even do what an ordinary charwoman does! In this way, Mūl le-Qṣūr really puts him in his place. Sīdī Ḥmad had arrived riding a lion, however, so he must be capable of something. Doubts are cast upon this because the narrator does not want to take responsibility for this statement: "this is what people say". The implied suggestion is that it might not be true, since, as we all know, people say many things. The small amount of

⁷ Of course this does not mean that the the physical story-teller does not have an impact on the story, because he does, and to a great extent; Maulāy Ibrāhīm intervenes five times in person in the story by saying: *ne'ni* (I mean); The link between the physical story-teller and Mūl le-Qṣūr is clearly established, because their common family-name al-Ġazwānī is mentioned more often in the legend than is the nickname of the saint. By doing so, the story-teller and carekeeper of the sanctuary strenghtens both his own status and the validity of the legend. The nickname Mūl le-Qṣūr ('the Man of the Castles') refers to another miraculous story in which the saint is involved in the sale of one or more castles in heaven. Le-Qṣūr is also the name of the relatively well-to-do quarter in the *madīna* of Marrakesh in which the *zāwīya* of the saint can be found.

attention that is paid to it in terms of words is also meaningful in this respect. A lion usually makes some impression, but here his appearance is passed over quickly.

Repetition (or lack of it) is an important narrative device in building up the characters. The narrator tells several times that *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā* is only eating *zemmita*, while *Mūl le-Qṣūr* enjoys good food. By explicitly saying that this situation lasted for three days, he implies repetition, too. Miracles happen several times and the feelings which *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā* experienced are also described more than once.

Subjects and objects

What is it that the different actors are striving after? Initially *Mūl le-Qṣūr* does not seem to aspire towards a particular aim. He simply receives a visitor at his dwelling. This changes when he notices what *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā* is up to. He is wrong in judging *Mūl le-Qṣūr* and the behaviour of the guest needs to be corrected by the host. *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā* wants to get information about *Mūl le-Qṣūr*. Because *Mūl le-Qṣūr* is willing to receive him, he does indeed get a chance to look around at his house. Thus he seems to reach his goal, but not quite in the way that he expected. He expected to find a saint, but he does not. According to him *Mūl le-Qṣūr* does not behave like a real saint. This is his first impression. Miracles, however, do happen at *Mūl le-Qṣūr*'s dwelling house, so the latter seems nevertheless to have power. We know that *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā* changed his mind on account of this, because at the moment he leaves, he asks for some *baraka* from *Mūl le-Qṣūr*. Again he does not exactly get what he wants, but the remarks of *Mūl le-Qṣūr* nevertheless seem to have a beneficent effect on him. He dances away. The fact that *Sīdī Ḥmad* asks for *Mūl le-Qṣūr*'s *baraka* while the latter does not need anything from him is illustrative of their unequal relationship. *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā* is dependent on *Mūl le-Qṣūr* to get something that he wants, but *Mūl le-Qṣūr* is not dependent on him. He just wants to teach *Sīdī Ḥmad* a lesson in order to make him more respectful.

Although *Mūl le-Qṣūr* and *Sīdī Ḥmad* are both important subjects in this legend, the former is definitely the stronger. *Mūl le-Qṣūr* does not only decide whether *Sīdī Ḥmad* gets what he wants or not, but also how and in what form he gets it. The whole story really pivots on the confrontation between the two men who are each other's polar opposites. Yet the listener may feel sympathy for *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā*. This is possible, because some incoherency is felt in the legend: *Sīdī Ḥmad* is not just weak. For example, both he and *Mūl le-Qṣūr* get what they wanted. In this respect they are each other's equal. The contrast between the two men may, after all, not be so strong as was initially taken for granted. It is striking that differentiations in the opposition are made twice: once at the beginning of the story and once at the end. The mentioning of the lion (and the wild animals) already raises doubts with regard to the powerlessness of *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā*. The eulogy «may God be pleased with him» does so, too, because it is not usually used in referring to ordinary believers. The relation between the two men does not seem to be bad in the

beginning and the opposition between them seems to become strong only when Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā behaves as an opponent. When, after a few surprises, his opposition gradually gives way to recognition of Mūl le-Qṣūr's status, so that he ends up being pleased with him, the distance between the two saints is also significantly reduced. Although Mūl le-Qṣūr's activities are responsible for this outcome and he thus seems to be the one who wields power, he (and the narrator) does not succeed in fully obliterating the competence of Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā. Moreover, the competence of Mūl le-Qṣūr does not become very explicit either. We do not know beyond doubt that he was the one who performed the miracles.

Time and space

It is remarkable that the most important events (miracles) take place when Mūl le-Qṣūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā are separated in space and while both are occupied with other matters. Here the factual distance between the two men seems to confirm the figurative one. The fact that Mūl le-Qṣūr is a city-dweller while Sīdī Ḥmad spends most of his time in the countryside corroborates this idea. Both spaces, the city and the countryside, can also be directly linked to their different views on sainthood. It seems to be only natural that these characters clash with each other.

Mūl le-Qṣūr transcends the limits of space and time by the miracles he performs. He puts the clock back and uses the sky as part of his house. That the sky is involved in both miracles is meaningful. God and His heaven are easily associated with the sky and the stars, especially at the time of the morning prayer. At this occasion the people on earth pay tribute to God in His heaven above. By interfering in this heavenly space at this particular hour, Mūl le-Qṣūr convincingly shows that he is in contact with the One up there. Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā's sphere of influence seems to be restricted to the barren countryside, to earth.

As is stated above, we are not really sure about the miracles of Mūl le-Qṣūr. We see them, but we miss the exact link with the saint, because his performance is not described. Because of this ellipsis, the miracles obtain an extra emphasis. They either acquire a more mysterious meaning or leave the impression that they are an ordinary part of life that nobody bothers about much.

In this legend only Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā travels through space. Although we have no definite information on this, he probably moved from the countryside to the city. He takes the trouble to come to Mūl le-Qṣūr, Mūl le-Qṣūr does not come to him. The time between his arrival and departure is important: Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā sees the error of his ways. Maybe his journey from the countryside was already a sign that things were going to change for the better. In this story the city is preferred to the countryside, so a move away from the desert may already presage a favourable turn of events. The harsh life does not seem to have made Sīdī Ḥmad happy. He is just as dull and boring as the countryside. Mūl le-Qṣūr, on the contrary, is just as lively as the city. After Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā has spent three days in the city,

however, he leaves Mül le-Qşūr full of happiness. With his change the concept of the city has changed, too. First it is seen as a morass of vice in which Mül le-Qşūr lives his mundane life and to which the sober life of Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā in the countryside with its idyllic innocence forms a striking contrast. When Sīdī Ḥmad's judgement about Mül le-Qşūr becomes more balanced, the city becomes a more positive place where changes and new developments occur while the countryside lags behind.

In the legend the important change takes place in such a short period in the lives of the actors that we can speak of a crisis. The meaning of the crisis is central, and it permeates all the elements of the story. The crisis moreover is representative for the actors and their mutual relations.

Communication

In many ways the communication between Mül le-Qşūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā takes place indirectly. Sīdī Ḥmad does not reveal the real object of his visit to Mül le-Qşūr and does not criticize him directly either. Mül le-Qşūr however seems to know what is going on and also reacts in an indirect way. His miracles are signals to Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā that he is wrong. The latter does not seem able to retort with similar miracles. For one of his communications he even depends on the charwoman. Communication does not come about smoothly and Mül le-Qşūr is the stronger communicator. Just like Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā, he communicates in an indirect way, but his manner of communication demonstrates his power and his knowledge of *al-bāṭin*, while Sīdī Ḥmad's does not. Mül le-Qşūr literally has the last word, too. His final speech is the longest and most convincing of all his direct speeches in the legend.

The communication between the king and Mül le-Qşūr is indirect, too. The king sends Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā to gather information for him, and, in his turn, the saint lets his charwoman perform part of the miracles. The king does not present himself in a direct way and neither does Mül le-Qşūr. The fact that miracles are used as a means of communication is an essential aspect of the saint's legend.

Oppositions and metaphors

Throughout the analysis we have already dealt with some oppositions. The city of Marrakesh versus the countryside is one of them. Other oppositions may be connected with it such as that of the food consumed by the two saints; couscous, which is eaten by Mül le-Qşūr, is for rich people and special occasions, while Sīdī Ḥmad's *zemmita* is food for poor people and farmers on ordinary days. Moreover it must not be forgotten that for many citizens who listen to a story such as the one above, the countryside has negative connotations. In their view farmers are stupid and old-fashioned. Throughout Morocco the people of Marrakesh are known for their jollity and proclivity for laughing and joking. Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā is not likely to appeal to these people. He does not seem to enjoy life very much, he eats very little, goes

to bed early and seems to prefer seclusion to social life. He quickly gets irritated: he really is a boorish sort of person. Needless to say, such details work in favour of Mül le-Qşūr who, although in origin not from Marrakesh, seems to have adopted the mental attitude to life of its inhabitants.

More legends are known in which the most powerful saints stay in the city of Marrakesh and the weaker ones are placed outside. Mül le-Qşūr for instance, is sometimes called *mül ṭ-ṭabeʿ* (the man of the stamp), because he decided who got a stamp to enter Marrakesh and who did not. This is supposed to explain why Sīdī Yūsuf b. ʿAlī and al-Imām as-Suhaylī, the first and the last of the Seven Saints, are buried outside the city walls. Another version of the legend presented here says that Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā also came to Marrakesh to ask Mül le-Qşūr for a stamp. In this manner, the city becomes a place for winners and the countryside a place for losers. Thus the spaces mentioned in the legend and the oppositions therein turn out to be a strong device to set and underline the meaning of the history presented.

As we saw, Mül le-Qşūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā have contrasting life-styles. The former lives a mundane life and seems to be in comfortable circumstances. He can afford a charwoman, eats and drinks well and serves God in pleasantly decorated surroundings. The latter lives the life of a poor ascetic, but this does not seem to make him happy. Mül le-Qşūr is much happier. He shows that Sīdī Ḥmad's way of living is of no use, because he, who lives the easy life, is also the one who performs the miracles. People who do not expect a saint to live in the way Mül le-Qşūr does have no choice but to give him the benefit of the doubt, because of the miracles that he performs.

As soon as the listener notices that Mül le-Qşūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā are opposite characters, a description of one of them automatically implies a description of the other. The listener may be so manipulated by this simple representation that he does not take the trouble to make the differentiations that are necessary with regard to the opposition between the two men (see remarks above).

Psychological and ideological relations

If the two personalities of Mül le-Qşūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā are compared, the former seems to have the stronger personality. Mül le-Qşūr succeeds in bringing about a change of attitude in Sīdī Ḥmad, while this does not happen the other way round.

The opposition between Mül le-Qşūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā is an ideological one, too. On the political level, Sīdī Ḥmad is associated with the king and maybe his lion is symbolic of this. Such an association has not always been a fortunate one in Moroccan history. Historical sources tell us, for example, that Mül le-Qşūr did not have very good experiences with the dynasty of the Wattasids who ruled for part of his lifetime, and in the person of Sīdī Ḥmad he seems to ridicule the king's messenger. But he ridicules other saints as well, because it was they who asked the

king to dispatch Sīdī Ḥmad. This implies that they somehow felt that Mūl le-Qṣūr was a threat that had to be controlled, a task for which Sīdī Ḥmad was best equipped. The fact that the latter consented to play this role for the king and his holy advisors is not to his credit. For according to many people true saints are always on the side of the common people, not on that of the king or of any other oppressive authority.

On the religious level, two views on sainthood are expressed. At first Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā is convinced that a saint should be an ascetic, otherwise he is not a saint. Mūl le-Qṣūr, however, does not share this view.

External factors

Some attention must be paid to external, extra-textual factors that have an impact on the way in which the listener gives meaning to the elements in the legend. Before the listener hears this story, he may already have an idea about saints in general or Mūl le-Qṣūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā in particular. He may have acquired his knowledge from other stories, either written or spoken. When he hears something new he has certain expectations concerning these saints which may or may not turn out to be justified. The mere choice of the genre of the saint's legend already arouses certain expectations, too. The listener expects to hear about miracles. Although in this case two saints are involved in the story, it is only Mūl le-Qṣūr who performs miracles, which is significant.

The opposition between city and countryside may not be felt so strongly by listeners who know that Mūl le-Qṣūr spent part of his life in the countryside, too. Several stories are known in which he helped to build roads and to cultivate land in areas which had been inaccessible up till then. Now that he is confronted in this legend with somebody from the countryside, however, the narrator seems to emphasize the contrasts between them with the purpose of shedding a more favourable light on Mūl le-Qṣūr.

It is possible that the listener has the same narrow vision of what a saint should be as Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā. Let us see what happens then. Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā's first and negative ideas about Mūl le-Qṣūr were only based on superficial observations and he did not seem to bother to look any further. That Sīdī Ḥmad could only judge his host from his external appearance and not from the inside, leaves the impression that he does not possess much spiritual power himself. He seems to have no knowledge of *al-bāṭin* and this, in a way, forces Mūl le-Qṣūr to show him something visible to convince him that his *nīya*, his intention, is good and that to God, Mūl le-Qṣūr definitely is a saint. The mere fact that Sīdī Ḥmad judges somebody else is proof of his own pride and haughtiness, because, to a Muslim, nobody is really capable of judging except for God. Provided the listener has shared Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā's view, they both turn out to have been wrong. Both are taught a lesson. One may even wonder whether this is not one of the main purposes of the story, since

a lot of *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā's* inner feelings and experiences are shown to the listener. In this way the listener is enabled to feel a bond with him, an important condition to share in his learning process, too. This shows the power of the narrator or focalisator. By giving selective information he pushes the listener in a certain direction.

It does not always turn out this way, however. Not all listeners are the same to begin with. A good example can be found in a written version of a legend about *Mūl le-Qṣūr*. In this story, too, the saint turns back the clock. Moreover, it is said that the Prophet *Muḥammad* did the same before. The compiler adds a very critical footnote to the effect that only impostors can pretend that *Mūl le-Qṣūr* could stop the sun (and the moon). His idea is probably that saints are not capable of performing miracles that encroach so drastically on the natural course of events. He does not go into the powers of *Muḥammad* (*Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Marrākuṣī* 1977:239, 259). As is common practice elsewhere, too, the biographies of Islamic saints are modelled on the life stories (popular or otherwise) of higher authorities such as the prophets. By borrowing elements from them, the legends further strengthen the status of the holy men (*Sebtī* 1992:172). That this strategy is not always effective is sufficiently shown in the example just quoted.

The image of the holy wanderer who lives among wild animals can be found in other literary sources, too (*Schwarzbaum* 1982:84, 167-168).

The question remains why *Mūl le-Qṣūr* felt the necessity at all to correct *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā*, and why he himself manipulated the picture *Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā* got of him. Or better: why was a legend that restored the negative image of *Mūl le-Qṣūr* necessary? Had he been criticized in other stories or elsewhere? The legend must serve some purpose, otherwise it will not be told. Indeed, legends do exist in which *Mūl le-Qṣūr* plays a less glorious role or is even punished for his pride. In one of these *Mūl le-Qṣūr* had to recognize the superiority of *Sīdī Abū l-Abbās*, the third of the Seven Saints of Marrakesh, after a whole series of trials (*Basset* 1920:282-283.). Another is told in the village of *Sīdī Raḥḥāl's* sanctuary: *Mūl le-Qṣūr* shows so much jealousy and pride at the arrival of this saint to Marrakesh that God let a thunderstorm burst over Marrakesh out of wrath (*Anonymous* 1985). Such rivalry among saints is not an unusual theme in Islamic saints' legends.

In the legend presented here not only the competence of performing miracles and the wisdom of the saints concerned are at stake, but their views on sainthood and their respective life-styles as well. The image of *Mūl le-Qṣūr* as a man who fully enjoyed life and liked to wear beautiful clothes is relatively widespread in Marrakesh⁸. Accordingly, people talk about the descendants of *Mūl le-Qṣūr* as people

⁸ Nevertheless one variant of the legend which explains his nickname tells about *Mūl le-Qṣūr* as an ascetic. The story-teller thereby supposes that all saints are like that.

lli la bas 'li-hum, "who are rich". They do indeed receive an income from the collecting box in the sanctuary of their holy ancestor. Maulāy Ibrāhīm himself lived in the big *zāwiya* until recently, loves good food and likes buying antiques. The *tā'ifa* of Mūl le-Qṣūr has in the past been criticized strongly by Ibn al-Muwaqqit (1922:141-142, 144-145) for their various ways of making money in and around the sanctuary. Nowadays it is said that although the *Dalā'il al-hairāt*, a book of praise to the Prophet Muḥammad, is recited every week in the sanctuaries of its author Sīdī b. Sulaymān al-Ġazūlī, the fourth of the Seven Saints, and Sīdī Abū l-Abbās, the descendants of Mūl le-Qṣūr do not want the reciters to come to their *zāwiya* on such a regular basis out of fear that they might lose some of their income to them. In his turn, Maulāy Ibrāhīm is rather critical about the carekeepers of these and the other sanctuaries of the Seven Saints who, in his opinion, do not know anything. He says that everyone who wants to know something about the Seven Saints comes to him. When the Moroccan king, Hassan II, visits Marrakesh, however, he does not visit Mūl le-Qṣūr. He just goes to Sīdī Abū l-Abbās and al-Ġazūlī.

Conclusion

A detailed picture emerges from all this. It shows not only two very different saints, but two concepts of holiness as well. Mūl le-Qṣūr represents the mundane saint who is making the most of his life in this world. Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā represents the ascetic saint who lives his life in seclusion among wild animals. Over the centuries, these two concepts of holiness have always been at variance, both in the Western and non-Western world. Although Mūl le-Qṣūr seems to be the more powerful in this legend, he does not say that Sīdī Ḥmad's life-style is wrong. He just indicates that it is not necessary to serve God in this way. Since the legend is still being told, the tensions that are felt in it somehow reflect part of the Marrakesh society of today. Critics of Mūl le-Qṣūr or his descendants in other stories or in daily life are actively addressed. More thorough analysis of the legend shows interesting narrative devices which are not always obvious at first sight, but which do influence the listener's ideas. Other saints' legends can be analysed in the same way and compared with the one above. However, that is quite a different topic which will be left for the future.

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FAILAKA ISLAND - KUWAIT
AN ISLAND OF AL-HIDR, THE GREEN MAN
OR ELIAS, THE SERVANT OF GOD

Jehan S. Rajab

Kuwait

"He was also informed of two islands in the sea near the mouth of the Euphrates. The first was not far from its outlets about a hundred and twenty stades from the shore, and the river mouth; this one is smaller, thickly wooded with every kind of tree; it also contained a shrine of Artemis, and the island's inhabitants spent their lives round the shrine; it pastured wild goats and deer which were consecrated to Artemis and could range free, and no one was allowed to hunt them unless he desired to sacrifice one to the goddess: only on this condition was hunting not forbidden. According to Aristobulus, Alexander commanded this island to be called Icarus, after the island Icarus in the Aegean Sea" (Arrian, *Anabasis* VII. 20.3-5).

Historians long considered that Failaka Island just off mainland Kuwait might be the one referred to in Arrian the Greek writer's report, but until 1960 there had been no proof that it was. Longtime residents in Kuwait and Britain's Political Agent Colonel H. R. P. Dickson and his wife Dame Violet first visited Failaka in 1935 and seeing the ground covered in potsherds and other indications of antiquity convinced them that the place must have a very old history. The arrival of Danish archaeologists in 1958 began to reveal the island's connection to Dilmun¹ and Sumer of Mesopotamia as well as the Icaros mentioned in Arrian's history of Alexander the Great.

According to Colonel Dickson (1956) Failaka was remarkable for the traces of ruined villages, tombs and shrines; these were dotted all over the island along with potsherds dating from 2500 BC (early Bronze Age) to modern times. Until comparatively recently it was possible to pick up the occasional piece of old Chinese sherd. As these have been found elsewhere down the Gulf this illustrates how popular Chinese ceramics were in the past, as indeed they still are.

A major Shrine was *Maqām al-Hidr* on the north-west side of the island. Sited by the edge of the sea, the *maqām* or Shrine when the Dicksons first saw it (1935) was built from blocks of stone (see photograph No. 1). It stood out prominently from the land and the sea. Nearby spread across the flat ground was an old graveyard, also littered with potsherds from all periods to the broken pieces of the present period. The strange thing about these graves was the distances, about fifteen feet between

¹ Dilmun is usually identified with Bahrain but Failaka might also have been part of the territory of Dilmun. For this, see Potts 1994:35.

each head and footstone. No explanation exists as to why the graves appear to be so long and local lore murmured, "Giants once inhabited the island".

Local tradition also had it that al-Hidr on route to Friday prayers in Mekka, stopped every Thursday night in Failaka, before stepping in one stride to a site opposite the old American Mission Hospital on the Kuwaiti mainland. Barren women, and those without sons thought that, if they were considered worthy and they visited the Shrine, they would become pregnant. Until the late 1960s Failaka was visited by not only women from Kuwait but women as far afield as India, Afghanistan, Iran and elsewhere. Local women also thought the site a good one for picnics and groups of them could often be seen arriving on a weekend.

al-Hidr's footprints were reputed to have been imprinted in the mudflats on the seawards side of the *maqām* as well as on the flats opposite the American Mission Hospital on the mainland. Dame Violet Dickson, who knew about these traditions, found sunk in on the seaward side of the Shrine three definite footprints of a camel, three very good ones of men with bare feet, one of a man wearing a sandal, and several children's footprints. She thought that the rocks had been part of a flat muddy foreshore which over the ages hardened to rock so retaining the ancient footprints. In both the mainland and Failaka those rocks have long disappeared, and even in 1960 the author was unable to find any trace of footprints in either place.

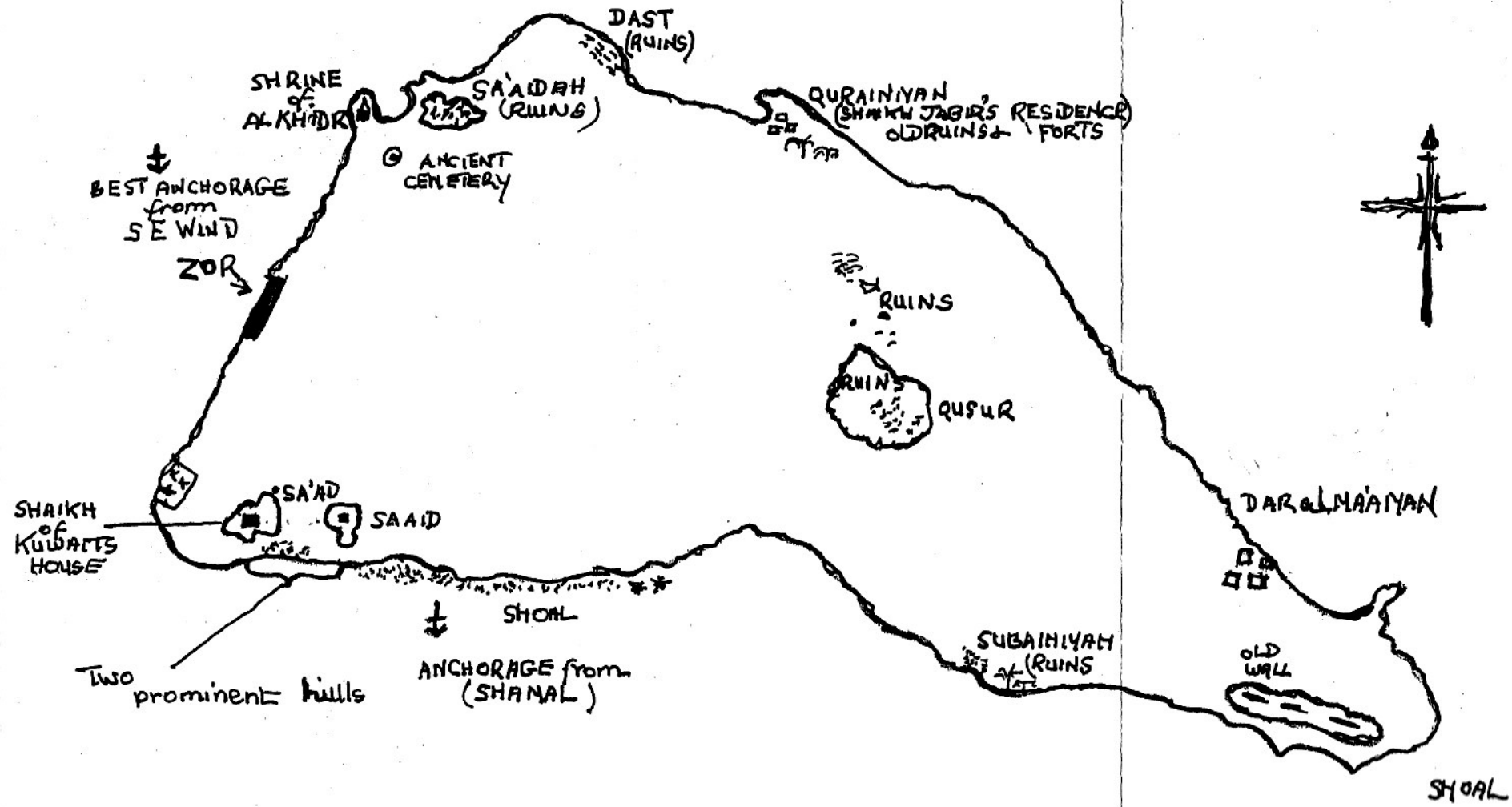
al-Hidr is listed in the *Islamic Desk Reference* as "the name of a popular figure, who plays a prominent part in legend and story". The majority of Qur'ān commentators identify him with the servant of God mentioned in Qur'ān 18.1. al-Hidr Shrines are to be found throughout the Middle East, and extend as far as Britain (The Green Man) to India where there is still a *maqām* just outside Delhi².

In the early 1960s the author and her husband Tareq Rajab, Kuwait's first Director of Antiquities & Museums, went to live on Failaka Island for the three months of the excavation season. For the next four years or so this was the normal pattern and during that time it was possible to observe a little of what went on at the al-Hidr Shrine. The excavations of the Greek and Bronze Age sites took place under a Danish team headed by Professor P. V. Glob of Aarhus University in Denmark. He was a tremendous character who had participated in expeditions to Greenland and had also directed most of the expeditions to the sites of the ancient civilizations of the Dilmun culture of which Failaka Island was a part.

The Danes were naturally immediately interested in the Shrine and there seemed to be enough evidence to suggest or speculate that the Shrine might have originally been dedicated to Artemis (or the Babylonian Ishtar). Failaka Island was and has

² The preference to locate a shrine of al-Hidr in the vicinity of the sea is a clear indication of al-Hidr's character as a sea demon. For this and for a general study on the shrines and sanctuaries dedicated to al-Hidr, see Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1960: Index, s.v. "al-Hidr". On the figure of al-Hidr, see also *ET* II, 923-927 and *ET* IV, 902-905 s.v. "al-Khadir".

BEACON
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remained a holy place for the past 4,000 years. Every weekend bus loads of black robed women could be seen approaching al-Hidr in buses or walking there from the port.

Those who wished to bear a child would spend Thursday night in prayer at the Shrine and walk round the shrine with the bottom half of her dress tied to that of a woman who had already borne children. According to Kuwaiti orthodox fundamentalist thinking there were dark rumours about "immoral practices", especially as far as could be judged the success rate seemed to be good! The Shrine had a caretaker who was generally a woman and the last one Sa'ada, spoke with belief and happiness of the satisfaction she got from receiving letters of thanks from those who had successfully conceived. The Shrine was one from which people could also make wishes or vows.

Sa'ada, a Kuwaiti negress was an old woman of great character and in 1965 she had made the Pilgrimage to Mekka along with a party which included the author's husband. She had made the pilgrimage many times before and informed everyone that if "God disagreed with her, he was entitled to cancel her previous pilgrimages!" She had a bold tongue and a tendency to use bad language, which called down rebukes from others but all to no avail!

On a first visit to al-Hidr in 1960 the author was accompanied by the wife of a Palestinian colleague at the Kuwait Museum. She was in her late thirties, and had been married at the age of 13 but no children had been forthcoming. At first the couple had been upset and desparate with both sets of in-laws, equally concerned and insistent on medical treatment. Everything known had been undertaken but to no avail.

The caretaker standing outside the Shrine came up and asked if we were married and had children, to which I replied 'Yes' and no further interest was taken. Semira said 'No' and immediately the old lady tried to persuade her that with prayers at the Shrine at the appropriate time she would undoubtedly achieve her wish³. Semira appeared shocked at the whole idea, probably some feelings of modernity were mixed up in her mind, and the author felt rightly or wrongly, that after some 20 years of marriage without issue, she was no longer that interested in having a child. At any rate, she refused even to speak to the caretaker any more and never went near the Shrine again.

Although prayer was a strong, and probably the main component to a visit to the Shrine, it has not yet been possible to find complete details about the whole procedure. Offerings, a plait of hair, on one occasion cuttings of pubic hair, and occa-

³ Visit for the sake of becoming pregnant is a general characteristic of the shrines dedicated to al-Hidr. See Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1960:160, 190, 241, 247, 289.

sional bits of jewellery like a gold ring were left in the interior of the Shrine⁴. The pleasant scent of incense and rose water hung faintly inside the Shrine and henna handprints decorated the walls around the inside.

The steps of the Shrine usually had the blood stains of sheep sacrifices down them and had to be negotiated with some care after Thursday night.

In mainly Sunnī Kuwait such practises were not approved of by the more Fundamentalist sections of the population and the whole thing was probably considered a Šī'a practice. Nevertheless, Sunnī women wishing to conceive or make a vow would go to al-Hidr; certainly they did and still do resort to made-up amulets and other such devices for any problems.

The al-Hidr Shrine (photograph No. 1) constructed from blocks of stones and built most likely by Failachawis, was pulled down by the Government. That photograph had been taken by Dame Violet on her first visit to the Island in 1935. It is said that previous to that one there had been another Shrine which had also been removed, there are however no descriptions or records about it. By the 1950s, maybe earlier, the Shrine had been rebuilt and was once more thriving. Around the early to mid 1970s it was again removed, an action which coincided with the rise of the Wahnābism⁵. This caused much resentment in Kuwait's Šī'i community, as will be seen.

Since the Invasion and occupation in 1990 even the "Giants" graves have disappeared and on a recent and brief visit to the Island it was difficult to find the place where the Shrine had been. Interestingly in the 1970s around the time the last Shrine was dismantled, a rumour had gone around that the Government intended to build a small maternity hospital over the site.

In March 1991 the author had the opportunity to fly to Failaka Island for a few hours. On that trip there was a Kuwaiti museum person who had been invited to investigate what had happened to the various archaeological sites during the occupation. The subject of al-Hidr's Shrine came up, and when it was mentioned his whole face changed, went red with anger and through his teeth he almost shouted how upsetting it was that the Shrine had been broken up by the Government. He was of Šī'i persuasion and the whole incident gave an indication of the resentment caused and showed the Shrine had not been forgotten.

A few years ago during Muḥarram the Šī'i mosques as always were full. More amazing was the fact that outside them, particularly in the wide open sea front area down in the centre of town, near the main Šī'i mosques were literally thousands of

⁴ For hair as a votive offering in a shrine connected to al-Hidr, see Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1960:289.

⁵ Kuwaiti Sunnī thinking is always of the Wahnābī brand, and even a talk given in Kuwait in 1996 by a very eminent German scholar on "Aspects of Šūfism" brought disapproving looks and comments from the audience. However, the fact that the professor gave the talk at all is interesting.

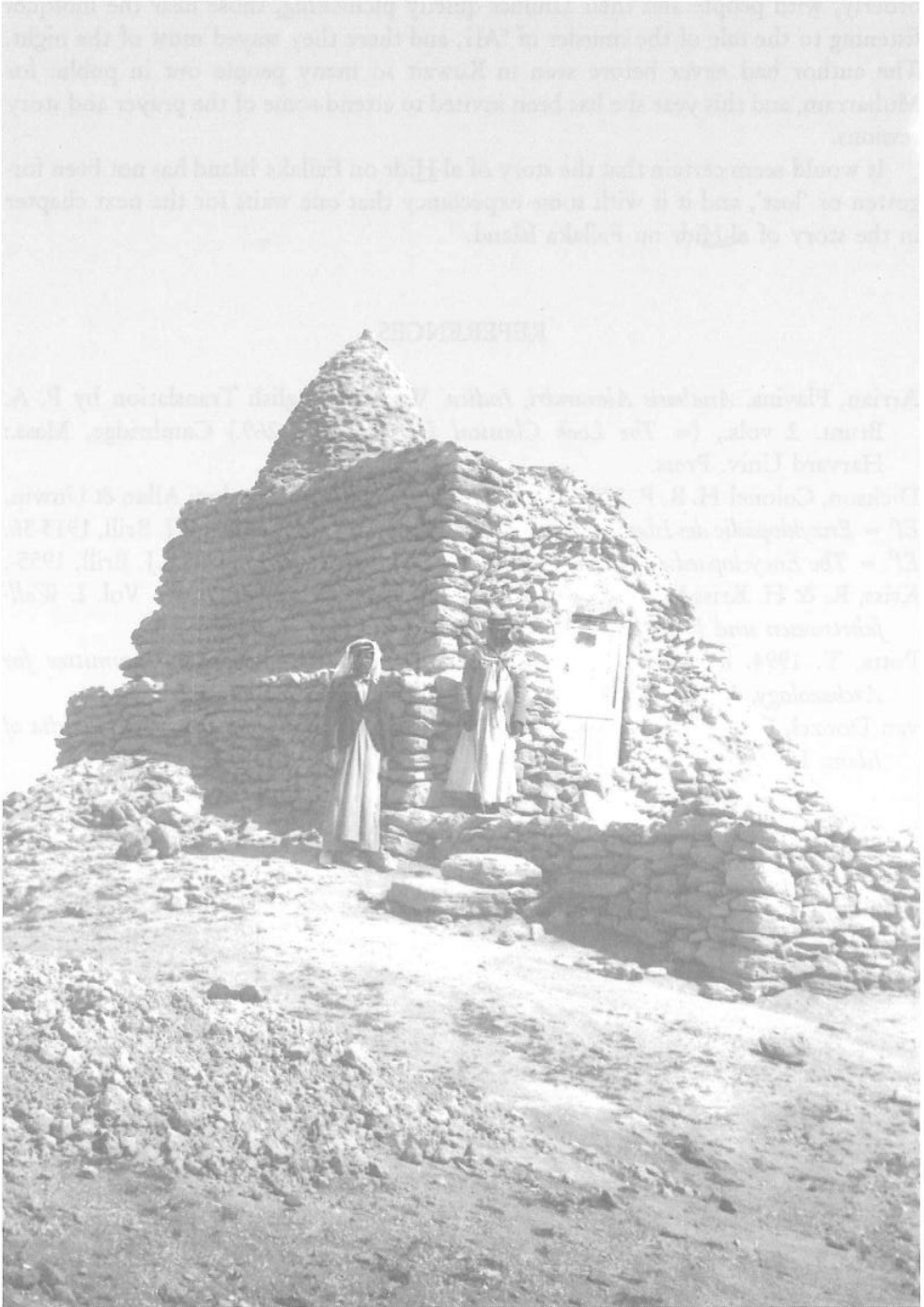
cars and people, many including children dressed in black. It was all perfectly orderly, with people and their families quietly picnicking, those near the mosques listening to the tale of the murder of 'Alī, and there they stayed most of the night. The author had never before seen in Kuwait so many people out in public for Muḥarram, and this year she has been invited to attend some of the prayer and story sessions.

It would seem certain that the story of al-Hidr on Failaka Island has not been forgotten or 'lost', and it is with some expectancy that one waits for the next chapter in the story of al-Hidr on Failaka Island.

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Photograph No. 1



THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ŠAYH ʿADĪ B. MUSĀFIR'S BIOGRAPHY ON THE BASIS OF ARABIC AND KURDISH SOURCES

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1 Introduction

While speaking of the Yezidi denomination, we must keep in mind the central position of Šayh ʿAdī within it. The Šayh's teaching, itself impacted by both rationalistic and ecstatic forms of Šūfism, was reflected in the religious views of the Yezidi Kurds.

A number of medieval historians and geographers mentioned Šayh ʿAdī b. Musāfir: Ibn al-Aṭīr, Ibn Hallikān, Ibn al-Fūtī, Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn al-Wardī, Abū l-Fidā', ad-Dahabi, as-Samʿānī, and others¹. The students of Yezidism quote, often and in detail, these medieval authors.

In the present paper, we reconstruct the biography of Šayh ʿAdī b. Musāfir by adding oral sources of the Yezidi Kurds to the material in Arabic. The Yezidi religious poetry contains valuable material on the history and world outlook of the Yezidi community, but it could not be heard by outsiders and was only recently recorded. In an indirect way, that is, by using poetic and religious symbolism, the Kurdish material discloses the life data of the Šayh which does not contradict the written Arabic sources².

2 Biography of Šayh ʿAdī

2.1 Previous Inadequate Attempts to identify Šayh ʿAdī

In the past there existed a number of suggestions concerning Šayh ʿAdī's personality (Badger 1852:110-113; Semenov 1927:76; Wigram 1914:104). With regard to the information in two Christian sources of the 15th century, that of an archbishop of Arbīl Ješū ʿAyyāb and that of the monk Rāmīšūʿ, the case is as follows: in the early 13th century, Šayh ʿAdī al-Kurdī did away with the monks and occupied the Christian monastery in Lalish, transforming it into his sanctuary (ʿAlī 1989:81; al-Ḥasanī 1953:12, 20-21).

First of all, these sources, either deliberately or otherwise, identify Šayh ʿAdī b. Musāfir with his brother Sahr's grandson, whose complete name was Šayh ʿAdī b. Abī l-Barakāt al-Kurdī. The latter person indeed lived in the 13th century and, for

¹ The best bibliography on Yezidism is by ʿAwwād (1969).

² The Kurdish authors and titles are referred to according to Kurdish Latin alphabet.

some reason, was engaged in a struggle with the monks quartered in his patrimonial (at least, as it appeared to him) abode.

Secondly, the interior layout of the tomb of Šayḥ ʿAdī does not have elements characteristic of Christian monasteries (Badger 1852:110). The architecture of the Yezidi buildings provides evidence that they had been erected in pre-Christian times; during the late Roman age, the Christian monks settled in them (Wigram:1914:94).

Thirdly, it is no coincidence that the anti-Yezidi tendencies in these Syrian manuscripts fall within the 15th century. It was a time when the Mesopotamian Christians, being under the patronage of the Muslim rulers, were engaged in activity against the 'infidels'³. As Longrigg indicated, the situation with the Yezidis was aggravated by the fact they always were in opposition to all the authorities (Longrigg 1925:8-9).

2.2 Data on ʿAdī's Origin

At present, the majority of scholars maintain that Šayḥ ʿAdī b. Musāfir arrived in the Kurdish mountains of Hakkari from aš-Šām (historical Syria). Thus, the Yezidi tradition says:

“Šayḥ ʿAdī came from Šām

In the East [he] got down to work,

Virtue is upon the houses of [our] fathers,

Šayḥ ʿAdī himself is a gift of the Light,

[He is] Light from the house of the Šayḥs”⁴.

The complete name of Šayḥ ʿAdī is: Šaraf ad-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il ʿAdī b. Musāfir b. Ismā'il b. Mūsā b. Marwān b. al-Ḥasan b. Marwān (al-Ḥasanī 1953:15).

With regard to ʿAdī's descent, the issue is still debated. al-ʿAzzāwī (1935:29) adduces the two most wide-spread genealogies:

1) ʿAdī b. Musāfir b. Ismā'il b. Mūsā b. Marwān b. al-Ḥasan (or b. al-Ḥakam) b. Marwān;

2) ʿAdī b. Musāfir b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Wālid b. ʿAbdalmalik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. al-ʿĀš b. ʿUṭmān b. ʿAffān b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAbdaššams b. Zuhra b. ʿAbdmanāf.

At any rate, the Umayyad origin of Šayḥ ʿAdī is almost beyond any doubt. This fact, on the one hand, explains the sensitivity of his followers to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and, on the other hand, makes us think of the connections between ʿAdī's, or his successors', teaching and the ideas of the Merwanites. It is noteworthy that as late as in the early 20th century, the sect of the Merwanites in Shugnan (Badahshan) was also called *Yezidiya*⁵.

³ See e.g., “Kürdskie evrei” 1988:634.

⁴ Celil 1978:18. See also: Silêman 1979:100, 104.

⁵ The sources prove that the last Umayyad ruler, Marwān II, is a direct ancestor of Šayḥ ʿAdī. Before ascending the throne (740-750), Marwān II ruled over Northern Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan,

Thus, with certain reservation, we can conclude that Šayh ʿAdī b. Musāfir was an Arab from the once powerful dynasty of Umayyads with Kurdish blood running in his veins.

ʿAdī b. Musāfir was born between 1073 and 1078 in Bayt-Fār in Baʿlabakk, which is situated in the Biqāʿ Valley (present-day Lebanon)⁶. Afterwards, ʿAdī's birth was described through picturesque legends. According to one of them, ʿAdī's future as a Šūfī was pre-determined by events with his father:

"Musāfir b. Ismāʿil, the father of ʿAdī, went to a forest and remained there for forty years. Once he had a dream that someone told him: "O Musāfir! Come out and copulate with your wife, and a Friend of God will come to you, whose fame will spread in the East and the West"⁷. Then, Musāfir came out from the forest and went to his wife. She told him: "I shall not do it unless the Luminary arises." Then Musāfir appealed: "O residents of the city! I am Musāfir, I came because I received an order to climb my mare, and Friends of God will come to those who climb their mares." And thus 313 Friends of God were born to him"⁸ (al-Ḥasanī 1953:15-16).

2.3 The Baghdad Period⁹

As a young person, ʿAdī b. Musāfir moved to Baghdad and spent the first half of his life there. In this centre of culture and education, ʿAdī learned from the esteemed figures and won respect for his good manners. In Baghdad ʿAdī b. Musāfir was seriously worried about the increasing misunderstandings among Muslims and condemned those who furthered the split in Islam, either deliberately or guided by mistaken considerations.

Another major issue that must be mentioned is the Šayh's attitude towards 'illicit innovations' (*bidaʿ*). As is well known, the notion of *bidaʿ* was always unclearly defined since different dogmatic schools characterised the same action or opinion in different ways, that is, describing them either as an illicit innovation or as a faithful idea hallowed by the Qur'an and Islamic tradition. Therefore, the question of who

i.e. the provinces with a sizeable Kurdish population. Moreover, his mother was Kurdish (Bartold 1966; Semënov 1927:78-79). Šaraf-ḥān Bīdlīsī informs us of the Kurdish tribe, Sulaymani, which mostly consisted of the adherents of the Marwānians. Part of the Sulaymani tribesmen "chose an iniquitous Yezidi persuasion". Moreover, Bīdlīsī defines Šayh ʿAdī as a subject of Marwānid caliphs (Bīdlīsī, *Šaraf-nāmē* 83, 314).

⁶ According to Drower (1941:151-152), the marvellous ruins around Baʿlabakk had an emotional impact on ʿAdī's views.

⁷ 'Friend of God' is a term for Šūfī.

⁸ *I.e.* 313 associates and/or successors of ʿAdī b. Musāfir.

⁹ Sub-chapters 2.3 and 2.4 are chiefly based on the two major sources – ʿAdī b. Musāfir, *Works*; Frank 1911 – which, therefore, are not referred to.

in ʿAdī's view belonged to the *abl al-bid'a* is of great interest. On the basis of the Šayḥ's works written in Baghdad, we can conclude that the theologians of his circle criticised the following: aš-Šīʿa, al-Muʿtazila, al-Qadariyya, and al-Muṣabbiha (Anthropomorphists), which means that ʿAdī b. Musāfir, in general, shared the point of view of al-Ḥanābila. Nevertheless, as early as in the Baghdad period of his activity, Šayḥ ʿAdī took a great interest in Sūfism, a position which contradicts the attitude of al-Ḥanābila to the theory and practice of Islamic mysticism. This 'inconsistency' can be understood by taking into account that ʿAdī's Sūfism integrates with the Qur'an.

Evidently, ʿAdī b. Musāfir felt cramped and suffocated amongst those theologians who restricted their minds by the Qur'an and the ideas of deceased authorities. The point here is that in the late 11th-early 12th centuries, mysticism attracted many ordinary Sunnīs, who greatly appreciated such characteristics of Sūfī teaching as advocacy of poverty, repudiation of collaboration with authorities and hence – of certain material benefits, and secret charitable deeds in order to avoid earthly glory.

Speaking of ʿAdī's activity in Baghdad, we must pay special attention to the Sūfī Šayḥs who influenced his treatises and his subsequent life in general. Šayḥ ʿAdī and al-Ġazālī (1058-1111) could have become acquainted with each other, and in the year of al-Ġazālī's death, the Šayḥ moved to Hakkari. Another version is that ʿAdī b. Musāfir knew al-Ġazālī's brother Maġd ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ġazālī. At any rate, Šayḥ ʿAdī attended Aḥmad's lectures in Baghdad, including those concerning Iblīs¹⁰.

In different ways, other Sūfīs influenced the Šayḥ's teaching, as hinted in the Yezidi sacred book, the *Mesbef-i Reş* (Marie 1911:22-39)¹¹. Yezidism supposes that the historical personalities are represented in the capacity of seven angels/deities, ruling the universe, by turns, through the will of God. Five of them have been identified by Semënov (1927:77). They are: ʿAbdalqādir al-Ġilānī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Maṣūr al-Ḥallāġ, Qāḍib al-Ban, and Faḥr ad-Dīn Ṭabaristānī al-Qaydī.

ʿAbdalqādir al-Ġilānī (1077-1166), who had gone with ʿAdī to the pilgrimage in 1116, evaluated his piety in the following phrase: "If the prophetic mission was gifted for the diligence, it would be gifted to Šayḥ ʿAdī b. Musāfir"¹². We also know of Šayḥ ʿAdī's saying about al-Ġilānī which is as picturesque poetically. Once ʿAdī b. Musāfir said to ʿAbdalqādir's disciples visiting him in Hakkari: "Welcome you

¹⁰ Since the issue of Yezidi demonology is a specific subject, we must note that Šayḥ ʿAdī's views on this topic were in accordance with traditional Islamic theology.

¹¹ This text's authorship is unlikely to be ascribed to ʿAdī b. Musāfir (Bittner 1911), although Kurdoev (1971) holds an opposite opinion. At any rate, the *Mesbef-i Reş* reflects some points linked to Šayḥ ʿAdī's life and teaching.

¹² 'Diligence' (*muğābada*) in the Sūfī terminology is one of the stations on the way towards God.

who left a sea to come to a brook. I can see ʿAbdalqādir taking the rein of all the saints in his hand and operating the cavalry of lovers of God”.

Ibn Ḥallikān places Šayh ʿAdī in the following chain of the famous Šayhs: ʿĀqil al-Māmbīḡī, Hammād ad-Dabbās¹³, Abū an-Naḡb, ʿAbdalqādir al-Ġilānī, ʿAbdalqādir aš-Šahrazūrī, Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Ḥulwānī.

Apparently, for the sake of confirming the prestige of the Yezidi community through the fame of al-Ġilānī, there is his ‘grave’ not far away from the grave of Šayh ʿAdī, although al-Ġilānī is in fact buried in Baghdad (Drower 1941:156). The tradition says that ʿAbdalqādir was a founder and an eponymous of the *ṭarīqa* Qādiriyya, although in reality, it was founded by his successors after the 13th century (Prozorov 1991:65). This *ṭarīqa* has followers in present-day Southern Kurdistan, district of Kirkuk (Nikitine 1964:315-316). Thus, ʿAbdalqādir al-Ġilānī plays an essential role in the composition of ʿAdī b. Musāfir’s theology and is highly honoured by the Kurds, both Yezidis and Muslims.

Another ‘grave’ situated in that district is that of al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī (642-728). Most probably, this situation reveals a similar intention since the ‘graves’ of al-Bašrī are dispersed throughout the Islamic world. Another supposition is that there exists a mytho-mystical identification between al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī and Šayh Ḥasan b. ʿAdī b. Abī l-Barakāt b. Šahr b. Musāfir (1194/95-1246/47), who played a crucial role in Yezidi history. The fact of al-Bašrī’s ‘grave’, the quotations from the Qur’an at his and ʿAdī’s shrines together with other attributes were designed to protect the Yezidi sanctuaries from Muslim desecration (Badger 1852:112)¹⁴.

However, the most esteemed personality in the religious folklore of the Yezidis is Abū l-Muḡīṭ al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣūr al-Ḥallāḡ (858-922). In the Yezidi canticles, admiration for him is re-enforced by the grief of his tragic death (Celil 1978:37-40; Silēman 1979:133-139). In general, starting from the assumption that al-Ḥallāḡ was of Kurdish origin, both the Yezidi and Muslim Kurds have created a special image of al-Ḥallāḡ. It is possible that after al-Ḥallāḡ’s execution, some of his followers found asylum in the Kurdish mountains, and, thus, could have joined the *ṭarīqa* ʿAdawiyya.

The two last historical personalities represented in the *Meshef-i Reş* in the capacity of angels are a native of Mosul and ʿAdī’s contemporary Šayh Qāḍib al-Ban and the famous Šūfī Faḥr ad-Dīn Ṭabaristānī al-Qaydī (Ibn ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAmār al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī at-Tāʿim al-Bakrī), who died in Herat in 1210.

¹³ In Baghdad, al-Ġilānī attended the school of ad-Dabbās (Prozorov 1991:65).

¹⁴ These measures were especially typical, since cruel anti-Yezidi campaigns were repeatedly carried out by the Muslim authorities. See e.g., ʿAlī 1989:78-79; Longrigg 1925:97, 126, 176, 208, 210, 223, 286.

2.4 In the Kurdish Mountains of Hakkari

In order to attain a Šūfī life, Šayḥ ʿAdī desired to seclude himself from the mundane world and he found a quiet haven in Hakkari. This Kurdish region, once ruled by Marwān II, stretches from the lake of Van to Iran in the East and to Mosul in the West. In the observed period, it lost its independence and became subordinated to the rulers of Mosul (al-Ḥasanī 1953:15-16). Here, close to nature, the Kurds were living. With regard to their religion, the medieval Arab historians relate them to the Zoroastrian sect called Tirāhiyya. According to the monk Rāmīšū^c, the local Kurds used to summer with their herds in nomads' camps returning to the environs of Mosul in the winter, and the number of their tents exceeded one thousand (al-Ḥasanī 1953:12-13)¹⁵.

At first, Šayḥ ʿAdī b. Musāfir followed a life of solitude, and the local population invented implausible stories concerning his way of living. By way of illustration, we can mention the legends that the Šayḥ did not eat and never drank. And one day, in order to refute these rumours, the Šayḥ "ate something in the presence of people" (al-Ḥasanī 1953:7).

Here, the Šayḥ appears to carry out the mortification of the flesh and the cult of poverty (*faqr*), of which he was writing in Baghdad in his *Kitāb fihi dīkīr adab an-naḥs*. Gradually, Šayḥ ʿAdī won respect from the local population. Then with their questions and problems, the people started to come to this dark-complexioned, medium-height person whose speeches "fascinated emotionally rather than rationally" (al-ʿAzzāwī 1935:29; al-Ḥasanī 1953:8). There is a story written by the Šayḥ's nephew and successor as a ruler over the Yezidi community, Abū l-Barakāt, which shows that the cult of poverty (*faqr*) was of special significance and success in ʿAdī's Šūfism:

"Once thirty poor men came to my uncle Šayḥ ʿAdī. The ten of them said: O master! Tell us something about the Truth¹⁶. He told them, and they melted, and on their place the water gulf remained. Then the other ten came nearer saying: Tell us something about the essence of Love. He told them, and they died. After that the last [ten] came nearer and said: O master! Tell us something about essence of poverty

¹⁵ There exists more than sufficient evidence that the territory of present-day Kurdistan was an important Zoroastrian centre from the ancient times until the Islamic age. As it appears to us, the term *Bah-dinan* (equal to Hakkari, but the latter is also the name of the mountains) traces back to the words "*beh-din/vehdin*" with the literal meaning of 'a good faith', and the suffix for the Plural form, *an*. The word *behdin* is the self-definition of Zoroastrians beginning from the Islamic period, or in other words, the place-name "Behdinan" could have a descriptive meaning as 'the residence of the Zoroastrians'. See also: ʿAlī 1989:85-86.

¹⁶ The Highest Truth (*al-ḥaqq*) is one of 99 Qur'anic attributes of God. In the Šūfī terminology, the word is the name of God relating to His essence (Prozorov 1991:265).

(*faqr*). He told them, and they rent their garments, and went out naked" (al-Ḥasanī 1953:8).

Surrounded by his disciples, ʿAdī b. Musāfir preached in both Arabic and Kurdish. Before long, Christians, Muslims, and the members of other ethno-religious communities joined the Yezidi Kurds, who had already regarded Šayh ʿAdī as their teacher (Semënov 1927:77). This fact might have promoted the syncretic nature of Yezidism.

The Šayh presents his eschatological views in the two works of the Baghdad period: *Kitāb fiḥi dīkr adab an-nafs* and *Ftiqād abl as-sunna*. Thus, he speaks of Judgement Day and accounts the favours of Divine substances to a man after his death. All these do not exceed the framework of traditional Islamic eschatology. Later, in Hakkari, Šayh ʿAdī might still have been preoccupied with such ideas. The latter supposition is based on two stories from the fascinating book of ʿAdī's miracles, *Kitāb manāqib aš-šayh ʿAdī b. Musāfir*.

The first story speaks of a written certificate delivered by the Sultan of Constantinople to a disciple of ʿAdī. This certificate is said to contain the petition to the Most High to keep the Šayh and his accomplices away from the Fire of Hell.

The second story is narrated by Šayh al-Bārīsīqī. Once, Šayh ʿAdī addressed him while they were crossing the village cemetery: "Have you not heard that those buried there appeal to me for help?" Pointing to one of the graves emitting puffs of smoke, Šayh ʿAdī came nearer to it and began to ask God to take compassion on that man. According to al-Bārīsīqī, the smoke immediately ceased, and the Šayh informed him that the deceased was forgiven. To prove this, Šayh ʿAdī asked the buried person whose name was Ḥasan: "O Ḥasan! Do you enjoy your place?" And an astonished al-Bārīsīqī heard from the grave: "Yes, yes".

Essentially, the last story is about punishment in the afterlife with reminiscences of interrogations and tests in the grave. It is remarkable that here Šayh ʿAdī is represented as an intercessor (as in the Yezidi beliefs)¹⁷.

However, as early as in the late Baghdad period, ʿAdī's *qaṣīdas* reveal motifs of self-deification as a result of the "union with God". After his death, they developed into the idea of the incarnation of a lower deity. According to the Yezidis, alongside the Creator there exists the lower deity incarnated in three images: the beautiful bird – *Melek-Taus*, the young man – Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, and the aged Šayh – Šayh ʿAdī (Semënov 1927:72-73).

¹⁷ In 1216, Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu', the ruler of Mosul, defeated the Yezidi Kurds and defiled Šayh ʿAdī's tomb. This shocking event, according to al-Ḥasanī (1953:22-23), explains the Yezidis' belief that after his death, Šayh ʿAdī ascended to Heaven having left a testament. Then, a good angel appeared and said that that place should be regarded as Šayh ʿAdī's grave. Thus, the Yezidi Kurds found consolation in beliefs of Šayh ʿAdī's ascension and, consequently, in his divine essence (see e.g. Bīdlīsī, *Šaraf-nāmē* 83-84).

Material on 'Adī's life in Kurdistan suggests that while he was alive, the idea of his 'divine nature' remained *in embryo*. The stories of 'Adī's miracles (*karāmāt*) and grace (*baraka*) are characteristic of that period when Šūfism slowly becomes a popular religion. Expressive stories such as the following, illustrate 'Adī's pious erudition and holiness:

Once 'Adī' travelled to Mosul at his followers' request. While the whole city was in a joyful excitement, one of the Mosul 'ulamā', called Yūnus, envied Šayh 'Adī's fame and intended to put his religious erudition to the test. However, Yūnus himself was unable to answer a simple theological question that 'Adī asked him. Later, an ashamed Yūnus explained his confusion by a miraculous case: when he was about to answer that question, he saw lions at 'Adī's right and left hands who opened their mouths wide and would gorge him if he dared to say a word¹⁸.

Afterwards, when the boundaries between the Yezidis and the *ṭarīqa* of 'Adawiya had been fixed, the Kurds began to ascribe their own ideas to Šayh 'Adī. This is a frequent phenomenon in history which intends to consecrate pre-Islamic creeds by famous Islamic personalities.

Šayh 'Adī b. Musāfir said about his mission: "I know that I am given time when nothing soothes me and supports me. But in this time I soothe everything in me and I support it".

Thus, we find Šayh 'Adī b. Musāfir appearing in Kurdish history as a solitary pious person. He won fame amongst the Kurds and their neighbours alike, and in Mosul and Baghdad, too. In Hakkari, the Šayh founded his *ṭarīqa*, the members of which split into two groups after his death. The first group settled in Egypt and Syria and existed as an Islamic *ṭarīqa* until at least the 16th century. The others, chiefly the members of 'Adī's family and the other Šayhs, joined the Kurdish religious group through filling the position of its spiritual leaders (Nikitine 1964:326).

In his declining years (when he was about 90 years old), 'Adī b. Musāfir passed away in the lone house that he had built himself in Lalish¹⁹. Twice during his life, Šayh 'Adī went to the pilgrimage to Mecca (once, as we have written, in 1116 from Hakkari joining 'Abdalqādir al-Ġilānī)²⁰.

This is a general re-construction of Šayh 'Adī b. Musāfir's biography. Other views and suggestions do not appear to be well argued.

¹⁸ As is known, the lions in many cultures are firm guards of divinities.

¹⁹ The exact year of his death is not known for certain: either 555, or 557, or 558 A.H., *i.e.* about 1162 (al-'Azzāwī 1935:29; al-Ḥasanī 1953:15-17). Soon, the tomb of Šayh 'Adī became the organizational and economic basis of the *ṭarīqa*, recalling the Šūfī cloister, *zāwiya*.

²⁰ Legends of 'Adī's pilgrimages are described by Seabrook (1927:326-327) and Wigram (1914:104-105).

3 Conclusion

In this paper we have endeavoured to clarify Šayh ʿAdī's biography to pave the way for further investigations of the formation of his views. We maintain that Yezidism, as well as other Kurdish religious teachings, traces back to the common ancient religious system. Since the Kurdish tribal groups were isolated by the mountainous nature of their country and by political rivalry, the success and failure of Islamization were strongly dependent on disseminators of the new cultural values. As a result, a number of Kurdish local religions came into existence.

The decisive factor in the Yezidi case is the personality and teaching of Šayh ʿAdī b. Musāfir. Thus, the Yezidi case proves that Šūfism was one of the main ways for the introduction of the Kurds to Islamic values and evolution of the Kurdish tradition.

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LES TRACES DE PRINCIPES D'HONNEUR DES ARABES DE ANTEISLAM DANS LES COUTUMES ET PROVERBES CONTEMPORAINES

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Les tribus arabes de l'antéislam avaient créé un code d'honneur qui devient une loi non-écrite, coutumière, mais observée et gardée précieusement par toute la tribu. Le terme qui en arabe répond à l'idée d'honneur est le mot *'ird*. Parmi de nombreux principes d'honneur, présentés dans le toujours valable ouvrage de Farés (1932), j'ai choisi trois: "la chasteté de la femme" et le principe qui y est strictement lié, "la non-captivité de la femme libre" ainsi que "la protection" (*ǧiwār*), dont les traces ou du moins l'inspiration est visible dans la lois tribale (*'urf*) des Bédouins contemporains en Jordanie.

La conduite de la femme et la réputation de la jeune fille doit être à l'abri de tout soupçon: elle doit rester vierge jusqu'au jour de son mariage et devenant femme, elle doit être fidèle à son époux. Pour la famille c'était une garantie de "la pureté du sang".

En se basant sur la poésie arabe ancienne, Farés écrit: "... On encensait la femme pudique et honnête qui préservait ses seins de tout contact impur" (Farés 1932:75). L'inconduite de la femme faisait affront à sa famille. Ils étaient particulièrement chatouilleux sur ce point-là. La réputation du père était salie même lorsqu'un poète osait chanter sa fille dans ses poèmes (*ibid.*, 76). D'après anciennes sources arabes, on glorifiait celui dont l'épouse ne commettait point d'adultère. D'autre part, la femme vertueuse qui ne perdait point la réputation de son père ni celle de son frère, était magnifiée (*ibid.*). Il faut aussi souligner que l'inconduite de la femme était un déshonneur pour sa famille et obligeait son père et ses frères à laver cet opprobre, ce qui, dans les coutumes de Bédouins, reste vivant jusqu'à présent. Farés en parle ainsi: "Cela était courant: les Arabes mettaient à mort le séducteur ainsi que la femme séduite si elle était responsable" (*ibid.*, 77). Cette dernière constatation est très importante jusqu'au nos jours. La pureté de la généalogie était donc érigée en élément d'honneur, parce qu'elle se trouvait à la base de "la solidarité par le sang" (*ibid.*, 147).

Un autre principe vient s'y ajouter: "La non-captivité de la femme libre". La liberté était la condition naturelle de la femme, mais que la femme fût enlevée par le groupe vainqueur, ce faisait défaut. Les Arabes appelaient les femmes qu'ils enlevaient à l'ennemi - *sabāyā*. Ils les traitaient avec bienveillance, les honoraient et souvent les prenaient en mariage (al-Isfahāni, *Aǧānī* XVI, 97). Malgré ça, les femmes abhorraient le *saby*. Elles en subissaient la honte. Le *saby* était un élément de déshonneur pour ceux qui en étaient la victime et par ricochet, un élément d'honneur pour ceux qui en délivraient leur femmes (Farés 1932:81).

Je ne parlerai que brièvement du principe de *ḡiwār* ("protection") qui sera présent dans les lois de Bédouins contemporains concernant l'enlèvement (*ḥatf*) des jeunes filles. Voilà ce qu'en dit Farés, en parlant de l'époque préislamique: "Quand un Arabe se trouvait opprimé, poursuivi ... etc., il se réfugiait (*yastaḡīru*) soit auprès d'un groupe, soit d'un individu influent (...). Octroyer le droit d'asile constituait un élément d'honneur" (Farés 1932:89). L'homme à qui on accorde sa protection était nommé *ḡār* — ce qui veut dire en même temps "protégé" et parmi les sédentaires "voisin". Donner asile à qqn (*ḡiwār*) c'est s'engager à le protéger dans l'avenir, c'est-à-dire à lui fournir toute aide dont il aura besoin. Renoncer à la protection, est considéré comme un déshonneur. Par contre, on recueillait les plus belles louanges quand on était fidèle à son *ḡār*, quand on mettait à l'abri des vexations (Farés 1932:90).

L'importance et le haut rang de la défense efficace et de la protection apparaît dans les proverbes arabes groupés récemment par Aḥmad al-Biṣr ar-Rūmī et Ṣafwat Kamāl dans un recueil de quatre volumes, dont nous citerons quelques-uns: *al-ḡār qabla d-dār* (Protégé devant la maison), et *ḡārak tumma dārak* (D'abord ton protégé, ensuite ta maison) (ar-Rūmī & Kamāl 1978-82: II, 317). On ne peut pas exclure qu'ici le mot *ḡār* puisse signifier tout simplement "le voisin". Cependant il semble que c'est l'honneur de celui qui donne asile et sa protection à *ḡār* est tellement important que la personne de *ḡār* domine sa propre maison et sa famille. Le témoignage pour cette attitude nous avons trouvé chez al-Ġāḥiẓ dans l'histoire de poète Muḥriz b. al-Muka'bir qui demandait l'aide (*yastaḡīru*) "d'un individu influent", le chef de Banū Māzin, Muḥāriq b. Šihāb (al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Bayān* III, 246)¹.

Dans le même recueil des proverbes, nous trouvons le proverbe se rapportant à l'honneur et au déshonneur défini par le mot *ʿār*: *an-nār wa-lā ʿār* (Mieux vaut le feu que le déshonneur) (ar-Rūmī & Kamāl 1978-82: II, 21). Les auteurs prouvent que ce proverbe est courant sur toute la Péninsule Arabe et en Iraq, en Palestine, au Liban, en Syrie, en Egypte, au Soudan et en Tunisie.

Les principes de l'honneur ne sont pas seulement le vestige des époques anciennes. A notre époque ils sont toujours en honneur chez les tribus de Bédouins de différents pays. En me basant sur les matériaux publiés dans la revue *al-Maʿtūrāt aš-šaʿbiyya* (janvier 1987) sous le titre "*Uqūbat al-ḥatf wa-intihāk al-ird fi l-qadāʾ al-badawī*" (La peine pour l'enlèvement et l'atteinte à l'honneur dans la loi de Bédouins; al-ʿAzīzī 1987), je vais présenter ici la question de l'honneur, de la famille, des coutumes intéressantes et des dictons qui se rapportent à l'enlèvement de jeunes filles chez les Bédouins de Jordanie. Il faut ajouter que les lois tribales (*qānūn al-ʿašāʾir*) ont été en vigueur jusqu'en 1976. Le 23 mai 1976 elles ont été abolies par le gouvernement jordanien qui a menacé de responsabilité pénale les juges qui les appliqueraient pour

¹ Traduction anglaise: Skarżyńska-Bocheńska 1992.

les Bédouins (al-^cAzīzī 1987:61). L'auteur de cet article ne précise pas si, après l'annulation de cette loi il y a dix ans, la société de Bédouins a abandonné ou non ses anciennes coutumes (*ibid.*).

La virginité de la jeune fille jusqu'au mariage, est le principe le plus général et le plus étroitement lié au sentiment de l'honneur d'anciens Arabes. Les prescriptions du Coran qui condamnent *zinā'* (relations sexuelles entre les personnes hors du mariage), viennent ensuite appuyer ce principe. C'est connu que la mauvaise conduite de la femme doit être punie de mort². La femme de mauvaise vie est appelée par les Bédouins de Jordanie — *al-ḡarbā* (galeuse) — par analogie à la chamelle galeuse. Selon la coutume c'est la famille de la femme qui est responsable de l'inconduite de celle-ci et non pas son mari. Ceci est confirmé par le proverbe: *al-mar'a hayruhā li-ḡawzihā wa-šarruhā 'alā ablihā* (Les qualités de la femme vont sur le compte de son mari, ses mauvaises actions déteignent sur sa famille). L'inconduite de la femme et de la mère ne porte aucune atteinte à l'honneur de son époux ni de ses fils. Et ce qui est plus, le mari qui tuerait sa femme qui le trompe, serait obligé à payer *diyya* (la rançon du sang) correspondant à *diyya* pour l'assassinat de quatre hommes³. Ce sont: son père, ses oncles paternels, ses frères, (et si elle ne les a pas, ses parents plus éloignés) qui sont chargés d'effacer la honte (*'ār*) de la famille. L'homme qui reste indifférent à la mauvaise conduite des femmes de sa famille est appelé *al-hābir aš-šābir* (celui qui "sait et supporte passivement l'opprobre"). Les Bédouins le méprisent, il n'a pas le droit de siéger en compagnie des hommes, et il ne peut pas être appelé à témoigner au tribunal de la tribu. Même le *dayyūt* (entremetteur) est plus estimé que lui (al-^cAzīzī 1987:58).

L'attachement des tribus bédouines aux principes de *'ird* et l'échelle des valeurs qu'ils respectent, sont illustrés par le dicton qu'ils emploient souvent:

*"alf ihāna li-l-māl, wa-lā ihāna li-l-ʿyāl,
alf ihāna li-l-ʿyāl, wa-lā ihāna li-l-ʿird,
wa-alf ihāna li l-ʿird, wa-lā ihāna li-d-dīn"* (*ibid.*).

(Mille mépris pour les richesses, mais pas de mépris pour les enfants, mille mépris pour les enfants, mais pas de mépris pour l'honneur, mille mépris pour l'honneur, mais pas de mépris pour la religion.)

L'honneur occupe donc une place élevée dans leur hiérarchie des valeurs, venant tout de suite après la religion et devant l'amour pour les enfants. Les richesses sont le moins prisées.

² Par contre nous trouvons dans l'étude de Mahgoub (1994) les preuves pour que les lois tribales sont toujours en l'honneur (1967) chez les Bédouins en Egypte.

³ al-^cAzīzī 1987:61. Le même *diyya* - quatre hommes pour une femme - oblige dans la loi tribale d'Awlād 'Alī en Égypte; voir Mahgoub 1994:153.

En exigeant que la femme soit vertueuse, ils attachent une grande importance à son éducation dans les principes de l'honneur, mais ils admettent tout de même une certaine liberté. La jeune fille bédouine a la possibilité de recevoir ses prétendants éventuels lors des "réceptions" du soir dans la tente ou devant la tente, dites *ta'lila*. Les Bédouins respectent pleinement le droit de la jeune fille à choisir librement son futur époux. Ils sont persuadés que la jeune fille forcée au mariage ne peut pas rester fidèle à son mari. Ceci s'exprime par le dicton: "*al-mağsūba mā lahā 'ird*" (*ibid.*), (La forcée [au mariage] n'a pas d'honneur). Jusqu'aux années 70, le seul cas où la jeune fille n'avait pas le choix, c'était la situation où voulait l'épouser l'un des cousins paternels qui avait le droit de "priorité" sur la fille de son oncle paternel. Cette coutume a été annulée dans les années 70 du XX^e siècle à la suite des démarches d'un des chefs de tribu. Il est curieux de constater que les Bédouins abandonnent petit à petit leur ancienne coutume de marier leurs filles avec les cousins paternels de celles-ci. Cependant dans *al-Amtāl al-kuwaytiyya* on trouve aussi un dicton selon lequel le choix d'un étranger pour époux vaut mieux que celui d'un cousin paternel: *kun naṣīb wa-lā takun ibn 'amm* (Sois mon destin et non pas mon cousin) (ar-Rūmi & Kamāl 1978-82: III, 47).

Les Bédouins font tout pour élever leur jeune fille de façon à ce qu'elle sache elle-même veiller à son honneur⁴, tout en restant assez libre. En même temps ils ont créé des règlements très stricts pour les cas d'enlèvement de la jeune fille. Ces règlements, faisant partie des lois tribales, sont si précis qu'il semble évident que les enlèvements ont du être fréquents.

Il y a cinq sortes "d'enlèvements":

1. Celle qui crie à l'aube: *ṣā'ihat aḍ-ḍuhā*,
2. Enlèvement par force, contre la volonté de l'enlevée: *ḥatf ḡaṣban*,
3. Enlèvement avec le consentement de l'enlevée et sans témoins: *ḥatf bi-r-riḍā bi-dūn ṣuhūd*,
4. Enlèvement avec le consentement de l'enlevée et avec témoins: *ḥatf bi-r-riḍā wa-bi-ṣuhūd*,
5. Viol: *al-iğtisāb* (al-^cAzīzī 1987:58).

Je passe sous silence l'enlèvement par force et le viol (existants d'ailleurs dans les lois des Bédouins d'Égypte⁵), qui forcément sont punis le plus sévèrement, et j'analyserai les trois autres cas:

"Celle qui crie à l'aube".

C'est la description la plus pittoresque de la jeune fille et de la peine que cela mérite. Le nom de ce délit vient du fait que la jeune fille, enlevée à l'aube, se défend et "crie"

⁴ Selon mon informateur Georges Qass d'Alep qui connaît les tribus bédouines de Hasake, et aussi mon étudiante Violetta Trabulsi, qui a passé un mois parmi les Bédouins à Sinaï en 1990.

⁵ La même situation est mentionnée dans la loi des Bédouins en Égypte; voir Mahgoub 1994:155.

en appelant au secours. Pour prouver son innocence, elle doit avoir des colliers cassés, des vêtements déchirés. D'habitude elle n'est pas punie. C'est lié au fait qu'elle n'y est pas responsable. Quand même elle doit être "purifiée" par la peine infligée à son agresseur. Alors le ravisseur:

- est déshabillé complètement et marche sous les regards méprisants de toute la tribu jusqu'à l'endroit où on lui dessine "un cercle" par terre.
- "le cercle" (*ḥiṭṭa*) est l'endroit où il doit jurer qu'il n'a pas fait de mal à la fille. Le cercle a une signification symbolique de "lieu clos" et s'il prête un faux serment, Dieu le mettra, après sa mort, dans un lieu clos dont il n'y a pas de sortie, et en ce monde, il aura des revenus limités. A l'intérieur de ce cercle, on place aussi d'autres objets tels que: une épée, une fourmi et un couvre-chef de Bédouin (*ṣayf, namla wa-šamla*). L'épée piquée, la pointe dans la terre, au milieu du cercle symbolise le châtement de Dieu pour le parjure — tous ses descendants mâles périront par l'épée; la fourmi symbolise le fait que ses revenus seront très petits.

Dans une note, l'auteur de l'article explique que *šamla* est un morceau d'étoffe faite du poil de chameau qui, par sa couleur noire, doit symboliser le fait que le Dieu punira le parjure par "un destin noir" (*ṣawād al-ḥazz*) et par un mauvais renommé (*sū' as-sam'ā*) en ce monde et dans l'au-delà (al-*ʿAzīzī* 1987:61). Mon l'informateur Georges Qass (d'Alep) qui connaît des tribus de Bédouins de la région Hasake, considère que "prendre le couvre-chef d'un Bédouin et le jeter par terre, équivaut à un déshonneur". Je pense que ces deux explications sont valables pour le cas écrit.

- Le ravisseur doit offrir un chameau en entrant dans le cercle et puis un autre, en sortant. Debout dans le cercle il prête un serment suivant: "*wallāhi mā qadītu lahā yam īn, wa-lā ḥabbītu lahā ḡabīn*" (Je jure sur le nom de Dieu que je ne lui ai rien fait, qu'elle peut marcher le front haut).
- Le juge prononce un verdict supplémentaire: toutes les obligations et tous les délits de la famille de "l'enlevée" vis-à-vis la famille du ravisseur sont annulés jusqu'à la cinquième génération des aïeux. La famille de ravisseur perd même le droit de venger le sang de son parent et celui de *diyya* (rançon du sang) (al-*ʿAzīzī* 1987:59).

"Enlèvement avec témoins".

Pour ce genre d'enlèvement la loi bédouine est plus clément, mais les règles d'honneur doivent être observées. Un tel enlèvement a lieu lorsque son auteur, après avoir essayé toutes les possibilités d'un mariage normal avec la jeune fille élue et étant sûr des sentiments de celle dont la famille a rejeté sa demande en mariage, ainsi que les demandes d'autres intermédiaires, décide, avec le consentement de la fille, de l'enlever. Il invite pour témoins (*šuhūd*) des personnes respectables dont le témoignage sera accepté car leur droiture est connue. Le ravisseur "se réfugie" (*yastag'iru*) à la maison (tente) d'un des voisins les plus proches de la maison de la jeune fille. Il y mène "l'enlevée" en compagnie des "témoins de l'innocence" (*šuhūd al-barā'a aw t-tabriya*), et ces voisins la prennent sous leur protection. Elle devient "*ḡār*" pour eux, tout comme dans la loi de l'honneur préislamique. Ensuite "les témoins de l'innocence"

se rendent chez le juge et certifient que l'auteur de l'enlèvement "n'a touché la main de la fille ni ne l'a pas embrassé sur la joue" (*lā yumsik li-l-mahṭūfa yadan wa-lā qabbala labā haddan*). Le juge demande encore si l'enlevée a donné son accord pour cet enlèvement et si elle est en âge de se marier, et après avoir recueilli "les témoignages" des témoins, il prononce le verdict permettant aux jeunes de se marier après avoir tout de même rempli des conditions suivantes:

1. L'auteur de l'enlèvement paie une amende qui n'est pas inférieure à 400 dinars de Jordanie.
2. Pour "l'enlevée" il donne sa soeur ou sa parente, pour que l'un des frères de l'enlevée puisse l'épouser. Si elle n'a pas de frères, la fille va au père de l'enlevée. Le ravisseur paie "mahr" (dot) pour cette parente, à la famille de celle-ci.
3. Le représentant (*wakīl*) du ravisseur doit prononcer en présence du père de l'enlevée et de sa famille (*ʿaṣīra*) les paroles de "*bayād al-waḡb*" - bonne réputation (al-ʿAzīzī 1987:59). C'est cette formule qu'on prononce:
*"Allāhu yubayyida waḡbak yā fulāna,
 allī samaha ʿannā wa-karramanā"*.
 (Que le Dieu éclaire ton visage (nom de père), toi qui nous as montré de la compréhension et nous as fait du bien.)

Cette formule doit être prononcée à la maison du juge, en présence des personnes réunies, à la maison des voisins qui ont pris la jeune fille sous leur protection, et à la maison de son père (ou de son tuteur). Au-dessus de chacune des maisons, trois drapeaux blancs doivent flotter pendant trois jours (*ibid.*).

Le vieux principe arabe de "protection" (*ḡiwār*) joue ici un rôle très important; grâce à lui l'honneur de la famille de la fille est sauvé et l'amour des jeunes peut se terminer par le mariage.

Je n'ai trouvé aucune trace des "témoins de l'innocence" (*ṣuhūd al-barā'a*) dans l'ancienne tradition arabe, par contre dans la loi des Bédouins contemporains, ils sont très importants. Un proverbe arabe, tiré du recueil précité, parle de ce genre d'entraide: "*qawm tasā'adū mā dullū*" (Les gens qui s'aident mutuellement ne seront pas humiliés) (ar-Rūmī & Kamāl 1978-82: II, 113-114).

L'importance des "témoins de innocence" ressort pleinement, si on examine le cas de "enlèvement sans témoins et avec le consentement de la jeune fille". L'auteur écrit: "L'enlèvement sans témoins est un délit très dangereux, il a des conséquences néfastes même si le ravisseur met l'enlevée (*yastaḡīr*) sous la protection d'un chef connu, et si l'enlevée avoue qu'elle a donné son consentement - le verdict du juge est sévère". Les Bédouins considèrent "l'enlevée" comme "tuée" et *ʿurf* (la loi de tribu) définit le prix du sang de la femme comme le prix du celui de quatre hommes. La famille de la fille ne l'accorde presque jamais en mariage à son ravisseur et souvent ils la tuent (al-ʿAzīzī 1987:59). Parmi les Bédouins il y a un dicton qui illustre cette situation:

"*ad-dam mā 'alayhi šuhūd, wa-l-'ayb mā 'alayhi wurūd*" (Il ne faut pas de témoins pour l'effusion du sang, il n'y a pas de roses qui couvriraient la honte) (*ibid.*, 60).

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CUSTOMS, MANNERS AND BELIEFS
AS REFLECTED BY SOME ARABIC PROVERBS AND IDIOMS

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0 Introduction

Proverbs and idioms are part and parcel of the ethos of the area in which they are current, and Arabic proverbs are no exception. However, as Arabic has, since the advent of Islam, been the vernacular of millions of speakers, in three continents, who use scores of Arabic dialects and have many customs, manners and beliefs in common, it is not surprising that we find some of these echoed in the thousands of Arabic proverbs and idioms, which are found in both literary and colloquial Arabic.

This paper attempts to trace back certain customs, manners and beliefs which were, and to a certain extent, still are, current among Arabs, as reflected by some Arabic proverbs and idioms¹.

1 Proverbs

1.1 Evil eye (*‘ēn*)

The Arabs, like many other peoples, believe in the ‘evil eye’ and its power to harm. It is believed that a mere glance from an envious person can cause the envied man to become unlucky, affect his family, make him lose his property, become ill or even die (cf. e.g. Dickson 1967:505; Thomas 1938:80). Women are more likely to believe in this superstition, but men too believe in it, since the Prophet Muḥammad himself is said to have been “a believer in the baneful influence of an evil eye. Asmā’ bint ‘Umayyā relates that she said: O Prophet, the family of Ğa‘far are affected by the baneful influences of an evil eye; may I use spells for them or not? The Prophet said: ‘Yes, for if there were anything in the world which would overcome fate, it would be an evil eye’”².

Although a person with blue or squint eyes or thick eye-brows, a beardless man or a hairy woman should particularly be avoided, as their glances are full of evil, any person may potentially possess the harming power of the evil eye (cf. Stavsky 1946:340; Frayḥa 1953: No. 3101). Children are particularly vulnerable to the danger of being exposed to

¹ Though ‘proverbs’ and ‘idioms’ are regarded as two general terms referring to combinations of words, classical Arabic includes both of them, as well as all other types of sayings, such as, maxims, adages, aphorisms, etc., in the term *amṭāl*, and only in modern Arabic the term *at-ta‘bīr al-iṣṭilāḥī* for ‘idiom’ has, in the last thirty years or so, begun to appear in Arabic dictionaries and the linguistic literature. Hence, our decision to discuss the two terms here. For a detailed discussion of these terms in Arabic, see Shivtiel 1976:106-110.

² Hughes 1982:112 under ‘Evil eye’. For other references to the Prophet’s belief in the evil eye and popular expressions to avert the evil eye, see Piamenta 1983, particularly, 87-90.

the evil eye. Hence, if one sees a handsome boy he should either say the expression *mā šā'a Allāh* (This is what God has willed) or *ism-allah 'alēh* (God name on him), or *tfū 'alēk, mā abšā'ak* (I spit on you, how ugly you are!), (cf. Lane 1908:256; Piamenta 1983:87, and Meyuhas 1937:183).

To avert the evil eye some parents give their children such names as *Qabīha* (ugly)³, and Lane tells us that in Egypt parents used to dress little boys in girls' clothes and other female ornaments to divert the evil eye from the child himself (Lane 1908:58, 513). Also, salt is sprinkled around little children and around the house after the departure of a guest (Lane 1908:510 and Stavsky 1946:339). Amulets, charms and talismans are often worn or carried by the person to be protected, and also necklaces of sky-blue beads, are worn on the neck or on the cap or the head of human beings and even of domestic animals. Other means are also known, including stretching the right hand with all five fingers open or closed and directed at the face of the person who is suspected of having set evil looks on somebody or something (cf. Lane 1908:253-270; Meyuhas 1937:182-185; Stavsky 1946:340).

A few Arabic proverbs and expressions refer to the evil eye and to how one should act if affected by its baneful influence. For example:

1. *al-ḥasūd lā yasūd* or *'ēn al-ḥasūd lā tasūd* – 'May the envier's evil eye never prevail.' These sayings and others have become so popular that some people use them on posters which they hang in homes, offices and cars.
2. *al-ḥasūd bi-'ēnō 'ūd* – '(May) the envier's eye be pierced by a chip of wood.'
3. *al-ḥasūd lā yasūd u-mā bi-mūt illā u-burwa makmūd* – 'May the envier never prevail and may he die only heartbroken.'
4. *'indak 'ēš u-'indī 'ēš u-fağ'at al-'ēn lēš?* – 'You earn your living and I earn mine, so why the evil eye?'
5. *al-'ēn illī bi-tšīb, qal'ha ḥalāl* – 'An eye which harms, its gouging out is legal.'
6. *al-'ēn qattāla* and *al-'ēn twaššil ad-dafn* – 'The evil eye can kill.'
7. *'uyūn zurq, u-snān furq* – 'Blue eyes and teeth with gaps between them', i.e. an evil eye⁴.

1.2 Blood feud (*ta'r*)

Blood revenge has been a fundamental practice among the peoples of the Middle East, and it is perhaps one of the best instances for a popular custom which has been legitimized by some codes of laws of the ancient world. Thus, the Old Testament gives details of the procedure for blood revenge (see, Numbers, ch. 35,11-34); while the Qur'ān (4:93), which has reservations about the killing of a Muslim by his fellow Muslim, does not categorically prohibit this Ġāhīlī custom (cf. Levy 1971: 243, 351-353). Moreover, though it is recommended that revenge take place soon after the murder or, indeed any crime punishable by death, circumstances allow blood-revengers to carry out the vendetta after

³ = 'Apotropaic name'. For further details see Crystal 1992:113.

⁴ For the Arabs' attitude to the blue colour in general and to blue eyes in particular, see Shvitiel 1991.

the elapse of many years, no time-limit being imposed, although the acceptable limit is normally five generations (cf. Lane 1908:202; Stavsky 1946:348-362). Blood-revenge may also result in a series of murders, which may only be stopped by an agreement of reconciliation (*ṣulḥa*), which usually involves the payment of blood-money (*diyya*) by the first killer or his family (cf. Lane 1908:108; Stavsky, *loc. cit.*).

Moreover, blood feud was and still is regarded as a heroic act which is a duty as well as a praise-worthy action, and pre-Islamic poetry provides the best evidence for cases of blood revenge among the Arab tribes, as large parts of the odes composed during the Ġāhiliyya are panegyric, in which the revenger is praised for his courage, resolution and sense of commitment (cf. Nicholson 1969:93-100). The custom is still current in all parts of the Middle East and, in particular, in rural areas.

A large number of proverbs refer to blood-revenge, for example:

1. *anā u-inte wi-z-zamān ṭawīl* – 'There are only you and me, and we have got time.' The proverb contains a threat directed at the person one wishes to teach a lesson. It emphasizes the fact that the 'revenger' has patience to wait for the convenient time.
2. *aḥd at-ta'r bi-zīl al-ār* – 'Taking revenge removes shame.' As long as revenge has not been taken, the 'revenger' lives in shame because people may think that he is a coward (see also, Meyuhas 1937:123).
3. *al-ār mā yingasil illā bi-d-dam* – 'Shame can be washed off only with blood.'
4. *al-ēn bi-l-ēn, wi-s-sinn bi-s-sinn* – 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' (cf. Exodus, 21, 24; Leviticus, 24, 20; Deuteronomy, 19, 21).
5. *lammā b-ti'ğaz al-mara 'an al-intiqām, b-tibkī* – 'When a woman fails to take revenge, she cries.' The proverb suggests that revenge is equally important to men and women.
6. *al-badawī aḥad ta'rō bād' arba' in sane u-qāl istā'galet* – 'The Bedouin took revenge after forty years and said I was hasty.' The importance of revenge is emphasized by this proverb while the number forty only denotes a long period of time.
7. *mā bitrok at-ta'r illā radī' al-ḥāl* – 'No one will give up revenge only a despicable person.'

1.3 Dowry (*mahr, siyāq*)

The custom of paying a dowry to the bride's family goes back to ancient times and is well rooted in all old cultures around the Middle East. By paying the bride's family the wife becomes the property of her husband, a fact which is significant so far as her duties and rights are concerned. Since the bride usually moves to live with her husband the dowry is a type of a compensation offered to her family for 'losing' her. The dowry can be paid to the bride's family with money, property, land, products or services. In primitive societies the payment, which is usually made to the father, brother or the guardian of the bride is for his own use (cf. Lane 1908:166, fn. 1; Baer 1960:46). However, in more progressive societies the dowry is largely spent on the newly-married couple (Lane, *loc. cit.*; Lancaster 1981:52), and the rest is used by the bride's family, e.g. to help one of the brothers of the bride to pay a dowry for his own wife. Since the amount to be paid as a dowry is decided arbitrarily by the family according to the bride's merits

(her distinguished lineage, her being a virgin, beautiful, young, healthy, etc.), only wealthy suitors may be able to afford her (cf. Stavsky 1946:231-234; Meyuhas 1937:60-62; Ashkenazy 1957:69). Hence, there have been many cases of marriages of young and poor girls to old and wealthy men. This practice has for years been criticized by many progressive Arabs, both men and women, with a fair amount of success in keeping the number of cases low, especially among urban society, though such marriages are still customary in rural areas (cf. Waschitz 1947:207-208; Stavsky 1946:236). On the other hand, there are many cases of bridegrooms and brides who choose to escape together, an act which may often result in their killing 'to save the face of the family'. Another way to avoid payment of the dowry is by 'cross marriages', i.e. two brothers marry two sisters (cf. Stavsky 1946:238-239; Meyuhas 1937:62).

A number of proverbs are concerned directly with the payment of a dowry, whereas others only allude to the custom:

1. *abuy ba'nī u-ğōzī (i)štarānī* - 'My father has sold me and my husband has bought me.' The proverb indicates that marriage has been agreed upon between the father of the bride and the bridegroom without consulting the bride, as if she were goods for trading.
2. *illi mā bi-ddōš yeğawwez bintō bi-ğallī maherbā* - 'He who does not wish to marry off his daughter puts her price up.' This proverb is usually used metaphorically as a warning to any businessman not to be too greedy, otherwise his goods will not sell.
3. *illi ma'ō flūsō bint as-sultān 'arūsō* - 'He who has money can marry the Sultan's daughter.'
4. *al-fulūs bi-tğib al-'arūs* - 'Money gets the bride.'
5. *wiq fī l-hubb, (i)rtafa' at-taklif* - 'He who falls in love has higher expenses.' The proverb is used metaphorically as a warning to any customer not to show too much enthusiasm about the goods he wishes to buy, otherwise the seller will put up the price.
6. *al-muqaddima mā lahā maber* - 'One does not pay a dowry for a bride who is not a virgin.' This proverb may be used metaphorically to signify that he who sells used goods should not expect a high price for them.
7. *abū l-banāt marzūq* - 'The girls' father is blessed.' This dictum is said to a person who has many daughters, signifying that one day he will be compensated for the sorrow of having no son (cf. Stavsky 1946:234-235).

1.4 Beard (*daqn, lihya*)

The beard was regarded in ancient times as a symbol of manliness and manhood. The Egyptians of Pharaonic times used at first to grow beards, but at a later stage began to shave them, perhaps because of the influence of the Romans, who usually used to shave their beards and moustaches. The Greeks nearly always favoured beards, as evident from drawings and sculptures from ancient Greece, while in Mesopotamia, noble people and officials used to grow beards, whereas beardless males were usually eunuchs (cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, V, 329). The Old Testament refers to man's beard as a sign of nobility (cf. Psalms, 133, 2), while a shaved beard was a mark of shame and ignominy (cf. 2 Samuel, 10, 4-5; see also Meyuhas 1937:117; Stavsky 1946:304).

Arab men also used to grow beards, as they shared the attitudes prevalent in the area regarding the issue, and when men began to shave their beards moustaches were usually left to indicate manhood⁵. The importance of man's beard can be seen from the custom of holding one's own beard or other people's beards or mentioning the beard of the Prophet Muḥammad when taking an oath (cf. Stavsky 1946:243). This practice indicates the integrity and sincerity of the person who swears by the beard, demonstrating either his innocence or his commitment to keeping his promise (cf. Meyuhās 1937:109; Stavsky 1946:300). Hence, in the Yemen the idiom *mahlūq ad-dign* (a beardless man) means an unreliable person. The reason being that he has nothing substantial to take an oath with or that he is as weak as a beardless person, e.g. a woman. Moreover, a saying current in the Yemen is: "If I do not fulfill my promise, shave my beard!" (cf. Yitzhari 1993: II, 31, proverb 208). Furthermore, a beardless person also symbolizes bad luck and accordingly whom one should not associate with (see above p. 2, and Frayḥa 1953: No. 3101).

A number of proverbs in Arabic refer to man's beard and its connotations:

1. *illi bu-bzoq bi-kaffak, ubzoq bi-daqnō* – 'If a person spits on your hand, spit on his beard.' This means that if a person insults you you should insult him even more.
2. *illi bu-bzoq bi-l-ālī, bi-tirḡā' alā daqnō* – 'He who spits upwards the spit falls back on his beard.' This means that if one tries to harm others, especially his superiors, it will affect him in the end.
3. *mā ḥada bi-sallem daqnō la-wlādō* – 'No one gives his beard even to his own children.' This means that no person entrusts his fate even to the hands of his own children.
4. *bayna ḥānā u-mānā dā'at liḥānā* – 'Between Hana and Mana our beard perished.' This means that the person may often be the victim of two rivalries, or fall between two stools.
5. *bāzī wilād ḡērō, u-nāsiḥ dawlitō, u-musirr 'alā mratō – wāḡeb ḥalq diqnō* – 'He who brings up a child who is not his own, and he who gives advice to his government, and he who tells his wife his secrets – should have his beard shaved.' The proverb indicates that the doer of all these three things deserves to be humiliated. A similar proverb is *man sād šawr marteh yistḥiqq natf liḥyateh* – 'He who supports his wife's views deserves to have his beard plucked out.'
6. *diqn mā tiḥteh fulūs yiḥtāḡ ilā mūs* – 'The beard of the poor deserves to be shaved.' This proverb signifies the shame of being poor.
7. *daqn at-tammā' fī ṭīz al-miflis* – 'The greedy man's beard is inside the bankrupt's anus.' This proverb is said about a greedy usurer who loses his property and consequently his honour because he lent his money to a bankrupt person.

1.5 Coffee (*qahwa*)

One of the customs associated with hospitality is coffee drinking and this has gone beyond the simple practice of sipping this popular drink, and has become a part of daily life and a symbol of friendship. Hence, it is the drink offered to conclude deliberations

⁵ For customs relating to beard growing in Egypt, see Lane 1908:29.

over a blood-revenge case which ends with peaceful agreement: it is the drink which is offered on the occasion of marriage negotiations; it is the drink offered at the time of rejoicing and mourning and it is in fact the drink offered to guests soon after their arrival.

It is assumed that coffee was first introduced to the Middle East around the fourteenth century⁶, and immediately gained popularity in a society in which the drinking of alcohol was not allowed. Moreover, the word *qahwa* itself from which the word 'coffee' (and other variations current in the European languages) has emerged meant originally 'wine' (cf. *Lisān al-ʿarab*, under *q.h.w.*). However, as coffee became popular, the word *qahwa* began to be used, denoting this drink, while the plant and coffee beans are called *bunn*.

The popularity of coffee can be proved by the role it plays in daily life all around the East. Hence, poets and writers have dedicated some of their works or part of them to this traditional drink. Moreover, a whole myth and folklore have developed over the years with regard to coffee making and the practices of its consumption, including 'formulae' of its preparation, special pots, cups and utensils used, first for making and later for drinking it⁷, and customs related to its serving and drinking (cf. Lane 1908:339-340; Dickson 1967:195-201; Meyuhas 1937:88-90; Stavsky 1946:315-320; Shim'oni 1947:145).

It is therefore only natural that this important commodity and the customs surrounding its consumption are reflected in Arabic proverbs. For example:

1. *bēt bi-lā qahwe, sultān bi-lā farwe* - 'A house without coffee is like a sultan without a fur.' Though clothes made of fur usually associate with wealth, the word has probably been used here because it rhymes with the word coffee.
2. *al-bēt maftūh wa-l-qahwe ʿa-nnār* - 'The door is open and the coffee is on the fire.' That is to say, 'you are most welcome'.
3. *qahwe bi-lā duḥān, miṭl bēt bi-lā šibyān* - 'Coffee without smoke is like a house without children.' According to Abbud (1933: No. 3397) this proverb refers to the custom current among Beduins who cook the coffee over firewood which, when burnt, makes much smoke. Hence, no matter how much good merits one has, he is bound to have faults too. It seems to me that Abbud's explanation is far-fetched and that the proverb simply means that good coffee is one which is well-cooked on fire, just like a house which gains its vitality from the children who live in it.
4. *al-qahwe samra lākin tanāḥā abyad* - 'The coffee is black, but its praise is white.' The proverb indicates apparent contradiction between two things by reference to two contrasting colours. The explanation provided by Abbud is that the proverb is said about a person whose actions are commendable, though he himself is poor or ugly (cf. Abbud 1933: No. 3398).

⁶ For the various views about this question, see Meyuhas 1937:89.

⁷ Such utensils reached Europe in the 17th century, cf. Arnold & Guillaume 1931:150.

5. *awwal finġān la-ddēf, t̄ānī finġān la-l-kēf u-tālet finġān la-ssēf* – ‘The first cup of coffee is for the guest, the second is for enjoyment and the third is for the sword.’ This proverb is current especially among Bedouins and it indicates that if a guest stays too long in the house of his host, he may cause troubles in the end.
6. *al-qabweh in liqyet hamm tzilō, w-in liqyet farah tzidō* – ‘When coffee encounters a problem it gets rid of it, and when it encounters happiness it adds to it.’
7. *al-qabwe mistāh as-salām wi-l-kalām* – ‘Coffee is the key for peace and conversation.’

2 Idioms

Like proverbs, idioms are combinations of words which may be syntactically complete sentences. However, unlike proverbs, which are often interpreted literally, but gain their special effect by application to similar situations, the meaning of an idiom is not deducible from the aggregate meaning of its components.

Moreover, like proverbs, some idioms may reflect Arab customs, manners and beliefs, and what may in general be defined as Arab mentality and philosophy. The following examples may illustrate this:

1. As in other Semitic languages, certain Arabic idioms which express ‘relief’, ‘pleasure’ or ‘enjoyment’ use as one of their components words from the semantic field of ‘coldness’, e.g. *ʿayš bārid* (lit. cold living) i.e. an easy life; *ġanīma bārida* (lit. cold loot) i.e. an easy prey; *qarrat ʿaynuhu* (lit. his eye cooled) i.e. he was glad, delighted; *qurrat al-ʿayn* (lit. coolness of the eye) i.e. joy, pleasure; *atlaġa ṣadrabu* (lit. he put snow on his heart) i.e. he pleased him.

It is not difficult to guess that the Arab who had lived all his life in hot areas, mainly in the desert, had suffered the agonies of unbearable hot climate. It was only natural, therefore, that words and expressions referring to ‘heat’ should denote negative concepts (e.g. *wā ḥarra qalbāb* (lit. How hot a heart!) i.e. ‘Oh what a pain, what a burning of the heart’), while words denoting the concept of ‘coolness’ should be chosen to depict the desire and reason for relief and enjoyment, just as ‘sun’ and ‘warmth’ were the high aspiration of the man in Europe. The concept of ‘coldness’, when used with negative connotations, is, according to Blau (1976:56) probably the result of European influence. To this one may add that the same explanation may account for the modern usage of words denoting ‘warmth’ to express strong emotions and friendly feelings, e.g. *salām ḥarr* for ‘warm greetings’.

2. A relatively large number of idioms deal with fate or ‘convey’ fatalistic views⁸. These idioms may be divided into two main categories:

- a. when fate is referred to directly, e.g. *dārat ʿalayhi ad-dāʿira* – (lit. ‘the wheel has turned over him’) – ‘to suffer adversities’; *ṭawwāḥat bihi at-tawāʿih* – (lit. ‘vicissitudes have made him go astray’) – ‘fate dealt him severe blows’; *afala naġmuhu* – ‘his star has

⁸ For more details on Arab fatalism, see Piamenta 1979 & 1983.

- set'; *ibtasam lahu al-hazz* 'fortune smiles on him'; *aqbala 'alayhi ad-dahr*, or *aqbalat 'alayhi ad-dunyā* (lit. time or the world have drawn near him) - 'luck is on his side'.
- b. when fate is challenged by sorcery and divination or by gambling, e.g. *rağama bi-l-ğayb* - (lit. to cast stones at something invisible) - 'to predict the future; *lahu al-qadh al-mu'allā* - (lit. he has the top-scoring arrow) - 'to have a major impact on'; *'alā t-tayr al-maymūn* - (lit. on the bird which flies in the right direction) - 'God speed'; *ka'anna 'alā ru'ūsibim at-tayr* - (lit. as if a bird is hovering over their head) - 'they were motionless out of fear' (see also Genesis 40,16-19); and perhaps also *daraba ahmāsin li-asdāsin* - (lit. to beat fives for sixes) - 'to brood and to intrigue'.

Fatalism as a characteristic feature of the Arab may also be reflected by the large number of idioms which are used euphemistically with reference to death, without using words which denote passing away (an English euphemism!). For example:

He died: *lafaza an-nafas al-ahīr* (lit. to spit out the last breath); *qarad ribātabu* (lit. to cut off his ribbon); *labba nidā' rabbīhi* (lit. he responded to the call of his Creator); *šālat na'āmatuhu* (lit. his tenderness has risen); *madā sabīlahu/lisabīlihi* (lit. he proceeded in his way); *qadā nahbahu/ağalahu* (lit. he completed his fixed time); *intaqala ilā rahmat Allāh* (lit. he moved to the mercy of God); *quđiya amruhu* (lit. his business has been accomplished); *ista'tara Allāh bibi* (lit. God has claimed him); *ista'tarat bibi rahmat Allāh* (lit. God's mercy has claimed him); *ihītarahu Allāh ilā ġiwārihi* (lit. God has chosen him to be in His neighbourhood).

He was buried: *wassadahu at-turāba* (lit. he covered him with soil); *suwwiyat 'alayhi l-ard* (lit. the ground was straightened over him).

The deceased: *al-faqīd* (lit. the lost one); *ar-rāhil* (lit. the one who has travelled); *al-marhūm* (lit. the one God has mercy upon); *al-mağfūr lahu* (lit. the one God has forgiven); *sākin al-ğinān* (lit. the dweller of the Gardens).

Grave: *al-marqad al-ahīr* (lit. the last place of lying).

Funeral: *al-mawkib al-ahīr* (lit. the last parade).

Angel of death: *abū yahyā* (lit. the father of the living).

3 Conclusions

This paper has attempted to cast light on some customs, manners and beliefs which may reflect ways of life and outlook on life of the Arabs through some of their proverbs and idioms. There is no doubt that common sayings and 'moulds' of expression do mirror the society in which they are current. Moreover, their use by the speakers of the language to illustrate similar situations or portray people and events often denote the linguistic wealth, the imagination, the education and experience of the speaker.

However, when analyzing proverbs and idioms one should be cautious not to draw impetuous conclusions, because of the heterogeneity and variegation of these popular expressions, the contradictory views they sometimes convey and the occurrence of some of them in other cultures which may reflect their universality as fruit of the thought of mankind at large.

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ON THE ANIMAL WORLD OF OMANI PROVERBS

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“يا ريتني بقرة لاتدلل وأكل سمكة”
(Proverb from Dhofar, South Oman)

0 Introduction

The study of Omani proverbs has been a quite neglected field until recently when al-Ḥumaydī started to publish his collection (al-Ḥumaydī 1986-94). In this work, he expresses his hope that the collection will inspire future studies. The present article wishes to answer this “call for papers” in one specific point, *i.e.* in the presentation of the animal world as reflected by these proverbs. This investigation aims to be a semantic analysis of those proverbs that mention animals¹.

1 The sources

There exist two significant collections of Omani proverbs. The first (Jayakar 1904a) contains 320 proverbs². Already the collector of these proverbs has observed “the extensive use the ‘Omānees make of proverbial sayings in their conversation, and ... the facility with which they adapt them to the circumstances calling for their use” (Jayakar 1904a:436). So it is no wonder that the second collection, the one mentioned in the introduction — which appeared more than 80 years later — contains 2749 proverbs, and a supplementary volume is being prepared. The author of the second collection has supplemented the proverbs with sayings that also reflect the moral principles and *Weltanschauung* of the Omani people³. Needless to say,

¹ This article forms part of a larger project examining the living and material environment in Arabic proverbs. This research is supported by OTKA/T 018582.

² Reinhardt had previously published two hundred Omani proverbs as a supplement to his grammar in which he described the dialect of one Omani tribe (Reinhardt 1894:396-418). These collections were supplemented by Brockett (1986:35-38) with 26 proverbs collected by him from the Bāṭina region of Oman.

³ The material was collected from a great variety of informants who represent all the tribes and regions of Oman. Written sources were also made use of. For the list of informants and other sources see al-Ḥumaydī 1986-94 IV, 216-221. Since the collector does not mention the exact provenance of the proverbs, it would be misleading to present them here in transliteration considering the great differences in pronunciation from one Omani region to another.

these proverbs and proverbial sayings are a treasure-trove for all kinds of purposes. Our aim here, however, is confined to the presentation and analysis of the animal world.

2 The animal proverbs

2.1 The proportion of animal proverbs

More than a third of the 2749 proverbs mention the surrounding fauna, flora and material world. From these references we get a glimpse of what have been determinant factors of Omani life. Many of these proverbs contain references to plants or objects which are present in the entire Arab world⁴. Some others, however, mention things which are peculiar to the Omani society, like, for example, the stick which is used by Omani men, the names of several local tribes, or the references to the special watering system, the *falağ*.

These proverbs include references (in decreasing frequency) to:

- the date palm and its fruit (57)
- Omani villages and towns (50)
- different trees and edible plants (33)
- the sea (26)
- bread and food (21)
- the stick (used by Omani men) (16)
- different dishes (16)
- different types of boats (14)
- the onion and garlic (12)
- several Omani tribes (12)
- the water(course) (10)
- the desert and salt marshes (9)
- the *falağ* (6), etc.

More than a third of the proverbs which refer to the surrounding world — altogether 348 proverbs — contain the name(s) of animals or refer to animals without mentioning their names. The number of these references is 381, since some proverbs speak about two or three animals.

⁴ As has been noted by Goitein (1952:170-171), it is extremely difficult to determine in a certain collection the percentage of proverbs that belong to a common stock found almost all over the Arab world. It is especially so, because sometimes the same proverb appears in entirely distinct forms. This difficulty is also true of the collection made by al-Ḥumaydi. Sometimes, however, the special Omani features are easy to recognize. This is so, for example, in case of proverbs that mention different types of fish, as will be seen later.

2.2 The animals

The animals mentioned in the proverbs — in decreasing order of frequency — are as follows:

- birds (طير) and their different species (51), in decreasing frequency
 - طير (generic, 15)
 - غراب (raven, 9)
 - مارخيم / رخمة (vulture, 6)
 - حمام (pigeon, 5)
 - صقر (falcon, 4)
 - عصفور (sparrow, 2)
 - بعير (small bird⁵, 2)
 - حبارى (bustard, 1)
 - ضاضوة (Indian roller, 1)
 - مطيوطو (lapwing, 1)
 - عنقا (griffon, 1)
 - صفر د (quail, 1)
 - بومة (owl, 1)
 - بوباغية (1)
 - قلق (stork, 1)
- sheep and goats⁶ (counted together they precede the camel) (47)
 - جاعدة (جعد) (ewe, 12)
 - شاة (goat; never sheep or ewe, 11)
 - غنم (flock, 8)
 - تيس (billy-goat, 7)
 - كباش (ram, 5)
 - هوش (flock, 1)
 - سخلة (young goat, 1)
 - عنز (female goat, 1)
 - جلحا (hornless goat, 1)
- camels (under the following names, in decreasing frequency) (39)
 - جمل (male, 14)
 - ناقة (female, 11)
 - بوش (generic, 7)
 - فاطر (female which has recently given birth, 2)

⁵ Dozy (1881 I, 100) explains *ba'ir* as either *plongeon* (diver, little grebe) or *graculus* (jackdaw). The meaning of the proverb where this word occurs and al-Ḥumaydi's explanation ("a bird smaller than the sparrow") make these meanings unlikely here (see al-Ḥumaydi 1986-94 IV, 203, esp. fn. 1).

⁶ For the terms denoting these animals cf. Landberg 1901-13 II/2, 712-715. These animals were counted together since *غنم* and *هوش*, meaning 'flock', are used both for goats and sheep.

- بعير (mature male camel, 2)
 قعود (young male fit for riding, 1)
 جميلو (diminutive of جمل, 1)
 مغرب (name of a certain camel, 1)
- dogs (كلب) (31)
 - donkeys (حمار) (26)
 Donkeys are referred to as *ḥimār* in al-Ḥumaydī's collection, whereas Jayakar (1904a) uses exclusively the word *maṣrī* (*maṣārā*).
 - poultry (25) are represented, in decreasing frequency, by
 - ديك (cock, 11)
 - دجاجة (hen, chicken, 10)
 - فرخ (duckling, chick, 3) and
 - بط (duck, 1)
 - cattle (23) appear, in decreasing frequency, in the forms of
 - ثور (bull)
 - بقرة (cow) and
 - عجل (calf)
 - fish (سمك) (22)
 Fish occupy only the eighth place in frequency, but besides the generic name (سمك 7) they appear in several varieties, from the different types of sardines (برية 1, جيمة 1, عومة 7), through types of tuna (جيدرة 1) to the biggest fish of Omani waters (جرام 8 2). Next to marine fish we find a small type (صدفة 2) which lives in the *aflāḡ* and other sweet waters. Mention is also made of different types of dried and salted fish (عوالة 2, سحناة 1, قاشع 1, مالحة 1). Next to the fish, crabs (شنجوب 2) also appear in the proverbs as another type of animals that live in water. The great variety of fish mentioned in the proverbs reflect well the importance fishing occupies in the maritime settlements along the coastline of Oman, especially in the Bāṭina region.
 - cats (سنور) (20)
 - wolves (ذيب) (13)
 - mice (فار) (11)
 - gazelles (غزالة 5, ظبي 3) (8)
 - horses (حصان 1, خيل 7) (8)

⁷ For this word see Brockett 1985:164, no. 1142.

⁸ From ḥarsūsī *grm*: *yerām* "whale", see Johnstone 1977:41.

⁹ The dried and salted flesh of shark (*ḡarḡūr*, also called in some parts of Oman *lḥam* (literary Arabic *luḥm*)). Cf. al-Ḥumaydī 1986-94 II, 184, 350. See also Jayakar 1904b:268; Rhodokanakis 1908-1911 II, 53; and Jayakar 1889:866.

- snakes (حية 1, غول 6) (7)
- foxes (7)
- حصيني¹⁰ (2); حصينية (2); ثعلب (2) and also عوس¹¹ (1)
- locusts (دبا 1, جراد 6) (7)
- scorpions (عقرب) (6)

The other members of the animal kingdom which are mentioned in the proverbs appear six times or less, and include lions (أسد, 5) and cubs (شبل 1), flies (ذباب 5), ants (جعروف¹² 2, ذرة 1, نمل 1), monkeys (female: سبالة¹³ 2, and male: شاذي¹⁴ 1), frogs (قرة 3), dung beetles (خنفسانة 1, بوجعل 1), worms (دود 1), stinging insects (صيفرو دبي hornet, 1) and قط also كت¹⁵ (flea, 1)), lice (قملة 1), mountain goats (وعل 1), rabbits (أرنب 1), and the جوبا (1)¹⁶.

Domestic animals appear more frequently than wild ones (219:162). It is also interesting to note that while the circle of domestic animals seems to be complete, and a great variety of birds and fish appear, a number of species that live in Oman lack from among the wild animals¹⁷. A conspicuous lack is that of the hyena, one of the three animals of the enchanters¹⁸.

The percentage and number of animals in Omani proverbs is presented graphically in Diagram 1.

3 Types of meaning and reference

The proverbs featuring animal names can be divided into five groups on the basis of their references. These types are as follows:

- a) The characterization of human behaviour in connection with animals
 - i) Positively evaluated habitual actions
 - ii) Acts condemned by customs or considered unreasonable

¹⁰ For this name see Brockett 1985:82, no. 324.

¹¹ For this name see Brockett 1985:163, no. 1135.

¹² For this name see Brockett 1985:74, no. 248.

¹³ For this name see Brockett 1985:121, no. 712.

¹⁴ From Baluchi *šādō* (cf. Collett 1983:146). For the Persian origin of this word see Steingass 1892:722, where: *šādī* "an ape".

¹⁵ For this form, see Jayakar 1889:838.

¹⁶ al-Ḥumaydī (1986-94 IV, 167, fn. 9) mentions only that *ǧūbā* is a kind of animal. In a personal communication he further clarified that it is a kind of donkey now extinct.

¹⁷ For a survey of the wild animals in Oman see Harrison 1981.

¹⁸ Cf. Jayakar 1904a:436, 481. This animal is rare in other collections as well. It has been found in only one proverb by Al Sudāis (1993: No 9 and also p. 226).

The percentage and number of animals in Omani proverbs

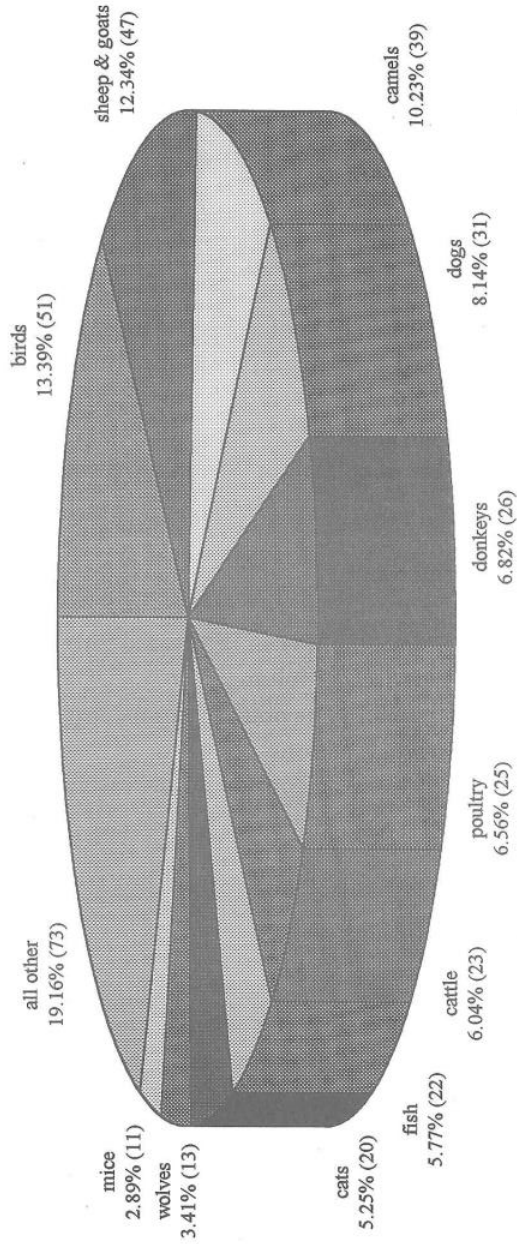


Diagram 1

- iii) Extreme, usually imaginary acts used for the characterization of people's behaviour
- b) The interrelationship of people and animals
 - i) Speaking about people
 - ii) Speaking about animals
- c) Reference to a specific animal or event connected to an animal
- d) The observation, comparison and evaluation of animals
 - i) Characterization of animals
 - ii) Relationship of animals
 - iii) Relationship of animals and plants

An additional type is made up of one proverb where the name of the animal is only chosen for linguistic purposes: *جمل وأنت تقول جبل أنا أقول* (*i.e.* there is a misunderstanding between us)¹⁹.

The limited space of an article does not permit to list all the proverbs classified according to the above criteria. Following, however, are a few examples chosen to provide a representative selection for each category.

3.1 The characterization of human behaviour in connection with animals

The proverbs in this category represent the activities of Omani people which are connected to animals. We get glimpses from the life of shepherds herding mainly sheep and goats (1014). We learn about the importance of certain animals, like the cow (2607) which is used both for its meat and milk, and about the traditionally high position which is occupied by the camel (2749). The long coastline of the country provides ample opportunity for fishing. Consequently, a considerable number of proverbs refer to fishing and the different types of fish, shedding light on a characteristic occupation of many Omanis.

3.1.1 Positively evaluated habitual actions

No. 1057 (II, 287) كل شاه تعلق من عرقوبها
Every goat is hanged up by its hamstring (*i.e.* everything must be done as is usual).

No. 770 (II, 136) الطيب يخرج الغول من سربه
Good deeds or kindness bring out the snake from its den.

No. 772 (II, 137) الطير يحط علقب ما علقب
Birds come for seeds, not the stick.

¹⁹ See al-Ḥumaydi 1986-94 I, 99; also Jayakar 1904a:444, no. 27.

No. 2619 (IV, 167) يُرْوِغَهُ كَمَا يُرْوِغُ الْجُوبَا
 He beats it away as the *ǧūbā*²⁰.

No. 1438 (III, 81) لَوْ مَا اللَّهُ وَالسَّمَكُ مَا سَاحَ الْمَائِي عَلَى الْحَنَكِ
 If there was no God and fish, the water could not go down the throat²¹.

3.1.2 Acts condemned by customs or considered unreasonable

No. 589 (II, 43) سَنْتُورَةَ مَا يُعَشِّيَهَا
 No. 1883 (III, 222) = مَا يُعَشِّي سَنْتُورَهُ
 He does not even feed a cat.

No. 1014 (II, 269) كَثْرَةَ الرَّعِيَانِ تَسَيِّبُ الْعَنَمَ
 Too many shepherds will disperse the herd.

No. 2219 (III, 323) مِنْ كَثْرَةِ الصَّيَّادِينَ فَلَّ السَّمَكُ
 If there are too many fishermen the fish will flee.

No. 1135 (II, 323) كَمَا بُو مُسَخَّنٌ/يُسَخَّنُ مَالِحَهُ
 Like he who heats up the [dried] salted fish.

No. 1196 (II, 350) كَمَا عَجُوزٌ تَلُوجُ عَوَالَهُ
 Like an old woman who turns the dried fish in her mouth.

No. 2509 (IV, 117) يَا سَارِقُ الدِّيَكِ فَوْقَ رَاسِكَ رِيْشٌ
 Oh you stealer of the cock, there is a feather on your head (*i.e.* your crime is apparent).

No. 2607 (IV, 162) يَذْبَحُ الْبَقْرَةَ عَزَاءَ الشَّاهِ
 He slaughters the cow mourning the goat.

²⁰ The proverb is also current with *ǧālab* according to one of my informants. See also fn. 14.

²¹ This proverb is current in the coastal areas of Oman where fish is the staple diet. It is used when drinking during meals.

No. 1741 (III, 91) اللِّي دَلِيلَه غُرَابٌ يُطِيحُ فِي الْحِفْرِ
 Whose guide is a raven will fall to a pit. (Cf. No. 2438)

3.2.2 Speaking about animals

In these proverbs people are affected by the animals or are likened to them, whether they appear in the sayings or not.

No. 1843 (III, 212) مَا يَدْخُلُ قُبَيْتَكَ فَارِ إِلَّا مِنْ عَدَاوَةِ الْأَهْلِ وَالْجَارِ
 Mice do not enter your house except if there is enmity between its inhabitants and their neighbours.

No. 1093 (II, 304) كَلَابٌ وَمَلْبَسَهُ ثِيَابٌ
 Dogs but dressed in clothes.

No. 1098 (II, 306) الْكَلْبُ كَلْبٌ وَلَوْ طَوَّقْتَهُ الذَّهَبَ
 Dogs are dogs even if you put a golden collar on them. (Cf. No. 1093)

No. 1105 (II, 310) الْكَلْبَةُ الدَّغْمَا سَارِقَةٌ مَا سَارِقَهُ اللَّصَّةُ هَيْئَةً
 The black bitch, whether steals or not, is the thief (*i.e.* people are prejudiced and hate those against whom they are prejudiced).

No. 745 (II, 123) طَائِحَه فِيهِ ذُبَابَه
 A fly has dropped in it (*i.e.* in a dish, so nobody would wish to eat it.)

To this category belongs the opposite of this proverb as well:

No. 1731 (III, 177) مَا طَائِحَه فِيهِ ذُبَابَه
 No fly has dropped in it (*i.e.* in a dish, so it is desirable).²⁵

No. 892 (II, 204) لِغُرَابٍ مَا يَدْرِلُ إِلَّا عَلَى أَرْضِ لِحْرَابٍ
 The raven leads to destitution²⁶.

²⁵ These last two proverbs (No. 745 and 1731) are used in a wider sense to express desirability or undesirability.

²⁶ Though the wording is different, the meaning is that of No. 1741 quoted above.

3.3 Reference to a specific animal or event connected to an animal

No. 2272 (III, 340) مَوْعَلْتُمْكَ بِالْقِسْمَةِ .. قَالَ اللَّيُّ فَوَجَّهَ الذَّيْبُ
 What has made you learn how to divide? He answered: what [I saw] in the face of
 the wolf²⁷.

No. 902 (II, 209) غُولُ حَنَابِشَةَ
 The serpent of the Hanabša [Omani tribe]²⁸

No. 1183 (II, 343) كَمَا سَنُورُ آدَمَ شَلَّيْتَهُ مَنَ حَطَّيْتَهُ / وَدَرَّتَهُ مَنَ
 Like the cat of Adam, you can lift it or put it down, its weight is always one *man*
 (4 kgs)²⁹.

No. 1625 (III, 142) مَا أَبْغَى غَيْرَ مِينَ قَبَاضِ الْعَيْنِ
 He did not accept [the help to stop the bull] save from al-^cAyn³⁰.

3.4 The observation, comparison and evaluation of animals

Approximately half of the animal proverbs belong to this category, which, in its turn, can be divided into the following sub-categories:

3.4.1 Characterization of animals

3.4.1.1 As expressed by a complete sentence

No. 973 (II, 248) الْقَرَّةُ مَا تَنْفُقُ الْغَيْلِ
 A frog cannot exhaust the running water of the wadi (*i.e.* it is too weak to exert any influence).

²⁷ The background story of this proverb is well-known throughout the Arab world. It is the story of the lion, the fox and the wolf hunting together and how the fox learnt to divide the prey after the misfortune of the wolf when he had devided the prey in a way not accepted by the lion.

²⁸ The story runs that the seven members of this tribe were one by one bitten by a serpent. This was only possible because they were ashamed of having been bitten and hid it from the others, so they all fell victim to this serpent.

²⁹ The proverb refers to reliable, steady people. From our point of view, however, its importance lies in mentioning a specific area of Oman. Adam is said to be as famous for its cats as is another area, Heel, for its billy-goat (see the corresponding proverb no 285).

³⁰ Though no animal is mentioned in this proverb, it becomes apparent from the accompanying story that the events centred around a bull and his owner. The story is as follows: There was a man in the town of 'Ibrī who had a bull which escaped one day. The people were frightened and offered their help to the man to stop the running bull, but he refused their help until finally, they arrived at the distant village of al-^cAyn, where the bull was stopped with the help of the local people. Cf. al-Ḥumaydi 1986-94 III, 142.

3.4.2 Relationship of animals

The observation of the animal worlds extends to the comparison of different species. Next to proverbs describing well-known pairs, like the cat and the mouse (e.g. Nos 886, 2429 and 2709), more unusual pairs can also be found. Here belong the animals of the following examples:

No. 912 (II, 217) فَبِطْنُ الْغُولِ وَلَا فَبِطْنُ الْقِرَّةِ
 Rather inside a snake than a frog (*i.e.* the snake symbolises strength, while the frog weakness).

No. 776 (II, 142) الظَّبْيَا تَقُودُهَا غَيْرَ لَانِهَا
 The gazelles are lead by their offsprings (*i.e.* it is the opposite what should be, since the old should lead the young).

No. 597 (II, 49) الشَّاذِي فَعَيْنُ أُمَّهُ غَيْرَالُ
 The monkey is a gazelle in the eyes of his mother (*i.e.* (motherly) love is blind).

No. 642 (II, 68) شَنْجُوبٌ مُسَيِّحٌ جُرَامُ
 A crab draws a whale ashore.

No. 643 (II, 68) شَنْجُوبٌ مُفَرِّقٌ جَمَلُ
 A crab drowns a camel.

These last two proverbs reflect encouragement for the weak to challenge the big and strong, and also warn the latter not to undervalue or disdain the potentials of the seemingly weak and small.

3.4.3 Relationship of animals and plants

No. 679 (II, 89) الصَّدِّ مِنْ قِصَاصِهِ السَّعْتَرُ
 The wild thyme becomes the small fish (that live in the *falag*)³³.

No. 891 (II, 204) غُرَابٌ فَوْقَ يَاسْمِينِهِ
 Raven on a jasmine (*i.e.* lack of harmony)³⁴.

³³ The proverb refers to harmony by the example of the strong smelling fish and the wild thyme which when cooked with the fish takes away its strong odour.

³⁴ This proverb is the opposite of No. 679 by the portrayal of the black raven on a bush white jasmine.

No. 767 (II, 133) الطُّوْلُ طوْلُ نَخْلِهِ وَالْعَقِيلُ عَقِيلُ سَخْلِهِ
 The length is that of a palm-tree, but the brain is that of a young goat (*i.e.* appearances can be deceptive).

No. 2737 (IV, 210) يَوْمَ النَّاسِ طَوَّتْ دَعْوَنُهَا جَالِغِرَابٍ يُسَطِّحُ
 The day people fold their palm leaves [on which the dates were spread out to dry], there comes the raven to unfold them³⁵.

4 The morale of the proverbs

The morale of the proverbs would need a study in its own right. It can, however, be observed that the same morale may be expressed by several proverbs³⁶. In this respect, it can be stated that several animal proverbs also share one idea. Perhaps the most remarkable example is provided by the bunch of proverbs that describe restless, fidgety people.

No. 1195 (II, 350) كَمَا عَجِيلٌ مَا مَلْحُوسٌ
 Like an unlicked calf (*i.e.* it has not yet been licked by its mother after its birth, so it became restless and disturbed)

No. 2560 (IV, 140) يَتَهَامِشُ كَمَا لَحْمُ الْعَجِيلِ
 Shakes like the meat of the [freshly slaughtered] calf.

No. 2553 (IV, 138) يَتَّبِيبُ كَمَا كَبِيشُ لِحَنَاضِلِ
 Jumps like the ram of the Ḥandalites. (This proverb is connected to a ram of this tribe which was famous for its constant merry jumping).

No. 1133 (II, 322) كَمَا بُو مَجْنَابِيَّةٌ جَرَادٌ
 Like whose [mother] was a locust collector (*i.e.* according to local belief the child whose mother had collected locust while pregnant will be as restless as a locust)

No. 1162 (II, 335) كَمَا جَرَادٌ فِعْدَلٌ
 Like locust in a saddle-bag (*i.e.* these locust keep moving continuously).

To these animal proverbs can be added a proverb from the surrounding material world expressing the same idea:

³⁵ This proverb is used to express misdemeanour. The raven, once again, embodies negative values, as was seen already in proverbs 891, 892 and 1741 quoted above.

³⁶ It is also very common that one proverb is used to express different morales.

No. 1170 (II, 338)

كَمَا حَلَوَاهُ فَتَدَسَّتْ

Like [hot and fluid] sweet in a vessel (*i.e.* it flutters).

5 Conclusion

A comparative analysis of animal proverbs would merit some attention. It can, however, be said at this point that although several proverbs most certainly belong to a common Arabic stock of proverbs³⁷, there are several others that cannot be found outside Oman³⁸. From these two groups a picture of Omani life can be drawn as is seen by the local people.

Though the detailed comparison of the representation of animals in different proverb collections is outside the scope of the present investigation, eight animals (or animal groups³⁹) were chosen and their relative occurrences are presented in Diagrams 2 and 3 on the basis of three proverb collections, those of al-Ḥumaydī, Al Sudaīs and the collection of Classical Arabic proverbs by al-Maydānī⁴⁰. These animals, selected on the basis of their frequency in Omani proverbs, are as follows: sheep and goats, camels, dogs, cats, cattle, fish, donkeys, and wolves. Diagram 2 presents the frequency of the selected animals within the entire collections, whereas diagram 3 presents their frequency within the animal proverbs of each collection. From the 6000 proverbs collected by al-Maydānī 1100 contain references to animals (18%), this ratio is 22% in the collection of Al Sudaīs (263 proverbs from 1100), whereas it is only 12.66% in case of the Omani proverbs (348 proverbs from 2749). This, in itself, reflects the difference in the societies where the proverbs were collected.

It is apparent from Diagram 2 that the proverbs reflect the environment, the lifestyle and cultural attitudes of the people from whom the proverbs were collected. The cultural attitudes especially dominate the Classical proverbs where the ratio of different animals reflects, on the one hand, the urban environment where these proverbs were collected, and, on the other hand, the Bedouin cultural heritage which was the cradle of a significant number of proverbs. The prominent position of the camel in the Classical proverbs can easily be explained by its being the symbol of the

³⁷ A good example is No. 767 (II, 133) – quoted above – which can also be found in *e.g.* Mubayyid 1986:189.

³⁸ An excellent example for Omani proverbs with special local flavour is provided by the many proverbs which mention fish.

³⁹ Sheep and goats were treated as one group, and animals were not differentiated according to their sex.

⁴⁰ In connection with al-Maydānī's collection one should mention the series of articles written by T. Fahd where he collected and analysed the animal proverbs of that collection (Fahd 1971-78).

The percentage of selected animals in three collections

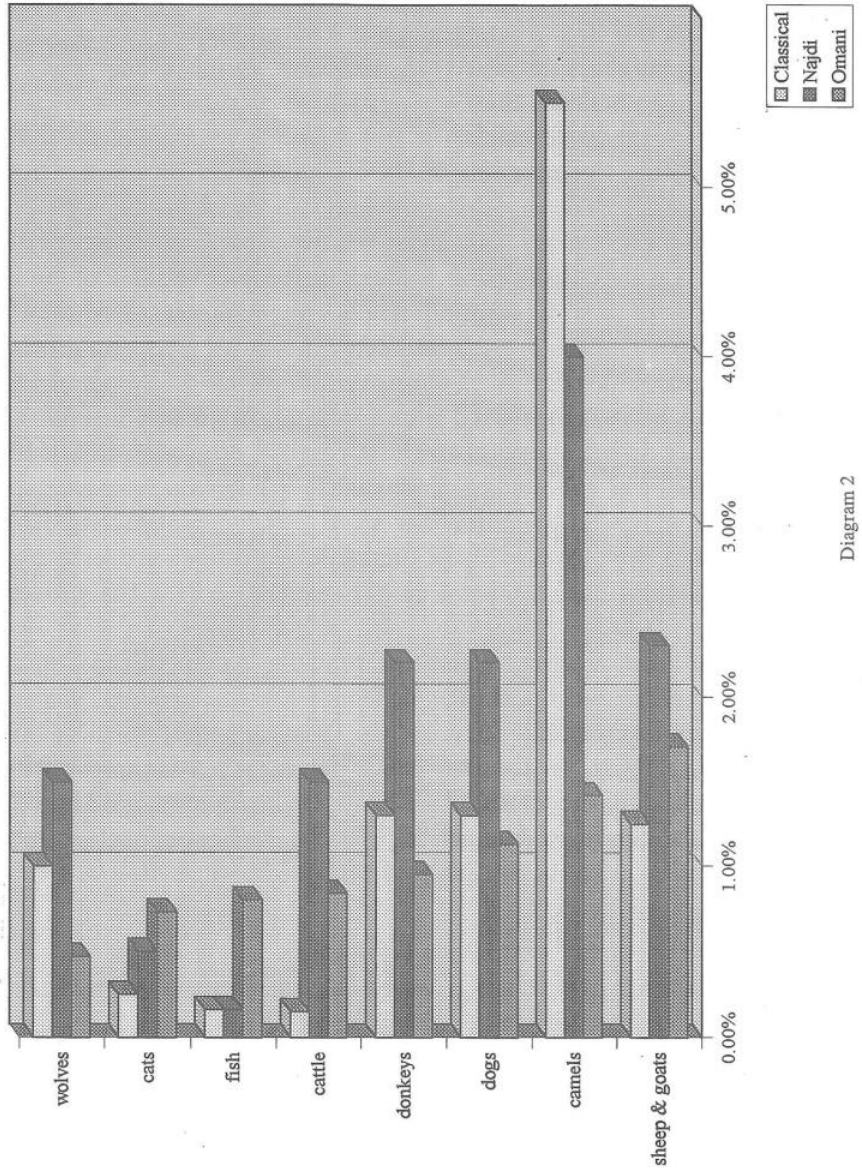


Diagram 2

The percentage of selected animals within the animal proverbs of three collections

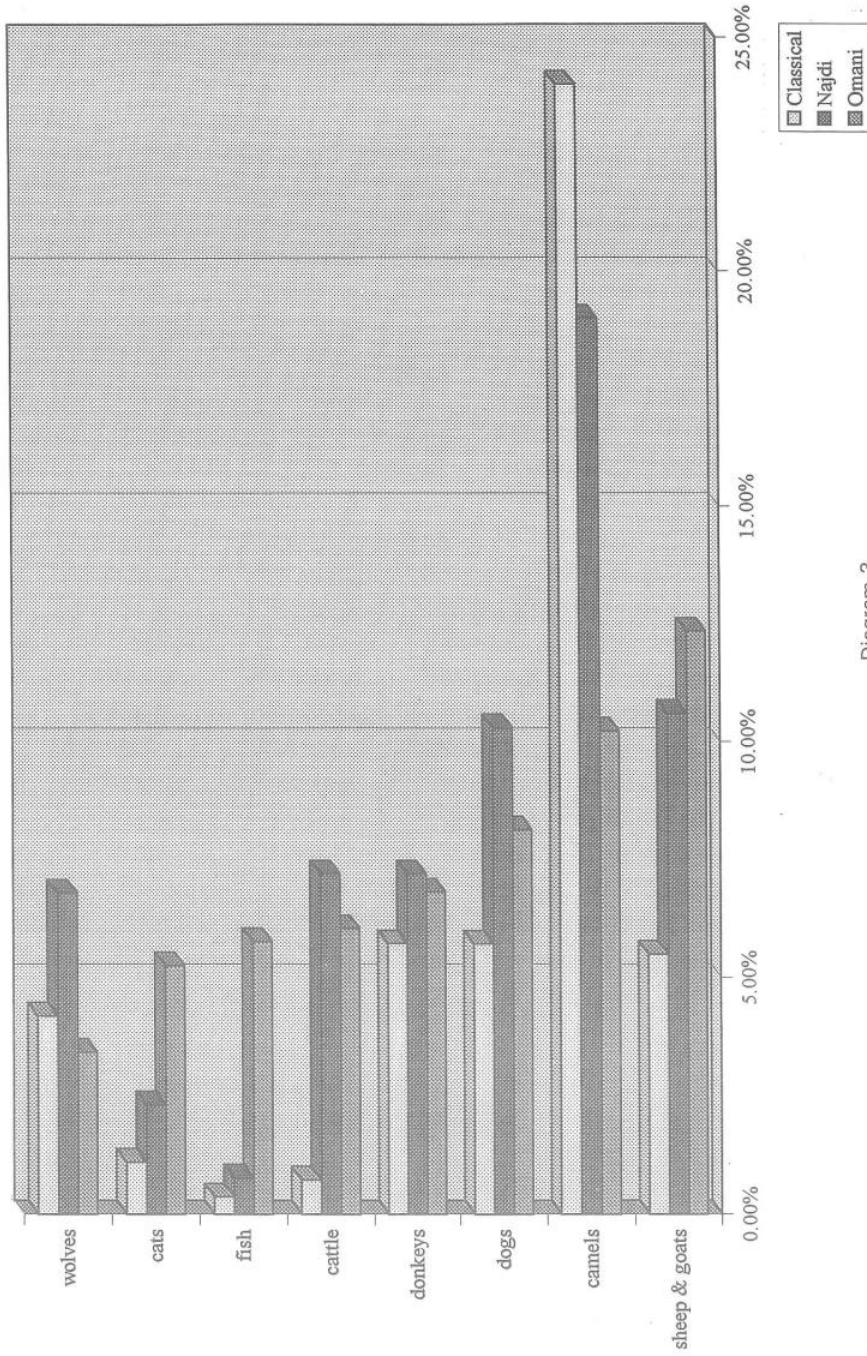


Diagram 3

highly esteemed Bedouin culture, whereas the relatively elevated position of the wolf – as compared to, for example, the cattle – can be understood if we think of the position this animal fills in the poetry of an extended period of Arabic literature⁴¹. The negligible number of cattle and other representative of animal husbandry proves that proverbs were not collected from rural communities and there was a general despise and disregard for agriculture. Though the comparison of different present day dialectal proverb collections to the Classical collection of al-Maydānī may yield interesting results, present day collections – so, for example, the proverbs of Najd and Oman – can more primarily be compared. It is especially so, since when al-Maydānī collected the Classical proverbs he did not concentrate upon his age or a certain territory, but span across centuries and various territories. In this respect, the less sedentary nature of Najdi society is apparent from the relative frequency of the selected animals⁴². In spite of the diversity of Omani landscape, the society in its majority can be considered sedentary, and the largest nomadic territory being the desert of Ġaddat al-Harāsīs which area did not belong to the areas of collection, a fact easily understandable knowing how scarcely populated this large area is, and how difficult the access to the different tribes is.

Animal proverbs reflect the environment in which they are collected. This is best apparent from the frequency of proverbs mentioning fish. The long coastline of Oman and the traditional fishing industry explain why the number of Omani proverbs containing references to fish is nine times more than those of Najd. Wild, semi-wild animals (wolves, dogs) appear more frequently in Najdi proverbs. This ratio is also true for the camel, and we should not forget that Najd is the home of camel breeding nomads. Whereas the more rural and semi-nomadic characteristic of Oman is well expressed by the higher frequency of sheep and goats. The sedentary nature of Omani society is also well represented by the cat which occurs about three times more than in the Najdi proverbs.

The content analysis of animal proverbs of Oman has shown that although these proverbs amount only to one seventh of the whole collection, the minute observation of animal life and its vivid representation in the animal proverbs confirm that they are indispensable to our understanding of Omani way of life and thinking.

⁴¹ In connection with the place of the wolf in Arabic literature, cf. Ullmann 1981.

⁴² For the scope of the collection see Al Sudaīs 1993:vii.

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APPENDICES TO
"THE VICISSITUDES OF TWO LINES OF POETRY"

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In the first volume of the *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa*, Budapest 1995 (*The Arabist* 17.81-94), I published a paper carrying the above title. On p. 91, note 36, I noted that in order to justify my suggestions on the authorship of the two *qit'as* in this article, as well as my suggestions on possible interpretations, I would have to add several appendices. On the one hand I felt that I would, by making such additions, take up too much space in a publication which had to provide room for a considerable number of papers by participants of the *Colloquium*; and on the other hand I was hoping that I would find some additional material suitable for being included in a list of appendices and make some corrections. In the following I present the results, still meagre, of my earlier and later findings which I hope may make it easier for readers of my earlier article to draw their own conclusions. I may as well begin by listing some less important typographical errors and omissions that slipped into my article in the *Proceedings*:

p. 81 (under B): The reading *muġtarviran* for *muġtarran* which is found only in the version of as-Silafī, is a poetic license. Uncontracted forms from reduplicated roots are not very common in the middle of a line, but see Wright 1962 I, 69 A-B; II, 378 B-D, and Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Nihāya* III, 205, l. 1.

p. 83, l. 10: read 221, not 22i.

p. 84, ff. Possible translations of II: Professor Annemarie Schimmel informed me that the *rā'* is commonly compared with the dagger. This would fit in with a description of love sickness as perilous to the lover, and lend support to the reading *ad-dā'ī* as a possibly deadly disease if indeed the poet intended a hyperbole. The preference of Prof. Irfān Shahīd, also expressed in a letter, is for *ad-dā'ī*. To both scholars I feel indebted for their kind suggestions.

p. 85, note 15: read *arkabubū*. According to Dozy 1927: s.v. *arkub* may be the plural of *rikāb* 'étrier, stirrup'. One may be tempted to read *arkubabū*, '[holding on to] its stirrups', but this would result in a metaphor too far fetched to be acceptable; *idem*, note 17: Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* I, 255, and al-Maqqarī, *Nash* I, 33 have *ġu'ilat* for *raġā'at*. *ibid* (poem by Ibn Rašīq): see now also Ibn Rašīq, *Dīwān* 174, no. 210 (*ġu'ilat* for *raġā'at*).

p. 86, note 19: read *irtifā'uhū*, *kaṭratuhū*, *'ubābuhū*, *mawġuhū*, not *irtifā'uhu*, etc.

p. 87, l. 9: read: *ra'yībī*

p. 87, l. 16: read *qatlu*, *qalbu*; l. 20, read: "in the second of two lines"; l. 21 read: "... *qit'a* as a whole and can therefore be disregarded, except in C".

p. 88, l. 10: read: *al-āna*

p. 90, l. 3: The second line should perhaps be understood in the sense that, being sad, he puts his hands with the letter *rā'* written on it to his face.

p. 90, note 29: read 'anonymus', not anonymous.

p. 90, second line from the bottom: read *Tasbihāt* 132, no. 251.

p. 91, ll. 1-3: see also ar-Ramādī, *Šīr* 51, no. 1.

Appendix I
The letter *rā'* (poems I and II)
Rā' for *ra'y*, and *rā'ihī* for *ra'yihī*:

Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Iqd* V, 71 (anonymous):

قُلْ للخليفة في اكتفائه دون الأنام بحسن رائه
 and al-Kutubī, *Farwāt* II, 438 (no. 320) by Ibn Humārtāš (d. 619/1222-23):

عثمان بن خمار تاش الهيتي ... وله لما تزوج:
 كان رأيي أن لا يكون اللذي كان فيا ليتني تَرَكْتُ بُراي
 Cf. also Wright 1962 II, 376 B-C and al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 626 & 1113:

قال كَثِيرٌ:
 وكلّ خليلٍ راعني فهو قاتلٍ
 قوله راعني يريد رأني
 وقال الحارث بن خالد المخزومي:
 فر عبد العزيز إذ راء عيسى
 وابن داوُدَ نازلا قَطْرِيَا
 قوله إذ راء عيسى الأصل رأى ولكنه قلب فقدم الألف وأخر الهمزة كما كَثِيرٌ ... الخ

Appendix II
Rā' in speaking of the sea, *zabad* (poem I)¹

See Bonebakker 1996:84, bottom of the page under 3, Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* III, 193a, az-Zabīdī, *Tāğ* I, 256a-b (cf. VIII, 131b); Lane 1863-93 s.v. *zabad*; and cf. ad-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895-896), *Nabāt* 275-276, no. 1028, s.v. *mazaz*; Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulla* II, 297. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān*:

والزبد زبد الجمل الهائج وهو لغامه الأبيض التي تلتخ به مشافره إذا هاج وللبحر زبد إذا هاج
 موجه، الجوهري: الزبد زبد الماء والبعير والفضة وغيرها.
 az-Zabīdī, *Tāğ*:

وقال أبو الهيثم الراء زبد البحر وأنشد:
 كأن يَنْحَرُها وبِمِشْفَرِئِها وَمَخْلِجٍ أَنفِها راءٌ وَمَظْطَا
 والمظ دم الأخوين وهو دم الغزال الخ

ad-Dīnawarī:

وأُنشد أبو الهيثم لبعض طيء:
 وسَلَّ الهمَّ عنك بذات لوثٍ
 تبرص الحاديَيْنِ إذا أَلْظَا
 كأن يَنْحَرُها وبِمِشْفَرِئِها وَمَخْلِجٍ أَنفِها راءٌ وَمَظْطَا

Ibn al-Abbār (d. 627/1229-30), *Hulla*:

كالبحر لا تقذف المرجان لجثته إلا إذا قذفت أمواجه الزبدا

¹ Cf. below, Appendix VII. Cf. also as-Saraqūṣī, *Af'āl: Rāha l-mā'u ... idā dīaraba 'alā wağhi l-ardī wa-buwa r-ruwāhu wa-yuqālu ra'aytu ruwāha s-sarābi ayi dīrābahū*. Doubts about the existence of this root in Ibn Fāris, *Maqāyīs* 432a.

Appendix III

Rā' alluding to *riqq* (poem II) or to other terms beginning with a rā'

In support of the interpretation suggested on p. 87, lines 11-12, one could quote from aš-Šarīšī, *Šarḥ* (Beirut ed.) III, 42, (Cairo ed.) III, 259 (*Maqāma* 25)²

عندي فديتك رأت ثمانية ألقى بها الحر إن وافى وإن بردا
رقيق وروح وريحان وريق رشا ورفرف رياض ناعم وردا

Instead of taking the rā' as a reference to *riqq* as suggested by the editors of *at-Ta'ālibī*, *Muṭrib* (see Bonebakker 1996:87, under A), one may think of other references, such as *rifqa* or *rufaqa'*, i.e. the heart of the lover is a constant companion to the beloved. But I have no support for this suggestion other than the phrase *rafiq al-qalb*, translated 'compatisant' in Dozy 1927 I, 544a, l. 5. Moreover, this expression was taken from the dictionary of Ellious Boctor revised and published in Paris in 1864³. See also below, Appendix IX.

Appendix IV

Letters in similes: Rā' for *ṣudġ*

So far the only examples I have found of the *ṣudġ* being compared to the rā' are in Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Tašbihāt*, and Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd*.

Ibn Abī 'Awn (*Tašbihāt* 251) quotes from Mānī [al-Muwaswis] (d. 245/859-860):

ماء النعيم بخده متعصف والصدغ منه كعطفه الرائي

The same line appears in Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd* VI, 475. The *'Iqd* has *mutaḥayyirun* for *muta'asfirun* and *li-r-rā'i* for *ar-rā'i*. Ibn 'Abdrabbih attributes this line to an unnamed *muhdat* poet.

In addition we find in *'Iqd* V, 510 by Ibn 'Abdrabbih himself⁴:

ألا يا ببي صدغ حكي العين عطفه وشارب مسك قد حكي عطفه الرائي

As noted above, Professor Annemarie Schimmel kindly informed me that she never came across an example of the rā' compared to a curl or tress, but that the rā' is commonly compared with the dagger.

² As far as I can see one can suggest various vowelings.

³ See Dozy 1927:XI, last paragraph.

⁴ See also Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Dīwān* 20, no. 2.

Appendix V
Some further examples of letters in descriptions of parts of the body
the 'aqrab, the *ṣawlağ*, etc.

Ibn Ḥağala, *Dīwān* 46-48 has a section on similes for parts of the body: As far as I can make out (the text is full of errors), this section lists the letters that appear in similes. They are as follows: the *alif* ('*ārid*, 'cheek'; or 'hair on the cheek?'), *sīn* (*tanāyā*, 'central incisors'), *šīn* (*ṭurra* or *ṭurra madfūra*, 'plaited forelock'), *šād* ('eye'), '*ayn* (*ṣudğ*), *lām* ('*ārid*, 'cheek'; or 'hair on the cheek?'), *mīm* ('mouth'), *nūn* (*hāğib*, 'eyebrow'), *wāw* ('*ārid* and *ṣudğ*?). Thus the *ṣudğ* is compared to the '*ayn* and the *wāw* only, and the *rā*' is not mentioned.

Schimmel (1970:13) mentions the *dāl*, the *ğīm*, the *lām*, and the *qāf* for 'curls or tresses', *nūn* for a 'curl with a mole', and *sīn* for 'teeth', *šād* or '*ayn* for 'almond-shaped eyes', and refers in a footnote to Rosenthal 1961:19. For the use of letters in satirical poetry, see Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays* 25, and Corrao 1996:149-153. A new element is the letter *ğayn* on p. 40 (p. 130, notes 41-44), compared (according to Corrao) to a protruding eye covered by an eyelid with a speck (skin blemish: "*occhi a palla sormontati da un punto che fa da sopraciglio*")⁵.

Examples from Persian literature are discussed in detail in another recent article, Neubauer 1994. On pp. 570-574, for instance, the article mentions the letter *ğīm* for 'Stirnlocken' and, also compared to 'Scheren des Krebses' ('*aqrab*), and the *lām-alif* for 'Zöpfe (zolf)'. The *ğīm* stands also for 'Braue', the *šād* stands for the eye, the *mīm* for the mouth⁶.

This category of similes is not particularly attractive, but it occurs frequently. It may therefore be useful to quote some examples from other texts⁷.

Ibn Abī 'Awn (*Tašbihāt* 250) quotes the following line by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908):

⁵ "... *fa-aynuhā li-dālīka ġayn*". The interpretation by Corrao is probably based on the description of her skin two lines up: "*wa-ḥudūdun muḍarrağatun bi-l-barši wa-n-namaši*". Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays* 25: *wa-ṣadfuḥā 'atfuḥā wāwun* should perhaps be read *wa-ṣudğuhā 'atfuḥā wāwun*.

⁶ See also Neubauer 1994:579, l. 2, and 580, line 11 from the bottom of the page.

⁷ A curious example of the popularity of plays on the letters occurs in a line by *ba'd al-ʿAğam* in Ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ, *Tahrīr* 494, and Ibn Ḥiğga, *Hižāna* 359: the '*idār* is compared to a *lām*; the colour of the *ṭurra* (hair over the forehead) is compared to a black night; the mouth [while smiling] is compared to a *šād* robbing the lover of sleep:

وَمَيْسِمَهُ الشَّهِي الْعَذَابِ صَادٍ
فَلَا عَجَبٌ إِذَا سَرَقَ الرِّقَادُ

كَأَنَّ عَذَابَهُ فِي الْخَيْدِ لَامٌ
وَطَرَةٌ شَعْرَهُ لَيْلٌ بِهَيْمٌ

The letters *lām* and *šād* stand for *liṣṣ*, robber. The terms *layl* and *suriqa* in the second line indicated respectively the profession of the *liṣṣ* and the darkness the robber seeks. Cf. also al-Kawkabānī (d. 1151/1738-39), *ʿItr* 147:

لَمْ يَفْنَنَّ صَادٌ وَلَا بَاءٌ وَلَا رَاءٌ

بِقَافٍ أَتَسِيمٌ لَوْلَا نُونٌ حَاجِبِيهِ

وفي عطفة الصُدغِ خالٌ له كما استلب الصولجانُ الكُرَّةَ
and on the same page:

بكفِّ غزالٍ ذي عذارٍ وطُرةٍ وصدغين كالقافئين من جانبي سطرٍ
ibidem, 251:

فكانَ عَقْرَبَ صُدغِه وَقَفَّتْ لما دنت من نارٍ وجنته
ibidem, 252:

غِلالة خَدَه ورد جَنِيٌّ ونون الصُدغِ مُعْجَمَةٌ بخالٍ
and:

والصُدغِ صَدَّ عن محاسنه كصولجانٍ يردُّ ضَرْبَتَه
as-Sarī ar-Raffā' (d. 362/972-973), *Muhibb* I, 75, no. 115 by al-Mufaḡḡa' (d. 327/939;
see *GAS* II, 509-510):

ظَبِّيُّ إذا عقرب أصداعه رأيت ما لا تحسِنُ العقربُ
Ibn al-Kattānī (d. around 420/1029), *Tašbihāt* 128-131, Ch. 21; transl. Hoenerbach
1973:128-129 (introductions, 115-124). Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* V, 63 (cf. below,
Appendix VII): example by al-Ḥubz'aruzzī (d. cca 330/941, *GAS* II, 520-521); see also
Heinrichs 1980; and Ullmann:1977⁸.

Ibn al-Kattānī, *Tašbihāt* 123, Ch. XIX, no. 224; transl. 125. The poet is Sa'īd b. al-
'Āṣ (not identified):

في عارضيه يعنبرٌ مكتوبةٌ لآمانٍ إلا أنها لن تمشقَ
وصلت براء من عبيرٍ قد علت شفتي عقيق تحته درٌ نقي
This *rā'* is interpreted by Hoenerbach (1973:125) as referring to a mustache.

In Ibn al-Kattānī's *Tašbihāt* the *ṣudg* compared to a scorpion, less often to a letter:
Ch. XXI, no. 235, l. 2; transl. 128, no. 1, (see Heinrichs 1980:364b). The poet is
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Baṭṭāl (d. cca 400/1009)⁹:

فكانَ عَقْرَبَ صُدغِه في خَدَه دَبَّتْ لِمَنعِ وَرَدَه أن يَجْتَنِي
ibidem, 129, no. 237, l. 2; transl. 128. The poet is Marwān b. 'Abdarrahmān:

كأن عقارب الأصداع منه عقارب سَمُّها في القلب ستارٍ
ibidem, 130, no. 239; transl. 129, no. 5 (Heinrichs 1980:364b see Ullmann 1977:118,
l. 18). The poet is Yūsuf b. Hārūn [ar-Ramādī]:

وَصُدغَيْنِ كَاللَّيْلِ عَقْرَبًا على وَرَقٍ أن يَلِيقَ لَحْظًا تَعَسَّجِدًا
وَشَعْرٍ لو أن يَكْسَى سَوَادَه لِسارٍ وبدر التَمِّ في اللَّيْلِ ما اهْتَدَى
ibidem, 131, no. 242; transl. 129, no. 8; the poet is again Yūsuf b. Hārūn:

أصداعهن مع الذو ائب كالأساود والعقارب
See also Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* V, 63 (cf. below, Appendix VI): example by al-
Ḥubz'aruzzī (d. cca 330/941; see *GAS* II, 520-521; 'aqrab); and Schippers 1988:210. To

⁸ A *tawbun banafsaḡi*, carried by the beloved, 142, Ch. XXVI, no. 275. The poet is 'Abdalmalik b. Gawhar.

⁹ See al-Ḥumaydi, *Gadwa* 206.

this important study I owe the references to Ibn al-Kattānī, *Tašbihāt* 129, no. 235 and Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Tašbihāt* 251.

Giese (1981:49, 58 (cf. p. 50)) refers to Kušāğim, *Dīwān* 316, no. 300; the *šudğ* of a girl compared to the *nūn*; p. 343, no. 322 to 'scorpions'. On p. 450, no. 443 of Kušāğim's *Dīwān*, blue is characterized as the colour of mourning. On p. 250 of Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Tašbihāt*, Abū Nuwās compares the two *šudğs* to two *qāfs*.

Ibn al-Qattā' aṣ-Ṣiqillī (d. 515/1121), *Durra*, ed. Rizzitano, 366, no. 3 (and cf. 373-374), ed. Baccouche, 190-191, poem by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan at-Tūbī (d. after 450/1058-59)¹⁰:

وله في العذار:
كتب الحُسْنُ فوق خَدَيْكَ لَامِيَةً ————— ن وَنُونَيْنِ خَطٌّ فِي الْحَاجِبَيْنِ
ولهذا الكتابُ معني لطيف
إنه قال لَنْ لَصْتُ عَمِيدَ
ثم لَنْ فِي كِتَابِهِ مَرَّتَيْنِ

Ibn Dihya (d. 633/1235-36), *Muṭrib* 121-122; aṣ-Šarīṣī, *Šarḥ* (Beirut ed.) II, 222 (Cairo ed. III, 118), *Maqāma* no. 23. The poem is by al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 609/1212-13, see *GAS* II, 110):

أورد قلبي الردى لام العذار بدا
أسود كالكفر في أبيض مثل الهدى
and on the same page:

حرك قلبي فطار صَوْلَجٌ لام العذار أسود كالليل في أبيض مثل النهار

Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1259-60), *Tuhfa* 120, poem by Ṣafwān b. Idris at-Tuğībī (d. 598/1201)¹¹; *idem*, *Muqtadab* 83 (*hibru* for *ḥattu*), Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt*, ed. 1973:112 (= ed. 1978:79, no. CI, transl. 243; both editions *ḥatta fibā*):

والخال ينقط في صحيفة خده ما خط مسك الصدغ من نوناته

Ibn al-Abbār, *Tuhfa* 121, poem by Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Baqī al-Išbīlī:

كيف انبريت لِنُونٍ وجنته فمحوتها وكتبت لام ألف

ibidem, 131, poem by Ibn Kistrā al-Māla/iqī (d. 603-604/1206-08) on a dancer by the name of Nuzha:

إذا رقصت أبصرت كل بديعة
ترى ألفا حيناً وحيناً هي النون

Ibn Kistrā is said to have borrowed the theme from Abū 'Ubāda b. Mā' as-Samā' (d. 540/1145):

كأنها في اعتدالها ألف ترجع عند انعطافها لاما

ibidem, 233 by Ibn aṣ-Ṣābūnī (d. 634/1233-34)¹², al-Kutubī, *Fawā'it* III, 285; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* II, 100:

وواوات أصداء أقارب نسبة
لنوناتها تدعى بوصف عقارب

¹⁰ For further references, see ed. Rizzitano 365-366, note 4. Cf. also ed. Baccouche cf. 116, l. 9 (references p. 172). The poem appears in translation in Corrao 1988. Rizzitano reads *lin*, the translation suggests *lan*.

¹¹ See also Ibn Sa'īd, *Muḡrib* II, 260. Lines from this poem in al-Ġarnāṭī (d. 760/1359), *Šarḥ* I, 57.

¹² See p. 230 for references, some not correct.

ولم يمِمْ فَمِ مِنْ تَحْتِ صَادِ لِشَارِبِ سَلَاْفًا حَوَاهَا حَتَمُ صَادِ لِشَارِبِ
 Dik al-Ġinn (d. 235/849-850), *Dīwān*, Hims ed. 70, Beirut ed. 179 (poem no. 51):
 كَأَنَّ قَافَا أَدِيرَتْ فَوْقَ وَجْنَتِهِ وَاخْتَطَطَتْ كَاتِبُهَا مِنْ فَوْقِهَا أَلِفَا
 Kušāġim (d. between 330/941-42 and 360/970-71), *Dīwān* 316, no. 300, l. 4; see
 Giese 1981:49:

ولها في صحيفة الحد منها نون صدغ بشامة منقوطة
 aṣ-Ṣanawbarī (d. 333/945-46), *Dīwān* 474, no. 68; as-Siġilmāsī (8th century), *Manẓaʿ*
 467:

ما أخطأت نوناته من صدغه شيئا ولا ألفاته من قدّه
 ar-Ramādī (d. 403/1013), *Šīʿr* 60, no. 17, l. 5:

نفسي فدى لمة وخدي قد جمعا الليل والصبحا
 وعقرب سلطت علينا تملأ أكبادنا جراحا
 al-Kutubī, *Fawāt* II, 425 quoting Abū l-Faḍl al-Mikālī (d. 436/1044-45; see *EP*², VII,
 26b):

لدغت عينك قلبي انما عينك عقرب
 Ibn Ḥamdīs (d. 527/1132), *Dīwān* 557, no. 363 (the editor refers to a manuscript
 of as-Silafī):

عما عقرب الصدغ المعتبر طيبها قلبي لسبت فأين من يرقبك
 وحللت في القمر المنير الخ

The *Dīwān* reads: *la-sabti*.

A list of examples of description of the *ṣudġ*, *ʿidār*, *waġna*, *ḥāl*, as well as other parts of the body may also be found in al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān* (Beirut ed.) I, 238, 240-241 (not quite identical with I, 247-250 in the Cairo ed.); and in an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* II (in particular 20-23, 33-36, 75-76, 83-89) belonging to *al-Fann at-tānī: al-bāb at-tānī* (18-134), make it unnecessary to offer further examples.

For Persian literature, see, in addition to the above mentioned article by Neubauer, the article by Zand (1977)¹³.

Appendix VI

The *lataġ* as something attractive to the lover

al-Ġumaḥī, *Tabaqāt* 70, observes that an occasional *ziḥāf* is attractive, just like a *ḥawāl* or a *lataġ* in a slave girl.

Ibn Bassām, *Dahīra* I, 306: Ibn Bassām quotes Abū ʿAmir b. Šuhayd (d. 426/1035) who is in love with an *altaġ*:

مَنْ لِي بِالْتَعَجُّ لَا يَزَالُ حَدِيثَهُ يَذْكُرِي عَلَى الْأَكْبَادِ جَمْرَةَ مُحْرَقِ

¹³ In the title of the article "What is the tress like", perhaps "curling lock" would be a better translation. One could also consult Chebel 1995 (unreliable), 138-139 quoting Šarafaddīn ar-Rāmī, *Anīs al-ʿuṣṣāq* (trad. Huart?): *lām*, *ġayn*, *ġim*.

and follows this up with other lines on the subject. On p. 308 he quotes a poem by ar-Ramādī, see Bonebakker 1996:90, l. 3-4.

aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Nuṣra* 238, makes clear that in poems on the *altaḡ* there are frequent plays on the name Wāṣil, the Muʿtazilite, known for his theological views but perhaps equally famous for his inability to pronounce the letter *rāʾ*:

ولمّا رأيت الشيب راءً بعارِضِي تيقنّت أنّ الوصل لي منك واصل
explained (*Nuṣra* 240) in the following way:

... وشبه الوصل بواصل وشبه الشيب بالراء مراده أنه يجفوه جفاءً واصلِ الرء
On the same page the *Nuṣra* quotes the line by ar-Ramādī which, he says, is *fi malih*.

Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* V, 61-62¹⁴; *idem*, ed. ʿAbbās VI, 9 and 10:

... واستعمل الشعراء إسقاط الراء في أشعارهم كثيرا ... وقال آخر:
أجعلت وصلي الرء لم تنطِق بها وقطعتني حتى كأنك واصل
فمن ذلك قول بعضهم:
لما وبياض الثغر ممّن أحبّه ونقطه خال الخدّ في عطفة الصدغ
لقد فتنتني لثغة موصليّة رمّني في تيار بحر هوى اللثغ
ومستعجم الألفاظ عقرّب صدغه مسلطة دون الأنام على لدغي

and:

يكاد أصمّ الصمّ عند حديثه إلى اللثغة الغناء من لفظه يصنفي
يقول وقد قبّلت واضح ثغره وكان الذي أهوى ونبت الذي أبغي
وقد نفضت كأس الحياة وأظهرت على خده من لونها أحسن الصبغ
تغفّق فشغّب الخمغ من كغم عيقتي يزيدك عند الشغّب سكونا على سكون

The edition by ʿAbbās reads *al-ḥumayyā* for *al-ḥayāti*. I follow this edition in reading *sukgā/sukgī* rather than *šukgā/šukgī*.

ibidem, 63 (= VI, 10), by al-Ḥubz'aruzzi:

وإنما شرطي في اللثغ وشادين بالكرخ ذي لثغة
حتى حكى العقرب في الصدغ ما أشبه الزنبور في خصره
aṣ-Šarīṣī, *Šarḥ*, Cairo ed. III, 22-23, 28, *Maqāma* no. 21. Further examples in al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111), *Nafḥa* III, 223-224.

Appendix VII

The sea, dangers of the sea, the ship¹⁵

Art. "safīna" *EP*.

Ibn al-Kattānī, *Tašbihāt*, 179-182, Ch. 40, nos. 375-380: *Bāb fi l-baḥr wa-s-sufun*; transl. 167-168 (introduction 152-160); see also Heinrichs 1980:368b, Ullmann 1977: 121, and al-Ḥafāḡī (d. 748/1374, see Bonebakker 1996:83, F.), *Ṭirāz* 220-221. See also Ibn Ḥamdis, *Dīwān* 8, no. 6:

¹⁴ The poem by ar-Ramādī is quoted on p. 62.

¹⁵ Ibn Sida, *Muḥaṣṣas*, 10th chapter, corresponding to the first chapter in III, 15-29, in particular 23-29. See article *lawm* in *EP*, especially the section on symbolism of colour.

وأصعَبُ من ركوب البحر عندي أمورٌ ألجأتك إلى ركوبه

See also 533-534, no. 336.

an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* II, 254-260: *Diker mā yutamattalu bibi mimma fihī dīker al-baḥr*, etc.; in particular 255-257. On p. 257 we find the following by Muḥammad b. Hānī' (d. 362/973) describing how the oars of the ship leave curved waves on the sea:

إِذَا أَعْمَلُوا فِيهَا الْمَجَانِفَ سُرْعَةً تَرَى عَقْرَبًا مِنْهَا عَلَى الْمَاءِ مَاشِيًا

see Ibn Hānī', *Dīwān* 818.

Appendix VIII

Blue as the colour of mourning; blue in a garment

We find the theme of the second line of poem no. II in Kušāḡim, *Dīwān* 27, no. 7, lines 1 and 3. See Giese 1981:51:

أَقْبَلْتُ فِي غِلَالَةِ زُرْقَاءَ زُرْقَةً لَقَبْتُ بِجَرِّي الْمَاءِ
هِيَ بَدْرٌ وَإِنْ أَحْسَنَ لَوْنُ زَهْرَةَ الْبَدْرِ فِيهِ لَوْنُ السَّمَاءِ

ibidem, 450, no. 443; Giese 1981:58:

جَعَلْتَ تَأْمَلُ زُرْقَةً فِي خَاتَمِي وَتَقُولُ: فَصِّكْ نَا لِبَاسِ مَاتَمِ
فَأَجَبْتُهَا: مَدَّ مَاتَ وَصَلَكِ وَانْقَضَى بَكَيْتِهِ بَدْمٌ وَدَمَعٌ سَاجِمِ

al-Ḥimyarī, *Badī'* (e.g. 36, 37, 68, 106) offers examples of associations of the *banafsaḡ* with sadness¹⁶.

Ibn Ḥamdīs, *Dīwān*, appendix 537 taken from *Ma'ābid at-tanṣiḡ* 372 (two lines); Ibn al-Aṡīr, *Maṡāl* II, 32:

يَا سَالِبًا قَمَرَ السَّمَاءِ جَمَالَهُ أَلْبَسْتَنِي لِلْحَزَنِ ثَوْبَ سَمَائِهِ

aš-Šarīṡī, *Šarḡ* (Beirut ed.) I, 62, (Cairo ed.) II, 126 Abū 'Uṡmān an-Nāḡim (d. 314/926; *GAS* II, 588-589) and Abū Ḡa'far = Abū Ḥafṡ Aḡmad b. Muḥammad b. Burd al-Aṡḡar, d. 445/1053 (?), see below, Appendix X:

وَقَالَ أَبُو عَثْمَانَ النَّاجِمِ فِي جَارِيَةٍ رَأَى عَلَيْهَا ثَوْبًا أَزْرَقَ:
مَا تَعَدْتُ قَبُولَ حِينَ جَلَّتْ زِيًّا شَبِيهَا بِوَجْهِهَا ذِي الضِّيَاءِ
لَبَسْتُ أَزْرَقًا فَجَاءَتْ بِوَجْهِ يَشْبَهُ الْبَدْرَ فِي أَدِيمِ السَّمَاءِ

and by Abū Ḡa'far (Abū Ḥafṡ ?) b. Burd:

وَأَبِي جَعْفَرُ بْنُ بَرْدٍ فِي غِلَامٍ بَدَا لَهُ فِي ثَوْبٍ لِأَزْرَدِي فَقَالَ:
لَمَّا بَدَا فِي لِأَزْرٍ دِي الْحَرِيرِ وَقَدْ بَهَرَ لَ وَقَلْتُ مَا هَذَا بَشَرُ
فَأَجَابَنِي لَا تُنْكِرُنْ ثَوْبَ السَّمَاءِ عَلَى الْقَمَرِ

Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt* 71, poem by Abū Ḥafṡ Aḡmad b. Muḥammad b. Burd al-Aṡḡar (= ed. 1978:41, no. LII, transl. 180):

أَقْبَلُ فِي ثَوْبٍ لِأَزْرَدٍ قَدْ أَفْرِغَ التَّبِيرُ مِنْ عَلَيْهِ
كَأَنَّهُ الْبَدْرُ فِي سَمَاءٍ قَدْ طَرَزَ الْبَرَقَ جَانِبَيْهِ

¹⁶ White is the colour of mourning in Spain, see 'Imādaddīn, *Ḥarīda* II, 187 and Pérès 1953:299.

Appendix IX

Qalb: emotional associations

For *rifqa* and *rufaqa*' see above, Appendix III.

at-Tawhīdī, *Baṣā'ir* IV, 142, no. 491:

قال سهل بن هارون: ينبغي للنديم أن يكون كأنما خلق من قلب الملك يتصرف بشهوته الخ
al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān* (Cairo ed.) I, 222-285, (Beirut ed.) 214-274, passim, e.g. (Cairo
ed.) 264, (Beirut ed. 254):

الأخر:

ظبي له من قلوب الناس نايبة من المودة تجني أطيب الثمر
aš-Šarīšī, *Šarḥ* (Beirut ed.) II, 222, (Cairo ed.) III, 118, *Maqāma* no. 23, poem by
[ʿAbdalmalik b. ʿAlī Ibn Badrūn?] al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 608/1211), see *GAL* I, 340, S I, 110:

أورد قلبي الردى الخ and حرك قلبي فطار (see above)

aš-Šafadī, *Fadd* 226; Bonebakker 1966:95, poem by at-Tilimsānī (d. 680/1289, see *GAL*
I, 258, S I, 458):

وما كنت مجنون الهوى قبل أن يرى لقلبي من صدغيك في الأستر عاقل

To explain the *tawriya*, aš-Šafadī paraphrases this line as follows:

وما كنت مجنون الهوى قبل أن يرى عاقل من صدغيك لقلبي في الأستر

See at-Tilimsānī, *Dīwān* 200, no. 245. Part of this poem is in al-Kutubī, *Farwāt* III,
377; aš-Šafadī, *Wafī* III, 134.

az-Zabīdī, *Tāğ* 69b, s.v. *qalb* (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* I, 687a-b):

والقلب الفؤاد ... أو ... أخص منه أي طم الفؤاد في الاستعمال ويشهد له حديث "أناكم أهل اليمين
هم أرق قلوبا وألين أفئدة" ووصف القلوب بالركة

Appendix X

Authorship

Can we trust at-Taʿālibī, as-Silafī, Ibn Dihya, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥafāğī
against the other authors I quoted when they attribute these two curious lines to Ibn
Rašīq?

I have not found as yet any inclination that Ibn Rašīq (d. 456/1063-64 or
463/1070-71) after leaving Tunisia and setting in Sicily moved on to Spain, even for
a short visit. The question has been dealt with by al-Bāğī (1961:203-204, 254-255), and
by ʿAbdalwahhāb (1970:82-83, 92-93). al-Bāğī cites a scathing poem by Ibn Rašīq on

the ʿAbbāids¹⁷. If indeed Ibn Rašīq was the author of these lines, it is unlikely that he ever had any intention of going to Spain. I cite this rather amusing *qiṭʿa*:

مِمَّا يَزْهَدُنِي فِي أَرْضِ أُنْدَلُسٍ تَلْقَيْبٍ مَعْتَضِدٍ فِيهَا وَمَعْتَمِدٍ
الْقَابِ مَمْلَكَةً فِي غَيْرِ مَوْضِعِهَا كَالْهَرِّ يَحْكِي انْتِفَاحًا صَوْلَةَ الْأَسَدِ

al-Bāgī citing al-Maymanī (1924:69-71)¹⁸ argues, however, that Ibn Rašīq is not likely to have composed an aggressive poem on the ʿAbbāids who had not done him any harm; nor was aggression part of his character. They therefore reject Ibn Rašīq's authorship of the two lines. The following version of the invitation extended to Ibn Rašīq, if correct, makes Ibn Rašīq's authorship even less likely:

ʿAbdalwahhāb 1970:93-94, citing a passage in Ibn Bassām's *Dahīra* (IV, 2 = VIII, 610-611) suggests that after having refused to join Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī (d. 460/1067 in Seville)¹⁹ who embarked for Spain in 447/1057²⁰, Ibn Rašīq changed his mind and was prepared, even eager²¹, to join al-ʿAbbād al-Muʿtaḍid (433/1042-461/1069) in Spain, but was left behind by the merchant who was supposed to provide transportation. At a later date he seems to have planned the trip once more, but could not – or could no longer – bring himself to venture on the sea²². On this last occasion he would have composed two short poems; the first, the poem on *ilayhi*, I have quoted earlier (Bonebakker 1996:85, bottom of the page). The second runs as follows²³:

¹⁷ For the ʿAbbāids, see *Elʿ*, s.v.. The poem is found in Ibn Rašīq, *Diwān* (1962 ed.) 59-60, no. 47, with references; *idem*, (1996 ed.) 66, no 53; ʿAbdalwahhāb 1970:92; ʿImādaddīn, *Harīda* II, 72 attributed to Ibn ʿAmmār; *idem*, II, 187 attributed to al-Ḥuṣrī, but with a footnote referring to al-Marrākuṣī, *Muʿḡib* (see Dozy 1881:50) where the two lines are attributed to Ibn Rašīq. Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddima* I, 316, 470 attributes to Ibn Šaraf the insulting poem on al-Muʿtamid and al-Muʿtaḍid. Detailed references in Rizzitano 1956:53; García Gómez 1940; Ibn Bassām, *Dahīra* VII, 172 (with variants). Pellat 1953:XIX-XX, and note 3 on XIX agrees with al-Maymanī (who says that Ibn Šaraf died one year before al-Muʿtamid came to the throne and therefore cannot have composed *in tarmika l=ḡurbatu* ... “Si l'exil to jette ...”) and refers to ʿAbbād. See Dozy 1846 II, 5, no 1.

¹⁸ al-Maymanī attributed the poem to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār (d. 479/1086; see *Elʿ* I, 705b-706b), see preceding note. The work by al-Maymanī is not accessible to me, but his suggestion is supported by ʿImādaddīn, *Harīda* I, 72: *wa-mimmā yunsabu ilayhi: mimma yuqabbihu ʿindi dikera Andalusin samāu Muqtadirin* (sic).

¹⁹ See Rizzitano 1956:51-72; Ibn Rašīq, *Diwān*, ed. al-Harāwī, 174.

²⁰ See *Elʿ* s.v. “Ibn Šaraf” for a detailed biography. The two poets were bitter rivals, but seem to have made up their quarrel in Tunis or in Sicily.

²¹ Ibn Bassām, *Dahīra* VIII, 610, l. 14: *yartāḥu ilā ḡanābibi*.

²² Ibn Bassām, *Dahīra* VIII, 610, ll. 19-20: *ṭumma rāma ... baʿda dālīka rukūba l-baḥri fa-ḥašuna labū massubu wa-lam tusaʿidhu ʿalā rukūbibi nafsuhu, fa-qāla ...*

²³ al-Ḥafāḡī, *Tirāz* 221; Ibn Rašīq, *Diwān* (1962 ed.) 31, no 14, with references; *idem*, (1996 ed.) 44, no. 19.

خَلِقْتُ طِينًا وَمَاءَ الْبَحْرِ يَتَلِفُهُ وَالْقَلْبُ فِيهِ نَفُورٌ مِنْ مَرَاكِبِهِ
فَالْبَحْرُ خَيْرٌ رَفِيقٌ بِالرَفِيقِ لَهُ وَالْبَرُّ مِثْلُ اسْمِهِ بَرٌّ بِرَاكِبِهِ

Was the two line poem quoted by Bonebakker 1996:81ff perhaps composed by Abū l-ʿArab? Ibn Bassām's *Dahīra* mentions a list of texts offering biographical details about Abū l-ʿArab (d. 506/1112-13). In 464 the advance of the "Rūm" made him decide to leave Sicily. He joined al-Muʿtamid in Seville the next year becoming the favourite of al-Muʿtamid as well as of other rulers²⁴.

Two notes in as-Silafī, *Aḥbār* (68, 137-138) should be taken into consideration: One ʿAbdalḥamīd b. Muḥammad al-Balaḡī meets as-Silafī in Alexandria; after stating that he was born in 487, and was a *ḥaṭīb* in Tlīmāsān, he mentions that he met Abū l-ʿArab in Majorca. The second note mentions that al-Walīd b. Ismāʿīl al-Ġāfiqī met Abū l-ʿArab in Spain and heard him recite two lines of poetry, the first of which was:

وَكَمْ سَهْمٌ بَغْيِي لَمْ أَخْفَ أَنْ يُصِيبَنَّ أُصِيبَ بِهِ مَمَّنٌ رَمَانِي بِهِ النَّحْرُ
Could one suggest reading *al-baḥr* for *an-naḥr* and *mimmā* for *mimman*?

The same poet praises al-Muʿtamid when he has to undertake a sea journey (Ibn Bassām, *Dahīra* VII, 303):

ومنها في ذكر جواز المعتمد البحر: ما كنا عندك هول البحر تركبته جوداً بنفسك إلا جرية النهر

In other collections of biographies and poetry I checked there are several poems by Abū l-ʿArab, but these collections give no further particulars about his biography.

Taking note of the above one wonders if it would not be more likely that the lines *ammartanī bi-rukūbi l-baḥr* were addressed (perhaps jokingly) by Ibn Rašīq to Ibn Šaraf. Moreover, it appears unlikely that Ibn Rašīq would include allusions to biblical history to a Muslim ruler he does not know yet, but not so difficult to assume that they were addressed to a friend.

Remain Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣṣrī²⁵ and Ibn Ḥamdīs cited as authors under D,E, G, and I. al-Ḥuṣṣrī (d. 488/1095) went to Ceuta and later to Seville where he stayed from 462-468, having been invited to Spain by al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād, but also

²⁴ Muṣʿab b. Muḥammad b. Abī Furāt b. Abī Furāt al-Qurašī, better known as Abū l-ʿArab. See Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt*, Cairo ed., 120, 148, 149 (the earlier edition by García Gómez, *Las Banderas*, refers to *BAH*, V-VI, = Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1009 (= *idem*, *Takmila* II, 703 (no. 1786)). From the story in *Las Banderas*, it appears clearly that Abū l-ʿArab served al-Muʿtamid at some time in his career. A *dīwān* of his poetry was collected. Abū l-ʿArab distinguished himself also as a philologist lecturing on the *Adab al-ḥuṭṭāb* of Ibn Qutayba (a teacher and a pupil are mentioned). Later he joined Nāṣir ad-Dawla in Majorca where he died in 506. According to ʿImādaddīn, *Ḥarīda* II, 219-223 (references 713), he was born in 423, addressed a poem to al-Muʿtamid upon meeting him in 465 and was still alive in 507, living in Spain. See also Ibn Bassām, *Dahīra* VII, 301-308 (Section 4,1); al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ* III, 569-570; and Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, *Durra* (ed. Bakkūš) 217-223, and 217, footnote.

²⁵ b. ʿAbdalḡanī al-Fihri, see *EP*, 640a-641a. Not to be confused with Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the author of the *Zahr al-ādāb*.

visiting various other places to address poems to rulers. Ibn Ḥamdīs was strongly attached to al-Muʿtamid even following him to Aġmāt. al-Ḥuṣrī hailed from Qayrawān and so did Ibn Rašīq. Both poets, therefore, could well have composed poems about the horrors of sea travel.

Several details should be noted: Ibn Rašīq is most frequently mentioned as the author; as-Silafi is the oldest authority to mention the two lines; and, finally, there is to my knowledge not a single report suggesting that Ibn Rašīq, if he ever left Mazara and ventured on a trip by boat, went any further than the Balearic islands. Moreover, we have seen that a satirical poem on al-Muʿtamid and al-Muʿtaḍid is attributed to him; if we could prove that it is genuine it becomes even less likely that he ever went to Spain.

It should also be noted that as-Silafi (d. ca. 576/1181) is specific about the ruler who invited Ibn Rašīq identifying this ruler as al-Aġlab (or Ibn al-Aġlab)²⁶, *mawlā* of the cultured al-Muġāhid b. Yūsuf, ruler of Denia from 405-436/1014-1044/45. This Ibn al-Aġlab was residing in Majorca, and himself a client of the ʿĀmirids. He is also specific about the authority who quoted the lines to him²⁷. Other anthologies take the poem as addressed to a ruler in Spain or do not specify to whom it was addressed. This would make it easier to accept the conflict in date; for al-Aġlab's rule came to an end before Ibn Šaraf accepted the invitation which took him to Spain in 447/1057, so that the poem cannot have been composed as a reply to Ibn Šaraf's suggestion²⁸. This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that at some time Ibn Rašīq received an invitation from al-Muʿtamid, nor the possibility that he received this invitation while in the company of Ibn Šaraf which could mean that Ibn Ḥallikān (Bonebakker 1996:82-83, under D) confused Ibn Rašīq with al-Ḥuṣrī, both Tunesians. Nor is it necessary to rule out Ibn al-Aġlab as a would-be patron as long as we do not know Ibn al-Aġlab's biography in detail. Could he not have invited Ibn Rašīq before or after he played an active role in politics?

The authorship of II

The authors of the anthologies I have quoted all agree that the second set of two lines is by Ibn al-Muʿtazz. There is no good reason to reject this attribution unless

²⁶ This may be [al-Murtadā al-] Aġlab, ruler of Majorca for al-Muġāhid, see Ibn Saʿīd, *Muġrib* II, 466 ("mawlāhu al-Murtadā Aġlab"). For al-Muġāhid, see *El*² svv. "Dāniya" and "Mayurkā" (926b).

²⁷ as-Silafi offers an identifiable *isnād* quoting al-Ġāfiqī, ʿAdl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAdl, whom we can trace in al-Marrākuṣī, *Dayl* V/1, 141, no. 287 and aḍ-Ḍabbī, *Buġya* III, 425, no. 1271 (same text, no date). al-Ġāfiqī was a pupil of Abū ʿAlī aṣ-Ṣadafī (d. 514/1120) see *El*² VIII, 707b-708b. aṣ-Ṣadafī travelled to the East in 481/1088 and returned to Spain in 490/1096. Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafi held an *iġāza* from him.

²⁸ The references in Bonebakker 1996:note 12 are the only information I have found so far on [Ibn al-] Aġlab.

one feels that Ibn al-Muʿtazz could not have produced lines that are difficult to interpret or clumsy. With this in mind I tried to look for an alternative.

I can find only two possible reasons for attributing the line to Mānī al-Muwaswis (d. 245/859)²⁹. The first is a quotation from Mānī to Ibn Abī l-ʿAwn's *Tašbihāt* (251) mentioned earlier:

ماء النعيم بخده متعصفر³⁰ والصدغ منه لعطفة الراء

Which I would translate freely:

"Healthful youth lends his cheeks a bright colour

and the lock of hair on his face looks like the twist in the letter *rā*."

In this line there is question of a *šudġ*, "the curved lock of hair hanging upon the temple" (Lane), this *šudġ* being compared to a *rā*'. As far as I know at present, there is no other example of the *rā*' being used in this kind of simile³⁰.

I found two quotations in the al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Taʿrīḥ* (III, 169-170) where Mānī uses again a letter, the *alif*, in a simile to describe an emaciated body³¹ and, more interestingly, speaks of arranging the *šudġ* like a ring (*zurḥin*):

بأبي من يزرفين الصدغ بالعنبر في خده المورّد عرضاً

Another argument would be the criticism directed against Mānī in al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān* I, 283³². Abū Hilāl criticizes the first of a pair of lines by Mānī for its very poor *sabk*³³ and *rasf* (literally: 'bricklaying, construction'³⁴) though he finds the idea (*maʿnā*) original (*sabkuhu l-bayta l-awwala wa-rasfuhu radiʿun ġiddan lā ḥayra fihi wa-innamā ʿstaġrabtu l-maʿnā fa-awradtuhu*). The lines run as follows:

بكت عيني غداة البين دمعاً وأخرى بالبيكى بخلت علينا
فعاقت التي بخلت علينا بأن غمضتها يوم التقينا

²⁹ Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, see *GAS* II, 558-559.

³⁰ Ibn al-Kattānī, *Tašbihāt* 123, Ch. XIX, no. 224; transl. 125. The poet is Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (not identified):

في عارضيه يعنبر مكتوبة لا مان إلا أنها لم تمشّق
وصلت براء من عبير قد علت شفقتي عقيق تته در نقبي

The *rā*' is interpreted by Hoenerbach (1973:125) as referring to a mustache.

³¹ See also al-Isfahānī, *Agānī* XXIII, 182.

³² Beirut ed., 270. A second quotation on Cairo ed. 252, Beirut ed. 243, deals with a case of *ifrāt*.

³³ See al-ʿAskarī, *Mašūn* 7-8: quoting al-Ġāḥiz: *aġwadu š-šīʿri mā raʿaytahu mutalāhima l-aġzāʿi sahila l-mahāriġi ka-annahu qad subika sabkan wāḥidan wa-ufriġa ifrāġan wāḥidan fa-huwa yaġrī ʿalā lisāni ka-mā yaġrī farasu r-riḥāni*, etc.; translation and further references in Gelder 1982:41, and note; cf. also Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Matal* (1939 ed.) I, 304-309, (1960 ed.) I, 409-414: *Fi l-munāfara bayna l-alfāz fi s-sabk*.

³⁴ See Goldziher 1896 I, 129-130: 'feste Aneinanderfügung'. See also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūġ* (ed. Barbier de Meynard) V, 104, (rev. ed. Pellat) VIII, 34, speaking about works by al-Ġāḥiz: '... li-annahu nazamahā aḥsana nazmin wa-raṣafahā aḥsana rasfin wa-kaṣābā min kalāmihī aġzala lafzin'.

Still neither of these two arguments convinces me that there is a valid reason to suggest that the lines attributed to Ibn al-Muʿtazz should be attributed to Mānī al-Muwaswis.

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MAGIC, SORCERY, AND MYTH
IN JEWISH PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC LITERATURE
(THE ETHIOPIC BOOK OF ENOCH)

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The first part of the Ethiopic book of Enoch (ch. 1-36) is generally called the Book of Watchers. It begins with a description of the creation of the world, then continues with the story of the Watchers (‘*yrn*), whose sin — the relationship with the daughters of men, or rather the deeds of the giants born from these relationships — provokes the punishment of the Flood. We are dealing with mythical history, the beginnings of the history of mankind and the origins of the appearance of evil in human history — and according to the intentions of the author this story is a ‘parable’ for the history of his own age. In later historical overviews this tradition plays a very important role.

Earlier the Book of Enoch was only known as a part of the pseudepigraphic tradition, in Greek, or Ethiopian translation. It had been supposed that its original language may have been Hebrew or Aramaic, and that the Greek translation¹ was prepared from this, only a part of which has survived; luckily the ge’ez (Ethiopian) translation² has preserved a much longer text. The work known only in translations earlier was uniformly dated to the middle of the 2nd c. B.C.. Some parts of it (ch. 37-70) were dated to a somewhat later time³.

The finding of fragments of the Aramaic original of the work among the Qumran texts⁴ brought a veritable turning point in research. The manuscript fragments found at Qumran — despite the fact that we are dealing with very minute fragments⁵ — not only answered certain question about the history of the origin of the text, but also provided an insight into the kind of role the work played in the literary tradition of

¹ Its editions: Fleming-Radermacher 1901; Black 1970. About the Greek MSS see also Denis 1970.

² The Ethiopian manuscript tradition can be traced back to the 15th c. The first edition of the Ethiopian text: Charles 1906; the new, critical edition of the Ethiopian text, which takes into consideration the Aramaic fragments, with translation and annotation: Knibb 1982.

³ The earlier dating of 1Enoch: Schürer & Vermes 1973-79 III/1, 256.

⁴ Their edition Milik 1976; the new edition of the Ethiopian text was prepared in the light of the Aramaic fragments, with translation and commentary Knibb 1982.

⁵ In the text edition Milik mentions that 50% of the text of the Book of Watchers was preserved, in the case of the other parts of the work the percentage is less than this; more closely, however, these numbers only mean that this is the proportion of the Aramaic text that can be reconstructed on the basis of the fragments; see Milik 1976:5; also see VanderKam 1984:111.

the group which left behind the library safeguarded in the caves⁶. Based on the number of fragments found⁷ we may suppose that the work was not merely known at Qumran, but that it must have been an important work in the tradition of the community. This is also indicated by the fact that numerous other works, found at Qumran, and either already known from the pseudepigraphic literature or not, contain a tradition similar to that known from 1Enoch, or mention or use 1Enoch⁸. No fragments of chapters 37-70 of the work appear among the Qumran fragments — it has already been supposed about these chapters that they are of later origin than the other parts of 1Enoch, and that at the least they show traces of a Christian revision⁹; this lack proved these suppositions right, and that these sections were of a later origin. The Qumran manuscripts, however, also contain texts — fragments of the parts called by their editor *Astrological Book* and *Book of Giants* (Milik 1976:273-317) — which were earlier not known from any of the translations¹⁰. The oldest Qumran manuscript of 1Enoch (4Q En.ar/a) may be dated to the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C., and already this manuscript contains the text of Chapters 1-12¹¹ (but most likely the entire *Book of Watchers*, the material of Chapters 1-36, belongs to this layer)¹². The later manuscripts contain further parts of the work; this indicates

⁶ On the significance of the Aramaic fragments, see García-Martínez 1992:45-96.

⁷ In his edition Milik identified seven manuscript copies on the basis of the fragments found in cave No.4, four manuscripts from the *Astronomical Book*, on the basis of the fragments of the *Book of Giants* we may also suppose the existence of several copies from this part as well, see Milik 1976:139-317.

⁸ To mention just a few important examples: the *Book of Jubilees*, known already earlier from the pseudepigraphic literature, (whose Hebrew fragments were also found at Qumran) uses and explicitly quotes the book (see Charles 1913 II, 18-19), and elements originating from 1Enoch play an important role in its entire narrative; see below in greater detail. The *Damascus Document*, fragments of which were also found at Qumran, also alludes to the Enochic tradition in its historical overview; similarly the historical schema outlined in 4Q 180-181 is also based on the story of the *Watchers*, of the Enochic tradition. On the relationship of the *Book of Watchers* and the Aramaic *Levi*, and the interconnections and the origins of the sect see Stone 1988.

⁹ Milik 1976 supposed a Christian origin; Milik's theory was sharply criticized. On the question see Schürer & Vermes 1973-79 III/1, 257-59

¹⁰ The *Astrological Book* contains fragments of the 364 day calendar known at Qumran and fragments of other calendars. The *Book of Giants* contains the rich tradition concerning the giants, the children of the *Watchers*, unfortunately in a very fragmentary form. The order of the fragments is very problematic. On this see García-Martínez 1992:97-115.

¹¹ Earlier works, (such as Beer, in: Kautzsch 1900 II, 224; Martin 1906: lxxviii; Charles 1893:2-3) considered the material of Chapters 1-5 to be a subsequently written introduction to the whole work — in view of the Aramaic manuscript tradition, however, it seems certain that this part is contemporaneous with the narrative parts that follow, and that it represents a tradition predating the 2nd c. B.C.

¹² Milik 1976:140. Milik also supposes that the writer of the text followed the Northern Syrian or Mesopotamian scribal customs — and this may also indicate the origin of the tradition. The fragments also

that the work was continually transmitted until the 1st c. B.C., and that in the course of this transmission the collection was enriched by further pieces¹³. The manuscript tradition can be traced to the turn of the 3rd and 2nd c. B.C. — this means that the Book of Watchers was written at least during the 3rd c. B.C., but it may have been written even earlier.

A few years before the finding of the Qumran manuscripts Jansen (1939) examined the figure of Enoch in the light of the Mesopotamian tradition. Grelot's works demonstrating the Mesopotamian origin of the Enoch-tradition were also written before the publication of the Aramaic fragments (Grelot 1958a, 1958b, 1958-59 and 1975). VanderKam's book (1984a) re-examines the origin of the tradition associated with Enoch in the light of the already published Aramaic fragments, and affirms the earlier findings relating to a Mesopotamian origin. In all likelihood then the tradition connected to Enoch originates from authors living in a Mesopotamian diaspora-community during the Babylonian exile or during the Persian rule following it. The figure of Enoch and the elements of the revelation-tradition associated with him originates in the figures of the Mesopotamian *apkallū*-s, i.e. wise ones¹⁴, more exactly in the figure of the 'Mesopotamian diviner-king Enmeduranki' and in the tradition about divine revelation given to him (VanderKam 1984a:116). In addition to these in the text of the Book of Watchers, numerous other Mesopotamian elements have already been shown to exist¹⁵. The kernel of the Enochic tradition then — similarly to the early pieces of the Danielic collection — may have come into being in Mesopotamia, most probably in a local Jewish diaspora-community.

The book of 1Enoch, however, contains more than these early pieces. The entire Book is constituted of a collection of pieces that came into being at different times, and even if the basis of the early pieces of the collection was the Mesopotamian Jewish tradition, certain later pieces may have been written much later in Palestine.

The text of Chapters 6-11 about the Watchers clearly contains at least two narratives¹⁶. Based on the names of the characters the texts of 6:1-7:6 (the narrative about

prove that Chapters 1-5 already belonged to the so far known earliest Enoch-tradition.

¹³ Milik 1976:164 dates 4Q En/b to the mid-second century (this manuscript also only contains the Book of Watchers; the later manuscripts, designated by c, d, and e which can be dated to the first c. B.C.-1st c. A.D., also contain parts of the Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 83-90) and of the Epistle of Enoch (1 En. 91-107), see Milik 1976:178 and 12, 217 and 22, 225.

¹⁴ Sir 44:16 also mentions Enoch as 'a wise one'.

¹⁵ On the geographical description of the part following the Watchers-narrative see Grelot 1958a.

¹⁶ This fact has already been noted by earlier scholars dealing with the work: Dillmann, "Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments", in *RE*², 12.352; Beer, in Kautzsch 1900 II, 225; Charles 1893:13-14, all differentiated between two narratives in the text of 1En. 6-11. More recently Hanson 1977 and Nickelsburg 1977 have analysed the constituents of the text and they too differentiated between two sources, while according to Dimant's analysis (1974:23-72), three versions of one story may be read in the text.

Shemihazah) and of 8:1-4 (Asa'el-tradition) are to be separated.

The Shemihazah-Tradition

The narrative of the 'Shemihazah-tradition' can be read in 1En.6:1-7:62¹⁷. The story is the parallel of the narrative of Gen.6:1-4, about the angels and the daughters of men, but with a message different from the narrative of the Masoretic Text. According to the Shemihazah-story sons of heaven (6:2), whom the text similarly to the terminology of Dan.5 calls "watchers" (*ʿyryn*), glimpse the daughters of men, desire them, and decide to descend to them. Their leader Shemihazah (*šmyhzh*) considers the plan to be sinful, for which he does not want to bear the responsibility alone (6:3). Therefore the Watchers, in order to fulfill their plan swear to unite on the Mount Hermon (1En. 6:6)¹⁸. Then the Watchers "...began [to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them] and (they began) to teach them sorcery and spellbinding and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants..." (7:1). The women become pregnant from them and bear children, who growing up become giants. The giants "were devouring the labour of all the children of men and men were unable to supply them." (7:4). After this the giants begin to devour men, then "... they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth [and reptiles ... and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of another; and they were drinking blood. [Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it" (7:5-6)¹⁹.

These then are the transgressions, which finally bring about the punishment of the Flood (1Enoch 9:1ff)²⁰, thus the story serves as a justification for the catastrophic punishment.

How the author of the story evaluated the relationship of the Watchers and the daughters of men may be seen from two comments. One of them is heard before the

¹⁷ Wedged into the narrative about Shemihazah and his companions there is another story, which after its protagonist is called the Asa'el-story. The separateness of the two stories has long been recognized see Dillmann *ibid.*; Beer, in: Kautzsch 1900 II, 225; Charles 1893:13-14, more recently Hanson 1977, Nickelsburg 1977. On the precise delineation of the parts of the texts and with regard to the origin and role of the stories there are different opinions; on these see VanderKam 1984:123-24. D. Dimant supposes three versions of one story in the narrative of 1En. 6-11: 1/ the angels defile themselves with earthly women, who bear them giants, and these are the source of evil and aggression, 2/ the teachings of the angels betray secrets to humans, 3/ Asa'el's teachings corrupt people.

¹⁸ Pun based on the similarity of the Aramaic *hym* 'devote', and the *hymam* placename.

¹⁹ Translated by Milik, based on the Aramaic text reconstructed by him; see Milik 1976:166-167.

²⁰ In the Ethiopian text of the Enoch-book the narrative about Asa'el is wedged between the narratives of the sins and the punishment. The same is true for the Aramaic fragments. Based on the text of the first copy (Milik 1976:150, Pl. III) it is probable, and based on the second copy (Milik 1976:166, Pl. VI) it is certain, that the Aramaic texts also followed the same order. According to 1Enoch 9:1ff, however, the punishment is clearly connected to the sins (bloodshed upon the earth) described in the Shemihazah-story.

deed of the Watchers, from the mouth of Shemihazah: "I fear that you will not wish to do this deed; and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin (**h̄t' rb'*)" (6:3). The writer of the Shemihazah-tradition then considers the relationship to be a sin from the outset, which goes against some prescription, but he does not identify the nature of the transgression²¹. According to the second comment the Watchers defiled themselves²² with the daughters of men (7:1c) — that is they offended against some prohibition relating to sexual relations²³.

The elements of the Shemihazah-story: the naming of the protagonists *'yryn*, 'Watchers' and "sons of heaven" (**bny šmy'*) (6:2). The text also enumerates the names of their leaders²⁴. Most of the names contain an element of the name of a deity (*'l*), furthermore the names of celestial bodies and natural phenomena (Ramṭ'el, 'Burning heat of God', Kokab'el 'Star of God', Ra'm'el, 'Thunder of God', Zeq(i)'el, 'Lightning-flash of God', Baraq'el, 'Lightning of God', Maṭar'el, 'Rain of God', 'Anan'el 'Cloud of God', Sataw'el 'Winter of God', Shamshi'el, 'Sun of God', Sahri'el, 'Moon of God', Turi'el, 'Mountain of God', Yomi'el, 'Day of God'. In other names the 'el element is not linked to natural phenomena (Dani'el, 'God has judged', 'Asa'el, 'God has made', Tummi'el, 'Perfection of God', Yehaddi'el, 'God will guide'). In two names a natural phenomenon and a geographical name appear but without the 'l name element ('Ar'taqoph 'The earth is power', Hermoni 'of Hermon'). Finally the meaning of the name of the leader, Shemihazah, 'My name has seen' probably also refers to the name of a deity. After their descent to the daughters of men the

²¹ Most interpretations see the deed of the Watchers, based on the analogy of the theomachia-stories of Greek and Mesopotamian mythologies, as a rebellion against God; based on the text of 1Enoch it is not necessarily so, just as much as the other comment ('defiled themselves') does not refer to such kind of sin either. It is self-evident that the mixing of men of heaven and daughters of men violate unwritten laws concerning the relation of divine and human beings, and trespass on the Mosaic laws forbidding the mixing of different kinds.

²² The part containing the expression is missing from the Aramaic manuscript fragments containing the story of the Watchers. In the Ethiopian translations "they began to go in to them and were promiscuous with them", while in the Greek ones "they began ... to defile themselves with them". The basis for the difference is most probably the Aramaic *ṭm'* 'to be mixed up' and *ṭm'* 'to be defiled', see Knibb 1982: 2.77; VanderKam 1984:123.

²³ The cases of the sin of *ṭm'* as sexual impurity are enumerated in Lev. 18:19-25. According to this whoever lies with the wife of another, or lies with an animal, or with a menstruating woman will become defiled (although the verb *ṭm'* does not appear in this prohibition, logically it results in it); Lev. 15 which also deals with defilements expounds in detail that the bedstead and seat of a menstruating woman are also unclean and are defiling objects, and sexual relations with such a woman make the man unclean for seven days. Dimant (1974) suggests that the sin of Shemihazah and his companions was transgression against the latter prohibition.

²⁴ According to the Greek and the Ethiopian texts there are two hundred of the Watchers, and ten Watchers have a leader each, thus the number of names is twenty, of which, with the help of the names appearing in the Aramaic text, 19 can be identified, see Milik 1976:152-154.

Watchers teach them sorcery, spell-binding and 'the cutting of roots', and 'show them plants' (7:1). The first two terms (*brš*, *kšph*) determine the negative nature of the teachings. Thus the seemingly innocuous 'cutting of roots' and 'knowledge of herbs' in the view of the author of the Watchers-story are also considered to be negative, that is to say forbidden things²⁵. After the interjection of the Asa'el-story we once again read about the teachings of Shemihazah and his companions (8:3); Shemihazah "taught spell-binding and cutting of roots", and Hermoni the reversing of these "taught the loosing of spells, magic, sorcery and skill" (8:3a). This section enumerates the teachings of the other Watchers as well, which are always related to those phenomena which appear in the name of the given Watchers: "Baraq'el taught the signs of thunders. Kokab'el taught the signs of the stars" etc. (8:3). The teachings of Shemihazah and Hermoni then are related to magic in general (in addition, those of Shemihazah also relate more particularly to the knowledge of herbs), and those of the Watchers to natural phenomena, and most probably to the interpretation of astrological and natural omens²⁶.

The third element of the narrative, the motif of the giants devouring everything, seems to be without precedent²⁷. In the narrative, however, it is an important

²⁵ Knowledge and use of medicinal herbs in most cultures is considered natural and applied alongside with magical practices it belongs to the traditional practice of healing. Naturally the use of herbs for malefatory purposes is also known. The severe disapproval of the knowledge of herbs in the text of 1 Enoch may be related to a view that is also known from other non-canonical texts found at Qumran; according to this the only method of healing considered to be efficacious was the laying on of hands (*smylet ydym*, *g'yr*). The healer cured the patient with divine help, and exorcised the demon causing the illness through releasing the patient's sins; 4Q OrNab, its edition Jongeling et al. 1976:121-131; Genesis Apocryphon, see Fitzmyer 1971. On this method — which is not only known from Qumran, but also from the New Testament, see Fitzmyer 1971:140-141. Such a division of methods of healing, incidentally, corresponds to the two methods known from Mesopotamia which are carefully differentiated from each other, that of the activities of the *āšīpu*, and the *asū*-doctors. On the one hand, the *asū*-doctors identified the symptoms of the patient with the help of prognostic omnia, and also suggested medication for the patient on the basis of texts of omnia — usually herbs and potions prepared from them. On the other hand, the *āšīpu*-doctor after observing and noting the patient's symptoms cured by magical methods deemed to fit the particular case, see Oppenheim 1956:359-61.

²⁶ Others (e.g. VanderKam 1984a:55) have already noted the possible connection of these elements of the Watchers-story to the Mesopotamian Enūma Anu Enlil ("When Anu and Enlil") collection, which was the 'canonical' series of the interpretation of the omnia of the moon, sun and meteorological phenomena. Naturally, in the Enoch-Book this science appears as a synonym of magic and sorcery. The Mesopotamian tradition may have become known to the Jewish author or authors of the Aramaic-language Enochic tradition in the Babylonian exile through Aramaic intermediaries. On the Mesopotamian texts see Weidner 1941-69.

²⁷ The motif of non-human creatures who devour everything is familiar from the Mesopotamian literary tradition, namely in connection with the Anunnaki deities (see below). It seems that it is not only the figure of Enoch that can be traced back to the *apkallū*-s, wise men, of the Mesopotamian tradition, but also elements of the Shemihazah-story, although Enoch does not appear in this part at all, and thus the

element, since this is the origin of the cannibalism of the giants, of their sins against the creatures of the air, earth and the water, of the drinking of blood, and these sins lead eventually so far that the earth accuses against the sinners.

The Asa'el-Tradition

The Shemihazah-narrative is directly followed by another, the protagonist of which is Asa'el (1Enoch 8:1-4), and which tells of the kind of teachings Asa'el (עֲשָׂוֵל) imparted to the people. According to the narrative it was he who taught the men the making of swords of iron and breastplates of brass, he showed them how they could make jewels out of gold and silver; he informed women of the use of antimon, eye shadow, precious gems and dyes. In the narrative of the Asa'el-tradition the teacher is that same Asa'el whose name had been also mentioned in the Shemihazah-story²⁸. Asa'el's teachings differ from those we read about in the Shemihazah-story.

The story says nothing about who Asa'el is; it does not mention the motif of the oath or the rebellion or the nature of the relationship of Asa'el and the people. The fact that Asa'el does not teach women, but men and women, is also different; and the

two traditions could be independent of each other. One of the motifs of the Shemihazah-story, which suggests a Mesopotamian background, is the motif of omen-interpretation relating to stars and natural phenomena; the omen-interpretation collection of the series entitled *Enūma Anu Enlil* contains the interpretations of the omnia of the moon, sun, meteorological phenomena and the stars — the same items that the Watchers teach the daughters of men. One of the title characters of the series is the god Anu, the mythological motifs relating to whom would deserve a thorough examination in the future, all the more so as in the second part of the rule of the Achaemenid dynasty in Uruk Anu appeared as a Sky God and the protector of the town, and according to Diakonoff he was worshipped as 'the god of the sky' — by the same name which becomes the adjective of Yahweh in the same period. Based on Anu's popularity during the Persian period and the similarities that can be demonstrated at this time between the figures of Anu and Yahweh it is not unimaginable, that the Watchers-story preserves a certain tradition relating to Anu and the gods connected to him and to demons. A discussion of the possible origin and relations of the literary material of the story of the Watchers would require much space, therefore let me just refer to a few possible points of connection with Mesopotamian mythological ideas. According to the Mesopotamian tradition Anu, the god and creator of the sky orders the birth of the Anunnaki deities on "the mountain of the sky and the earth". The Anunnaki eat cereals and drink milk — which is provided for them by a divine couple, Lahar and Asnan — however, their hunger and thirst is not quenched (Lahar and Asnan). In the Mesopotamian mythology the evil demons also appear as the progeny of Anu, he created them with the Earth (Ersetu), and then, determining their fate, he gave them to be the helpers of Erra, the god of pestilence (Epic Erra, Epic Lugalbanda, the collection of incantations entitled 'The evil utukku-demons'). The mention of the name of Gilgamesh elsewhere in the Enochic collection is also of Mesopotamian origin. In the Shemihazah-story the children of the Watchers are giants; later mentions of the Watchers stories within the Enochic collection, however, always clearly refer to demons.

²⁸ His name is the same as that of the tenth leader of the Shemihazah-story. The Aramaic text uses the same form of the name in both places, so it may be supposed that we are dealing with the same figure; the manuscripts of the Greek translations, however, provide two different names, it is likely that these forms are the result of corruption of text. Dimant 1974:52-59, supposes a different figure for the protagonist of the Asa'el-story.

motif of the consequence of the sin is also missing. The section about Asa'el is followed once again by a section belonging to the Shemihazah-story (the teachings of the Watchers), which is ensued by the description of the punishment in which elements of the Asa'el- and Shemihazah-traditions mingle. It seems that the punishment of Asa'el belongs to a separate Asa'el-tradition. Asa'el is punished by the angel Rapha'el for the sin perpetrated by him: he is cast in darkness, where he will stay until 'the great day of judgment' (10:4-8). (On the other hand, the punishment belonging to the Shemihazah-story, is the devastation by the Flood (10:1-3, 9-22)). Based on these Dimant has suggested that the Asa'el-part has a narrative-tradition of a different origin than the Shemihazah-story, and it has nothing to do with the story of the Flood (Dimant 1974:23-72).

If, however, one considers the general meaning of the Asa'el-narrative then one will find that a common feature of Asa'el's teachings to men is the destructive power of arms, and of those given to women is the seductive power of the cosmetics; violence and seduction are basic motifs of the Shemihazah-narrative (the motivation for the deed of the Watchers is that they desired the daughters of men, and in the latter parts the violence, and bloodshed begun by the giants becomes the reason for the punishment by the Flood).

The fact that the author of the Asa'el-story puts metallurgy, weapon- and jewelry-making into the center of the forbidden teachings may also have been caused by a homophony as well: the similarity of the Aramaic word *hereš* (magical method) and the Hebrew word *hrš* ('cut in', 'engrave', plough', 'devise' which may have led the author of the Asa'el-story to expand the tradition of magical methods to include teachings on metallurgy. That metallurgy and smithing are very closely related to the notion of magic cannot be left out of consideration; according to the belief system of the Near-East, ironsmiths are considered to be sorcerers²⁹.

Shemihazah, Asa'el and the Enochic Collection

The two stories — the story of Shemihazah and that on the teachings of Asa'el, added later to the first one — serve as justification for the punishment of the Flood. The text of Chapters 1-5, which constitute the preface to the narrative, is considered to have been a later addition but it appears together with the narrative of 6-11 of the oldest extant manuscript tradition (Milik 1976:25). The first sentences of Enoch 1-5 are an admonition followed by teachings on the creation of the world and the precedents of the Flood. The preface of Enoch (1Enoch 1-5) mentions the fact of the creation, and talks of the ordered nature of the world. It does not narrate the process of the creation, only mentions the fact and provides a detailed description of everything being defined, and that the perpetual functioning and

²⁹ In Ethiopian ironsmith and magician are denoted by the same word (*duban-ansa*), see Leslau 1989: 181; similarly the descendants of Cain — who are ironsmiths in the Bible (Gen. 4:16-24) — in the later tradition related to them are associated with magical motifs (Syriac 'Cave of Treasures', ed. C. Bezold 1983). In the Ethiopian tradition the belief that ironsmiths have magic capabilities and knowledge is alive to this day, they are considered to be sorcerers and therefore members of other groups do not marry their daughters to them.

annual changes are directed by unchanging eternal laws (2:1-5:3). The Book of Enoch does not mention the story of the Fall, the transgression of the divine prohibition by the first human couple, Adam and Eve, similarly, it does not refer to the tradition of Gen. 4-5 either. The absence of references to this tradition of Genesis cannot be an accident; that story tells how the violation of a rule puts an end to the golden age following creation, and that this is what brings upon man the burdens of toil, giving birth and death (Gen. 2-3)³⁰. In 1Enoch, however, the first event after creation is the tradition also known from Gen. 6:1-4, the story of the 'sons of God' and the 'daughters of men', which in the text of Enoch appears as the story of the 'Watchers' and the daughters of men. This system compared to the 'Urgeschichte' of Genesis — which originates in different traditions, but its final form was shaped by P and P determined its theological message — carries a significantly different message. In the narratives of Genesis the origin of evil is associated with the disobedience of the first human couple, its cause is the violation of a rule. In Enoch, on the contrary, evil is of 'historical' origin³¹, it is associated with a particular era of the history of mankind, since in the generations prior to Enoch and the mankind of the period of the Flood, in the generations preceding the contemporaries of the giants there is no evil (although 1Enoch does not talk of the period between the creation and the deluge, it may be supposed that it imagines the 'Urgeschichte' of mankind similarly to the Biblical tradition, beginning with the creation).

In addition, according to the Enochic tradition the appearance of evil is not preceded by a prohibition. Shemihazah and his companions are aware that their act, the descent to the women is a sin — we do not know, however, whether the women are aware of this. In the Shemihazah-story the origin of evil is constituted by the relationship of the Watchers and the women, the giants born of this relationship, furthermore by the teachings given to the women — the receivers of evil and its earthly transmitters are exclusively the women. The Asa'el-story only relates to the teachings, complementing the Shemihazah story in such a way that it talks about two kinds of receivers of the teachings, men and women; thus here the transmitter of evil is the whole of mankind, and not just the women — the author of the Asa'el-story attempts to change the point of view according to which the origin of evil among humans would only be associated with women. The women mentioned in the Shemi-

³⁰ This part of Genesis, or its paraphrase, incidentally, does not appear in the text tradition of the covenanters, neither among the texts created within the community, nor in the apocryphal texts transmitted by them — however, the Haggadic narratives relating to Gen.6:1-4 and to the history of the events of the Flood play an emphatic role.

³¹ On the differing role of the story from that of Genesis see Delcor 1976. The story about 'the origin of evil' is the starting point of Sacchi's apocalypse-interpretation. Sacchi considers the story to be the starting point of an apocalyptic tradition and to be the definition of apocalypse as a genre, see Sacchi 1990. Sacchi's conclusions about the genre and about the 'apocalyptic point of view' may be debatable; in any case the appearance of a new viewpoint expressed in the Book of Watchers is very important from the point of view of the later Jewish tradition. In the later tradition both versions of the origin of evil appear, emphasizing different messages — Eve's responsibility, or the role of the 'sons of God, or the theory of two human inclinations —, see Baudry 1992.

hazah-story, and the men and women mentioned in the Asa'el-story are only receivers and transmitters, not instigators of the origin of evil; according to the Book of Enoch evil essentially springs from outside of mankind.

Sins Causing the Flood – The Meaning and Origin of the Story of the Watchers

Does the origin of the story of the Watchers lie in historical or social models? There are several suggestions according to which the background and origin of the story of the Watchers and of Asa'el constitute a criticism of the practices of the Temple and in general of the priesthood of the post-exilic period (Suter 1979), others suppose that it may have been occasioned by the reforms of Ezra, the prohibition of mixed marriages (Rubinkiewicz 1988), or possibly by the diadochoi wars (Nickelsburg 1977). Talmon raises the question in one place, that Israel's errors mentioned in the Damascus Document ("those in which all Israel were in error", CD III.14), which began with the downfall of the Watchers, would in fact have been the use of a calendar system which was considered to be erroneous³² — thus the isolated group which created 1 Enoch and also the Damascus Document, and which used its own calendar at variance with the official one, would have tried to justify its separateness and the correctness of its calendar by tracing back the differences in calendric systems to a cosmic upheaval in the mythical past.

In the story of the Watchers, however, with regard to the message of the story and maybe even its origin the key words are provided by the sins: the *tm'*, 'becoming defiled', which resulted from the relationship of the Watchers with daughters of men³³, furthermore the sins of the giants descending from them, the cannibalism, the sins committed against the animals of the land, water and air, as well as the drinking of blood (1 En. 7:4-5) — this is why the earth "made the accusation against the wicked, concerning everything which was done upon it" (1 En. 7:6). The origin of evil then is found in the sins defiling the land. The relationship of the Watchers and the daughters of men — whether they transgressed against a specific sexual prohibition in their relationship or not — in and of itself is considered to be unclean, to be the violation of the boundaries raised between different groups³⁴. The relationship of the Watchers and the women, as a sin belonging to the category of trans-

³² Talmon 1958. The close connection between the collection of Enoch and the calendrical tradition is shown by a part of the collection, the Book of Luminaries, which is dated as contemporaneous with the Watchers-tradition. Milik considers the Astrological Book, found among the Aramaic fragments, also to belong to the 1 Enoch-collection, see Milik 1976:7-22. In the Qumran library it is not only 1 Enoch that shows a special interest in calendars; the calendars surviving in the Temple Scroll, 4 Q MMT, and furthermore the so called Mishmarot-texts contain various calendar texts with a differing system from that of the official calendar of Jerusalem. On the calendars of Qumran see Glessmer 1993.

³³ See Dimant 1974:23-72, who considers the relationship of the Watchers and the women and the story of the giants to be separate narratives.

³⁴ According to Lev. 19:19 "You must observe my statutes. You may not allow two different kinds of animals to mate together. You are not to plant your field with two kinds of seed, nor to wear a garment woven with two kinds of yarn."

gression against a sexual prohibition, defiles the land³⁵. According to Num. 35:33 murder defiles the land³⁶; in several instances the Mosaic laws condemn the sin of sorcery (in one instance, Lev. 19:26, together with the consumption of blood; according to Deut. 18:9-14 the Canaanites are driven out by Yahweh before the Israelites, this is the reason why they loose their land. The sins committed against animals may mean the violation of dietary laws, that is consumption of animals of the land, water or air considered to be unclean, or the consumption of clean animals under circumstances considered to be unclean, e.g. that of fallen animal or an animal torn by beasts (cf. Lev. 11:39f, 17:15, 22:8); the consumption of meat without draining the blood (cf. Lev. 17:13-14)³⁷. Prohibition against the consumption of blood appears separately and emphatically in several places, once among the Noahic laws (Gen. 9:4, Lev. 19 :26 and elsewhere). In the apochryphal works known from the Qumran library — from which we know the Aramaic texts of 1 Enoch — and from elsewhere similar prescriptions played an especially significant role, special emphasis was placed on the prohibition against the consumption of blood, and the requirement of strictly observing the Sabbath and the dietary laws.

The Story of the Watchers as a Myth

The story of the Watchers is a myth written in the Persian period, an aitiology of the origin of the sin in the world. Sin is originated from the violation of certain prohibitions of the Mosaic law: 'sinners' in 1 Enoch are a group of people who do not follow the dietary laws, and engage in forbidden practices and magical practices. The elements of the story (the kinds of magical arts) come from Mesopotamian magical-scientific lore. The story is retrojected into the distant past, into the prehistory of mankind, the antediluvian era; this behaviour is made to appear as the origin of evil and the sin which brought the punishment of the Flood onto mankind.

Thus then the Watchers-tradition also serves as self-definition, the tradition of a distinctive group. In the light of their written tradition it is clear that members of the Qumran community believed themselves to have lived in an age which was soon to be ended by divine judgment: these people saw a parallel between their own era and that of Enoch, between themselves and the elect of the antediluvian era.

³⁵ Lev. 19:29, "The land is not to play the prostitute and be full of lewdness".

³⁶ Purification takes place when somebody is killed. If the murderer is unknown the inhabitants have to take care of purification, cf. Deut. 21:1-9; also in the case of someone who died in war, Num. 31-19.

³⁷ The latter is an especially severe prescription, its punishment is that "whoever eats it is to be cut off", while transgressing against the former merely makes unclean.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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| <i>AfO</i> | <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> |
| <i>CBQ</i> | <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> |
| <i>FO</i> | <i>Folia Orientalia</i> |
| <i>HUCA</i> | <i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> |
| <i>JBL</i> | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| <i>JSJ</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i> |
| <i>PVTG</i> | <i>Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece</i> |
| <i>RB</i> | <i>Revue Biblique</i> |
| <i>RE</i> | <i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft</i> |
| <i>RHR</i> | <i>Revue d'Histoire Religieuse</i> |
| <i>RQ</i> | <i>Revue de Qumrân</i> |
| <i>RSR</i> | <i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i> |

MAGICAL HEALING STATUES IN ANCIENT EGYPT

SUMMARY

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Snake bites and scorpion stings presented a grave danger in villages and cities of Ancient Egypt, as they present also to-day. One would expect, therefore, to find a lot of medical prescriptions to treat these injuries in the numerous Egyptian papyri dealing with the cure of different illnesses. Actually, this is not the case, and one finds that the medical literature of the New Kingdom almost fully ignored this subject. The researcher must go down to the Late Period to obtain real information on treatments for the venom of scorpions and snakes (Pap. in the Brooklyn Museum 47.218.48 and 85).

In general, most of the Egyptians put their trust in supernatural powers inhabiting in magical spells against noxious animals which were engraved on the so-called Horus *cippi* or on statues which in most cases hold a Horus *cippus* before them. The first healing statue dates from the reign of Ramesses III (12th cent. B.C.). Apart from this unique piece all the other examples are from the 4th cent. B.C. or are later. Also the Horus *cippi* make their first appearance in the New Kingdom.

The way these statues and Horus *cippi* were thought to transfer their power to the patient is well known. Water was poured on them and as it flowed over the inscriptions, it absorbed their power and became a potent drug against scorpions and snakes.

Most of the healing statues are unpublished so far. I prepare the edition of the statues kept in the museums in Turin, Florence and Naples.

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