

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 24-25

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PREFACE

The present volume contains the first part of papers that were presented at the 20th Congress of the *Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* held in Budapest between 10-17 September 2000, and organized by the Chair for Arabic Studies, Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest and the Csoma de Kőrös Society of Hungarian Orientalists.

To host the Congress for a second time in Budapest (after the first occasion in 1988) was a special pleasure for the organizers. It was also used to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the birth of Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) to whom the Congress was dedicated.

The Congress has attracted nearly a hundred scholars, and some eighty papers were read in six sections. This part of the Proceedings is devoted to papers dealing with various aspects of Arabic linguistics, literature and history. The articles within the sections follow in alphabetical order as is usual in the various proceedings of the Union.

From the altogether 22 papers six treat a wide variety of linguistic topics from the history of Arab linguistics in the classical and modern periods (M. G. Carter, T. Iványi, J. M. Landau) to the linguistic analysis of proverbs (A. Pagnini), idioms (L. Torlakova) and the works of Yūsuf Idrīs (A. Shvitiel).

The twelve papers devoted to literature allow the reader to span over centuries of Arabic literature. Classical *adab* is treated from its earliest period to the later Middle Ages by three papers (M. Maróth, R. Würsch, A. Ghersetti). One paper is consecrated to popular literature (A. B. Kudelin), while another to an early 17th century piece of Christian Arabic literature (I. Feodorov). Classical poetry is dealt with in three papers, two dedicated to different aspects of Andalusian poetry (J. Mattock, A. Schippers), while one to a great Persian *šūfī* poet (M. L. Reisner). Those interested in modern Arabic literature can find four papers dedicated to this subject, one presenting a rhetoric analysis of modern prose in general (B. Rayhanova), another concentrating on the prose of the UAE, and two dealing with modern poetry: one with a major *mahğar*-poet (C. Nijland), and another with the Christian elements in Palestinian poetry (K. Skarżyńska-Bochenska).

The same diversity applies to the few papers devoted to Arabic history, since they analyse different aspects of Umayyad (W. Madelung), early ʿAbbāsīd (E. Orthmann), Mamlūk (D. S. Richards), and early 20th century history (K. Velichkov).

It is our sad duty to pay tribute here to professor John Mattock, former president of the Union, who passed away without seeing the publication of his contribution to the last congress he attended.

The second part of the Proceedings – which will appear as Vols. 26-27 of *The Arabist* – will contain papers presented in the sections Islam, Popular Culture in Islam, and Islamic Art and Architecture of the Congress.

Finally, the Union should be thanked for the magnanimous financial support of the publication of these Proceedings.

Budapest, 1 July 2002

The Editor

I. LINGUISTICS

PATTERNS OF REASONING: SĪBWAYHI'S ANALYSIS OF THE *HĀL*

M. G. Carter

Oslo University

This is a somewhat experimental paper. If it succeeds it will show that Sībawayhi's thinking is essentially non-linear, that is, he works with a complex array of interlocking notions, all of which are present in his mind simultaneously, rather than in a sequence of ideas, each following progressively from the previous one. If the paper fails, it will at least have demonstrated that Sībawayhi's thinking is of a kind which lesser minds cannot reduce to some arbitrary scheme.

Non-linearity is now a familiar presence. With computers we can construct texts which do not have to be read in any particular order¹; while under the pseudonym of "hypertext" a document may consist of many linked texts, between which we move at will with a click of the mouse. And computer programmers use "parallel processing" and "neural networks" to replicate in machines the activity of thinking in the brain.

Muslims have been using a hypertext for centuries: it was Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), who pointed out that the Qur'ān talks to itself, i.e. it is full of internal self-references, with the result that the meaning of a verse may not become apparent until the contents of some other verse are taken into account². Moreover, for the *ḥāfiẓ* who has internalized the Qur'ān, it has physically become part of his neural network, and he can access it both in a linear way (scanning through a sequence of verses) or a non-linear way (making random connections between words or verses), according to need. And this, in turn, reflects the theological status of the Qur'ān, whose original version has no dimensions at all, but exists as a prototypical hypertext with God, which the *ḥāfiẓ* re-creates in his own mind.

Since the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi has itself been called the "Qur'ān of grammar" it seems appropriate to apply similar thinking to the arrangement of its subject matter. Sībawayhi certainly displays an almost God-like omniscience about the contents of the *Kitāb*: there are forward and backward references extending over hundreds of pages, leaving no doubt that he did indeed have the complete *Kitāb* in his head, at

¹ This has been a literary conceit for some time, e.g. Pavič 1989, which may be read in any order (and which, moreover, appears in a "male" and "female" version differing in only one paragraph, but that is a different kind of joke).

² Ibn Fāris, *Ṣāḥibi* 239ff. He says he has even written a book about it (which is unfortunately not extant). Islam has long been characterized as "intertextual", but in this case we are dealing with what might be called "intratextuality".

least at the stage where he was composing the version he worked on with his pupil al-Aḥfaṣ, the one we now have.

It is already curious that Sibawayhi deals with the *ḥāl* in so many different places and from so many different perspectives, pragmatic, structural, semantic etc., in clusters of chapters broadly as follows: (1) as a Transitivity problem, i.e. the *ḥāl* as one of the Objects of the Verb and therefore having Dep. form, which also raises questions of the Dep. form as a default Case for items occurring outside complete phrases or sentences, (2) as an Agreement problem, largely involving the difference between Predication and Adjectival Qualification (which require Agreement) on the one hand, and Adverbial Qualification (which requires Dep. forms) on the other, again raising related questions of Definiteness, Class Membership at both syntactical and semantic level, and word order, (3) as a social act implementing the speaker's choice, usually affected by the Context of Situation, and often in connection with free Dep. forms as *ḥāls* of elided or unexpressed Verbs and (4) as affected by the various morphological and semantic constraints on the choice of *ḥāl* (not every Verbal Noun can be a *ḥāl*, not every Adj. can occur in the place of a Noun etc.).

But before we can begin, there are three problems with the word *ḥāl* itself:

(1) It may not even be a specific technical term for Sibawayhi. Although by the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 286/898) it had evidently become one (al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 166),

هذا باب من المفعول ولكننا عزّ لنا مما قبله لأنّه مفعول فيه وهو الذي يسمّيه النحويون
الحال

it is very often used in the *Kitāb* to refer simply to the context of an utterance (in the following quotation it is used both for "state or condition" and "speaker's situation"):

وذلك قولك أتميمياً مرةً وقيسياً أخرى وإنما هذا أنك رأيت رجلاً في حال تلوّن وتنفّل
فقلت أتميمياً مرةً وقيسياً أخرى كأنك قلت أتحوّل تميمياً مرةً وقيسياً أخرى فأنت في
هذه الحال تعمل في تثبيت هذا له وهو عندك في تلك الحال في تلوّن وتنفّل وليس يسأله
مسترشداً عن أمر هو جاهل به ليفهّمه إياه ويخبره عنه ولكنه وبّخه بذلك [I, 144/172]

Sometimes it is impossible to distinguish between *ḥāl* in the literal meaning of "situation or circumstance" and *ḥāl* in the technical meaning of "Dep. Noun in the function of Circumstantial Qualifier", e.g.

هذا باب ما ينتصب لأنه حال صار فيها المسؤول والمسؤول عنه * وذلك قولك ما شأنك قائماً
وما شأن زيد قائماً وما لأخيك قائماً فهذا حال قد صار فيه وانتصب بقولك ما شأنك كما
ينتصب قائماً في قولك هذا عبد الله قائماً بما قبله [I, 211-2/247-8]

There may be a good reason for this indeterminacy, which is a general feature of the terminology of the *Kitāb*: Sibawayhi evidently had no interest in separating the real world from the linguistic world: the word *fi'l*, for example, can just as well de-

note an action as a Verb, i.e. a non-linguistic event or a Part of Speech, *ṣifa* can denote a quality or an Adjective, *badal* an act of substituting or the substituted word itself, and so on. It appears that Sibawayhi consciously ignored the boundary between the extra-linguistic context and the strictly linguistic features of an utterance, because for him there was a continuum of participation in the act of speaking, within which the speaker and his words have different levels of autonomy according to the circumstances³. For the purposes of this paper, however, as a term *ḥāl* will always be used to mean the Dep. Noun Qualifer.

(2) It is somewhat strange that Sibawayhi does not concern himself anywhere in the *Kitāb* with the syntax of the Sentence *ḥāl*, confining his analysis to the Dep. Noun type of *ḥāl*, yet he is perfectly aware of the existence of the Sentence *ḥāl* and not only uses one to paraphrase the Noun *ḥāl* but also uses a Sentence *ḥāl* containing the word *ḥāl* itself, *wa-ḥādīhi ḥāluhu* "this being his situation":

وذلك قولك كلمته فاهُ إلى فيَّ وبأبعثته يداً بيد كأنه قال كلمته مشافهةً وبأبعثته نقداً أي كلمته في هذه الحال وبعض العرب تقول كلمته فوه إلى فيَّ كأنه يقول كلمته فوه إلى فيَّ أي كلمته وهذه حاله فالرفعُ على قوله كلمته وهذه حاله والنصبُ على قوله كلمته في هذه الحال فانصب لأنه حال وقع فيه الفعل [I, 165/195-6]

It was left to the later grammarians to classify this structure and, since it was not a formal *ḥāl* in Sibawayhi's sense, they were obliged to call it the "implicit *ḥāl*", *ḥāl muqaddar*⁴.

(3) For reasons best known to himself Sibawayhi likes to play with the verb *ḥāla* in the sense of "to intervene" when speaking of the grammatical *ḥāl*:

فالاسمُ الأولُ المفعولُ في ضربتُ قد حالٌ بينه وبين الفعل أن يكونَ فيه بمنزلة كما حالَ الفاعلُ بينه وبين الفعل في ذهبَ أن يكونَ فاعلاً وكما حالتِ الأسماءُ المجرورةُ بين ما بعدها وبين الجارِ في قولك لي مثله رجلاً ولي مثله عَسلاً [I, 16/20]

It is true that Intervention and Separation are important concepts in his general theory of Dep. forms (see below), but this word-game hardly makes it easier to follow the argument⁵!

In order to display graphically the contents of a non-linear system of thinking, a Cube has been chosen (Fig. 1) because it is easy to represent eight different but inter-linked topics in this configuration. Of course there are other notions which should

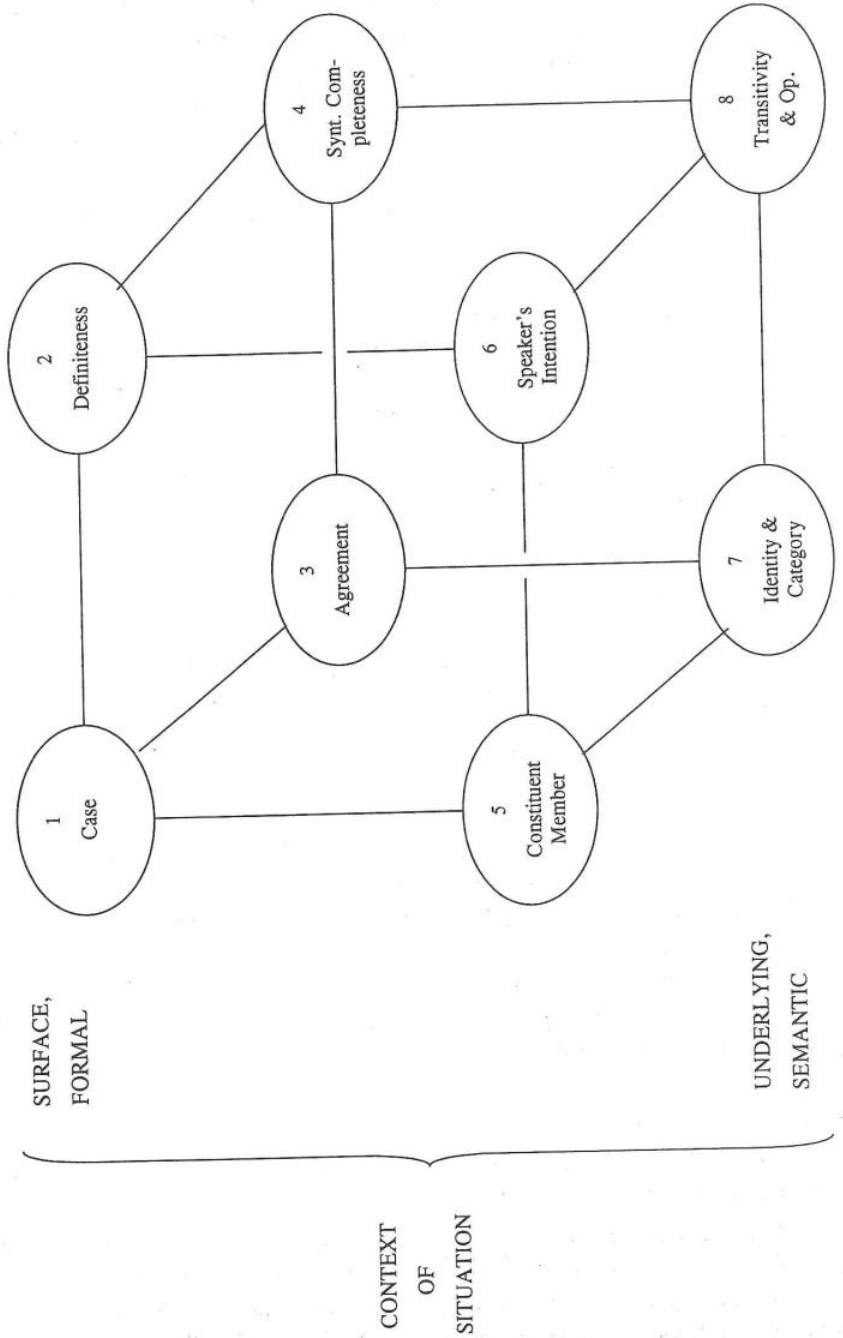
³ The impression is reinforced by Sibawayhi's use of the term *kalām* in so many different senses, see T. Iványi's paper in these *Proceedings* 17-36.

⁴ The sentence *ḥāl* is well recognized later, of course, as a "clause with an inflectional function", *ḡumla labā maḥall fi l-ḡrāb*, e.g. in Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* Chapter 2 (II, 41-83, esp. 46ff).

⁵ For a similar example of grammarian's wit see the acronym SNIP (Separation and Non-Identity Principle) which was coined for this phenomenon by Owens (1990:109).

Figure 1

The Cube below represents only a sketch of the possibilities: to illustrate the relationships between the concepts in appropriate graphic detail would require many more connecting lines than shown here.



be included, but this would require a more complex diagram. For simplicity the joining lines are limited to those forming the sides of the Cube: in true non-linear thinking every topic will be connected with all the others, requiring 16 more lines. Finally it is not claimed that the position of each concept on the Cube is the only possible one, though in practice this is only of graphic relevance: since all the concepts were available to Sībawayhi simultaneously, his thinking is not even spatial and cannot be reproduced as such.

A vertical division separates the Context of Situation from the Speech Act proper, and there is a horizontal division of Surface and Underlying features, which occupy the top and bottom surfaces of the Cube respectively.

The concepts are as follows, illustrated by the most conveniently brief examples from a large selection (numbers correspond to points on the Cube, and the references to the *Kitāb* are to Derenbourg/Būlāq, with the vowels of the Būlāq edition)⁶:

(0). CONTEXT OF SITUATION (unnumbered because it is outside the utterance): Every speech act occurs in a real context, which often affects grammatical form. Indeed the Context itself may itself be a Substitute (*badal*) for part of an utterance:

وأما النصبُ فكأنه بناء على قوله قدِمْتُ فقال قدِمْتُ خيرَ مَقْدَمٍ وإن لم يُسْمَعْ منه هذا
اللفظُ فإنَّ قدومه ورؤيته إياه بمنزلة قوله قدِمْتُ [I, 114-5/136-7]

Sībawayhi's approach is conspicuously pragmatic, and many of the factors listed below depend on the Context of Situation in one way or another.

(1). CASE: the choice is usually between Dep. form and some other Case determined by the factors below, such as Syntactical Completeness, Identity/Non-identity or Constituent Membership, with Dep. as the default case for the true *hāl*:

هذا باب ما يَعْمَلُ فيه الفعلُ فيَنْتَصِبُ وهو حالٌ وقع فيه الفعلُ [I, 15/20]

(2). DEFINITENESS: the *hāl* is normally Indef.:

فإذا كان الاسمُ حالا يكون فيه الأمرُ لم تَدْخُلْه الألفُ واللامُ ولم تُضَفْ لو قلتُ ضربتهُ القائمُ
تريد قائماً كان قبيحاً ولو قلتُ ضربتهُ قائمهمُ قائمهمُ تريد قائمينُ كان قبيحاً [I, 158/189]

Its Antecedent is normally Def. because it is the topic of some additional information (*habar*) provided by the *hāl*, and thus it follows the rule for Predication that the Subj. must be identifiable to the listener, though Sībawayhi somewhat takes this for granted:

باب ما يَنْتَصِبُ فيه الخبرُ لأنه خيرٌ لمعروفٍ يَرْتَفِعُ على الابتداء [I, 222/260]

(3). AGREEMENT: in Case is a marker of non-*hāls*, viz. Adjectival Qual. or Pred., and so may be relevant if the intention is to construct such a unit or to Coordinate two items in the same Constituent, which will both contrast with the Dep. (i.e. non-Agreeing) form of a *hāl*:

⁶ The edition of Hārūn has the Būlāq pagination in the margin.

وكذلك مررتُ برجلٍ معه الفرسُ راكباً بِرَدُونًا إن لم ترد الصفةُ نصبتُ كأنك قلتُ معه الفرسُ راكباً برَدُونًا فهذا لا يكون فيه وصفٌ ولا يكون إلا خبراً [I, 206/242]

Agreement in Definiteness will likewise indicate that the item is not a *ḥāl*:

وذلك قولك ضربتُ عبدَ الله قائماً وذهبَ زيدٌ راكباً فلو كان بمنزلة المفعول الذي يتعدى إليه فعلُ الفاعلِ نحو عبد الله وزيد ما جاز في ذهبٍ ولجاز أن تقول ضربتُ زيدا أباك وضربتُ زيدا القائمَ لا تريد بالأب ولا بالقائم الصفةَ ولا البَدَل [I, 15-16/20]

(4). SYNTACTICAL COMPLETENESS: a *ḥāl* is typically found after the completion of an utterance, hence completeness may determine whether an element is a *ḥāl* or not:

وانتصبَ لأنّ هذا الكلام قد عمَل فيها كما عمل الرجلُ في العِلْم حين قلتُ أنت الرجلُ عِلْمًا فالعلمُ منتصبٌ على ما فسرتُ لك وعمل فيه ما قبله كما عمل عشرون في الدرهم حين قلتُ عشرون درهما [I, 235/274-5]

Note that the expression *ʿiṣrūna dirḥaman* is invoked here as the symbol of the syntactically complete unit which must therefore be followed by Dep. elements (see also below).

(5). CONSTITUENT MEMBERSHIP: this is a grammatical feature usually marked by Agreement in Case and/or Definiteness, e.g. of Noun and Adj. or Subj. and Pred., or between Coordinated items. A *ḥāl* is not a member of these units, and will therefore show lack of Agreement (cf. also the notion of Intervention below, 8):

هذا باب ما يُنصبُ فيه الاسمُ لأنه لا سبيل له أن يكون صفةً * وذلك قولك هذا رجلٌ معه رجلٌ قائمينِ فهذا يُنصبُ لأنّ الهاء التي في معه معرفةٌ فأشرك بينهما [I, 210/246] واعلم أنه لا يجوز أن تصف النكرةَ والمعرفةَ كما لا يجوز وصفُ المختلفين وذلك قولك هذه ناقةٌ وفصيلُها الراتعان فهذا محالٌ لأنّ الراتعان لا يكونان صفةً للفصيل ولا للناقة ولا تستطيع أن تجعل بعضها نكرةً وبعضها معرفةً وهذا قول الخليل [I, 211/247]

(6). SPEAKER'S INTENTIONS: these are closely linked with the extra-linguistic context, but in any case are often the sole syntactic determinant, e.g.

وأما الرفع فعلى أنه جعل ذلك أمراً ثابتاً ولم يرد أن يجعله على الفعل وجعله مبتدأً أو مبنياً على مبنداً فكأنته قال هذا خيرٌ مَقْدَم [I, 115/137]

where the choice of *ḥayru maqdamin* or *ḥayra maqdamin* is entirely up to the speaker.

(7). IDENTITY AND CATEGORY: these are the semantic attributes of Constituent Membership, i.e. Identity will tend to result in Agreement, and non-Identity will be marked by Dep. forms, reflecting the fact that the latter are not members of the same Constituent. The second and third items in the following list are non-identical and therefore Dep.:

واعلم أن الشيء يوصف بالشيء الذي هو هو وهو من اسمه وذلك قولك هذا زيد الطويل ويكون هو هو وليس من اسمه كقولك هذا زيد ذاهباً ويوصف بالشيء الذي ليس به ولا من اسمه كقولك هذا درهمٌ وزناً لا يكون إلا نصيباً [I, 237/276]

(8). TRANSITIVITY AND GRAMMATICAL OPERATION: Composite elements (normally complete units, such as Subj. + Pred., Verb + Ag.) will operate on others in the Dep. form; Sībawayhi uses this notion to account both for the regular occurrence of Dep. forms after Complete Sentences and also for the occurrence of Dep. forms in situations where the Verb has been either replaced by another element or omitted altogether because the Context of Situation makes it unnecessary:

وذلك قولك ويحـه رجلاً [...] وانتصب الرجل لأنه ليس من الكلام الأول وعمل فيه الكلام الأول فصار الهاء بمنزلة التنوين [I, 258/299]

An important correlative of Transitivity is the Separation Principle, which states that elements which are prevented from being Adjacent to an Operator will take Dep. Form. The "20 Dirhams" structure (see below) is the model for this, but it is also stated by Sībawayhi without reference to that example:

فمنطلق [في هذا عبد الله منطلقاً] حالٌ قد صار فيها عبدُ الله وحالٌ بين منطلق وهذا كما حال بين راكب والفعل حين قلت جاء عبدُ الله راكباً صار جاء لعبد الله وصار الراكبُ حالاً [I, 218/256]

A number of concepts simply cannot be included in the diagram, because it would require a much larger polygon and many more connecting lines, and in any case such a graphic representation of non-linear thinking can never be truly isomorphic or exhaustive: it is merely intended to be illustrative.

Among the notions not depicted on the Cube are:

- Lexical and Semantic considerations, of which Sībawayhi was well aware⁷.
- Morphological restraints on the kinds of words which can function as *hāl*.
- Word Order issues, among the most important of which is the directional nature of grammatical effect (*amal*) which does not normally permit words to operate on elements which precede them. The neutralization of grammatical effect is also well recognized and forms part of the argument in Example B below.
- Time and Simultaneity, though Sībawayhi certainly discusses them in the context of the word-classes which may function as *hāls*.
- Various distributional factors, often involving the syntactic "power" (*quwwa*) and "freedom" (*taṣarruf*) of words, depending on the form-class they belong to. The substitutability (*badal*) of elements of equal status (*manzila*) is part of many discussions of the *hāl*.

⁷ Thus you can say *huwa r-raġulu 'ilman wa-ḥikman* "he is the man for wisdom and sagacity" but not "he is the man for horses and camels", *ḥaylan wa-ibilan* [I, 163/194].

- Compulsory v. Optional deletion, whether it is a decision of the speaker or follows an observed Bedouin practice.

Here follow two examples of Sibawayhi's discussion of the *ḥāl* using the ideas set out above. They are chosen mainly because of the high concentration of different topics raised, but are typical of Sibawayhi's analysis throughout the *Kitāb*.

(A). Uses Context of Situation (0), Case (1), Agreement (3), Syntactic Completeness (4), Constituent membership (5), Intention (6) and Transitivity (8).

هذا باب ما يرتفع فيه الخبر لأنه مبني على مبتدأ أو ينتصب فيه الخبر لأنه حال لمعروف مبني على مبتدأ * فأما الرفع فقولك هذا الرجل منطلق فالرجل صفة لهذا وهما بمنزلة اسم واحد كأنك قلت هذا منطلق [...]

[...] وأما النصب فقولك هذا الرجل منطلقا جعلت الرجل مبنياً على هذا وجعلت الخبر حالا له قد صار فيها فصار كقولك هذا عبد الله منطلقا وإنما يرى في هذا الموضع أن يذكر المخاطب برجل قد عرفه قبل ذلك وهو في الرفع لا يريد أن يذكره بأحد وإنما أشار فقال هذا منطلق فكان ما ينتصب من أخبار المعرفة ينتصب على أنه حال مفعول فيها لأن المبتدأ يعمل فيما بعده كعمل الفعل فيما يكون بعده ويكون فيه معنى التنبيه والتعريف ويحول بين الخبر والاسم المبتدأ كما يحول الفاعل بين الفعل والخبر فيصير حالا قد ثبت فيها [I, 221-2/260]

The differences between *ḥādā r-raḡulu muntaliqun* and *ḥādā r-raḡulu muntaliqan* are explained as follows:

They are due to the speaker's choice (6) between Predication and *ḥāl*.

If Predication is chosen the two elements *ḥādā* and *ar-raḡulu* must be members of the same Constituent (5) and therefore Agree (3) because *ar-raḡulu* is an Adj. Qualifier of *ḥādā*, which allows them to function together as the Subj., with *muntaliqun* as the Pred., both therefore in Indep. case (1).

But if the *ḥāl* is chosen (6) the Dep. case of *muntaliqan* is required (1), because *ar-raḡulu* is now the Pred. of *ḥādā*, hence no longer in the same Constituent (5). Further, the *ḥāl* option has the purpose (6) of reminding the listener about somebody he already knows (0), whereas the the Subj.-Pred. unit, with Agreement (3) simply intends to inform the listener that a certain person indicated (but not necessarily known to the listener before) has gone away.

The Dep. Case (1) occurs after a syntactically complete statement (8) where the first element (Subj. or Verb) operates on the second (4), in which the second element (Pred. or Agent) intervenes (8) between the first and third elements, causing the Dep. form. The third element here indicates a situation (*ḥāl*, here in the literal sense!) in which the action is done, and the previous (complete) sentence is intended (6) to alert or inform the listener of the topic of the *ḥāl*, the *ḥāl* itself being a comment (*ḥabar*) indicating the circumstances (0).

(B). Uses Case (1), Definiteness (2), Agreement (3), Syntactic Completeness (4), Constituent Membership (5), Speaker's Intention (6), Identity and Category (7) and Transitivity (8).

هذا باب ما يَنْتَصِبُ فِيهِ الْخَبْرُ لِأَنَّهُ خَيْرٌ لِمَعْرُوفٍ يَرْتَفِعُ عَلَى الْإِبْتِدَاءِ قَدَمَتَهُ أَوْ أَخْرَجَتْهُ * وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ فِيهَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ قَائِمًا وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ فِيهَا قَائِمًا فَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ ارْتَفَعَ لِإِبْتِدَاءِ لَأَنَّ الَّذِي ذَكَرَ قَبْلَهُ وَبَعْدَهُ لَيْسَ بِهِ وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ مَوْضِعٌ لَهُ وَلَكِنَّهُ يَجْرِي مَجْرَى الْأَسْمِ الْمَبْنِيِّ عَلَى مَا قَبْلَهُ أَلَا تَرَى أَنَّكَ لَوْ قُلْتَ فِيهَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ حَسَنَ السَّكُوتِ وَكَانَ كَلَامًا مُسْتَقِيمًا [...] فَصَارَ قَوْلُكَ فِيهَا كَقَوْلِكَ اسْتَغْرَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تُخْبِرَ عَلَى آيَةٍ حَالٍ اسْتَغْرَ فَقُلْتَ قَائِمًا فَقَائِمٌ حَالٌ مُسْتَقَرٌّ فِيهَا وَإِنْ شِئْتَ أَلْفَيْتَ فِيهَا فَقُلْتَ فِيهَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ قَائِمٌ [...] كَأَنَّكَ قُلْتَ الْبِرُّ مَكْنُوزٌ عِنْدِي وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ قَائِمٌ فِيهَا [I, 222-3/261]

Here the speaker's choices (6) lie between *fibā 'abdullāhi qā'imān* and *fibā 'abdullāhi qā'imūn*.

The Dep. form (1) is accounted for by the fact that *qā'imān* is a comment (*ḥabar*) on a Def. element (2) which is Subj. of a (complete) Sentence (4), so the Sentence operates on it like a Verb (8) and makes it Dep. (1)

Under those circumstances *fibā* functions as a Pred. (5), even though it is not actually identical with the Subj. (7) but only a location for it to be in, making an utterance which is self sufficient and structurally complete (4), as if you had started with *istaqarra 'abdullāhi* and then wanted (6) to say in what situation, so you added *qā'imān*. Here Sībawayhi invokes the theory of the *zarf*, which shares several features with the *ḥāl*, particularly the property of non-identity, hence a Subj. cannot "be" a location, only be "in it", though this is enough to form a complete utterance.

Alternatively the *fibā* can be neutralized (*algayta*), losing its grammatical effect (8), whereupon you say *fibā 'abdullāhi qā'imūn*, now with *'abdullāhi* as Subj. and *qā'imūn* as Pred. (5), (7), and *qā'imūn* is Indep. (1),(3) as if you had said *'abdullāhi qā'imūn fibā*, with *'abdullāhi qā'imūn* already a complete utterance (4)

What this paper has tried to show is that Sībawayhi often analysed the same topic more than once and from several different angles simultaneously, and, furthermore, that all of these considerations were always present in his mind. It therefore seems appropriate to interpret his thinking as non-linear. The physical linearity of the *Kitāb* itself is, of course, merely the result of the need for the ideas to be expressed in time and space.

These conclusions represent a third attempt on the writer's part to come to grips with Sībawayhi's thinking. The first was in a paper examining Sībawayhi's use of the expression *'iṣrūna dirhamān* in the *Kitāb* (Carter 1972), showing how this innocent-looking phrase, which occurs some two dozen times in the *Kitāb*, served as a kind of shorthand for a bundle of linguistic principles with which Sībawayhi could explain a number of quite different syntactical structures. What all these structures have in

common is that (a) the first element is a complete syntactical unit, (b) the second is always in Dep. form and nearly always Indef., and (c) the second element is semantically excluded from the first, being non-identical with it. The *ḥāl*, it will have been noticed, already fits these three criteria and indeed *ʿiṣrūna dirhaman* is quoted in connection with it⁸.

A second study, which was delivered as a paper in this very city three years ago, concerned the term *dāraʿa* “to resemble” (Carter 1998). Like *ʿiṣrūna dirhaman*, the concept of “resemblance”, *muḍāraʿa*, is applied to a much wider range of topics than might be expected, given that the term is now restricted almost entirely to the form of the Imperf. Verb and, rather infrequently, to a variety of the Vocative construction. By contrast, in the *Kitāb* we find *muḍāraʿa* applied to linguistic phenomena at all levels, from phonology to syntax, covering about twenty different types of “resemblance” between sounds, word-forms and structures. Without going into details, it is enough to point out that this “resemblance” is an objective property of many linguistic forms, which Sībawayhi carefully distinguishes both from other kinds of formal “similarity” between elements and from the general process of analogy, *qiyās*, which often determines the linguistic behaviour of speakers and speech elements.

In both these studies the conclusion was drawn that Sībawayhi preferred a unified approach which he could apply throughout the whole *Kitāb*⁹. At the time this seemed as far as it was possible to go, but from the perspective of the present paper these two topics can now be seen as part of an extremely complex set of interlocking ideas. Indeed not only is “20 Dirhams” invoked in connection with the *ḥāl* as already noted, but “resemblance” even crops up, albeit rather tangentially, to account for the fact that *sīra ʿalayhi* can either be qualified by *ḥāl* (Dep.) or an extended Adjectival Phrase (Indep.) (Carter 1998:10, item 4):

[...] سير عليه شديدا وسير عليه حسنا فالنصب في ذا أنه حال وهو وجه الكلام لأنه وصف السَيْر ولا يكون فيه الرفع لأنه لا يقع موقع ما كان اسماً ولم يكن ظرفاً لأنه ليس بحين يقع فيه الأمر إلا أن تقول سير عليه سَيْرٌ حسنٌ أو سير عليه سَيْرٌ شديدٌ فإن قلت سير عليه طويلٌ من الدهر وشديدٌ من السَيْر فأطلت الكلام ووصفت كان أحسن وأقوى وجاز ولا يبلغ في الحسن الأسماء وإنما جاز حين وصفت وأطلت لأنه ضارع الأسماء لأن الموصوفة في الأصل الأسماء [I, 96/116-7]

⁸ See the ex. from I, 235/274-5 above.

⁹ Additional evidence for this is the distribution of the linguistic criteria *ḥasan/qabīḥ* “structurally correct/incorrect” (and their important correlatives *mawḍiʿ* “place, (syntagmatic) function” and *manzila* “(paradigmatic) status”), and *mustaqīm* “semantically right” and *muḥāl* “semantically wrong, absurd” throughout all the major sections of the *Kitāb*, the latter pair inevitably somewhat sparsely in the phonological chapters.

Furthermore, the arguments about the *ḥāl* are used to explain other Dep. forms in the same terms, such as the *zarf*, which differs from the *ḥāl* only in that the Dep. Noun denotes a time or place:

هذا باب ما ينتصب من الأماكن والوقت * وذلك لأنها ظروفٌ وقع فيها الأشياء وتكون فيها فانتصب لأنه موقعٌ فيها ومكونٌ فيها وعمِلَ فيها ما قبلها كما أن العِلْمَ إذا قلت أنت الرجلُ عِلْمًا عمِلَ فيه ما قبله وكما عمِلَ في الدرهم عشرون إذا قلت عشرون درهماً
[I, 170/201]

Likewise the *maf'ūl mutlaq* can be analysed either as a *ḥāl* or the object of an elided verb:

ومما يجيء توكيداً وينصب قوله سير عليه سيراً وانطلق به انطلاقاً وضرب به ضرباً فينصب على وجهين أحدهما على أنه حال على حد قولك ذهب به مشياً وقتل به صبراً وإن وصفته على هذا الحد كان نصبا تقول سير به سيراً عنيماً كما تقول ذهب به مشياً عنيماً وإن شئت نصبته على إضمار فعل آخر ويكون بدلا من اللفظ بالفعل [I, 97-8/118]

Note that in this final example Sībawayhi leaves it completely open as to whether the *maf'ūl mutlaq* is a *ḥāl* or the object of an elided verb, doubtless because only the speaker can know this, since the surface structure is identical¹⁰. This suggests a possible reason for the evident non-linearity of his method, for it now appears to lie not so much in Sībawayhi's way of thinking as in the behaviour of the speaker as he describes it. This is particularly obvious in the treatment of "resemblance", where Sībawayhi appears to fall into the trap of circularity, by asserting more than once that element A "resembles" B while elsewhere element B is said to "resemble" element A (Carter 1998:6f). In Sībawayhi's defence Ibn Ġinnī (d. 392/1002) justifies this by attributing it to the the psychology of the speaker (*Ḥaṣā'is* I, 304), and this insight was in fact the inspiration for this paper.

In the light of Ibn Ġinnī's observation, Sībawayhi's non-linearity can be interpreted as a deliberate analogue of the competence of the native speaker in all its complexity. Such a speaker knows all the rules of the language instantaneously, indeed true competence is impossible without this total, unordered knowledge¹¹. Sībawayhi is often difficult to follow precisely because he seeks to account for so many simulta-

¹⁰ It is worth recalling that Sībawayhi has a lawyer's approach to language, and assumes that the overt utterance directly expresses the speaker's intention, and that the listener has no other access to knowledge of that intention, apart perhaps from the context.

¹¹ This interpretation has another point in its favour: it removes the problem of diachronicity in sound changes. With the weak radical verbs, for example, a *post facto* analysis of Apoc. *yaqul* has to assume three stages of derivation merely for the sake of linguistic coherence, viz. **yaqwulu* > *yaqwulu* > *yaqurw* > *yaqul*. A speaker might know that *yaqul* is somehow connected with **yaqwulu*, but his unconscious, synchronic performance requires no knowledge of those theoretical stages. The implications of this were brilliantly explored by Ibn Ġinnī, and his ideas are analysed with similar profundity in Guillaume 1981.

neous and interconnected processes, and any symbolic representation of such a complicated activity would be equally impenetrable, as the Cube incidentally also demonstrates. Nevertheless, this is surely the way the *Kitāb* ought to be read, with the reader trying to reproduce in his mind the vast range of information and ideas Sībawayhi constantly accesses and deploys as a unity: like the Qur'ān, parts of the *Kitāb* can only be understood in terms of other parts.

The non-linear thinking of Sībawayhi contrasts very strongly with the style of reasoning known as scholasticism, which is manifestly linear in nature. Where Sībawayhi is implicitly programmed, leaving it to the reader to replace the spatial sequence of ideas by non-spatial mental links, scholasticism is very explicitly programmed, advancing cumulatively from one idea to the next. And where Sībawayhi is internally structured (the overt arrangement of the *Kitāb* is not the same as the underlying principles of its composition), scholasticism, with its prefaces, statements of purpose, tables of contents, chapter divisions and so on, is clearly externally structured. As is well known, the history of the *Kitāb* is largely the story of its eventual conversion into a scholastic text: one may compare it with, say, Ibn Ya'īš's Commentary on the *Mufasssal*, which is about the same size, but which presents an image of a science worlds apart in structure and intent from the network of ideas created by Sībawayhi.

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KALĀM AT SĪBĀWAYHI
TWO INDICES WITH SIXTEEN NOTES

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1 The 1144 (?) occurrences of *kalām* in the *Kitāb*.

Sibawayhi's *Kitāb* is almost entirely about *kalām* (cf. Carter 1997; see also Carter 1968). Thus it is not astonishing that *kalām* is the most important term with its 1144 occurrences. We have chosen Hārūn's edition (H.) as the basis of our Indices. The different editions (based on various MSS), however, diverge in the exact number of occurrences. Many occurrences of *kalām* are missing from Derenbourg's edition (D.), while there is at least one place where D. contains a sentence with *kalām* not found in H.: D. I/50/8 (cf. H. I/122/2,4):

فلما أوقعت قلت على ألا يحكى بها إلا ما يحسن أن يكون كلاما وذلك قولك

This number increases also if we count the pronominal references as well:

وجه الكلام وحده (No. 88) حد الكلام وأصله (No. 676; cf. Nos. 55, 273)

Even if there is no pronominal reference, *kalām* may be simply implied by the context:

على سعة الكلام .. في السعة [= سعة الكلام] (No. 96) هي قليلة [= في الكلام] (H. I.58.1)

لأن الوجه [= وجه الكلام] ههنا وحد الكلام (No. 470)

2 The original meaning of *kalām*.

Originally the term *kalām* may have been identical with or very much similar to *i'rāb* or may have meant any part of the language having *i'rāb* in it:

وأما نعم وبئس .. فليس فيهما كلام لأنهما لا تُغَيَّران (No. 651) فالرفع ليس فيه كلام (No. 195)

The most telling examples are, however, Nos. 3 & 4, where *kalām* = *i'rāb*:

ما ضارح الفعل المضارع من الأسماء في الكلام ووافقه في البناء أجرى لفظه مجرى ما يستثقلون

.. استسقلوه حين (أو: حيث) قارب في الكلام ووافق في البناء

A somewhat later development may have rendered *kalām* 'the result of the activity of an *'āmil*':

لأنه كلام قد عمل بعضه في بعض (No. 229)

كما أن التنوين إذا لم يكن فيه لا يكون كلاما (Nos. 340, 341)

Although the two, *i'rāb* and *'amal*, seem strongly interrelated, originally they represented two distinct phases of the Arab approach to linguistic forms – the recognition of the endings themselves and a logical way of their interpretation. That it was not the only possible way is shown by the so called *muḡāwara* which is a phenomenon and way of interpretation at the same time. (See Dévényi 1987-88; Iványi 1994).

3 Grammaticalness.

Since grammaticalness depends on the right usage of *i'rāb*, so *kalām* had become qualified accordingly:

إن رفعت فالكلام حسن (No. 536)

There is at least one example which shows that *kalām* and *iʿrāb* are strongly interdependent – the weakness of the first is explained by the rarity of the second:

(No. 286) فهذا كلام قبيح ضعيف .. إعرابه يسير

Since we read that *kalām* may be accepted by wide circles of the informants or only by some (groups of) of them, it may have become as a next step ‘any part of the [accepted] speech’, but only as far as it fits into a larger structure of so called ‘useful’ communication:

(No. 2) الفعل لا بد له من الاسم والا لم يكن كلاما

(No. 514; cf. No. 261) لأن أنا لا يكون كلاما حتى يبني عليه شيء

4 Communicative approach.

Together with the communicative approach the speaker’s intention had become a significant factor:

(No. 443) فإن أردت ذلك كان كلاما

Both *iʿrāb* and *kalām* are considered as important factors of the communication:

(No. 512) وكذلك تقول في النصب والرفع وإن شئت أدخلتها على كلام المخبر

5 The length of *kalām*.

Eventually *kalām* meant any length or any kind of linguistic text:

(No. 46) (D.: بين الكلامين (بين الكلام: D.) وجاز أن يكون بين الكلامين

(No. 210) إذا كان بعده كلام (No. 870) لأن الكلام الذي قبله

So it may be what we would call a part of speech, a clause or a complete sentence:

(No. 560) الكلام الذي بعد الفاء جرى مجراه في غير الجزاء (No. 525)

لو قلت: هذا زيد فحسن جميل كان كلاما جيدا (No. 78)

The term *kalām*, a collection of all the *muʿrāb*, had naturally come to mean ‘corpus’, i.e. the linguistic material discussed (but not necessarily collected) by the linguists:

(No. 22) وربما قالوا في بعض الكلام (No. 23)

بعض الكلام أثقل من بعض (No. 1) هذا الكلام كثير .. وهو أكثر من أن أحصيه (No. 112)

الأكثر في كلامهم أن يكون (Nos. 636, 637; cf. 632) أكثر كلامهم ينصرف (No. 5)

6 Informants and linguists.

For the informants (*al-ʿarab*, i.e. the *rāwīs*) *kalām* was what their linguistic intuition and usage suggested to them. Sibawayhi identified *kalām* by his analysis of its grammatical structure and recognising the rules governing it (cf. Dévényi 1990; see also Carter 1972). He could not accept or refuse utterances: e.g. in conditional sentences with *in*, he always uses *faʿala* in the *Kitāb*, while advocating *yafʿal* as a rule based on the informants’ corpus (see Dévényi 1988:41, fn. 28; cf. also Dévényi 1991). He, however, did accept or refuse grammatical rules or ways of analysis. Linguists argue with one another, not with the informants, concerning the grammaticalness and acceptability of structures and explanations for the *iʿrāb*:

(No. 441) فإن جعلت الكلام خبرا فهو محال لأنه لا يحسن أن تقول في الخبر

(No. 444) فإن أخرجت الفاء فقلت.. فهو كلام في الاستفهام محال في الإخبار

7 The degrees of grammaticalness.

The degrees of grammaticalness of a linguistic utterance are stated according to its acceptability by the informants as a text, and by linguists concerning its grammatical structure. *Ḥasan* and *qabīḥ* describe the utterance primarily from the point of view of rules, while *qawī* and *daʿīf* reflect the informants' views on *kalām*. The two may overlap or differ:

ويحتملون قبح الكلام حتى يضعوه في غير موضعه (No. 14)

أحسن الكلام أن تقول (Nos. 530, 531) فإذا قلت ... حسن الكلام (No. 136)

لو كان فعل كان أقوى .. في الكلام (No. 549; cf. H. II.158.6) كان قبيحا في الكلام (No. 309)

ضعيف في الكلام أن تقول (No. 578) وقبح على جوازه وكلام العرب به ضعف (No. 258)

وهو ضعيف في الكلام (No. 44) لو قلت .. كان قبيحا وإنما الكلام أن تقول (No. 247)

قد يجوز أن تقول .. ليس بحد الكلام وفيه ضعف ومثل ذلك قول الشاعر (No. 508)

The correctness of speech is a direct consequence of the correctness of its *īrāb*:

إذ جعلته استفهاما فإعراجه الرفع وهو كلام صحيح (No. 440) إذ كان الأكثر الأعراب (No. 1137)

Sibawayhi and linguists in general are not to produce authentic speech acts, they have to rely upon the "Arabs" whom they may categorise according to their authenticity:

وسمنا من العرب من يقول ممن يوثق به لأنه يقول في كلامه (No. 24)

Here *kalām* means the corpus collected from the informants (and not competence).

When Sibawayhi only mentions *qāla*, he may consider the informant's words *kalām*:

وكذلك تقول العرب (H. III.371.7)

Introduced by the *man .. min* construction, the example after *qāla* is possibly not *kalām* or not good *kalām*:

سمعت من العرب من يقول (H. III.321.1)

8 *Kalāmuhum vs. al-kalām*.

The two may differ in some cases, the first being the authentic corpus (lines of poetry or responses of the informants to questions put to them by the linguists), while the second being a generalisation built upon these data and meaning the linguistic competence of the informants. For *kalāmuhum*, see:

فهو عربي كثير في كلامهم (No. 115; cf. No. 349) وهي قليلة في كلامهم (No. 344)

لأنه لم يكثر في كلامهم كثرة إياك (No. 150) لأنه كثر في كلامهم فهو شاذ (No. 889)

9 Corpus vs. rules.

Linguists (or non-authentic speakers, *i.e.* not *rāwīs*) may try to vary their data, generating forms not given in the corpus, but the result cannot be *kalām* no matter how much it complies with their grammatical rules. This may be expressed by *law*:

جاءوا به على الأصل .. ومجرى بابيه في الكلام على غير ذلك (No. 678)

ولو تحمل الكلام على الآخر لقلت ضربت وضربوني قومك (No. 38)

The corpus, however, contains another form:

وإنما كلامهم ضربت وضربني قومك (No. 39)

Since this corpus consists primarily of poetry, so the example cited by Sibawayhi at this place is also a line of poetry:

قال الشاعر وهو الفرزدق: لو سببت وسبني بنو عبد شمس (H. I.76.12-77.1)

10 The relativity of *kalām*.

We can see from the different qualifiers of the *kalām* that it is not always absolute. *Kalām*'s relativity means that (i) the scope of a rule may or may not extend to the whole grammar:

(No. 717) فرددته إلى قياس أفعل وإلى الغالب في كلام العرب

(ii) a rule (or the forms generated by it) may not be acceptable by the whole community of speakers represented by the so-called "Arabs":

(No. 207) فهذا تمثيل ولكنه لم يستعمل في الكلام

Thus, *kalām* embraces 'good Arabic' (language with *i'rāb*) both vertically (all informants) and horizontally (all possible utterances together with their grammatical structures and rules).

11 *Kalām* and *qawl*.

The difference of *kalām* from *qawl* sheds light on the nature of *kalām*: every *kalām* is *qawl/qāla*, but not every *qawl/qāla* can be regarded as *kalām*. E.g., *qawl ba'd al-'arab* means that they not only offer sporadic evidence but they themselves – as individuals or their tribes – are insignificant informants who cannot even produce a line of poetry from some well-known poet as a poetic licence supporting their saying:

(No. 17) وليست .. أكثر في كلامهم جميعا وإنما يتكلم بها بعضهم

لو قلت .. لم يكن كلاما (No. 265) لو قلت .. كان كلاما (No. 266)

إن العرب تقول في كلامها (No. 222; cf. H. I.38.10) (ما كان كلاما ولا قولا: No. 69)

وحمضية أجود وأكثر وأقيس في كلامهم (No. 686)

If, however, some important informants are behind the rare occurrence of a linguistic phenomenon, it is qualified as partly acceptable.

(No. 572) وسمعنا فصحاء العرب يقولون .. وليست في كلام كل العرب

In contrast with: (H. III.303.14) وهذا قول جميع من نثق بعلمه وروايته عن العرب

وهو كلام أكثر العرب وأفصحهم وهو القياس (No. 239)

12 *Qiyās* and the informants' views.

Linguists might have been working on the corpus called *kalām* with analogical methods (*qiyās*, perhaps inherited from *fiqh*, see Carter 1973, 1997), but their results had to be validated by the informants:

(No. 699) وهذا قول الخليل وهو القياس على كلام العرب

فكسره قوم على القياس وهي أكثر في كلامهم وهي جيدة (No. 864)

If, however, the results could not find support from the "Arabs", Sibawayhi refuses them:

(No. 510)

فهو أمثل وليس بحد الكلام (No. 510)

Linguistic forms that seemed acceptable by grammatical rules formed on the basis of the whole corpus might disagree in some cases with forms given by the informants. This lies behind the differentiation between *asl* and *kalām* (No. 373), and is phrased by various qualifiers:

وقد جاء في الكلام ميتٌ تموت ومُتٌ تموت أقيس (No. 804)

13 Many and few.

Kalām meaning the whole corpus:

في جميع الكلام (No. 42) في أكثر كلامهم جميعا (No. 871)

While *kaṭīr* and *qalīl* point to the linguistic system as a whole:

وهو كثير في كلام العرب (No. 199) ←→ قليل في كلام العرب (Nos. 167, 787, 964, 966)

وهذا أكثر من أن نصفه لك في كلام العرب (No. 268) هو الكلام الكثير (No. 1089)

The term *kalām* indicating the (community of the) speakers:

وهو كلام أكثر العرب وأفصحهم وهو القياس (No. 239)

والوجه .. لأن هذا أكثر في كلامهم وهو القياس والوجه الآخر قد قاله بعض العرب (No. 262)

14 Is *kalām* prose?

The 'kalām may mean prose' theory is fuelled by this kind of statements:

يجوز في الشعر ما لا يجوز في الكلام (No. 12)

قد يدعون هذا الهاء في كلامهم وفي الشعر كثيرا (No. 35)

ذلك ليس في شيء من كلامهم ولا يكاد يكون في الشعر (No. 36)

First of all, we have to emphasise that it is poetry that forms the basis of *kalām*:

وقد يجوز لك وهو من كلام العرب أن تحذف لا .. وقال (الشاعر) (No. 543)

ويجوز الفرق في الكلام .. نحو قوله (No. 547, the example is here from poetry)

The seemingly everyday utterances (which, however, may not be called 'prose') connected with *Zayd*, *marartu*, *qā'imān* etc. are nothing else than simply grammatical rules expressed in an easily memorizable and useful way. Even poetic licences (*darā'ir aš-šī'r*, see Iványi 1991) formed part of *kalām* meaning 'corpus':

ومثل هذا الكلام قول الشاعر إذ اضطرّ (No. 376)

وذلك حيث اضطرّ في الكلام إلى أن يدخل يا التصغير (No. 745)

This is well known even by such late grammarians as Ibn Hišām (d. 1360), who includes *darūra* in *kalām* (*Tablīs* 481):

يجوز في الكلام حذف تاء التأنيث من الفعل الماضي .. كقوله [البسيط]

Then he goes on with stating explicitly that it is about *darūra* that he speaks (*Tablīs* 482):

ويجوز في الشعر حذف التاء من الماضي .. كقوله [المتقارب]

'Poetry' means 'licence' in this relation, while *kalām* here refers to the regular linguistic usage (mainly in poetry):

ومثل هذا الكلام أكثر ما يكون في الشعر (No. 284)

.. جاز في الكلام ولا يجوز فيه النصب إلا في الشعر (No. 55)

هذا قليل في الكلام كثير في الشعر (No. 288)

When a form was used too frequently in the corpus, it was not considered licence even though it occurred exclusively in poetry and deviated from the basic rules:

إنما جازت هذه الأشياء في الأب والأم لكثرتهما في النداء كما قالوا يا صاح في هذا الاسم وليس

كل شيء يكثر في كلامهم يغير عن الأصل لأنه ليس بالقياس عندهم (No. 346)

When contrasted with poetry, *kalām* is generally equivalent to *ḥadd* (cf. Iványi 1995b), i.e. *ḥadd al-kalām*:

في الكلام لا يحسن ولكنه قد يجوز في الشعر (No. 43)

Many times, without the above contrast, *kalām* is tantamount to *ḥadd al-kalām*:

(No. 457) وهو كلام العرب

In the following we can see *expressis verbis* what we have to understand by *kalām*:

(No. 658) ليس بحد الكلام ولا وجهه (No. 532) ليس ههنا على الحد ولكنه .. كثر في كلامهم

فحد الكلام أن تثبت الباء في الآخر .. لو قلت .. لم يجز .. إلا في الشعر (No. 509)

فهذا يجوز وليس بحد الكلام ولا وجهه (No. 532)

فما نصب في الشعر اضطرارا .. قال الأعشى .. وهو ضعيف في الكلام (No. 474)

Poetic licences in Arabic are sometimes 'more regular' than general usage (*kalām*):

لما اضطررنا إلى التحريك جاءوا بالحركة التي في أصل الكلام (No. 904)

It is not surprising, then, that linguists whose aim is always to recognise regular forms in *kalām*, may come to a result that equals a so called poetic licence:

هذا قول الخليل وهو في هذا غير حسن في الكلام .. جائز في الشعر (No. 411)

Even 'irregular/sporadic usages' (*šawādd*; cf. Iványi 1995a) form part of *kalām* since their source is authentic. This differentiates them from *lahn* which derives from non-authentic or later sources (cf. Iványi 1988).

قد يشذ الشيء من كلامهم عن نظائره (No. 105) الشواذ في كلامهم كثيرة (No. 275)

Poetic licences are part not only of the corpus but of the linguistic system, too. This is one of the main differences between licences and irregular forms. This is stated in some places:

وذلك حيث اضطرر [الشاعر] في الكلام إلى أن يدخل يا التصغير (No. 745)

الأكثر في كلامهم أعطاه إياه على أنه قد قال الشاعر (No. 419, i.e. also in *kalām*)

Poetic licences are contrasted with 'average' *kalām* variants, coming also from poetry:

هذا اضطرار وهو في الكلام خطأ ولكن الحد قول كعب بن زهير (No. 487)

15 The scope of *kalām*.

Summing up the scope of *kalām*:

(i) material: corpus (speech acts or utterances) or any part of this:

في بعض الكلام (No. 23)

(ii) immaterial: language as defined by a set of grammatical rules or linguistic knowledge (competence) of the informants.

In other words: horizontal: speakers' knowledge; vertical: linguistic data with rules.

In this way *kalām* means simply 'Arabic': Arabic language, Arabic speaker, Arabic nominal phrase, Arabic nominal subject, etc., where Arabic is defined horizontally by the "Arabs" and vertically by Sibawayhi and his circle:

سمعناهم [العرب] يتكلمون به في الكلام (No. 925)

16 Conclusion.

Kalām remained the most comprehensive grammatical notion long after Greek logic had made its way to the Arabic grammar. Ibn Ğinnī, for instance, used in his *Luma'* the new term, *ġumla*, only for the clause while calling the complete compound sentence *kalām*. Short school compendia, like the *Āġurrūmiyya*, did not take over the term *ġumla* at all, but kept *kalām* as their central notion.

INDEX A: KALĀM IN THE KITĀB

The following index contains the 1144 places where the term *kalām* occurs in the three editions of the *Kitāb*. The numbers refer to volume/page/line starting from Hārūn's edition, followed by Būlāq (without references to lines) and after the semicolon Derenbourg's edition, i.e. Sībawayhi: *Kitāb*, ed. Hārūn [= Būlāq; ed. Derenbourg].

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 185. I/328/15 [= I/165; I/137/19]
 186. I/329/11 [= I/166; I/138/6]
 187. I/330/18 [= I/166; I/138/21]
 188bi. I/331/10 [= I/167; I/139/6]
 189. I/331/11 [= I/167; I/139/7]
 190. I/331/13 [= I/167; I/139/9]
 191. I/332/1 [= I/167; I/139/13]
 192. I/334/2 [= I/167; I/140/3]
 193. I/334/7 [= I/168; I/140/6]
 194. I/334/10 [= I/168; I/140/9]
 195. I/334/12 [= I/168; I/140/11]
 196. I/336/18 [= I/169; I/141/18]
 197. I/337/2 [= I/169; I/141/20]
 198. I/337/7 [= I/169; I/142/2*]
 199. I/339/4 [= I/170; I/142/13]
 200. I/339/9 [= I/170; I/142/16]
 201ex. I/346/4 [= I/173; I/145/5]
 202. I/353/6 [= I/177; I/148/2]
 203. I/354/10 [= I/177; I/148/19]
 204. I/363/10 [= I/182; I/152/19]
 205. I/363/14 [= I/182; I/152/20]
 206. I/365/9 [= I/183; I/153/18]
 207. I/374/9 [= I/187; I/157/12]
 208. I/379/9 [= I/190; I/159/18]
 209. I/381/13 [= I/191; I/160/18]
 210. I/382/2 [= I/191; I/160/19]
 211. I/383/11 [= I/192; I/161/12]
 212. I/387/6 [= I/194; I/163/4]
 213. I/387/10 [= I/194; I/163/7]
 214. I/390/2 [= I/195; I/164/17]
 215. I/392/1 [= I/196; I/165/14]
 216. I/395/8 [= I/197; I/167/8]
 217. I/397/11 [= I/198; I/168/9]
 218. I/399/3 [= I/199; I/168/20]
 219. I/403/4 [= I/201; I/170/10]
 220. I/406/7 [= I/202; I/171/16]
 221. I/409/3 [= I/203; I/172/18]
 222. I/409/12 [= I/203; I/173/3]
 223. I/411/11 [= I/204; I/173/21]
 224. I/411/12 [= I/204; I/173/21]
 225. I/414/5 [= I/206; I/174/19]
 226. I/415/8 [= I/206; I/175/9]
 227. I/415/9 [= I/207; I/175/9]
 228. I/416/7 [= I/207; I/175/17]
 229. I/417/6 [= I/207; I/176/7]
 230. I/417/8 [= I/207; I/176/9]
 231. I/417/9 [= I/207; I/176/10]
 232. I/417/17 [= I/208; I/176/15]
 233. I/417/18 [= I/208; I/176/16]
 234. I/428/6 [= I/213; I/181/6]
 235. I/431/9 [= I/214; I/182/13]
 236. I/433/9 [= I/215; I/183/12]
 237. I/436/3 [= I/217; I/184/19]
 238. I/436/4 [= I/217; I/184/20]
 239. I/436/5 [= I/217; I/184/20]
 240. I/440/1 [= I/219; I/186/19]
 241. II/8/17 [= I/221; I/189/16]
 242. II/8/19 [= I/221; I/189/17*]
 243. II/12/9 [= I/223; I/191/2]
 244. II/12/12 [= I/224; I/191/4]
 245. II/19/5 [= I/226; I/193/15]
 246. II/23/1 [= I/228; I/195/9]
 247. II/23/5 [= I/228; I/195/12]
 248. II/38/8 [= I/235; I/202/3]
 249. II/38/9 [= I/235; I/202/4]
 250. II/48/2 [= I/241; I/205/17]
 251. II/49/1 [= I/241; I/206/4*]
 252. II/50/8 [= I/242; I/206/18]
 253. II/51/2 [= I/232; I/207/1]
 254. II/51/10 [= I/232; I/207/7]
 255. II/51/11 [= I/232; I/207/8]
 256. II/57/2 [= I/245; I/209/22]
 257. II/57/4 [= I/245; I/210/1]
 258. II/57/5 [= I/245; I/210/2]
 259. II/64/1 [= I/249; I/213/5]
 260. II/69/11 [= I/252; I/215/4]
 261. II/78/6 [= I/256; I/218/11]
 262. II/82/10 [= I/258; I/220/13]
 263. II/87/13 [= I/260; I/222/8]
 264. II/88/11 [= I/261; I/222/17]
 265. II/90/9 [= I/262; I/223/13]
 266. II/90/10 [= I/262; I/223/13]
 267. II/94/1 [= I/263; I/225/4]
 268. II/102/13 [= I/267; I/228/18]
 269. II/103/5 [= I/268; I/228/24]
 270. II/108/3 [= I/270; I/231/5]
 271. II/112/6 [= I/272; I/232/15]
 272. II/114/3 [= I/273; I/233/13]
 273. II/115/5 [= I/273; I/234/4]
 274. II/115/6 [= I/273; I/234/4]
 275. II/115/9 [= I/274; I/234/6]
 276. II/116/5 [= I/274; I/234/12]
 277. II/116/14 [= I/274; I/234/18]
 278. II/118/10 [= I/275; I/235/15]
 279. II/120/4 [= I/275; I/236/8]
 280. II/120/14 [= I/275; I/236/15]
 281. II/121/5 [= I/276; I/236/20]
 282. II/122/5 [= I/276; I/237/9]
 283. II/122/10 [= I/276; I/237/12]
 284. II/124/1 [= I/277; I/237/18]
 285. II/124/1 [= I/277; I/237/18]
 286. II/124/10 [= I/277; I/238/4]
 287. II/124/19 [= I/277; I/238/10]
 288. II/125/2 [= I/277; I/238/11]

289. II/126/10 [= I/278; I/239/3]
 290. II/129/9 [= I/279; I/240/12]
 291. II/129/9 [= I/279; I/240/12]
 292. II/129/11 [= I/279; I/240/13]
 293. II/130/1 [= I/279; I/240/15]
 294. II/134/5 [= I/281; I/242/17]
 295. II/136/2 [= I/282; I/243/4]
 296. II/144/12 [= I/285; I/246/3]
 297. II/145/3 [= I/286; I/246/9]
 298. II/149/4 [= I/287; I/248/4]
 299. II/152/7 [= I/289; I/249/7]
 300. II/153/11 [= I/290; I/249/16]
 301. II/156/10 [= I/291; I/250/16]
 302. II/156/10 [= I/291; I/250/16]
 303. II/157/1 [= I/291; I/250/16]
 304. II/157/3 [= I/291; I/250/18]
 305. II/157/16 [= I/291; I/251/6]
 306. II/157/18 [= I/291; I/251/7]
 307. II/158/2 [= I/291; I/251/9]
 308. II/158/6 [= I/291; I/251/12]
 309. II/158/9 [= I/291; I/251/14]
 310. II/161/4 [= I/293; I/252/15]
 311. II/161/18 [= I/293; I/253/2]
 312. II/163/4 [= I/294; I/253/13]
 313. II/169/1 [= I/297; I/255/16]
 314. II/171/1 [= I/298; I/256/16]
 315. II/174/7 [= I/299; I/258/9]
 316. II/174/7 [= I/299; I/258/9]
 317. II/175/8 [= I/300; I/258/19]
 318. II/175/9 [= I/300; I/258/20]
 319. II/175/10 [= I/300; I/258/21]
 320. II/176/12 [= I/300; I/259/12]
 321. II/179/5 [= I/301; I/260/23]
 322. II/179/11 [= I/302; I/261/4]
 323. II/181/17 [= I/303; I/262/3]
 324. II/182/8 [= I/303; I/262/10]
 325. II/185/6 [= I/304; I/263/12]
 326. II/185/9 [= I/304; I/263/15]
 327. II/192/7 [= I/308; I/266/16]
 328. II/195/10 [= I/309; I/268/10]
 329. II/196/8 [= I/310; I/268/20]
 330. II/196/11 [= I/310; I/269/1]
 331. II/197/1 [= I/310; I/269/7]
 332. II/204/7 [= I/314; I/272/10]
 333. II/204/11 [= I/314; I/272/13]
 334. II/204/12 [= I/314; I/272/14]
 335. II/208/5 [= I/316; I/273/21]
 336. II/208/8 [= I/316; I/274/1]
 337. II/208/8 [= I/316; I/274/1]
 338. II/208/9 [= I/316; I/274/2]
 339. II/208/11 [= I/316; I/274/3]
 340. II/209/6 [= I/316; I/274/10]
 341. II/209/7 [= I/316; I/274/10]
 342. II/209/8 [= I/316; I/274/12]
 343. II/209/9 [= I/316; I/274/13]
 344. II/211/7 [= I/317; I/275/7*]
 345. II/211/12 [= I/317; I/275/10]
 346. II/213/5 [= I/318; I/276/4]
 347. II/214/2 [= I/318; I/276/9]
 348. II/214/4 [= I/318; I/276/12]
 349. II/218/12 [= I/320; I/277/23]
 350. II/222/4 [= I/322; I/279/13]
 351. II/228/3 [= I/314; I/282/5]
 352. II/228/17 [= I/324; I/282/15]
 353. II/229/8 [= I/325; I/282/21]
 354. II/233/7 [= I/327; I/285/1]
 355. II/234/2 [= I/327; I/285/6]
 356. II/234/6 [= I/327; I/285/9]
 357. II/239/8 [= I/329; I/286/21]
 358. II/239/10 [= I/330; I/287/2]
 359. II/241/11 [= I/330; I/287/17]
 360. II/245/3 [= I/332; I/289/5]
 361. II/245/12 [= I/332; I/289/11]
 362. II/249/7 [= I/334; I/290/19]
 363. II/250/2 [= I/334; I/290/21]
 364. II/250/7 [= I/334; I/291/3]
 365. II/250/9 [= I/334; I/291/5]
 366. II/254/4 [= I/336; I/292/11]
 367. II/255/10 [= I/337; I/293/2]
 368. II/256/3 [= I/337; I/293/5]
 369. II/259/8 [= I/338; I/294/4]
 370. II/259/9 [= I/338; I/294/5]
 371. II/266/6 [= I/341; I/297/20]
 372. II/267/1 [= I/341; I/297/22]
 373. II/274/5 [= I/344; I/300/10]
 374. II/275/10 [= I/345; I/301/5]
 375. II/276/9 [= I/345; I/301/14]
 376. II/277/7 [= I/346; I/302/4]
 377. II/281/1 [= I/347; I/303/14]
 378. II/281/2 [= I/347; I/303/14]
 379. II/281/4 [= I/347; I/303/16]
 380. II/281/16 [= I/348; I/304/2]
 381. II/281/16 [= I/348; I/304/3]
 382. II/283/7 [= I/348; I/304/16]
 383. II/283/15 [= I/348; I/304/22]
 384. II/287/10 [= I/350; I/306/8]
 385. II/288/16 [= I/351; I/306/22]
 386. II/292/9 [= I/352; I/308/17]
 387. II/297/9 [= I/355; I/311/1]
 388. II/301/11 [= I/356; I/312/9]
 389. II/310/7 [= I/360; I/315/5]
 390. II/311/7 [= I/360; I/315/16]
 391. II/312/8 [= I/360; I/316/4]
 392. II/316/1 [= I/362; I/317/9]
 393. II/317/6 [= I/362; I/318/2]
 394. II/317/14 [= I/363; I/318/7]
 395. II/317/14 [= I/363; I/318/8]
 396. II/318/3 [= I/363; I/318/11]
 397. II/326/1 [= I/367; I/321/6]
 398. II/326/2 [= I/367; I/321/7]
 399ex. II/326/4 [= I/367; I/321/9]
 400. II/331/3 [= I/369; I/322/14]
 401. II/334/6 [= I/371; I/323/13]
 402. II/334/7 [= I/371; I/323/14]
 403. II/334/7 [= I/371; I/323/14]
 404. II/335/10 [= I/371; I/324/4]
 405. II/335/13 [= I/371; I/324/7]
 406. II/338/6 [= I/372; I/325/4]
 407. II/344/9 [= I/375; I/327/15]
 408. II/347/3 [= I/376; I/328/10]
 409. II/349/7 [= I/377; I/329/10]
 410. II/350/3 [= I/377; I/329/18]
 411. II/357/6 [= I/381; I/333/2]
 412. II/362/1 [= I/382; I/334/20]
 413. II/362/1 [= I/382; I/334/21*]
 414. II/362/2 [= I/382; I/334/21]
 415. II/362/3 [= I/382; I/335/1]
 416. II/364/3 [= I/383; I/336/1]
 417. II/364/19 [= I/384; I/336/11]
 418. II/365/5 [= I/384; I/336/15]
 419. II/365/5 [= I/384; I/336/16]
 420. II/365/11 [= I/384; I/336/20]
 421. II/369/3 [= I/386; I/338/13]
 422. II/369/4 [= I/386; I/338/13]
 423. II/370/10 [= I/387; I/339/9]
 424. II/371/7 [= I/387; I/339/14]
 425. II/372/7 [= I/387; I/340/1]
 426. II/376/10 [= I/389; I/341/11]
 427. II/377/6 [= I/389; I/341/18]
 428. II/378/13 [= I/390; I/342/14]
 429. II/379/12 [= I/390; I/343/5]
 430. II/387/12 [= I/393; I/345/23]
 431. II/388/8 [= I/394; I/346/10]
 432. II/389/14 [= I/394; I/347/2]
 433. II/390/1 [= I/394; I/347/4]
 434ex. II/394/2 [= I/396; I/348/18]
 435. II/395/1 [= I/396; I/349/4]
 436. II/395/11 [= I/396; I/349/11]
 437. II/401/12 [= I/398; I/351/15]
 438. II/404/6 [= I/399; I/352/14]
 439. II/404/14 [= I/400; I/353/1]
 440. II/405/11 [= I/400; I/353/9]
 441. II/405/16 [= I/400; I/353/12]
 442. II/406/1 [= I/400; I/353/14]
 443. II/406/12 [= I/400; I/353/20]
 444. II/406/15 [= I/400; I/353/22]
 445. II/407/14 [= I/401; I/354/12]
 446. II/407/16 [= I/401; I/354/13]
 447. II/411/10 [= I/403; I/356/6]
 448. II/413/12 [= I/403; I/357/6]
 449. II/414/3 [= I/403; I/357/13]
 450. II/414/15 [= I/404; I/357/21*]

451. III/415/3 [= I/404; I/358/3]
 452. II/418/12 [= I/405; I/359/12]
 453. II/420/5 [= I/406; I/360/4]
 454. II/420/14 [= I/406; I/360/9]
 455. II/420/16 [= I/406; I/360/11]
 456. II/421/4 [= I/406; I/360/16]
 457. II/421/7 [= I/406; I/360/18*]
 458. II/422/13 [= I/407; I/361/11]
 459. III/5/5 [= I/407; I/361/16]
 460. III/6/2 [= I/407; I/362/3]
 461. III/6/3 [= I/407; I/362/4]
 462. III/6/12 [= I/408; I/362/11]
 463. III/9/9 [= I/409; I/363/14]
 464. III/13/6 [= I/411; I/365/13]
 465. III/14/12 [= I/411; I/366/4]
 466. III/15/1 [= I/411; I/366/6]
 467. III/15/3 [= I/412; I/366/7]
 468. III/15/6 [= I/412; I/366/9]
 469. III/15/8 [= I/412; I/366/12]
 470. III/31/7 [= I/419; I/374/9]
 471. III/33/1 [= I/420; I/375/1]
 472. III/34/9 [= I/421; I/375/15]
 473. III/38/3 [= I/423; I/377/1]
 474. III/40/1 [= I/423; I/377/14]
 475. III/43/10 [= I/425; I/379/8]
 476. III/49/9 [= I/428; I/381/10]
 477. III/50/7 [= I/429; I/381/19]
 478ex. III/50/8 [= I/429; I/381/20]
 479. III/51/2 [= I/429; I/382/3]
 480. III/52/15 [= I/430; I/382/21]
 481. III/55/5 [= I/431; I/383/14]
 482. III/55/5 [= I/431; I/383/15]
 483. III/55/7 [= I/431; I/383/16]
 484. III/55/8 [= I/431; I/383/17]
 485. III/56/2 [= I/431; I/384/1]
 486. III/56/6 [= I/431; I/384/4]
 487. III/62/6 [= I/434; I/386/10]
 488. III/64/1 [= I/435; I/387/1]
 489. III/64/1 [= I/435; I/387/11]
 490. III/64/2 [= I/435; I/387/2]
 491. III/64/7 [= I/435; I/387/5]
 492. III/64/10 [= I/435; I/387/8]
 493. III/65/6 [= I/436; I/387/14]
 494. III/66/4 [= I/436; I/387/18]
 495. III/66/5 [= I/436; I/387/18]
 496. III/66/9 [= I/436; I/387/21]
 497. III/66/13 [= I/436; I/388/3]
 498. III/68/9 [= I/437; I/388/17]
 499. III/70/4 [= I/438; I/389/11]
 500. III/72/9 [= I/439; I/390/11]
 501. III/73/8 [= I/439; I/390/18]
 502. III/74/11 [= I/440; I/391/5]
 503. III/75/3 [= I/440; I/391/11]
 504. III/75/12 [= I/440; I/391/17]
 505. III/77/4 [= I/441; I/392/12]
 506. III/77/10 [= I/442; I/392/16]
 507. III/77/13 [= I/442; I/392/18]
 508. III/81/2 [= I/443; I/394/2]
 509. III/82/7 [= I/443; I/394/8]
 510. III/82/11 [= I/443; I/394/11]
 511. III/82/16 [= I/444; I/394/16]
 512. III/83/2 [= I/444; I/394/19]
 513. III/83/7 [= I/444; I/394/22]
 514. III/83/10 [= I/444; I/395/3]
 515. III/84/5 [= I/444; I/395/9]
 516. III/84/7 [= I/444; I/395/11]
 517. III/84/8 [= I/444; I/395/12]
 518. III/84/9 [= I/444; I/395/12]
 519. III/84/12 [= I/444; I/395/15]
 520. III/87/6 [= I/446; I/396/17]
 521. III/87/8 [= I/446; I/396/18]
 522. III/87/12 [= I/446; I/396/19]
 523. III/89/18 [= I/447; I/397/23]
 524. III/90/10 [= I/448; I/398/4]
 525. III/90/10 [= I/448; I/398/4]
 526. III/90/13 [= I/448; I/398/7]
 527. III/91/1 [= I/448; I/398/7]
 528. III/91/5 [= I/448; I/398/11]
 529. III/91/12 [= I/448; I/398/15]
 530. III/91/14 [= I/448; I/398/17]
 531. III/92/1 [= I/448; I/398/18]
 532. III/92/7 [= I/448; I/398/23]
 533. III/94/4 [= I/449; I/399/13]
 534. III/94/7 [= I/449; I/399/15]
 535. III/97/7 [= I/451; I/400/16]
 536. III/97/8 [= I/451; I/400/17]
 537. III/99/6 [= I/452; I/401/12]
 538. III/99/7 [= I/452; I/401/13]
 539. III/101/11 [= I/453; I/402/11]
 540. III/103/10 [= I/453; I/403/10]
 541. III/103/11 [= I/453; I/403/10]
 542. III/104/5 [= I/454; I/403/15]
 543. III/105/6 [= I/454; I/404/1]
 544. III/105/12 [= I/455; I/404/5]
 545. III/109/5 [= I/456; I/405/12]
 546. III/109/8 [= I/456; I/405/14]
 547. III/112/9 [= I/457; I/406/21]
 548. III/113/3 [= I/458; I/407/4]
 549. III/113/9 [= I/458; I/407/9]
 550. III/117/12 [= I/460; I/409/8]
 551. III/122/11 [= I/462; I/411/7]
 552. III/122/13 [= I/462; I/411/9*]
 553. III/122/14 [= I/462; I/411/9]
 554. III/123/12 [= I/463; I/412/18]
 555. III/124/6 [= I/463; I/412/2]
 556. III/128/7 [= I/465; I/413/18]
 557. III/131/1 [= I/466; I/414/18]
 558. III/131/2 [= I/466; I/414/19]
 559. III/131/3 [= I/466; I/415/1]
 560. III/131/5 [= I/466; I/415/2]
 561. III/131/10 [= I/466; I/415/7]
 562. III/137/8 [= I/469; I/417/19]
 563. III/138/8 [= I/469; I/418/8]
 564. III/139/6 [= I/470; I/418/14]
 565. III/141/3 [= I/471; I/419/14*]
 566. III/142/5 [= I/471; I/420/1]
 567. III/143/1 [= I/471; I/420/8]
 568. III/144/2 [= I/471; I/420/18]
 569. III/150/1 [= I/474; I/423/8]
 570. III/150/2 [= I/474; I/423/9]
 571. III/153/1 [= I/475; I/424/13]
 572. III/157/5 [= I/477; I/426/9]
 573. III/158/12 [= I/477; I/427/2]
 574. III/163/4 [= I/480; I/428/20]
 575. III/163/13 [= I/480; I/429/3]
 576. III/167/4 [= I/481; I/430/16]
 577. III/167/11 [= I/482; I/430/21]
 578. III/167/12 [= I/482; I/430/21]
 579. III/168/2 [= I/482; I/431/5]
 580. III/169/5 [= I/482; I/431/15]
 581. III/169/5 [= I/482; I/431/15]
 582. III/169/10 [= I/482; I/431/19]
 583. III/172/10 [= I/484; I/433/15]
 584. III/172/11 [= I/484; I/433/15]
 585. III/173/1 [= I/484; I/433/17]
 586. III/173/2 [= I/484; I/433/17]
 587. III/173/2 [= I/484; I/433/17*]
 588. III/176/7 [= I/486; I/435/5]
 589. III/177/3 [= I/486; I/435/11]
 590. III/178/5 [= I/487; I/435/18]
 591. III/186/4 [= I/490; I/439/1]
 592. III/188/1 [= I/491; I/439/20]
 593. III/189/11 [= I/491; I/440/17]
 594. III/195/8 [= II/3; II/2/7]
 595. III/196/2 [= II/3; II/2/11]
 596. III/196/4 [= II/3; II/2/11*]
 597. III/196/9 [= II/3; II/2/14]
 598. III/197/2 [= II/3; II/2/18]
 599. III/200/14 [= II/5; II/4/6]
 600. III/201/13 [= II/5; II/4/16]
 601. III/203/10 [= II/5; II/5/9]
 602. III/204/3 [= II/6; II/5/15]
 603. III/204/4 [= II/6; II/5/16]
 604. III/204/5 [= II/6; II/5/17]
 605. III/204/9 [= II/6; II/5/19]
 606. III/205/2 [= II/6; II/5/23]
 607. III/205/4 [= II/6; II/6/1]
 608. III/205/8 [= II/6; II/6/4]
 609. III/206/3 [= II/6; II/6/11]
 610. III/206/3 [= II/6; II/6/11]
 611. III/206/4 [= II/6; II/6/12]
 612. III/210/11 [= II/8; II/8/5]

613. III/214/15 [= II/10; II/9/21]
 614. III/218/12 [= II/11; II/11/23]
 615. III/218/15 [= II/12; II/12/2]
 616. III/221/5 [= II/13; II/13/8]
 617. III/222/9 [= II/13; II/14/1]
 618. III/223/13 [= II/14; II/14/12]
 619. III/224/3 [= II/14; II/14/13]
 620. III/229/5 [= II/16; II/16/20]
 621. III/232/14 [= II/18; II/18/7]
 622. III/234/10 [= II/19; II/18/22]
 623. III/234/15 [= II/19; II/19/3]
 624. III/235/1 [= II/19; II/19/3]
 625. III/235/1 [= II/19; II/19/4]
 626. III/235/3 [= II/19; II/19/5]
 627. III/235/6 [= II/19; II/19/7]
 628. III/235/6 [= II/19; II/19/7]
 629. III/235/7 [= II/19; II/19/8]
 630. III/235/10 [= II/19; II/19/11]
 631. III/237/6 [= II/20; II/20/8]
 632. III/238/1 [= II/20; II/20/18]
 633. III/239/9 [= II/21; II/21/8]
 634. III/245/6 [= II/24; II/23/21]
 635. III/246/7 [= II/25; II/24/8]
 636. III/247/4 [= II/25; II/24/15]
 637. III/249/9 [= II/26; II/25/12]
 638. III/249/10 [= II/26; II/25/13]
 639. III/255/5 [= II/29; II/27/14]
 640. III/256/2 [= II/29; II/27/21]
 641. III/258/2 [= II/30; II/28/14]
 642. III/258/7 [= II/30; II/28/17]
 643. III/259/2 [= II/32; II/29/6]
 644. III/259/9 [= II/31; II/29/11]
 645. III/261/10 [= II/32; II/30/12]
 646. III/263/5 [= II/33; II/31/2]
 647. III/263/8 [= II/33; II/31/4]
 648. III/263/13 [= II/33; II/31/8]
 649. III/265/10 [= II/34; II/32/5]
 650. III/265/11 [= II/34; II/32/6]
 651. III/266/9 [= II/34; II/32/15]
 652. III/269/6 [= II/36; II/33/24]
 653. III/275/7 [= II/39; II/36/11]
 654. III/275/8 [= II/39; II/36/12]
 655. III/275/9 [= II/39; II/36/13]
 656. III/278/5 [= II/40; II/37/12]
 657. III/280/19 [= II/42; II/38/18]
 658. III/282/13 [= II/43; II/39/15]
 659. III/283/4 [= II/43; II/39/19]
 660. III/283/11 [= II/43; II/39/24]
 661. III/283/13 [= II/43; II/40/2]
 662. III/284/7 [= II/44; II/40/10]
 663. III/284/8 [= II/44; II/40/10]
 664. III/286/6 [= II/44; II/41/6]
 665. III/286/9 [= II/44; II/41/9]
 666. III/287/4 [= II/45; II/41/19]
 667. III/288/15 [= II/46; II/42/11]
 668. III/288/20 [= II/46; II/42/15]
 669. III/297/4 [= II/50; II/46/20]
 670. III/298/7 [= II/51; II/47/14]
 671. III/299/2 [= II/51; II/47/18]
 672. III/299/6 [= II/51; II/47/21]
 673. III/299/10 [= II/51; II/48/2]
 674. III/302/13 [= II/53; II/49/8]
 675. III/302/14 [= II/53; II/49/9]
 676. III/304/4 [= II/54; II/49/24]
 677. III/311/12 [= II/57; II/53/7]
 678. III/320/7 [= II/61; II/56/15]
 679*bi*. III/320/13 [= II/62; II/56/20]
 680. III/324/10 [= II/63; II/58/23]
 681. III/326/3 [= II/64; II/59/18]
 682. III/328/15 [= II/66; II/61/2]
 683. III/330/5 [= II/66; II/61/19]
 684. III/330/6 [= II/66; II/61/20]
 685. III/335/9 [= II/69; II/64/15]
 686. III/336/16 [= II/69; II/65/7]
 687. III/336/18 [= II/69; II/65/8]
 688. III/339/7 [= II/71; II/66/14]
 689. III/349/12 [= II/75; II/71/18]
 690. III/355/12 [= II/78; II/74/18]
 691. III/357/17 [= II/79; II/76/3]
 692. III/365/1 [= II/83; II/79/14]
 693. III/365/9 [= II/83; II/79/19]
 694. III/370/1 [= II/85; II/81/19]
 695. III/371/6 [= II/85; II/82/9]
 696. III/374/14 [= II/87; II/84/11]
 697. III/375/6 [= II/87; II/84/18]
 698. III/376/6 [= II/88; II/85/6]
 699. III/378/11 [= II/89; II/86/10]
 700. III/383/7 [= II/91; II/88/7]
 701. III/384/8 [= II/91; II/89/9]
 702. III/389/13 [= II/94; II/92/2]
 703. III/392/4 [= II/95; II/93/7]
 704. III/393/8 [= II/95; II/93/21]
 705. III/411/5 [= II/104; II/102/7]
 706. III/413/5 [= II/105; II/103/14]
 707. III/413/7 [= II/105; II/103/15]
 708. III/415/7 [= II/106; II/104/17]
 709. III/418/7 [= II/107; II/106/3]
 710. III/425/6 [= II/110; II/109/20]
 711. III/425/6 [= II/110; II/109/21]
 712. III/426/13 [= II/110; II/110/13]
 713. III/427/16 [= II/111; II/111/5]
 714. III/428/1 [= II/111; II/111/7]
 715. III/429/12 [= II/112; II/111/24]
 716. III/430/15 [= II/113; II/112/16]
 717. III/431/2 [= II/113; II/112/18]
 718. III/434/2 [= II/114; II/114/4]
 719. III/434/3 [= II/114; II/114/5]
 720. III/434/3 [= II/114; II/114/5]
 721. III/435/13 [= II/115; II/115/7]
 722. III/435/14 [= II/115; II/115/7]
 723. III/438/10 [= II/116; II/116/22]
 724. III/441/12 [= II/118; II/118/17]
 725. III/441/15 [= II/118; II/118/19]
 726. III/444/12 [= II/119; II/120/11]
 727. III/455/19 [= II/124; II/126/2]
 728. III/462/10 [= II/127; II/129/9]
 729. III/477/1 [= II/134; II/136/20]
 730. III/478/6 [= II/135; II/137/13]
 731. III/484/5 [= II/137; II/140/10]
 732. III/485/13 [= II/138; II/141/4]
 733. III/486/1 [= II/138; II/141/6]
 734. III/486/3 [= II/138; II/141/7]
 735. III/486/4 [= II/138; II/141/8]
 736. III/487/3 [= II/139; II/141/17]
 737. III/487/11 [= II/139; II/142/2]
 738. III/488/10 [= II/140; II/142/11]
 739. III/488/10 [= II/140; II/142/12]
 740. III/493/1 [= II/142; II/144/15]
 741. III/493/2 [= II/142; II/144/16]
 742. III/493/6 [= II/142; II/144/18]
 743. III/493/13 [= II/142; II/144/23]
 744. III/493/16 [= II/142; II/145/3]
 745. III/495/3 [= II/143; II/145/16]
 746. III/498/7 [= II/144; II/147/5]
 747. III/498/15 [= II/145; II/147/11]
 748. III/499/17 [= II/145; II/148/3]
 749. III/503/1 [= II/146; II/149/12]
 750. III/504/13 [= II/147; II/150/8]
 751. III/504/14 [= II/147; II/150/9]
 752. III/505/2 [= II/147; II/150/10]
 753. III/505/8 [= II/147; II/150/14]
 754. III/506/12 [= II/148; II/151/7]
 755. III/508/11 [= II/149; II/152/6]
 756. III/508/12 [= II/149; II/152/7]
 757. III/524/1 [= II/156; II/159/1]
 758. III/524/4 [= II/156; II/159/3]
 759. III/524/5 [= II/156; II/159/4]
 760. III/524/7 [= II/156; II/159/6]
 761. III/524/7 [= II/156; II/159/6]
 762. III/524/8 [= II/156; II/159/7]
 763. III/527/11 [= II/157; II/160/21]
 764. III/529/11 [= II/158; II/161/21]
 765. III/539/3 [= II/162; II/166/22]
 766. III/540/14 [= II/163; II/167/21]
 767. III/546/15 [= II/166; II/171/3]
 768. III/546/17 [= II/166; II/171/4]
 769. III/546/17 [= II/166; II/171/4]
 770. III/546/17 [= II/166; II/171/4]
 771. III/549/2 [= II/167; II/172/11]
 772. III/549/3 [= II/167; II/175/12]
 773. III/552/4 [= II/168; II/174/2]
 774. III/553/11 [= II/169; II/174/20]

775. III/553/13 [= II/169; II/174/21]
 776. III/553/14 [= II/169; II/174/23]
 777. III/563/7 [= II/174; II/180/2]
 778. III/563/13 [= II/174; II/180/7]
 779. III/564/6 [= II/174; II/180/15]
 780. III/566/8 [= II/175; II/181/10]
 781. III/568/3 [= II/176; II/182/7]
 782. III/572/14 [= II/178; II/184/2]
 783. III/573/16 [= II/179; II/184/16]
 784. III/584/4 [= II/183; II/189/16]
 785. III/591/7 [= II/187; II/193/1]
 786. III/594/17 [= II/188; II/194/22]
 787. III/598/2 [= II/190; II/196/11]
 788. III/601/13 [= II/192; II/198/13]
 789. III/612/15 [= II/197; II/204/9]
 790. III/615/1 [= II/198; II/205/12]
 791. III/615/2 [= II/198; II/205/12]
 792. III/617/3 [= II/199; II/206/20]
 793. III/625/10 [= II/203; II/211/9]
 794. III/625/11 [= II/203; II/211/10]
 795. III/629/6 [= II/205; II/213/7]
 796. III/641/14 [= II/210; II/219/11]
 797. III/643/4 [= II/211; II/220/7]
 798. III/646/12 [= II/212; II/222/2]
 799. III/648/19 [= II/213; II/223/13]
 800. III/650/10 [= II/214; II/224/7]
 801. IV/12/16 [= II/217; II/228/1]
 802. IV/26/3 [= II/222; II/234/8]
 803. IV/37/6 [= II/226; II/239/5]
 804. IV/40/1 [= II/227; II/240/7]
 805. IV/41/11 [= II/228; II/241/6]
 806. IV/44/12 [= II/229; II/242/14]
 807. IV/44/15 [= II/229; II/242/16]
 808. IV/45/10 [= II/230; II/243/4]
 809. IV/52/19 [= II/232; II/246/12]
 810. IV/53/4 [= II/232; II/246/16]
 811ex. IV/60/14 [= II/236; II/250/8]
 812ex. IV/60/15 [= II/236; II/250/8]
 813. IV/67/6 [= II/238; II/253/7]
 814. IV/76/2 [= II/241; II/257/9]
 815. IV/76/18 [= II/242; II/258/2]
 816. IV/77/4 [= II/242; II/258/5]
 817. IV/77/6 [= II/242; II/258/7]
 818. IV/79/16 [= II/243; II/259/13]
 819. IV/81/8 [= II/244; II/260/7]
 820. IV/83/8 [= II/245; II/261/3]
 821. IV/90/4 [= II/247; II/264/15]
 822. IV/95/11 [= II/250; II/267/14]
 823. IV/103/8 [= II/253; II/272/1]
 824. IV/103/13 [= II/253; II/272/4]
 825. IV/104/8 [= II/254; II/272/13]
 826. IV/108/8 [= II/255; II/274/14]
 827. IV/109/13 [= II/256; II/275/10]
 828. IV/111/4 [= II/256; II/276/10]
 829. IV/111/7 [= II/256; II/276/12]
 830. IV/114/7 [= II/258; II/278/6]
 831. IV/123/8 [= II/262; II/282/18]
 832. IV/127/8 [= II/263; II/284/23]
 833. IV/127/16 [= II/264; II/285/6]
 834. IV/127/17 [= II/264; II/285/6]
 835. IV/133/9 [= II/266; II/288/15]
 836. IV/138/9 [= II/268; II/291/4]
 837. IV/138/12 [= II/268; II/291/7]
 838. IV/140/4 [= II/269; II/292/4]
 839. IV/140/7 [= II/269; II/292/6]
 840. IV/144/14 [= II/271; II/294/14]
 841. IV/145/2 [= II/271; II/294/16]
 842. IV/146/2 [= II/272; II/295/11]
 843. IV/146/4 [= II/272; II/295/13]
 844. IV/146/4 [= II/272; II/295/13]
 845. IV/146/6 [= II/272; II/295/15]
 846. IV/146/13 [= II/272; II/295/20]
 847. IV/149/1 [= II/273; II/296/3]
 848. IV/149/6 [= II/273; II/297/4]
 849. IV/149/7 [= II/273; II/297/5]
 850. IV/150/6 [= II/274; II/297/13]
 851. IV/150/10 [= II/274; II/297/16]
 852. IV/150/10 [= II/274; II/297/16]
 853. IV/151/4 [= II/274; II/298/2]
 854. IV/151/6 [= II/274; II/298/4]
 855. IV/151/9 [= II/274; II/298/6]
 856. IV/151/12 [= II/274; II/298/8]
 857. IV/152/5 [= II/275; II/298/12]
 858. IV/152/6 [= II/275; II/298/13]
 859. IV/152/15 [= II/275; II/298/19]
 860. IV/152/15 [= II/275; II/298/19]
 861. IV/152/17 [= II/275; II/298/21]
 862. IV/153/12 [= II/275; II/299/8]
 863. IV/154/1 [= II/275; II/299/10]
 864. IV/154/9 [= II/275; II/299/15]
 865. IV/155/1 [= II/275; II/299/16]
 866. IV/159/11 [= II/278; II/302/8]
 867. IV/159/16 [= II/278; II/302/12]
 868. IV/161/5 [= II/278; II/303/4]
 869. IV/162/3 [= II/279; II/303/16]
 870. IV/162/5 [= II/279; II/303/17]
 871. IV/164/5 [= II/280; II/305/1]
 872. IV/164/20 [= II/280; II/305/12]
 873. IV/165/3 [= II/280; II/305/14]
 874. IV/169/11 [= II/282; II/308/5]
 875. IV/169/13 [= II/282; II/308/7]
 876. IV/170/1 [= II/282; II/308/9]
 877. IV/171/1 [= II/283; II/308/16]
 878. IV/171/7 [= II/283; II/308/20]
 879. IV/171/11 [= II/283; II/309/1]
 880. IV/173/5 [= II/284; II/309/17]
 881. IV/173/8 [= II/284; II/309/19]
 882. IV/173/11 [= II/284; II/309/20]
 883. IV/177/18 [= II/286; II/312/9]
 884. IV/177/18 [= II/286; II/312/9]
 885. IV/178/13 [= II/286; II/312/19]
 886. IV/181/14 [= II/287; II/314/9]
 887. IV/183/5 [= II/288; II/315/7]
 888. IV/184/7 [= II/289; II/316/1]
 889. IV/184/13 [= II/289; II/316/6]
 890. IV/184/16 [= II/289; II/316/8]
 891. IV/185/7 [= II/289; II/316/13]
 892. IV/190/15 [= II/292; II/318/18]
 893. IV/191/1 [= II/292; II/318/20]
 894. IV/191/2 [= II/292; II/318/20]
 895. IV/191/3 [= II/292; II/318/21]
 896. IV/191/6 [= II/292; II/318/22]
 897. IV/191/10 [= II/292; II/319/4]
 898. IV/191/12 [= II/292; II/319/5]
 899. IV/191/14 [= II/292; II/319/6]
 900. IV/192/2 [= II/292; II/319/11]
 901. IV/192/10 [= II/292; II/319/18]
 902. IV/192/12 [= II/292; II/319/19]
 903. IV/193/16 [= II/293; II/320/10]
 904. IV/194/1 [= II/293; II/320/12]
 905. IV/194/3 [= II/293; II/320/14]
 906. IV/195/5 [= II/293; II/321/1]
 907. IV/198/11 [= II/295; II/322/15]
 908. IV/202/1 [= II/297; II/324/12]
 909. IV/202/4 [= II/297; II/324/14]
 910. IV/206/9 [= II/299; II/326/10]
 911. IV/208/1 [= II/299; II/326/20]
 912. IV/208/2 [= II/299; II/326/21]
 913. IV/209/1 [= II/300; II/327/7]
 914. IV/209/9 [= II/300; II/327/14]
 915. IV/209/9 [= II/300; II/327/14]
 916. IV/209/10 [= II/300; II/327/15]
 917. IV/209/12 [= II/300; II/327/16]
 918. IV/209/14 [= II/300; II/327/18]
 919. IV/210/4 [= II/300; II/328/1]
 920. IV/210/6 [= II/300; II/328/3]
 921. IV/214/2 [= II/302; II/329/11]
 922. IV/214/11 [= II/303; II/329/19]
 923. IV/216/2 [= II/303; II/330/9]
 924. IV/216/3 [= II/303; II/330/9]
 925. IV/216/5 [= II/303; II/330/10]
 926. IV/216/5 [= II/303; II/330/11]
 927. IV/216/9 [= II/304; II/330/14]
 928. IV/217/12 [= II/304; II/331/7]
 929. IV/218/7 [= II/304; II/331/15]
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 931. IV/219/3 [= II/305; II/332/2]
 932ex. IV/219/5 [= II/305; II/332/4]
 933. IV/220/3 [= II/305; II/332/12]
 934. IV/221/10 [= II/305; II/333/7]
 935. IV/223/1 [= II/306; II/333/21]
 936. IV/223/8 [= II/307; II/334/3]

937. IV/225/3 [= II/307; II/334/14]
 938. IV/225/5 [= II/307; II/334/16]
 939. IV/225/15 [= II/308; II/335/1]
 940. IV/226/11 [= II/308; II/335/12]
 941. IV/229/5 [= II/309; II/336/18]
 942. IV/229/12 [= II/309; II/336/23]
 943. IV/230/1 [= II/310; II/337/1]
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From the total number of 1144 occurrences 9 can be found in examples. These are Nos. 164, 182, 201, 399, 434, 478, 811, 812, 932. Examples are marked by "ex" after the number. There are only two occurrences of *kalām bi-* (Nos. 188, 679) and these are marked by "bi-" after the number. In three instances an additional pronominal reference is made to *kalām*, thus increasing the total number to 1147. These are Nos. 55 (*wa-lā yağūzu fīhi*), 88 (*wa-ḥadduhu*), 532 (*wağḥibi*).

Troupeau (1976:184) lists altogether 1129 occurrences on the basis of Derenbourg's edition (666 *langage, langue*, 277 *énonciation, énoncé*, 141 *mots, mot*, 43 *prose* and 2 *kalām bi- (fait de dire)*). The places where these missing fourteen expressions should appear are marked by an asterisk. These are Nos. 112, 135, 158, 198, 242, 251, 344, 413, 450, 457, 552, 565, 587, 596. From among these instances only the word *kalām* is missing in Nos. 112, 135, 158, 198, 450, 565; *qawl* is used instead of *kalām* in No. 457; and the whole sentence is missing in Nos. 242, 251, 344, 413, 587, 596; while the sentence is completely different in No. 552.

On the other hand, though Derenbourg's edition had not been used as a basis for establishing the occurrences of *kalām* in the *Kitāb*, it can be stated that owing to the differences in the MSS, this edition also contains a few places with *kalām* where the other editions do not have this term.

Examining the *Kitāb* on the basis of the indices it becomes apparent that some expressions of the *kalām* are used only in certain groups, in a certain context. It seems that in the course of composition, Sibawayhi used certain forms of *kalām* for a period, then dropped them only to return to them much later again. See, for example, *aḥsan al-kalām* which occurs only three times, Nos. 529, 530, 531; *fī muntahā l-kalām*, Nos. 454, 455; *alā kalāmāyḥ* Nos. 588, 590, etc.

In this way, the two indices shed light and emphasise the continuity of the process of the composition of the *Kitāb*.

N.B.: In the text of the paper and in Index B the occurrences of *kalām* presented in Index A are cited introduced by *No.*

INDEX B
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6.1.2 Preposition + *kalāmi l-ʿarab*6.1.2.1 *fī* (24) Nos. 68, 167, 199, 234, 268, 281, 295, 323, 325, 351, 359, 364, 409, 433, 626, 636, 643, 645, 694, 703, 717, 718, 781, 8246.1.2.2 *min* (12) Nos. 402, 437, 543, 623, 625, 644, 696, 709, 771, 772, 820, 10126.1.2.3 *ʿalā* (4) Nos. 586, 587, 699, 7166.1.3 Construct State + *kalāmi l-ʿarab* (4)632 (*fī aḵṭar*), 779 (*bi-ḥadd*), 1117 (*abniyatu*), 1122 (*ḥālu*)

6.2 All others (16)

6.2.1 (*waḡh*) *kalāmi n-nās* (3) Nos. 177, 253, 5356.2.2 *kalām al-masʿūl* (2) 456, 4586.2.3 *kalām aḵṭari l-ʿarab* (1) 2396.2.4 *kalām al-ʿaḡam* (1) No. 6286.2.5 *kalām al-furs* (1) No. 10366.2.6 *kalām al-ʿibād* (1) No. 1916.2.7 *kalām al-maʿrifa* (1) No. 11356.2.8 *kalām al-muḥāṭab* (1) No. 4526.2.9 *kalām al-ʿyam in* (1) No. 5456.2.10 *kalām baʿdihim* (1) No. 4636.2.11 *kalām kullī l-ʿarab* (1) No. 5726.2.12 *kalām Tayʿ* (1) No. 3276.2.13 *kalām Zayd* (1) No. 399ex.7 *kalām* + genitive pronoun (294)7.1 *kalām* + *-hum* (259)7.1.1 *kalāmuhum* (3) Nos. 39, 131, 8097.1.2 *fī kalāmihim* (181) Nos. 17, 26, 27, 35, 100, 103, 106, 115, 122, 123, 124, 147, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 159, 161, 163, 166, 217, 228, 255, 262, 275, 317, 318, 319, 322, 326, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 336, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 358, 367, 371, 381, 396, 408, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 425, 426, 447, 448, 450, 459, 496, 497, 506, 516, 540, 550, 556, 579, 600, 615, 619, 621, 627, 629, 630, 637, 638, 641, 653, 654, 657, 659, 669, 670, 674, 680, 685, 686, 687, 695, 697, 698, 700, 701, 707, 734, 735, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 752, 753, 754, 756, 757, 764, 777, 790, 791, 794, 798, 802, 806, 807, 823, 827, 828, 829, 831, 833, 834, 835, 849, 855, 856, 859, 860, 861, 864, 869, 873, 874, 879, 880, 884, 889, 901, 902, 908, 909, 931, 933, 949, 951, 994, 1010, 1028, 1035, 1039, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1085, 1092, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1100, 1102, 1107, 1109, 1110, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1129, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 11447.1.3 *min kalāmihim* (62) Nos. 6, 21, 36, 41, 71, 105, 111, 274, 312¹, 357, 380, 423, 427, 573, 620, 642, 648, 656, 658, 666, 675, 688, 689, 690, 691, 693, 710,¹ For this occurrence there is a MS variant: *fī kalāmihim* quoted by Hārūn.

719, 726, 751, 767, 770, 775, 776, 788, 789, 801, 822, 830, 836, 837, 838, 839,
857, 858, 861, 862, 867, 868, 877, 878, 882, 888, 894, 897, 1038, 1076, 1077,
1078, 1079, 1083, 1101

7.1.4 *aṣl kalāmihim* (4) Nos. 791, 898, 899, 1112

7.1.5 *aktar kalāmihim* (1) No. 871

7.1.6 *awāhir kalāmihim* (1) 1037

7.1.7 *bi-kalāmihim* (1) No. 189

7.1.8 *binā' kalāmihim* (4) Nos. 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034

7.1.9 *fī awwal kalāmihim* (1) No. 139

7.1.10 *min ḥadd kalāmihim* (1) 769

7.2 *kalām + -hu* (24)

7.2.1 *kalāmuhu* (19) Nos. 63, 65, 66, 85, 133, 171, 241, 445, 453, 462, 477, 480,
520, 521, 533, 583, 584, 924, 926

7.2.2 (*fī*) *awwal kalāmihī* (2) Nos. 64, 208

7.2.3 *fī kalāmihī* (2) Nos. 24, 339

7.2.4 *‘alā kalāmihī* (1) No. 49

7.3 *kalām + -ka* (9) Nos. 11 (*awwal*), 164ex., 182ex., 211, 212, 350, 478ex., 542
(*tawkīd li*), 852

7.4 *kalām + -bā* (2) Nos. 222, 763

8 *al-kalām al-awwal*² (13) 82, 146, 226, 282, 315, 316, 355, 382, 406, 465, 489, 490, 539

9 *kalāmāyn* (4)

9.1 *‘alā kalāmāyn* (2) Nos. 588, 590

9.2 *aqyas al-kalāmāyn* (1) No. 891

9.3 *bayna l-kalāmāyn* (1) No. 46

² Although the occurrences of this expression are mentioned here, these are not to be counted in the total number as the occurrences of *kalām* can be found under different headings.

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ZAKĪ MUBĀRAK ON THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

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1. Introduction

To anyone interested in language politics, it seems rather strange that the contribution of Zakī Mubārak is almost universally ignored. Generally speaking, the works of this Egyptian man-of-letters are only briefly mentioned, whether in Arabic or in other surveys of modern Arabic literature. This may be explained to some extent by his having been a self-declared anti-Establishment intellectual, quarrelling with the likes of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and others. Nevertheless, there is certainly no reason to minimize his literary role; perhaps, on the contrary, he deserves our attention even more as a controversial figure seeking an independent intellectual course.

Muḥammad Zakī ʿAbdassalām Mubārak (1891-1952) was born in the village of Sintrīs in Upper Egypt. After having attended the local *kuttāb*, he studied for several years at al-Azhar, where he was close to Sufi circles. In 1916 he left al-Azhar in order to study at the Egyptian University, obtaining his Ph.D. degree in 1924. Meanwhile, he had taken part in the anti-British demonstrations of 1919 and spent about a year in jail, which probably strengthened his antipathy towards the British administration in Egypt. In 1927 he went to Paris, coming back four years later with another Ph.D. degree, this time from the Sorbonne. Upon his return, he taught at various schools and at the American University in Cairo. In 1937-1938 he taught Arabic Literature at the Teachers' College in Baghdad to support himself and his family. Meanwhile, he had started publishing prose and poetry in various newspapers and periodicals, gradually becoming better known in literary circles in Egypt and abroad.

Besides books on al-Ghazālī, on the poetry of Ibn Abī Rabīʿa, and on Arabic prose in the fourth century of the Hegira, Mubārak published books on his sojourn in Paris (Mubārak 1931) and in Iraq (Mubārak 1939a), as well as articles of literary criticism and on other matters (some collected in Mubārak 1939b). We are interested here, however, in a short book of his focusing on the role of language in the nationalist struggle in Egypt.

2. Mubārak on the Role of Language

In 1936 Mubārak wrote a short work entitled *al-Luġa wa-d-dīn wa-t-taqālīd bi-ītibārihā min muqawwimāt al-istiqlāl* (Language, Religion and Customs as Constituent Agents of Independence) (I translate *taqālīd* as "customs" since Mubārak uses it synonymously with *ʿādāt*). This he prepared for a government competition held that year with a prize of £E100, a large sum in those days. The subject of independence, topical for an entire generation, intensified in public debate in the year of the

Egyptian-British treaty. Mubārak very probably entered the competition not only to gain a much-needed money prize, but also because he had been politically involved in this issue and wished his views to become well-known; he admits that much in his preface to the text. During the First World War, he had adhered to the ultra-patriotic Nationalist Party *al-Hizb al-Watani*, and, after the war, to the *Wafd* Party. His patriotic views found expression in this composition, which he published even before the competition results were made known. The original edition is very rare nowadays and is seldom to be found in public libraries. It was reprinted, however, in the Cairo series of *Kitāb al-Hilāl*, no. 476, in August 1990. In the event, Mubārak was only one of the winners and the prize was divided between several participants in the competition.

The discussion on language comes first and is the most important section in Mubārak's text (covering the first 39 pages). From the start, he focuses on what he perceives as the close ties between language and independence, taking Egypt as his prime example. Using one's own language, he asserts, impresses upon one the love of independence. He complains about the need to communicate in other languages with foreigners who do not learn Arabic even if they stay in Egypt for several years. Foreigners have to study the local language in Paris, London or Berlin — but not in Cairo. This creates a sentiment that Egypt does not belong to the Egyptians. Mubārak is pleased with his own ignorance of English, as this attests his feeling of independence. Reverting to his earlier argument, he bemoans the fact that other languages shamelessly crowd out Arabic in numerous government offices and private business establishments, which he interprets to mean that Egypt's national language has partners! Based on his own experience abroad, he argues that this could never happen in France, and Egypt should vie with it in employing Arabic — and Arabic only — on all administrative and commercial signboards.

Mubārak then goes on to education. Maintaining that hardly any independent nation uses any language of instruction but its own, he urges Egypt to employ Arabic as the language of instruction not merely in primary and secondary schools, but throughout the universities. He sees the use of English and French in many university faculties as a catastrophe. The fact that the teachers of other languages are always foreigners prevents Egyptians from mastering such languages perfectly themselves. Arabic, he contends, is eminently suited to instruction in any discipline whatsoever and its use would encourage writing and translation (resulting in the establishment of specialized libraries). Carried out seriously and systematically, the use of Arabic as the medium of education would be another step towards independence. A large number of scientific publications in Arabic would result in Egypt's taking the cultural lead of all Arabic-speaking people, east and west. Setting up specialized Arabic libraries in Cairo, side by side with the existing English and French ones, would enhance Egypt's scholarly prestige everywhere. The key to all this is teaching all fields in Arabic, in every school and university.

Among the pertinent criticisms which Mubārak presents in order to support his arguments are the following: How can we claim independence when we do not have even one dictionary reflecting the development of modern Arabic; not one Arabic library specializing in the sciences or medicine; not a single study in Arabic on Egyptian antiquities; not one legal compendium without quotations in foreign languages on every page; not a scholar who contents himself with Arabic sources alone; not a Minister whose visiting cards do not use foreign words; not one university library most of whose holdings are not in other languages; no large city some of whose quarters do not sell newspapers mostly in foreign languages; no government office whose logo does not contain English — all in all, a situation in which Arabic is being pushed aside and forgotten.

Mubārak then addresses the President of the Egyptian University, Aḥmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid Pasha by name, blaming him for the situation at the university and urging him to introduce Arabic as the mandatory language of instruction in all faculties, eradicating the disease represented by the employment of English and French and dismissing those teachers who are unable or unwilling to adjust to this change. He then draws the attention of the University President to another related issue, that of the language employed in dissertations. Mubārak opposes permitting the presentation of dissertations in any language a student chooses (even in the domains of Arabic and Islamic studies) and even the addition of a foreign-language summary to those written in Arabic.

Further, he reminds his readers that the French, British and Italians promote vigorously their respective languages in their colonies. If these consider language spread an essential element of colonialism, should not patriots perceive their own language as one of the bases of independence?

Well-aware of the diglossic character of Arabic, Mubārak favours a simplified idiom, widely employed and easily understood — that already used by teachers and pupils in class, clear in meaning and devoid of obsolete words. As he sees it, the instrument for creating and spreading such a language is the press, which by nature caters to all strata of the population, in all spheres of life. For the sake of clarity, he recommends to vocalize all texts throughout. Aware that this would necessitate a large expansion in the number of printing characters, he also suggests reducing the printed form of all consonants to one form for each — thus more or less compensating for the proposed increase.

One way of bringing the Arabic language closer to all Egyptians, Mubārak maintains, is to produce more interesting books in Arabic and to increase the number of publishers and of public libraries with Arabic holdings. Such steps would increase the number of readers in Arabic, for reading intensively in one's own language is also a component of independence. Mubārak blames both authors and the general public for a "non-reading atmosphere", expressed in the fact that not even the best books achieve more than one edition. He criticizes in particular the many thousands of

public officials who do not read books and hardly any periodicals, as it seems to him. Mubārak's policy recommendation for remedying this situation is the establishment of a special commission in the Ministry of Education to encourage publishing in Arabic. The committee should deduct ten piastres from the monthly salary of all government officials and in return supply each of them with five or six high quality books every year. Since most officials have families, this is bound to encourage the taste for reading among a wider public. Mubārak argues that promoting language also means fostering education and culture, and calls on Egyptians to adorn their homes with "book treasures".

In summing up the part of his book discussing language, Mubārak reverts to education, referring in the main to the pupils of secondary schools (*al-madāris at-tānawīyya*). Based on his own experience as a teacher, he strongly urges abolishing the study of the history of literature in those schools, which he considers a waste of time, since no pupil can benefit from it before studying literature itself. Moreover, he is revolted by the book used in Egyptian schools for this discipline, written by people ignorant of pupil mentality.

3. Conclusion

This work is characteristic of Mubārak's personality and style. He writes frankly and fiercely, pursuing his convictions, unhesitatingly criticizing the President of the Egyptian University, the Ministry of Education, the government bureaucracy and practically everyone else in Egypt. For somebody submitting an essay in an officially designated competition, this is, to say the least, rather unconventional, but deserving of admiration.

In the debate on our main issue of interest, Mubārak shows himself very adept at evaluating the politics of language, an almost unknown academic discipline at the time. He had, however, read by then a great deal on language and literature, in both Arabic and French, and reflected on the issue of language as a basic component in independence. True enough, Egyptian and other Arab intellectuals had already been discussing such issues as the alphabet, Arabization of foreign terms, and language training. However, Mubārak's arguments are refreshingly direct, cogent, and incisive. They are also unusually comprehensive. In today's terms of reference, he discusses language status, language corpus, language shift and loss — all from the perspective of a nationalist eager for Egypt's cultural independence. As regards language status, he calls for Arabic, rather than English, to be used as the official language. He perceives language corpus as the introduction of new Arabic terms in the sciences and otherwise. Education in Arabic alone, at all levels, should prevent language shift to English and the consequent loss of Arabic. Based on his arguments, Mubārak produces several policy recommendations (even if he does not use this term himself):

- a. To encourage the use of Arabic, rather than English, in both private and public contexts.
- b. To adopt Arabic as the language of instruction not only at school, but also at university level, in all faculties.
- c. To write all consonants in one single form, always with the proper vowels.
- d. To promote writing and publishing in Arabic, particularly of scientific works.
- e. To institute and develop public libraries in Arabic throughout Egypt and thus foster "a reading atmosphere".
- f. To create a simplified Arabic, easily grasped by everyone, and to use the press for its dissemination.
- g. To promote the reading of Arabic books everywhere, especially among government officials and their families.
- h. To teach Arabic texts at school rather than the history of literature.

Again, all the above are insisted upon as buttressing Egypt's cultural (and, subsequently, political — by implication) independence via the promotion of Arabic and the downgrading of English and other foreign languages. I am not aware if Mubārak had read Herder's (1853) thesis about the power of language in creating a nation, but he was utterly convinced that it could — and should — secure its independence.

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BETWEEN PROVERB AND SKETCH
DIRECT SPEECH AND DIALOGUE IN THE *MATĀL*

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The subject of this contribution is the presence of direct speech in ancient *amṭāl* and the different ways in which we may find it. *Amṭāl* containing direct speech show a connection with a dramatized background, with a sketch, that can be either evoked or represented. I will examine first the *amṭāl* constituted by famous sayings. This kind of *amṭāl*, based on a 'historical', or pseudo-historical reference, gives us the opportunity to consider several aspects peculiar to the Arabic proverb in general. In the second place I will consider the *amṭāl* in which we find the insertion of direct speech, and finally, the dialogue proverbs.

If we consider the large amount of the ancient Arabic proverbial literature we can observe, at a first glance, that, besides *amṭāl* working on a mechanism of literal and figurative application, there are *amṭāl* based on a 'historical', or pseudo-historical reference.

Before proceeding, I will briefly recall some features of proverbs, maxims and idiomatic sentences in general that describe their peculiar behaviour inside discourse and that, of course, apply to the *matal*.

Every *matal* is an item of what has been called 'repeated discourse', 'already spoken discourse'¹; it is a proverb, an idiomatic sentence or expression for which the linguistic tradition has the exact interpretation already available. Moreover it represents and recalls an already experienced situation for which tradition offers the 'right' solution sanctioned by the experience of the fathers. The *matal* helps the individual to interpret the present in the light of the past, that is to say it works through the application and superimposition of something old onto something new. It thus has the function of persuading, explaining, admonishing, commenting, demonstrating. It is a way of reconducting what is unknown to what is known. The force of the *matal*, other than being sustained by an attractive and effective formal dressing, lies in the authority of the past and in the authority of the community over the individual.

If this stands true for the *amṭāl* that have a literal meaning and for those that make use of standard metaphors and images, it is even more transparent for *amṭāl* that contain historical or pseudo historical references, or anyhow references that have

¹ "Le discours répété", "le déjà parlé" according to the terminology coined by Coseriu 1967. For a paremiological definition of the *matal* and for a bibliography concerning the linguistic status of the proverb, see Pagnini 1998.

been felt as belonging to a common past, no matter here how much historical or legendary².

Let's give an example³ for each of the three categories just mentioned: 1) the literal *matal*, 2) the figurative, 3) the 'historical':

1) (n. 2402) *'ayyun ab'asu min šalalin* = 'A stammer is more miserable than a cripple';

2) (n. 3754) *mā yuqa'qa'u labu bi-š-šināni* = 'He is not frightened by (the noise of) dry water skins'.

This *matal* means: he can't be easily frightened and it refers to the image of a camel rider that, in order to make his camel go, frightens the animal by shaking behind its back a dry water skin with stones inside. The noise produced makes the camel run.

3) (n. 1061) *Hida'a Hida'a warā'aki Bunduqa* = 'Hida', Hida', behind you there is Bunduqa!'

Hida' ibn Namira ibn Sa'd was a tribe of Kūfa, while Bunduqa ibn Mazza was a tribe of Yemen. Hida' had made a predatory incursion on Bunduqa and sacked it, but afterwards Bunduqa assaulted Hida' and destroyed it completely. The meaning of the *matal* is clearly that of a warning.

As the examples show (most evidently the ones belonging to the last two categories) the *matal*, in order to carry its meaning, has to be uttered inside a community that, other than the language, shares the same values, the same customs and manners, is able to decode the same metaphorical images and shares the same references in the knowledge and memory of the past.

Amṭāl containing 'historical' or anecdotal references

The quotation of a proverb or of an idiomatic sentence takes place inside a linguistic community and, at the same time, it witnesses the speaker's belonging to it. In ancient Arabic proverbial literature we can observe a quite abundant amount of *amṭāl* with an historical, legendary or anecdotal reference. This feature appears revealing the nature and function of ancient *amṭāl* as connected in their origin to an oral tradition culture. As in ancient poetry, that has been so meaningfully defined *dīwān al-ʿarab*, the *amṭāl* too, in their power of remaining imprinted in the minds of the speakers and of being repeated through time, enclosed and ensured the memory of the past. Proverbs and maxims, in general, contain paradigmatic examples of situations or of behaviour: in these 'historical' and anecdotal *amṭāl* a paradigmatic past has been fixed.

² For a discussion on the reliability of the anecdotes concerning the *amṭāl*, see Pellat 1976.

³ The quotations of ancient *amṭāl* are all taken from which has been described as the widest and the most representative of ancient collections that we possess, that is the *Mağma' al-amṭāl* by al-Maydānī.

The reference to the past in *amtāl* appears mainly into two ways:

a) the *maṭāl* contains proper names of 'historical' or legendary characters and facts⁴, as in example (3) and as we can observe in the following:

4) (n. 1103) *ḥaddit 'an Ma'nin wa-lā ḥaraġa* = 'Tell about Ma'n, with no restriction!'

Ma'n was, according to the commentator, Ma'n ibn Zā'ida ibn 'Abdallāh aš-Šaybānī that the tradition counts among the most generous of the Arabs. The *maṭāl* means: when you tell about the good virtues of a generous person, don't be afraid of exaggerating.

If the above mentioned *maṭāl* is in the form of the imperative, the form in which we more often find proper names is the *aḥal min* pattern, that bears the proverbial comparison and is the clearest way of expressing and establishing a paradigm. For instance:

5) (n. 2028) *aš'amu min al-Basūsi* = 'More unlucky than al-Basūs' (the *maṭāl* hints at the aunt of al-Ġassās ibn Murra, involved in the sparking of the famous tribal war of the *ġābiliyya*).

'Famous sayings-*amtāl*'

The second way in which we find the reference to the past is the way in which: b) the whole *maṭāl* consists of a sentence in direct speech attributed to a specific person that is supposed to have uttered it on a certain occasion. The collectors of the *amtāl* were particularly concerned in collecting also the *ḥabar* that is supposed to have originated the *maṭāl* and that is necessary to comprehend its meaning. The meaning of the *maṭāl* being, in this case, the ultimate meaning of the whole *ḥabar*. The sentence works as a symbol for the whole anecdote being the last cue of a sketch, the last phrase of a dialogue, or a particularly significant one in it, or constituting a comment uttered by one of the actors of the scene about the whole fact. Let us consider an example:

6) (n. 2741) *fa-lima rabada l-'ayru idan?* = 'Why then is the onager lying?'

These words are supposed to have been uttered by Imru' l-Qays, the poet, that after having worn the poisoned dress given him by Justinianus saw his onager lying and interpreted it as a bad omen. To his companions reassuring him that the dress would not have done him any harm, he answered "Why then is the onager lying?", this answer became a *maṭāl* used when there is evidence contrary to somebody else's words.

It is typical of these *amtāl* that the narration of the *ḥabar* illustrating them ends with the words: *fa-šāra maṭalan* or *fa-arsalahu maṭalan* or *fa-dāhaba qawluhu maṭalan*. The anecdotes explaining those 'famous sayings' have in many cases entered the ancient Arabic historiography, as considered traces of the 'history' of ancient Arabs.

⁴ See, for instance, the allusion to the *ḥarb Dāḥis wa-l-Ġabrā'* in n. 2925.

Their authenticity has instead been questioned also because they sometimes seem reconstructed just in order to explain the *matal*: the ancient commentators themselves gave more than one explanation, thus showing their doubts. If the conclusive sentence has been chosen to represent and recall the whole anecdote, it happens that the sentence has a longer life than the anecdote itself. This obliged the informants of the *amtāl* collectors to make an effort in their memory in order to reconstruct it. But what happened is also, and here we find the paradox, that the informants were induced to invent a new anecdote shaped on the *matal* whose real story had been forgotten, thus betraying and frustrating the function of the *matal* as a witness of the past. In this case it is the conventional character of the meaning of the proverbial sentence to be pointed out.

Amtāl as quotations

Leaving aside the degree of reliability of their anecdotes, this kind of *amtāl* originated in a specific situation and uttered by specific persons shows in the clearest way an important aspect of the linguistic status of proverbs, maxims and other genres of 'repeated discourse' in general. In these *amtāl* the 'quotational status'⁵ of fixed forms appears most clearly. They are inserted into the discourse as a unit, as a direct quotation of someone else's speech. Before the quotation of every proverb, implicit or explicit, there is the introductory statement: 'as the proverb says'. These *amtāl* that are 'famous sayings' show more evidently their quotational status. They bear, infact, the mark of the original context of quotation much more than the generic ones. They depend on it under two aspects: a) on the interpretation of their meaning, b) in the formal aspect. Let us consider an example of a generic *matal* and of a 'famous saying' -*matal*:

7) (n. 1946) *šarru r-rī'ā'i l-ḥuṭama* = 'The worst shepherd is the one who violently hits (his livestock)'

This *matal* applies to someone entrusted with a duty and that is not using his authority well;

8) (n. 2725) *fī ṣ-ṣayfi ḍayya'ti l-labana* = 'In summer you spoiled your milk'.

The story of the *matal* is that Daḥtanūs bint Laqīṭ ibn Zurāra was the wife of ʿAmr ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿUdas, that was an old man. Since the woman despised him, he repudiated her and she got married to a handsome young man. Then, needing food in a period of drought, she sent somebody to her old husband asking for milk, but the answer brought back to Daḥtanūs was: "in summer you spoiled your milk". The *matal* is used for someone who caused himself to miss something that afterwards he needs. This story continues creating another *matal*: when the person sent to ask for

⁵ See Cram 1983.

milk came back and reported the answer, Daḥtanūs tapped on her young husband's shoulder saying: "this tastes better".

As we can see, *maṭal* (8) depends on the context of its origin both for its meaning and for its formal aspect: the verb is left at the second feminine singular person, the sentence remaining addressed to Daḥtanūs, whose name and identity are kept unexpressed. On the contrary, in example (7) there are no elements left out of the sentence and the context that generated the *maṭal* is unimportant for its comprehension.

There is one more difference between the generic *maṭal* and the 'famous saying-*maṭal*'. If what remains (or may remain) implicit before the quotation of a generic *maṭal* in a discourse is 'as the *maṭal* says', what remains implicit before the quotation of this kind of 'famous saying-*amṭāl*', besides this formula, may also be: 'as he who says', or 'as he to whom it has been said'.

The just quoted example (8) is implicitly to be preceded by 'as she to whom it has been said'. The following *maṭal*

9) (n. 2847) *qūdūhu bi bārīkan* = 'Lead it kneeling for me!' refers to a woman that had been raised on a kneeling camel. Surprised by the stillness of the mount she said: "Lead it kneeling for me!". This is to be applied to someone that, not being used to luxury, says silly words. What implicitly precedes the quotation of this *maṭal* is: 'as she who says'.

We can find, moreover, instances in which what remains implicit before the quotation of the 'famous saying' is: 'don't do as he who said'⁶ as in

10) (n. 1783) *isqī ahāka n-namarī* = 'Let your brother the Namarī drink first!'

The comment to the *maṭal* says that a man of the tribe of the Namar ibn Qāsīt travelled with Ka'b ibn Māma. There was water shortage and they had to share the water, drinking by turns, but every time that the turn of Ka'b came, the Namarī gazed at Ka'b and Ka'b said to the cupbearer: "Let your brother the Namarī drink first!" and this until the end of the water, so that Ka'b died of thirst.

Amṭāl containing direct speech

These 'famous sayings-*amṭāl*' are not the only way in which direct speech appears in *amṭāl*. Alongside these ones in which direct speech entirely covers the extent of the sentence, there are *amṭāl* in which we find the insertion of short portions of direct speech, substituting parts of the discourse. For example:

11) (n. 470) *bi'sa maqāmu š-šayhi amris amris* = 'How miserable the condition of an old man is: «put it back in its place, put it back in its place!»'

The image of this *maṭal* is that of the old man that, drawing water from the well and not being strong enough, lets the rope of the bucket slip from the pulley, so that

⁶ Or 'pay attention not to behave like the one who says', see also the n. 2831.

it is said to him «put it back in its place, put it back in its place!». In the phrase of this *matal* there is, at the same time, something lacking and something exceeding: it lacks in grammar, for it should say *bi'sa maqāmu š-šayhi lladī yuqālu labu amris amris*, but it abounds in expressiveness, in fact the direct speech could also have been substituted by a simple adjective, like *bi'sa maqāmu š-šayhi d-da'if*. Like this we can find another example:

12) (n. 2232) *darabahu darbata bnatin uq'udī wa-qūmī* = 'He hit him with the stroke (given to) the maid «sit down! stand up!»'. The maid «sit down! stand up!» is the slave girl to whom it is ordered «sit down! stand up!».

Instead of a real 'direct speech' we may also find a 'direct cry' to animals like in:

13) (n. 2848) *qarrib al-ḥimāra min ar-radhati wa-lā taqul labu sa'* = 'Take the donkey to the drinking-trough and don't say to him: «sa'»'. «sa'» is the cry used to incite the donkey to drink. The *matal* means: the expert man knows how to manage.

Cries to animals may also take the place of nouns as following:

14) (n. 907) *ḡā'a bi-l-hay'i wa-l-ḡay'i* = 'He brought the «hay'» and the «ḡay'» that are two cries to incite camels to drink and feed. The *matal* means: he brought something to drink and to eat.

The insertion of direct speech is a very effective way of giving the *matal* a vivid and realistic flavour. Like in the *matal*:

15) (n. 3257) *la-qad kuntu wa-mā uḥāššā bi-d-dī'bi fa-l-yawma qad qīla d-dī'ba d-dī'ba* = 'When I was young I was not frightened by (the mention of) the wolf, but today they say: «the wolf! the wolf!» (to get me scared).

We may also find a double insertion of direct speech:

16) (letter *yā*, *amtāl al-murwalladīn*) *yaqūlu li-s-sāriq isriq wa-li-šāḥibi l-manzil ihfaz matā'aka* = 'To the thief he says: «Steal!» and to the householder: «Pay attention to your property!»' and it means: he is a double-crosser.

If the insertion of direct speech is absolutely usual in prose, it is quite unusual in pithy and concise expressions, as proverbs are. In this sense its presence in Arabic *amtāl* is to be compared to its presence in ancient Arabic verses of poetry and in Quranic verses and its analysis in *amtāl* may help us in the understanding of its function in those contexts too.

Direct speech has the peculiarity of inserting a break in the normal discourse, introducing a shift in the speaker's perspective. The reporter speaker temporarily hides and calls upon the original speaker, thus connecting the original speaker to the listener. This has the effect of rendering the whole scene more realistic and at the same time of throwing the listener inside the scene, giving him the impression of being present on the stage. The communicative strategy of direct speech is actually more 'direct' than that of reported speech. This is the reason why direct speech has a theatrical effect and is quite powerful in its faculty of catching the involvement of

the listener. This is also the reason why jokes and funny stories are often shaped in direct speech or end with a cue in direct speech.

Dialogue proverbs

Amṭāl that contain more than one insertion of direct speech, like the last one quoted, show more clearly how direct speech can transform a short expression, like the *matāl* is, into a lively sketch.

This leads us to examine the third way in which direct speech may appear in *amṭāl*. Other than 'famous sayings-*amṭāl*' and *amṭāl* that contain portions of direct speech, we can find *amṭāl* entirely constituted by a dialogue⁷. These proverbs have already been noticed by A. Taylor, the father of paremiology, that called them 'dialogue proverbs' (Taylor 1962:156) and that interpreted this proverbial form as a 'Levantine' and an 'Eastern' peculiarity: "In Western Europe popular wisdom sums up the situation in a general, didactic observation, while the Eastern proverb often shows a liking for a more concrete form. On the one hand we have a maxim and on the other an anecdote" (Taylor 1962:157-158). This remark is perhaps too generic to be agreed upon, considering that dialogue proverbs are only a narrow minority inside the total amount of Arabic proverbial literature. What we may observe is that dialogue proverbs witness a liking for a dramatic rendering of an assertion as in the following:

17) (n. 4086) *man sabbaka? qāla: man ballaḡanī* = '«Who insulted you?» He answered: «He who reported to me»' that means: Whoever reports to me something bad said about me is worse than the one who said it originally.

The message of this *matāl* could have been expressed without a dialogue, maintaining a very similar set, like this: *sabbaka man ballaḡaka* or *sabbanī man ballaḡanī*, having the form of a generic assertion, but the dramatic rendering of it emphasizes the non-obviousness of the message. The question: «Who insulted you?» induces an expectation of a proper name or of the mention of the insult itself, while this is reversed by the answer. The dialogue form has the peculiarity of creating pauses that let the hearer enter the situation.

Alongside of dialogue proverbs that, like the one quoted above, have no characterization of the actors or of the scene⁸, we often find contextualizing elements that enhance the narrative side of dialogue proverbs, like in the following⁹:

18) (n. 2922) *qīla li-l-baḡli man abūka? qāla: al-farasu ḡālī* = 'They asked the mule: «Who is your father?» He answered: «The horse is my maternal uncle»' and

⁷ See 'Ābidīn 1956:182.

⁸ See also n. 3916 and 4531.

⁹ See also n. 2832; 2904; 3314; 4518; 4647 and 4663.

19) (n. 4647) *yā ġundubu mā yuṣirruka? qāla: aṣurru min ḥarri ġadin* = ‘Oh grasshopper, why are you chirping?’ It answered: ‘I’m chirping for the heat of tomorrow’.

The most common form of dialogue proverbs in ancient Arabic *amtāl* is that of ‘question-answer’, but we may also find other speech acts combinations as in the following example where we find a situational introduction, an exclamation and a rhetorical question (that has the function of another exclamation):

20) (letter *wāw*, *amtāl al-muwalladīn*) *waqaʿat aġurratun wa-labinatun fī l-māʿi fa-qālat al-aġurratu: wa-btilālāb, fa-qālat al-labinatu: fa-mādā aqūlu anā?* = ‘A baked brick and a raw brick were soaking in water. The baked brick said: ‘It’s so damp down here!’ And the raw brick said: ‘What should I say?’

Another combination is that of exhortation-statement like in:

21) (n. 2856) *qīla li-š-šaḳī: halumma ilā s-saʿādati fa-qāla: ḥasbiya mā anā fīhi* = ‘They said to a wretch: ‘Come to happiness’ He answered: ‘It suits me where I am’.

Conclusive remarks

The presence of direct speech in ancient *amtāl* appears mainly in three different ways: firstly as the quotation of ‘famous sayings’; secondly as inserted inside the *matal* and substituting a part of it and thirdly in dialogue proverbs.

– The first and the third ways have in common the fact that direct speech entirely covers the extent of the *matal* but in the ‘famous saying’ direct speech is presumed as ‘real’, or as having an ‘historical’ or anecdotal ground, stemming from a paradigmatic situation, while in dialogue proverb it is completely fictitious. The second way differs from the first and the third in the fact that direct speech is just inserted in it and its presence in the *matal* is only partial. This second way has in common with the third the fact that direct speech is fictitious and not real.

– Direct speech in *amtāl* is always tied with a sketch, that is, it has a dramatized basis. In the *amtāl* of the first type the *matal* sums up a whole scene that has to be known by the listener, that is to say, the ‘famous saying-*matal*’ evokes a sketch, that is supposed to have had a reality in the past. In the second and third type the sketch is not evoked but *represented*.

– In *amtāl* of the second type, direct speech – being just a part of the *matal* – is put in particular evidence. Under the stylistic aspect, *amtāl* belonging to this type deserve a special attention in that they let us approach the same phenomenon as it appears in ancient Arabic poetry and in the Quran.

– The presence of direct speech, finally, reveals once more the multifaceted aspect of the *matal* and the complexity of its nature and brings us back to the extreme difficulty of its definition.

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ON SOME STYLISTIC AND LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF YŪSUF IDRĪS' WORKS

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The famous Egyptian author, Yūsuf Idrīs (1927 -1991), was well known for three main reasons:

1. He was the leading writer of modern Arabic short story, drama and political and social essay.
2. He was one of the few who dared, against protest and criticism, to use the spoken language side by side of *fushā*.
3. He was artistically, politically and socially a non-conformist, controversial and even recusant and recalcitrant person, who very much enjoyed the image of the 'enfant terrible' of modern Arabic literature.

True, other Arab writers too share some of these "virtues and vices": for example, the Nobel Laureate, Nağīb Maḥfūz, has used in his works some 'āmmiyya, but mainly "in disguise", for example, by "translating" expressions current in the spoken vernacular into *fushā*; Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm and Maḥmūd Taymūr used the Egyptian dialect for their performed plays, but avoided *direct* confrontation with the authorities on social, political and religious issues, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, although himself was well known for his rebellious views, especially as far as religion was concerned, had never used a style which contained colloquialisms and bitterly criticised those who did.

Works on Idrīs offer us a detailed analysis and deep insight into his world: his biography, views, technique and attitude towards and relationship with his *milieu*. However, none of them deals in depth with the multi-coloured facets of his language and style. Thus, P. M. Kurpershoek, for example, tells us briefly that "Idrīs attempts at freeing himself from what he felt as a strait-jacket imposed on him by the rigorous demands of classical grammar" (1981:114). Kurpershoek continues to describe in some detail the clash between Idrīs and Arab purists over the use of 'āmmiyya in dialogues, a view vigorously advocated by Idrīs, who used the dialect freely (1981:115-124). In another place, the writer singles out some more stylistic peculiarities characteristic of Idrīs's writings, such as, short sentences (1981:170-172); repetition, "in order to emphasise a particular point or achieve a dramatic climax" (1981:172); the use of paronomasia and rhyme (1981:174-175); syntactical inversions which stand in opposition to the common word order in Arabic (1981:176-180). S. Somekh sums up the stylistic features of Idrīs, emphasising his simple language, though often "poetical"; usage of figures of speech such as *oxymoron*; the shortness of his sentences and the inversion

of the common word order in Arabic (1967:24-28; See also, Badawi 1992:415). R. Allen, who compares Nağib Maḥfūz's style with that of Yūsuf Idrīs, claims that the style of the latter "seems more spontaneous and impulsive, on occasion almost to the point of irregularity" (1982:107).

The present short paper will attempt to add some more characteristic features of Idrīs's technique and style, using as a corpus one of his shortest short stories called *an-Nās* ("The People").

The plot concentrates on the story of a tamarisk tree which was growing in the centre of an Egyptian town, and which was worshipped by the citizens of the town for its healing quality against eye infection. The story highlights the mockery up to which the educated young generation was holding their parents, until a scientific evidence was found regarding the therapeutic power of the tamarisk tree. A fact which paradoxically puts an end to the interest of the people in the tree.

The general atmosphere of the story is sarcastic: Idrīs mocks the naivety of the people, who hold an inanimate, a simple tree, in such veneration. He highlights the clash between the two generations: the old who is superstitious, primitive, passive, brain-washed by tradition, dogmatic and the young generation who is rebellious, effervescent, challenging dogmas, anti-establishment. Until the surprising ending when both parties "swap positions", where the naive heroes lose some of their naivety, and the "progressive" are forced to admit that old traditions are not necessarily the result of superstitions.

The fact that Idrīs uses picturesque metaphors and other figures of speech for the creation of this atmosphere is obvious and does not need to be proved, since these figures may easily be discerned. However, this is accomplished not only by syntactical inversions and semantic shifts but by a *combination* of syntactical, semantic and stylistic devices. For example, to emphasize the fact that the tamarisk is an ordinary tree, and that the people who blindly believe in its healing quality are but naive and primitive, Idrīs uses periodical sentence for repetition, negation and the figure of speech called *litotes*. Hence, the tamarisk is:

لم تكن كبيرة ولا عالية ... ولا تعرف ربيعا أو خريفا ولا تعرف ضعفا ولا قوة فهي لا تنمو
ولا تصغر ولم يزد حجمها أو ينقص ... ولا يدري أحد كيف نبتت ... فهي لا تنمو إلا في
مناطق المستنقعات ... لا يدري أحد لماذا اختارت ناحيتنا ... لا يتبركون بها فقط ... ما
من كائن ...

*It was not big and was not high ... it did not know spring or autumn ... it did not
know wickness or strength ... it did not grow nor did it become small ... and its
size did not increase or decrease ... no one knew how it stroke roots ... it does not
grow only in swamps ... no one knows why it chose our area precisely ... people
did not only got blessed by it ... not a single person ...*

Thus, we see that in the first 11 lines of the story there are no less than 14 phrases which start with the negative particles *lām*, *lā* and *mā*.

Another characteristic is Idrīs's frequent usage of words which belong to a specific "semantic field" in an attempt to convince the reader, even though he is often running the risk of verbosity and exaggeration. For example he uses many phrases and concepts from the semantic field of religion to draw an authentic picture of the worshipping of the tree by the people:

نوع من التقديس ... وآمن الناس ... يتبركون بها ... تحفّ بها القداسة ... يحمدون الله
على وجودها دون سواها ... الواحد منهم يقرأ لها الفاتحة ... الكل يؤمن بها ... امتد هذا
الإيمان ... الكفر والألحاد ... الإيمان بالشجرة ... لا حول لها ولا قوة ... يخطب في المساجد
... الجهاد ... الإيمان ... نهل ... التقديس ...

*a kind of sanctification ... people believed ... they try to get a blessing from it ...
holiness surrounds it ... they give praise to Allah for its existence ... they read the
Fatīḥa [the first chapter of the Qur'ān] for it ... every one believes ... this belief has
spread ... blasphemy and heresy ... there is no power and no strength [a famous dic-
tum used by Muslims on various occasions in praise of Allah's might] ... preaching
in the mosques ... Holy War ... faith ... we said that there was no God but Allah
[a famous formula used on different occasions, emphasising the Unity of God] ...
sanctification ...*

Another characteristic feature of Idrīs is his use of phrases and expressions which carry more than one meaning or nuance. Hence, the denotative meaning echos the connotative meaning, thus, achieving ambiguity:

loneliness/unity of God - وحدانية	lowly/ugly - قميئة
be blessed/enjoy - تبرك	surround/rattle - حف بها التقديس
	uncleaness/incurable - نجاسة
	sharp/prescribed by the Muslim Sunna - مسنون
	strong, powerful, as a saint; effective - سر باتع

Idrīs' use of synonyms to stress a point or to better illustrate an idea is also characteristic of the story. Thus, we find in the story several synonyms which enrich the text and yet are not verbose or clumsy. *E.g.*

stalks, branches = سيقان - فروع	high = عالية - كبيرة
grows = ينمو - يزيد حجمها	tiny = قصير - ضئيل
knows = يعرف - يدري	shrinks = تنقص - تصغر
surround = تحف - تكتنف	worsen = استمكن - المرض زاد
foolishness = سخافة - عقول جامدة	fears = ترهب - تخاف
	skinny = شاحب - هزيل

To these one may add a number of antonyms which are usually used as *merismus* (Cantarino 1975: II, 502-503). *E.g.*:

It does not know the spring or autumn. = لا تعرف ربيعاً وخريفاً
 The old and the young. = الكبير والصغير
 The poor and the rich. = الفقير وصاحب القرشين

Finally, bearing in mind Idrīs' strong views about the justifiable place of the "living language of the street" in literature, his free, but well calculated use of *'āmmiyya*, usually for the creation of an authentic atmosphere, is not surprising. *E.g.*:

Correct words. = كلام مضبوط	Nice words. = كلام حلو
Both of you. = انت وهو	Sir. = يا أفندي
Leave us alone! = سيبك، يا شيخ	We have told you. = جالكوا كلامنا
	All the same. = برضو

In conclusion, although Idrīs may not have always employed original stylistic and linguistic techniques, since we may find these methods practised by some other authors, his frequent employment of these techniques make them part of his characteristic style. Moreover, the objectives of the writer and in particular, his sensitivity towards and his "involvement" in the subject of the story, make these techniques of usage an indispensable element for the creation of the ideal effect on the plot, the dynamics of story and atmosphere.

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PHRASEOLOGICAL MODELS OF ARABIC IDIOMS

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From a formal point of view an idiom¹ can be defined as the existence of a given content (meaning) in a given form of syntactic structure (model). The syntactic structure may be current or archaic, in effect any structure that existed in the period when the idiom was created. Thus it is possible to ask such questions as to what extent the meaning of an idiom is anticipated by its syntactic structure and vice versa. How much "independence" from each other can they have? How much does the nature of the word-constituents of an idiom influence the relation between meaning and model? Since the semantics of idioms cover specific semantic fields, does this mean that a limited number of syntactic structures can accommodate these more or less limited number of meanings? Are there syntactic patterns that are "preferred" by idioms? If the syntactic structure is considered the "skeleton" of the idiom, is it possible to find a general model both structural and semantic shared by various idioms? Furthermore if there is such a model, what are the reasons for the existence of the variants? In this paper I would like, despite limited space, to give answers to some of the above questions in relation to idioms in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

Today most scholars engaged in the study of idioms (phraseology) accept the fact of the existence of general models, both structural and semantic, shared by a number of idioms.

The idea of general models began to develop in the early 60s in Eastern Europe and had gained general acceptance by 1980 when the study of idioms in Slavic languages by V. M. Mokienko was published². For Mokienko there are two models which "mold" idioms. The first one is the *structural phraseological* model, and the second is the *phraseological* model. The *structural phraseological* model is defined as a "type of *syntactic* construction according to which a number of stable expressions

¹ As a simplified and common definition of an idiom I take the following: "An expression consisting of two or more words whose meaning cannot be simply predicted from the meanings of its constituent parts" (Trask 1993:132). This definition clearly needs to be refined, although to do so lies outside the scope of this paper. We obviously cannot accept "two or more words" to mean "two or more *orthographic* or *phonological* words", since highly inflected languages like Latin and agglutinating languages like Turkish can produce fixed "expressions" by means of a single orthographic or phonological word. Indeed the Arabic idiom *bi-hadāfirihi* (in its/their entirety), which consists of a preposition, noun, and suffix pronoun, represents a single orthographic word and, it may be argued, one or two phonological words".

² A review of the development of the idea of phraseological models is well presented by Chernisheva 1977:34-35; Nicheva 1978:14-15; Vapordjiev 1981:83-85; Mokienko 1980:40.

are formed"³. This model is the "skeleton" of the idiom; it is "one of the factors securing the stability and reproduction of the idiom and to a limited degree even regulating its semantic identity" (Mokienko 1982:42).

The *phraseological* model is defined as the "structural-semantic invariant of stable expressions and this model schematically reflects the relative stability of the form and semantics of these expressions"⁴. When examining these models attention should be concentrated mainly on the inner form, on the image created by idioms, because it is "the basis for grouping idioms in idiomatic [phraseological] series. Since the creation of an idiom is a process of putting a certain content into already existing language models, the inner form should be the basis for a practical moulding of the idiomatic [phraseological] series" (Mokienko 1980:44). In fact, the phraseological model is the union of the semantic and structural characteristics of a cluster of idioms. In such cases "the stability of the model is supported equally by structure and semantics" (Mokienko 1980:43). Mokienko points out that the structural-semantic models allow us "to penetrate deeply into the nature of idioms and show additional nuances in their semantics which produce a specific idiomatic [phraseological] expressiveness" (Mokienko 1980:44). He also shows that these models can be a helpful tool to reveal the inner form (image) in the synchronic and diachronic analysis of idioms⁵.

The phraseological model is a notion corresponding to the notion of frame⁶ in the western theory of idioms. According to R. Moon lexicogrammatical frames are examples of variation since "clusters of fixed expressions and idioms (FEIs) share single or common structures, but the realizations of one constituent vary relatively widely, though usually still within the bounds of a single lexical set. The meanings of individual FEIs within the clusters are often identical or very similar" (Moon 1998:146). Moon produces extensive lists of frames for English idioms⁷. In her book, Moon also makes the point that phraseological patterning can be a powerful device to reconstruct the structure of some synchronically "peculiar" but "diachronically well formed" idioms (Moon 1998:80). She is right to compare frames with the formal idioms of Charles J. Fillmore, Paul Kay, and Mary Catherine O'Connor, who make a distinction between substantive or lexically filled idioms and formal or lexically

³ Mokienko 1982:42. Italics mine.

⁴ Mokienko 1980:43. Italics mine.

⁵ More on models and diachronic analysis of idioms is given in Mokienko 1980:62-71. See also Mokienko 1973 and Moon 1998.

⁶ See Moon 1998:145-150.

⁷ Moon 1998:145-150. Similar studies have been made of Bulgarian idioms by K. Nicheva and V. Vapordjiev. See Nicheva 1982 and Vapordjiev 1980. Cf. also other articles by the same two authors dealing with idioms that represent various phraseological models.

open idioms. The definition for formal idioms is that they "are syntactic patterns dedicated to semantic and pragmatic purposes not knowable from their form alone" (Fillmore *et al.* 1988:505).

The idioms presumably belonging to MSA which I have collected from different sources⁸ can be easily molded after structural idiomatic models, since they have syntactic structures not different from those of MSA. There are series of idioms created after a certain syntactic pattern and meaning which normally relate to people. Thus for example the syntactic pattern of the genitive construct with first element adjective or participle accommodates the meaning of characteristics or features of people; the syntactic pattern of the comparative form of an adjective with the preposition *min* and a noun also accommodates the same semantic range. These syntactic structures convey a limited number of meanings. Thus the syntactic pattern "anticipates" the general meaning of an idiom before the actual meaning is described. This is more true for idioms with noun phrase structure (without verbs). The predictability of the meaning from the syntactic structure is less in idioms with verb phrase structure and sentence structure. There the possibilities are wider and given patterns will accommodate more semantic meanings.

It should be remarked that the phenomenon of structural idiomatic models was observed by medieval Arab scholars such as al-Maydānī. Thus for example in his famous dictionary of proverbs and idioms al-Maydānī after every letter puts a special chapter he calls "*mā ḡā'a 'alā af'ala min hādā l-bāb*" (the cases on [the model] *af'ala* [adjective in comparative form] in this chapter).

Although the phenomenon of structural idiomatic models is common and easy to perceive, it nevertheless requires a deep and careful study if a detailed picture of the correspondences between syntactic model and meaning is to be drawn.

As far as phraseological models or frames are concerned, a number of clusters of idioms in MSA satisfy Mokienko's definition given above. A wider corpus including idioms from different dialects would undoubtedly give a better overview of the function of these phraseological models in Arabic.

An interesting group is formed by idioms which are structurally and semantically "open" with regard to one of their components. They are ready-made models or frames where there is a stable part and an unstable part which can take a certain paradigm of words. The meaning of the whole idiom will vary according to the meaning of the varying component but often the variants have closely related meanings. Consider the following examples:

⁸ Sieny *et al.* 1996, Taymūr 1970, Arabic-Russian, Arabic-English dictionaries of MSA; *Al-Munḡid*.

- rakiba markaba l-ḥamāqati* – to do something stupid
(lit., to ride the boat of stupidity)
- rakiba markaba t-tayši* – to do something inconsistent, frivolous
(lit., to ride the boat of inconstancy, frivolity, levity)
- rakiba markaba l-hawsi wa-l-ḡunūni* – to do something foolish and insane
(lit., to ride the boat of folly and insanity)
- rakiba markaba l-ḥatali* – to talk nonsense
(lit., to ride the boat of idle talk, prattle)

- asātīnu l-ʿilmi* – great scholars
(lit., columns [masters] of knowledge)
- asātīnu l-adabi* – great writers
(lit., columns [masters] of literature)
- asātīnu l-fanni* – great artists
(lit., columns [masters] of art)

- ʿalā s-saffūdi* – anxious, agitated, upset
(lit., on the skewer)
- ʿalā l-miqlāti* – anxious, agitated, upset
(lit., on the frying pan)
- ʿalā nārin* – anxious, agitated, upset
(lit., on a fire)
- ʿalā r-radfi* – anxious, agitated, upset
(lit., on heated stones [for boiling, frying, etc.])

The following group of idioms have the verb *ahada*, to take, as a stable component:

- ahada bi-raqabatihī* – to harass, oppress, subdue, have power over someone
(lit., to take, grab someone by the neck)
- ahada bi-anfāsihī* – to harass, oppress, subdue, have power over someone
(lit., to take, seize someone's breath)
- ahada bi-hināqihī* – to harass, oppress, subdue, have power over someone
(lit., to take, grab someone by the throat)
- ahada ʿalā yadihī* – to harass, oppress, subdue, have power over someone
(lit., to take, grab someone by the hand)

The following cluster of idioms, which represents the biggest phraseological model or frame found in the corpus I have used, can be treated as representing one of the “ideal” frames; since they have (1) a stable part (negation *mā*, preposition with pronominal suffices to indicate the “owner”, then the copula *wa* with negation *lā* - this be-

ing a kind of parallel negation) and (2) an unstable part (word-components from one semantic field inserted into the stable framework).

- mā lahu nāṭiqun wa-lā šāmitun* – He has absolutely nothing. He is deprived of all resources.
(lit., He has neither animate nor inanimate property.)
- mā lahu tāḡiyatun wa-lā rāḡiyatun* – He has absolutely nothing. He is deprived of all resources.
(lit., He has neither a bleating [sheep] nor a grunting [camel].)
- mā lahu šādirun wa-lā wāridun* – He has absolutely nothing. He is deprived of all resources.
(lit., He has no animals coming up from the water hole and none going down.)
- mā bi-hi diyārun wa-lā nāfiḥu nārin* – He has absolutely nothing. He is deprived of all resources.
(lit., He has neither house nor bellows for fire.)
- mā lahu sabadun wa-lā labadun* – He has absolutely nothing. He is deprived of all resources.
(lit., He has neither [camel's / goat's] hair nor wool.)
- mā lahu nāṭiḥun wa-lā ḥābiṭun* – He has absolutely nothing. He is deprived of all resources.
(lit., He has neither thruster [ram] nor stamper [camel].)

Consider another similar cluster of idioms. The stable part of the frame is the negative form of a verb with meaning *not to know*, *not to distinguish* and the preposition *min*, from. The two word-components, which are inserted into the stable framework, vary and have opposite, antonymous meanings:

- lā yumayyizu l-ḡatta min as-samīni* – ignorant, stupid
(lit., not to be able to distinguish the lean from the fat)
- lā yaʿrifu l-kūʿa min al-būʿi* – ignorant, stupid person
(lit., not to know one's knee from one's elbow)
- lā yaʿrifu l-ḥayya/l-ḥawwa min al-layyi/l-lawwi* – to be ignorant, not to know truth from falsity
(literal meaning obscure)
- lā yaʿrifu l-kāʿa min al-bāʿi* – ignorant, stupid person
(lit., not to know an elbow from outspread arms)
- lā yaʿrifu l-hirra min al-birri* – ignorant, stupid person
(lit., not to know a tomcat from a she-mouse)
- lā yufarriqu/yaʿrifu qabīlan min dabīrin* – ignorant, stupid person
(lit., not to know the front side from the back side)

In fact, as the examples show, the possibility to organize idioms in MSA according to phraseological models is closely related to another phenomenon—the lexical variation of the word-components. This type of variation is the most interesting and significant as far as the capacity of an idiom to remain more or less identical in a limited semantic field is concerned. The semantic nuances in most idioms within a single phraseological model are not substantial for communication and it is for this reason that lexical variation is possible. Replacement of word-components of idioms by other lexemes in MSA, as the examples above show, can be by a close synonym or by a word the meaning of which denotes a notion close to the notion denoted by the word-component.

Thus the idioms presented above in different groups according to phraseological model can be viewed as lexical variations in the framework of one and the same structural pattern, and the images created remain within the limits of some general idea. On the other hand, images are in fact the essence of idiomaticity, and the variations, while preserving the meaning of the idioms, produce different effects. Used in speech or text the different idioms may have slightly different stylistic and emotional connotations. These differences, however, do not confuse the identity of the idioms as members of the particular series. This identity demonstrates itself through multiple facets.

Idioms formed after the pattern of the genitive construct (*idāfa*) phrase, and especially those with first component adjective, are clearly based on *syntactic* models according to Mokienko's definition but not necessarily on *phraseological* models. Consider the following examples.

- ḍayyīqu l-ʿatāni* – stingy, tight-fisted
(lit., with a narrow resting-place for camels)
- ʿarīdu l-qafā* – stupid
(lit., with wide back of the head)
- tāhiru d-ḍayli* – innocent, having a good reputation
(lit., with clean robe-tails)
- sāriḥu/munsariḥu l-fikri* – distracted, absent-minded
(lit., grazing, roaming freely with the mind)
- munḥafīdu l-ḡanāḥi* – not proud, humble
(lit., with a low wing)
- mamlūʿu l-wifāḍi* – rich, with full hands
(lit., with a full milkskin)

Idioms with the structure of an *idāfa* phrase and first word-component adjective virtually always have a meaning relating to some quality, feature of character of people. Whether this quality will be positive or negative depends to a great extent on the semantics of the adjectival first component in the phrase. The second component,

a noun, specifies the meaning, namely what this quality is. Very often the noun has the meaning of a part of the human body or something related to it. Perhaps some universal factors or cultural symbols will have to be sought here as well.

Some genitive construct idioms possess a constant element with the other element being variable. These do satisfy Mokienko's definition of a phraseological model, although in a larger corpus we would hope to find more and larger clusters. The following are some examples from the corpus with which I have worked.

ṭawīlu r-rūhi – long-suffering, forbearing, patient
(lit., with a long soul)

ṭawīlu l-bāli – long-suffering, forbearing, patient
(lit., with a long mind)

or

ṭawīlu l-bāʿi – mighty, powerful; capable; generous, openhanded
(lit., with long span of the outspread arms)

ṭawīlu l-yadi – 1. mighty, generous; 2. thief, robber
(lit., with a long hand)

and the opposite

qaṣīru l-yadi – powerless, impotent, helpless, weak, incapable
(lit., with a short hand)

qaṣīru l-bāʿi – powerless, impotent, helpless, weak, incapable
(lit., with short span of the outspread arms)

ṭaqīlu r-rūhi – unpleasant, disagreeable (of a person)
(lit., heavy-spirited)

ṭaqīlu ḡ-ḡilli – unpleasant, disagreeable (of a person)
(lit., with heavy shadow)

ṭaqīlu d-dami – doltish, dull, unpleasant person; a bore
(lit., heavy-blooded)

While the existence of only two idioms of this type establishes the existence of a phraseological model, the insufficient number of such idioms in our corpus does not allow us to assess the extent of the function and productivity of the phraseological models we have identified or to identify others. Tentatively it is possible to suggest that the genitive construct structure is "preferred" by idioms relating to some inner quality or feature of character, perhaps because of the ease of creating idioms on both sides of the positive-negative scale simply by replacing the constant element

with a word of opposed meaning. In some cases, however, it is the variable element which determines the positive or negative image conveyed by the idiom. Thus

- ṭawīlu l-yadi* – 1. mighty, generous; *but also* 2. thief, robber
(lit., with a long hand)
ṭawīlu l-lisāni – slanderous, impertinent, saucy
(lit., with a long tongue)

More material needs to be collected to investigate phraseological models in Arabic to the extent that they have been studied by Mokienko for Slavic languages or Moon for English. Nevertheless it is clear that we may speak of phraseological models in Arabic and of the semantic and structural identity of idioms forming a cluster. To this contribute both the syntactic structure (model) and the meaning (content). The model, with its relative stability, restricts substitution of word-components which do not correspond to it, and the content has to remain identical or faithful to the idea expressed. Thus the "independence" of the meaning from the syntactic structure is limited to a certain extent, which makes it possible to arrange idioms in series sharing one general model both structural and semantic.

The origin of the variations on particular phraseological models lie for the most part lost in history. But they may be seen as an example of a similar way of perceiving reality, and of expressing attitudes, opinions, and qualifications. Underlying this may be conjectured a similarity of conceptual system and especially the metaphorical aspects of it. Of course the variations may also be considered the results of word play and demonstrations of wit when individuals attempted to vary or improve on a given set expression by giving it a new or more colorful wording.

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II. LITERATURE

THE ARABIC VERSION OF
THE LIFE OF SAINT PARASKEVI THE NEW
BY MAKARIOS AZ-ZA'ĪM AL-HALABĪ

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A common name in Eastern onomastics, very frequent to this day, is the Christian name Paraskevi (Romanian *Paraschiva* for women, or *Paraschiv* for men). In its literal translation this name designates Friday (the word means "preparation" in Greek, *i.e.* the preparation for Saturday). The veneration of two figures of the Orthodox hagiography has largely contributed to the spread of this name: first, the Virgin and Martyr Saint Paraskevi of Rome, born during the rule of Emperor Hadrian, a victim of the persecutions against Christians; and second, Saint Paraskevi the New, born in Thrace (town of Epivates), who lived towards the end of the 10th century. Famous for her ascetic life, devoted to prayer and virtuous deeds, it is to this latter Paraskevi that the worship of Eastern Christians is primarily devoted.

Showing a particular piety ever since she was ten years old, this Paraskevi left her family for a monastery, then she made a pilgrimage to Constantinople. After a journey through Asia Minor and Jerusalem, having spent a long, severe period of asceticism in the desert of Jordan, she returned to her country where she died two years later in the small town of Callikrateia. After her relics were discovered towards the end of the 12th century, they proved to have miraculous powers, which led to the canonization of this Saint Paraskevi by the Patriarch of Constantinople. The veneration of these relics was the cause of their wandering far and wide, first within the Bulgarian Empire, to Tirnovo and Vidin, then to Belgrade, where they were kept until the Ottoman conquest (1521), when Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent transferred them to Constantinople as a gift to the Christian community there (certain historians claim that he sold the relics for a large sum of money). In Constantinople they were kept successively in several famous Christian churches, while around 1601 they arrived at the Church of Saint George in the Fanar, the residence of the Ecumenical Patriarch. It was from this place that Vasile Lupu, prince of Moldavia (1634-1653), obtained their transfer in 1641 to his new foundation in Jassy, a monastery devoted to the Three Holy Doctors of the Church (a monument of particular beauty, which to this day adorns the capital of Moldavia, in North-East Romania).

The Life of Saint Paraskevi the New has known several versions ever since the second half of the 12th century. Two of them are lost, another one was written in Church Slavonic by Eftimios, patriarch of Tirnovo in the 14th century, and was quite widespread in the Eastern world. The transfer of the relics to Moldavia led to the writing of another biography of the Saint, this time in Greek.

The author of this new version is Matthew, a scholar born towards the middle of the 16th century in Pogoniana (a town in Epiros), who possessed a solid religious education and remarkable skills as a calligrapher and miniaturist. After years of service for the Patriarch of Constantinople and journeys to Moscow and Lvov, Matthew took up residence in Wallachia, where he was appointed head of the Monastery of Dealu, a princely foundation near the former capital of the country, Tirgoviste. The artistic manuscripts that he produced are nowadays preserved in all major museums in the Near East, and also in Europe¹. His scholarly talents brought him the high appreciation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who bestowed upon him the rank of bishop of Myra, a city in Lycia and a famous diocese while it was governed by Saint Nicholas, but lost long since, as a result of the Islamic expansion.

His hagiography of Saint Paraskevi was written in Wallachia, probably later than 1605 (when he became bishop of Myra). The text became well-known thanks to the repute of its learned author, but it was first published only in 1891, by the Greek scholar A. Papadopoulos Kerameus. As expected, this Greek biography was very popular in the Eastern Church, since the Saint's relics were surrounded by deep veneration. The origin and sources of Matthew's work have been studied extensively and thoroughly, but this is not our subject here. In the context of this conference, we only wish to point to the circumstances in which the above-mentioned biography was transferred into Christian Arabic literature, and in what form.

The Romanian Principalities had long been in contact with the Christian East, especially the Patriarchy of Antioch. These contacts were strengthened in the middle of the 17th century by the historical voyage of Makarios az-Za'im al-Halabi to the capital cities of Wallachia and Moldavia, *i.e.* Bucharest and Jassy. The journey took him no less than six years. Of this long period, he seems to have spent around three years and a half among Romanians. His status as a high ecclesiastical dignitary, his scholarly education in Greek and Arabic and his characteristic curiosity explain why this journey left such deep marks in all Makarios's subsequent works.

While visiting the Romanian Principalities, he was for the first time in a Christian country that enjoyed a certain freedom, considering the relative autonomy of Wallachia and Moldavia within the Ottoman Empire. During his travels he met many intellectuals and scholars, not only Romanian, but also Greek and Russian, who had similar interests. He searched the rich libraries of the bishoprics and monasteries, and even those of wealthy aristocrats (boyars). He purchased or received printed books and especially copies of manuscripts of rare ecclesiastical works.

Helping and stimulating Makarios's contacts in the Romanian Principalities was a phenomenon that was taking place simultaneously here and in the Christian East. Ever since the 15th century, the Romanians had been struggling to replace the lan-

¹ For further information, see Gratziou 1982.

guage they used in administration, culture and ecclesiastical rites (Church Slavonic) with the vernacular language, *i.e.* Romanian. Likewise, in the Patriarchate of Antioch the Orthodox Arabs endeavoured to replace the Syriac language with Arabic. Both these languages (Church Slavonic and Syriac) enjoyed great literary prestige, and age-old use. Nevertheless, they had become incomprehensible not only to the common believers (who had never understood them), but also to the officiating clergy.

Makarios was a devoted disciple of another Syrian scholar, Patriarch Meletios Karme, who strongly promoted the introduction of Arabic in all activities connected with the Church and religious literature within the Patriarchate of Antioch. For this reason, Makarios tried hard to transfer, by translating, as many texts as possible from the Orthodox tradition to the re-emerging Christian Arabic literature, conventionally called *melchite*².

Makarios went to Jassy in February 1653, where he visited the monastery of the Three Holy Doctors of the Church and prayed before the relics of Saint Paraskevi. Only twelve years had passed since these relics had been brought to the capital of Moldavia. Naturally, he was told many things about this Saint Paraskevi, whose worship did not seem to have penetrated the ecclesiastical rites of Antioch. Wishing to obtain a rigorous and well-documented text about her life, he was provided with Matthew of Myra's written work. Makarios had a good knowledge of Greek, from which he had translated a great many works. Undoubtedly his only written source was Matthew's text, present in many of the libraries that he visited in the Romanian Principalities. Still, he did not translate Matthew's text in its entirety, but abridged it and adapted it, also adding certain parts which make the Arabic version of Saint Paraskevi's life a personal piece of literature.

Makarios's Arabic version, included by its author in a *Miscellany* of religious writings that he produced during his journey to Wallachia, *Mağmū' latīf*³, remained unpublished until now. The title of this text is included, as expected, in the contents of the manuscript, published by Joseph Nasrallah in 1965⁴. The first scholar who, some thirty years ago, mentioned the source used by Makarios, *i.e.* Matthew's text on the *Life of Saint Paraskevi the New*, was Virgil Căndea (1970:71), who did not, however, study the precise results of this transfer.

² *Melchites* (<Arabic *malik*, "king") is the name given in the 5th century to the Christians who embraced the religious beliefs of the community ruled by the Byzantine emperor. They follow the Orthodox Eastern liturgy, ceremonial and calendar.

³ *Mağmū' latīf* ("Pleasant collection"), included in an 810 pages manuscript copied in 1670 by Marqos the Priest after Makarios's autograph work. Until 1974 the manuscript belonged to the library of the Greek Catholic monastery of Saint George in Deyr eš-Šīr (Bmakkin, Lebanon). The *Life of Saint Paraskevi the New* constitutes chapter 15 of this manuscript, pages 128-132.

⁴ Nasrallah 1965:111. The manuscript is also quoted by Graf 1949: III, 101.

The Arabic version of Saint Paraskevi's *Life* closely follows the order of events and historical information mentioned in Matthew's text. In the English translation that we provide as follows, accompanied by the Arabic text, we print in italics the paragraphs which reproduce almost literally the Greek version, indicating obvious borrowings from it. The notes refer to the afore-mentioned Greek text published by Papadopoulos Kerameus.

In short, the Arabic version deals with the following topics, also found in the same sequence in Matthew's Greek text:

1. Saint Paraskevi's place of birth, parents and the education she received while they were alive;
2. Her brother Eftimios, his education, virtues and fame among Christians, which led to his appointment as Bishop of the city of Maditos;
3. Saint Paraskevi's life at the monastery, then her departure to the desert, which she left subsequently in order to return to her country, as advised by God's Angel who appeared to her while she was in the desert;
4. Her journey to Constantinople, praying before the Virgin's icon in the church of Saint Sophia;
5. The return to her country, where she lived in prayer and fasting, unknown to anyone, until her death. Here, Makarios introduces the information on the actual day of her death, October 14, which is commemorated by the Christians;
6. The transfer of the Saint's relics from Epivates to Constantinople, then to Belgrade;
7. The wars between the Ottomans and the Slavs, and the transfer of the relics to Constantinople, by order of Sulayman the Magnificent, who was impressed by the miraculous powers of the Saint and the deep devotion she enjoyed.

Makarios is not interested in the wandering of the relics through the South Slav states (Bosnia, Serbia), so he passes over long paragraphs of the Greek text. Similarly, he does not retain the details about historical events which had taken place within the Orthodox Church during Matthew's life. From this point on, Makarios mentions various details given to him while he was visiting Saint Paraskevi's relics in Jassy, on February 9, 1653, accompanied by his son, Paul of Aleppo⁵. They include:

- the transfer of the relics to Jassy at the request of Vasile Lupu, Prince of Moldavia, who had paid the overwhelming debts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople;

⁵ His son wrote a long account of this memorable journey (Paul of Aleppo, *Voyage*). See also Féodorov 1996.

- the great importance given to this event: three archbishops accompanied the relics⁶, together with a procession of priests and other clergymen, while Prince Vasile Lupu gave a celebratory welcome to the Saint's relics, placing them in his own foundation at the monastery of the Three Holy Doctors of the Church⁷;
- description of the celebrations taking place in Jassy, every year on October 14 (to this day!), and especially the ones organized during Prince Vasile Lupu's reign;
- Makarios's own visit to the church and prayer before the Saint's relics, their place in the church and the devotion shown to her by the people;
- details about the other Saint Paraskevi, of Rome, celebrated on July 26;
- the existence of a Greek text about the life of Saint Paraskevi the New, which Makarios states he knew and used in writing his own version of her life (but he does not mention the author's name).

Finally, Makarios states his purpose in writing this hagiographic work by shortening the Greek version: "so that we would not forget what we know and what we have learned about her and her life".

The original parts of the Arabic version, that rely on Makarios's own information gathered while travelling through Moldavia, amount to at least one third of the whole text. Some of these remarks are also to be found in his son Paul's account of their visit together in Jassy to the monastery of the Three Holy Doctors of the Church (*Voyage XXII/1,182-192*). He wrote a detailed description of the place where the relics were kept, the chest they were placed in, the amount that Prince Vasile Lupu had paid to discharge the debts of the Patriarchate in Constantinople (two to three hundred thousand piastres), the bishops who accompanied the relics to Jassy, etc. Obviously, the two important ecclesiastical dignitaries were given first-hand information by eye-witnesses of these events, which had taken place only twelve years before.

The supposition that Makarios used Matthew of Myra's Greek text is supported by several facts that involve his choice of words and expressions in his Arabic version. First of all, the fact that he uses the word *new*, Ar. *ḡadīda*, instead of *al-ḡadīta* ("the recent"), or *al-muta'abbīra* ("the later"), which would have better expressed the fact that this Saint Paraskevi is different from the Martyr Paraskevi of Rome (of earlier times)⁸. Still, he translates as such the Greek *hē nea* ("the new") used by Matthew,

⁶ Like most of the information given by Makarios, this is also confirmed by documents of the time: the three archbishops were Ioannichios of Heraclea, Parthenios of Adrianople and Theofan of Palaiopattaras.

⁷ As a sign of great joy and piety, Prince Vasile Lupu, together with the Romanian bishops, also greeted the Saint's relics twice during their journey, in Galatzi and in Ismail.

⁸ We express our gratitude to Prof. Cornelis Nijland for pointing out this particularity to us.

without seeking to give more precision to the meaning of this word. Furthermore, he gives identical equivalents to many of the Greek words, in occurrences such as:

- Gr. *hê Hosia* > Ar. *al-bârra*, "the Pious";
- Gr. *philotheos* > Ar. *muhibbîna li-llâh*, "God-loving";
- Gr. *eusebês* > Ar. *hasanîna l-'ibâda*, "very pious";
- Gr. *en pasais tais hodois Kuriou porenomenous* > Ar. *mustaysirîna fî wašâyâ Allâh*, "walking in the paths of God (observing all His commandments)";
- Gr. *kai to poimnion kalôs kai orthodoxôs poimanas* > Ar. *ra'â ru'yata l-Masîh fî murûğ al-fadîlat*, "he governed the flock of Christ in the ways of righteousness";
- Gr. *pros Kurion exedêmesē* > Ar. *intaqala ilâ r-Rabb*, "he passed away to God".

Makarios's use of the Greek source is also confirmed by the form that have taken most of the proper names included in the text. Only the Greek pronunciation of these words can account for the Arabic form appearing in the text:

- Gr. pron. *Paraskevi* > Ar. *Bârâskâfi*
- Gr. pron. *Epivaton* > Ar. *Abîfâtûn*
- Gr. pron. *Eftimios* > Ar. *Aftîmyûs*
- Gr. pron. *Vlabernas* > Ar. *Flâsirnâs*
- Gr. pron. *Klêros* > Ar. *iklîrus*

The ways and means used by Makarios in transferring this hagiographic text from Greek to Arabic are common to the great majority of writings that he produced, as well as to the writings of the Christian Arab writers in general. We have recently had the opportunity to study this process in detail by editing another of Makarios's texts, the *Chronicle of Wallachia (1292-1664)* (Makarios, *Chronique*). Publishing such texts will probably take a long time, considering the large number of Christian Arabic manuscripts registered by Georg Graf and Joseph Nasrallah in their histories of Melchite literature. These written works contribute to the study of the spiritual realm of the Arab Christians in the Middle East and, at the same time, to the better knowledge of the Christian expression of literary Arabic.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Ms. Deyr eš-Šîr (128, l. 7 - 132, l. 20)

The life of our Pious Mother Saint Paraskevi the New, also called "the Bulgarian", whose feast is celebrated on October 14

This Pious Paraskevi was born and educated in a town called Epivates, near Constantinople, at one day distance from it. She was the daughter of God-loving parents, very

*pious, walking in the paths of God by fasting, prayer, charity and all the virtues*⁹. This blessed Paraskevi was dedicated to God since her young age, and the two of them raised her in Christian ways, to be pure and virtuous, and [then] they died in peace.

They also had a son called Eftimios¹⁰. He agreed with his pious sister Paraskevi that they would both follow God's commandments and never look back on things of this transitory world. They did this, for Eftimios went and became a monk in a monastery for monks, while the blessed [Paraskevi] became a nun // (129) in a monastery for nuns. They both did virtuous deeds pleasing to God.

As for Eftimios, he went far in doing good works and his name became well-known to everyone as a symbol and example of all virtues. *In those days, the bishop of the city of Maditos*¹¹ *died and the people of that city immediately appointed the Pious Eftimios and made him bishop instead of the deceased.* He managed to carry the burden that was given him and governed the flock of Christ in the ways of righteousness. *Finally he passed away to God, and after his death he performed great miracles* (Matthew, *Life* 414, ll. 1-2 and 10-11).

The Pious Paraskevi, after doing all the virtuous deeds together with the nuns in the monastery, went out to the desert, all by herself, to struggle for virtue, and she performed there all sorts of abstinence, for many years. Then the Angel of God appeared to her and brought her good tidings of the happiness that was destined to her. He ordered her to leave the desert and go to her country, lest the Christians be deprived of her blessings. Then he disappeared from her sight quickly (Idem, 442, ll. 25-31.). She left the desert and first went to the city of Constantinople, to kneel at the Agia Sophia and all the other holy churches that are there. *{Then she went to the church of Blachernae and she knelt before the icon of the Virgin that is there}*¹² and she begged her much to intercede on her behalf with Christ. *Then she went to her country, [the town of] Epivates, and she resided there as a stranger, hiding herself from them [all], so they would not know her* (Matthew, *Life* 444, ll. 4-8). *She remained there for many years, increasing in her ascetic ways and all her virtues.* // (130) *Then she passed away to God* (Idem, 444, ll. 24-25), accompanied to the Heavens by the same Angel who had brought her good tidings at first, in the desert. She died on October 14. The Lord God made her do countless miracles.

The emperors of Byzantium transferred her saintly relics, by God's will, from the above-mentioned city of Epivates to the city of Constantinople, with great honour

⁹ The paragraphs in italics outline the parts that are to be found, almost identically, in the Greek edition of Papadopoulos Kerameus. This first part relates to pages 439, ll. 4-7.

¹⁰ A Bishop known as Euthymios the Taumaturge governed for forty years in the second half of the 10th century. He is celebrated by the Eastern Church on May 5.

¹¹ Port-town in the Thracian Chersonesus on the Hellespont (Gr. *Madytos*).

¹² Addition on the margin, cf. Matthew, *Life* 443, ll. 20-21.

and respect. On the way to Constantinople, the Lord God made her do many miracles which are registered in her well-known *Life*. Her saintly relics were kept in Constantinople for many years, performing wonderful miracles.

When the Bulgarians started to believe in Christ and have faith in him, abandoning their old ways, sincere affection was established between them and the Byzantines, after that old enmity and the continuous wars. Their emperor went to the city of Constantinople, became a good friend of the emperor there and married into the family of the emperor. Many young Bulgarians then married the Byzantines' daughters, and many Byzantines married the Bulgarians' daughters. The friendship and the love between them grew stronger. Afterwards the emperor of Byzantium gave the relics of the Pious Paraskevi to the emperor of the Bulgarians, as a precious gift. The Bulgarians took her with them to their country, with much respect, and placed her in the church of the Belgrade citadel. There she did countless miracles.

After years of well-being, the Turks came and surrounded the citadel for a long time, but they could not conquer it // (131) due to the Saint's protection over it. Finally, the Bulgarians transferred her relics to the city of Sophia. {Then the Turks finally came and conquered the city of Belgrade, with God's permission, and afterwards Sultan Sulayman came and conquered the city of Sophia}¹³. When they entered the Great Church there and he saw the relics of this Pious [Paraskevi] placed in a precious casket, after he learned about her life from the Byzantines who were with him in the army, he sent them as a gift to the Patriarch of Constantinople, because he was his friend. They remained there with the other saintly relics that were placed in the Patriarch's church¹⁴, to the present day. These are the Saint Asmunit (?), the martyr Euphymia and the Blessed Empress Teofana¹⁵.

After a long period, when the debts of the See of Constantinople had increased to the amount of two hundred thousand¹⁶ and their situation had badly deteriorated, Prince Vasile, who was then the voyvod of Moldavia, sent to Constantinople and paid the said debts that [the See of] Constantinople owed. The Patriarch sent him her saintly relics as a gift, from Constantinople to the well-guarded [capital] of Moldavia, together with three bishops and their retinue of priests and other important clergy. Prince Vasile gave her a very fine welcome, with utmost respect and honour, he and all his court and the whole people. He placed her saintly

¹³ Addition on the margin.

¹⁴ Matthew, *Life* 450, l. 7 ff. (not textually).

¹⁵ In the Eastern Church, two Saint Euphymia are celebrated: one on November 22, and the other (a local saint) on January 6. Saint Teophana was the wife of emperor Leon VI the Wise, and she was famous for her ascetic life. She is celebrated on November 16. We were not able to identify Saint Asmonit.

¹⁶ The currency is not mentioned. Radu suggests *piastre* in his translation of the *Voyage* (XXII/1,188), where the currency is also missing from Paul of Aleppo's text.

relics at the monastery of the Three Patriarchs that he had founded there, which is famous for its splendour. The Lord made her do great miracles there for all those who approached her with faith. Prince Vasile had a celebration organized for her every year, // (132) great and beyond description, with all the people of the country. On that day, they used to bring out her saintly casket, where her saintly relics were placed, and they walked through the whole city with it, so that [the city] would be protected and preserved. The said Prince Vasile would bear her casket himself, together with the important priests and head of monasteries and churches. They would prepare a great feast for her, then they would return her to her place and put her there. The place is in the middle of the church, to the right.

This [happens] because all the Christian countries, including the Bulgarians and the Serbs, respect this Pious [Paraskevi] as much as they respect our Lady, and on her celebration day they perform indescribable charities and good deeds. She is present there in Moldavia to this day, and her saintly relics remain completely unspoiled. We have seen them and we received blessing from them.

You must know that the Saint Blessed Martyr Paraskevi of Rome is different from this one. Her celebration takes place with us on July 26. This Pious Paraskevi we mentioned [before] is different from that one, and her celebration takes place on October 14. The former does not have a *Life* in the Greek ecclesiastical books, only a few Greeks know her. [The other one] has a written *Life* in Greek, and the Bulgarians, Serbs, Moldavians and Wallachians, together with Greater and Lesser Russia, respect them very much. She has countless churches and monasteries [dedicated to her]. Her *Life* is very long. It comprises the instructive story of her life and her numerous miracles. We have shortened [the story of] her *Life* on purpose and we have written a little of it, so that we would not forget what we know and what we have learned about her and her life. We pray the Lord to bestow upon us her saintly works, amen. // (133)

ARABIC TEXT

Preliminary note:

Since the writing particularities of the dialectal Arabic used by the copywriter of Makarios' text are not essential to our study here, we have restored the *hamza* wherever necessary, such as in: (in the text حينئذ (فضائل، عجائب، سائر، حينئذ) فضائل، عجائب، سائر، حينئذ) as well as in initial position: أخذ، أهل، أيضا، أم.

We have also replaced ا by ى in words such as تحصى (لا تحصى) تحما.

These alterations only mean to facilitate the access to the text, allowing for the correct reading of certain words that may otherwise be difficult to recognize. Except these, all the other misspelled words that we have corrected are registered in footnotes. The page of the manuscript is mentioned in brackets.

(١٢٨) خبر البارّة¹⁷ أمّنا القديسة باراسكافي الجديدة الملقّبة بالبلغاريّة الكائن تذكّارها في الرابع عشر تشرين الأوّل

هذه البارّة باراسكافي فكان مولدها وتربيتها في بلدة تسما ابيفاطون، وهي بقرب مدينة القسطنطينية يوما واحدا، ابنة والدين محبّين لله حسنين العبادة، ومستيسرين في وصايا الله بالصوم والصلاة والصدقة وبكافة الفضائل وكانت¹⁸ هذه المغبوظة باراسكافي منتخبة لله منذ نعومة اظفارها¹⁹، فربّياها كما يليق بالمسيحيّين بالعفة وبباقي الصالحات وتوفى بسلام، وكان لهما ولدا أيضا اسمه افثيموس، فاتفق مع البارّة أخته باراسكافي، بأن يكونا منعكفين على وصايا الربّ، ولا يلتفتا إلى أمور هذا العالم الزائل وهكذا عملا، لان افثيموس ذهب وصار راهب في دير الرجال، والمغبوظة فصارت راهبة // (١٢٩) في دير النساء، مستيسران بسائر الفضائل المرضية لله، فأما افثيموس فانه تراقى²⁰ إلى الصعود في الأعمال الصالحة، وصار اسمه مشهورا عند الكل ورسما وقدوة لكل فضيلة، وفي تلك الأيام توفي أسقف مدينة ماديس، وللوقت أهل تلك المدينة انتدبوا البار افثيموس، وعملوه أسقفا عوض المتوفى، فأنجح فتح في الوزنة المعطاة له ورعا رعية المسيح في مروج الفضيلة، وأخيرا انتقل إلى الربّ، وبعد وفاته صنع عجائب عظيمة، وأما البارّة باراسكافي فبعدما أكملت سائر الفضائل مع الراهبات في الدير خرجت إلى القفر متجرّدة بجهاد الفضيلة، وأظهرت هناك صنوفا من التشقق والإمساك سنينا كثيرة، ثم ظهر لها ملاك الربّ وبشّرها بالفرح المعدّ لها، وأمرها بان تترك القفر وتمضى إلى بلدها، لكي لا يعدموا المسيحيين منفعتها. ثم غاب عنها بغتة، وإنها تركت القفر، فذهبت أولا إلى مدينة القسطنطينية، وسجدت في اجيا صوفيا، وفي باقي الهياكل المقدسة التي هناك، > ثم ذهبت²¹ إلى هيكل فلاسرناس وسجدت قدام ايقونة السيدة هناك < وتضرعت إليها كثيرا بأن تتشفع من أجلها عند السيد المسيح، ثم ذهبت بعد ذلك إلى بلدها ابيفاطون، وقطنت هناك مثل غريبة وأخفت نفسها عنهم حتى لا يعرفوها، ومكثت هناك سنينا كثيرة، متزايدة في إفراط نسكها وباقي فضائلها، // (١٣٠) وانتقلت إلى الربّ مرافقة ذلك الملاك الذي كان بشّرها أولا في القفر إلى ملكوت²² السماء، وكان نياحها في اليوم الرابع عشر من تشرين الأوّل، وأظهر الربّ الله بها عجائب لا تحصى، وإن ملوك الروم نقلوا جسدها المقدس بإعلان إلهي من مدينة ابيفاطون المذكورة إلى مدينة القسطنطينية، بإكرام وتوقير عظيم، وأظهر الربّ بها في الطريق وفي القسطنطينية عجائب كثيرة مديونة في خبرها المشهور. وأقام جسدها المقدس في القسطنطينية سنينا كثيرة، فاعلا للمعجزات البديعة، فلما آمنوا البلغار بالمسيح واعتمدوا واركبوا ظلالهم، وصار بينهم وبين الروم محبة وكيدة²³، بعد تلك العداوة القديمة والحروب المتصلة، ثم ان ملكهم جاء إلى مدينة القسطنطينية، وعمل مع ملكها محبة عظيمة، واتزوج من بيت²⁴ الملك واتزوجوا أكثر شباب البلغار بنات الروم، وأكثر شباب

17 غلط: البارّة

18 غلط: كانه

19 غلط: اضفارها

20 غلط: اتراقا

21 غلط: ذهب

22 غلط: ملكوة

23 أكيدة؟

24 غلط: بنت

الروم اتزوجوا بنات البلغار، وتوطدت الألفة والمودة فيما بينهم. ثم إن ملك الروم أوهب جسد هذه البارة باراسكافي لملك البلغار كهدية ماثورة وأخذوها البلغار معهم إلى بلادهم بتوقير كثير، ووضعوها في كنيسة قلعة بلغراد وعملت هناك عجائب لا تحصى، وبعد سنين جزيلة أتوا الترك وحاصروا المدينة كثيرا، فلم يقدروا أن يفتحوها // (١٣١) لعناية القديسة بها، وأخيرا البلغار نقلوا جسدها إلى مدينة صوفيا، > ثم إن الترك أخيرا ذهبوا وفتحوا مدينة بلغراد بمسامحة من الله وبعد ذلك جاء السلطان سليمان وفتح مدينة صوفيا <، فلما دخلوا إلى الكنيسة العظماء التي هناك، ونظر²⁵ جسد هذه البارة موضوعا في تابوت كريم وعرف خبرها من الروم الذين كانوا معه في العسكر، وانه أرسله هدية الى بطريك القسطنطينية لأنه كان صديقه. ولبث هناك مع غيره من جساد القديسين الكاثنين في كنيسة البطرک إلى الآن وهم القديسة اسمونيت والشاهدة اوفيميه والملكة المغبوبة ثاوفانو. وبعد زمان طويل لما تزايدت الديون على كرسي القسطنطينية إلى مقدار مائتين ألف وضاق حالهم كثيرا، فحينئذ باسيل بيك ويوضة البغضان وقتئذ، أرسل إلى القسطنطينية وأوفى الديون المذكورة التي كانت على القسطنطينية، وإن البطرک أرسل له جسدها المقدس من القسطنطينية إلى محروسة البغضان مع ثلاثة مطارنة كبار وما يتبعهم من الكهنة والإكليروس هدية، فاقبلها باسيل قبولاً حسناً بغاية التوقير والإكرام، هو وسائر حاشيته وكافة الشعب. ووضع جسدها المقدس في دير الثلاثة بطاركة الذي اعتمره هناك، المشهور ببهائه²⁶، وصنع الرب الله بها هناك عجائب عظيمة لكل من يقصدها بأمانة. وكان باسيل بيك يعمل لها في كل سنة عيداً // (١٣٢) عظيماً فائقاً على الوصف مع كل أهل بلاده، وكانوا يخرجوا في ذلك اليوم تابوتها المقدس الموضوع فيه جسدها المقدس ويطوفوا به كل المدينة، لأجل حفظها وصيانتها، وكان باسيل بيك المذكور يحمل بذاته²⁷ لتابوتها، مع رؤساء الكهنة والديورة والاكانس²⁸، ويعملوا لها باعوث عظيم، ثم يعاودوا فيها إلى مكانها ويضعوها هناك وهو في وسط الكنيسة من جهة اليمين، لأن كل بلاد النصرارة مع البلغار والسرب بيكرموا هذه البارة، مثل كرامهم لستنا السيدة، وبيعملوا يوم عيدها صدقات وخيرات لا توصف، وهي إلى الآن موجودة هناك في البغضان، وجسدها المقدس باقى صحيحاً بجملته، ونحن نظرنه وتباركنا منه، اعلم بأن القديسة الشاهدة في الأبرار باراسكافي الرومية فهي غير هذه، وتذكارها عندنا فهو في السادس والعشرون من تموز، وأما هذه البارة باراسكافي المذكورة فغير تلك وتذكارها في الرابع عشر من تشرين الأول، وهذه فليس لها في الكتب الكنائسية الرومية خبر، ما خلا بعض أناس من الروم يعرفوها، ولها خبر خط في الرومي، وأما البلغار والسرب والبغضان والأفلاخ، مع الروس الكبرى والصغرى، فلها عندهم إكرام عظيم ولها كنائس وديورة لا تحصى، وخبرها طويل جداً، وهو يشتمل على سيرتها النافعة وعجائبها الغزيرة، فنحن قصدنا الاختصار من خبرها وكتبنا منه اليسير حتى لا نعدم معرفتها وخبرها، فنسأل الرب بأن يرزقنا شغلها المقدسة أمين // (١٣٣)

25 غلط: نضر

26 غلط: ببهاه

27 غلط: بداته

28 غلط: الاكابس

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NARRATION PROFANE ET FONCTION DIDACTIQUE DANS LE *KITĀB AHBĀR AL-ADKIYĀ'* D'IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ

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Ibn al-Ġawzī (m. 597/1200), le célèbre polygraphe bagdadien, est bien connu comme l'un des auteurs les plus prolifiques de la littérature arabe de la période classique¹. Personnage doué d'une grande fécondité intellectuelle, il fut surtout juriconsulte, traditionniste, historien, mais en même temps il ne dédaignait pas de s'occuper d'autres disciplines comme, par exemple, la médecine, la linguistique et la littérature, comme en témoigne sa copieuse production scientifique². Ibn al-Ġawzī eut aussi une remarquable activité religieuse et politique, qui se déploya surtout dans l'exercice de la carrière de professeur et de sermonnaire: c'est grâce à ces deux activités qu'il devint un des personnages les plus influents de Bagdad et qu'il put faire beaucoup pour le développement du hanbalisme.

En ce qui concerne son activité de prédicateur, il est depuis longtemps connu comme l'un des meilleurs professionnels de son époque: les chroniques qui décrivent les séances où il prononçait ses homélies nous donnent un témoignage de son succès auprès de son auditoire³. Ses sermons sont des structures attentivement bâties qui constituent des moyens excellents pour atteindre les buts qu'Ibn al-Ġawzī visait, c'est-à-dire l'exhortation et l'avertissement⁴. Ce n'est pas par hasard que ce savant bagdadien canonise la pratique homilétique en écrivant le premier manuel qu'on connaisse, qui fut conçu pour poser les bonnes bases éthiques et intellectuelles pour l'activité des sermonnaires⁵.

¹ Sur la vie et la bibliographie de cet auteur, voir *GAL* I, 500-506 et *GAL* S I, 914-920 et Laoust in *EP* s.v. Ibn al-Ġawzī. Sa biographie et sa formation scientifique ont aussi fait l'objet d'études assez récentes: p.e. Hartmann 1986; Swartz in Ibn al-Ġawzī *Qussās* 15-38.

² L'inventaire de ses ouvrages fait par 'Abd al-Ĥamīd al-ʿAlwaġī (sur le nom de famille de ce savant, que certains prononcent al-ʿAlūġī, voir Hartmann 1986:92) compte plus de 500 titres couvrant tous les domaines de la culture islamique (al-ʿAlwaġī 1965).

³ La relation qu'en fait Ibn Ġubayr (*Rihla* 221-224), souvent mentionné par les savants (Pedersen, Hartmann, Swartz) qui se sont intéressés à l'activité homilétique d'Ibn al-Ġawzī, atteste de sa capacité à attirer les auditeurs et de sa connaissance de la psychologie des masses au point que les mots qu'il prononçait arrivaient parfois à produire sur son auditoire l'ivresse et même la narcose.

⁴ Comme l'a souligné Hartmann 1986.

⁵ C'est surtout dans ce sens qu'il faut interpréter la composition du *Kitāb al-qussās wa-l-mudakekirīn*, erronément considéré comme un ouvrage polémique contre les prédicateurs populaires (*qussās*): voir l'introduction de Swartz à son édition du *Qussās*, surtout 68-69.

La figure intellectuelle d'Ibn al-Ġawzī que la tradition nous a rapportée, ainsi que son activité religieuse et politique et sa production scientifique, se caractérisent par la sévérité, l'austérité, la rigueur éthique et intellectuelle. Pourtant, il y a des éléments qui contrastent, au moins en apparence, avec la sévérité du personnage et sa rigueur éthique. Il s'agit par exemple de la présence de récits licencieux et obscènes dans certains de ses ouvrages: selon G. Rosenbaum, le rire pour Ibn al-Ġawzī, même s'il est obscène, aurait le but ultime de servir l'islam et de combattre ses ennemis⁶; ou encore de la défense de la licéité de l'utilisation des plaisanteries qu'Ibn al-Ġawzī nous offre dans son *Kitāb al-ḥamqā wa-l-muġaffalīn*, que F. Rosenthal explique comme une invitation aux lecteurs à se relaxer et à apprécier le don de l'intellect dont Dieu a pourvu l'homme⁷. Ces éléments, s'ils sont considérés pour eux-mêmes, semblent refléter une certaine ambiguïté de la figure intellectuelle de notre auteur, alors qu'ils sont en fait cohérents avec sa vision du monde et son attitude spirituelle, si on considère plutôt leur fonction dans le cadre de sa pensée.

Une optique fonctionnelle expliquerait donc la présence, à l'intérieur de la production scientifique d'Ibn al-Ġawzī, d'ailleurs très sérieuse, d'une trilogie de recueils d'anecdotes dont les matériaux narratifs, dans la plupart des cas, peuvent être qualifiés de profanes: le *Kitāb aḥbār al-adkiyā'* (dorénavant *Adkiyā'*), le *Kitāb aḥbār al-ḥamqā wa-l-muġaffalīn* et le *Kitāb az-zirāf wa-l-mutamāġinīn*⁸. Il est question en effet de trois compilations d'anecdotes composées selon les canons les plus classiques de ce que l'on pourrait appeler des "recueils monothématiques d'*adab*". Les deux premiers titres de cette trilogie, de quelque façon complémentaires l'un par rapport à l'autre, sont axés sur un sujet sans aucun doute très important d'un point de vue religieux et spéculatif: celui de l'intellect (*ʿaql*)⁹, sujet qui était cher à Ibn al-Ġawzī qui en traite amplement aussi ailleurs¹⁰. Leur fin pédagogique est justement ce qui explique la pré-

⁶ "...Humor is meant to serve the intellect – to hone it, improve it and to provide it with relaxation when it becomes tired. The purpose of intellect is to serve Islam and to fight its enemies. It follows that the purpose of humor is to serve Islam and to fight its enemies" (Rosenbaum 1999:122).

⁷ Rosenthal 1956:4-5. L'auteur souligne le fait que l'attitude critique de l'islam envers l'humour est assez tardive, et que ce n'est que dans les temps les plus récents que les compilateurs des livres de contes plaisants ont ressenti la nécessité de justifier leur activité.

⁸ Pour une étude de cette trilogie visant surtout à établir la chronologie réciproque des ouvrages et à proposer une analyse des matériaux narratifs dans une perspective comparatiste voir Marzolph 1991 et 1992.

⁹ L'hypothèse de Zakharia (1995) est plutôt qu'il s'agit d'une complémentarité relative parce que les deux ouvrages, même si partant des mêmes présupposés doctrinaux, "n'explorent pas le même matériau ni ne soulèvent les mêmes questions" (Zakharia 1995:219).

¹⁰ Par exemple dans son *Kitāb damm al-hawā* où le premier chapitre est axé sur la question de l'intellect. Sur ce livre, voir Bell 1979 et Leder 1984. Pour une analyse du sujet de l'intellect dans la bibliographie de notre auteur, voir Rosenbaum 1999:121 ss. et Ghersetti 1992.

sence de ces exemples de littérature amène dans le contexte de la production scientifique d'un savant dont l'humour ne semble pas être le trait principal du caractère¹¹. Ce qui importe, ce ne sont pas les matériaux narratifs, mais plutôt la fonction qu'ils remplissent: les récits ne sont pas contés dans un but narratif, mais bien éducatif, celui-là même qui caractérise les sermons.

Pour mieux comprendre la valeur et la fonction des anecdotes dans la trilogie d'Ibn al-Ġawzī, à notre avis, il faut donc mettre en rapport deux compétences de notre auteur apparemment assez bien séparées: celle de sermonnaire et celle de narrateur. Le rapport étroit entre le genre du sermon et la narration, et notamment ce genre spécifique de *narratio brevis* qu'est l'*exemplum*, et entre l'activité de prédicateur et celle de compilateur de recueils d'*exempla*, a déjà été amplement démontré pour le moyen âge européen. L'essai, désormais classique, de C. Bremond, J. Le Goff et J.-C. Schmitt (1982) consacré à cette question propose une perspective d'analyse qui, à notre avis, pourrait aussi être exploitée avec fruit dans notre cas. Notre but sera donc de démontrer comment les anecdotes qui constituent le *Adkiyā'* remplissent une fonction exemplaire et que la formation et l'activité de prédicateur d'Ibn al-Ġawzī ont joué un rôle important dans la rédaction de ses recueils d'*adab*.

Du point de vue de l'organisation, *Adkiyā'* suit les canons de ces ouvrages d'*adab* qu'on pourrait définir comme "recueils monothématiques d'*adab*": une première partie, d'un caractère théorique, et une deuxième qui comprend les anecdotes organisées en chapitres, habituellement disposés selon ce que l'on appelle une échelle rhétorique (*sullam balāġī*)¹². La première partie d'*Adkiyā'* traite de l'excellence de l'intellect, sa nature et son siège, ses définitions lexicographiques et les signes qui révèlent les hommes doués d'un bon intellect. La deuxième est constituée de matériaux narratifs concernant les différentes catégories: les prophètes anciens (ch. 5, 6), Muḥammad et ses compagnons (ch. 7, 8), et enfin les califes, les vizirs et les intellectuels de l'islam (ch. 9-15). Les chapitres 16-21 sont consacrés à des situations génériques, sans aucune mention explicite de catégories sociales, tandis que les chapitres 23-28 sont axés plutôt sur des définitions professionnelles (jurisconsultes, médecins, voleurs...). Les derniers

¹¹ Marzolph (1991) propose ce type d'interprétation, offerte d'ailleurs par d'autres savants, en soulignant aussi très clairement la valeur exemplaire des anecdotes rapportées (p. 170) ainsi que le rapport étroit qui lie la formation de traditionniste d'Ibn al-Ġawzī à son activité de narrateur (p. 167).

¹² C'est-à-dire un rangement hiérarchique des matériaux: Coran, *sunna* du prophète, anecdotes concernant les autres prophètes (*anbiyā'*), les gens éloquents (*bulaġā'*, *fusahā'*), les gens normaux, en descendant progressivement jusqu'aux fous (*maġānīn*) et aux sots (*ḥamqā'*), d'une certaine façon "du haut vers le bas". Voir Abū 'Alī 1991:10. C'est le même critère uniforme qu'al-Hūlī identifie dans son introduction à l'édition du *Adkiyā'*, pp. t-k. En fait, ce critère n'est pas toujours respecté par les compilateurs: par exemple at-Tanūhī, après le troisième chapitre d'*al-Faraġ ba'da š-šidda*, passe d'un critère hiérarchique de rangement à un critère taxonomique (voir Beaumont 1998:131-132).

chapitres contiennent respectivement les anecdotes concernant les enfants (ch. 29), les fous (30), les femmes (31), les animaux (32), et les proverbes (33).

La partie introductive constitue évidemment un cadre théorique qui sert à orienter l'interprétation que le lecteur donnera aux matériaux narratifs suivants et à l'aider à les décoder. Le but du livre – Ibn al-Ġawzī le déclare explicitement dans son introduction – est en fait triple: faire connaître l'intellect en montrant ses signes, stimuler l'intellect des lecteurs en leur donnant de bons exemples, enfin admonester ceux qui sont trop fiers de leur intelligence (*Adkiyā'* 3). Il s'agit donc d'une fin didactique à atteindre grâce à la valeur paradigmatique des matériaux narratifs rapportés: en fait Ibn al-Ġawzī en reconnaît ouvertement la valeur exemplaire quand il définit *Adkiyā'* comme un exemple à imiter (... *li-yakūna miṭālan yuhṭadā*) (Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Hamqā* 5). Cette valeur exemplaire, claire si l'on considère la macro-structure (c'est-à-dire le livre dans son intégralité), n'est pas pourtant tellement évidente si on considère les micro-structures (c'est-à-dire les anecdotes) individuellement.

Quels sont donc les matériaux narratifs qu'Ibn al-Ġawzī rapporte dans son *Adkiyā'*? Les narrations qu'il recueille sont surtout des anecdotes à caractère profane: on trouve de vraies histoires policières, des anecdotes axées sur la recherche du bon mot et même des contes obscènes. Dans le chapitre consacré aux califes, le calife al-Manṣūr donne la preuve de toute son habileté d'investigateur en arrivant à découvrir, après une curieuse enquête, que l'argent volé à un commerçant avait en fait été dérobé par sa femme, qui l'avait offert à son amant (Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Adkiyā'* 41): l'amant avoue la relation, l'argent est rendu à son propriétaire et la femme est répudiée sur ordre du calife. Il en est de même avec al-Muṭadid qui soupçonne un assassin tout simplement en observant sa façon de se comporter et qu'il le force à avouer son crime (*Ibid.*, 46-47). La recherche du bon mot est fréquente: une grande partie du chapitre treize sur les savants et les jurisconsultes contient des anecdotes de ce type-ci. aš-Ša'bī, qui entre dans le hammam, fait semblant de ne pas voir Dāwūd al-Azdī et quand celui-ci lui demande depuis quand il est devenu aveugle, il répond "Depuis que Dieu t'a enlevé le voile" (*Ibid.*, 76). Les anecdotes d'un comique licencieux ne manquent pas: Abū Ḥanīfa, auquel un ami a demandé de parler en sa faveur aux parents de sa fiancée qui veulent se renseigner sur lui, lui conseille de garder sa main sur son sexe: interrogé par les parents, il répond "J'ai vu dans sa main quelque chose qui vaut 10.000 dirhams" (*Ibid.*, 81). Même l'obscénité n'est pas absente des anecdotes rapportées: un médecin chrétien doit soigner un homme qui est tombé malade pour avoir eu des rapports sexuels avec un âne (*Ibid.*, 186). Les anecdotes où l'élément religieux est exploité à des fins personnelles y sont aussi représentées. al-Mahdī se révèle être un politique habile et désenchanté en achetant pour un prix exorbitant une sandale qu'un homme lui avait offerte en soutenant qu'il s'agissait d'une sandale du prophète: quand l'homme part, il déclare qu'il sait bien que le prophète n'a même pas vu cette sandale, mais qu'il l'a quand même achetée parce qu'il ne voulait pas que le vendeur mette en doute sa foi auprès de ses sujets (*Ibid.*, 43). Un bédouin embarqué sur un bateau, pour

le besoin soudain d'aller aux toilettes annonce que l'heure de la prière est venue. Le bateau s'arrête, il descend et, une fois soulagé, il exhorte les marins à reprendre la route et à ramer en disant qu'ils auront le temps de prier par après (*Ibid.*, 99). Les exemples pourraient être multipliés, mais il est déjà clair qu'il s'agit de contes profanes, dont le caractère est parfois franchement immoral ou pas du tout cohérent avec la morale courante, et où l'intelligence n'est pas toujours au service du bien. Comment expliquer alors l'usage de ce type de matériaux narratifs? À notre avis, il faut considérer le genre littéraire des récits rapportés, ainsi que la fonction qu'Ibn al-Ğawzī désire leur attribuer à l'intérieur de son ouvrage et la conception qu'Ibn al-Ğawzī, écrivain et prédicateur, avait de la narration et de l'humour.

Venons-en à l'analyse des formes narratives. Le titre du livre décrit ces types de narration comme *ahbār*, terme qui selon le contexte d'usage peut désigner en fait plusieurs choses différentes, mais qui dans la littérature d'*adab* désigne des textes narratifs appartenant au type de narration que, dans le moyen âge occidental, on appelle *narratio brevis*¹³. En fait, comme les genres de la *narratio brevis*, ils sont en principe brefs, même si la longueur peut varier beaucoup. Leur brièveté est une qualité plus qu'une quantité. Il s'agit plutôt d'une durée intérieure: le récit est "fermé", c'est-à-dire qu'il est synthétique, concis, qu'il épuise toutes les potentialités narratives. Le temps de la narration étant le passé, le récit se situe dans une dimension temporelle close. D'un point de vue formel, ils se composent d'un élément central, la narration d'un fait, et de la mention des sources (*isnād*) qui ont transmis cette narration et qui en garantissent l'authenticité. Même si le rapport entre réalité et fiction varie beaucoup en fonction du contexte d'usage¹⁴, en principe les narrations des *ahbār* ne sont pas considérées comme une fiction. En fait, la tradition intellectuelle de l'islam ne reconnaît pas, ou n'accepte pas, la fiction et, par conséquent, les récits qui déclarent clairement leur caractère fictif¹⁵. L'invention, l'élaboration narrative est tacitement admise, pourvu que le *habar* ressemble à une information factuelle¹⁶. Les narrations sont, dira-t-on, perçues comme vraies ou du moins vraisemblables. De ce point de vue, la fonction de l'*isnād*, même si très abrégé, est bien précise: il s'agit d'une garantie d'authenticité, de l'autorité qui confirme la véracité de la narration.

¹³ Sur les traits caractéristiques de la *narratio brevis*, on renvoie aux travaux classiques de Jauss (1970 et 1977) et de Zumthor (1983).

¹⁴ Comme l'a récemment démontré Kilpatrick (1998:95-96). Voir aussi, pour le rapport réalité-fiction, l'article de Leder (1990).

¹⁵ Voir p.e. les articles de Bonebakker (1992a et 1992b) et Drori (1994).

¹⁶ Il est utile de souligner que dans les sciences du langage arabo-musulmanes cet aspect est bien évident: le *habar* est défini comme "l'énoncé passible d'être qualifié vrai ou faux".

Le parallèle avec l'*exemplum* du moyen âge occidental, du point de vue de sa structure et sa fonction, montre des ressemblances très intéressantes. Selon la définition de J. le Goff, qui résume et dépasse les nombreuses définitions jusqu'à maintenant données, il s'agit d'un "récit bref donné comme véridique et destiné à être inséré dans un discours (en général un sermon) pour convaincre un auditoire par une leçon salutaire" (Bremond *et al.* 1982:37-38). Elle insiste donc sur le caractère narratif, sur la brièveté de la narration, sur la véracité ou l'authenticité en ce qui concerne les traits formels, et sur la fonction didactique, aussi bien que sur la dépendance relative de l'*exemplum* par rapport à un discours plus ample où la narration est enchâssée (*Ibid.*, 36-37). D'autres traits typiques de ce genre littéraire sont aussi la référence au passé et l'insistance sur la caution d'un personnage qui confère son autorité à la narration, au point que "la crédibilité de l'histoire ne vient pas du héros de l'anecdote, mais de la qualité du narrateur et plus encore de son informateur"¹⁷.

Aussi l'évolution littéraire de ce type de matériaux narratifs, "forme de communication typiquement islamique"¹⁸, a suivi des démarches parallèles à celles de l'*exemplum* dans le moyen âge européen. Au début, c'étaient les *dicta* et les *facta* du prophète et de ses compagnons (*ahādīṭ*, *ahbār*) qui étaient recueillis et transmis dans un but paradigmatique. Mais avec le temps, ces récits, parfois mutilés de leur *isnād*, ont été absorbés dans des anthologies littéraires à caractère laïque et leur fonction, qui était au début paradigmatique¹⁹, s'est estompée avec le temps en faveur de la distraction et de l'amusement. Il s'agit donc d'un procédé tout à fait comparable à celui des *exempla* dans le moyen âge européen²⁰, où la recherche du bon mot ou du mot d'esprit l'emporte, et où la fin devient la *delectatio* plutôt que l'*aedificatio*, jusqu'à l'aboutissement final dans la nouvelle de Boccace²¹. Ce procédé, qui conduit progressivement vers le développement du récit profane et entraîne aussi un travail important de littéralisation, a déjà été bien étudié, par exemple dans le cas d'al-Tanūhī²².

¹⁷ Bremond *et al.* 1982:29, 45. Cette dernière phrase décrit avec une étonnante précision ce qui est vrai aussi pour le *hadīṭ*, qui à notre avis représente en fait le correspondant arabo-islamique de l'*exemplum* dans sa phase la plus ancienne.

¹⁸ "The most typically Islamic form of communication, however, is what we may call, for want of a better word, the anecdote" (Bellamy 1983:71).

¹⁹ Fonction qui est restée inaltérée dans les *ahādīṭ* qui sont – en principe – un *corpus* de textes "fermé" et qui n'est donc pas susceptible d'évolution.

²⁰ Pour une analyse de l'évolution de l'*exemplum* de l'antiquité à l'époque post-médiévale voir Bremond *et al.* 1982:43-68.

²¹ Pour ce qui concerne cet aboutissement, voir l'essai désormais classique de Stierle 1972.

²² Beaumont 1998:138: "... we can see in al-Tanūkhī's book the development of fictions out of religious *exempla* in a way that more or less parallels the growth of many medieval European fictions; one thinks of the transformations that take place between the *Legenda Sanctorum* and the *Decameron*".

Pour décrire l'évolution des formes narratives brèves dans la littérature arabe, nous pourrions donc raisonnablement emprunter les mots que J. Le Goff et J.C. Schmitt utilisent pour l'*exemplum*, qui "devint progressivement un objet littéraire et culturel de série, de grande consommation et de large circulation" qui, en tant qu'objet, est finalement transmis dans les recueils²³. Ce procédé entraîne "une transformation profonde de la forme et de la fonction du récit: les actions n'y sont plus soumises à des modèles préétablis contraignants, la finalité spirituelle... cède la place à une morale du comportement laïcisée, ou disparaît au profit de la seule anecdote" (Bremond *et al.* 1982:64-65). On assiste donc dans le cas des anecdotes de la littérature d'*adab* à une évolution parallèle: la structure formelle des *ahbār* se modifie, en particulier ce sont la forme de l'*isnād* et sa proportion avec la narration ainsi que la fonction et le "submonde perceptif", c'est-à-dire le domaine de la réalité dans lequel s'articule l'expérience subjective de la réalité et qui est constitué grâce à notre expérience, qui évoluent²⁴. Le résultat de cette évolution est bien représenté dans les *ahbār* d'*Adkiyā'*, où le nombre des anecdotes profanes l'emporte de loin sur celui des narrations à caractère pieux, pour lesquelles la fonction exemplaire est plus évidente.

Quel est donc l'approche d'Ibn al-Ġawzī, prédicateur et compilateur de recueils d'anecdotes, à l'égard de ces matériaux narratifs de type profane? Quel est son attitude envers leurs traits constitutifs et leur fonction? À notre avis, elle est tout à fait cohérente avec la *forma mentis* et la pratique de prédicateur de notre auteur pour lequel la narration, même profane, est licite pourvu qu'elle ne soit pas fictive et pourvu qu'elle ait, ainsi que l'humour, une fonction didactique et une valeur paradigmatique. Sans doute le caractère persuasif des narrations n'échappait-il pas à l'attention d'un sermonnaire habile comme l'était notre auteur²⁵, qui en fait les utilisait et en recommandait l'usage dans les sermons. Dans son manuel *Kitāb al-quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudakkir īn*, Ibn al-Ġawzī donne son approbation à la narration des récits et il soutient la licéité de rapporter des histoires (*qiṣaṣ*, *ahbār*) dans les sermons: elles ont en réalité une valeur exemplaire, admonitoire et exhortative qui leur attribue une

²³ Bremond *et al.* 1982:56; voir aussi p. 52 pour les remarques sur le célèbre recueil *Disciplina clericalis*, traduit de l'arabe au XII^e siècle, qui se caractérise par le but instructif et les traits profanes de ses récits.

²⁴ Dans ce cas-ci, et en général pour la littérature médiévale, une analyse basée sur l'esthétique de la réception est à notre avis très appropriée. C'est en fait sur les questions axées sur la réception du texte qu'on peut baser une classification convenable des genres mineurs du discours exemplaire, comme l'a fait Jauss 1970:34-47.

²⁵ Bellamy (1983) a souligné – même s'il s'agissait d'un autre domaine que celui de l'homilétique – que les anecdotes sont un excellent moyen de persuasion (p. 72: "a series of anecdotes... is a powerful convincer").

fonction paradigmatique²⁶. La narration est donc acceptable et même recommandable pourvu que le prédicateur sache reconnaître un récit vrai d'un faux et qu'il ne rapporte donc que des récits véridiques (*Quṣṣās* par. 4). Le rapport étroit entre l'activité de narration (*qaṣaṣ*) et celle d'exhortation (*wa'z*) à partir du début de l'islam est clairement souligné dans le premier chapitre du *Kitāb al-quṣṣās*. Apparemment, l'exhortation et la narration sont plutôt équivalentes: *wa-izhum* (Cor. 4:63) est cité à côté de *fa-qṣuṣ al-qaṣaṣ* (Cor. 7:176), et les verbes *wa'aza* et *qaṣṣa* sont utilisés comme équivalents (*Ibid.*, par. 313). Ibn al-Ġawzī rapporte des *aḥādīṭ* où le prophète donne son approbation explicite à la narration des récits (*qaṣaṣ*) et il cite aussi les dictons des personnages pieux comme al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Anas b. Mālik et même Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal qui recommandent l'utilisation des matériaux narratifs dans un but exhortatif (*Ibid.*, par. 8-30). On a souvent interprété ce livre d'Ibn al-Ġawzī comme une critique de la figure des prédicateurs populaires (*quṣṣās*), et en fait il y cite les six motifs de reproche que les ancêtres ont fait aux *quṣṣās*, mais en concluant – en ce qui le concerne – que le seul critère à observer pour les prédicateurs est celui de l'authenticité. Ce qui est donc objet de critique n'est pas le fait de conter des histoires (*qaṣaṣ*), mais plutôt celui de tromper les gens avec des histoires fausses ou bien de conter des histoires qu'on ne sait pas interpréter faute de connaissances scientifiques²⁷. Au fond, une riche gamme de différents types de narrations fait partie de la formation scientifique du prédicateur: les traditions du prophète (*aḥādīṭ*), les traditions historiques (*tawārīḥ*), les biographies des hommes pieux (*siyar*) et les histoires (*aḥbār*) des ascètes. À vrai dire, le bon prédicateur doit se baser surtout sur les matériaux narratifs qu'il connaît: *wa-lakin akṭar i'timādihī 'alā l-aḥādīṭ wa-l-manqūlāt min aḥbār al-ṣāliḥīn* (*Ibid.*, par. 340). Dans la structure du sermon, les narrations ont aussi une position bien canonisée: les traditions du prophète (*aḥādīṭ*), de même que toutes les narrations (*ḥikāyāt*) appropriées à l'occasion, trouvent leur place dans la partie interprétative (soulignons que le sermon est toujours un discours qui interprète une autorité) concernant les versets du Coran qui doivent être lus au début de la séance. Il en va de même dans la partie admonitoire où il est conseillé d'enchâsser encore des *aḥādīṭ* et les histoires des hommes pieux (*Ibid.*, par. 320, 323).

Il est évident donc que la partie consacrée à la narration dans les sermons, même s'il s'agit d'une narration qui doit avoir des qualités spécifiques, est capitale et que le

²⁶ Il cite le Coran (12:3, 3:62 et 7:176) pour soutenir sa théorie (*Quṣṣās*, paragraphe 3). Dans ce passage, Ibn al-Ġawzī décrit le rôle du *quṣṣās*, celui qui conte et interprète les histoires du passé (*al-qīṣa al-mādiya, aḥbār al-mādiyyīn, aḥbār as-sālifīn*): rappelons que la dimension du passé est typique de l'*exemplum*, dimension à laquelle on reconnaît un caractère paradigmatique.

²⁷ *Quṣṣās* par. 3-4 et 38; voir aussi le chapitre XI. La condamnation par Ibn al-Ġawzī des mensonges attribués aux mauvais prédicateurs est bien exprimée dans les épisodes qu'il cite aux par. 220 ss.

rôle de la narration est un rôle structurel²⁸. Une confrontation avec la pratique homilétique d'Ibn al-Ġawzī nous confirme ce rôle des matériaux narratifs dans le discours homilétique. Ici, les narrations ont aussi pour fonction d'exciter les émotions des auditeurs et d'en garder l'attention toujours vive en introduisant une rupture dans l'ordre du discours par le fait de passer d'une authenticité générale et ahistorique à une histoire singulière²⁹.

La même attitude envers la narration, et surtout envers celle qui se veut plaisante, se reflète dans les ouvrages d'*adab* d'Ibn al-Ġawzī. En ce qui concerne l'authenticité des récits, point sans aucun doute capital par rapport à sa *forma mentis* de traditionniste, il accepte, et il conseille même, la mention des contes plaisants pourvu que ceux-ci ne soient pas fictifs. La condamnation de la fiction est en fait absolue: la censure du prophète pour ceux qui font rire leurs compagnons (*inna l-raġula layatakallamu bi-l-kalimati yudhiku bihā ġulasā'ahu yabwī bihā ab'ad min al-turāya*) est glossée avec un autre *hadīth* qui en éclaircit le sens: *waylun li-lladī yuhaddītu fa-yakdību li-yudhika l-nāsa*. La condamnation ne porte donc pas sur le rire, mais sur le mensonge³⁰.

Avoir recours à la narration et à l'humour est par contre conseillé. C'est notamment dans les introductions à ses deux livres, *Ĥamqā* et *Zirāf* (le sujet d'*Adkiyā'*, ouvertement axé sur l'intellect, l'empêchait probablement de s'engager dans une défense trop explicite de l'humour), qu'Ibn al-Ġawzī reconnaît aux contes, surtout s'ils sont plaisants, et à l'humour, même obscène³¹, une fonction bien précise. L'utilisation de contes facétieux et d'anecdotes amusantes sert en réalité à relaxer l'esprit et à raviver l'intérêt: les *ahbār* et les *nawādir* sont même sollicités pour stimuler l'intellect et pour réveiller l'attention³². L'affirmation de la licéité de l'humour est bien explicite aussi ailleurs: *fa-lammā kānat al-naḥsu tamullu mina l-ġiddi lam yakun ba'sun bi-itlāqihā fī mazḥin tartāhu bi-hi* (Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Zirāf* 11). C'est donc bien l'humour qui donne vivacité à l'esprit pour mieux s'appliquer aux sujets sérieux: *nufūsu l-'ulamā'i tarāhu fī mubāḥi al-laḥwi lladī yuksibuhā našātan li-l-ġiddi fa-ka-annahā min al-ġiddi lam tazal* (Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Ĥamqā* 10). Le besoin de relaxer le destinataire de son message est donc présent à son esprit: dans sa poétique du

²⁸ L'*exemplum* aussi n'a pas d'accès direct, mais sa réception est réglée par le truchement d'un autre moyen: le sermon. La narration est un argument rhétorique, l'*exemplum* n'est pas un simple ornement du texte qui le contient, mais il en est un élément structurel. La rhétorique qui le modèle est donc une rhétorique persuasive, tout comme la persuasion est le but du sermon.

²⁹ Voir l'analyse de Hartmann (1986:82-84).

³⁰ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Ĥamqā* 10. Voir aussi al-Bayhaqī, *Ādāb* 238 n. 505 et Bonebakker 1992b:30.

³¹ Voir p.e. l'histoire d'Ibn 'Ā'īša: Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Ĥamqā* 9.

³² *Inna l-udna muġāġatun wa-l-qalba ḥamdun fa-hātū min taraḥi al-ahbār* (sur l'autorité de Mālik b. Dīnār); *al-nawādiru taḥadu l-adhāna wa-tuḥtiqu l-ādān* (sur celle d'al-Aṣma'i): *Ĥamqā* 8-9.

sermon, Ibn al-Ġawzī insiste sur la nécessité pour le sermonnaire de ne pas ennuyer (*amalla*) les auditeurs et de s'adresser à eux quand leur attention est bien éveillée (*Qussās* par. 48-52 et 331-332). Ce souci de ne pas causer des baisses d'attention dans le déroulement du sermon apparaît d'ailleurs aussi dans les ouvrages des prédicateurs de notre moyen âge³³.

Ce qui précède constitue, à notre avis, le témoignage de l'habileté rhétorique de notre auteur en tant que prédicateur qui sait exactement comment utiliser les matériaux et les ressources stylistiques à sa disposition et comment calculer le déroulement du discours. C'est cette même habileté qu'il exploite avec tant de succès dans la composition de ses ouvrages d'*adab*³⁴. À notre avis, cette approche bien cohérente avec les canons de la littérature d'*adab* et, de ce point de vue, peut-être aussi stéréotypique, peut également s'interpréter comme un signe de l'attitude d'Ibn al-Ġawzī envers les destinataires de son message, attitude du prédicateur qui vise à transmettre le message avec le maximum d'efficacité en tenant compte de l'état d'âme et des baisses d'attention éventuelles de ses auditeurs. Il existe donc une cohérence profonde entre la compétence de sermonnaire de notre auteur et celle de narrateur et de compilateur de recueils d'anecdotes, comme il existe en fait un rapport entre les matériaux narratifs et la prédication, rapport qui a d'ailleurs été bien éclairci pour la tradition occidentale, mais beaucoup moins pour l'orientale. Dans la poétique du sermon d'Ibn al-Ġawzī, les narrations sont clairement un élément constitutif, et non seulement un ornement du discours-sermon et un instrument de persuasion, mais elles sont également souvent utilisées dans le but de distraire et d'amuser. Or, ce rapport particulier qui relie le but didactique et pédagogique à l'amusement est justement celui qui caractérise la littérature d'*adab*, dont le but est *instruere divertendo*³⁵. À notre avis, ce n'est dès lors pas par hasard qu'un auteur sévère et rigoriste comme Ibn al-Ġawzī arrive à écrire un ouvrage profane et au caractère apparemment "léger" comme *Adkiyā'*. En effet, sa formation de traditionniste et sa profession de sermonnaire le mettent à même de disposer de toute une série de matériaux narratifs, à caractère religieux aussi bien que profane, qu'il devait bien exploiter pendant ses séances de prédication. En outre, sa connaissance des moyens rhétoriques visant à

³³ La fonction que l'*exemplum* doit remplir dans le contexte du sermon, selon le célèbre sermonnaire Jacques de Vitry, est double: édifiante (*ad aedificationem*) en tant qu'il communique aux auditeurs des vérités absolues, mais aussi amusante (*ad recreationem*) en tant qu'il sert à relaxer l'esprit des auditeurs et à en revivifier l'attention. Il faut pourtant reconnaître que la fonction amusante l'emportait souvent sur la fonction édifiante: les prédicateurs avaient plutôt tendance à utiliser cette forme de *narratio brevis* comme moyen pour amuser l'auditoire (voir Bremond *et al.* 1982:47, 83 et 94-95).

³⁴ Toute son habileté à exciter les émotions des auditeurs et à en réveiller l'attention se révèle aussi dans la construction méticuleuse du *Ḥamqā'*, comme l'a bien fait remarquer Zakharia 1995:228-229.

³⁵ La bibliographie sur le concept d'*adab* et sur la définition du genre littéraire est abondante: parmi les essais récents, nous nous contenterons de mentionner l'article de Bonebakker (1990).

persuader et son habileté à les utiliser dans la construction de son discours, ainsi que son attention à la sensibilité des destinataires de son message, qualités qui sont sans doute à rattacher à son activité de prédicateur, le mettent à même de donner à son livre la meilleure organisation possible pour frapper le lecteur et lui transmettre des enseignements utiles avec la plus grande efficacité. La narration profane, qui entraîne la distraction et l'amusement, est un excellent moyen rhétorique habilement exploité dans un but didactique dont le lecteur a été averti dans l'introduction du livre, et qui lui permet de décoder le message livré par l'anecdote en tirant de celle-ci l'enseignement que l'auteur désire transmettre.

En revenant à notre texte, *Adkiyā'*, la fonction paradigmatique des matériaux narratifs, s'ils sont considérés pour eux-mêmes, n'est pas toujours évidente: en fait, les histoires ne peuvent acquérir une valeur exemplaire qu'à condition qu'elles se situent à l'intérieur d'un système moral, si elles impliquent le principe moral qui s'explique dans l'histoire et s'il existe un isomorphisme entre la situation pragmatique et celle finale de l'histoire. La problématique et le côté non univoque de la lecture estompent la fonction exemplaire des narrations, qui ne sont plus des paradigmes à imiter, mais plutôt des histoires à propos desquelles on s'interroge. Le lecteur doit donc faire un effort pour en décoder la fonction, s'il veut en trouver une autre, outre l'amusement. Il doit être guidé par un texte normatif qui réside "à la périphérie" de l'anecdote, comme la leçon de l'*exemplum* médiéval, qui est introductive ou conclusive³⁶. Dans le cas d'*Adkiyā'*, il s'agit d'une leçon qui ne réside pas seulement à la périphérie de la narration, c'est-à-dire de la micro-structure, mais à la périphérie de la macro-structure, c'est-à-dire le livre tout entier. Il s'agit d'une leçon cumulative qui est valable pour toutes les anecdotes et qui en oriente l'interprétation. La fonction exemplaire originelle du genre *ḥabar*, qui s'effaçait en faveur du caractère profane de l'anecdote, est de quelque façon rétablie par Ibn al-Ġawzī grâce à l'insertion des *ahbār* dans une macro-structure didactiquement orientée: le *Kitāb aḥbār al-adkiyā'*.

³⁶ Il est intéressant peut-être de souligner que la *moralisatio*, la leçon qui au début était réservée à l'interprétation personnelle du prédicateur, commence à apparaître explicitement comme une partie du texte seulement dans les recueils tardifs d'*exempla*. Ceci révèle le passage de ces recueils à un public de lecteurs génériques et donc incapables de trouver eux-mêmes la signification de la narration.

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LES FORMULES ÉPIQUES DANS LE "ROMAN DE 'ANTAR"

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Les oeuvres du genre *sīra*, qu'on appelle souvent "les romans populaires", font une vaste branche de la littérature arabe médiévale. Dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, on a accumulé beaucoup de renseignements sur les "romans populaires" arabes les plus fameux et sur les séances de leur récitation en Syrie et en Egypte, les témoignages importants sur les conteurs, la manière de leur récitation et leur répertoire. Ces témoignages permettent de faire une supposition concernant l'existence des principes constants connus de la maîtrise professionnelle des conteurs, transmis d'une génération à l'autre et contribuant à conserver "ces romans populaires" et les reproduire oralement dans leur forme traditionnelle au cours de plusieurs siècles. Dans notre exposé, nous parlerons des particularités du langage "du roman populaire" en tant qu'un élément de la technique de la récitation orale.

Dans "les romans populaires" arabes on voit se combiner de la prose et de la poésie. Dans le texte de la plupart "des romans", les vers occupent une place moins considérable que la prose, bien qu'ils accomplissent quelques fonctions importantes. Leur langue est plus ménagée que celle de la prose de *sīra*¹, et, probablement, les conteurs les récitaient par coeur ou d'après un manuscrit. Pour ces raisons, en examinant le langage de *sīra* comme un élément de la technique orale, notre attention sera concentrée sur la langue de la prose "du roman populaire".

Pour cette analyse, nous avons choisi le thème "militaire" dans *Sīrat 'Antar*. Le volume de la matière examinée (équivalent à 330 pages) fait 10% de toute cette épopée². Nous citerons, tout d'abord, en suivant le principe thématique, quelques exemples de groupes de mots stables liés au thème "militaire", puis nous tenterons de démontrer leur rapport avec la récitation de ce "roman populaire".

Nous considérons un groupe de mots comme *stable*, dans le cas où il est présenté deux fois et plus dans le fragment choisi du texte. Au total, nous y avons révélé un peu plus de 100 groupes de mots stables. Leur liste complète aurait occupé beaucoup de place, c'est pourquoi nous ne donnerons ici que quelques illustrations.

Pour la description d'un combattant (des combattants), on le compare souvent avec un lion (le mot arabe *asadun* et ses synonymes) (dans la signification "le combat-

¹ Le langage "du roman populaire" a été l'objet de l'analyse des moyens stylistiques, v. Pantucek 1970:103-120.

² Cf. Lane 1895:421. Nous avons choisi les premiers 330 pages de l'édition *Sīrat 'Antar b. Šaddād*, tt. I-VIII (3230 pages), le Caire, 1947.

tant, comme un lion"). Citons quelques comparaisons de ce genre en omettant, pour être court, les mots "pareil à", "ressemblant à". Ainsi, nous trouvons dans le texte : *asadu (usūdu) l-ağām* le lion (les lions) de repaires; *asadu (usūdu) l-bitāh* le lion (les lions) de vallées; *asadu (usūdu) l-gāb* le lion (les lions) de bois; *asadu (usūdu) l-falā* le lion (les lions) de désert; *al-asadu d-dirgām* un lion puissant; *al-usūdu l-arwābis* des lions sévères; *al-asadu r-ribāl* un lion corpulent; *al-asadu l-gaḍanfar* un lion immense; *al-asadu l-gaḍbān* un lion irrité; *al-asadu l-qaswar* un lion puissant; *al-asadu l-ḥağğām* un lion attaquant; *al-usūdu l-qanā'is* des lions majestueux; *al-usūdu d-dāriyyā* des lions féroces; *al-asadu l-ğasūr* un lion brave; *al-usūdu l-kawāsir* des lions rapaces.

Quelques combinaisons stables caractérisent l'héroïsme d'un combattant (des combattants). Nous en citerons quelques unes: *fārisun šindid* le cavalier héroïque; *fārisun karrār* le cavalier attaquant; *fārisun humām* le cavalier estimable. Un combattant puissant est comparé avec une tour de la forteresse: *al-burğu l-maš'id* une tour érigée etc.

Pour la description d'un combattant en colère, on utilise des groupes de mots divers, par exemple: *tāra š-šararu min 'aynayh* les étincelles se lançaient de son oeil; *šāra d-ḍiyā'u fī 'aynayhi ka-z-zalām* la lumière dans ses yeux s'est transformée en obscurité etc.

Le combattant part pour le combat sans éprouver de la peur: *bi-qalbin aqwā mina l-ḥağar* avec le coeur qui est plus solide que la pierre; *bi-qalbin lā yaḥšā wa-lā yahāb* avec le coeur, qui n'a pas peur et n'effraie pas. Avant la bataille le combattant pousse un cri assourdissant pour effrayer son ennemi: *šāḥa šayḥatan tašda'u l-ḥağar* il a poussé un cri, qui casse la pierre etc.

Un grand nombre de groupes de mots est utilisé pour décrire des actions d'un combattants (des combattants) dans le combat: *hazzū r-rimāh* ils brandissaient les lances; *ašharū š-šifāḥ* ils ont mis les glaives au clair; *yarmī bi-n-nibāl* il lance les flèches etc.

Quelques groupes de mots décrivent les coups du glaive et de la lance déterminant l'issue du duel: *aḥrağa r-rumḥu min faqāri zabrih* la lance est sortie entre les vertèbres; *ḍarabahu ḍarban lā yubqī wa-lā yadar* il a porté par le glaive le coup ne ménageant pas et ne laissant pas vivant; *ta'nun yasbiqū lamḥa l-bašar* le coup de la lance plus rapide qu'un clin d'oeil; *qadda l-mağāfira wa-z-zarad* il perçait les casques et les cottes de mailles; *ağra d-dimā'a min anābibi n-nuhūr* il a versé du sang de veines de cou; *al-qāhu qat ilan 'alā r-rimāl* il l'a jeté mourant sur le sable etc.

Avant de passer à l'analyse des rapports entre les combinaisons stables et la technique orale de la récitation de *Sīrat 'Antar*, il est nécessaire de dire quelques mots sur les caractéristiques spécifiques de la prose arabe "des romans populaire".

Les chercheurs de la littérature arabe ont remarqué depuis longtemps, qu'une partie considérable de la prose "des romans populaire" est écrite avec l'utilisation régulière du *sağc*. Ils considèrent le *sağc* comme un procédé stylistique bien fort ayant une sphère d'utilisation limitée, à savoir: il est utilisé pour mettre en valeur des passages

de prose définis, qui portent, évidemment, une charge sémantique spéciale dans toute l'oeuvre (Paret 1927:162-167; Littmann 1923:24-28; Steinbach 1972:120.).

Cette caractéristique de la fonction du *sağc* dans la *sîra* pourrait être complétée, selon nous, après l'examen du "roman populaire" sur 'Antar. Tout d'abord, il faut remarquer, que cette oeuvre, dans ses parties composées en prose, est écrite presque entièrement par une prose rimée rythmée. Les passages de texte non-rythmisés se présentent dans les parties les plus diverses de la narration et ne sont pas très grands. C'est pourquoi la supposition de ce que le *sağc* est un procédé stylistique spécial de la mise en valeur des fragments définis de la prose n'est pas valable pour *Sîrat 'Antar*.

Ainsi, *Sîrat 'Antar* se rapproche du genre épistolaire et de la *maqâma*, écrits "totalement" avec l'utilisation du *sağc*. Cependant, cette ressemblance n'est qu'apparente. Il semble tout-à-fait évident, que la fonction du *sağc* dans *Sîrat 'Antar* est différente de celle dans le genre épistolaire et dans la *maqâma*. Dans les deux derniers il est un procédé stylistique: les auteurs tâchent de trouver des rimes recherchées, des mots rares ou rarement employés, pour éviter toute répétition et faire une sorte de leçon (par exemple, pour écrire un texte avec les lettres sans points diacritiques etc.). Par contre, le *sağc* de *Sîrat 'Antar* n'est pas sophistiqué: le répertoire des mots à rimer est limité, tandis qu' on n'y trouve pas du tout de jeux ingénieux avec des mots. A notre avis, le *sağc* de belles-lettres et celui du "roman populaire" sont d'une différence fonctionnelle profonde, car le *sağc* recherché des belles-lettres est adressé à un lecteur expérimenté dans le domaine littéraire, tandis que le *sağc* "naïf" du "roman populaire" est destiné à un auditeur, c'est-à-dire à la perception à l'écoute de l'auditoire qui comprenait mal les oeuvres des "hauts" genres littéraires. Ils sont aussi opposé sur un autre plan, car le *sağc* de la "haute" littérature est un fruit de l'oeuvre écrite d'un auteur individuel, tandis que le *sağc* de *sîra* nous fait supposer l'existence d'un auteur anonyme et de traditions de l'oeuvre orale. En effet, les groupes de mots stables définis caractérisés par un certain ordre rythmique et rapportés en plus à un certain répertoire assez limité et défini, pouvaient servir de la matière initiale nécessaire au conteur pour une récitation durable. Ces groupes de mots stables avec la preuve de la régularité de leurs caractéristiques rythmiques et rimées, pourraient être considérés comme une formule, dans l'esprit de la théorie de Parry - Lord, interprétant la "formulité" du style comme une condition impérative de la technique de la récitation de la poésie épique. Certainement, le *sağc* ne peut pas être identifié avec la poésie, et, donc, le fonctionnement de ses formules doit se soumettre à ses lois spécifiques. Cependant, selon leur esprit, ces dernières peuvent se trouver proches aux lois du fonctionnement des formules dans la poésie épique.

Maintenant, passons à l'analyse plus détaillée du *sağc*. D'après la définition de R. Blachère, l'élément essentiel du *sağc* est constitué par la clause rimée, qui doit se répéter comme le minimum dans les deux "unités rythmiques" voisines du texte (chacune comprenant ordinairement de 4 à 10 syllabes) (Blachère 1964: II, 89). Nous allons mettre à l'épreuve cette définition en analysant un fragment du texte de *Sîrat 'Antar*:

(1) ... *taqaddama ilayhim wa-hambam / (2) wa-za'aqa wa-damdam // (3) wa-atlaqa nahwahumu l^cinān / (4) wa-qawwama s-sinān // (5) wa-staqbala l-awwala minhum bi-t-ta'nati fī šadrih / (6) atla'a r-rumhu min zabrih // (7) wa-tarada l-āhara wa-darabahu bi-s-sayfi 'alā 'ātiqih / (8) fa-atla'ahu yalma'u min 'alā'iqih // (Sīrat 'Antar b. Šaddād, I, 178).*

(1) ... Il s'en est approché et il a poussé un rugissement, / (2) et il a crié et il a grondé, // (3) et il a dirigé son cheval à leur rencontre, / (4) et il a visé la pointe, // (5) et il a rencontré le premier d'eux par le coup de sa lance à la poitrine, / (6) la lance est sortie de son dos, // (7) et il s'est jeté sur l'autre et il l'a frappé par son glaive à l'épaule, / (8) et le glaive est sorti, en étincelant, près de la bandoulière à la hanche...

Le fragment comprend huit unités de longueur inégale: la plus longues d'elles (7) excède la plus petite (2) de plus de trois fois. La disproportion des unités rimées peut être aussi assez considérable. Par exemple, l'unité (5) est presque de deux fois plus longue que l'unité (6). Donc, les volumes des unités rimées peuvent se distinguer beaucoup.

Les unités du fragment examiné riment deux par deux: (1) — (2), (3) — (4) etc. Les fins des paires d'unités rimées sont marquées par les coïncidences rythmiques considérables et les répétitions sonores; se sont des traits qui caractérisent le *sağc*.

Dans le fragment examiné, nous découvrons quelques groupes de mots stables, qui remplissent presque entièrement les unités 3 — 8. Donc, les combinaisons stables peuvent remplir plus ou moins la partie considérable de l'unité, mais ils sont toujours situés à sa fin, où se trouve la clausule rimée. Les unités (3 — 4) sont entièrement remplies par la combinaison stable: "...et il a dirigé son cheval à leur rencontre, / et il a visé la pointe", avec le supplément des mots "à leur rencontre". Les unités (5 — 6) et (7 — 8) commencent par les mots n'entrant pas dans les combinaisons stables, cependant ces dernières remplissent les fins de toutes les quatre unités: (5 — 6) "... et il a rencontré le premier parmi eux par le coup de la lance à la poitrine, / la lance est sortie de son dos"; (7 — 8) "et il s'est jeté sur l'autre et il l'a frappé par son glaive à l'épaule, / et le glaive est sorti, en étincelant, près de la bandoulière à la hanche".

Ainsi, le début et la partie moyenne de l'unité sont libres ou assez libres; le conteur peut les remplir par les mots, non liés dans la combinaison, peut varier les mots, casser un groupe stable de mots par des insertions, mais il finit l'unité par un mot de la combinaison stable créant la clausule rimée.

Examinons encore un fragment.

(1) ... *wa-qad taqalladū bi-š-šawārimi r-riqāq / (2) wa-taḡalu r-rimāha d-diḡāq // (3) wa-hadarū ka-s-sibāc / (4) wa-zalzala šiyāḡuhumu l-biqāc // (5) wa-ḡina'idini ltaqathum banū 'absin ka-usūdu l-gāb / (6) bi-qulūbin lā taḡāfu wa-lā taḡāb // (7) wa-fī muqaddamatihim 'Antarun ka'annahu māridun min maridati ḡān [n] / (8) aw min 'aḡārīti sayyidinā Sulaymān / (9) wa-manzaruhumu yar'abu l-'abdān / (10)*

wa-yağ^calu qalba š-šugā'i ad^cafa min qalbi l-ğabān // ... (*Sīrat 'Antar b. Šaddād*, I, 279-280).

(1) ...Et ils ont ceint les glaives étroits, / (2) et ils se sont armés des lances fines, // (3) et ils se sont mis à rugir, comme les lions, / (4) et leurs cris ébranlaient des alentours, // (5) et à ce moment banu 'abs, pareils aux lions de bois, les ont rencontrés, / (6) avec les coeurs, qui n'ont pas peur et ne sont pas effrayés, // (7) et devant ceux-ci — 'Antar, comme s'il est le démon des démons des djins, / (8) ou des ifrits de notre monsieur Sulaiman, / (9) et leur mines effraient des combattants, / (10) et font le coeur d'un brave plus faible que le coeur du froussard //.

Tout comme dans le fragment précédent, nous trouvons ici quelques combinaisons stables, utilisé dans les unités (2), (5 — 8). Il est important de noter, que, comme dans le premier fragment, les combinaisons stables peuvent occuper toute l'unité ou seulement sa partie, mais se trouvent toujours à sa fin: (2) "se sont armés *par les lances fines*"; (5) "et ici ont rencontré de ceux-ci Banū 'Abs, *pareils aux lions les bois*"; (6) "avec les coeurs, qui n'ont pas peur et ne sont pas effrayés"; (7) "et devant ceux-ci — 'Antar, *comme s'il est le démon des démons des djins*"; (8) "ou des ifrits de notre monsieur Sulaymān".

En se basant sur l'analyse de deux fragments du texte de *Sīrat 'Antar*, on pourrait en tirer la conclusion suivante: la combinaison stable comprend la clausule rimée potentielle, qui peut être réalisée au cours de la construction du texte cohérent; autrement dit, elle fonctionne comme *la formule*, si nous empruntons le terme de la théorie de Parry - Lord.

Les exemples cités du texte cohérent de *Sīrat 'Antar* démontrent, comment les clausules rimées potentielles pouvaient être réalisées dans les formules dans les épisodes militaires qui se répétaient pendant la récitation de longue durée. D'ailleurs, certaines de ces combinaisons stables, découvertes par nous, comprennent initialement les clausules rimées réalisées, puisque ils embrassent deux unités. Nommons-les par les formules à deux termes. Nous en citerons ici quelques exemples: *qullatun mina l-qulal / aw qit^catun fuṣilat min ġabal* le sommet des sommets / des montagnes/ ou une énorme masse de pierre, séparé de la montagne; *tawīlu l-qāmā / 'azīmu l-hāmā* d'une haute taille, / avec la tête immense; *gā'isun fī l-ḥadīd / musarbalun bi-z-zaradi n-nadīd* cuirassé, / équipé d'une cote de mailles solide; *atlaqa l-'inān / wa-qarwama s-sinān* il a dirigé son cheval, / et il a visé la pointe; *tā'anahu fī ṣadriḥ / atla'a s-sinānu min zabriḥ* il l'a frappé par la lance à la poitrine, / la lance est sortie de son dos etc.

Dans *Sīrat 'Antar*, nous découvrons souvent des combinaisons formulaires qui se répètent régulièrement avec les clausules rimées réalisées qui sont faites de deux formules, dont chacune pourrait fonctionner indépendamment. Nommons ces formules par *secondaires*. Citerons quelques exemples de ce type de formules: ... *fursān / ka'an-nahumu l-'iqbān / 'alā ḥuyūlin aḥaffu mina l-ğizlān* ...les cavaliers, / comme s'ils sont les aigles + sur les cheveux qui sont plus rapides que les gazelles; *ka'annahu min maradati l-ğān [n] / aw-min 'afārīti sayyidinā Sulaymān* comme s'il est des marids des

djins + ou des ifrits de notre monsieur Sulaiman; *bi-qalbin aqwā mina l-ḥaḡar / wa ta'nin yasbiqū lamḥa l-basar* avec le coeur plus solide qu'une pierre + et le coup de la lance plus rapide qu'un clin d'oeil et autres.

Evidemment, il peut y avoir des formules unissant des combinaisons à deux termes et celles secondaires, c'est-à-dire les combinaisons, dont une partie peut fonctionner comme une formule indépendante, et l'autre seulement avec sa paire. Citons quelques exemples: *sāḥa ṣayḥatan taṣḍā'u l-ḥaḡar / wa-yaṣummu āḍāni d-dubbi d-dakar* il a poussé le cri, qui casse la pierre / et assourdit l'ours; *yarmī bi-n-nibāl / fa-yuṣību bihā maqātīla r-riḡāl* il lance les flèches et porte par celles-ci les blessures mortelles aux combattants.

Les formules à deux termes et celles secondaires représentent un instrument très commode pour la récitation : ayant prononcé le premier mot de la première combinaison, le conteur, à ce qu'il paraît, reproduit, ensuite, automatiquement toute la combinaison figée. En somme, on peut dire, que le fonctionnement des formules comme des éléments mnémotechniques assurait au conteur la possibilité de faire de longues séances de la récitation de *Sīrat 'Antar*. Chacun d'eux revenait automatiquement à son esprit aux moments donnés de la récitation.

Dans notre exposé, nous avons décrit un nombre limité des formules "militaires" dans *Sīrat 'Antar*, et nous avons essayé de démontrer leur rapport avec la technique orale de la récitation de ce "roman populaire". Pour en faire des généralisations plus définies et larges, il est nécessaire de procéder à une analyse détaillée non seulement de *Sīrat 'Antar*, mais encore d'autres oeuvres de ce genre de la littérature arabe "populaire".

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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
ARISTOTLE AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT
THE EARLIEST PIECE OF THE *ADAB*-LITERATURE

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Discovering and describing several Arabic manuscripts of Aristotle's works reserved in Istanbul R. Walzer was the first person to call attention to a hitherto unknown Arabic epistolary *roman* (Walzer 1934; 1962:137/141). This *roman* consists of a correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great beginning with Alexander's birth and ending with his conquest of Hurāsān. In some of the letters referring to historical events Aristotle admonishes the young king. In others he addresses his teachings of the practical and theoretical philosophy to Alexander. The series of letters is chronologically ordered, so reading the letters one can get acquainted with Alexander's life story on the one hand, and the full system of the popular philosophy of the late Antiquity on the other.

Later on M. Grignaschi devoted two articles to the text. In these articles he proved its Greek origin by pointing out Greek motives in it and analysed its impact on later Arabic authors (Grignaschi 1965-66 & 1967). After the examination of bibliographies as well as internal and external evidences M. Grignaschi came to the conclusion that the original Greek novel was translated by his secretary Sālīm abū l-^cAlā' under the reign of Hišām ibn ^cAbdalmalik (724-743). M. Grignaschi collected all Syriac and Arabic works which contain parallel passages and belong to the same Arabic literary tradition as the epistolary *roman* does, so he largely elaborated on how the Arabic version of the novel became embedded in subsequent Arabic literature.

Now I would like to show the reverse of the medal by disclosing how this epistolary *roman* fits into the Greek literary tradition. This question is interesting considering what M. Grignaschi said: the Arabic text of the *roman* was the first piece of the Arabic *adab*-literature.

Every scholar who deals with Arabic literature is well aware of the fact that the Arabic *adab*-literature developed under Greek influence. In spite of this common knowledge nobody was able to find any fact to support this assumption. The mere existence of a Greek epistolary *roman* in an Arabic version at the beginning of the *adab*-literature is an unexpected and convincing proof that verifies the widely accepted supposition of Greek influence.

It is a surprising fact that the first Arabic prose work is an epistolary *roman*. It is even more striking that the letters contained in this *roman* are not similar to those ascribed to Muḥammad or the rightly guided Caliphs. The letters exchanged by Aris-

totle and Alexander reflect the classical practice and theory of writing epistles known to us from a later period of Classical Antiquity.

Speaking of the ancient epistolary tradition a distinction should be made between different kinds of letters. There were royal (Herzog 1930; Schubart 1920), official, private and literary letters (Koskenniemi 1956:48). After some passing examination into the letters contained in the Arabic epistolary *roman* the conclusion can be drawn that they belong to the group of literary letters.

In the classical tradition literary letters are called epistles (Luck 1961). In the group of epistles the letters in the Arabic Alexander-*roman* belong to the subgroup of teaching letters (*Lehrbriefe*) (Sykutris 1931:202-203). Teaching letters represented a special type of epistles (Thraede 1970:9, 24-25, 67, 155). This type of epistle can be characterised by the following features: there are two historical persons in correspondence. One of them occupies a position which enables him to address his teachings to the other. There must be an intimate relationship between them, which is quite often a master-pupil connection. In the Greek tradition there were also fictitious letters of the kind, e.g. the ones written by Isokrates to Plato, or the ones written by Aristippus to his daughter Arete, etc. (Thraede 1970:204; Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* II, 84; Sykutris 1931:202-203).

Against this classical background the letters of the Arabic epistolary *roman* can easily be identified as mainly belonging to the literary genre of teaching epistles and showing the characteristic features of the Greek teaching letters. Both Aristotle and Alexander were well known living persons, so, all the letters are set against concrete historical situations. Referring to the historical events of the period Aristotle, who was Alexander's teacher, addresses his advice, warnings and teachings to Alexander in line with his position.

As it might have emerged, the work has no roots in the Arabic literary tradition. All its characteristics can be understood only if one knows the rules and theory of the Greek epistolography. It is that area of literary scholarship that provides the clues necessary to define the exact position of the letters in that literature¹. The *roman* can be regarded as the first appearance in Arabic of a typical Greek work of art that satisfies all the requirements that Greek traditions set.

In the introductory section to his critical edition of Khion's letters I. Düring wrote the following words: "Sykutris has a chapter on the Romance in Letters (*Briefroman*), which might induce the reader to believe that we possess a whole literature of this kind. Strictly speaking Chion's letters are the only example worthy of being called a novel in letters. The letters of Themistocles and Hippocrates are at the most attempts in this direction" (Düring 1951:23).

¹ The rules of the Greek epistolography are treated in Marius Victor's manual of rhetorics.

Khion's letters to his parents form a series which is ordered chronologically. They tell the story how Khion came from his native city to Athens where he studied with Plato. Getting acquainted with his philosophy, especially with his moral principles and the political developments of his homeland, he decides to return to his city and kill its tyrant.

It is well known from history that Herakleia did have a tyrant who was killed. This is the concrete historical situation which served as a background necessary to a fictitious novel in letters. Plato and the Platonic philosophy represent the moral teaching, which is a constituent part of the short epistolary novel.

The above references to Themistocles' and Hippocrates' letters, Khion's epistolary novel show how long the way from the creation of a theory of letters until the first attempt to write a novel in letters was.

Koskenniemi pointed out that the theory of letters was set up by Peripatetic philosophers. The collection of letters written by Aristotle was the first one published in Greece (Sykutris 1931:197). His letters were held in high esteem by his pupils and they deduced the rules of letter-writing from them. The person who created a theory of letters in this way was called Artemon (Koskenniemi 1956:26). This explains why Aristotle was the most popular author of fictitious letters in the Greek epistolary tradition.

In addition to these facts it should be noted that the first short fictitious letter written by Aristotle to Alexander appeared in book 20 of Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. Comparing the Arabic epistolary *roman* under investigation with these short letters one is likely to come to the conclusion that the voluminous correspondence between the two prominent persons must have been the result of long development which took place in the following centuries.

Summing up the observations already made the following presumptions seem reasonably justified: From the first draft of a Greek theory of epistolography and the first fictitious letters the history of the development of the Greek epistolary literature can be followed up to the rise of Khion's epistolary novel. The Arabic epistolary *roman* known under the title *Aḥwāl al-ḥukamā' fī ayyām al-Iskandar* must be the latest, longest and most advanced representant of this tradition. There is no trace of any similar literary tradition in the Arabic world.

Even a short survey of these facts shows convincingly that this Greek tradition was the natural framework the Arabic work under investigation can easily be fitted into. At the same it must be noted that one of the most interesting pieces of Greek literature, the original Greek version of the longest and best developed version of the epistolary novel has got lost. Therefore the Arabic *roman* *Aḥwāl al-ḥukamā' fī ayyām al-Iskandar* can be regarded as an important source of any knowledge of the late Greek literature.

After defining the work as a Greek epistolary novel containing teaching epistles mainly, it is time to turn to its language. With regard to its stylistic aspects it seems

reasonable to proceed on the assumption that the Arabic translation reflects the style of the original Greek version. The Greek theory of epistolography says that a letter must be characterised by *philophronesis* (kind treatment, courtesy) (Thraede 1970:24-25). From this friendly feeling appertaining to any epistle follows a widely accepted definition of letters: *amicorum colloquia absentium*. This definition goes back to Artemon who said that a letter is like the other half of a conversation². This definition implies that the style of a letter must be close to the tone of conversation³. As Philostratus Lemnius said: the language of a letter must be the common language of everyday conversations, but rather close to the Attic dialect, or to the Attic dialect which is rather close to the common language of everyday conversation (Proclus, *De forma epistolari* 7). Iulius Victor, the only classical author who devoted a special section in his *Ars rhetorica* to the question of letters, says that a letter must be written in short and clear sentences⁴.

See a small section of the text in question.

الْفَرَسُ أَصْحَابُ فَالٍ فَاسْتَعْمِلَهُ فَإِنَّهُ بَابٌ مِنْ تَحْرِيكِ الْبَحْتِ.
 إِذَا أُرْسِلَتْ إِلَيْهِمْ رَسُولًا فَلَا تُرْسَلُهُ سَلِيمَ الْعَيْنِ الْيَمْنَى فَإِنَّهُمْ يَتَطَيَّرُونَ بِهِ ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّهَا
 لِلشَّمْسِ، وَإِذَا دَخَلَ رَسُولُكَ عَلَيْهِمْ فَلْيَأْخُذْ مَا أَمَكْنَهُ وَلَا يَدْفَعْ إِلَيْهِمْ شَيْئًا وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ يَحْطُطَ رَأْسَهُ
 وَلَا يُشِيرَ بِيَدَيْهِ إِلَيْهِمْ وَإِذَا قَعَدَ فَلَا يَقْعُدْ بِأَمْرِهِمْ فِي الْمَرَّةِ الْأُولَى يَغْتَمُونَ بِذَلِكَ وَيَتَّقُونَكَ
 بِسَبَبِهِ وَلِيُرَدَّ عَلَيْهِمْ رَسُولُكَ فِي كُلِّ أَمْرٍ يَقُولُونَ لَا إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ أَمْرًا بَيْنَنَا وَإِنْ سَأَلُوهُ عَنْ خَاصَّةِ
 الْمَلِكِ قَالُوا هُوَ كَمَا يُحِبُّ صَدِيقَهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ عَلَى خِلَافِ مَا تُرِيدُ أَعْدَاؤُهُ وَإِذَا انصَرَفَ فَلْيَكْثِرْ
 التَّلَفُتَ إِلَى بِلَادِهِمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَكْرَهُونَ ذَلِكَ وَلِيَتَنَاوَلَ مِنْ دَاخِلِ مَدِينَتِهِمْ وَمَنْ خَارِجِ الْمَدِينَةِ وَمَنْ
 أَنْهَارَهَا شَيْئًا فَإِنَّهُمْ يَتَطَيَّرُونَ بِهِ. وَاكْتَبَ إِلَى دَارِ فِي أَوَّلِ مَا تَكْتَبُ مَا رَسَمْتَ لَكَ.

نَسْخَةُ الْكِتَابِ إِلَى دَارِ

من الاسكندر المتمسك بالدين الراغب في نصرة الحق النافي سطوة الجور الحامي عن المروءة
 القاصد لسبيل أسلاف الروم وأهل الفضل من الفرس إلى دارا كبير أهل الفرس المتملك عليهم
 بغير استحقاق ومن قد جعل دينه ورياسة خادما لمملكه وفكره خادما لبطنه وعقله
 خادما لحواسه سلام على من رغب في نصرة الحق وإثبات السنة التي لا عيب فيها.

² Koskenniemi 1956:35-42. Demetrios, *De elocutione* 13: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιστολικὸς χαρακτὴρ δεῖται ἰσχυρότητος, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέξομεν. Ἀρτέμων μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους ἀναγράψας ἐπιστολικὸς φησὶν ὅτι δεῖ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διάλογόν τε γράφειν καὶ ἐπιστολάς· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν οἷον τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ διαλόγου.

³ Proclus, *De forma epistolari* 6: ἐπιστολὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁμιλία τις ἐγγράμματος ἀπόντος πρὸς ἀπόντα γινόμενη καὶ χρειώδη σκοπὸν ἐκπληροῦσα, ἐρεῖ δὲ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ἅπερ ἂν παρών τις πρὸς παρόντα.

⁴ Iulius Victor, *Ars rhetorica* 105: "... brevitatis observanda: ipsarum quoque sententiarum ne diu circumferatur, quod Cato ait, ambitio, sed ita recidantur, ut nunquam verbi aliquid deesse videatur: Lucem vero epistulis praeferere oportet, nisi cum consulto [consilio] clandestinae litterae fiant ..." etc.

Examining this excerpt everyone can see that it consists of short, well-defined and clearly structured sentences which are not customary in Arabic prose works. The Arabic translation reflects the original Indo-European syntax.

After the first short sentence (الفَرَسُ أَصْحَابُ فَالِ فَاسْتَعْمِلْهُ فَإِنَّهُ بَابٌ مِنْ تَحْرِيكِ) comes another (from إليها للشمس to أرسلت البخت). The next unit is: إِذَا دَخَلَ رَسُولُكَ أَمْرُهُ أَنْ يَحْطَ رَأْسَهُ). In the following section (ولا يدفع إليهم شيئاً ولا يشير بيديه إليهم) there is a short sentence preceding a longer one: إِذَا قَعَدَ فَلَا يَفْعُدُ بِأَمْرِهِمْ فِي الْمَرَّةِ الْأُولَى يَغْتَمُونَ بِذَلِكَ وَيَتَّقُونَكَ بِسَبَبِهِ). The next few sentences must be rendering compound Greek ones: وَلَيُرَدُّ عَلَيْهِمْ رَسُولُكَ فِي كُلِّ أَمْرٍ يَقُولُونَ لَا إِلَّا أَنْ وَإِنْ سَأَلُوهُ عَنِ خَاصَّةِ الْمَلِكِ قَالَ هُوَ كَمَا يَحِبُّ صَدِيقَهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ عَلَى خِلاَفٍ وَيَكُونَ أَمْرُ بَيْنِنَا مَا تُرِيدُ أَعْدَاؤُهُ. As the excerpted passage proves, the Arabic translation is transparent enough to recall the short Greek sentences which fully comply with the well-known requirements of the classical theorists.

The words used in the passage are common words from everyday Arabic conversation. The vocabulary of the Qur'ān or that of the early Arabic poetry is not to be found in the text. Expressions like حط رأسه seem more attached to the simple colloquial register. In the Qur'ān the meaning of the word is rather to put down sins, i.e. remission, or profession of faith (Penrice 1971:36). In the expression وَيَتَّقُونَكَ وَيَتَّقُونَكَ بِسَبَبِهِ the word بِسَبَبِهِ means "therefore", while in the Qur'ān the words فَلْيَمْدِدْ بِسَبَبِ السَّمَاءِ mean "let him make his way to heaven by means of a rope" (Q 22.16).

In one passage the following words can be read: وَقَدْ قَالَ قَاتِلُونَ إِنْ الْعَدْلَ تَبِعْ السُّلْطَانَ. In this Arabic sentence (p. 75) the word تَبِعْ is the means the translator expressed a genitive with. This usage is utterly foreign to the high literary style, as it belongs to the colloquial Arabic register specific to Syria.

It is enough to quote these items, if one purports to show how often the usage in the Arabic epistolary novel coincides with our modern everyday usage and how different it is from the usage in the Qur'ān, although the epistolary *roman* and the Qur'ān are century apart, and the *roman* and our epoch are separated by approximately 13 centuries.

Proclus's handbook of the epistolary theory says that the proper beginning of a letter is $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\ \tau\omega\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\ \chi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ (*hic illi salutem*) (Proclus, *De forma epistolari* 8). In practice this theoretical requirement can be realised in different ways. Cicero e.g. begins his letters with similar dedications: Cicero Memmio S. (Cicero, *Epistularum* XIII, ii-iii); M. Cicero Q. Valerio Q. F. Orcae procos., etc. salutem (Cicero, *Epistularum* XIII, vi).

The first sentence of the letter quoted above in Arabic follows exactly the same pattern. It contains the name of the person who sends the letter (Alexander) and the name of the addressee (Dareios). In this literary letter the simple form was extended by a lot of attributes which serve the purpose of characterizing the two persons. This beginning is deeply rooted in the Greek epistolary theory and is different from the Arabic practice, where letters begin with greetings. In a Greek or Latin letter

greetings are at the end. In our case the text of a letter to Alexander written by Aristotle ends with the words *كُنْ صَالِحًا وَإِخْوَانَكْ أَجْمَعِينَ* (p. 86/7). This phrase corresponds to the Greek *ἔρρωσο* (the Latin “*vale*”), which is a regular complimentary close of classical letters.

The passages selected indicate that the Arabic work examined follows the Greek stylistic rules of epistolography.

Turning to the passage quoted above some good advices can be found describing the proper behaviour in Dareios' court. Reading the text Alexander learns what his legates should do and what they should avoid. The Greek handbooks of epistolography contain a classification of letters. In this classification a well-known type is the *suasorius* (*συμβουλευτικός*) letter (Demetrios, *Typi epistulares* 3). In *suasorius* letters “*adhortamur ad aliquid aut debortamur ab aliquo*”, exactly in the same way as it happens in the passage quoted above.

There is a letter with the following address and beginning:

تهنئة كتبها أرسطو إلى الاسكندر بفتح سقوثية
لست أستحسن ترك المدح لمن استحقه بل أرى فعل ذلك واجبا فكما أن الذين يحضرون
مشاهد الصراع والمصاولة والمزاولة إذا رأوا أمراء قد أجاد نعروا اهتزازا لما كان منه وهزا
له كذلك ينبغي أن نفعل بمن أدرك شيئا من الفضائل في المدح له والثناء عليه ولذلك ما أتكلف
مدحك وأنشر فضائلك وما أكثر من يسارع إلى وصفك وتزويق الكلام في أمرك يومنا هذا.

In this letter Aristotle congratulates the king after his conquest of Scythia. This letter belongs to the group of the *gratulatorius* (*συγχαριστικός*) letters in which “*de magnis aut inopinatis, quae alicui evenerunt, congratulantes scribimus*” (Demetrios, *Typi epistulares* 5).

These items prove quite convincingly that the letters were written by the unknown author with regard to the Greek classification of letters. All items in the Arabic epistolary *roman* under investigation correspond exactly to a special type among the categories of letters in the classification.

This is a matter which needs some explanation. Knowing the late Antique literature it is easy to find a satisfactory answer. In the Pseudo-Aristotelian letters of this novel one can find a lot of Homeric quotations. All these quotations are Pseudo-Homeric verses. Referring to the opinion of his colleague at the university in Trieste, Professor Corbatto, M. Grignaschi says that it was common practice in all schools of rhetoric to compose verses in Homer's style (Grignaschi 1967:225). The Pseudo-Homeric quotations of the text indicate that the unknown author's way of writing was closely related to that of the rhetoric schools.

It is well-known that letters were also written in these rhetoric schools. All letters were composed with the knowledge of a certain historical epoch in view of certain historical events and names. All letters of the novel under examination reflect this practice of the late Antique rhetoric schools. The close correspondence between the letters of the novel and the different types of letters treated of in the epistolary theory can be explained by the fact that the author's aim was to compose letters

according to the rules set up by the rhetors who developed and taught the epistolary theory in the schools of rhetoric.

In this connection one of the most interesting parts of the novel is the first letter written by Aristotle to Philippos. In this letter Aristotle wants to persuade Philippos to give his son philosophical education. In the first part of the letter he refutes the views of those who suggest in their teachings that philosophy brings only temporary advantages and proves how important it is to get acquainted with it. Later he refutes the arguments of those who say that Alexander as a future king may not be able to become a master of philosophy, which he does not even need to know.

This letter, which refutes false views and defends the right ones as far as the benefits of a philosophical education are concerned, is a typical *protreptikos* (*adhortatio*).

It is well known from the history of philosophy that Aristotle as a young man wrote an *adhortatio*, a *Protreptikos* himself. Unfortunately that work has got lost. A *protreptikos* meant the beginning of a philosophical curriculum, a general introduction that refuted the false views on philosophy listing and proving its real merits. No wonder that it served as model for all similar works later⁵.

A *Protreptikos* traditionally consisted of two parts. The first one was known as λόγος ἀπελεγκτικός (refutation), the second as λόγος ἐνδεικτικός⁶. The first letter contains precisely those two parts and its ultimate aim is incitation to study philosophy. One can regard it as a *protreptikos*, an introduction to philosophy leading up to the subsequent letters, which contain the whole system of practical and theoretical philosophy. At the same time this letter corresponds to the *παραινητική*, hortatory group in the classification of letters "qua hortamur aliquem incitantes ipsum ad petendum aut etiam fugiendum aliquid".

To cut a long discussion short: the Arabic text of the *Aḥwāl al-ḥukamā' fī ayyām al-Iskandar* indicates that its author composed his work according to the standards of the Greek theory of literature.

The Arabs are not very likely to have got acquainted with the Greek theory of literature, but they had a popular book which followed that theory and served as an example for the Arab writers of future generations.

It is perhaps not too early to raise some questions about later works written in Arabic. One of these questions may be the following: why did Ibn Ṭufayl write his philosophical work in the form of a novel? Did he follow the Pseudo-Aristotelian practice?

⁵ Hartlich 1888:236: *Atque primus inter Exhortationum scriptores offertur nobis Aristoteles, philosophorum princeps, qui hac quoque in re quasi exemplar exstitit, quod omnes qui sequebantur imitati sunt.*

⁶ Hartlich 1888:293: *Atque duae partes Hortensii insignes sunt, altera Hortensii contra philosophiam disputatio, altera exhortatio ad philosophiam. ... etc.*

I hope that the anonymous *Aḥwāl al-ḥukamā' fī ayyām al-Iskandar* will help us to answer these questions and some more of the kind.

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CITATION AND ABBREVIATION

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While looking for something else in *al-Bayān al-muḡrib fī aḥbār al-Maḡrib* of Ibn ʿIdārī al-Marrākūšī (fl. end of 7th/beginning of 14th century), I chanced upon a citation from the poetry of Ibn ʿAbdrabbih (246/860-328/940), eulogizing the greatest of the Umayyads of Córdoba, ʿAbdarrahmān (III) an-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (ruled 300/912-350/961). It occurs after the section devoted to his life, in a passage entitled *Baʿd aḥbār an-Nāṣir raḥimahu l-Lāh ʿalā l-ḡumla*, and it is immediately preceded by two paragraphs of highly encomiastic *saḡʿ* (II, 334-5), one unit of which seems to have its origin in the poem: *wa-dahala n-nāsu fī ṭāʿatihi afwāḡan * wa-stanfarū ilā daʿwatihi afrādan wa-azwāḡan*: 'people entered into obedience to him in droves * and rushed to answer his call [to Islam] in ones and twos' (cf. below line 1).

The citation comprises seven lines in the *basīṭ* metre, as follows:

1. *qad awḏaha l-Lāhu li-l-Islāmi minhāḡā*
wa-n-nāsu qad dahalū fī d-dīni afwāḡā
2. *wa-qad tazayyanati d-dunyā li-sākinihā*
ka-anna-mā labisat wašyan wa-dībāḡā
3. *yā-bna l-ḥalāʿifi inna l-muzna law ʿalimat*
nadāka mā kāna min-hā l-māʿu taḡḡāḡā
4. *wa-l-ḥarbu law ʿalimat ḥarban tašūlu bihi*
mā hayyaḡat min ḥumayyāka l-ladī htāḡā
5. *māta n-nifāqu wa-aʿtā l-kufru dimmatahu*
wa-dallati l-ḥaylu ilḡāman wa-isrāḡā
6. *wa-ašbaha n-nasru maʿqūdan bi-alwiyatin*
tatwī l-marāḥila tahḡīran wa-idlāḡā
7. *inna l-ḥilāfata lan tarda wa-lā radiyat*
ḥattā ʿaqadta lahā fī raʿsika t-tāḡā

1. Allah has made plain a path to Islam,
and people have come in to the religion in droves.
2. The world has decked itself out for its inhabitants,
just as though it had put on striped garments of brocade.
3. O son of the Caliphs, if the rain-clouds knew of
your generosity, they would not pour out their water so freely.
4. If war knew with what ferocity you attacked,
it would not stir up your anger as it does [lit.: would not stir up that which
is stirred up of your anger].

5. Mere lip-service to religion is dead, and unbelief has given up its protected status;
the horses submit to bridling and saddling.
6. Victory has become bound with banners
that fold up the way-stations in travelling at midday and setting out at dawn.
7. The Caliphate will not be content – and let it not be content! –
until you have bound on your head the crown for it.

This is a fairly routine piece of *madh*, but it may be desirable to attempt to interpret rather more clearly one or two points in it.

Line 1. 'Allah has made plain a path to Islam'. It would be possible to understand this as 'has made plain a path for Islam', *i.e.* 'has indicated a direction for Islam to take'; in view of what follows, however, *viz.* that 'Abdarrahmān has, by his deeds, encouraged a large number of people to embrace Islam, the sense that I have adopted seems preferable.

Line 2. Perhaps we are expected to see a true contrast (*tibāq*) between *dunyā* here and *dīn* in line 1; it is a very common conjunction, particularly in poetry, and a case could be made for the poet's expressing his satisfaction that all is well with both spiritual and worldly matters. However, one sometimes has the impression that the mention of one has sparked off an almost automatic mention of the other, without there being any intention of making a specific point.

Line 3. There is no problem of interpretation here. Rain and generosity are frequently equated. If the clouds knew (which, incidentally, they must do) how generous 'Abdarrahmān was, they would hardly bother to add their comparatively niggardly contribution.

Line 4. This line gives one pause at once because of its repetition of *ḥarb*, once, quite regularly, in the feminine, and once in the masculine. One is so accustomed to the first, meaning 'war', that one does not immediately appreciate that there may be another meaning. There is, however: a somewhat unusual one, or, at least, one that I do not remember ever having encountered before, namely 'enemy'. This seems, at first sight, to make things somewhat easier. If, however, one is tempted to assume that the hemistich means 'If war knew an enemy whom you attacked', one is still left with a syntactical problem. *bibi* does not seem right with *taṣūlu* for 'to fight with/to attack'; you would expect *'alayhi*. There is, fortunately, another solution – one that one tends to overlook –, namely, that *ḥarban* is the *maṣdar*, the infinitive or verbal noun, of the verb *ḥaraba*, meaning 'to make war/war-making' – not, incidentally of *ḥariba* = 'to be angry', which is *ḥaraban* and does not scan here. This leaves us with 'If war knew a war-making with which you attacked', which solves most of the difficulties, except for that of how actually to produce a translation. Why, though, would war not stir up 'Abdarrahmān's anger if it knew how he dealt with his foes (which, again, it can hardly fail to do)? This time, I think, it is not so much because it would realise that its contribution would be negligible, although this thought may also be

present, as because it would be appalled by the ferocity (as I have rendered *ḥarban*) for which it was partially responsible. ‘Abdarrahmān is perfectly capable unaided of showing enough vindictiveness to satisfy the most exacting critic.

Line 5. Men can no longer claim to be Muslims and fail to perform the duties demanded of Muslims, in particular that of *ḡibād*. *Dimmīs* are spontaneously converting, in their anxiety to give their services to the cause. Even the beasts are tractable, so keen are they to take part in the fight.

Line 6. I find the imagery in the first hemistich somewhat confused. Clearly *an-naṣr* = ‘victory’ alludes to ‘Abdarrahmān’s *laqab*, an-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh = ‘Helper/Bringer of Victory to Allah’s Religion’, and *aṣbaha* *mā’qūdan bi-akwīya* = ‘has become bound with banners’ alludes to the phrase ‘*aqada labu liwā’an*’ = ‘he appointed him to a command [lit.: he bound a banner for him]’ that occurs frequently in accounts of the early Muslim expeditions. It is not easy, however, to bring these two allusions together into a coherent picture. I think that the image must be of Victory’s being given so many commanders – and, by extension, armies – by ‘Abdarrahmān that she cannot avoid triumphing. These armies, the second hemistich declares, bring about this triumph by ‘folding up the way-stations (*marāḥil*)’, i.e. by advancing so swiftly that they can cover more than one stage per day, being willing to march during the time of greatest heat.

Line 7. There is no difficulty in this line, once the emendation indicated in the editor’s foot-note of *lam tarda* to *lan tardā* has been made. ‘Abdarrahmān is being encouraged to assume, as he had no doubt indicated his intention of doing, the title of caliph, rather than that of *amīr*, to which his predecessors had adhered. He assumed it in 316/929, thus formally renouncing all fealty to the Baghdad Caliphate. The repetition of the ‘-q-d’ root from line 6 is particularly apt; Victory is bound with banners, ‘Abdarrahmān is to bind on the crown. The indication in Ibn ‘Idārī that his citation was not complete and the editor’s emendation from ‘*Iqd*’ prompted me to follow it up in the latter, in order to see what the complete poem was like. It was, I must say, indeed quite a hunt, since the only text of ‘*Iqd*’ available had no index. Still, I tracked it down (III, 208-9) and found that between lines 6 and 7 of our citation (line 7 is, indeed, the last line of the poem) there were a further nine lines. Reading through these, I was inclined to think that Ibn ‘Idārī had perhaps made a better poem by omitting them.

The first thing to do was to compare the two versions, in order to see if they differed from one another in any important respect. The only significant variation – *ulbisat* = ‘had had put on it’ for *labisat* = ‘had put on’ in line 2 is of no consequence – is in line 4, which in ‘*Iqd*’ reads:

wa-l-ḥarbu law ‘alimat ba’san taṣūlu bihi
mā hayyaḡat min ḡibāli d-dīni ahyāḡā

If war knew with what force you attacked,

it would not stir up disturbances from the mountains of faith.

The reading *ba'san* certainly resolves all the difficulties attendant upon *ḥarban*, and one could argue that a scribe had inadvertently repeated *ḥarban* from *al-ḥarbi*. Unfortunately the remainder of the line, in this version, destroys one's confidence in the correctness of the first part. It is only too easy to see how the ductus of *ḥumayyā-ka l-ladī htāḡā* could be distorted into *ḡibāli d-dīni abyāḡā*; the first yields good sense, the second yields very little. One might, then, suggest that *ba'san* derives from a note explaining *ḥarban*.

For the sake of completeness, I suppose that one should run through the additional lines in *ʿIqd*, without perhaps dealing with them in such detail.

7. *adh̄alta fī qubbati l-Islāmi māriqatan*
ah̄raḡtabā min diyāri š-širki iḥrāḡā
 8. *bi-ḡah̄falin tušriqu l-arḡu l-faḡā'u bihi*
ka-l-baḥri yaqḡifu bi-l-amwāḡi amwāḡā
 9. *yaqūduhu l-baḡru yasri fī kawākibihī*
ʿaramraman ka-sawādi l-layli raḡrāḡā
 10. *tarūqu fihī burūqu l-marwi lāmiʿatan*
wa-yasmaʿūna bihi li-r-raʿdi ah̄zāḡā
 11. *ḡādarta fī ʿufratay ḡayyān malḡamatan*
abkayta minhā bi-ardi š-širki aʿlāḡā
 12. *fī nisfi šaḡrin tarakta l-arda sākinatan*
min baʿdi mā kāna fihā t-tayru qad māḡā
 13. *wuḡidta fī l-ḡabari l-maʿtūri munḡalitan*
mina l-ḡalāʿifi ḡarrāḡan wa-wallāḡā
 14. *tamlā bika l-arḡu ʿadlan miṡla mā maliʿat*
ḡawran wa-tūḡihu li-l-maʿrūfi minhāḡā
 15. *yā baḡra zulmatihā yā šamsa šubḡatihā*
yā layta ḡawmatihā in ḡāʿiḡun ḡāḡā
7. You have brought into the dome of Islam heretics
whom you have driven out of the lands of polytheism,
 8. With a mighty army with which the vast earth shines,
just as the sea hurls waves after waves,
 9. Led by the moon proceeding by night among its stars,
a great pulsating army, like the blackness of the night,
 10. In which the lightning-flashes of death are clear and bright,
and men hear claps of thunder.
 11. You have left in the two dusty conflicts [?] of Jaén a slaughter
at which you have made infidels weep in the land of polytheism.
 12. In half a month you have left the land quiet,
after the birds had been flocking there.

13. You have been found, in recorded history,
to have surpassed all other caliphs in cunning and acuity.
14. The earth is filled by you with justice, just as it was filled
with tyranny, and you clearly indicate a path to [divine] favour.
15. O moon of its darkness! O sun of its morning!
O lion of its fray, if anyone disturbs it!
- 16 (as 7. above). The Caliphate will not be content – and let it not be content! –
until you have bound on your head the crown for it.

In lines 6-10 there are three grandiloquent words meaning, or connected with, 'a large army'; these are more or less obligatory in *madh* of a ruler. There are also the two very common, apparently contradictory, images whereby the army appears as both bright and dark. In fact, the brightness, with which the darkness is intermittently relieved, comes from two sources: the splendour of the leader and his acolytes here the moon and the stars and the flashing of the lance-points and the helmets here 'the lightning-flashes of death'. I did briefly wonder if line 9 was a reference to 'Abdarrāḥmān's freedman, Badr, whom he appointed to high office, as recorded in Ibn 'Idārī's passage of *sag*^c: *wa-kāna ṣtafā mawlāhu Badran * wa-ḡā'alahu šamsan li-mulkibi wa-badran* = 'He had chosen his freedman Badr * and had made him a sun to his kingdom and a moon'. However, in view of line 15, I decided that 'the moon' here was 'Abdarrāḥmān himself.

The word that I have tentatively translated as 'the two dusty conflicts' in line 11, 'ufratay, appears to be the dual of 'ufra, which is given, only by Dozy (1927), as 'poussière'; other dictionaries give it only as 'grey colour of dust' or, less helpfully, as 'mane of a lion', 'neck feathers of a cock' or 'forelock of a horse'. I have no idea if 'Abdarrāḥmān fought two engagements at Jaén or if the word 'ufra can be thus used, as we might speak (more colloquially) of 'two dust-ups'. I am inclined to think that the reading may be wrong, or, if right, that it alludes to some topographical feature, or features, in or near Jaén, unknown to me.

The birds, in line 12, I take to be crows and vultures, or other carrion fowls, that infested the fields of the battles to which 'Abdarrāḥmān has now put a stop.

If *fī l-ḥabari l-ma'tūri*, in line 13, means 'in recorded history', it appears to be somewhat misplaced in the line.

In line 14, I should have preferred to read *tūdahu* (3 p. f. passive), in order to keep 'the earth' as the subject. This, however, does not appear to be syntactically possible. Only the thing shown can be the direct object of the active verb and hence the subject of the passive.

As I have said, I feel that Ibn 'Idārī may, by his cutting, have produced a better poem than Ibn 'Abdrabbih's original, particularly in view of the use of the 'q-d root in lines 6 and 7. The excised lines are both bombastic and repetitive. Whether, however, Ibn 'Idārī was influenced here more by aesthetic considerations than by practic-

al ones those of length it is hardly possible to determine. He is not generally given to lengthy poetic citations; on the other hand, his retention of the final line of the original perhaps suggests that he was aware of the appropriateness of its contrived juxtaposition with line 6. Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, for his part, could scarcely have presented ʿAbdarrahmān with a laudatory ode of fewer than sixteen lines. His repetition of the ʿ-q-d root in what he, quite properly, determined on as the culminating line of his poem is, no doubt, a conscious reference back to line 6, designed to reinforce the otherwise rather loose structure; he was, however, inhibited by the constraints of his genre the necessity, we might unkindly say, of providing ‘padding’ from achieving the striking effect permitted by Ibn ʿIdārī’s judicious pruning.

There remains one essential feature of the poem, in both versions, that I find somewhat odd: the very reference to the crown in the last line. There appears to have been a so-called *tāğ al-hilāfa*, adopted by the ʿAbbāsids, which may have been some kind of large and elaborate turban. Otherwise, crowns to the Muslims were associated only with foreign, non-Muslim, monarchs the word *tāğ* itself is apparently of Persian origin. In exhorting ʿAbdarrahmān to assume the crown of the caliphate, Ibn ʿAbdrabbih may be using the word metaphorically. He is unlikely to be suggesting that the Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus should adopt a form of headdress introduced by the usurping dynasty, if, indeed, they had actually done so by this date. What is odder is Ibn ʿIdārī’s citing of this exhortation, without comment, in view of an anecdote that he himself relates concerning an earlier ruler of only two centuries earlier (II, 30):

wa-stahlafa Mūsā ʿalā l-Andalus ibnahu ʿAbdalʿazīz wa-taraka maʿahu Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿAbda b. ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ waz īran lahu wa-muʿīnan, wa-aqāma maʿahumā bi-l-Andalus man arāda suknahā, fa-lammā waṣala Mūsā ilā Šbīliyya aqarra fihā waladahu fa-rtadā-hā qāʿidata mulkihi. wa-tazawwaḡa baʿda ḥurūg abīhi Umm ʿĀsim imraʿata Ludrīq wa-smuhā Ayyila wa-sakana maʿahā bi-Šbīliyya.

fa-lammā dahala bihā qālat lahu: “inna l-mulūk idā lam yatūgū fa-lā mulk lahum, fa-law ʿamiltu laka mim mā baqiya ʿindī min al-ḡawhar wa-d-dahab tāḡan”. fa-qāla lahā: “laysa dālīka fī dīninā”. fa-qālat lahu: “wa-min ayn yaʿrif ahl dīnika mā anta fīhi fī halwatika?” fa-lam tazal bihā ḥattā faʿala.

fa-baynamā huwa dāta yawm ḡālis maʿahā wa-t-tāḡ ʿalā raʿsihi, id dahalat ʿalayhi mraʿa kāna qad tazawwaḡahā Ziyād b. Nābiḡa at-Tamīmī min banāt mulūkihim fa-ʿāyanathu wa-t-tāḡ ʿalā raʿsihi fa-qālat li-Ziyād: “a-lā aʿmal la-ka tāḡan?” fa-qāla lahā: “laysa fī dīninā stiḥlāl libāsīhi”. fa-qālat lahu: “wa-dīn al-Masīḥ, innahu ʿalā raʿs mali-kikum wa-imāmikum”. fa-aʿlama bi-dālīka Ziyād Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿAbda, tumma taḥaddata bi-dālīka ḥattā ʿalimahu ḥiyār al-ḡund, fa-lam yakun lahu hamm illā kašf dālīka ḥattā raʿawhu ʿiyānan, fa-qālū: “qad tanassara”. tumma haḡamū ʿalayhi fa-qatalūhu.

Mūsā [i.e. Abū ʿAbdarrahmān Mūsā b. Naṣr, the superior of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, the conqueror of al-Andalus] appointed as his deputy over al-Andalus his son ʿAbdalʿazīz

and left with him Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿAbda b. ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ as a *wazīr* and assistant to him. Those who wished to live there remained with them in al-Andalus. When Mūsā reached Iṣbīliyya [Seville], he settled his son there and approved it as the capital of his kingdom. After his father's departure, ʿAbdalʿazīz married Umm ʿĀṣim, the wife of Ludrīq [Roderick, the last Visigothic king], whose name was Ayyla [Aella ?], and he lived with her in Iṣbīliyya.

When he went in to her [into the bridal chamber], she said to him: 'If kings are not crowned, they have no kingdoms. How would it be if I made you a crown from the jewels and gold that I have left?' He said: 'That is not part of our religion.' She said: 'How could the people of your religion know what you got up to in private?' She nagged him until he did what she wanted.

While he was sitting with her one day, with the crown on his head, there entered to him a woman, one of the daughters of the Vizigothic kings, whom Ziyād b. Nābiḡa at-Tamīmī had married. She saw him, with the crown on his head, and she said to Ziyād: 'Shall I make you a crown?' Ziyād said: 'In our religion we are not permitted to wear them.' She said: 'By the religion of the Messiah, your king and imam has one on his head.' Ziyād informed Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿAbda of this and then talked about it until the leaders of the army learned of it; his sole concern was to publish this fact. Eventually they saw it for themselves and said: 'He has become a Christian.' Then they set upon him and killed him.

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My interest in Zaki Konsol dates from the early eighties when I read my first books about the literature of the South American *Mahğar*. A more personal contact had to wait until 1987, when I met him at the guesthouse of my host, Dr. Horacio Munir Haddad, President of the Fundacion Los Cedros, in Buenos Aires. A second meeting took place in the consistory of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Buenos Aires, where an Arab literary circle met. This circle celebrated Zaki Konsol as their most outstanding poet writing in standard Arabic. During those meetings, Zaki Konsol gave me copies of his *dīwāns* and a large quantity of his unpublished poetry.

The aim of this paper is to establish the identity of the poet, and what and where he published. The literary quality or the absence of it is not my first concern. To establish either of them goes beyond my capacities. I am more interested to know if his fellow emigrants, for whom he was writing his poetry, appreciated his work, why he chose traditional poetry, what subjects he chose, and if he did innovate.

The biographers of Zaki Konsol do not agree about the year and his place of birth. This may be partly due to the reluctance of the poet to inform his biographers correctly. His biographer, ‘Abdallaṭīf Yūnus, writes in one of the opening phrases of his book, “I do not want to begin with mentioning his date of birth, because I do not want to expose myself to his enmity and anger” (Yūnus 1967:3).

Zaki Konsol’s volume of poetry, *Nūr wa-nār* (Konsol 1972), mentions in the introduction that the poet was born abroad (*fī diyāri l-ğurba*), in 1916 and that he went in 1922 to Yabrūd, the place of birth of his parents (*Masqat ra’s wāliḍayhi*) (Konsol 1972:5). The first part of his *Dīwān* (Konsol 1986), mentions that Zaki Konsol was born in 1916, *fī diyāri l-ğurba*, or somewhere outside Syria. The poet also mentioned Yabrūd as “*Masqat ra’sī*” (My place of birth) (Konsol 1974:41-44), expressing his emotional attachment to the place rather than presenting a fact. The line giving this information occurs on the left-hand side of the page in a small, bold type, just beneath the title of the poem. Many of the poems of Zaki Konsol have such a line, informing the reader of the occasion or the subject of the poem.

¹ The present paper is based on the material collected during a study visit to Argentina and Brasil, May-June 1991, for which the financial means were provided by the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) and by the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO).

The poet uses the spelling Konsol on the Castellano backside of his Arabic books published in Buenos Aires. In our transcription system of Arabic, his name would be spelled as Zakī Qunṣul. We shall use the spelling Konsol throughout our text.

ʿĪsā an-Nāʿūrī (1977:579) mentions Yabrūd as the place of birth but does not mention the year of birth, and Ğurğ Şaydaḥ (1964:633) mentions the year 1919. One might conclude that he considered Yabrūd as the place of birth of the poet on the basis of his line, "When Zaki Konsol, coming from Yabrūd, arrived in Argentine, in 1929, he followed the road his brother Ilias had taken five years before." The line, however, does not name Yabrūd as the place of birth.

The literary journal *at-Taqāfa* devoted its issue of Tişrīn I (October) 1992 to Zaki Konsol. Among the contributors are Yūsuf ʿAbdalaḥad, who is a mine of information in the field of modern Arabic literature, and Zaki's brother Karam. The latter contributed an article to this volume in which he stated that Zaki was born in 1916, in Cordoba, Argentina (*at-Taqāfa*, October 1992:48-51).

In the same article, Karam Konsol writes that in 1922 the family went back to Yabrūd in Syria and Zaki went there to school until 1925. He adds that there was only one school in Yabrūd in those years and that the school closed its doors during the Syrian uprising against the French (1925-1926). However, the introductory essay in the first part of his *Dīwān* (Konsol 1986) reports that Zaki had to leave school in order to help his father to earn his share in the family income.

In 1929, Zaki and his father emigrated again and settled finally in Buenos Aires. There Zaki had to do the work most Syrian immigrants did, travelling around with a huge box with merchandise. Zaki, more than once returned with a book or a journal instead of the money he had earned that day (*at-Taqāfa* October, 1992:49).

From 1935-1939 Zaki became an editor of the Syrian-Lebanese Journal (*al-Ġarīda as-Sūriyya al-Lubnāniyya*), under the supervision of his brother Ilyās, who was the editor-in-chief. They both left the journal in 1939 because of a political difference of opinion with the owner of the paper. They returned to trade, but Zaki's interests were laying in literature rather than in trade (Konsol 1972:5-6, *aş-Şaʿir fī kalimāt*).

Zaki's literary career began in 1933 when Salma Salāma Aṭlas published one of his poems in her journal *al-Karma* in São Paulo. al-Badawī al-Mulattam² gives the following summary of the published works of Zaki. He mentions a volume of poetry, *Aşwāk*, a volume of quatrains, *Awtār al-qalb*, a collection of patriotic and lyric poetry and *aş-Şazāyā*, a volume of patriotic poetry that appeared in 1939. ʿĪsā an-Nāʿūrī writes that Zaki never mentioned this *dīwān* during the many years of correspondence between them from 1952 onward, and that he, therefore, doubts the existence of the volume. However, ʿAzīza Marīdan quotes from *aş-Şazāyā*³ and Karam Konsol mentions this *dīwān* in his above-mentioned article. He, however, writes that Zaki published this *dīwān* in the same year in which his brother and he published

² al-Badawī al-Mulattam (penname of Yaʿqūb al-ʿAwdāt) 1956:420.

³ Marīdan 1966:369f. She quotes five lines of poetry which can be found, according to her footnote on p.369, on page 37 of Zaki's *dīwān*.

the first issue of the journal *al-Manāhil* (the sources), (1936:49). On the other hand, Karam does not mention the other volumes listed by al-Badawī al-Mulattam, and neither does Yūsuf ʿAbdalaḥad in his bibliography (*at-Taqqāfa*, October, 1992:8-14).

The next volume to appear was the volume *Suʿād*, in commemoration of his daughter Suʿād who died at the age of 8 months (San Martín, B.A., 1953). It was followed by *Nūr wa-nār* (Light and Fire) (Konsol 1972). The third page of this volume carried the title and the words: "First part of the *dīwān* of the poet". On the first page of the volume the following message occurs: "New, augmented, corrected edition which annuls what preceded it". From this message and from the fact that this volume is indicated part one of the *dīwān* of the poet, one is led to believe that the poet meant to include the volume *aš-Šazāyā* in this annulment. A footnote on page 9 informs the reader that an earlier edition of *Nūr wa-nār* appeared at the end of 1970⁴.

I have not been able to trace that earlier edition or to find other information about it than that recorded in the edition of *Nūr wa-nār*, published in 1972 in Buenos Aires.

The title page of the volume *ʿAṭṣ wa-ḡūʿ* (Hunger and Thirst) (Konsol 1974), defines this volume as the second part of the *dīwān* of the poet. The volume *Alwān wa-alḥān* (Tinctures and Tunes) was published in Buenos Aires, 1978, and the volume *Fī matāḥāt at-ṭarīq* (In the Mazes of the Road), was published in Damascus, 1984. In 1986, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in Damascus published the first part of the *Dīwān* of Zaki Konsol, which consists of poems from all the collections so far mentioned and may be some unpublished poems, without any reference to the earlier *dīwāns*. For the sake of completeness, we have to mention, that Zaki Konsol wrote some plays in prose. The first play appeared in 1939 with the title *at-Tawra as-sūriyya*. The second play *Taḥta samāʾ al-Andalus* was published in Damascus in 1965. al-Badawī al-Mulattam mentions, without further details, the play *Ṭarīq ibn Ziyād*, not mentioned by anyone else (al-Badawī al-Mulattam 1956:420).

The first observations about the literary value of the poetry of Zaki Konsol can be found in the earlier mentioned works by ʿĪsā an-Nāʿūrī and by Ğurğ Şaydaḥ. ʿĪsā an-Nāʿūrī devoted ten pages (1977:570-579) to Zaki Konsol. He opens his description with the words: "I did not know the poetical significance of Zaki Konsol before the poet Ilyās Farḥāt made me aware of it ..." and "... I did not care to study him seriously until Ilyās Farḥāt had written me more than once praising his spirit and his art" (an-Nāʿūrī 1977:147). Şaydaḥ (1964:633-640) tells that he was very much impressed by the poem "the flower-girl" and that he then remembered what had

⁴ an-Nāʿūrī 1977:574f. mentions the publication of a small *dīwān* with the title *Nūr wa-nār* at the publishing house of the *Mağallat at-Taqqāfa* 1970, which, according to the poet was so riddled with mistakes that he ordered its reprint in Buenos Aires in 1972.

happened two years before. In 1948, on his way to Buenos Aires, he visited Ilyā Abū Mādī in New York and asked him if he knew any poets in Buenos Aires. Ilyā Abū Mādī mentioned four names and then added: "There is a young man (*tari al-'ūd*) named Zaki Konsol composing poetry, but he is not outstanding". Şaydah then relates that Ilyā Abū Mādī told that Zaki sent him his first *dīwān* asking him to write a foreword, but that he was hesitant about it. Ilyā Abū Mādī told, Şaydah writes, that the *dīwān* still was in his possession, and finally, asked Şaydah to take the *dīwān* with him and give it back to Zaki. Şaydah writes that the opinion of Abū Mādī influenced him until he read the above-mentioned poem⁵.

However, there is a notion that the poetry of the *Mahğar* and more specifically the poetry of the Southern *Mahğar* lack quality. This, at least is the opinion of Margot Scheffold (1993:30). She writes: "Moreover, it is precisely the striking quantity of Arabic poetical production, together with its obvious lack of quality, which made these works uninteresting for the theory of literature" (my translation). She refers in a footnote to Jayyusi (1977:67), but the only remark Jayyusi made was that: "The South remained more in the main stream of Arabic poetry and culture". Jayyusi's lack of appreciation for the Argentine *Mahğar* become evident when one realizes that she does not devote one single line to its poets.

The actual spread of this idea of lack of quality is difficult to establish. We know that the poet heard about it and that he reacted to it. The title page of Zaki's *dīwān* "*Alwān wa-alḥān*" (Tinctures and Tunes) (Konsol 1978) carries next to the obligatory text the following sentence, *šī'r taqlīdī rağ'ī fīhi kullu 'uyūb aš-šī'r al-qadīm* (traditional, backward poetry with all the defects of the old poetry). The opening poem of this volume has the title, *Rağ'īyyun*. The twenty-four strophes of this poem all begin with the words: *Anā yā qaumu rağ'īyyun* (Dear people, I am backward) (Konsol 1978:17-22). The first strophe runs as follows:

I am backward, dear people	let the world testify!
I have cleansed the heart from mud	and from its lower lusts
I love people. No hatred	overcomes me against anyone
All human beings are my brothers	every place is my country

Strophe 13 is important because the poet speaks in it about his poetry. The strophe runs as follows:

I am backward, dear people	I love art for the sake of art
I am a <i>ğinn</i> among humans	and human among the <i>ğinn</i>
I poetise to relieve	the soul from pains
My foot stumbles and I do not grieve	but I do when my pen stumbles

⁵ We have to state here that Ilyā Abū Mādī is seen as the most important poet of the Northern *Mahğar*, enjoying a broad recognition in the Arab world and that Ilyās Farḥāt is one of the best poets of the Southern *Mahğar*. Jayyusi (1977:72) writes that he and the poet al-Qarāwī "are noted for their strength of style and virile, precise and effective diction".

Strophe 15 also deals with his ideas about poetry:

I am backward, dear people
 I reject indecency of thoughts
 How much poetry is there without meaning,
 and how much meaning is there outside poetry
 They who propagated meanness were consumed by fire;
 they died one after the other
 Their bareness is visible to people
 and they call their nakedness revolution.

The volume *Alwān wa-alḥān* is unique in the sense that the poet himself wrote an opening essay entitled *Fī šī'r* (On poetry). Not one of his other volumes of poetry has such an essay by the poet himself. The poet defines poetry as follows: "Poetry is what gives expression to the emotions of the soul and what lets the feelings of the heart speak. It dives into the depths of emotion in a true language free from stains, in a sound rendering with well-chosen words. It has a solid style without intricacies or obscurities, but for those required by the richness of the art and the dignity of the statement" (Konsol 1978:5). The poet then turns against the defenders of free poetry, saying that: "Poetry cannot do without metre and rhyme. It is a crime to set metre and rhyme afire, arguing that the internal music has taken their place and made them redundant. Internal music is a fable which does not hold out when examined ...". He continues this argument saying: "abiding by the fundamentals of poetry does not preclude the variation of rhyme and the changing from one metre to another. The poets of the *Mahğar* have made some exquisite inventions ...". It should be noted that the volume *Nūr wa-nār* opens with a poem in which the poet is addressing the propagandists of the "new poetry". The title of this poem is *Aḥfād Sayyāh*, *Sayyāh* being the name of a woman who claimed to be a prophetess in the first period of Islam (Konsol 1972:13-15). The relevant lines of this poem run as follows:

Do not say freedom of poetry ...
 the humbug of the inexperienced is nothing but calamity
 All poetry without metre and without
 meaning is idle talk, its root being foreign
 The glory of speech lies in being plain
 only the evil mind stammers⁶

Another poem expresses the same idea:

Brother abroad, we are a group of people
 who still are delighted in the metre of Halīl

⁶ *lā taqūlū ḥurriyata š-šī'ri ... laysat
 kullu šī'rin lā wazna fihi wa-lā
 šarfu l-qawli an yakūna faṣiḥan*

*turrahātu l-ağrāvi illā baliyya
 ma'nā hurā'un usūlubā ağnabiyya
 lam yulağliğ illā ḥabītu t-tawīyya*

We are not riding the wave of poetry
that spoils everything beautiful and glorious⁷

Continuing his argument, Zaki Konsol turns to the question for whom the poet writes his poetry: "Is it right that we exhaust the capacities of the reader with magic and riddles and then say that we are writing for the general public" (Konsol 1978:6). "Poetry does not live in dark caves, but it is in need of light and air. I do understand that it is veiled lightly (*wa-anā afhamu an yatabarqa'a bi-niqābin šafāfin*) because that has more impact on the soul and makes the brain more alert." He ends this part of the essay saying: "Therefore, obscurity is ugly when it is synonymous to blindfolding and when its purpose lies in itself".

Another subject of this essay is the function of poetry. The poet writes: "Poetry is not a mouthpiece for propaganda and jesting, or a vehicle drawn by the horses of custom and tradition, nor a means to solve political, social and economical problems. In the history of literature there are numberless proofs that freedom is the natural abode for poetry. It cannot breathe except in total freedom." This view is not limited to political poetry but it applies to all sorts of poetry. The poet continues with saying that poetry does not need to have a link with virtue although he himself is a propagandist of such virtues. He loves nationalistic poetry, he says, but he believes that poetry is not required to side with nationalistic movements. "The quintessence is that poetry came into being as a basis for enjoyment – meaning that singing is a necessity since primordial times and that it will remain its companion to eternity – then political and social factors came upon it adding the element of utility. It can do without it whenever it wants to, but it can never do without its basic function. Who is able to combine the two and joins purpose and means, his merit is double and includes honour from both sides" (*Ibid.*, 7f).

Summarising we may say that Zaki Konsol wants poetry to be poetical before anything else and secondly that poetry may carry a message. To combine the two, the poem being poetical and carrying a message, is meritorious in his view and that means that we may expect him to bring a message in each of his poems.

Zaki's poetry comprises the following categories: *ğazal*, love-poetry, the *wataniyyāt*, or political poetry, the *hanīn* poems of longing for the homeland, the *insāniyyāt*, in which category come his poems about various trades and crafts, and the long poem *Su'ād*, which he composed after the death of his eight months old daughter. Within the category of the *ğazal* comes the series about *Galwā'*, a name the poet possibly

⁷ Konsol 1984:30-38: *Luğat al-ğanna*, which poem has the following lines:
yā abā l-ğurba innā mā šarun lam nazal naṭrabu li-l-wazni l-ḥalīlī
mā rakibnā mawğata š-š'ri llatī šarwahat kulla ġamīlin wa-ğalīlī

borrowed from Abū Šabaka. The latter's collection of poems titled *Ġalwā'*, came out in Beirut in 1945⁸.

Zaki Konsol wrote ten poems devoted to *Ġalwā'* and in 27 other poems out of the 300 poems he published, he mentions the name of *Ġalwā'*. The inserts in these 27 poems vary in length between a few words to six lines, "what shall I say to *Ġalwā'*?", or "*Ġalwā'*'s approval suffices for me" being the shortest inserts¹⁰. Most of these inserts occur in occasional poetry. Since such poems were meant to be recited before a life audience, one may assume that the poet used the inserts as a stratagem to hold or to recapture the attention of his audience, or to say indirectly what he could not or would not say directly.

The ten poems devoted to *Ġalwā'* tell the story of a relationship developing from the first feelings of love for *Ġalwā'* from afar to accusations of his infidelity and to the expression of anxiety for the wellbeing of *Ġalwā'*. The story ends in a poem in which the poet mentions *Ġalwā'*, his grandson and his son, in that order.

The first poem, *Ahlā darārīhi* (His prettiest star), tells about an amorous young man who suffers from being in love (Konsol 1984:39-41). The poem opens with the line:

Wherever I go, her spectre follows me,
What can I do about her, and what about it¹¹?

The last sentence is:

If my wish does not come true, that is bad luck
Alas for my heart, how shall I console it¹²?

There is no indication that *Ġalwā'* knew about the feelings of the young man.

The poem, *Ḍalāl al-harwā'* (The error of love)¹³, follows the same line.

⁸ Ilyās Abū Šabaka informs the reader in the introduction that he wrote the poems between 1926 and 1932 and that there is only a small part from the poet's early youth in them. As a whole they are the product of fantasy not of reality. *Ġalwā'* is a metathesis of Olga, the fiancée of the poet who finally married her after ten years (Meisami & Starkey 1998:44f). The name of Zaki's wife was Warda 'Azzāz (*at-Taqāfa*, October 1992:49).

⁹ *mādā aqūl li-Ġalwā'?* (Konsol 1972:75).

¹⁰ *ḥasbī riḍā li-Ġalwā'* (Konsol 1972:96; 1974:14).

¹¹ *yurāfiqunī annā dahabtu ḥayāluḥā
fa-mā ḥilati fihā wa-mā ḥilati fihī?*

¹² *fa-in ḥāba mā arġū fa-yā sū'a tālī'i
wa-yā wayḥa ḥādīhi l-qalbi, kayfa u'azzīhi*

¹³ Konsol 1978:159. This poem tells about an amorous man haunted by his love for *Ġalwā'*. How much I debate with him (my heart), how much I turn him away from her, he swears that he does not long for anything but for her.

The third poem, *Yā ḥulwata t-tuḡri* (You sweet mouth) shows a development in the relation. In good classical fashion, the poet exclaims:

Do you remember paradise, during our evening,
while we were unaware of the evil of an informer and a slanderer?
We flew to it and ecstasy was our third companion
A guest tending the wounds of our bleeding heart
The night wrapped us in the folds of its cloak
A thirsty person withholding her drink from a thirsty person¹⁴

However, it is not Ḡalwā' withholding her drink, but the poet withholding his. The devil, he says, was trying to persuade him to take the presents of beauty, but on the other hand a reproach, spelled out in detail, held him back from committing a crime.

The relation has undergone a change in the poem *Ba'da l-'āsifa* (After the storm). The poet defends himself against the accusation of infidelity by Ḡalwā'¹⁵. An altercation between the poet and Ḡalwā', be it an imaginative one, is the subject of the six-line insert in the poem commemorating the political leader, Fāris al-Hūrī (Konsol 1972:73-80):

"What shall I say to Ḡalwā' when she shouts,
Did you not turn your golden voice against us,
poet of Syria? The heart of Syria is afire
by emotion and your heart is playing with wine

...
Does her tear for the evil events not shake you?
Are you made of stone, of wood?"

"Stop your reproach, Ḡalwā'..."¹⁶

The poet then continues saying that he is doing everything for Syria and that Ḡalwā' does not need to reproach him for inactivity. In this case, the insert serves a rhetorical purpose to wrap his self-praise in an imaginative altercation between the poet and his beloved.

¹⁴ Konsol 1974:98-101. The quoted lines occur on p. 99.

*hal taḍkurīna 'alā «l-firdūsi» sahratanā
tīrnā ilayhi wa-kāna l-waḡdu tālītanā
yaluffunā l-laylu fī d-'āfi burdatibi*

*fī ḡaflatin min adā wāšin wa-nammāmī
ḍayfan tarwassada ḡurḥay qalbinā d-dāmī
zam'a taḍunnu bi-saḡyāhā 'alā zāmī*

¹⁵ Konsol 1974:63-67. This poem is with 40 lines the longest Ḡalwā' poem by the poet.

¹⁶ Lines 14-15:

*mādā aḡulu li-Ḡalwā'ī idā hatafat
yā šā'ira š-šāmi qalbu š-šāmi muḍḍaramun*

*hallā adarta 'alaynā sawtaka d-dahabī
waḡḍan wa-qalbuka lāhin b-ibnati l-'anabī*

And lines 18-19:

*alā tahuzzuka fī l-aḥḍāti dam'atubā
kuffī malāmaki yā Ḡalwā'...*

hal anta min ḥaḡarin, hal anta min ḥašabī?

A new element is the anxiety expressed by the poet about the health and safety of Ġalwā'. In the poem *Salamat yadāka* (Your hands healed), the poet thanked Dr. Ḥaddād, director and owner of the clinic Los Cedros in Buenos Aires, for curing Ġalwā' (Konsol 1984:164-167).

In *Qā'id ar-rakb* (Leader of the caravan), the poet expresses his concern for the safety of Ġalwā' imploring the captain of the ship (or plane) to bring Ġalwā' safely to Syria (Konsol 1974:190-192).

The poem *Durrat aš-šarqayn* (Pearl of the two Easts = Damascus) (Konsol 1986: 81-88), is a poem composed in Damascus about the city ending with three lines in which he mentions Ġalwā', his grandson and his son.

Ġalwā', after tomorrow our ship will leave
 Shall I turn my ear away from its hooters?
 If my grandson and my son were not on my eyelashes
 and in my heart and brain
 I would never use a rhyme other than *dād*
 and not spread a wing outside my country! (Konsol 1986:88)

There are two lines about the use of the name of Ġalwā'. The first one runs, *bi-smihā a'nī watanī*¹⁷. The other line is, *bi-smihā uḡannī watanī*¹⁸. They occur in two versions of the same poem, the first of which does not suit the metre but the second does. We may assume therefore that the first line is wrong. The second line gives a better meaning also: "In her name I sing the praise of my country".

The *wataniyyāt* is another important group of poems in Zaki's oeuvre. They deal with the important political events in the Arab countries and especially with Palestine. The treatment of the subject of Palestine comes close to the treatment of the Ġalwā' motif. The poet composed a great number of poems on this subject and he inserted this motif into other poems on a variety of subjects.

The first volume of poetry, *Nūr wa-nār* (Konsol 1972), abounds with poems dealing with the fate of Palestine. The poet has dated most of his poems in this volume and so we know that he composed them between 1946 and 1971. He selected nine poems of the year 1967, which he dated by mentioning the month of composition next to the year. Six of the nine poems, composed in June, July and August, deal with the aftermath of the June war. The titles of these poems reflect the poet's feelings about this war.

The first poem after the war is *Kifāḥ wa-amal* (Struggle and hope) The opening line runs as follows:

"My people has not died and hope has not been lost

¹⁷ Konsol 1984:30-38, especially p. 34 third line.

¹⁸ Konsol 1986:215-220, especially p. 217 last line.

A false step of the rider does not mean failure"¹⁹

The following poem, *Laylu l-urūba* (Night of Arabism), declares,
 Patience is the best refuge when afflicted
 After increasing hardship relief will come²⁰

The other poems of this series are *Ardu š-šubadā'i* (Soil of martyrs), 15 July 1967 (Konsol 1972:152-156); *Sa'abnuqu ġurhī* (I will suppress my injuries), which poem has the subtitle, "From a Palestinian refugee to the thieves of his country" (*Ibid.*, 157-160); *aṭ-Ta'ru l-muqaddas* (The sacred revenge), August 1967, (*Ibid.*, 161-167).

Revenge is also the main theme of the *Waṣiyyatu t-ta'r* (The admonition to take revenge). 'Abdallaṭif Yūnus considered this poem as the best poem ever written by Zaki Konsol, that is until 1967, the year Yūnus published his book. He writes: "No Arab poet, myself not excepted, can describe the painful tragedy of Palestine as this masterpiece describes it" (Konsol 1972:29-31, Yūnus 1967:71-75). The poem dates from 1950. It consists of three strophes, the first of which deserves our attention. The poem opens with three adverbial clauses indicating the place, followed by six relative clauses describing the place before coming to two coordinate main phrases, the second of which is followed by two subordinate ones and a third coordinate phrase. This last phrase opens with an adverbial clause with a subordinate phrase and then comes to the main verb and its subject. The logical subject of these phrases is an old refugee, whose eyes, hand and sighs are the subjects of the three main phrases. The two last words of this strophe reveal this logical subject.

The adjectives of the form *maf'ūlatin* at the beginning of the lines three to eight emphasize, through meaning and sonority, the horror of the place. To give a taste of this sonority, the usual order of translation with a transcription of the Arabic text in the footnotes is abandoned. The Arabic transcription comes first followed by its translation:

‘abra ṭ-tariqi l-‘ābisi l-hālī

‘abra l-madā l-marwāri bi-l-ālī

fī haymatin saudā'a ka-l-qabri
 mansūbatin fī mahmahi l-qafri
 manhūkatin mahtūkati s-satri
 maftūḥatin li-l-waḥši wa-ṭ-tayri
 makšūfatin li-l-ḥarri wa-l-qarri
 mafrūšatin bi-r-ramli wa-l-faqri

¹⁹ Konsol 1972:143-146, dated 18 *Hazirān* (June), 1967:
lam yamut qawmī wa-lā dā'a l-amal
kabwatu l-fārisi lā ta'nī l-fašal

²⁰ Konsol 1972: 147-151, dated 2 *Tammūz* (July), 1967:
aṣ-ṣabru hayru malādin fī l-balā'i fa-qad
yaḡī'u ba'da štidādi l-miḥmati l-faraḡū

<p> <i>magmūratin bi-d-dulli wa-l-qabri</i> ʿaynāni taʿtaliḡāni bi-n-nāri al-ḥaḡdu yūḡihā wa-ʿalā l-ḥurūfi r-rāʿifati damā tanzū hušāṣatu </p>	<p> <i>wa-yadun taḡuttu waṣiyyata t-taʿri</i> wa-l-ḡurḡu yumliḡhā al-ḡadirāti taḡālulḡa humamā laḡiʿi bālī </p>
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After a road, dreary and black

After a spectre ridden track

In a tent deathly black

Disposed of in an arid waste

Decomposed and worn the cloth

Exposed to birds and beasts

Open to cold and heat

Clothed with sand and need

Enclosed with humiliation and the rule of might

Two eyes tremble ablaze

A hand writes an order to retaliate

Feelings of hate instigate

wounds dictate

And, on the bleeding, burning characters

which one might think lava to be

Jumps the last sigh

of the ageing refugee

ʿAbdallaṡif Yūnus is exultant about these lines. I translate: "They are above the level of the pen – any pen, and ability – any ability – it is on a level to which nothing rises except the innermost heart (*damīr*)..."

Other poems about Palestine give vent to feelings of frustration, anger, hate and aggression.

Hurāfatu s-salām (The legend of peace) (Konsol 1972:19-24), reads:

The abominable armistice, the source of our affliction

The neck of him who agreed to it, is sprinkled with blood

Without its strings, our sword would have smashed the den of vice

And Israel would have come to an end.

The poem *Mulūku l-kalām* (Kings of talk) (Konsol 1972:25-28) makes its title clear with the lines:

Your sons did not hesitate to fight

God is witness that they did not abandon you

The leaders alone were criminals

Ask them about their degraded honour.

The Palestine question plays a prominent role in the poem commemorating the battle of Maysalūn in 1920, when the French invaded Syria to establish the mandate government²¹. The same goes for the poem *Abū l-fawāris* (The headman of the caval-

²¹ *Fī mawkibi š-šahīd* (In the procession of the martyr), Konsol 1972:198-200.

ry), which celebrates the Druze leader of the 1925-26 insurrection against the French rulers. The poem *Kafartu bi-l-īd* (I did not celebrate) (Konsol 1972:67-70) tells why the poet did not take part in the fifth year celebration of the French withdrawal from Syria in 1946. This poem counts 24 lines and it is only in line 19 that the poet mentions Palestine as the cause for his abstention. The coming to power of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt in 1955 is another opportunity to mention the ongoing struggle²².

Closely related to the *waṭaniyyāt* are the poems in which the poet describes his longing, *ḥanīn*, to the country where he feels his roots lie. Just like the other themes, Zaki Konsol composed complete poems devoted to it and he inserted short episodes into poems devoted to another subject. In the volume *ʿAtš wa-ḡūc* one finds the telling titles, *Yā ḡannata d-dunyā* (Paradise of the world) (Konsol 1974:44) and *Yabrūd*, the city of his parents where the poet lived from 1922 to 1929, and where he went to school. Here follows a translation of the last of the eight strophes of the poem *Yabrūd*,

Girls of the quarter, do you remember a child,
 Who stayed in the nest for a while and then went away
 I was that child, but I am now a middle-aged man
 My absence made me lose root and branch
 I have not earned glory and I made no family happy
 Be nice to my orphan tears
 Greetings to you, paradise of the world, greetings²³

Nostalgia is a natural part of the *Mahd ahlāmi* (Cradle of my dreams), written shortly before the June war, in April 1967. Nostalgia also appears in poems which seem to give little reason for it. One of these poems is the elegy for Fāris al-Hūrī in 1962 (Konsol 1972:73-80).

After six lines praising Fāris al-Hūrī, the poet addresses his muse:

O muse of my poetry, in the middle of your confidential words you leave me
 My self-esteem withholds me from running off
 Do not dismiss the singing string when hoarseness

²² *Yā šiblu Miṣr* (Young man from Egypt), Konsol 1972:34-37.

²³ Konsol 1974:44:

*yā ṣabāyā l-ḥayyi hal tadkurna tiḡlā
 lazama l-īšša zamānan tumma aḡlā
 anā dāka ṭ-tiḡlu lākin širtu kablā
 dayyaʿatnī ḡurbatī ašlan wa-ḡaslā
 lam ašib maḡdan wa-lā aš adtu ablā
 fa-taraffaḡna bi-damʿāti l-yaṭāmā
 wa-salāman ḡannata d-dunyā salāmā*

Falls upon the voice of one who in tiredness resigns
 Nostalgia broke my wing and hope died out
 like daybreak. I let it drink from my heart and eyes
 Alas, for the stranger whose bed is made of thorns,
 whose bread is baked from the dough of worry and hardship.

He lives physically in exile and his heart and longing are not exiled²⁴.

After this nostalgia episode comes a Ġalwā' episode and after nineteen lines in total the poet returns to the *Šayhu l-urūba*.

‘Īsā an-Nā‘ūrī (1977:575) describes the so-called *insāniyyāt* as follows: “The reader of Zaki Konsol’s poetry discovers that he has a great interest in social poetry and a deep feeling for the toiling class of the nation. He wrote me in a letter dated February 17th, 1953, that he had a volume of poetry titled ‘*Alā qārī‘ati t-tarīq* (Along the streets), devoted to this forgotten group of people with their humble professions”. an-Nā‘ūrī tells that the volume counted twenty poems, some of which Zaki Konsol had published and others not. Ten of the poems found their way to the volumes *Nūr wa-nār*, *Fī matāhāt at-tarīq* and *Dīwān*. The jobs vary between the flower girl, the compositor, the builder’s labourer, the postal worker (*Nūr wa-nār*), the shepherd, the teacher, the waiter and the seller of liquorice water (*Fī matāhāt at-tarīq*), the baker (*Dīwān*).

‘Īsā an-Nā‘ūrī (1977:575) included one strophe of the poem “The maid” (*al-Āmila*) and ten lines of the poem “The newspaper vendor” (*Bayyā‘u l-ġarā‘id*) in the entry about Zaki Konsol. Ġurġ Šaydah (1964:634-636) admires the poem *Bā‘atu z-zahr* (The flower-girl) and ‘Abdallaṭīf Yūnus writes that this type of poetry describes the toiling classes and their circumstances and awakens sympathy for them. It is, he says, the type of poetry most deserving of immortality (Yūnus 1967:130).

The Flower girl

In the hustle of dreams, I saw her confusion
 As if she were reading the tales of illusion
 She went like drunk in the march of the days
 And made flowers dance with the following lays:

Flowers, o lovers – for flowers do come,

²⁴ Konsol 1972:74, lines 1-5:

‘arūsu šīri fī naġwāki tabdīlunī
 lā tāzila l-watara aš-šādī idā intašarat
 hāda l-ħanīnu ġanāhī wa-ntafā amalū
 wayħa l-ġarībi ‘alā lašwāki madġā‘ihī
 ya ‘ayšu ‘an rabīhi bi-l-ġismi muġtaribā

wa-‘izzatu n-nafsi taṭnīnī ‘ani l-ħarabī
 fī šawtihi buħħatu l-mustaslimi t-tā‘abī
 ka-l-faġri asqīhi min qalbi wa-min ħudubī
 wa-ħubzuhu min ‘aġīni l-ħammi wa-n-naṣabī
 wa-qalbuhu wa-ħawāhu ġayra muġtaribī

Proud among leaves in their sweet-smelling dress
 A present of lovers for cheek and for neck
 Richer than gold, an adornment for necks

Praise him who graced them
 With a beautiful face
 And modelled their paints
 To God I say grace²⁵

The long poem *Su'ād* occupies a place of its own in the oeuvre of Zaki Konsol. It is his only long poem and its subject, the death of his eight months old daughter, sets it apart from his other poems. an-Nā'ūrī, in his entry about Zaki Konsol, quotes 19 lines from this poem and Ğurğ Şaydağ quotes fifteen lines. 'Abdallatīf Yūnus devoted a special chapter to the poem quoting 44 lines (Yūnus 1967:144-151). He writes that Zaki Konsol had a name as a poet before he wrote this poem, but that his fame had not yet spread. After people had read this poem, they realised that they had a new poet. Yūnus quotes 11 strophes of the poem beginning with the second strophe. He dropped the first strophe, which, in his view, did not have the same quality as the others. In order to keep the quotation within manageable limits, we have translated the second, the fifth, the seventh and the eighth strophes, which give a fair impression of the poem.

Su'ād, is there a name sweeter than yours among human names?
 It is like a song on the edge of a string
 It is like the words of a breeze rocking the twigs of a tree
 It is like kisses of moisture flowing between flowers

²⁵ Konsol 1978:161-164, and Sayda 1964:634-636. The translation does not always follow the Arabic original strictly.

*ra'aytuhā ḥayrā
 ka'annahā taqrā
 tasi'ru ka-s-sakrā
 wa-turqīšu z-zahrā*

*fī zaḥmati l-ahlām
 ustūrata l-awḥām
 fī mawḳibi l-ayyām
 bi-ḥādīhi l-anḡām*

*az-zahrū yā 'uṣṣāq
 yazhu minā l-awrāq
 ḥadiyyatu l-muṣṭāq
 wa-ḥilyatu l'anāq*

*ḥuyya 'alā z-zahrī
 fī ṭawbihi l-'itrī
 li-l-ḥaddi wa-n-naḥri
 azḥā minā t-tibri*

*subḥāna man zānah
 bi-wiṣṣīhi z-zāhī
 wa-ṣāḡa al-wānah
 āmantu bi-llāhī*

Did you not sing with the nightingales, morning and night?
 Did you not leave the songs of pessimism and distress to the crows?
 The hand of the merciful paved your path, my hope narcissus,
 And clad you every day in clothes made of happiness.

Sleep on my eyelashes when you cannot stay in bed
 I ransom you from the changes of times with everything a hand can hold
 Without you, my life was not pleasant and no resort was nice
 You made my hope bloom and the desert smiled on my path

I read on your brow the book of my distant past
 I see in your eyes two flashes of my roaming dream
 The world laughed to me. How happy I was with your coming!
 Today I rose from the grave. Today I am reborn!²⁶

As we have demonstrated above, Zaki Konsol's poetry covers a variety of fields. He showed his originality in incorporating the Ġalwā' theme and other themes as well in his poetry and in describing the humbler professions. He chose for simple language to make his poetry accessible to a broad audience. Even if his fame would be limited to his closest audience, the Arabs in the Southern *Mabġar*, we must conclude that he is a poet well deserving our attention.

²⁶ *a-Su'ād hal ahlā min ismiki bayna asmā'i l-bašar
 la-ka'annahu uhzuġatun našwā 'alā šafati l-watar
 la-ka'annahu naġwā n-nasimi yahuzzu a'tāfa š-šāġar
 la-ka'annahu qubalu n-nidā tansābu mā bayna z-zabar*

*hallā šadawti ma'a l-balābila fī s-šabāhi wa-fī l-masā
 wa-taraketi li-l-ġurbāni alhāna t-tašā'umi wa-l-asā
 farasāt yadu r-rahmāni darbaki yā raġā'i narġisā
 wa-kašāki min ħulali s-sā'adati kulla jawmin burnusā*

*nāmī 'alā ahdābi 'aynī in nabā bi-ki marqadū
 afīki min nawabi z-zamāni bi-kulli mā malakat yadū
 lawlāki lam tahlū l-ħayātu wa-lam yatib lī mawridū
 naddarti āmalī fa-bašša 'alā tariqi l-fadfadū*

*innī la-aqrā fī ġabīniki sifra mādiyyī l-bā'id
 wa-arā 'alā 'aynayki bāriqatayni min ħulmī š-šarīd
 dahīkat liyya d-dunyā fa-wā farħī bi-maqdamiki s-sā'id
 al-jawma ub'atu min darīhī al-jawma ūladu min ġadīd*

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TRADITION AND NOVELTY IN THE CONTEMPORARY PROSE OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

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The development of prose in the United Arab Emirates occurred much later than in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia or Bahrain. Cultural literary periodicals from abroad started to arrive here only at the beginning of the 1970s. The local press started to develop in a dynamic way at the end of the 1960s. The author of the first short story *Qulūb lā tarḥam* (Merciless Hearts), which was published at the end of the 1960s, was ʿAbd-allāh Ṣaqr Aḥmad. He also wrote at the same time the first collection of short stories in the history of Emirate literature. It was entitled *al-Ḥašaba* (A Piece of Wood). However it was not to reach readers as it was burnt because of its contents, which were full of biting criticism of the British, and the English occupation (*Multaqāʾ*¹ 15).

The first literary attempts of the young generation of Emirate writers were published within the pages of the following periodicals: *an-Naṣr*, *az-Zamālik*, *aš-Šabāb*, *al-Ablī*. After gaining independence in 1971 there occurred a rapid development of schooling. In 1977 the al-ʿAyn University was founded (*Emirates* 100).

On the market there appeared the journal *al-Ittiḥād*, the weekly *Aḥbār Dubay* and the monthly *al-Mağma*¹. The first stage in the history of contemporary Emirate literature is constituted by a group of young writers who appeared in the years 1972-1975. Amongst the young creators the following are worthy of note: ʿAlī ʿUbayd ʿAlī – the author of the short stories *al-Ġazāʾ* (Punishment), *Ḍaḥiyyat aṭ-ṭamaʿ* (The Victim of Greed), *Ġaḥīm* (Hell), *Hādā huwa al-ḥubb* (Such is Love) or *Layl bilā āḥir* (Night without End), Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Mīrī – the author of the short stories *Yawm fi ḥayāt muwazzaf ṣaġīr* (A Day in the Life of an Ordinary Civil Servant) and *ʿĀbir sabīl* (The Traveller), ʿAbdalʿazīz Ḥalīl – from whose pen came the short story *Min aġli waladī* (For My Son) as well as ʿAbdalḥamīd Aḥmad – author of works such as *al-Farār* (Escape) or *Half al-bāb al-muġlaq* (Behind Closed Doors) (*Multaqāʾ*¹ 16-17).

It can generally be concluded that short stories from this period belong to the traditional romantic current. They were filled with pain, suffering, desperation, sadness and disappointment. The subject matter concerned social matter, *i.e.* the marriage of underage girls, the lack of respect for the opinions and aspirations of the young. Besides which in those stories we notice attempts to undertake new topics

¹ At present on the market are available newspapers such as *al-Ittiḥād*, *al-Faġr*, *al-Waḥda* published in Abu Dhabi, *al-Bayān* published in Dubai or *al-Ḥalīġ* in Sharjah (*Emirates* 124).

which are connected with the introduction of a new life style linked to the economic and financial changes caused by the discovery of crude oil.

The years 1975-1979 meant a period of infatuation with wealth and material goods which is why on the book market there did not appear too many new titles. The following *as-Šaqa'* (Labour) written by 'Abdal'aziz as-Šarhān deserves inclusion amongst these few. The works which it contains are the conclusions and experiences of the author from his period of study abroad. Moreover, the yearning for his country has borne fruit in stories concerning the life and work of people at sea. At the same time Ismā'īl Ša'bān 'Alī and 'Abdalqādir Aḥmad Nūr made their debut publishing their works within the pages of *Aḥbār Dubay* and *al-Ablī*.

The year 1979 was a special one for writers in the Arab Emirates, for there were founded many cultural societies including cultural social clubs in Abu Dhabi and Sharjah. Moreover, literary evenings were organised there where the works of contemporary writers were presented, together with cultural exhibitions promoting the works of young artists. The *al-Azmina al-'arabiyya* periodical was created.

In the short stories of this period the social subject matter dominates. Problems of man's freedom and his place in society, the discovery of crude oil and its influence on the everyday life of the inhabitants of the Emirates are discussed. Many new collections of short stories were published including: *al-Hurūğ 'alā wašm al-qabīla* (Breaking Out of the Tribal Tradition) written by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḥarbī, *as-Sibāha fī 'aynay ḥalīğ yatarwahḥaš* (Bathing in the Eyes of the Wild Gulf) by 'Abdalḥamīd Aḥmad, *Dālika z-zamān* (Those Times), *Zallat al-'adārā* (The Mistakes of the Maidens) by 'Abdarridā as-Sağwānī, *Ḥubb min naw' āḥar* (A Different Kind of Love), *al-Furṣa al-aḥīra* (Last Chance) and *Ṣadāqa* (Friendship) written by Muḥammad al-Murr.

According to Dr. Diyā' aš-Šadiqī a literary work is composed of three elements: the creative personality of the author, pictures from life and elements determining the relation between the author's own ego and the subject he has undertaken (aš-Šadiqī 1989:153-154).

'Abdalḥamīd Aḥmad divided the development of the short story in the Emirates into four stages:

- * stage one - the initial one, the end of the 1960s. The main representative here is 'Abdallāh Šaqr and his collection of short stories *al-Ḥašaba* (A Piece of Wood),
- * the second stage called the stage of continuity in which new writers make their debuts,
- * the third stage is a period of cultural stagnation and a weakening of activity among short story writers,
- * while stage four lasts from the end of the 1970s to the present day and is characterised by a constant development of culture (aš-Šadiqī 1989:158).

Emigrate writers examine in their works the subject of the past. This is linked to the subject of the sea and its influence on the lives of the inhabitants. Writers equally

explore the life of the inhabitants of the desert, countryside and the old Emirate districts, describing their traditions and customs, though not avoiding equally contemporary subject matters connected with the discovery of crude oil and the construction of superb municipalities. So by way of an example 'Alī Muḥammad Rāšid in the short story *Riḡāl fī miḥna* (Men in Sorrow) tells of sailors: the captain of a ship and his son who deal in pearls. The culminating point being the death of the captain, which leads to conflict between the sailors and his son against the back cloth of the division of the pearls.

A story abounding in descriptions: of the sea, of children's games and the customs of the inhabitants is Sa'īd Sālim al-Hankī's work entitled '*ʿAbdallāh aṣ-Ṣaḡīr ... waṣiyya* (Advice for Little 'Abdallah) The subject for the story is the rebellion of the main hero Ibn Zāhir, who is a fisherman on the ship Husayn.

Colonialism together with the artificial economic and social division in the Emirates is the subject of the short story *Yawm uḥissu bihi annahu ya'īšu* (The Day I Feel Alive in) written by Ġum'a al-Fayrūz. This short story is a registration of the unwritten history of the region.

The countryside and its problems have been touched on in the short story *al-Ġarrād* (Locusts) by Nāṣir Az-Zahirī. The author describes a village where abundant rains fertilised the soils resulting in vegetation. The joy of the villagers is however shattered by an invasion of locusts which brings the appearance of the spectre of famine. *Šidda wa-tazūl* (The Distress Which Passes) written by Nāṣir Ġubrān is the story of a child called Ġama'ān, who finds a tin can on the shore. He wants to make a water holder for birds out of it, yet a fire breaks out in his home caused by the tin which contains a deadly substance. This is confirmed by the English officers who come to the Ġama'ān's house

The discovery of oil brought about many changes in the traditional social structure of the Emirates. Citizens stood in the face of the 'money-social' conflict (aṣ-Ṣadiqī 1989:179). For there had taken place a conflict between the values in force prior to the discovery of crude oil and the values of the new era which results in the fact that the works created at this time dealt with the then internal problems between tradition, which is slowly disappearing, and the values which are gradually taking their place. And thus the short story by Ibrāhīm Mubārak entitled '*ʿĀṣiq al-baḥr* (The Sea's Lover) is saturated with an enormous yearning for the past. It tells of the life of a diver who must abandon his beloved sea. The story is romantic. The reader senses the languish for old time values, for the tents never to be seen again, for the small street cafes, for the traditional bazaars and the old mud buildings.

In another short story Nāṣir Ġubrān entitled *as-Sayyid ḡayr marwḡūd* (The Master is Out) describes the life of three generations: a father living in the past, a son living in the present, and a grandson living in the future. The father lives in the country and works at sea. Despite the son's insistence he does not want to move to the town. The son belongs to the society newly enriching itself, he is educated and wealthy. He

lives in a modern house in the town. The father after several visits to his son's house claims that his son's life is saturated with spuriousness, egocentricism and hypocrisy. The son in his talks with his father refers to the poor and beggars with scorn which means that the father feels sadness and regret for the values he instilled in his son and which have completely lost their meaning in the town. The shattered father considers that he has lost a son, yet sees hope in the future generation represented by the grandson.

An interesting short story, which constitutes a protest against the rejection of tradition, is the work entitled *Tufūla wa ḥulm al-qabīla* (Childhood and the Dreams of the Tribe) by the female writer Su'ād al-'Arīmī. It presents the life of a man in the new reality as well as the choice attached to it which he must take everyday. The hero has moved from the countryside to the town where he has found a job in a government department. His new surroundings mean that he has to change his previous life and customs: his way of dressing and speaking. He had to become used to total subservience towards his superiors, to accept their tiresome and cynical remarks and orders. He was even forced to shave off his beard which had been a symbol of masculinity in his old surroundings. He was unable to accept the new reality and as a consequence committed suicide. This act is an expression of the condemnation for the new reality, a rejection of the new social relations and principles based on material gain and hypocrisy.

Contemporariness is understood by Emigrate writers as the social, political and economic changes occurring in the town. They are caused by the chances which have yet to take on a concrete form.

Sa'īd al-Ḥankī in the short story *Humūm al-muwāṭin S* (The Worries of Citizen S) presents us with the new reality that rules in the newly rich society: falsehood, show, unhealthy relationships between people, hypocrisy. In the short story he describes the story of a young educated man who finds work in a government office. The said hero stands before the choice of fulfilling his own whims or those of others. He lives in conflict with those values ingrained in him by his father: not to drink, not to steal, not to commit adultery and not to bribe. However at work daily he meets with bribery, theft and adultery. The author in his short story encloses a message addressed to the old and the new generation. He considers that a lot of time will be necessary for the generations to come closer and to mutually understand one another. Until which time they are gulfs apart.

Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḥarbī presents in the short story entitled *Wisām šaraf* (The Order of Honour) the nature of the new relationships in work based on greed and the using of man for material gain. The main figure is a workman who spent the best years of his life working in a factory. He spared neither effort nor health to bring about its development. However when he became older he was weak and started to fall ill and was sacked unfeelingly. The author shows the ruthlessness in relations between employee and employer. He condemns the brutality, cruelty and lack of

human reaction brought about by greed and avarice. The short story ends with the hero's tragic death at the work place in full view of his colleagues and other workers. The short story *Buṣṣā fī s-sittīn* (Bushra is Sixty) from the pen of ʿAbdarrīdā as-Saġwānī shows the negative sides of the reality surrounding us. The author stigmatises the marriage of old men with very young girls who are forced into it by poverty as is the case of the heroine, a young Asian woman. The author is of the view that despite the 'riches' with which Abū l-Ḥaṣā surrounds his wife she is not happy, for her husband is unable to guarantee her what a husband of the same age would surely guarantee.

ʿAbdalḥamīd Aḥmad in the short story *al-Bayḍār* (The Threshing Floor) describes the problem of people settling from one country to another in the search for work. They are the so-called citizenless people, for at the beginning of the process of creating states within the area of the Arabian Gulf there was no requirement for identity cards. This problem is characteristic for many countries of the Gulf and in, for instance, Kuwait still remains a problem even today. It is such people who are the heroes of this short story. Marīš was by origin an Omani who arrived in the Emirates thirty years before. He worked on the palm plantations, however as a result of the changes occurring he lost his job because he did not possess an identity card to confirm his citizenship. He decided therefore to return to Oman, but was not allowed in as he did not have a passport. Driven to despair he commits suicide.

Safar al-asfār (The Journey of a Journey) is a story by Naṣir az-Zāhirī illustrating the Palestinian problem. The main hero travels from Arab country to country in search of work. Finally he achieves his aim and becomes a janitor in a twenty-two storey building. It is no accident that the building is twenty-two stories high. For this is the number of Arab countries which are touched by many problems and difficulties as equally becoming involved in various conflicts. In the short story the suffering of the hero abroad is emphasised along with his longing to die and be buried in his own land. The author condemns, and blames, the Arab world for the undoing of the Palestinian nation.

The Palestinian subject matter has found reflection in the short story *Hādā l-waġh laysa lī* (The Face is Not Mine) by Suʿād al-ʿArīmī. The writer has also dealt with the subject of the Iran-Iraq war in her short story *Baqāyā dam* (The Remains of the Blood). Despite this it should be emphasised that Emirate writers concentrate chiefly on local issues in their political, social and economic aspects. The social aspects of customs and social relations definitely dominate.

The short stories dealing with the past are characterised by romanticism. They are defined as 'pure and unblemished in comparison with the cruel and dirty present day' (aṣ-Ṣadīqī 1989:208). The short stories that deal with the present day contain criticism of the town. The relationships between people that exist there are based on mutual interest which means that man feels within them lost and alienated. On the

one hand he cannot get used to them, while on the other it is difficult for him to dispense with them.

In the Emirates women equally publish their works alongside men. To the better known belong Salmā Maṭar Yūsuf, Laylā Aḥmad, Maryam Ġama'a Faraġ or Amīna 'Abdallāh Bušhāb.

Salmā Maṭar Yūsuf displays some state or desire to share their own ideas. The main subject matter for her works is the woman and her problems. It is around her that the action is concentrated, social relations are played out. Generally she is dependant on someone. In the short story entitled *az-Zabra* (The Flower) the woman influences the life of a man. The hero *Halfān*, as a result of a relationship with a woman, discovers a different, new world which earlier was alien to him. He starts to compare her world with his. The woman's life intrigued him. He tries to think in her categories, to become acquainted with her life situation as well as all those social conditions which limit her freedom. The world of women is extremely realistically presented in the short story *'Ušba* (Herb) by the self same author. This is the story of a neglected orphan who is looked after by her uncle. When she starts to grow up however she is forced to marry a man who is only interested in her dowry and the sons she can bear him. This short story clearly deals with the problem of male and family domination over a woman and her will. In the short story *an-Našīd* (Hymn) Salmā undertakes the subject of a woman discarded by society due to the traditions and customs in force which allow for the degradation somebody considered to be worse individual – something a woman is considered to be. The heroine is a beautiful woman who by her appearance, behaviour and charming personality drives men wild. She uses her body to take revenge on men. At the same time the author shows her against the background of those social relationships in force, presenting her as a person persecuted, imprisoned, and unhappy. A woman as chattel who may be sold to whoever offers more is presented in the short story entitled *al-'Urs* (The Wedding). The heroine is forced to repeatedly marry and divorce merely to bring profit to her family.

Critics are united in their appraisal that the most important elements in Salmā Maṭar Yūsuf's short stories are the beginning and the end. Some consider that the beginning is even more important for it is generally attractive and draws the reader. At the same time it contains the key to understanding the whole work. In some of the works the very beginning is a short story in itself, for example *Sā'a wa-a'ūdu* (I'll Return in an Hour). Her endings are however often not clear, muddled, ending in death, disappearance or equally are left open. And so in the above mentioned short story *Sā'a wa-a'ūdu* (I'll Return in an Hour) the heroine disappears but equally well

could have died. In turn in the short story *‘Ušba* (Herb) the heroine dies, while in the work *al-‘Urs* (The Wedding) the writer leaves the matter unexplained².

Salmā Maṭar Yūsuf is also a poetic figure, hence often the usage in her short stories of poetical language is there in order to deepen the substance of the events.

Another woman writer is Laylā Aḥmad, who is considered to be a representative of a symbolic current. The language of symbols dominated the collection of short stories *al-Ḥayma*, *al-mabrağān*, *al-waṭan* (Tent, Festival, Fatherland). In the short story entitled *Kanāra* (Canary) a woman is the symbol of the fatherland.

Within the pages of her short stories there comes about a conflict between generations, and their strain is dependant on social, economic and political transformations which play a key role in psychological and environmental spheres. These transformations do not remain without influence on the behaviour of generations, which as a consequence leads to differences between them. The discovery of crude oil changed and divided a society which until then had lived on fishing and the pearl trade. The generation of fathers and grandfathers was based on this traditional model of life, it took pride in the customs and traditions before the period of the discovery of oil and the economic boom. The new generation of sons and grandsons has been brought up in the prosperity based on quick profit, a sense of comfort and affluence. The most important aim for it is the acquisition of a high level of material wealth. These problems find reflection in the short story by Laylā Aḥmad entitled *Ḥašrağa* (Alert).

Laylā Aḥmad's short stories do not have a political character, even though they at times touch on the problems of social relations, matters of the fatherland or the struggle between generations. The most important for him is man. The fatherland is unable to function correctly if its citizens are unable to understand one another and do not trust one another.

Maryam Ğama‘a Farağ presents in his short stories various aspects of the new reality in the Emirates. In his collection entitled *Fayrūz* (Fayruz) he concentrates on the presentation of people of the same generation who are linked by similar life problems. And hence in the short story *‘Abbār* (Crossing by Ferry), for example, reality has driven the hero insane, while in turn in the short story *az-Zarwāyā al-arba‘a* (Four Corners) the hero is driven to ruin or even to death as in the short story *Ṣāliḥ al-Mubārak* (Blessed Salih). In the short story *ar-Riḥ* (The Wind) Maryam Ğama‘a Farağ presents us with two human attitudes: the first subjected to nature and the second totally dependant on the help of others.

Anwar al-Ḥaṭīb has written about this writer, among other things, that the action does not develop in a simple way, being even complex in the short story *Šu‘ūr* (Feelings), several short stories contain symbolic elements, for example *Ṣāliḥ al-*

² Compare al-Ḥaṭīb 1989:52-57.

Mubārak (Blessed Salih), often an important role is played in them by memory as can be seen in the works *Ġufūl* (Fear) or *Bidāya* (The Beginning) (al-Ḥaṭīb 1989:99-100). The writer Amīna ʿAbdallāh Būšhān describes in her works society as the carrier of disease. In its present stage one cannot distinguish its symptoms. The short story entitled *Zahīra ḥāmīya* (Hot Afternoon) shows a man and the long period of development of his disease before it starts to spread. The author broaches the question of class conflicts presenting the rich heroes for times past and contrasting them with the contemporary rich. The short story *Mabra* (The Mare) presents the strength of the effect of money. It tells of the inhabitants of a small poor village who approve of, and agree with, the actions of Sheikh Sulaymān, an influential oil tycoon, who marries in turn their daughters and after several months abandons them. Amīna ʿAbdallāh Būšhān presents a negative hero who uses his material position and self-confidence to satisfy his desires. A similar type of hero appears in the short story *Ḥayyāğ* (Excitement) from the collection *An-našīd* (Hymn). The author desires to present us with known types of hero so that the reader is able to identify with them and recognise them. We can find such distinct descriptions in the short stories mentioned *Zahīra ḥāmīya* (Hot Afternoon) and *Mabra* (The Mare). The most important feature of Amīna ʿAbdallāh Būšhān's writing is the creation of bonds between the heroes of her short stories and the reader. As far as the novel in the United Arab Emirates is concerned it started to develop only in the 1970s. The first novel to be noted was Rāšid ʿAbdallāh entitled *Šāhinda* (Shahinda) published in 1972, which is a form of fairy tale. The author tries to give it a universal character, hence the absence in the defining of the location of the action, the elements of which jump. Another novel is ʿAbdallāh an-Nāʿūrī's attempt entitled *ʿUnq yabḥaṭ ʿan ʿiqd* (A Neck Seeks a Necklace). This was written in the form of a sensational novel and looks at the subject of the work of a police investigation department, presenting the investigation procedures and demasking the influential social layer. The author based his writings on authentic material. Muḥammad ʿUbayd Ġabāš undertook an attempt at a psychological novel. This is entitled *Dāʿiman yaḥdūt fī l-layl* (It Always Happens at Night). The author analyses the agitation and psychological problems of the heroes: Ḥālīd, Sālīm al-Māğīd, Aḥmad Nāšīr and Fāṭīma Nāšīr. From this novel there emanates a criticism of the social structuring of the Emirates together with the presentation of the superiority of educated people who to some degree attempt to isolate themselves from the rest of society. The traditional subject of the sea as well as the influx of illegal immigrants is described in the novel *as-Sayf wa-z-zahra* (The Sword and the Flower) by ʿAlī Abū r-Rīš. This novel is based on actual facts and tells of a man who always defended immigrants up to the point where he is convinced that they are rapists, murderers and devoid of all morality. The action is played out around twelve main figures who discuss the question of the incoming work force. The author, in dealing with this important problem, does not however attempt to analyse it. He leaves this up to the reader.

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CONVENTION AND REALITY IN MODERN ARABIC PROSE

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With the coming of the new century and change in millennia, time seems to be moving quickly. There is an increased awareness of the specific and defining features of every period, which, no matter how long or short, differs from all the others by its own historical and cultural profile.

Kilpatrick has noticed: "Even twenty years ago the Arabic Novel was regarded as practically synonymous with the Egyptian novel. Since then the novel has acquired an established place in the literary production of most, if not all, Arab countries" (Kilpatrick 1992:223). In fact, at the present stage, the literary situation is different. The prose genres such as the short story, novella and novel have now appeared and developed in practically all Arabic countries. It is significant that the state of modern Arabic prose literature is characterized not only by its expansion in geographical space but also by the fact that the genre of the novel has now reached its peak, which is the criterion of the maturity of any literary system.

As an effective means for the artistic investigation of the world, the Arabic novel has shown its ability for dynamic development and continual enrichment and renewal, because writers are making the best use of the opportunities which the novel has in its nature.

Among these opportunities are the flexibility and mobility of the novel, about which Bakhtin wrote: "the generic bones of the novel have not hardened yet ... because of its flexibility" (Bakhtin 1975:447-476). He connects this feature of the genre with its orientation towards something that is "incomplete", "open" and "fluctuating", that has not ossified yet. It requires immediate aesthetic and ethical human appraisal, and quite often provokes the utilization of unexpected, even unliterary devices. In this way an artistic gate is opened for the penetration of "non-novel" material into the novel.

As the main signs that "distinguish the novel from the other genres", Bakhtin lists: "1) the stylistic three-dimensionality of the novel that connects to the multilingual consciousness realized in it 2) the fundamental change of the temporal coordinates of the literary image in the novel 3) the new zone of the creation of the literary image in the novel, to be precise, the zone of maximum contact with the present (contemporaneity) in its incompleteness" (Bakhtin 1975:454-455).

In spite of the flexibility and mobility of the novel as a genre, it is important to take into account the dialectic of certain active and stable elements in the novel structure. The permanent generic function of the novel always exists, but it does not

depend on concrete changes in the scope of its contents because "a specificity of the genre", valid in art as a whole, functions in it.

In the modern Arabic novel one may observe a complicated system of concatenations and inner correlations which embody the artistic integrity of the narration. The nature of this "labyrinth of concatenations" (Tolstoy) is determined by the degree of artistic conception. This nature is richer than logic, and becomes manifest as a special integrity that is most open to life itself. At the same time, the novel structure has its semantic dominant: the coupling of the categories, which are both universal and trivial, shared and private. This directs the novel towards a focus on specific problems: a human being and history, a person and time and so on.

Within their exploration of the artistic possibilities capable of expressing this complicated unity and its multitude of inner collisions, Arab writers resort to the devices of literary convention and use them both in novels and short stories. Side by side with the forms representing the dynamic of the life in its external guise, fantastical forms based on the grotesque, on hyperbole and on symbols are used in literary works, as we all know.

The wide use of these devices has extended the figurative resources of Arabic literature and has meant a new approach to the investigation of the most important contemporary problems. Experiments in the genre express the writers' intention to exceed the limits of a naturalistic description of life, that are sometimes understood too narrowly. Using a capacious and concentrated form, they aim at reacting to the cardinal events of the past and present and at displaying the relation between ordinary life and individual destinies not through simply widening the external circle of depicted phenomena but, instead, through its artistic compression.

It is significant that the interest in fantastical devices and the elements of play has appeared simultaneously with an obvious aspiration to present a detailed reflection of reality based on documents, feature stories and memoirs. There is no contradiction in this, because tendencies which at first might seem incompatible have in fact appeared as a unity. These tendencies demonstrate the diversity and differentiation of contemporary literature's ability to satisfy different spiritual claims of a competent readership, and in addition, the common striving for deeper penetration into life and a more intense comprehension of life's regularities.

While remaining faithful to the national model of the psychological novel with its pronounced sociological determinant, Arab writers have responded profoundly to contemporary artistic ideas. New concepts of time and of human psychology have extended the problems of the novel, deepened the psychological analyses, and finally enriched the narration by modern technique.

The use of metaphorical, allegorical and other conventional devices has widened the literary horizon. However, these devices raise the question of how much they benefit authors in the depiction of reality and its complex of causal relationships. It is well known that these technical tricks, organically unconnected with the plot and

not founded upon its inner necessity, may lead to a deliberate complexity which becomes an end in itself.

It is important that in Arabic criticism there should be fruitful and relevant discussions concerning not only the thematic variety of modern prose but also the diversity of the artistic expression, including the conventions. The critics' growing interest in works using these techniques and their desire to deepen their analysis of them need no emphasis.

Among them is an Egyptian critic Ġālī Šukrī, who has often stressed the barrenness of artificial and affected literary constructions. In one of these he has examined the renewal of the novel and the creation of artistic forms reflecting a contemporary world-view as seen in works by ʿAbdalḥakīm Qāsim, Šunʿallāh Ibrāhīm, Ġamāl al-Ġīṭānī, Bahā' Ṭāhir, ʿAlā' ad-Dīb, Ibrāhīm ʿAbdalmaġīd and others (Šukrī 1990: 42-43). In the opinion of the Syrian writer, Nabīl Sulaymān, the achievements of the Arabic novel during the last two decades and its appearance on the scene of world literature can be credited to Rašīd Bū Ġadra, Hānī ar-Rāhib, Ḥaydar Ḥaydar, ʿAbdarrāḥmān Munīf and Šunʿallāh Ibrāhīm (Sulaymān 1988:54). All these writers started their literary activity in different ways and at different times, but most of them represent the generation of the sixties.

The full variety of the artistic arsenal characterizes their works, although the renewal of the Arabic novel does not mean a mere change the forms and the narrative devices. The features of modern artistic experience in the novel are revealed first in its tendency towards a philosophical comprehension of reality, or, in other words, in the process of broadening and deepening the common philosophical layer that always exists in the novel. Its scope usually depends on the writer's own artistic philosophy, which itself is a reflection of shared public consciousness and the philosophical ideas of the concrete historical period in one way or another.

Since the *nabda* announced the concept of the "educated person", Arabic literature as a whole has traced the rupture between the individual and society, between the single person and the world. It has also portrayed the destruction of the usual norms of traditional consciousness and the hallowed system of spiritual values.

The history of the 20th century stirred all humanity, and increased the necessity for its artistic interpretation. The tendency has now become clear, and has taken the form of bringing literature closer to philosophy, and even to set them against each other in the creation of a complete picture of the world and of human life. A new synthetic type of novel has appeared where the two main layers (philosophical and psychological) interlace and determine each other.

The process of deepening the psychological analysis in the Arabic novel is connected not only with the development of new ideas in human psychology but also with the change in the concept of the person. Earlier, a person was a victim of cir-

cumstances, like Taymūr's heroes who were examined in detail by de Moor¹, but in recent decades, by contrast, the literary hero creates these circumstances by himself and does what he chooses. In this connection many questions have arisen. What is the writer/hero's philosophy? What choices does he have and to what principle does he hold in choosing? How does it reflect on his destiny? In other words, the investigation of the complicated spiritual existence of a person and his inner world have now become topical.

Arab writers once thought of an individual and his moral existence only in terms of "dislodged" values. The new philosophical tendency has now penetrated their novels through psychoanalysis, and is also visible in their concern for moral issues. It seems therefore that the philosophical trends of modern literature have come to include both ethical and philosophical tendencies at the same time.

The writers' aspiration to portray the actual spiritual conflicts of our time has caused them to use all kinds of metaphorical, parabolical, grotesque and fantastical elements in the narration. In connection with this, novels written not only by young writers but previous generations should not be overlooked, for example the works of Mīḥā'il Nu'ayma (1889-1988). This "patriarch" of Lebanese literature published many "heavily philosophical tales in both English and Arabic" in the forties. In Allen's opinion, "these works have been characterized as 'really sermons based on the doctrine of metempsychosis and of the ultimate union of the human soul with its divine origin'" (Allen 1992:189).

These complicated problems are merely intensified by Nu'ayma's use of various conventional devices. In his fictional works the artistic conflict is based mainly on friction generated by moral principles and the requirements of the moral ideal.

It is well known that the character and essence of general tendencies in creative works depend on a writer's views and his ideas of the world and of the individual. In Nu'ayma's case, the vitally important factor was his Christian education, acquired in his homeland (in Baskinta and Nazareth) and in Poltava (the Ukraine)².

Many scholars have noticed the influence of Russian classical literature in Nu'ayma's works³. In a letter addressed to the Russian academician and orientalist Krachkovsky, the writer himself mentioned that he was growing up and being "educated by the delicate art of Pushkin, Lermontov and Turgenev, by the 'smiling through tears' of Gogol, by the fascinating realism of Tolstoy, by the literary ideals of Belin-

¹ De Moor's papers analyzing Muḥammad Taymūr's works were presented at the 14th and 17th Congresses of the UEAL.

² Nu'ayma studied in the Orthodox Seminary from 1906 until 1911 in the Ukraine. In 1911 he went to the America and became a member of the "Pen Association" established in 1920 in New York. At the beginning of the thirties the writer returned to the Lebanon.

³ See for example Ostle 1992:98-99.

sky and, at last, by the high humanity of the most powerful, deepest, widest and most heartfelt writer among all Russian writers – Dostoevsky” (Krachkovsky 1956: 224-225).

Nu‘ayma’s broad outlook and familiarity with the concepts of both East and West determined the main trend of his literary life, namely his artistic and philosophical comprehension of human life and the “ideas of time and forms of time”, together with the search for spiritual values. This trend penetrated into all his creative works and became deeper from one work of fiction to another, each based on the above philosophy.

Nu‘ayma’s religiousness becomes apparent in his creative works, though his attitude to religion is complex and multifaceted. He is far from the orthodoxy of the church, and is critical in his judgments of the activities of religious institutions⁴. At the same time, his comprehension of morality is based on Christian ethics and high moral ideals. As he sees it, God is not a transcendent creature but a synonym of morality. Therefore he pays special attention to the themes of “death” and of “belief and unbelief”, and looks deeply into the religious and nihilistic disposition of his contemporaries and their moral principles in the world of “dislodged values”.

Nu‘ayma’s position is close to the familiar theology of hope, according to which it is possible to overcome social and political conflicts, interpersonal and intrapersonal contradictions, and to solve them by reviving universal tolerance.

In many works of Nu‘ayma, the heroes’ spiritual life is in conflict. The loss of the wholeness of the world view, the inner discord and loneliness, and the intensive intellectual life combine to create the special psychological atmosphere of the narration. The essence of the heroes’ inner life represents a constant and painful search for the harmony and purpose of human existence, which is at the same time their only means of self-determination and self-consciousness.

In Nu‘ayma’s poetics, self-consciousness is the structural basis of the image and a method for the most complete portrayal of the person, his character and thinking, the logic of his life and his destiny. The author gives it a philosophical quality and is thereby able to convey his understanding of an individual who cannot exist without a clearly expressed and fixed aim. The process of self-consciousness is therefore depicted by Nu‘ayma as one of searching for “some unified principle” which gives shape to a life, as searching for “a comprehensive idea”. Irrespective of their individual features and the peculiarity of their inner world and frame of mind, all his heroes carry out this search. Their similarity in fact starts from this.

A hero in the novella *Mudakkirāt al-Arqaš* (Memoirs of a Vagrant Soul)⁵ carries out the exploration of this principle. The author is not interested in the dynamic of

⁴ These ideas are evident in his memoirs *Sab‘ūn*, translated into many languages.

⁵ This novella was written in 1917 and published in 1949.

external events or their chronological sequence. At the center of his attention are the hero's pains and the sufferings of self-determination which lead him to search for the meaning of existence, to perceive the world in an intuitive way, through the prism of his own "I".

The course of the narrative is interrupted by fantastical episodes, mysterious situations and enigmatic visions; for example, the dialogue between the hero and death, the sudden appearance of the ghost of the killed girl, and others. The skilful use of conventional artistic devices provides an additional level of reflection, allowing the author to emphasize the moral and philosophical problems. In an interview Nu'ayma observed that he always aimed "at displaying the complexity of the real processes" in the works and "at showing a reader that side of the reality which is unknown to him and that reality which is closed to people because of its manysided essence" (al-Yafī 1982:215).

In 1963 Nu'ayma published the novel *al-Yawm al-ahīr* (The last day), which reminds us of his previous novella, because the intensification of the conflict also unfolds in the framework of an individual consciousness. The form of the novel is therefore allegorical: time and the scene of the action are not denoted clearly, and 24 chapters of the work represent 24 hours of "the last day", which Mūsā al-Askarī spends in remembering all his life. In contrast to young Arqaš, the hero of this novel is 57 years old, a professor of philosophy and an author of an unpublished book on Sufism. Nevertheless, like the former, Mūsā al-Askarī follows the painful path of self-determination and self-consciousness.

The opening lines of the novel: "Get up and say goodbye to the last day", which appear several times subsequently, set the mood of the narrative and define the development of its plot as it develops in the artistic sphere of temporary interchange. In a burst of confession during the first hours of "the last day", the hero begins to understand time as the simultaneous co-existence of past, present and future. He asks himself: "What is an hour, a minute, a second ... It is time, connected with everything that was, is and will be. It is impossible to separate time from something that was before and will be after. It is "I" yesterday, now, tomorrow. I am the time and the time is "I". It will not destroy me and I will not destroy it" (Nu'ayma 1996:25-26).

Personal life and eternity, "the universal formulae of existence" and everyday cares, philosophical polysemy and a portrait of reality are what this novel offers, in a picture created of the inner connectedness of the different chronological layers.

The mode of designing the narration becomes the poetics of the mythology that the author uses in the light of his own artistic conception. As E. Meletinsky has noticed, mythology is "a distinctive phenomenon of literature in the 20th century both as an artistic device and as an attitude behind it" (Meletinsky 1976:295).

In Nu'ayma's work mythology is simultaneously a literary device and an object of parody, because one may interpret this novel as an intellectual parody of certain

values in modern individualistic consciousness. It displays amongst other things a mythology of thinking or, in other words, a mythological manner of interpreting reality.

As an object of specific parody, mythology becomes the characteristic feature of the individualistic consciousness of the hero who regards himself as an intellectual and attempts to grasp the eternal questions of human life. This makes him look like a very complex person, whose mind is turned inwards: "I have no relatives or friends here ... I am a completely closed individual ... I have no desire to share my secret or my money with anybody. I consort with people but I do not mix with them" (Nu'ayma 1996:19-20).

Mūsā al-^ḥAskarī judges himself critically and confesses that "his intellect is considerably higher than average". It helps him to become a professor at a prestigious university in the city. However the profound study of philosophy causes him to lose the wholeness of his worldview and certain stable fundamentals on which "it is possible to build life". His son's illness and complicated relations with a wife who left her family and went with a student of his to Switzerland aggravate his state of mind.

The adverse existential and psychological situation which the hero finds hard and sums up as his "last day" is not a symbol of the outsider but of the search for the criteria of morality and the highest essence of human existence. The author is interested in the type of consciousness above all, so he investigates and evaluates it through the image of his hero, and tries to establish the nature of the causal relationship behind the logic of his hero's circumstances. For that purpose Nu'ayma raises his hero to "the throne" of narrator. The author's position is revealed with the help of the different functions of mythological reminiscence on various levels of the "speech act".

In "direct speech" the professor makes a comparison between himself and extraordinary persons. In Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaṣāyri's opinion, the choice of the hero and his name is not accidental. He draws a parallel between the hero Mūsā al-^ḥAskarī and the Prophet Mūsā (al-Ḥaṣāyri 1989:88)⁶. In "indirect speech" this image is parodied by putting the hero in an alien context of humble, everyday circumstances. It seems that by doing so the author wishes to use his hero's phraseology as an indirect literary device to convey his own (the author's) judgment, by contrasting discourses in the first and third person: thus the two parallel narratives create their own irony.

Nu'ayma aims to show the other aspect of this artistic device in his representation of the narrator's purely intellectual and secular use of myth. The image of the old man al-Lā Musammā (Nameless) who appears in dreams and in reality to the professor's son Hišām, "becomes surrounded" by his own "mythology". Usually the old man comes suddenly, "dressed in a blue cloak whose colour was like the sky in

⁶ He also notices that the choice of Holy Saturday as the hero's last day is not gratuitous.

the spring, and who had a white long moustache, on his head a turban with the same colour as his cloak. His large eyes radiated serenity and warmth" (Nu'ayma 1996:140-141). Observed only by the Teacher, Hišām passes through all the stages of intuitive cognition. Al-Lā Musammā also helps his father to maintain proper pride, to perceive marvels with the heart, not with the mind, to approach the comprehension of God as the moral absolute and the synonym of conscience. In this way the figure of the Teacher is organically absorbed into the system of mythological images.

Dignity as a complex ethical category signifying a combination of high moral principles becomes significant in the writer's conception. It is "a universal idea" inducing heroes to search and to think. Having dignity, not only knowledge, a person finds "the single principle that gives shape to life" and common sense. This is a most important aspect of the many-sided spiritual life of Nu'ayma's heroes which resolves their self-contradictions and the contradictions of their philosophy of morality.

In Bilik's opinion, Tolstoy's doctrine of morality is the core which unites all Nu'ayma's works. The writer "develops Tolstoy's ideas such as 'the evil inside us' ('The book of Mirdad', 'The last day'), 'the person's victory over his "I"', 'the law of divine love' ('The book of Mirdad'), 'the path of the elimination of all evils' and 'the limitation of a person's needs' ('The book of Mirdad', 'The last day')" (Bilik 1987:21-22).

In this connection it should be noted that Nu'ayma constructively assimilates not only Tolstoy's doctrine. Nu'ayma's concept of the individual is very close to that of Dostoevsky's, whose influence Nu'ayma specifically acknowledged.

About a century lies between Dostoevsky's "A person's double" (1846) and "The gambler" (1866) and Nu'ayma's *Mudakkirāt al-Arqaš* and his novel *al-Yawm al-ahīr*, in which Nu'ayma shows his indebtedness to Dostoevsky, who proclaimed conscience as the most important criterion of morality: "if a person has it he will survive".

It is no accident that the final chapter of Nu'ayma's novel sounds optimistic. The main hero stood the painful test of his conscience during the 24 hours of "the last day", and regenerates completely. He finds himself in a boat with his son and the Teacher who row against the flood of "the great river" to join the current of Eternity.

Nu'ayma is one of the first Lebanese writers who used this convention as an artistic device to investigate the intellectual sphere of human life, and in this way he enriched the national literature both with new themes and modern narrative technique. Many young writers have developed his tradition. Among them there is Gāda as-Sammān (b. 1942)⁷, the author of a number of collected stories, articles, poems and two novels "Beirut 75" (1975) and *Kawābīs Bayrūt* (The nightmares of Beirut, 1976).

⁷ Some critics regard as-Sammān as a Syrian writer because she was born in Damascus, where she graduated from the Philological Department of the University in 1962.

Like Nu'ayma, Ġāda as-Sammān represents the relative model of reality in her novels. However in comparison with Nu'ayma's works, where the action rises above everyday life and is transformed into the sphere of universal human values and the global existence of the individual, the main temporal frames of as-Sammān's books are limited, and based on concrete facts and situations. She investigates the variety of national life in the period when the social and political crisis in the country was intensifying under the conditions of civil war and the destabilization of the confessional system.

Ġāda as-Sammān aspires to achieve an attractive narrative style and to offer a precise description of the heroes in extreme situations where they are required to solve the question: "to be or not to be". This is not a question of material or commercial happiness but of full spiritual and physical self-realization, which one of the characters in the novel "Beirut 75" sets as his general aim. He asks himself: "Faraḥ or Faust?" and remembers a story about a bargain between a man and a devil which fulfilled a man's wish at the price of his life (as-Sammān 1979:44-45).

The dynamic plot and many-sided structure of the novels allow the writer to put and solve the general problem seriously. For this purpose she saturates the narrative with parable, story, legend, and myth. Sometimes they are mingled with nightmares. In this way the author does not represent the world as largely absurd by nature, but tries to emphasize the concrete historical background of the narrative, to clarify the social and national cause of the conflicts in a country divided into dozens of parties, communities and clans, all with specific laws and principles which their members ideally should strictly observe.

The clan tradition defines Ṭa'ān's destiny in the novel "Beirut 75". On graduating from university, dreaming of opening a pharmacy, the hero returns to his homeland, only to face a cool reception because of a vendetta. His father reminds him of the sheer necessity for the tribe to pursue the vendetta: "The educated killer takes vengeance on his enemy from the other tribe properly" (as-Sammān 1979: 60). However, when in desperation Ṭa'ān does aim a gun at his "enemy", he misses and hits a passer-by instead. Later it emerges that unfortunately it was a foreigner who fell victim to his mistake.

Many characters come to a tragic end in this novel. One of them is Yāsmīna, who leaves Damascus and her job as a teacher at school and goes to her friend living in Beirut. In the heroine's opinion love is not abstract, and the inert pangs of love and its agonizing suspense lead her to feel that she may lose the opportunity for happiness and fulfilment in life. The heroine understands this and hurries to enjoy life to the full and to "seize" her moment even at the price of life, but her ignorant and fanatical brother kills Yāsmīna because his obligation is to defend the family's honor.

Like Yāsmīna's brother, Nimr is a typical representative of his class. His moral principles and selfishness become apparent when he rejects Yāsmīna's love and pre-

fers to marry for money. Nimr chooses the daughter of an influential politician Fāḍil as-Salmūnī. His friend Nīšān is just as pragmatic and, for selfish ends, he uses his young relative Farah. Playing a part of a patron, Nīšān demands implicit obedience from Farah: "You want fame and wealth ... Do you know the price of fame? ... Are you ready to pay it?" (as-Sammān 1979:44). The hero is not able to pay this price, namely to submit himself to a new community and its rules. He finds himself in a madhouse. His insanity is presented as a spiritual protest against cynicism, and against clan laws and social order as a whole.

In "Beirut 75" the different human fates interlace dramatically, the opposite views and interests, the individual inclinations and infatuations clash blindly. The writer usually represents her heroes in their crucial moments or so-called "boundary situations". Through grotesque and satire, she describes some disturbing misgivings of approaching civil war.

Her next work of fiction *Kawābīs Bayrūt* shows how "the nightmares" of these events were deeply felt and keenly perceived by a young journalist. Here she is both the heroine and the narrator who looks at Beirut as "a theatre of the absurd". The war takes many people's lives, destroys destinies and separates families. The heroine's friend passes away, her brother is thrown into prison and the relatives flee from military operations. Like many inhabitants of her district, the heroine finds herself closed in between the four walls of her flat. The situation reminds her of a pet-shop where she likes to spend her spare time.

In this novel there is no gradual development of the plot or any of the usual psychological motivation; only the most significant episodes are recounted. The writer portrays the varied life of the characters and the country where the atmosphere of the chaotic and absurd has been dominant since the war. The narrative twists and turns are inexplicable by ordinary logic and reality is intertwined with fantasy. Here it is not continuity of the action that is felt to be important but mood, intellectual ferment and spiritual impulse. The heroes expose their feelings and attitudes towards the world emotionally and argue amongst themselves and with those around them. Some situations grow into symbols and the frame of concrete time is washed away.

If "Beirut 75" is a traditional narrative where the author's presence is evident and the emotionality of spontaneous analysis is retained, *Kawābīs Bayrūt* by contrast is "a novel-confession", "a novel-reflection". Here the functions of the author and the narrator are closely similar to Nu'ayma's work *al-Yawm al-ahīr*.

The orientation of the narrative towards the characters' self-expression is intended to reinforce the feeling of maximum objectivity, free from the author's "tyranny". In this way the raw material of real life can be arranged with apparent spontaneity. However, the narrator's voice is not equivalent to, nor can it be identical with the organizing authority or influence of the author.

How does this influence become apparent? First it should be emphasized that there is a big difference between the two densely significant terms "the author" and "the narrator". The narrator is simultaneously the *subject* of the narrative and the *object* of the author's creative "will" and "power", and these are far broader than the resulting literary synthesis offered by the author. The author, on the other hand, cannot find an equivalent mouthpiece within a work, and cannot in fact be exhausted in any "domain" of the artistic world, including through the medium of the narrator's activity and objectivity, because it is the author who designs this world by drawing on the multiplicity of standpoints and relationships between the writer and the narrator and characters.

The absence of the obvious signs of the author's "power" does not mean that it is limited in its capacity for organizing the narrative. If the author steps out and explicitly enters the narrative, his function as "a holder of the intensive and active unity" remains. In Bakhtin's opinion, for a concrete definition of the essential difference between the author and the narrator, it is important that "an author knows and sees more than a hero not only in the direction that a hero looks in, but also in the opposite direction which is inaccessible to the hero in principle" (Bakhtin 1979:14,15).

This direction inaccessible to the hero is represented in *Kawābīs Bayrūt*. It betrays the author's presence, although the chosen method does not allow a direct and open revelation. It should be noted that for the realization of her artistic ideas, Ġāda as-Sammān makes expert use of several figurative opportunities of narration and skilfully creates the rhythm of the stream of consciousness corresponding most closely to the narrator's outlook.

The simulation model of reality, the detailed and circumstantial descriptions and accompanying literary devices are not the sole property of the Arabic novel or novela. Similar tendencies are represented in short stories written by authors of the sixties generation, for example. In Hafez's opinion, they "paid great attention to techniques and explored the limits and potential of the genre in an unprecedented manner, so that they could create, through their narrative, a new reality which was neither identical to external reality not completely alien to it" (Hafez 1992:326).

Among them are Muḥammad Ḥāfīz Raḡab, Ibrāhīm Aṣḡlān, Yaḥyā at-Ṭāhīr ʿAbdallāh, Ġamāl al-Ġīṭānī whom Kirpichenko named "the angry young men, who subverted the essential principles of the previous aesthetics". She has analyzed some of their works in the framework of "the new wave" in Egyptian literature (Kirpichenko 1986:131). In addition to these Egyptian writers, others can be mentioned, such as the collected stories of Zakariyyā Ṭāmir from Syria, Adīb Qāsim from Yemen, Walīd ar-Ruḡayb from Kuwait and many others. In their works the search for new aesthetic expression has aimed at the representation of reality not in all its panoramic integrity but through the multiform unity of the philosophical and moral problems which define human life as a whole.

The writers' concern to exploit conventional literary devices reflects the tendency to deviate from primitive empiricism towards a deeper comprehension of the nature of the artistic word and world. It also reveals how different the literary situation can be in every Arab country, and the great variation among creative individuals in manners and styles. Finally, it also brings to light the effectiveness of modern Arabic prose in the artistic investigation and recreation of reality.

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ŞUFĪ SYMBOLS OF "BIRDS" IN SANĀ'Ī'S POETRY QAŞĪDAT TASBĪH AT-TUYŪR

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It is quite clear now that some popular themes of the early Persian poetry, both court and mystic, have Pre-Islamic roots. Images of singing birds, which were widely used in *qaşīdas* devoted to Nawrūz by such famous poets as Rūdakī (about 860-941) and Manūšihri (1000-1040), were obviously adopted from the song tradition of Pre-Islamic court minstrels. This tradition had been cultivated at the Sāsānian court (224-651), and its songs and melodies were called the *Surūd-i Husrawānī* ("The Royal Songs"). The main author, who is mentioned in connection with it, is Barbad, the legendary minstrel of Husraw II Aparwīz. Among these old calendar songs and melodies we can find some with "bird" names, for example, the *Kabk-i darī* (mountain partridge) or the *Šakāwak* (skylark). In the exordiums of Manūšihri's spring *qaşīda* some birds are mentioned along with the correspondent names of ancient songs which they are singing. It seems that in the 11th century, when Manūšihri wrote his poems, the ancient melodies and songs were still remembered, but the practice of their performance had already been lost. In the Pre-Islamic period, when Zoroastrianism was the main belief in Iran, these songs were part of the system of rituals at the great season festivals like Nawrūz and Mihraġān. In the early Islamic period of Iranian history they were gradually changed by gala performance of panegyric *qaşīdas*, which had no ritual sense, but played an important etiquette role in court life.

In the same 11th century, the first symbolic interpretation of spring motifs appeared in Persian poetry. We can find it in the allegoric *qaşīda* of Nāşir-i Husraw (1003/4-1077) who was the greatest Ismā'īlī poet in medieval Persia. Standard spring exordiums in his *qaşīdas* became the basis for complicated allegoric pictures. In several texts, for example, the image of waking-up spring nature is used as the metaphor of the Resurrection after the Last Judgment. A symbolic description of the end of Time by using spring imagery looks quite organic, because in accordance with medieval conceptions in the short period of Nawrūz festival the lost innocence and harmony of the world come back.

The theme of Doomsday connected with the conception of the finiteness of Time has certain associations with the system of cosmogonical ideas: both in the beginning and in the end of Time the World is free of sin and disharmony. The connection of these two motifs gives the perspective of development of *nawrūziyya* genre in the mystic poetry of the 12th century.

From this point of view we can characterize Sanā'ī (about 1048 - after 1126) as a direct heir of Nāşir-i Husraw in allegoric interpretations of spring motifs in *qaşīda*.

He is at the same time one of the forerunners of the Ġaznawids' court poetry tradition and one of the first great Šūfī writers. In mystic circles he became very popular for the poem *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqā'iq*, but he is also an author of an imposing number of *qaṣīdas* and *ġazals*. His *qaṣīdas* (both panegyric and allegorical) are the typical example of the "florid" style of that epoch – they are full of refined artistry and rhetoric decoration.

One of the most complicated texts in his *Dīwān* is the *qaṣīda* entitled "*Tasbīḥ at-tuyūr*" ("The Prayer of Birds"). This poem contains 45 *bayts* and significantly begins with the following words:

The Creator decorated the World all over again,

Turned all existence into the Garden of Eden (Sanā'ī, *Dīwān* 29).

The first part of this text contains a short and quite traditional description of the spring landscape with its flowers, blossoming trees and green grass. The beginning of spring appears like some metaphoric repetition of the Creation, and the earthly garden seems to be similar to the Heavenly Garden, Paradise. The central part of "The Prayer of Birds" consisting of 25 *bayts* gave the name to this composition, because in every distich there is one bird with its own prayer mentioned. But there are some exceptions: in *bayts* 22, 23, 25 the poet named two birds (natural enemies) – hawk and dove, owl and sparrow, falcon and pheasant, in *bayt* 26 there are even three of them – starling, skylark and chaffinch. This section of "The Prayer of Birds" looks like a long poetical commentary to one of the *āyāt* of the Qur'ān, in which it is said: "Everyone knows his prayer and praise" (24:41). In Sanā'ī's *qaṣīda* birds do not sing old Pre-Islamic songs as it was in spring exordiums of Manūšihri's *qaṣīdas* – they mention God's names. The type of prayer, which contains mentioning of names and attributes of Allāh, is known as *dīker*. It is widely practiced both by orthodox Muslims and followers of mystic sects. *Dīker* was especially popular in Šūfī circles, so we can suppose that Sanā'ī gave the metaphor of this Šūfī ritual, and all these praying birds symbolize dervishes exercising *dīker*. This supposition can be confirmed by some images of the poem: in *bayt* 23 is said that a sparrow is mentioning God's names while escaping from an owl, in *bayt* 39 nightingale is called *mudakkir*, or the one who is exercising *dīker*. Sanā'ī also used the second motif in one of his short epic poems entitled *Sanā'ī-nāma*. There is a paragraph in this poem devoted to *dīker*, the beginning of which is as follows: "Learn the nightingale's language for performing *dīker*" (Sanā'ī, *Matnawī* 71). The notion of "birds' language" (*mantiq at-tayr* – Arabic, *zabān-i murġān* – Persian) was borrowed by mystic poets from the Qur'ān. It is associated with Sulaymān, to whom understanding of this language was granted as God's grace. In some Šūfī interpretations of the Qur'ān (for example, in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings) Sulaymān was called the first who mentioned two basic names of Allāh – Raḥmān and Raḥīm, so he can be called the first person performing *dīker*.

It seems that the subsequent tradition of connecting the term *manṭiq at-ṭayr* to the Şūfî symbolic language in Persian classic literature began not from 'Aṭṭār's poem of the same name, but from *qaṣīdas* of Sanā'ī and Hāqānī (1129-1190). The latter also gave his writing the Arabic title *Manṭiq at-ṭayr* (the same as 'Aṭṭār's poem) and mentions the names of birds as the part of constant topics of *nawrūziyya* genre. His *qaṣīda* cannot be characterized as a direct answer (*nazīra*) to Sanā'ī's writing because these two *qaṣīdas* differ in metre and rhyme, but without any doubt they are based on the same tradition of symbolic variations on the spring theme, which can be traced back to Nāṣir-i Hūsraw. As a result we can establish the fact that after the appearance of Sanā'ī's *qaṣīda*, the images of birds along with spring motifs assumed a special sense of symbolic terms. These connotations or additional meanings of images were achieved by transposition of religious motifs from the Qur'ān, *ḥadīṭ*, didactic epistles or esoteric treatises to the context of traditional season poetry. Owing to mystic connotations old season images could partly revive their lost sacred sense, which had a direct connection to the Zoroastrians' concept of the material world created by Ahura-Mazda.

This concept may be reconstructed with the help of the *Bundahišn* ("Creation of the Beginning"), one of the late but very important Pehlevi writings whose main topics are the Creation and the nature of earthly creatures.

The long register of birds, 31 names, in the *Tasbīḥ at-ṭuyūr* has rather close correspondence with some Zoroastrian writings like the *Bundahišn* or the *Frahang i Pahlavīc* ("Pehlevi lexicon"). The principle of register is used in Pre-Islamic literature for descriptions of the material world. Both Pehlevi books include similar lists of animals (divided into different types), birds, plants and fruits (also divided into sorts) and so on. In order to clear up the way of development of birds' symbols in "The Prayer of birds" we must take into account the principal likeness in descriptions of creatures in Pehlevi writings and the Ismā'īlī epistles of the *Iḥwān as-Ṣafā'* (9th c.), which was noticed by the Russian scholar, Andrei Bertels (1997:224). In a section of the 22nd epistle entitled "The Argument of the Man and Animals" there is a part which is known as "The Birds Discussion". In this part of the treatise, the birds' assembly (like that of other animals) must choose their messenger to the King of People. All birds came to their king, Sīmurǧ, who asked his vizier, the peacock, to introduce every bird to him. Introductions of birds have a constant form and its model is as follows: first the peacock characterizes one of the birds, than cites the short prayer of this bird. This is, for example, what the vizier said about the dove: "As to the dove (the peacock said), he shows us the direct way, and his short prayer is: "You are Allāh, there is no God besides You, oh, Allāh!" (Bertels 1997:226). Practically the same model was used by Sanā'ī in his *qaṣīda*: in every distich, where one of the birds is mentioned, the poet gives us a typical feature of this bird and then its prayer:

17. The stork says: "Praise to You! Thanks to You! You gave me that horrible snake as my everyday food"

24. Hundred times a minute the red pigeon repeats: "Oh, Lord! Oh, Lord! Its throat is created for pronouncing "Oh, Lord!" (Sanā'ī, *Dīwān* 30-31).

It seems quite obvious that "The Prayer of Birds" follows the 22nd epistle of the *Iḥwān*. It is also clear that there is a certain connection between the Ismā'īlī epistles and late Pehlevi writings. But it is rather doubtful that the work of the *Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* was the source of direct adoption for Sanā'ī. The poet had not been the follower of Ismā'īlism. To be quite objective it is also necessary to remark that there is no trustful evidence that Sanā'ī was the member of a Ṣūfī order. As a matter of fact, the period in which Sanā'ī lived was designated by Henry Corbin as the time of "the coalescence of Ismā'īlī ideas with Ṣūfism" (1975: IV, 526). There is practically no doubt that Sanā'ī was the direct follower of Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw in the tradition of allegoric *qaṣīda* (Reisner 1997:122). From this point of view it is possible to suppose that the writings of Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw were the mediator between the *Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* and the *Tasbīḥ at-tuyūr*. This supposition can be confirmed by the fact that Ismā'īlī tradition considers Nāṣir a translator of the epistles from Arab into Persian. On the other hand, he was the first poet who used season topics and imagery in mystic and allegoric verses.

Now we can sum up the results of this study. It is only a kind of preliminary conclusion, which still needs more precision, but several things are quite clear even at this stage:

1. Behind the standard season exordiums of the Persian classic *qaṣīda* the ancient Zoroastrian concept of the Universe is to be found. This system of mythological and ritual traditions lost its sacred role in the period of Islamic history of Iran, but preserved its actuality in the sphere of culture, philosophic ideas and literature. This stable picture of the material world in the form of register of creatures, plants and other objects of the created world is used as an imagery system and topics of season lyrics both by court and mystic poets.

2. Mystic (allegoric, symbolic) interpretations of traditional season motifs may lead to a partial renewal of old sacred meanings of the groups of images like, for example, images of the spring blossoming garden and singing birds.

3. For the period of the 12th century it is rather difficult to divide Ismā'īlī and Ṣūfī elements in esoteric Persian poetry, especially in Sanā'ī's mystic writings.

4. We are used to associate the symbols of birds with the name of Farīd ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and his famous epic poem *Mantiq at-tayr*, but we also must take into account that he based his work not only on the writings of philosophers or theologians like Ibn Sīnā or Aḥmad Ġazālī, but he also adopted the images of birds from lyric or lyrico-epic poetry of the predecessors – Sanā'ī and Ḥāqānī.

5. The images of birds passed the stage of formation and development of the *qaṣīda* genre, and after that they were brilliantly used by 'Aṭṭār in his allegoric poem. All these writings of Persian mystic poets about birds, their dialogues and their wandering have common basis. There are some significant details which are coincide

in all of them, and the most important is the special role of the Nightingale in the system of the "birds' language". In the epistles of *Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* the nightingale is the messenger from the assembly of birds to the King of People. In Sanā'ī's *qaṣīda* this bird is the one who is performing *dīkr*. In *Sanā'ī-nāma* the author advises to learn the "nightingale's language" for *dīkr*. In *Hāqānī's qaṣīda*, *Mantiq at-tayr*, the nightingale defends the superiority of the Rose in comparison with other spring flowers and blossoming trees, and the King of Birds, 'Anqā' acknowledges his victory in the argument of birds about spring flowers.

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CURRENT TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF HISPANO-ARABIC LITERATURE
THE PROBLEM OF THE DISTINCTIVENESS
OF THE INDIVIDUAL ANDALUSIAN POET:
THE CASE OF THE POET
MUHAMMAD B. IDRĪS B. MARĠ AL-KUHL (D. 634 H)

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At first sight, Andalusian Arabic poetry does not differ very much from Oriental Arabic poetry, even though in some respects its development came later than its Oriental model. In his article on Hispanism, Schoeler (1979) points out that from the 10th century onwards, one can still recognize a great influence of Oriental Arabic literature, although individual stylistic and thematic characteristics can be found in, for example, flower poems by Ibn Darrāġ al-Qaṣṣallī (958-1030)¹ quoted by al-Kattānī. The important Andalusian poets whose work has distinctive features of the 11th century are Ibn Zaydūn (1003-1070) with his famous *nūniyya* and *qāfiyya*, Ibn Šuhayd (992-1035), Ibn ʿAmmār (1031-1086) and the king al-Muʿtamid (1039-1095) (Garulo 1998a:126-134; Scheindlin 1974). Later, three other poets distinguish themselves by their individual style: Ibn Ḥafāġa (1058-1138)², his nephew Ibn az-Zaqqāq (d. 1133 or 1153) and Ibn Sahl (1212-1251) (Garulo 1996).

A factor that cannot be eliminated from the study of Andalusian poetry is the problem of Ibn Ḥafāġa's style. The problem of an individual style is also connected with what Scheindlin called "the problem of the distinctiveness of a poet" (Scheindlin 1995). Nowaihi (1993) and Jayyusi (1992) have recently contributed much to the analysis of Ibn Ḥafāġa's poetry and have formulated what is, in their view, his individual style: his treatment of nature, his particular attitude towards the world, his crucial feelings *vis-à-vis* existential problems, and his handling of the problems of youth and old age, life and death; his style, his choice of vocabulary, syntactical arrangements and rhythmic structures which vary according to the source of his inspiration, his warm affinity with the inherited Bedouin style, with the mention of the place names of Arabia and references to its fauna and flora; and his expression of a deep-seated nostalgia. Some of these, however, are standard Andalusian features, such as the mention of Arabian places names and the fauna and flora of Arabia. We also find these features in the earlier work of the Andalusian poet Ibn Muqānā. What

¹ Schoeler 1979; see for these poets: Garulo 1998a:51-65, Schippers 1999b.

² See Garulo 1998b; Jayyusi 1992; Nowaihi 1993; Scheindlin 1995; Schippers 1997, Schippers 1999a, Yaqub 1999.

is a poet's distinctive style, as opposed to what is typical of all the poetry of that time and place? What is typical of that period in Andalusia? Before making a brief analysis of an individual poet, we have to consider the following characteristics of Andalusian poetry: the manneristic use of metaphors in Andalusian nature description; the influence of *badīʿ* style, leading to increasing symmetry and repetition in the style; and the use of Arabian place names.

Manneristic use of metaphors

The manneristic use of metaphors can be found already in the early flower description anthologies of al-Andalus. The use of nature in Andalusian poetry to evoke human feelings was studied by Schmidt (1971) with regard to the anthology by Abū l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī (418/1026-440/1048) entitled *Kitāb al-badīʿ fī wasf ar-rabiʿ*. Later on, the humanization of nature is one of Ibn Ḥafāḡa's distinctive features.

An accumulation of metaphors and the use of them at different levels leads to mannerism, especially in the short poems by Ibn Šāra, in which phenomena from nature are associated with womanly figures³, or those by Ibn az-Zaqqāq (489/1096-528/1134), Ibn Ḥafāḡa's nephew, who describes the beauties of nature using a rhetorical device known as the 'mobilization' or 'naturalization' of the metaphor. Mannerism in the use of images in poetry means that a reality comprised of images alienates one from the first level of meaning. In Arabic poetry, too, some poets had a particular interest in the frequent use of genitive metaphors, in order to astound or alienate their audience or to make witty combinations. Also colour contrasts and their metaphoric affiliations often lead to a play of imaginary realities and levels (Schippers 1997).

The influence of *badīʿ* style: symmetry and repetition

Poetic style in al-Andalus is more influenced by the way of thinking as manifested in the stylistic treatises dealing with figures of speech. These treatises proclaim as a principle of art the accumulation of figures of speech called *badīʿ*: the originality of the style provided the poems with more symmetry, and more repetitions and grammatical structures are repeated.

A significant contribution to the study of the aesthetics of Andalusian poetry has been made by Scheindlin (1973), who studied the distribution of word groups (syntactic units) within the poetry of al-Muʿtamid. It is possible that the arrangement of word groups in the lines of Andalusian poetry tend to be more symmetrical than elsewhere. This tendency can also be seen in Hebrew Andalusian poetry, as described by Moses ibn Ezra (1065-1138) in his theoretical *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara*. During the

³ See Bejarano 1996.

eleventh century in particular, secular Hebrew poetry was in full bloom. Arabic conventions were adopted and the style of Arabic poets was imitated. Perhaps this can be connected to the growing popularity of strophic poetry which originated in tenth-century Andalusia. The Hebrew Andalusian poets imitated the monorhymed *qaṣīda* of the Arabs as well as the Arabic Andalusian strophic poems called *muwašṣahāt* and *azġāl* (Schippers 1990).

The use of Arabian place names

In Ibn *Hafāġa*'s introduction to his *Dīwān*, which he wrote when he was 64, we learn that in his early youth he began imitating some of the Eastern poets (Ibn *Hafāġa*, *Dīwān* 14; Nowaihi 1993:1-13). He mentions two poets from the later part of the fourth-century CE: ʿAbdalmuḥsin aṣ-Ṣūrī – who influenced him in the use of rhetorical devices – and aṣ-Ṣarīf ar-Raḍī, Miḥyār ad-Daylamī, who influenced his use of the “Arabian” or “Bedouin” style. The Andalusians, another group that is not truly Arab, were also greatly influenced by this style, a part of a poetic technique which developed out of admiration and nostalgia for older times and Arabian things. Ibn *Hafāġa* shared this admiration and nostalgia, and continued the poetic tradition in a considerable number of his poems. In this respect, he seems to be in harmony with other Andalusian poets, such as Ibn Muqānā. Monroe explains the difference between the Andalusian poets' attitude towards the Bedouin style and that of the majority of the Eastern *muḥdatūn*, who often made fun of it, as follows: “But at the same time the admiration of these poets for eastern models inhibited them from publishing compositions that broke with the classical tradition. In other words, they adopted Modernism because it was eastern and because some of its innovations, such as ease of comprehension and urban themes, suited the Andalusian situation at that time. On the other hand, they completely ignored the anti-Bedouin, polemical, or irreligious aspects of eastern Modernism, since the latter were irrelevant to them, and furthermore dangerous in a conservative Maliki country” (Monroe 1973:135).

These are normal characteristics of Andalusian poetry. But Scheindlin is not interested in the normal, but in what was beyond it. Scheindlin (1995:129) formulated his interest in the distinctiveness of Ibn *Hafāġa* in the following manner: “We are less interested in what is normal about him than we are in what is remarkable. No one else [than Ibn *Hafāġa*] wrote the mountain poem; what does this masterpiece tell us about him, and how is its sensibility reflected in the rest of his work? The way to do this might be to read Ibn *Khafaja* against the background of the run-of-the-mill poets, or to read his special poems against the background of his own run-of-the-mill poetry; but the starting point ought to be the fact that he is a Hispano-Arabic poet who cries out for treatment of his singularities. The best way to do this would be comparative; see how productive was Sperl's contrast of Miḥyār ad-Daylamī to al-Buḥturī (Sperl 1989:62-68).”

I wonder, however, whether Scheindlin's proposal to determine the distinctiveness of an individual poem is really conclusive. Notwithstanding the fact that the comparison of two literary works can in many cases be very fruitful, as a tool with which to judge the quality of poems it seems me too ephemeral and subjective. Can we rely fully on our present-day taste without having the possibility to test our premises? Is Bauer (1998:12) not right when, in his recent book on tenth-century Arabic *gāzal*, he states that we have to try to reconstruct the literary communication process, and not let our own twentieth-century preconceptions or a priori convictions about poetry interfere? "A poem from the 10th century has only sense within the context of a literary communication process. The question what the poets want to say to us, can be a priori only answered with 'nothing at all'. As an observer, the researcher has the task of reconstructing the literary communication system of a past period in order to reconstruct 'meaning', 'sense' and 'quality' of a text."

To gain a thorough understanding of what a genre of poetry is, we must study the whole range of themes of the poetry of the selected period. This manner of investigation by Bauer is different from that of Scheindlin. For Scheindlin, enough research has been done on the general typical features of Andalusian poetry, and now we should take a step forward by defining what the distinctiveness of individual poets and individual poem is, and do so by comparing poems. In the light of these two views, I will investigate in the next part of this paper how the above-mentioned characteristics of Andalusian poetry were further developed by a later poet, Marḡ al-Kuḥl, and try to compare him with his major predecessor, Ibn Ḥafāḡa. Marḡ's contemporaries held him to be an outstanding *gāzal* and nature poet, and – like Ibn Ḥafāḡa – he was originally from Alcira, which is in the vicinity of Valence.

According to the editor of his poetry, Ṣalāḡ Ğarrār, his love poems can be put into one of two categories, that is, platonic or 'udrī love poems, and sensual love poems (Ğarrār 1993:65-66). This distinction perhaps corresponds to Ibn Bassām's subdivision into chaste love [*afīf*] and shameless love [*māḡin*] (Ibn Bassām, *Dahīra* II/I, 141-144). The 'udrī poems contain themes and images, such as complaints about the inaccessibility of beloved ones and the longing for a meeting with them, and the stress is on themes of sadness and the description of punishment and vexation.

The following is my translation of the first *gāzal* poem (p. 66) by Marḡ al-Kuḥl that I want to discuss: [Appendix no. 1; *kāmīl*]

- o glance, which has destroyed the bloom of youth and whose bliss burdened me with punishment.
- I never thought that a glance of brilliance would condemn to a punishment the one who is longing for it
- o gazelle, whose eyes do to the intellect what wine does to the heart
- if you could taste what I had to taste of the pangs of love, then you would know the measure of passion of the lovers.

- I am wondering because of the reproach of the reproachers without knowing you, whereas reproaching me is of no use at all.
- my heart sees that there is no consolation from love, may the one who meets hardship be in peace.
- o my reproacher, how does my misery harm you: the heart is my heart, and the punishment is my punishment.

The first three lines express the poet's reaction to the glances and eyes of the beloved and to the beloved herself. In line four, he tells his beloved how much he has suffered. This effect of the glances is also described in line two: his intellect is lost, he has gone mad and is drunk as though on wine. Two of the three last lines concern the reproachers. Line six is also about the extent of his hardships. Among the stylistic features, the use of the vocative (- o glance... o gazelle... o my reproacher) is striking.

Is there any similarity here to the themes used by Ibn Ḥafāḡa? Contrary to Ibn Ḥafāḡa, who almost never argues with his beloved, there is a conversation between the poet and his beloved. In general Ibn Ḥafāḡa is not much in favour of the 'udrī theme, which he rejects⁴. Monroe's opinion of Ibn Ḥafāḡa's 'udrī disposition perhaps refers to his elegiac love, a theme of the *nasib* rather than of an 'udrī one (Monroe 1973; Scheindlin 1995). In another *ġazal* poem, Marġ al-Kuḥl uses nature images much in the way the Andalusian poets do (p. 67): [Appendix no. 2; *tawīl*]

- They went at night breaching the night when the night was already quiet, so that the smell of the darkness of the horizon diffused from it.
- until it made us imagine the stars which appeared in it as jasmine flowers and the darkness as violets.
- and what made us sad was that a lightning cloud flashed, so that I said my heart beats and is kindled.
- and the white drops from it [i.e. from the heart from where the tears come] were mixed with redness, so that it made me remember the wide-open mouth of Salmā.
- Oh swinging sides without being drunk with wine, they strike fatally with their arrows the foot soldier armed to the teeth.
- Are you the one who made your upperbody swave and your hounces move and your buttocks tremble?
- Did the comparison with a full moon, and with a sandy hillock heaped up and with a gazelle wide and black eyed make you furious?
- And from a sad heart you have made a ball, and you showed him the *lām* of your hair-covered temples as a polo stick.

⁴ See ms. *Dīwān* Ibn Ḥafāḡa Leiden Or. 14056 3ab.

- May a woman in her litter not go away without my heart and may she only bear my ribs as [the frame of] a domed litter!

The 'they' mentioned in the first line of the text are apparently the *fitya* [young men], whom we know of also from the poetry of Ibn Hafāḡa and from the Eastern tradition, such as al-Buḡturī. Night travelling and the silence of the night are also mentioned by Ibn Hafāḡa, although this poet was mainly a lone traveller. The use of smell in the first sentence is reminiscent of Ibn Hafāḡa's use of the smell of the wind of La'lá' or the smell of a greeting. However, Marḡ mentions a smell of the darkness of the horizon diffusing from the night. The verb *habata* ('knock, breach') – which means that they breach in the night so that the morning light becomes visible – is never used in this way by Ibn Hafāḡa. Although *habata* is used by Ibn Hafāḡa many times, it is the night that strikes him and not the other way round⁵. *Zalām saḡā* ('the night is silence') occurs as an expression in the same poem. The second line speaks of the contrast between the bright stars and the dark sky: the imagination of the poet and his *fitya* compare the stars with jasmine flowers and the night with violets. In a poem on rhyme *azhār* Ibn Hafāḡa⁶ uses the image the other way round: the flowers, he says, are scattering their stars. In the above line, the function of the flowers is to contrast colours. Ibn Hafāḡa uses *banafsaḡ* ('violet') as a colour contrast with *ward* ('roses')⁷. Line three – about the flashing lightning cloud – immediately reminds one of the oft-quoted line by Ibn al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ, who was opposed to 'udrī love: '*ta'allaqa l-barqu naḡdiyyan fa-qultu labu yā ayyuhā l-barqu inni 'anka maḡḡūl*' ('The lightning shined as from the Naḡd, and I said to it: O lightning, I do not care for you')⁸. The heart and lightning are often compared in their function of beating, and both are associated with love passion and the elegiac love imported from the Arabian peninsula. Line four is yet another one that contrasts colour: the white tears of the poet's sadness are mixed with red tears, and this is compared with the red-white contrast of the red lips and bright teeth of the beloved Salmā. The next lines are in reality not so elegiac as one would think at first sight. The interesting thing here is that the poet in line 5 speaks about his own activities as a poet; his beloved has perhaps become angry because of his use of traditional comparisons. In line six, the poet compares his heart with a ball, and the hair on her temples which looks like the letter *lām* and a polo stick. Without knowing it, she is apparently playing polo with his heart. In line seven, the poet pleads with the

⁵ Ibn Hafāḡa, *Dīwān* 47, poem no. 5, ending *faham*.

⁶ Ibn Hafāḡa, *Dīwān* 351, poem no. 220 m, ending *tudaru*.

⁷ Ibn Hafāḡa, *Dīwān* 113, poem no. 83, ending *nadda*.

⁸ Quoted in ms. *Dīwān* Ibn Hafāḡa Leiden Or. 14056 3ab.

woman not to go away without taking his heart with her, because his ribs are an essential part of her domed litter. At least this poem is not a serious *'udrī* poem, considering the humorous comparison of the heart with a polo ball, and because the poet's reasoning about poetical comparisons apparently disliked by his beloved belong to the category of humorous banter rather than to themes of unrequited love. The name Salmā reminds us of the Bedouin scene. The description of the flowers and the sky, as well as the *fitya*, remind us of Ibn Ḥafāḡa's poetry. Among his nature poems, there is one which was famous and is similar to the many nature poems by Ibn Ḥafāḡa. It describes Jucar, or Ġazīrat aš-Šuqr, where this poet also lived (p. 69): [Appendix no. 3; *wāfir*]

- May God drench the peninsula of all places, it was an excellent dwelling place for its inhabitants
- A river went around there as an asp goes around, as if you saw a woman's belt around her waist.
- And many an evening that we began to search the shadow and the fresh water,
- When the snow had made there domes on the trees that made the valleys happy;
- Whereas the slopes were green with myrtle, so that it became marguerites when becoming white;
- As if al-Ḥidr has passed along it at the right, and Ġibrīl had spread a wing over it.

This poem contains many of the colour contrasts we usually find in Ibn Ḥafāḡa's poetry, but it is less sophisticated as far as personifications, humanizations and metaphors are concerned. This perhaps also applies to the famous poem about an orange floating in the river (p. 70): [Appendix no. 4; *kāmil*]

- An evening which was the prey of the young men who were familiar with the pure art [of conversation] as if they were old men
- It was as though [this evening] was the legendary griffin, for which they had set up snares because of its inclination to fall down.
- Their good manners united them so that they pulled back and forth the secret of gladness, talking and listening.
- And the doves were reciting the sura of the emotion and their recitation made you forget all previous ones
- And an orange was floating in the river and went in the direction of [our men] who were there to take rest.
- And you imagine them as stars in the sky which in their good constellation were in opposition to Mars
- Their day broke their normal routine in gladness, and I made my verses as a record of it.

We know all these elements of nature description so well from the poetry by Ibn Hafāḡa, although here the *fitya* are not really hunting, as they are in Ibn Hafāḡa's poem no. 2: instead, they are hunting the evening, which is compared to a griffin, the falling evening which falls into their snares. The doves and the river, and the sky comparison, and the orange, are also familiar from the nature poetry of Ibn Hafāḡa. The next nature poem (p. 70), however, is famous for its originality. Some of the thematic expressions are commended, such as the repentance of Time about its former enmity, and some of its formal features were imitated by later poets. The garden landscape, which has some Bedouin place names, is familiar to us. The drinking companions are sitting near a river, with all the requisites of nature, such as doves, flowers, sunlight in the evening, and comparisons between the flowers and the attributes of a beloved boy, such as the flushed cheeks and traces of juvenile down. [Appendix no. 5; *kāmil*]

- Turn to the slope of the Reddish Heaps of Sand between Euphrates and the margin of Kawtar
- To drink it in the evening as golden wine from the hands of a wide and black eyed one with red lips.
- An evening, which – how much I had longed for this hour! – the Days granted generously after having excused themselves.
- We reached in this evening our hopes in a garden, which gave to the one who inhales a breeze of amber.
- And Time, because of repentance, deemed foolish its opinion it had in the past, without being troubled.
- And the doves were singing and the tree was bending, and the sun dragged in her yellow skirt.
- And the garden was between gilded and silvered [due to sun and evening dew], and the flowers between sprinkled with silver and gold coins.
- And the river was striped by valleys and hills with its sandal wooden and yellow-dyed flowers.
- It looked as though the river and its green banks was a sword unsheathed on a green carpet.
- It is as though those waves are its steel whatever floats on its surface like jewels
- It is as though it and its lands which are surrounded by [black] myrtle and [red] anemones, are the [red] cheek of a lad with [black] juvenile down.
- A river whose beauty infatuates even the one who has never had a love passion, and about which even someone who has never felt anything poetic can make excellent poetry.
- The face of the sun is only yellow [pale] at sunset because she has to depart from the beauty of such a view.

Here, the repetition at the beginning of the lines is striking (And Time... And the doves... And the river) followed by three 'as though' sentences (It looked as though the river and its green banks; - It is as though those waves; - It is as though it and its lands...) and the colour contrasts, such as gilded and silvered. We already know the predilection for such sequences as *mudāhhab* and *mufaddad* in the poetry by Ibn Hafāḡa. This poem by Marḡ al-Kuḡl was imitated later on by Šams ad-Dīn al-Kūfī (al-Maqqarī, *Nafḡ* V, 55-57) in a poem in which there are verses like: [Appendix no. 6; *kāmil*]

wa-l-wardu bayna mudā^cafin wa-mušannafin / wa-mukattafin wa-mulattafin lam yuḡsari/

wa-z-zabru bayna mufaddadin wa-mudāhhabin / wa-muraššā'in wa-mudarhamin wa-mudannari/

[the roses, manifold, ear-ringed,/ chained and refined, which you cannot pluck// and the flowers, some silvered and gilded,/ some inlaid with gems, dirhamed and dinared [i.e. by dew and sunlight]//.

Here we are confronted with an extreme consequence of increasing symmetry, and of repetition as a stylistic ideal. What a superficial analysis of these poems by Marḡ al-Kuḡl may make clear, is the reoccurrence of the three characteristics of poetry listed above: i.e., the manneristic play with metaphors, the mention of Bedouin names and the stress on symmetric patterns. We find much of the nature style as practised by such poets as Ibn Hafāḡa in the work of this later poet. There are some differences between Marḡ al-Kuḡl and his Alcirian predecessor, as I showed by analysing the first two poems, but on the whole it might sometimes be difficult to distinguish a nature poem by Ibn Hafāḡa from a later one by Marḡ. I have made a modest and superficial analysis in the light of what Scheindlin said about the distinctiveness of a poet. However, I am still not convinced that a method of comparison which takes into account only a limited number of poems is a good one. How can we compare Marḡ al-Kuḡl with Ibn Hafāḡa on the basis of just one or two poems, and then expect to use this to make a judgement about the distinctiveness of a poet, without having a dictionary in which all the metaphors and the poetic lexemes of both poets are listed? And how important is it to investigate the 'distinctiveness' of poets and poems, rather than to study the poetry and its themes and formal features themselves? We should first obtain a thorough understanding of what a genre of poetry is, and to do so, we should study the whole range of themes of the poetry of a selected period.

APPENDIX

Quotations from the Arabic text from Ğarrār's edition.

No.1

يا نظرة أودت بشرخ شبابي
ما كنت أحسبُ نظرة من نظرة
شادنا عيناه تفعلُ بالنهي
لو ذوقتُ من ألم الهوى
إني لأعجبُ من عتابِ عوذلي
قلبي يرى أن لا سلوُ من الهوى
يا عاذلي ماذا تضرُّكُ شقوتي

وقضى عليَّ نعيمها بعذاب
تقضي عليَّ مشتاقها بعقاب
ما تفعلُ الصهباءُ بالألباب
لعلِّمتُ قدر الشوق للأحباب
جهلاً عليك وما يفيد عتابي
رضي الذي يلقي من الأوصاب
القلبُ قلبي والعذابُ عذابي

No. 2

سَرَوْا يخبطون الليلَ والليلُ قد سجا
إلى أن تخيلنا النجومَ التي بدت
ومما شجاني أن تألَّقَ بآرقٍ
وشيبَ بياضُ القطرِ منه بحمرة
أمائسة الأعطافِ من غيرِ خمرة
أأنتِ التي صيرتِ قَدك مائسا
وأغضبكِ التشبيهَ بالبدرِ كاملاً
وقلبِ شجَ صيرتِه كرهةٍ وقد
فلا رحلتُ إلا بقلبي ظعينةً

وعرَّفَ ظلامُ الأفقِ منه تأرجاً
به ياسمينا والظلامُ بنفسجا
فقلتُ: فؤادي خافقاً متوهجاً
فأذكرني ثغراً للسلمى مفتجاً
بأسهما تُصني الكميَّ المدججاً
وعِطْفُك مَياداً وردفك رَجرجاً
وبالدعصِ مركوماً وبالظبي أدعجاً
أجلتِ عليه لامَ صدغِكِ صولجاً
ولا حملتِ إلا ضلوعي هودجاً

No. 3

سقى الله الجزيرةَ من محلٍ
وطاف بها طوافَ الصلِّ نهرٍ
وربَّ عشيةٍ فيه طفقنا
وقد ضرب الضريبُ بها قبايا
وكان جنابُها يخضرُ آسا
كأن الخضرُ مرَّ به يمينا

فقد حسنتُ لقاطنها مراحا
كما أبصرتُ في خصرٍ وشاحا
نرود الظلِّ والماءِ القراحا
على الأدواحِ أبهجت البطاحا
فأصبح وهو مبيضٌ أقاحا
ومدَّ عليه جبريلُ جناحا

No. 4

عشية كانت قنيسةً فتيةً
فكأنها العنقاء قد نصبوا لها
شملتهمُ آدابُهُم فتجاذبوا
والورقُ تقرأ سورة الطرب التي
والنهرُ قد طمحت به نارنجةً

ألفوا من الأدب الصريح شيوخا
من الانحناء إلى الوقوع فخوخا
سرَّ السرور محدثاً ومصيخا
ينسيك منها ناسخ منسوخا
فتيممتُ من كان فيه منيخا

فتخالهم خلل السماء كواكباً
خرق العوائد في السرور نهارهم

قد قارنت بسعودها المريخا
فجعلت أبياتي لها تاريخا

No. 5

عرجٌ بيمُنْعَرَجِ الكَثِيبِ الأعْفَرِ
ولتفتيقها قهوةٌ ذهبيةٌ
وعشيةٌ كم كنت أرقب وقتها
نلنا بها آمالنا في روضةٍ
والدهرُ من ندمٍ يسفته رأيه
والورقُ تشدو والأراكة تنثني
والروضُ بين مذهبٍ ومفضضٍ
والنهرُ مرقومُ الأباطح والرُبي
وكأنه وكان خضرةً شطه
وكأنما ذاك الحبابُ فِرْنْدُه
وكأنه، وجهاته محفوفةٌ
نهرٌ يهيم بحسنه من لم يهيم
ما اصفرَّ وجهُ الشمسِ عند غروبها

بين الفراتِ وبين شطِّ الكَوْثَرِ
من راحتِي أحوى المِراشِفِ أَحْوَرِ
سمحت بها الأيامُ بعدَ تَعَدُّرِ
تهدي لناشِقِها نَسِيمَ العنْبَرِ
في ما مضى منه بغيرِ تَكْدُرِ
والشمسُ ترفلُ في قميصِ أَصْفَرِ
والزهْرُ بين مَدْرَهَمٍ ومُدْتَرِ
بمُصْنَدَلِ من زَهْرِهِ ومُعْصَفَرِ
سيفٌ يسلُّ على بساطِ أَخْضَرِ
مهما طفا في صفحه كالجواهرِ
بالأس والنعمانِ خدَّ مُعَدَّرِ
ويجيد فيه الشَّعْرُ من لم يشعُرِ
إلا لفرقةٍ حُسنِ ذاك المنظرِ

No. 6

والورد بين مُضَعَّفٍ ومُشَنَّفٍ
والزهْر بين مفضضٍ ومذهبٍ

ومكتفٍ وملطَّفٍ لم يهصرِ
ومرصعٍ ومُدْرَهَمٍ ومُدْتَرِ

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ÉLÉMENTS CHRÉTIENS ET LEUR FONCTION DANS LA POÉSIE DE MAḤMŪD DARWĪŠ

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Maḥmūd Darwīš, un poète de talent, originaire de la Palestine arabe, est né en 1942 dans le village Barwa en Galilée. En 1948 son village natal a été rasé par l'armée israélienne et sa famille s'est retrouvée dans un camp de réfugiés. Il en parle ainsi: "Mon enfance a été transportée dans le feu ... sous les tentes de réfugiés ... en exil. Soudain, à l'âge de six ans, j'ai dû devenir homme, trouver la force de résister." Deux ans plus tard, Darwīš s'est retrouvé à nouveau en Israël où il a vécu jusqu'à l'année 1971. Il a été militant de "l'Organisation de la terre", organisation patriotique palestinienne, il a collaboré avec le Parti Communiste israélien et pour son activité politique et littéraire il a été plusieurs fois emprisonné.

Il est avant tout poète – "poète chevalier" luttant pour la libération de sa jeune bien-aimée – qui est sa patrie, la Palestine. Cette patrie de rêves libérée est le seul thème de sa poésie contenue dans une quinzaine de vastes recueils. En 1971 le poète quitte Israël et va à Beyrouth pour y chercher une plate-forme plus large de défense de sa cause nationale. Après l'invasion israélienne de Beyrouth en 1982 Maḥmūd Darwīš quitte cette ville avec d'autres Palestiniens pour se rendre à Tunis. A partir de 1981, il est rédacteur du trimestriel littéraire *al-Karmal* publié par l'Association Générale des Ecrivains et Journalistes Palestiniens. En 1984 il devient son président et depuis 1987, il fait partie du Comité exécutif de l'Organisation de Libération de Palestine.

Maḥmūd Darwīš dépeint dans sa poésie la tragédie ressentie très profondément, du peuple palestinien qui a perdu sa patrie. Il y exprime son regret et son désespoir mais aussi son espoir ferme de revoir sa patrie libre; il appelle au combat plein de sacrifices, pour sa libération. Sa poésie brosse le tableau de la nature de Palestine, elle reflète aussi sa nostalgie de la terre perdue mais avant tout elle proclame l'idée d'un sacrifice sans limites.

Il est surprenant que Maḥmūd Darwīš, musulman penchant pour l'idéologie communiste athée, renoue dans ses nombreux ouvrages avec la symbolique chrétienne. C'est le Nouveau Testament qui l'a inspiré le plus, mais on retrouve chez lui aussi des allusions intéressantes aux personnages de l'Ancien Testament, aux psaumes et aux villes célèbres du monde antique.

Les poèmes évoquant le Nouveau Testament sont au nombre de 30 et ils sont dispersés irrégulièrement dans les recueils successifs de ses poèmes. Le plus grand nombre de ces poèmes, à savoir 8, se trouve dans le recueil *ʿĀšiq*, dans *Uḥibbuki* il y a six poèmes, et dans *Ḥabībatī* – cinq poèmes. Les recueils *Yawmiyyāt* et *al-ʿAṣāfir*

tamūt contiennent trois poèmes chacun, le recueil *Āḥar* – en contient deux. Dans le premier recueil et dans les deux derniers il n'y a dans chacun d'eux qu'un seul poème abondant des thèmes chrétiens.

Il y a huit poèmes puisant l'inspiration dans l'Ancien Testament dont deux dans chacun des recueils ci-dessous: *ʿĀšiq, al-ʿAṣāfir tamūt* et *Uḥibbukī*; et un dans chacun des recueils suivants: *Yaʿwmiyyāt* et *Hiṣār*.

NOUVEAU TESTAMENT

La Croix et le Messie

La croix est le plus important symbole chrétien présent dans la poésie de Maḥmūd Darwīš: elle apparaît dans quelques dizaines de poèmes et dans différentes significations. Dans quelques poèmes leur auteur parle du Messie uni d'une manière naturelle avec sa croix, mais dans la plupart d'entre eux, "la croix" est séparée du rôle qu'elle joue dans la religion chrétienne et elle acquiert des significations nouvelles qui lui sont conférées par le poète.

Darwīš développe pleinement son idée dans la troisième strophe du poème "*Qaṣīdat al-ardʿ*" (Poème de la terre) du recueil *Uḥibbukī*:

En mars les chevaux se réveillent
 Ô terre, ma maîtresse!
 Quel chant coulera dans ton sein ondulant?
 Quel hymne répondra à la rosée et à l'encens?
 Comme si les autels parleraient maintenant
 des prophètes de Palestine
 depuis leurs débuts jusqu'à la durée.
 L'espace a verdi
 Les pierres ont cramoisi
 et le Messie est sorti
 de l'ouragan et de la blessure
 vert comme des plantes
 Il couvre les clous et les liens.
 C'est mon hymne
 L'élévation d'un jeune Arabe
 vers les rêves et la sainteté. (*Aʿmāl* 522-523)

Après avoir décrit le printemps qui s'éveille, le poète introduit des éléments religieux – des encens brûlés à la gloire de Dieu, et des autels. Mais cette fois-ci les autels parlent non seulement des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament, mais aussi de nouveaux "prophètes de Palestine" qui lui prédisent "la durée" c'est-à-dire la libération future. Le Messie est le symbole de la "Bonne Nouvelle", le Messie qui surgit de l'ouragan et de la blessure. "La blessure" – symbole universel de la souffrance, a chez St Augustin

tin la fonction purifiante¹. “L’ouragan” dans l’imagerie de l’Ancien Testament devance l’apparition de Yahvé, par exemple: “Un vent violent et fort déchirait les montagnes et brisait les rochers en avant de Yahvé”. (Cf. Livre des Rois, 19:11-14).

Ici tout comme dans l’Ancien Testament, le Messie sort de l’ouragan, il est “vert”, donc intégré dans les couleurs du printemps, de la vie, de la renaissance. Il ne faut pourtant pas oublier que les pierres qui “ont cramoisi”, signalent le sang et le combat. Le Messie couvre “les clous” – évoquant la notion des tortures et du supplice de la croix, et des “liens” qui se rapportent plutôt aux Palestiniens privés de liberté, qu’à Lui-même. Et il devient pour le jeune Arabe l’exemple à suivre, l’indication comment par la souffrance s’élever vers la réalisation des rêves sur la patrie indépendante et vers la sainteté.

Dans un autre poème “*Našīd ilā l-Aḥḍar*” (Chant pour al-Aḥḍar) du recueil *Uḥibbuki* à côté d’al-Aḥḍar (Vert), symbole musulman de “l’eau de la vie” et de la renaissance² apparaît le Messie:

Ô, al-Aḥḍar, renouvelle ma voix,
J’ai dans ma gorge ma carte-rêve
et les noms du Messie Vivant.

Renouvelle, ô, al-Aḥḍar ma mort (...) (*A‘māl* 547).

Le sujet lyrique – le poète s’adresse à al-Aḥḍar (al-Ḥaḍir), symbole de “l’eau de la vie” et de la “renaissance” des légendes populaires arabes, en demandant de raviver son talent poétique pour qu’il puisse appeler à établir une nouvelle carte de Palestine. En même temps il fait allusion au “Messie Vivant”, c’est-à-dire au Christ ressuscité, et il prie al-Aḥḍar de vaincre la mort – “néant” de la Palestine. Dans ce poème le Messie joue un rôle auxiliaire à côté du principal symbole de la vie qui est al-Aḥḍar.

Dans le poème “*Qaṣīda ilā r-rīḥ aš-šimāliyya*” (Poème au vent du nord) du recueil *Uḥibbuki*, consacré à des méditations tristes sur l’exil et sur sa Jaffa abandonnée Darwīš écrit:

On ne m’a pas pendu...
Alors je suis revenu – sans honneur (...)
Et le Messie monte sur la croix,
Sans croix il n’y a pas de Messie
Cela veut dire que seul l’enfant n’est pas Messie
dans ma patrie. (*A‘māl* 617)

¹ St Augustin écrit “blessure-souffrance” qui excuse un homme et le conduit au conversion. Voir: *Confessions*, Livre VI, Chapitre 25.

² al-Ḥiḍr (ou al-Aḥḍar, ou al-Ḥaḍir), “Le Vert”, le personnage cité dans le Coran en “le serviteur du Dieu”, devient héros des légendes arabes populaires, est lié à “l’eau de la vie” et animation des choses mortes.

En renouant avec une acceptation consciente, (selon la religion chrétienne,) de la croix par Jésus-Christ, Maḥmūd Darwīš montre à ses compatriotes la voie à suivre. Il a honte, lui de ne pas être mort. Seul l'enfant peut ne pas accepter la croix c'est-à-dire les souffrances et la mort pour la patrie. Lui, homme adulte – le Messie symbolique qui doit conduire à la résurrection de la Palestine doit être prédestiné à porter la croix.

Le personnage du Christ est présenté d'une façon très moderne dans le poème "*Našīd li-r-riḡāl*" (Hymne pour les hommes) du recueil '*Āšīq*'. Le sujet lyrique parle au téléphone entre autres avec Jésus et avec Muḥammad en leur posant des questions sur le sens de la lutte des Palestiniens pour leur libération. Tous les deux, ils donnent une réponse affirmative. Voilà un extrait de "*Ma'a l-Masīḥ*" (Avec le Messie):

(...) Je parle de l'Israël
 Mes pieds sont transpercés par les clous
 J'ai une couronne d'épines sur la tête.
 Fils de Dieu! Quelle voie prendre?
 Dois-je renoncer au salut
 ou persévérer?

- Je réponds: Avancez les hommes! (*A'māl* 210-211)

Dans ce poème on voit une identification très caractéristique pour Darwīš avec la Passion du Christ par le moyen des objets – symboles évoquant cette Passion: la couronne d'épines et les clous. L'apostrophe "Fils de Dieu" qu'il lance à Jésus, est très importante et conforme à la foi chrétienne. Les musulmans considèrent Jésus uniquement comme un prophète. Peut-être le rappel du personnage de Jésus-Christ et de son affirmation de la lutte pour la patrie avait un caractère instrumental, celui d'attirer au combat les Palestiniens qui sont chrétiens, (tout comme "la conversation avec Muḥammad", était adressée aux Musulmans).

La croix

Uniquement dans les poèmes que je viens de commenter la croix est présentée en rapport avec le Christ. Dans d'autres poèmes, nombreux d'ailleurs, leur auteur "s'approprie" la croix pour la mettre au service de sa patrie, la Palestine qui pour lui constitue le bien suprême. Et ce – qui est contraire à la religion chrétienne, la croix ne symbolise plus le lien avec Dieu, la rédemption de l'homme et le salut du monde, mais elle reste le symbole de la souffrance et du sacrifice infini pour sa patrie. Et sa fonction est de servir l'idée de la lutte pour la libération de la Palestine, qui n'est toujours pas entendue comme une lutte armée mais parfois comme un combat poétique. Les images et les idées de la poésie de Maḥmūd Darwīš exposent certaines valeurs essentielles pour le poète.

La principale idée que le poète exprime par la symbolique de la croix c'est un don absolu de soi à sa patrie, un don fait par amour, de plein gré, un don désintéressé, ce qui veut dire qu'on est prêt à la mort, aux tortures et à la souffrance. La force

de ce sentiment d'amour est associé par le poète à l'amour de celui qui meurt sur la croix, qui donne pour sa patrie tout ce qu'il possède. Voilà ce qu'il en dit dans un extrait du poème "*Rubā'īyyāt*" (Quatrains) de son premier recueil *Awrāq*:

Ô ma Patrie, mon amour pour toi

ne me donne rien

sauf le bois de la croix.

Ma Patrie, ô ma Patrie comme tu es belle!

Prends mes yeux, prends mon coeur, prends ma bien-aimée! (*A'c'māl* 85)

La même idée revient dans le poème "*Uġniyāt al-ḥubb 'alā ṣ-ṣalīb*" (Chant d'amour sur la croix) du recueil *Awrāq*, où le poète dit à la patrie:

Je t'aime

Sois ma croix,

Sois ce que tu veux.

Comme le soleil

enflamme mon coeur!

Et n'aie pas pitié!³

À côté du don absolu du "moi" lyrique et de sa disposition à souffrir pour sa patrie, on y retrouve également l'espoir apporté par "le soleil", symbole de la "source de lumière, de chaleur et de vie" (Berlevi 1974 IV, 215). Tout comme lui, la patrie doit enflammer le coeur et éveiller le désir de vivre et de lutter. Dans le poème "*Ṣalāt al-ḥīra*" (La dernière prière) du recueil *'Āšīq*, le poète médite avec tristesse sur le sort des Palestiniens, qu'il désigne par la métaphore: "la croix du pays". Il veut brûler avec cette croix si la libération du pays s'ensuit:

J'ai l'impression, Ô croix de mon pays

qu'un jour tu brûleras (...)

Et quand mes cendres retomberont de toi,

L'oeil du destin sourira: ils sont morts

tous les deux ensemble...

Et pourtant moi je suis prêt à embrasser même la pierre

pourvu que mon pays puisse rester (*A'c'māl* 217-218).

Le motif d'un don total à sa patrie identifié avec la croix, apparaît dans le poème "*Ṣawt wa-sawt*" (La voix et le fouet) du recueil *'Āšīq*. À la fin de ce poème le poète dit:

Même ma croix n'est pas la mienne.

C'est moi, qui suis le sien...

Même la souffrance... (*A'c'māl* 118)

Dans beaucoup d'autres poèmes de Darwīš la croix apparaît comme "la blessure et la souffrance" et aussi comme "la déception et la fin de l'espoir" – dans le sens de

³ La traduction polonaise du tout le poème par Skarżyńska-Bocheńska 1983:139.

la souffrance spirituelle. Le plus souvent elle est identifiée à "la blessure" – symbole qui apparaît souvent dans la poésie contemporaine arabe, entre autres chez Adonis⁴ et as-Sayyāb⁵.

Dans le poème intitulé "*Yawmiyyāt ġurḥ filastīnī*" (Journal de la blessure palestinienne) du recueil portant le même titre, Darwīš se penche avec compassion sur la souffrance de ses compatriotes, mais il y voit aussi la cause de leur unité:

Les ennemis devaient venir

pour que nous comprenions que nous sommes jumeaux,

L'ouragan devait venir

pour que nous puissions habiter dans le tronc d'un chêne vert.

Si le Seigneur crucifié ne s'était élevé sur le trône de la Croix,

il serait resté un enfant peureux qui a perdu la blessure. (*A'māl* 395)

Et cette fois-ci "l'ouragan" s'unit à "l'orage", à l'averse, à la guerre. Le poète introduit un nouveau symbole "*sindiyan*" – chêne vert – arbre saint, selon les croyances de nombreux peuples, et en même temps, le symbole de la force, de la longévité et de l'élévation au sens physique et spirituel (Berlevi 1974 III, 348). Cet arbre symbolique doit entourer les Palestiniens combattants, les cacher en lui, leur donner de la force et les projeter vers l'avenir. Le poète compare cette image avec le Messie crucifié qui a été élevé par la blessure – souffrance sur le trône de la Croix. Là aussi Darwīš suggère qu'on ne peut pas rejeter "la blessure" que seul l'enfant eut en être exempté.

Les derniers vers de la citation sont conformés aux témoignages de l'Évangile: St-Matthieu (26:38,42), St-Luc (22:42), St-Marc (14:33-36) parlent de l'angoisse du Christ priant sur le Mont des Oliviers (Gethsémani). C'est l'Évangile de St-Jean qui dépeint le mieux le trouble et la prise de décision du Fils de Dieu (12:24): "Maintenant mon âme est toute troublée et que dire? Père, sauve-moi de cette heure! Mais c'est pour cela que je suis arrivé à cette heure-ci."

Ce trouble et cette angoisse du Christ sont décrits par le poète comme la peur de l'enfant qui pourrait perdre le sens de la souffrance-blessure. Darwīš comprend parfaitement bien le rôle du supplice de la Croix qui confère une Grandeur de Dieu.

Pourtant, porter une croix symbolique des souffrances d'un pays ou d'une ville, souvent fait naître le sentiment de déception et de défaite. Dans le poème "Psaumes"

⁴ Adonis approfondie la symbolique de la "blessure", il voit en elle "la souffrance", qui conduit l'homme par la route de sa vie vers la pleine réalisation. Il développe cette idée dans le poème "*Ġurḥ*" ("La blessure" dans Adonis 1971:358 et suiv.)

⁵ La "blessure" (*ġurḥ*) paraît aussi dans la poésie de Badr Šākir as-Sayyāb (parmi d'autres dans le poème "*Awdat ilā Ġaykūr*" (1960), où il parle de la "blessure brûlante"

"Ġaykūr, Ġaykūr! Le vinaigre et l'eau coulent de mon cœur, de ma blessure brûlante." (as-Sayyāb 1971 I, 426). Sur As-Sayyāb voir: Skarżyńska-Bocheńska 1998.

(*Mazāmīr*, – “17 psaumes d’amour et de nostalgie de la Palestine libre”, du recueil *Uḥibbukī*) dans l’extrait “*Mazmūr 11*” (Psaume 11) le sujet lyrique se plaint:

Je suis tombé de la croix
 Etendu comme la lumière
 sur l’horizon de l’infini, (...)
 Et je n’ai trouvé ni ma blessure
 ni ma liberté. (...)

Je suis citoyen du royaume
 qui n’est pas encore né. (*A‘māl* 539)

“La croix-souffrance” tout en étant lumineuse, donc apportant du bien et de l’espoir, s’étend à l’infini. On ne voit donc pas la fin des souffrances ni la liberté tant désirée. Le poète décrit vraiment la réalité de son pays. Une idée analogue est reprise dans le poème “*Marra uḥrā*” (Une autre fois) du recueil *Uḥibbukī*. Le sujet lyrique “nous” se rapporte aux Palestiniens en tant que peuple:

Une autre fois nous sommes descendus de croix
 – et nous n’avons pas trouvé de terre
 et nous n’avons pas vu de ciel. (*A‘māl* 609)

La situation difficile de sa patrie suscite l’ironie du poète, qui s’exprime dans le poème “*Qā‘ al-madīna*” (Le fond de la ville) (*A‘māl* 420-425) du recueil *al-‘Aṣāfir tamūt*. Après avoir décrit la défaite de la ville et le sort des personnes tuées dont la mort est vécue par le sujet lyrique comme sa propre mort, le poète passe aux remerciements pleins d’ironie:

Merci! – ô croix de ma ville,
 Merci!

Tu nous as appris la couleur des oeillets et des héros
 Ô pont qui étends de la joie de l’enfance
 – jusqu’à la vieillesse.

Maintenant je découvre la ville en toi.

Oh! notre belle ville...! (*A‘māl* 423)

L’asservissement, les souffrances physiques et psychiques durent trop longtemps déjà, le poète les connaît depuis son enfance et par un pont symbolique il s’avance vers la vieillesse. La croix apporte seulement la couleur du sang versé par les combattants pour la liberté, et des oeillets rouges qu’on rapporte lors de leurs enterrements. Il n’y a plus d’espoir de voir la fin de cette horreur qui envahit la ville. Le poème se termine sur une pointe d’ironie.

Des moments de désespoir et de découragement sont exceptionnels dans l’oeuvre de Darwīš, tout comme ceux de révolte, exprimée dans le poème “*Kitāba bi-l-fahm al-muhriq*” (Ecrire avec du charbon des décombres) (*A‘māl* 440-442) du recueil *al-‘Aṣāfir tamūt*. Cette fois-ci après avoir présenté des images d’une ville prise et entièrement brûlée par l’ennemi, le sujet lyrique se révolte et rejette la croix:

Je sorte des clous de cette croix

pour chercher une autre source d'éclairs
et une nouvelle forme de visage aimé. (*A'māl* 441)

"Les clous" dans la symbolique chrétienne n'existent pas séparément, on comprend tout de même "le fer" comme "un joug de fer" – symbole d'une sévérité insupportable et d'une oppression intenable (Le Deutéronome 28,48). Le sujet lyrique en s'attachant aux clous de fer de la croix se révolte contre la souffrance et décide de chercher une autre "matrice d'éclairs" – symbole de l'étincelle de la vie et du pouvoir fertilisant (Berlevi 1974 II, 242), donc un autre moyen de libérer sa patrie. La révolte est présente déjà dans un poème plus ancien "*Kitāba 'alā daw al-bunduqiyya*" du recueil *Habībatī*, et c'est une révolte contre la religion:

(...) j'y ai lutté en rêve et en réalité
(...) j'ai déchiré ma Thora
et j'ai torturé le Messie. (*A'māl* 371)

L'idée de la croix revient dans le poème portant le même titre que le recueil cité ci-dessus: "Ma bien-aimée se réveille", à l'endroit où le sujet lyrique bat sa coulpe pour avoir négligé l'appel de la croix:

Avons-nous reconnu la croix
qui nous a conduit sur la place de la lumière?
Oh! non... Nous avons reconnu
seulement les paroles-clous. (*A'māl* 353)

Dans ce poème on voit paraître une "lumière" à laquelle la croix mène et qui est présente dans nombre d'autres oeuvres de la poésie de Darwīš. Dans la symbolique chrétienne la lumière est un symbole tout particulier de l'esprit divin, mais en même temps, la lumière et la vie s'unissent sur la plate-forme de la nature. "Voir la lumière du monde" – signifie "naître" (Forstner 1990:92). La croix peut donc ici conduire vers Dieu, mais elle peut aussi, d'une manière plus laïque, signifier la naissance de la nouvelle Palestine. Le "soleil" – élément fréquent dans les poèmes parlant de la croix, est doté d'une symbolique analogue. Le sujet universel de l'imitation de la croix, est réduit par Darwīš à l'acceptation de "la croix d'amour" pour sa chère Palestine. Il en parle dans le poème "*Šahīd al-uğniya*" (Martyr du chant) du recueil *Āšiq*, où l'ennemi donne un choix aux vaincus: une révérence devant son trône et un baisemain d'humilité ou bien:

(...) tu seras élevé sur le bois de la croix
en tant que martyr du chant... et du soleil
(...)

Je n'étais pas le premier qui a porté une couronne d'épines
et je dis: – pleure!

Car peut-être ma croix deviendra le dos d'un coursier
et les épines au-dessus de mon front,

mouillées de sang et de rosée – une couronne de lauriers! (*A'māl* 137-138)

Dans ce poème son auteur renoue avec les paroles d'Évangile sur l'élévation du Christ par sa Passion: "Ainsi faut-il que soit élevé le Fils de l'Homme pour que tout homme qui croit en Lui ait la vie éternelle". (St-Jean 3:14-15). L'idée de la Passion, de la Rédemption et de la vie éternelle est ici limitée par le poète et transposée sur deux modèles de la Palestine contemporaine:

- un poète luttant pour la liberté avec son chant, et
- un "militant-martyr" de la libération de la patrie (*šahīd*).

Dans la suite de ce même poème le "chanteur-poète" devient non seulement "martyr du chant" mais également celui du soleil. Il y a donc l'espoir d'une nouvelle vie pour la patrie. Le poète fait allusion au Christ qui a été le premier à porter une couronne des épines - il pleure et il prend sa croix conformément à la recommandation du Christ: "Si quelqu'un veut venir derrière moi (...) qu'il prenne sa croix et qu'il me suive" (Matthieu 16:24).

Le sujet lyrique croit en victoire: la couronne d'épines, enrichie par le sang versé des victimes, et la rosée, - symbole de la vie et de la renaissance, doit se transformer en une couronne de lauriers - donc victoire.

L'idée d'une mort fière du martyr, qui élève le crucifié, est reprise par Darwīš dans le poème "*Qāla l-muḡanni*" (Le chanteur a dit) du recueil '*Āšīq*:

(...) Le chanteur glorifiait le soleil d'automne,
avec une corde il guérissait les blessures.

Le chanteur sur sa croix de douleurs.

Ses blessures scintillent comme des étoiles.

Il dit aux personnes qui l'entourent:

- Je ne veux pas de regrets!

Je meurs debout, comme un arbre.

De cette manière la croix est devenue chaire,

ou une branche de chant,

et ses clous - des cordes.

Ainsi il pleut, ainsi un arbre pousse. (*A'māl* 116-117)

Le rôle du chanteur-poète est de donner de la consolation. "Un soleil d'automne" introduit une note de tristesse et de fin. "Les clous", transformés miraculeusement en cordes, guérissent les blessures des personnes alentour. Cependant ses propres "blessures" - "étincellent comme des étoiles". La très riche symbolique des étoiles est en général l'expression de l'idée divine et un plan de Dieu concernant les destinées des hommes. Une étoile annonce la naissance du Christ, d'après Grégoire le Grand "Christ est devenu pour nous étoile du matin quand il nous a donné Lui-même l'exemple de la résurrection" (Forstner 1990:102-103). Même à la réception plus laïque "les étoiles étincelantes" font penser au ciel et à l'espoir. La "mort fière" du poète renoue avec l'ancienne tradition arabe (le Christ mourait humblement) et la transformation de la croix en chaire (en arabe minbar) dont on prêchait l'islam, ou en "branche de chant" est éloignée des notions chrétiennes. Cette dernière métaphore prône

l'espoir de la renaissance et la victoire de l'idée proclamée par le chanteur. Dans la tradition chrétienne, une jonchée de rameaux ou des rameaux agités symbolisent l'hommage rendu au triomphateur (...) C'était une tradition orientale d'acclamer les héros et les grands en brandissant des rameaux verts qui symbolisent l'immortalité de leur gloire (Berlevi 1974 IV, 79). L'espoir de la victoire future est mis en relief par les paroles sur la pluie qui tombe et "l'arbre qui pousse" – symboles universellement reconnus de la vie et de la puissance – allégorie de la nature toujours renaissante (Forstner 1990:151).

Il est intéressant de constater que Darwīš utilise un autre type d'images et de symboles en parlant du "poète – chanteur de la liberté", que ceux dont il se sert pour décrire un "militant – martyr" (*šahīd*) combattant pour sa patrie les armes à la main. Le poète persécuté, souffrant le supplice de la croix, est entouré de symboles de la victoire et de la gloire future. Quant au militant, Darwīš est conscient de son rôle double: celui du défenseur acharné de la patrie, prêt à mourir pour elle, mais aussi celui d'un assassin qui tue parfois des innocents dans le camp ennemi. Les croix du militant sont donc du feu ou de la pierre. Il en parle dans le poème "*Radd 'alā fa'l*" (Réaction) du recueil *Uğniyāt ilā l-waṭan* [sans date d'édition]:

Vous ne verrez que mon front en feu,
 Vous n'entendrez que le cliquetis de mes fers.
 Et quand je brûlerai sur la croix de mon service
 - je serai saint
 dans une tenue d'assassin. (*A'māl* 321-322)

Le feu de la croix qui brûle, a ici le sens de la purification du péché (Forstner 1990: 74), et du supplice, en même temps. Grâce à ce supplice l'assassin peut être sanctifié. Le poète parle ici pour la première fois de "la croix du service" pour la patrie, c'est-à-dire d'un devoir pénible et difficile. Dans le refrain du poème "*Našīd li r-riḡāl*" (L'hymne pour les hommes) du recueil *'Āšiq*, un militant parlant de lui-même, définit ainsi cette tâche:

Tu es abaissé comme l'asphalte
 tu es abaissé derrière le rideau des soucis,
 (...) crucifié sur la pierre (*A'māl* 206).

Une autre image renouant incontestablement aux méditations solitaires du Christ sur le mont des Oliviers, est brossée par le poète dans le poème *Šarwt min al-ḡāba* du recueil *'Āšiq*:

Un écho parvint de oliveraie...
 Et j'étais crucifié dans le feu.
 Ne m'arrachez pas! – criais-je aux corbeaux,
 Je reviendrai peut-être à la maison...
 Peut-être le ciel se fendra
 pour éteindre ce bois cruel!
 Un jour je descendrai de la croix...

Il est intéressant de savoir...

comment je reviendrai, nu et déchaussé? (*A^cmāl* 149-150)

Le sujet lyrique souffre sur une croix symbolique du "feu-amour". Il rêve d'un miracle, d'une pluie venant du ciel qui éteindrait les flammes. Mais alors, privé de son amour pour la patrie, il deviendra "nu et déchaussé". On peut noter ici le fait qu'il est partagé entre l'amour désintéressé pour la patrie, et la lassitude venant d'une souffrance qui dure. La situation du sujet lyrique est pareille dans le poème "*Anā ātī ilā zill 'aynayki*" (Je vais dans l'ombre de tes yeux) du recueil *Ḥabibatī* dont l'extrait:

Fais de moi un martyr défendant
l'herbe, l'amour et la moquerie,
la poussière de rues et des arbres,
les yeux de toutes les femmes,
et les mouvements de la pierre.

Fais que j'aime la croix qui n'aime pas (*A^cmāl* 361).

La croix qui dans la religion chrétienne est symbole non seulement de la souffrance mais aussi de l'amour. Dans les contextes présentés par le poète, elle donne uniquement la souffrance. C'est un rude service pour la patrie qui n'existe pas encore sur la carte, et puis l'espoir de la voir renaître s'envole souvent.

Deux les plus beaux poèmes d'amour de Darwīš adressés à sa patrie, imaginée comme une belle jeune fille, sont liés à son départ en émigration et à sa nostalgie du pays perdu. Dans le premier: "*al-Matar al-awwal*" (La première pluie) du recueil *al-Asāfir tamūt*, on trouve des fleurs pourtant si rares dans la poésie de Darwīš:

Dans la brume d'une pluie fine
ses lèvres ont été rose
qui a fleuri sur ma peau
et ses yeux – horizon,
qui s'étend de mon hier, – vers l'avenir...
(...) Quand je la quittais
à la sortie du port
ses lèvres avec un baiser
on sculpté sur les miennes
une croix de jasmin. (*A^cmāl* 484-487)

Le fleurs adoucissent la tristesse du départ de l'exilé qui quitte son hier tragique et difficile vécu sur sa terre natale pour un avenir inconnu. La nostalgie se dessine à peine sur ses lèvres sous forme d'une "croix-souffrance", mais cette fois-ci c'est une croix de jasmin dont la couleur blanche peut être le symbole d'un début, des possibilités ouvertes, du nouveau (Forstner 1990:116). Les dictionnaires de symboles ne donnent pas la connotation du jasmin, mais pour chaque personne qui a visité les pays arabes et a vu des colliers et de bracelets odorants de jasmin, le parfum de ces fleurs s'associe avec l'amour et un parfum du pays, ici la Palestine. Le poète-exilé emporte ce souvenir sur ses lèvres.

Le poème "*Ilā dā'i'a* (A la perdue) du recueil *Azbār ad-dam* (Les fleurs du sang, sans date d'édition) est consacré au sentiment de nostalgie que le poète éprouve réellement et aux souvenirs de la patrie. Dans l'extrait de ce poème on voit encore une fois paraître la croix donnant l'espoir et l'élevation:

Quand une larme-nuage
qui enveloppe tes yeux noirs,
tombera sur mes yeux,
je porterai toutes les tristesses du monde
comme une croix,
sur laquelle les martyrs deviennent géants
et le monde rapetisse (...) (*A'māl* 308)

Traduit du polonais en français par Janina Karna

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Ce livre me sert de point de repère car il contient tous les recueils que je viens d'énumérer.

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ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR ORIENTALISCHEN LÜGENGESCHICHTE

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Tell me a story ... one just true enough to be
interesting and not true enough to be tiresome.
Saki

Der unbekannte Verfasser des früher dem gelehrten arabischen Literaten ʿAmr b. Bahr al-Ġāhiz (gest. 255/868) zugeschriebenen *adab*-Werks "Buch der Schönheiten und ihrer Gegensätze (*Kitāb al-Mahāsīn wa-l-addād*)" erzählt folgende Geschichte¹:

al-Aṣmaʿī berichtete: Es sagte al-Ḥalīl b. Sahl: Oh Abū Saʿīd, du weißt doch, dass die Lanze von Rustam 70 Ellen lang und aus massivem Eisen war und dabei die Dicke eines Kruges hatte." Darauf erwiderte ich: "Hier ist ein Beduine, der sich auf dergleichen versteht. Zu ihm wollen wir gehen und dann magst du ihm die Sache erzählen." Als ich nun mit ihm zu dem Beduinen ging und er ihm die Geschichte erzählte, da sprach dieser: "Freilich habe ich schon davon gehört; ausserdem aber kam mir noch zu Ohren, dass dieser Rustam nebst Isfandiyār sich zu Luqmān b. ʿĀd in die Wüste begab. Sie trafen ihn nun, wie er – den Kopf auf dem Schosse seiner Mutter – schlief. Als letztere die beiden nun nach ihrem Anliegen fragte, da erklärten sie, sie hätten von der (wunderbaren) Kraft Luqmāns gehört und seien deshalb gekommen. Als nun Luqmān, durch die Unterhaltung aufgeweckt, plötzlich erschreckt aus dem Schlaf auffuhr, da pustete er sie beide bis nach Isfahan, woselbst ihr Grab noch bis heute zu sehen. Da entgegnete ihm al-Ḥalīl: "Du verfloxter Lügner!" "Mein Lieber!" versetzte zu ihm der Beduine, "ist doch meine Geschichte lang nicht so unwahrscheinlich als die von der 70 Ellen langen und wie ein Krug so dicken massiven Lanze Rustams" (al-Ġāhiz, *Mahāsīn* 46-47. (Pseudo)-Ġāhiz, *Masāwī* 37-38).

Die Geschichte findet sich in jenem Abschnitt des "Buches der Schönheiten", in dem vom "Gegenteil" der Wahrheit (*ṣidq*) – der Lüge eben – die Rede ist. Sie wird durch den Verfasser der *Mahāsīn* nicht kommentiert. Der Abschnitt enthält in lockerer Abfolge Sentenzen, Sprichwörter und Erzählungen, die mit dem Thema Lüge zu tun haben. Die erwähnte Erzählung ist aber die einzige eigentliche Lügengeschichte.

Das Grundgerüst der Erzählung bilden zwei unwahrscheinliche Behauptungen, wobei die erste Behauptung von der zweiten überboten wird. Es handelt sich somit um einen Lügenwettstreit, ein in Lügengeschichten häufiges Motiv, das im *Motif-index*

¹ Zitiert nach der Übersetzung von Oskar Rescher mit geringen Änderungen.

von Stith Thompson unter der Nummer X 905 ("lying contests") verzeichnet ist². Der erste Lügner – ein ansonsten literarisch nicht greifbarer Mann, namens al-Ḥalīl b. Sahl – erzählt seine Geschichte zweimal: zuerst dem bekannten arabischen Philologen al-Aṣmaʿī, der ihr nichts zu entgegnen weiss, und dann dem Beduinen, der al-Ḥalīl den Meister zeigt.

Der Beduine als der zweite Lügner bestätigt ohne Wimpernzucken die erste Lüge als bereits bekannt, lässt durchblicken, dass er sie nicht für der Rede wert hält ("freilich habe ich schon davon gehört") und gibt seine Geschichte zum besten. Daraufhin lässt sich der erste Lügner zum Ausruf "du verflixter Lügner" hinreissen, wodurch er indirekt zugibt, dass ihn der andere übertrumpft hat³. Wir als Hörer werden schliesslich durch die unerwartete Wendung am Schluss überrascht: der zweite Lügner verteidigt sich nicht etwa mit der Behauptung, dass seine Geschichte wahr sei, sondern setzt sich selbst durch seine Antwort auf den empörten Ausruf des Unterlegenen in Distanz zu der von ihm eben erzählten Geschichte und bezeichnet seinen Gegner indirekt als den grösseren Flunkerer.

Die beiden Lügen selbst werden zwar in der dritten Person erzählt, doch wird die ganze Geschichte als Bericht des Ich-Erzählers, des historisch nachweisbaren Philologen al-Aṣmaʿī (gest. 213/828), ausgegeben. Dies verleiht der Szene zunächst einen Schein von Glaubwürdigkeit. Die erste Lüge wird als Aussage al-Ḥalīl b. Sahls präsentiert. ("Oh Abū Saʿīd, du weißt doch..."), die zweite Lüge aus der Perspektive des Beduinen erzählt ("ausserdem aber kam mir noch zu Ohren..."). Wichtig ist festzuhalten, dass die berichteten Lügen einen Ausgangspunkt in der Erlebniswelt ihres Erzählers haben – diese Tatsache ist, wie sich zeigen wird, konstitutiv für das literarische Genre der Lügengeschichte. Der Hörer aber wird keinen Augenblick im Zweifel gelassen, dass es sich um Lügen handelt.

Beide Geschichten arbeiten mit dem sprachlichen Mittel der Übertreibung, der hyperbolischen Verzerrung der Proportionen: in der ersten Erzählung ist es die "Riesenzunge" Rustams, in der zweiten der bärenstarke Mann, der Rustam und Isfandiyār aus der arabischen Wüste nach Isfahan pustet – riesengrosse Gegenstände und Riesenstärke sind im übrigen beides häufige Motive in Lügengeschichten; gesteigert wird die Übertreibung noch durch die Wendung, Luqmān sei, den Kopf auf dem Schoss seiner Mutter (!), "erschreckt" aus dem Schlaf aufgefahren und habe seine Aktion ausgeführt.

² Thompson 1955-1957: V; vgl. auch EM VIII, s.v. "Lügenwette".

³ Die Niederlage erfolgt durch die Provozierung der Aussage "du lügst". Das Motiv ist oft Bestandteil von Brautwerbungsmärchen bzw. dient als Mittel, durch das sich der sozial niedrig gestellte Erzähler materielle Güter von einem sozial Höherstehenden (König, Edelmann etc.) verschafft. Die Niederlage im Lügenwettstreit kann auch durch die Provozierung einer Gegenfrage bewirkt werden. Ein Beispiel: Der erste Lügner spricht von einer Riesenrübe, der zweite von einem Riesenkessel. Auf die Frage des ersten, wozu dieser Kessel diene, antwortet der zweite: "um die Riesenrübe darin zu kochen"; für Belege zu dieser weit verbreiteten Lügengeschichte vgl. Marzolph 1992: II, Nr. 1043.

Dies impliziert gleichsam: Nicht auszudenken, was Rustam und Isfandiyār hätten erleben müssen, wäre Luqmān von vornherein wach gewesen!

Der Zweck der Geschichte ist: reine Unterhaltung durch Erzielung von Heiterkeit beim Hörer. Bemerkenswert ist daneben ihre anti-šūʿūbitische Tendenz⁴. Die Aufschneiderei mit dem persischen Helden Rustam – es muss ja ein starker Mann sein, der eine solche Riesenlanze tragen kann – wird überboten durch die noch grössere Stärke des Arabers Luqmān b. ʿĀd. Luqmān findet sich hier in einer atypischen Rolle. Er tritt sonst als vorislamischer Weiser auf; unter seinem Namen kursieren viele Weisheitssprüche in arabischer Sprache⁵. Hier wird er durch seine Kraft nicht nur mit Rustam, sondern gleichzeitig auch mit Isfandiyār, dem zweiten herausragenden Helden der iranischen heroischen Überlieferung, mühelos fertig. Charakteristisch für die anti-šūʿūbitische Färbung der Erzählung sind die Akteure auf der arabischen Seite: Vom Philologen al-Ašmaʿī werden zahlreiche Anekdoten überliefert, wie er sich bei den Beduinen nach der echten arabischen Sprache erkundigte; er ist ausserdem der fiktive Erzähler arabischer Heldenromane. Al-Ašmaʿīs Informant, der Beduine, gilt durch seine sprachliche Kompetenz als Autorität der Überlegenheit des Arabertums. Der moralische Aspekt ist dabei ohne Belang – es spielt keine Rolle, dass die arabische Überlegenheit durch eine Lüge bestätigt wird, es geht einzig und allein um die Übertrumpfung der persischen Kraftmeierei.

Nun ist Lüge und Wahrheit in der Literatur – vor allem in der Dichtung – ein Thema, das schon mehrfach das Interesse der Forschung gefunden hat; erinnert sei hier an Christoph Bürgels (1974) wichtige Abhandlung: “Die beste Dichtung ist die lügenreichste”. Zunächst aber ist die Definition von “Lüge” bzw. “Unwahrheit” ein erkenntnistheoretisches Problem. Im Arabischen wie auch im Griechischen, das hier möglicherweise auf das Arabische eingewirkt hat, bezeichnen die Begriffe *kadib* bzw. *pseudos* Lüge und Unwahrheit, d.h. sowohl die bewusste Lüge als subjektive Entstellung der Wahrheit als auch die falsche Aussage als objektive Unwahrheit⁶. Aristoteles, der sich in seiner “Nikomachischen Ethik” mit Wahrheit und Lüge auseinandersetzte, ging jedoch auf diesen Unterschied nicht ein. Er verwarf die Lüge grundsätzlich und unterschied sechs Klassen von Lügern nach ihren Beweggründen. Eine eigentliche Definition des Phänomens “Lüge” lieferte in der Antike erst Augustinus, der das Moment der Täuschung als Wesenselement der Lüge bezeichnete. Moralisch verurteilte Augustinus die Lüge ohne Ausnahme – somit auch die Notlüge sowie jene Lüge, mit der ein guter Zweck erreicht werden kann (Ritter & Gründer 1980: s.v. “Lüge”).

⁴ al-Ġāhiz hatte eine deutlich anti-šūʿūbitische Haltung; vgl. Norris 1990. Obwohl das *Kitāb al-Mahāsin* nachweislich nicht von Ġāhiz stammt, steht es – wie auch dieses Faktum zeigt – der Gedankenwelt des Ġāhiz offenbar so nahe, dass es für sein Werk angesehen werden konnte.

⁵ Vgl. Gutas 1981:57-58.

⁶ Vgl. van Ess 1970:30-31.

Dass arabisch *kadib* sowohl die subjektive als auch die objektive Entstellung der Wahrheit bezeichnet, somit also ein äquivoker Begriff ist, hat bereits al-Ġāhiz erkannt. Eine falsche Aussage darf nicht nur mit der Wirklichkeit nicht übereinstimmen, man muss auch davon überzeugt sein, dass sie mit ihr nicht übereinstimmt. Al-Ġāhiz gelangte dadurch zu einer "dreiwertigen" Logik: neben wahren und falschen Aussagen gibt es solche, die weder wahr noch falsch sind (van Ess 1997: IV, 98-99). Bemerkenswert ist an diesem Ansatz, dass der moralische Blickwinkel ausgeklammert wird.

In der Regel waren jedoch bei den islamischen religiös-philosophischen Autoritäten, die sich mit dem Phänomen "Lüge" befassten, wie in der Antike und im christlichen Europa moralische Wertungen massgebend⁷. Obwohl die Lüge auf dieser Ebene verurteilt wurde, fällt eine gewisse Toleranz gegenüber der Notlüge auf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (gest. 505/1111) ging so weit, die Lüge, durch die allein eine gute Absicht erreicht werden kann, für erlaubt, u.U. sogar für geboten zu erklären⁸. Mehr als an der Definition der Lüge zeigte man sich an den Beweggründen zu lügen interessiert. Der šāfi'itische Rechtsgelehrte ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī (gest. 450/1058) unterschied deren vier: 1. Erreichen eines Vorteils oder Abwendung eines Schadens, 2. das Bestreben, die eigene Rede interessant zu machen, 3. die Absicht, einen Feind schlechtzumachen, 4. das Lügen um des Lügens willen (al-Māwardī, *Adab* 59-61).

Der Beweggrund, Lügengeschichten zu erzählen, ist nach al-Māwardī's Systematik am ehesten unter Punkt 2 ("Bestreben, die eigene Rede interessant zu machen") zu fassen, unter Umständen auch unter Punkt 4 ("Lügen um des Lügens willen"), da Lügengeschichten oft pathologischen Lügern in den Mund gelegt werden. Das Lügen aus Fabulierlust und dem Wunsch, Heiterkeit zu erzeugen, war jedoch verpönt und wurde in asketisch frommen Kreisen streng verurteilt. Man konnte sich hier sogar auf einen *ḥadīṭ* berufen: "Wehe dem, der Geschichten erzählt und dabei lügt, um die Leute zum Lachen zu bringen, nochmals wehe ihm und zum dritten Mal wehe ihm" (*waylun li-l-ladī yuhadditu fa-yakdibu li-yudḥika bihi l-qawm waylun labu waylun labu*)⁹.

Moralische Wertungen bestimmten auch die Betrachtung des Phänomens "Lüge" in der Literatur, insbesondere in der Lobdichtung¹⁰. Dabei konnte jedoch die hyper-

⁷ Dass die Begriffe "Lüge", aber auch "Wahrheit" auf Konventionen beruhen, die vom Menschen geschaffen sind und aufs engste mit dem Phänomen der Sprache zusammenhängen, postulierte m.W. als erster Nietzsche 1977.

⁸ Nach *Iḥyā' ʿulūm ad-dīn* zitiert bei Bauer 1927:75-76.

⁹ al-Ġazālī, *Iḥyā'* III, 131; Übersetzung zitiert von Bauer 1927:74. Der *ḥadīṭ* ist in den kanonischen Sammlungen zu finden. Näheres dazu bei Ammann 1993:157-165. Ich danke Frau Priv.Do. Roswitha Badry für den Hinweis auf diese Studie.

¹⁰ Für eine Stellungnahme aus religiösem Blickwinkel vgl. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Talbīs* 180-181.

bolische Ausdrucksweise, um die es hauptsächlich ging, durchaus jenseits der Literaturtheorie als wirkungsvolles künstlerisches Gestaltungsmittel anerkannt werden – von dem eben erwähnten al-Māwardī zum Beispiel. Die z.T. leidenschaftlich geführten Diskussionen über Lüge und Wahrheit in literarischem Zusammenhang lassen sich darüber hinaus wesentlich als Ausdruck der Angst vor der Macht der Sprache deuten¹¹.

Die Lügengeschichte als literarisches Genre ist typologisch nicht problemlos einzuordnen und kommt in unterschiedlichen Erzählgattungen vor; daher ist bei der Untersuchung von Lügengeschichten notwendigerweise der Kontext zu berücksichtigen (*EM VIII*, s.v. "Lügengeschichte"). Sie ist ubiquitär, wobei sehr oft Wandermotive auftreten – als Beispiel sei die berühmte, schon in der Antike nachweisbare Geschichte von den eingefrorenen und wieder aufgetauten Stimmen genannt¹². Dass die Lügengeschichte nicht an eine bestimmte kulturelle Tradition gebunden ist, leuchtet um so mehr ein, als die ihr zugrundeliegende Fabulierlust psychologisch als eine allgemein menschliche Eigenschaft gedeutet wird¹³.

Die Lügengeschichte kann – in Ost und West – nicht auf den volkstümlichen Bereich beschränkt werden, obwohl sie in Schwank- und Märchensammlungen besonders verbreitet ist¹⁴. Oft tritt sie auch im Gewand ausgefeilter Kunstprosa bzw. –dichtung auf, überliefert wird sie sowohl schriftlich als auch mündlich. Arabische Lügengeschichten finden sich häufig in *adab*-Werken, auch in den Literaturen anderer Sprachen erscheinen Lügengeschichten gerne in gehobenem literarischem Kontext, so etwa in der Abhandlung *Die Weisheit der Lüge* des georgischen Mönches Sulchan-Saba Orbeliani (1974) und in der Dharmaparīkṣā des indischen Digambara-Jaina Amitagati¹⁵.

In ihrer äusseren Form ist die Lügengeschichte sehr wandlungsfähig. Die Bandbreite reicht von der wenige Sätze umfassenden Kürzestgeschichte bis zum Roman. Sie erscheint in Prosa und auch in Gedichtform, wobei die Belege in Prosa zu überwiegen scheinen.

Ihr Zweck ist reine Unterhaltung – ohne jegliche didaktische Absicht – ihr Ziel die Erzeugung von Lachen, von komischen Effekten, mitunter auch von Erstaunen. Meist wird dieses Ziel mit dem sprachlichen Mittel der Übertreibung, der Verzerrung

¹¹ Diesen Aspekt hebt Carter (1998:238) hervor.

¹² Weinreich 1942; für eine arabische Variante vgl. Spies 1979:585-586.

¹³ Vgl. Lipmann 1927:6. Die ungebrochene Beliebtheit der Lügengeschichte zeigt neuerdings das Internet. Für ein Beispiel aus dem reichen Material: <http://www.mcs.surrey.ac.uk/Personal/csx1jw/talltales/>.

¹⁴ Insofern ist die Definition bei von Wilpert 1969 zu eng, in der die "Lügendichtung" auf "volkstümliche Dichtart" festgelegt wird.

¹⁵ Vgl. Winternitz 1913: II, 345-346.

von Proportionen, erreicht. Die Erzeugung von Komik und Heiterkeit grenzt die Lügengeschichte ab vom oft schon rein sprachlich in ihre Nähe gerückten Märchen – der Verweis “erzähle keine Märchen”, bedeutet bekanntlich: “lüge mir nichts vor”. Das komische Element ist im Märchen nicht wesensbestimmend, noch wichtiger aber ist die Tatsache, dass die Lügengeschichte in der Regel einen Ausgangspunkt in der “realen” Erlebniswelt hat, aus dem sich dann die Spannung zu den völlig unmöglichen berichteten Ereignissen ergibt. Viele Lügengeschichten werden daher als Erlebnisse des Erzählers ausgegeben und in der Ichform erzählt – man denke an die “klassischen” Bereiche Seemannsgarn und Jägerlatein. Die Darsteller in Lügengeschichten sind in der Regel Menschen, es agieren keine Feen, Zauberer und Hexen wie im Märchen. Es fehlen auch weitgehend die im Märchen und vor allem in der Fabel häufigen sprechenden Tiere – man trifft in Lügengeschichten eher den Aufschneider, der vorgibt, die Sprache der Tiere zu verstehen¹⁶, während im Märchen die Sprache der Tiere tatsächlich verstanden wird¹⁷. Für das Märchen charakteristisch ist seine Wirklichkeitsferne¹⁸ – niemand wundert sich, wenn im Märchen Pferde fliegen können, aber wenn ein Erzähler behauptet, im Land X fliegende Pferde gesehen zu haben, dürfte sein Bericht von der Zuhörerschaft höchstwahrscheinlich als Lügengeschichte eingestuft werden. Die Unmöglichkeit der berichteten Ereignisse lässt die Lügengeschichte schliesslich als Sonderform der fiktionalen Erzählung erscheinen, da letztere zwar “erfunden”, aber ihrer Definition gemäss in der Regel auf die Darstellung des “Möglichen” ausgerichtet ist¹⁹.

Die wichtigste Spielregel der Lügengeschichte ist jedoch, dass die berichtete Lüge als solche erkannt werden muss und der Hörer über die Unwahrheit des Erzählten nicht im Zweifel gelassen werden darf. Die Lügengeschichte erhebt keinen Wahrheitsanspruch, der Erzähler muss die aus psychologischer Sicht für das Phänomen Lüge charakteristische Hemmung nicht überwinden (Lipmann 1927:2). Somit fehlt das Element der Täuschung und, etwas überspitzt ausgedrückt, kann man eigentlich überhaupt am Lügencharakter der Lügengeschichten zweifeln. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit der so oft kritisierten Lobdichtung²⁰, zumindest was die Anwendung hyperbolischer

¹⁶ Ein schönes Beispiel bei Müller-Fraureuth 1881:129: ein Prahler erklärt einen im vorgelegten Zettel mit den Worten: “Snäg neheg rap uf (=Gänse gehen barfuss)” für eine arabische Anrede an die Götter beim Opfern (!).

¹⁷ Vgl. die berühmte, in vielen Fassungen belegte Erzählung von dem Mann, der die Tiersprachen versteht, dies aber niemandem verraten darf, da ihm sonst die Todesstrafe droht. Durch die Neugier seiner Frau gerät er in grosse Bedrängnis, bis ihn die Warnung eines Hahns dazu veranlasst, der Frau nicht nachzugeben und das Geheimnis für sich zu behalten; vgl. Thompson 1946:83-84.

¹⁸ Zu Begriffsbestimmungen und Definitionsversuchen vgl. Lüthi 1996:2-5.

¹⁹ Vgl. Vogt 1997:293.

²⁰ Den fehlenden Wahrheitsanspruch in der Dichtung hob bereits Bürgel (1974:19-20) hervor.

Techniken betrifft, die sie mit der Lügengeschichte gemeinsam hat. Wenn der persische Dichter Rašīd-i Waṭwāt (gest. 578/1182-83) in einem Gedicht behauptet, das Himmelsrad reibe den Sternen den Staub, den der Belobigte mit seinem Reittier aufwirbelt, als Augensalbe in die Augen²¹, dann haben dies weder der Dichter noch der Belobigte, noch irgendjemand am Hof für bare Münze genommen. Der Vorwurf der Lüge bzw. Unaufrichtigkeit kann den Dichter nur treffen, wenn er hinter seinem Lob ganz andere Gefühle dem Belobigten gegenüber verbirgt.

Die Lügengeschichte kann, wie die anti-šū‘ūbitische Färbung im eingangs erwähnten Beispiel zeigt, nicht nur die pure Lust am Fabulieren ausdrücken, sondern durchaus auch andere Inhalte vermitteln. Oft sind dies parodistische und satirische Elemente. Zwei Beispiele aus ganz verschiedenen kulturellen Zusammenhängen seien hier genannt: Lukian aus Samosata (gest. nach 180 n. Chr.) karikierte in seinem – von ihm ironisch “wahre Geschichten” (*alethe diegemata*) genannten – Lügenroman homerische Berichte und unterzog die Vertreter verschiedener antiker philosophischer und religiöser Weltanschauungen einer für den Leser höchst vergnüglichen satirischen Betrachtung, indem er Hauptpunkte ihrer Lehren parodierend aufgriff (Mras 1980). Der amerikanische Satiriker Ambrose Bierce (gest. 1913) nutzte andererseits in seinen *Fantastic fables* die Form der englischen Lügengeschichte, des “*tall tale*”, für seine bissige Gesellschaftskritik.

Motive, die in Lügengeschichten erscheinen, können mitunter die Gattung wechseln und durchaus in ganz anderem literarischen Kontext auftreten. Die von Spies in seinem Artikel (1979:587-590) erwähnte Erzählung vom “Meisterschuss” – einem Jagdkunststück, durch das Ohr und Huf eines Onagers (oder einer Gazelle) mit einem einzigen Pfeil zusammengeheftet werden – erscheint zwar im europäischen Mittelalter als Lügengeschichte, geht aber auf einen Bericht der persischen Dichter Niẓāmī und Firdawsī über den sasanidischen König Bahrām-i Gūr (reg. 420-438) zurück und ist dort nicht als Lügengeschichte, sondern als Bestandteil einer sagenhafte Züge tragenden Heldenbiographie zu verstehen. Manches, was in Kosmographien berichtet wird, würde inhaltlich ohne weiteres in eine Lügengeschichte passen, wenn es nicht mit einem gewissen Wahrheitsanspruch und dem Ziel der Wissensvermittlung erzählt wäre²², und auch die Motive religiöser Literatur ist Lügengeschichten oft ungewollt nahe. Wenn etwa in der Legende vom heiligen Patritius berichtet wird, dass er aus Eiszapfen ein Feuer entfacht habe, ist die Nähe zum bekannten Lügenmotiv vom

²¹ al-Waṭwāt, *Dīwān* 15, 7-8; Lob auf den Wesir Šamsuddīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī.

²² Der Wunsch, Wissenswertes zu berichten, lag bei den Kosmographen mitunter im Widerstreit mit dem gesunden Menschenverstand. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd-i Ṭūsī sagt zum Beispiel nach einem auch ihm offenbar zweifelhaften Bericht über einen Erdgeist, der in Gestalt eines alten Mannes aufzutreten pflegte: “Ob wahr oder unwahr, wir haben es angeführt” (*agar rāst ast u agar durūg mā irād kardīm*) Ṭūsī, *Agā‘ib* 508.

Schneedörren offensichtlich²³, über das es beim deutschen Märchensammler und -dichter Ludwig Bechstein (gest. 1860) heisst: "Der wahre (!) Lügner macht auch aus Eis ein gut brennendes Feuer; er lügt, dass dies Eis prasselt und kracht und brennt wie dürres Holz" (Bechstein 1963:377).

Der Begriff "Lügendgeschichte" als Gattungsbezeichnung ist weniger klar umrissen als sein englisches Gegenstück "tall tale" – neben "Lügendgeschichte" stehen die Bezeichnungen "Lügenmärchen"²⁴ und "Lügendichtung". Auch im Arabischen fehlt ein klarer Gattungsbegriff. Lügendgeschichten erscheinen in *adab*-Werken oft in Kapiteln über Wahrheit und Lüge und werden nicht eigens als "Lügendgeschichten" bezeichnet. Daneben gibt es aber durchaus Begriffe für die Sache selbst: *akādīb*, "Lügen(geschichten)"²⁵, *nawādir al-kaddābīn*, "Lügneranekdoten"²⁶, *nawādir al-kaddābīn wa-l-faššārīn*, "Lügner- und Aufschneideranekdoten"²⁷, *al-ḥikāyāt al-malāfiq*, "Flunkergeschichten"²⁸.

Wenn wir uns abschliessend fragen, ob es Besonderheiten gibt, die für die "orientalische" Lügendgeschichte charakteristisch sind, so dürfte dies, was allgemein Struktur, Zielsetzung und sprachliche Mittel der Lügendgeschichte betrifft, zu verneinen sein. Bei den Motiven dagegen lässt sich in manchen Fällen orientalischer Ursprung nachweisen, so dass man wie etwa bei der verwandten Märchenliteratur oft von einer Vermittlung von Ost nach West ausgehen kann. Bemerkenswert, aber nicht erstaunlich ist bei der zum islamischen Kulturbereich gehörenden Lügendgeschichte, dass die Begriffe "Himmel" und "Gott" tabu sind. Ein islamisches Analogon zur in einem russischen Märchen berichteten Lüge, der Erzähler habe gesehen, wie Gott im Himmel mit seinen (!) Aposteln Karten spielte (Widmer 1963:368), ist absolut undenkbar. Dieser Tabubereich wird offenbar schon durch eine verhältnismässig harmlose Lüge in einem türkischen *tekerleme* verletzt. Dort behauptet ein Lügner, er habe einen

²³ Müller-Fraureuth 1881:121. Motivmaterial dürfte sich auch aus islamischen Heiligenviten beibringen lassen. Erbauliches mit Unterhaltendem verbunden in besonderem Mass die auf religiöse Stoffe spezialisierten Geschichtenerzähler (*quṣṣās*), deren ungehemmte Fabulierlust kritischen Frommen ein Dorn im Auge war; vgl. dazu Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Quṣṣās*.

²⁴ Paul Aron versuchte, "Lügenmärchen" von "Lügendgeschichten" abzugrenzen (Aron 1927:246).

²⁵ al-Ābī (gest. 421/1030), *Natr* VI, Kap. 14: *fī akādīb al-ʿarab wa-ġayrihim*. Der Sg. ist *ukdūba*, vgl. WKAS, s.v.

²⁶ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Iyās (Ilyās) al-Ḥanafī, *GAL* II, 390; *GAL* S II, 413: *K. fī n-nawādir al-mudḥika wa-l-hazaliyyāt al-muṭriba*, nach Ahlwardt 1887-99, Nr. 8427.

²⁷ ʿUmar al-Ḥalabī, *GAL* S II, 414: *Nuzhat al-udabāʾ*; nach der Inhaltsangabe von Flügel (1860:534-538).

²⁸ al-Bašbugāwī, *Nuzha* (*GAL* II 20, *GAL* S II 11). Den Hinweis auf Arnoud Vrolijks Studie verdanke ich Herrn Prof. J. Hämeen-Anttila.

Hund im Himmel bellen hören, worauf seine Kumpane allen Scharfsinn aufwenden müssen, um ihn vor dem Zorn des erbosten Publikums zu retten²⁹.

Um jedoch über die Feststellung von Einzelheiten hinaus gültigere Aussagen über die "orientalischen" Formen der Lügengeschichte machen zu können, bedarf es zunächst einer systematischen Sichtung und Auswertung des verstreuten Materials – und dies ist eine zwar zeit- und arbeitsaufwendige, aber lohnende und nicht zuletzt auch eine amüsante Aufgabe.

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²⁹ Boratav 1963:112. Den als unrein betrachteten Hunden ist der Eintritt ins Paradies verwehrt, mit Ausnahme von Qīṭmīr, dem Hund der Siebenschläfer.

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III. HISTORY

MASLAMA B. MUḤĀRIB: UMAYYAD HISTORIAN

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When the town of Baṣra was captured by the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary army, the local nobility included a sizable number of descendants of Ziyād, the bastard brother of the caliph Muʿāwiya and early Umayyad governor. Counted as members of the Umayyad house, the Banū Ziyād were potentially subject to persecution by the new regime. During the later Marwānid caliphate, however, the family had no longer been involved in government and evidently took no active part in the resistance to the ʿAbbāsid movement. The ʿAbbāsid governor Sulaymān b. ʿAlī thus treated them with benevolence. When the caliph as-Saffāḥ instructed him to confiscate the property of the Banū Ziyād, the governor sent for Maslama b. Muḥārib b. Salm b. Ziyād and proposed to him that the family voluntarily surrender a substantial part of their land with which he could satisfy the caliph and avert more serious harm to them. They acknowledged property of eight hundred *ḡarībs* of land, which were then seized by the governor¹.

It may have been to the advantage of the Banū Ziyād at the time that under Islamic law they could not be recognized as members of the Umayyad family. The acknowledgement of Abū Sufyān's fatherhood of Ziyād by Muʿāwiya had been in breach of the religious law and was, as is known, commonly considered as one of the scandals of Muʿāwiya's caliphate. The Banū Ziyād now abandoned, voluntarily or under duress, their claim to Umayyad descent. Ziyād is thus named in the pedigree of Maslama b. Muḥārib twice the son of one ʿUbayda, or ʿUyayna, b. ʿAbdarrahmān b. Ġawṣan, or al-Ġawṣanī (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* VII/1, 50, 110). Nothing is known about a man of this name, and it is uncertain whether he is entirely fictitious or was in fact legally the father of Ziyād.

Maslama b. Muḥārib, great-grandson of Ziyād, must have been a leading member of the family at the time of the ʿAbbāsid conquest. His grandfather Salm b. Ziyād had been a distinguished governor of Ḥurāsān under Yazīd I and had died in 72/692.

¹ al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* III, 91. The report continues thus: When Sulaymān's brother ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī came to Baṣra as a refugee and noticed a man riding on a sprightly mule or horse with an ornate bridle, he asked the governor who he was. On being told that it was Salm b. Ḥarb b. Ziyād, he expressed amazement that somebody of the family of Ziyād like this one should survive. Sulaymān told him that he had not found anything to hold against them, but ʿAbdallāh swore that if he had the power he would certainly exterminate them. When Salm learned of this he fled from Baṣra and returned only after ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had been surrendered by Sulaymān to the caliph al-Manṣūr in 139/956. The name of Salm's father should perhaps be read [Abī] Ḥarb. Abū Ḥarb was the *kunya* of ʿAbbād b. Ziyād (see the editor's note n. 10 in al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 189).

Nothing is known about his father Muḥārib, though he evidently lived long enough for his son Maslama to transmit from him. Maslama became a collector of historical reports and a major informant of the Baṣran historians ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʿinī and Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muṭannā. Mainly interested in the history of his own family and of the Sufyānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty, he confined himself to *abbār* and did not collect or transmit *ḥadīth*, although he transmitted from some well-known Baṣran *ḥadīth* experts. The biographical dictionaries about the *ahl al-ḥadīth* thus ignored him, and no data about his life are available. The date of his death is unknown. However, since al-Madāʿinī was born only in 135/752, Maslama must have been alive at least during most of the caliphate of al-Manṣūr.

al-Madāʿinī, himself descended from a client of ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Samura b. Ḥabīb of the Banū ʿAbd Šams, evidently considered Maslama b. Muḥārib a reliable informant and quoted him extensively in his books. Maslama's reports are generally compatible with al-Madāʿinī's reporting from other sources. Thus they have attracted little attention by modern historians. E. L. Petersen (1964:112, 128) noted the distinctly pro-Umayyad tenor of his reports and suggested that he was perhaps an Umayyad, most likely of the Sufyānid branch. Maslama's lineage back to Ziyād had in fact already been given in the indices to the annals of aṭ-Ṭabarī. Correctly identifying him, G. Rotter (1974:117) described him briefly as a major informant of al-Madāʿinī. The body of his reports as a whole deserves a closer examination, especially in view of the common conviction of modern historians that early ʿAbbāsīd historiography was overwhelmingly biased against the overthrown Umayyad dynasty and therefore largely unreliable.

Maslama b. Muḥārib was naturally interested in his own ancestors and their part in Umayyad history. His reports about his great-grandfather Ziyād are consistently favourable. He depicts him as a stern and strict governor, shrewd in keeping the unruly Arab tribesmen under control, yet also concerned about their material well-being, and as incorruptibly loyal and subservient to the caliph Muʿāwiya to whom he owed his good fortune. He quotes Ziyād's famous inaugural speech to the Baṣrans in which he warned them not to be among the many who would certainly be put to death by him (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḥ* II, 73-75) and describes him as ordering his police chief to kill anyone found outside his house after the final evening prayer (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 210; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḥ* II, 76-77). Yet he also reports that Ziyād distributed more than 5/6th of the tax revenue from the provinces of Baṣra among the local warriors and their families (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 218-219) and was personally concerned that every one received his full share (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 208-209, 214). He transmits numerous statements attributed to Ziyād illustrating his political wisdom and keen insights.

While he describes Ziyād's close relationship with Muʿāwiya and his visits to him, Maslama is virtually silent about Ziyād's earlier service and support for ʿAlī. Fully integrated into the Sufyānid family by Muʿāwiya's adoption, Ziyād's descendants

evidently viewed the earlier career of their ancestor rather as a demerit and preferred to ignore it. Maslama's only reference to it is in an anecdote about Ziyād's being put in his place by Mu'āwiya. When Ziyād once traveled to visit the caliph, the camel driver (*ḥādī*) sang to his camels that Ziyād would become the Commander of the Faithful. Mu'āwiya learned of this and was angered, but did not mention it to Ziyād directly. One day, in the presence of Ziyād, he addressed the question to al-Ḥudayn b. al-Mundir ar-Raqāṣī, a prominent former supporter of 'Alī in the battle of Šiffīn, as to what had brought about the schism and bloodshed in the Muslim community. al-Ḥudayn answered that it was the murder of the Commander of the Faithful 'Utmān. Mu'āwiya commented: "You have spoken the truth, and the caliphate is not suitable for any hypocrite (*munāfiq*) and facetious simpleton (*dū du'āba*)". He was, Maslama explains, alluding to 'Alī and the fact that Ziyād had been one of his supporters. Ziyād understood the hint and apologized: "It was merely someone making up a *rağaz* about something. It was not on my order. I rather restrained and rebuked him." Mu'āwiya accepted his apology (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 27-28).

Maslama b. Muḥārib is aṭ-Ṭabarī's main source for the governorship of Salm b. Ziyād in Ḥurāsān during the caliphate of Yazīd I. His account is full of praise for his grandfather, describing his successful raids across the Oxus to Samarqand and Ḥuwārizm and stressing his popularity among the Muslim warriors and their leaders. Ḥanzala b. 'Arāda as-Sa'dī chooses to serve him in preference to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, governor of Baṣra and Salm's superior (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* II, 392-394). After the death of the caliph Yazīd, Salm receives the provisional oath of allegiance in Ḥurāsān until a new caliph would be chosen. Two months later, however, the people break their agreement with him (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* II, 488-489).

Maslama's reports about his great-uncle, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, are limited and appear rather reserved. The family of Ziyād presumably did not much cherish the memory of this governor of Baṣra who was ignominiously forced out of office and expelled by the Baṣrans after the death of Yazīd I and then played a major part in the transfer of the reign from the Sufyānids to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Maslama offers an account of 'Ubaydallāh's appointment as governor of Ḥurāsān after the death of Ziyād (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* II, 166-170). His reports about the events and circumstances surrounding 'Ubaydallāh's fall from power and expulsion from Baṣra, recorded by Abū 'Ubayda, are more reliable than parallel accounts². He narrates only one anecdote about 'Ubaydallāh, in which the latter is described as cleverly extracting embezzled tax money from a governor without openly chastizing him. Maslama, or al-Madā'inī, adds that this story was reported by some about Ziyād (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 379).

² aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* II, 445-56. See Madelung 1981:301.

Aside from his own family, Maslama's interest in the history of Baṣra extended especially to the family of Abū Bakra, Ziyād's maternal brother, and to al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, the widely popular and admired chief of the Banū Tamīm. Abū Bakra had been granted extensive estates in the region of Baṣra, and there were close, mutually beneficial ties between the families of the two brothers. Maslama in particular related stories about the munificence of ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakra who, among other deeds of exceeding generosity, provided Saʿīd, the son of the caliph ʿUtmān, with money, mules, horses, camels, clothing and equipment for a whole army when Saʿīd was appointed governor of Ḥurāsān by Muʿāwiya (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* I, 497-498). ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakra's son Bašīr (or Bušayr?) was an informant of Maslama b. Muḥārib³.

In agreement with the general historical tradition, Maslama presents al-Aḥnaf b. Qays as endowed with the ideal qualities of the tribal leader, *ḥilm*, prudence, forbearance, and with political sagacity, in spite of his lowly origins. Like Ziyād, al-Aḥnaf had been an active and loyal supporter of ʿAlī during his caliphate. While Ziyād evidently held him in high regard and relied on his prudent advice in dealing with the Arab tribes in Baṣra, Muʿāwiya held his past against him. When Ziyād proposed him for the governorship of the border region in India, Muʿāwiya, according to Maslama, rejected the proposal, questioning why he should reward him for his failure to back the Mother of the Faithful ʿĀʾiṣā in the battle of the Camel and for his efforts to thwart Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffīn⁴. Maslama further reports that Muʿāwiya told al-Aḥnaf b. Qays personally that he could not forget his withdrawal from Baṣra when the men of Qurayš were being slaughtered like camel foals and his call for cavalry troops to annul God's gift to Muʿāwiya on the day of the arbitration. al-Aḥnaf commented that Muʿāwiya had made clear to him what was on his mind and that he, al-Aḥnaf, would never come to him for any need⁵.

al-Aḥnaf remained, however, a major figure on the local political stage in Baṣra and as such was later consulted also by Muʿāwiya. After Muʿāwiya's death, he loyally backed Yazīd and refused to become involved in the movement in support of al-Ḥuṣayn. Only after Yazīd's death did he join his tribesmen backing ʿAbdallāh b. az-Zubayr and his viceroy in ʿIraq, Muṣʿab b. az-Zubayr, against the Umayyads. When Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was imprisoned in Mekka by Ibn az-Zubayr, al-Aḥnaf was urged by some of his tribesmen to aid him. Maslama reports that he declined to do

³ al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, V, 394; I, 499, where Bišr b. ʿAbdallāh should be read Bašīr b. ʿUbaydallāh.

⁴ al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* VII/1, 124, where *amīr al-muʾminīn* must be read *umm al-muʾminīn*.

⁵ al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* VII/1, 110. There are no other reports about al-Aḥnaf's reaction to the outcome of the arbitration in favour of Muʿāwiya. From Maslama's report it appears that he urged resumption of the war against the Syrians.

so, pointing out that they had experienced the incompetence of the descendants of Abū Ṭālib to rule, their lack of ability to deal soundly with the finances and to employ proper war guile. The sound reign was to be found in Syria with the Umayyads. When asked what prevented him from backing them, he explained that his people had come to him and pressed him to swear allegiance to Ibn az-Zubayr. When he did so, they asked him to break his oath, but he would not break his oath⁶. Maslama probably appreciated both al-Aḥnaf's faithful keeping of his pledge of allegiance and his recognition of the Umayyads' superior qualification to rule.

The caliphate and the natural title to it of the Umayyads, in particular the Sufyānids, because of their pre-Islamic nobility, their kinship with the Prophet, and their special talent to rule clearly concerned Maslama. He reported that Abū Sufyān, the noble lord of Quraysh before Islam and erstwhile leader of the opposition to Muḥammad, openly complained to the Prophet when the latter made him wait while receiving others. Muḥammad reassures him as to his superior status in his eyes⁷. At the time of the Prophet's death Abū Sufyān, in charge of the alms tax in Naḡrān, was absent from Medina. When informed about the succession of Abū Bakr, he protests: "Abū l-Faṣīl? Surely, I see a matter that will be settled only by blood." (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 12) Maslama here confirms other reports about Abū Sufyān's opposition to Abū Bakr's succession which western historians have commonly sought to discredit as anti-Umayyad fiction. He does not mention that Abū Sufyān offered 'Alī military support if he would claim the succession, an offer rejected by the latter. Abū Sufyān's protest against Abū Bakr's succession, however, suited Umayyad claims to be entitled to the succession to Muḥammad on account of their descent from 'Abd Manāf, the father of both Hāšim and 'Abd Šams. Maslama thus saw no reason to conceal Abū Sufyān's initial attempt to prevent the succession of Abū Bakr.

While Maslama virtually ignores the caliphate of Abū Bakr, he distinctly admires 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb as the righteous and incorruptible champion of the cause of Islam. He quotes the judgment of Qabīṣa b. Ḡābir al-Asadī, a staunchly 'Uṭmānid Kūfan and later confidant of Mu'āwiya, that he had never seen a man more conversant with the Book of God and stronger in championing his faith than 'Umar (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 119). According to a report of Ibn 'Awn transmitted by Maslama, Abū Bakr sent for 'Alī to pledge allegiance to him, but the latter failed to respond. 'Umar goes with a torch to the house of Fāṭima, who receives him at the door and asks if he is about to set it on fire. 'Umar tells the daughter of the Prophet sternly: "Yes, that is the strongest possible support for the message your father brought."

⁶ al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* VII/1, 115, where Maslama b. 'Alqama al-Māzinī must be read Maslama 'an 'Alqama al-Māzinī.

⁷ al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 10. For the saying *kullu ṣ-ṣaydi fī ḡanbi (ḡawfi) l-farā'* see Lane 1863-93, s.v. *farā'*.

‘Alī comes and pledges allegiance, apologizing: “I had resolved not to leave my home before gathering the Qur’ān.” (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* I, 586) In Maslama’s view, this was probably nothing but a foul excuse.

Mu‘āwiya evidently was also an admirer of ‘Umar. According to Maslama, he told the people: “Accept from the *ḥadīṭ* whatever was present in the age of ‘Umar; for he kept perfect control of that (*atqana dālika*) in his lifetime and frightened the people of relating a multitude of *ḥadīṭ* of the Messenger of God by ordering, Do not spread lies about him.” (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* V, 391) Various anecdotes narrated by Maslama depict ‘Umar as the strict and austere ruler who inspires awe and respect among all. Even al-Aḥnaf b. Qays admits having lied once to ‘Umar, claiming that he had bought an overcoat for a third of what he actually paid for it. ‘Umar observed that the coat would be nice if only it had not been so expensive (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* V, 374).

Maslama was not much interested in the caliphate of ‘Utmān and reports nothing about it except for a few notes relevant to the rebellion against him. For the Sufyānids ‘Utmān was “the wronged caliph” whose murder was avenged by Mu‘āwiya. In contrast to the Marwānids, they liked to view Mu‘āwiya, not ‘Utmān, as the true founder of the Umayyad caliphate. Mu‘āwiya was proud to have been appointed governor of Syria by ‘Umar. He did not feel obliged to ‘Utmān and considered him a weak caliph. Maslama b. Muḥārīb most likely shared these views. He reports that Usāma b. Zayd offered ‘Utmān to take him safely to Syria where the caliph’s supporters would protect him, but he refused to leave Medina (Ibn Šabba, *Ta’rīḥ* 1211-1212). According to a report of Mu‘āwiya’s great-grandson Ḥarb b. Ḥālid b. Yazīd⁸ transmitted by Maslama, Mu‘āwiya sent an army of 4,000 men under Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri to rescue ‘Utmān as he was besieged in Medina. When the vanguard of this army reached Wādī l-Qurā or Dū Ḥuṣub, news of the caliph’s murder arrived, and they turned back (Ibn Šabba, *Ta’rīḥ* 1289). The report reflects the Sufyānid claim that Mu‘āwiya did all he could to save ‘Utmān.

Maslama also shared the Sufyānids’ negative view of ‘Alī and did not seek to conceal it. He quotes the text of a letter in which ‘Utmān’s wife Nā’ila informed Mu‘āwiya that the Egyptian rebels against the caliph had entrusted their command to ‘Alī, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, who had ordered them to murder ‘Utmān. Among those who besieged the caliph’s residence were the tribes of Ḥuzā’a, Sa’d b. Bakr, Ḥudayl and groups of Ġuhayna, Muzayna and the Nabataeans of Medina. Nā’ila sent the caliph’s bloody shirt to Mu‘āwiya, and some of the

⁸ Ḥarb b. Ḥālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya is named as Maslama’s informant in several of his reports and may have been his source in many others. He lived during the later Umayyad caliphate in Syria and left some off-spring. See al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 366-367.

Syrians vowed: "We shall kill 'Alī"⁹. Maslama's source of the report was Ḥarb b. Ḥālid b. Yazīd, and the letter, certainly inauthentic, reflects Sufyānid bias in suppressing mention of the leading part of Ṭalḥa among the rebels¹⁰.

Usāma b. Zayd vainly advised 'Alī to leave Medina in order to avoid being accused if 'Uṭmān were killed (Ibn Šabba, *Ta'riḥ* 1211). Concerning 'Alī's succession to the caliphate, Maslama transmits a report of the Kūfan 'Uṭmānid aš-Ša'bī. After the murder of 'Uṭmān, the people in Medina offer 'Alī the pledge of allegiance. He declines initially, recalling that 'Umar, who was a blessed man, had recommended a *šūrā* consultation for the election of a caliph. The people turn away from him, but then some become worried that if the rebel groups would disperse and return to their towns, disagreement might prevail. They return to 'Alī, and al-Aštar takes his hand. When 'Alī withdraws it, al-Aštar warns him that if he were to refuse the reign now after three others had accepted it before him, he might have to wait a long time for another chance. 'Alī relents, and al-Aštar pledges allegiance, followed by the common people (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* I, 3074-3075). Implied was that 'Alī merely pretended not to be eager for the caliphate and that he accepted the pledge from al-Aštar, thus allowing himself to become dependent on the rebels against 'Uṭmān.

Maslama's favourite among the caliphs was obviously Mu'āwiya, about whom he reports more than about anyone else. He quotes Qabīša b. Ḡābir as stating that he had never seen anybody more lordly (*aswad*) than Mu'āwiya (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 119). Even 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, the ancestor of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, must admit the excellent conduct of the Sufyānids. Maslama reports that Mu'āwiya presented his condolences on the death of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī to Ibn 'Abbās with the words: "May God cause you no grief." Ibn 'Abbās replies, "God will cause me no grief as long as He leaves you alive, Commander of the Faithful." Mu'āwiya's son Yazīd rides out and joins the session of the mourners. When he leaves, Ibn 'Abbās acknowledges: "You will hardly ever meet an Umayyad lacking a sound mind and nobility." (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* III, 45) Such praise by the forefather of the new dynasty

⁹ al-Iṣfahānī, *Aḡānī* XV, 71-72; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 592-593; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Iqd* V, 50-51.

¹⁰ In al-Madā'inī's *isnād* as quoted in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aḡānī* XV, 71, Ḥarb b. Ḥālid is named as Maslama's source. al-Madā'inī there gives a second *isnād* Abū Miḥnaf 'an Numayr b. Wa'la 'an aš-Ša'bī. The Kūfan aš-Ša'bī was at least two decades older than Ḥarb b. Ḥālid and can hardly have received the report and text of the letter from him. More likely they both relied on a Syrian Umayyad source. The omission of any mention of Ṭalḥa is significant since Marwān b. al-Ḥakam claimed priority in avenging the murder of 'Uṭmān by having killed Ṭalḥa in the battle of the Camel (see Madelung 1997:171-172, 348, 379). The mention of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and 'Ammār b. Yāsir, both of whom were killed by Mu'āwiya's armies, reflects the latter's claim of being the true avenger. In the version of the letter quoted by Ibn 'Abdrabbih, the names of Ṭalḥa and az-Zubayr are added secondarily to those of the leaders of the rebels. The mention of az-Zubayr is entirely out of place, since he, in contrast to Ṭalḥa, was in fact an active defender of 'Uṭmān (see Madelung 1997:103-105).

must have sounded incredible just after the revolution. In other versions of the report it is missing.

The secret of Mu^cāwiya's successful rule was his *hilm*, tolerant forbearance towards his loyal subjects, combined with ruthless elimination of his enemies who endangered his reign. According to one of Maslama's reports, a man vituperated Mu^cāwiya, exceeding all bounds, yet the caliph tolerated it. When asked about his tolerance of such a man, he explained: "I don't interfere with people and their tongues as long as they don't interfere with us and our kingdom (*mulkinā*)." (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 20) Ziyād related that Mu^cāwiya overruled him only once in a political matter. That happened when a man of the Banū Tamīm employed by Ziyād embezzled the land tax and fled to Mu^cāwiya, who pardoned him. Ziyād warned him that this would set a bad example for the tax collectors and might corrupt them. He requested that Mu^cāwiya send the culprit to him. The caliph now wrote him that it would not be suitable for both of them to follow a single political line. If they both were strict, they would ruin the people and harass them, but if both were lenient, they would encourage them to recklessness (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 84). The lesson was evidently that the ruler should be lenient where his governors must be strict.

It is evidently in this context that a report of Maslama is to be seen according to which Mu^cāwiya before his death regretted his having ordered the execution of the Kūfan Šī'ite leader Ḥuḡr b. 'Adī. Maslama describes Mu^cāwiya as uttering, while his dying body was being turned around: "What a body are they turning if he escapes from Ibn 'Adī" (al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 266). Ḥuḡr b. 'Adī and a group of his associates were, as is known, charged by Ziyād with sedition. Mu^cāwiya condemned several of them to death, provoking wide-spread dismay and resentment throughout the empire. The transmission of this report about Mu^cāwiya's remorse before his death by Maslama seems to indicate that the latter felt that Mu^cāwiya as the caliph should have pardoned Ḥuḡr when Ziyād was obliged by his position to accuse him.

During an illness of the caliph, Maṣqala b. Hubayra aš-Šaybānī, who had earlier deserted 'Alī to join Mu^cāwiya, spread rumours in 'Iraq about the caliph's condition. When the latter recovered, Ziyād expedited Maṣqala to him and informed him that Maṣqala had gathered a group of 'Irāqī rebels around himself who spread rumours about the Commander of the Faithful. Ziyād, he wrote, was sending him so that the caliph would decide how to treat him and that Maṣqala should witness his good health. Mu^cāwiya received him in a public audience and, asking him to approach, pulled his hand so forcefully that Maṣqala fell. Maṣqala readily apologized and prayed that God preserve the Commander of the Faithful for the *hilm* that adorned him, as a pasture for his friends and as a deadly poison for his enemies. Who, he exclaimed, could attempt to reach Mu^cāwiya when his father had been the *sayyid* of the people of the Ġāhiliyya and he was the Commander of the Faithful in Islam? Mu^cāwiya forgave and rewarded him, and Maṣqala returned to Kūfa to assure the public that the caliph had nearly crushed his hand and broken his bone in pulling him (al-Balādurī,

Ansāb IV/1, 81). The praise of Muʿāwīya as a deadly poison for his enemies deserves special note in view of the fact that he eliminated several of his opponents by serving them poison.

Maslama thus reports the poison murder of ʿAbdarrahmān b. Ḥālīd b. al-Walīd carried out by the Christian physician Ibn ʿUṭāl at the behest of Muʿāwīya. According to his account, Muʿāwīya became afraid for himself because of the great popularity of the son of the Sword of Islam in Ḥimṣ and among the Syrian border army. Maslama may well have considered this murder as justified since the Umayyad reign itself seemed threatened. He further reports that ʿAbdarrahmān's son Ḥālīd took revenge for the murder by killing Ibn ʿUṭāl. Ḥālīd was brought before Muʿāwīya, who merely imprisoned him for a few days and fined him the blood money for Ibn ʿUṭāl, denying any right of retaliation against him (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḥ* II, 82-84). The identification of Ḥālīd b. ʿAbdarrahmān as the avenger is erroneous, and the whole account is poorly informed¹¹. Transmitted by Maslama, however, it indicates that this poison murder by Muʿāwīya was acknowledged by the Sufyānid family. The attempt of H. Lammens (1908:3-14) to discredit the relevant reports as anti-Umayyad and anti-Christian slander is thus inappropriate.

In depicting Muʿāwīya's superb leadership qualities, Maslama appears distinctly concerned to counter the impression created by the general historical tradition that he depended on the political judgment of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs, the wily man of Quraysh, and was helpless in dealing with the malice of his Umayyad cousin Marwān b. al-Hakam. In Maslama's reports, ʿAmr is easily kept at bay and disposed of by the superior political acumen of the Sufyānid. In one of the anecdotes related by him, Muʿāwīya asks ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs probingly what degree his cunning trickery (*daby*) reached. ʿAmr replies that he never entered into an affair but that he would safely get out of it. Muʿāwīya trumps him, "But I have never entered into an affair from which I wished to get out." (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 40) One day Muʿāwīya questioned several men in his company as to what they considered the most marvelous of things. When ʿAmr's turn came, he said: "The most marvelous thing is the victory of somebody without any right over the owner of the right in order to seize his right". Muʿāwīya realized that ʿAmr was alluding to his victory over ʿAlī. He countered: "More marvelous than that is giving somebody without any right that to which he has no right without a victory." He was alluding to ʿAmr's having been reinstated by him as governor of Egypt (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 77). According to another report of Maslama, ʿAmr wrote to Muʿāwīya, requesting that he appoint his son, the pious ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr, governor of Egypt after him. Muʿāwīya commented: "Abū ʿAbdallāh wanted to whisper in my ear, but he spoiled it by his noise." (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 60)

¹¹ See Madelung 1997:340-341.

Concerning Mu^cāwiya's relationship with Marwān, Maslama transmitted an account of Marwān's visit to the caliph in Damascus in order to protest his dismissal from the governorship of Medina which was apparently meant to counter another account of the visit quoted by al-Hayṭam b. ʿAdī (al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī* XII, 72-73; Madelung 1997:343-346). Maslama received his version of the story from Mu^cāwiya's great-grandson Ḥarb b. Ḥālid b. Yazīd. While in the version adduced by al-Hayṭam b. ʿAdī Marwān humiliates and intimidates the caliph by his insolent talk and blunt threats, in Ḥarb b. Ḥālid's story Mu^cāwiya retains the upper hand. He first declines to receive Marwān in private, but when he learns of the latter's threats against him, he decides to admit him, saying a prayer for protection from Marwān's evil. His enumeration of Marwān's offences reduces the latter to seeking excuses and to promising amends. Against al-Hayṭam's version, Marwān meekly accepts his reinstatement as governor by the caliph (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 65-66).

Maslama shared the Sufyānids' negative view of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who had seized the caliphate from them. In his story of Marwān's meeting with Mu^cāwiya, the latter, as noted, prayed for protection from his evil. Marwān's wicked character, however, makes him also vulnerable to the wickedness of others. Maslama relates an anecdote about a slave servant whom Marwān put in charge of the administration of his estate in Dū Huṣub. When Marwān visits Dū Huṣub in order to inspect the crops, he meets loads of produce on his way and is told that these come from his estate. He confronts his servant and tells him that he thinks that he has been cheating him. The servant answers coolly: "And I think you are incompetent, oh emir. You have bought me wearing a wool cloak. Today I am wealthy, I have taken and built houses. By God, I cheat you, you surely cheat the Commander of the Faithful, and the Commander of the Faithful cheats God. May God curse the most wicked of the three!" (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Goitein, V, 130)

Maslama also transmitted, from his father, a version of the story of Marwān's murder by his wife Umm Ḥālid Fāhita, the widow of the caliph Yazīd and mother of Ḥālid b. Yazīd. According to this version, some people maintained that Umm Ḥālid served him poisoned milk, while others held that she and her slave girls suffocated him with a pillow. Maslama's version, in contrast to others, depicts Ḥālid b. Yazīd as a morally strong and proud prince who warns his mother against marrying Marwān, suggesting that the usurper of his father's throne merely wanted to disgrace him and lower his status in public opinion. His mother, however, insists on marrying Marwān. The latter first humiliates her by ignoring her during the wedding night and then goes on to humiliate Ḥālid, who bravely talks back to the caliph before informing his mother of her husband's insult to her (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Goitein, V, 144-145) This favourable image of Ḥālid b. Yazīd in Maslama's report suggests that Ḥālid's son Ḥarb may have been a source of it. The story of Marwān's murder by his wife has commonly been rejected by modern western historians as fiction.

Already Th. Nöldeke suggested that it was planted by the Sufyānids¹². Maslama's version evidently strengthens this impression. The Sufyānid provenance of the story, however, does not necessarily prove its fictitiousness.

A Sufyānid bias is also apparent in some of Maslama's reports concerning ʿAbdalmalik, commonly considered the greatest of the Marwānid caliphs. According to Maslama, ʿAbdalmalik stated that he had never witnessed anyone like Ibn Hind (Muʿāwiya) in respect to his *ḥilm* and nobility (*karam*). He, ʿAbdalmalik, would be most merciful to any man he had seen with Ibn Hind when the latter inclined on his left hand and invited him to speak up (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* IV/1, 60-61). Muʿāwiya's treatment of his subjects was evidently exemplary for him. But ʿAbdalmalik also remembered Muʿāwiya's good fortune with *mith* mild envy, even though it had come to an end. When the ʿAbbāsīd ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh visited him on a day of extreme cold and congratulated him on the warmth of the wood fire the caliph enjoyed in contrast to the common people, who were freezing, ʿAbdalmalik answered: "Abū Muḥammad, are you saying this after Ibn Hind? He was emir for twenty years and caliph for an equal time, yet now a locust tree is shaking upon his grave." ʿAbdalmalik then recited two lines of poetry lamenting the vicissitudes of time (al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb* III, 74).

Maslama's reports relevant to the reign of the later Marwānid caliphs are factual and do not focus on their persons. His attitude to them was detached, and he viewed them without much sympathy or antipathy. If the overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate by the ʿAbbāsīds evoked a sense of nostalgia in him, it was only for the Sufyānid age. Nowhere in his reporting is there evidence of concessions to contemporary ʿAbbāsīd political correctness. Early ʿAbbāsīd historiography must not be considered as uniformly anti-Umayyad.

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¹² See Lammens 1927:91.

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BLOOD FEUD AND POWER IN EARLY ʿABBĀSID TIMES*

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Tribal conflicts in early Muslim history are almost exclusively perceived within the context of the well-known antagonism between Qays and Yaman, the so-called Northern and Southern tribal confederations. We find this approach in our sources and followed more or less critically by most scholars. We thus observe a general tendency to interpret the ongoing conflicts according to this pattern, and to neglect more complex issues of tribal conditions¹. However, as a thorough investigation of the source material reveals, many more details on tribal conflicts may be extracted. Valuable information can be gained from local historical records such as the *Tārīḥ al-Mawṣil* and *Tārīḥ Madīnat Dimašq*. They not only transmit the names and *ansāb* of the persons involved, but give us at times some valuable insight into the underlying motives of their behaviour. Thereby, they help us to understand the workings of tribal antagonism in considerable detail, and permit us to reconsider the validity of the Qays and Yaman pattern.

One of the most striking features which come to light through the analysis of such information is the prominent role attributed to blood feud. For this reason, it seems appropriate to investigate this phenomenon further. As many of the mechanisms and causes of blood feud have been analysed by anthropologists, my data will be considered in the light of these modern theories on this subject. We are well aware of the problems resulting from a projection of contemporary phenomena one thousand years back in time and of the need to proceed carefully. In the case of blood feud, however, we believe that the relying on anthropological theories helps to understand the ongoing conflicts, and offers a convincing interpretation of the events.

A quite detailed tradition on blood feud is transmitted in the history of Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīḥ Madīnat Dimašq*, an important source for tribal history. It is included in the biography of Maʿyūf b. Yaḥyā, and goes back to Abū l-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī, a well-known Damascene historiographer of the 4th century². The special value of this text consists in its apparently "pure" character, because it seems to be unaffected by

* This article has been based on one chapter of my PhD thesis, *Das Stammeswesen in der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Halle (Saale) 2000, 581 pp. (unpublished).

¹ This is especially true for the Umayyad period. Cf. Dozy 1932:70 ff.; Wellhausen 1902 passim; Kennedy 1986:99-116; Lapidus 1988:63-67; Hawting 1986:73-76, 82-83, 93 ff., Dixon, 1971:83 ff.

² For Abū l-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī cf. Conrad 1991.

tendentious alterations and lacks the usual schematic pattern³ found in other sources. The relevant information on blood feud are rendered in its second part:

*Ḥumayd b. Ma'yūf succeeded to his father Ma'yūf. Then, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥakam died. His son Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam with the kunya Abū Šabīb had a number of mawālī. At the place he was living at, there was a Christian named Salmūn. One of his mawālī returned home in the evening and discovered in his house Salmūn an-Naṣrānī together with his wife. Therefore, he complained about him to his mawlā Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam. The Christian went away in fear and became a Muslim at the hand of Ḥumayd b. Ma'yūf. But the mawlā watched Salmūn until he killed him. As a result, Ḥumayd b. Ma'yūf flew into a rage and said: "Verily, by this murder, he has killed nobody but his mawlā Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam!"⁴ Then he kept his eye on him until Yaḥyā proceeded to a plantation he possessed named Mayṭūr. Ḥumayd b. Ma'yūf laid down in ambush together with a group of his ḡilmān until Yaḥyā came back from his plantation. Then Ḥumayd came out from his ambush, and they fought against each other violently. One of [Yaḥyā's] ḡilmān, a black one named Šandal, was killed. Thereupon, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam rode straight away to the Iraq (Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīḥ* 17, 55).*

To analyse this conflict, it seems best to investigate at first the reasons for homicide. Let us begin with the second case. There, homicide is inspired by a precedent murder. A *ḡulam* of Yaḥyā is killed in revenge for a dead *mawlā* of Ḥumayd. Bloodshed has thus provoked further bloodshed, and we have a case of a classical form of blood feud.

The first killing however seems to have little to do with blood feud. A husband discovers an illicit liaison between his wife and another male person and puts his rival to death. Similar reactions occur all over the world and are not specific to tribal people. Anyhow, the tribal concept of honour and shame is closely connected with the chastity of women. Any infringement on female chastity is thus conceptualized as a loss of honour (Meeker 1976:387-394; Black-Michaud 1975:227-228; Caton 1987: 91). As anthropological research has shown, the shedding of blood is connected with similar ideas. As long as revenge has not been taken, the victim's clan suffers a loss of honour⁵. For this reason, the reaction of the deceived husband resembles the revenge in a blood feud, and may be related to the same concept.

The analogy between the two cases becomes even more apparent if we look at the persons involved and their respective dependence on tribal leaders. According to contemporary research, the responsibility for blood feud is shared by a genealogically

³ For such schematic patterns, cf. Orthmann 2000:28-72.

⁴ The translation of this sentence is problematic, because it is defective in Arabic.

⁵ Kressel 1996:98, 103, 122, 126; Antoun 1968:680; Black-Michaud (1975:80-85, 184 ff) refers in this connection to the conception of debt.

related group of tribal people down to the fifth generation (Black-Michaud 1975:39-46; Bräunlich 1934:80-81; Ginat 1987:16-18; Chelhod 1968:46-48; Lindholm 1986:347; Lindholm 1996:61; Khazanov 1984:135). But in practice, it is mainly the closest relatives of the victim who take revenge (Black-Michaud 1975:50; Chelhod 1968:45). This observation is true for ʿAbbāsīd times, too. Usually it is the son or the brother of the victim who takes up arms, and revenge is regarded as his duty (al-Azdī, *Tārīḥ* 313-314; at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* II 1851, 1904, 1965-66, 1984-85; Orthmann 2000:360-362).

In the above example however, we are dealing with a specific group of people, the *mawālī*. Instead of being full members of their tribe, the *mawālī* were granted only restricted rights (*EP* VI, 875-876, art. "Mawla"). This state of affairs is clearly visible in the conduct of both the deceived husband and his rival and later victim. The deceived husband was a *mawla* of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam. When he learned about his wife's affair, he did at first not attempt to kill his rival himself, but turned to his patron. Obviously, the responsibility for revenge rested with Yaḥyā, and not with him. Therefore, we may deduce that this affair was not regarded as a personal matter, but as a collective offense of the tribal group as a whole. A similar transfer of responsibility may be detected when the *mawla* killed his rival after all: it was his patron who was blamed for this act, and another member of his group who fell victim to the ensuing revenge.

The case of the caught lover is even more interesting in this respect, and gives further evidence for the transfer of responsibility by a *walā*'-alliance. Having been a Christian before, this man converted to Islam after his encounter with the deceived husband. This step is not to be regarded as a sudden remembering of religious concepts in the presence of mortal danger, but as an attempt to attain the protection of Ḥumayd b. Maʿyūf and his tribe. The effectiveness of such an alliance becomes apparent after the convert's violent death. This deed was regarded as a clear-cut provocation of Ḥumayd and his tribal group, and avenged as soon as possible.

In the case of the ensuing homicide, aggression was not directed against the actual killer, but against his patron: he was attacked and lost a member of his entourage during the fight. As anthropological research has shown, such a deviation from direct revenge fits into the principles of blood feud. Revenge does not have to be directed against the murderer himself: it could be another member of the same solidarity group (Gellner 1990:109; Gellner 1992:91; Salzman 1987:2; Ginat 1987:16; Peters 1990:61). The principle of equivalency has to be maintained though. The same seems to have been true in early ʿAbbāsīd times.

Some scholars stress however that usually, a revenger targets the murderer himself or one of his closest relatives (Ginat 1987:41). The fact that in our example, another person was killed may have been a mere accident. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that the victim was chosen with care. Especially the circumstance that Yaḥyā was observed for a while and then ambushed supports this presumption. But why should Ḥumayd have killed intentionally one of Yaḥyā's *gilmān* instead of the murderer?

To answer to this question, we have to take in consideration some anthropological theories on the mechanisms of blood feud.

One of the most convincing studies on blood feud and its underlying motives was written by Black-Michaud some twenty years ago. Black-Michaud describes blood feud as a device for political differentiation in a society characterized by total scarcity. As in such a society, it is impossible to accumulate provisions, people cannot be differentiated according to economic conditions. For this reason, the concept of honour takes over the function of social stratification. Every loss of honour results in a loss of power, and has to be settled as soon as possible. As any physical injury is conceptualized as a loss of honour, any attack against a member of a tribal group is regarded as an attack against its power and prestige. The lost prestige can only be regained by revenge, but not by the acceptance of bloodmoney. Consequently, a tribal group will accept bloodmoney only when revenge is impossible. The reaction of the victim's clan therefore indicates its position *vis-à-vis* the other group. As long as revenge has not been taken, they are regarded as inferior, while the other side automatically gains in prestige. For this reason, the victim's group will attack sooner or later, and blood feud does never end (Black-Michaud 1975:25-27, 80-85, 121-122, 160-168, 172-178).

Black-Michaud's theory has been supported by field data collected by Gideon Kressel who has analysed the relationship between power and blood feud in a small Palestinian town. He found that the working of blood feud is indeed directly linked to power relationships. It not only indicates the social status of tribal groups, but also serves as a means to change it. Newly attained strength can best be demonstrated by aggression (Kressel 1996:*passim*).

The value of these theories for the analysis of the conflict between the Banū Ma'yūf and the Banū l-Ḥakam becomes evident if we look at the beginning of Ma'yūf b. Yahyā's biography:

Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam was a brave and courageous man. He was living in a village of the Gūṭa named al-Arzūna⁶. The Yaman in the other villages gathered around him and made him their leader. There are many accounts about him. According to one of them, the Amīr who came to Damascus (...) ⁷ asked for [Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam], and sent for him to the village of Arzūna. He came to him, and he respected him, and then he offered to make him his deputy in Damascus. But he refused and said: "I am already an old man, and I have no need for something like

⁶ For Arzūna, cf. Yāqūt, *Muḡam* s.v.

⁷ This passage is difficult to read. Unfortunately, it contains an important reference to the dating of the conflict by mentioning a certain Ibn Bayhas. The best known person of this name is Ibn Bayhas al-Kilābī who ruled in Damascus during the crises which occurred after the death of Hārūn ar-Rašīd. However, the names of other persons mentioned refer to the era of al-Manšūr. Cf. Orthmann 2000:459, also rem. 391.

that." He asked: "Is there any Yamānī with many adherents, and who is suitable for the position we offered to you?" He answered: "Yes, Maʿyūf b. Yaḥyā!" He sent for him and made him come, and then he appointed him as his deputy. But his days were days of harm and drought and high prices (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīḥ* 17, 54).

Leaving aside the legendary and incredible account of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥakam's voluntary renunciation of the office of governor, we may deduce from this tradition that there existed in the Ġūṭa of Damascus at least two influential Yamanite clans. One of them was given the governorship of Damascus. The bestowing of such an official position normally strengthens the power of its receiver (Khazanov 1984:216-217, Marx 1978:58; Brooks 1983:339; Gellner 1990:439; Lapidus 1990:42-43).

For this reason, it seems quite justified to assume that the Banū Maʿyūf were in a superior position *vis à vis* the Banū l-Ḥakam. Probably, the Banū l-Ḥakam were not content with their inferior status. The conflict which occurred after the death of Maʿyūf b. Yaḥyā may thus be interpreted as a manifestation of latent rivalry between the groups. By giving shelter to the Christian and by accepting him as his *marwā*, Ḥumayd b. Maʿyūf indirectly challenged the power of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam who wanted to punish this person, and who was prevented from doing so by this protection. The later killing of the converted Christian by Yaḥyā's *marwā* in its turn challenged the power of Ḥumayd b. Maʿyūf, because a member of his tribal group was attacked. Maybe, this act was secretly ordered by Yaḥyā who wanted to provoke his rival.

In the light of these considerations, the fact that Ḥumayd did not kill the murderer, but ambushed Yaḥyā himself and slew one of his *gilmān* may be interpreted as an act of willful and direct aggression against his rival. He exploited the situation to demonstrate his own courage and superiority. As the end of the biography shows, this demonstration was quite effective. His rival did not try to attack him again, but had recourse to an outside power:

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam rode straight away to the Irak, went to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Hāšimī and complained about the Banū Maʿyūf. He said that the black gūlām who had been killed had not been his gūlām, but his brother.

*He said: Thereupon, a group of the Banū Maʿyūf was taken to the Irak, and their affairs got out of hand. They possessed an estate in the region of Arzūna, so [Yaḥyā] requested it from the caliph, and he gave it to him. He turned it into a graveyard, and the region is known today by the name of aṣ-Ṣawāfī (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīḥ* 17, 55).*

As becomes evident by the analysis of other examples of blood feud, only weak and inferior tribes call on the government for help and intervention (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīḥ* (ed.) 18.1.411; al-Balādurī, *Ansāb* 178a-b; al-Azdī, *Tārīḥ* 354. Orthmann 2000: 397-402). For this reason the end of this conflict clearly shows that the Banū l-Ḥakam were still in an inferior position. When the Banū Maʿyūf were sent to exile, Yaḥyā tried to change the balance of power to his favour. By requesting an estate from their possession, he strengthened his own economic conditions and weakened his rivals

at the same time. But his success lasted for a short time only⁸. Later on, at the time of Hārūn ar-Rašīd, we read a lot about the Banū Maʿyūf who played an important part in the tribal conflicts of the Ġūṭa, but nothing is said about the Banū l-Ḥakam at that time.

The interpretation of this blood feud in terms of a power struggle and competition for influence in the Ġūṭa of Damascus finally induces us to consider the genealogical relationship between the tribes concerned. Ḥumayd b. Maʿyūf and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam both belonged to the Yamanite tribal confederation. If we retrace their respective *ansāb*, we see that both were members of the same subtribe of Hamdān, the Haḡūr. Their family tree was split only some generations before (Caskel 1966: I, plate 227). The conflict between these groups was hence a conflict between relatively closely related clans who even lived in the same villages of the Ġūṭa.

This observation takes us back to our critique of the view which explains almost every tribal conflict by a single antagonism between Qays and Yaman. In our example, the parties involved shared common descent and territory, but their genealogical closeness did not prevent them from mutual aggression. Their hostility resulted from local competition for power and influence and had nothing to do with wider concerns. If we examine similar conflicts, we notice that the same motifs can be detected again and again. Competition and strife occurred quite frequently between related tribes living in the same region. Very often, the government played the members of a same tribe off against each other. The mere fact that this method was successful clearly indicates the precariousness of tribal solidarity even at a level of close genealogical bonds. Therefore, the factual importance of a common belonging to either of the two confederations, Qays or Yaman, seems even more doubtful. But if we accept this, we have to reconsider prevailing theories on tribal conflicts in early Muslim history.

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PRIMARY EDUCATION UNDER THE MAMLŪKS:
TWO DOCUMENTS FROM THE ḤARAM IN JERUSALEM

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The starting point for these remarks on primary education under the Mamlūks was provided by two documents preserved at Jerusalem in the collection of mostly late 14th-century material, commonly known as the Ḥaram documents. The two pieces bear the numbers 3 and 49. The latter has not been published previously but the other, no. 3, has been edited by Kāmil ʿAsalī (*JHD* I, 195-197). Both pieces concern a Qurʾān school, a *maktab*, established and funded by a Mamlūk emir in the last third of the 14th century, at all events before the year 780/1378-9.

Qurʾān schools were often endowed institutions, often as one part of a larger complex that could include mosque or madrasa, mausoleum and public fountain in addition to the *maktab*. It is surprising that Goldziher in his excellent article from early last century on Muslim education makes no mention of *waqfs* as an economic base for regular primary education (Goldziher 1912). Other schools were private enterprises run by an individual who received fees. The following are examples of private arrangements. Zayn ad-Dīn ʿAbdarrahmān ibn Dī n-Nūn (805-81/1402-76) is said to have undertaken "the education of the children in his home town [Gaza]. Many benefited from him because of the excellence of his instruction" (as-Sahāwī, *Dawʾ* IV, 78). A certain Ibn aš-Šahrūr (born 762/1361, died after 830/1426) "was a tutor of young children (*muʾaddib al-atfāl*) at the entrance to the Friday mosque of Baalbek" (as-Sahāwī, *Dawʾ* IX, 4, no. 18). In Cairo a Mālikī scholar, who was a well-known reciter of the Qurʾān, earned his living by his reciting and by instructing children (*taʾdīb al-atfāl*). His son, showing career continuity, "collaborated with his father in instructing children in the Qurʾān"¹. Of course, it is not always clear whether these examples refer to the teaching of groups gathered in some location or whether the teachers were privately hired and brought into a particular domestic setting. The latter could be the case, as is shown by as-Sahāwī's report that a Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdarrahmān "brought al-Biqāʿī to his house to instruct his children in the Qurʾān"². The scholar al-Biqāʿī's own *tarğama* states that he earned his living "from notary work ..., as a copyist and from teaching children" (as-Sahāwī, *Dawʾ* I, 102). Similarly, in what was plainly a private arrangement, another ʿālim had a special connection with the Emir Qığmas because he gave

¹ See as-Sahāwī, *Dawʾ* I, 99; IV, 261.

² as-Sahāwī, *Dawʾ* IX, 91 (no. 255). None of the four children had any scholastic success!

Qur'ānic instruction to his *mamlūks* (as-Sahāwī, *Daw'* IX, 25). as-Sahāwī adds one of his typically sour comments concerning this 'ālim, that "he was wise in the ways of the world, taking an interest in the rich and influential, acting as their teacher, even if they were not bright."

From soundings in as-Sahāwī's biographical dictionary, I would hazard the opinion that the overwhelming majority of the people who merit an entry within it received their earliest education in a private context, either within their own families, from a father or an uncle or other relation, or from individual private tutors. The entries fall into a pattern. It is common to read that X was born in Y at such-and-such a date and studied the Qur'ān under so-and-so, frequently a relative. Never, as far as I can see, is "in such-and-such a *maktab*" added. It is also true that of those listed by as-Sahāwī very few seem to have had a career as an elementary schoolmaster (*mu'allim* or *faqīh*).

Perhaps the preponderance of private schooling in as-Sahāwī's record is only to be expected because the endowed *maktabs*, which were by their very nature charitable institutions, expressly targeted orphans, by presumption the needy members of society. Nevertheless, that social classes did meet, if not in the endowed schools then at least in some private ones, can be inferred from the continuing use that theoretical writings made of *hadīth* material which urged the equitable treatment of rich and poor students. A good example of this stress on equal treatment for rich and poor students is found in the writings of the 14th-century Ibn al-Hāǧǧ (*Madhal* II, 94, ll. 25 ff). It is also worth recalling that the historian of Jerusalem, Muǧīr ad-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, tells us that, after having had a private tutor at the age of six, by the age of ten he was studying the Qur'ān in a *maktab* at the Bāb an-Nāzīr (al-'Ulaymī, *Uns* II, 188, 237).

Inevitably more is known about the higher-profile endowed schools, which were founded throughout the Mamlūk state. Schools were established by sultans, emirs, administrators and merchants. Our knowledge of them comes from literary sources and more rarely from the details of the original endowment documents, the *waqfiyyas*. Typically the appointed teachers received a monthly salary (*ǧāmaḳiyya*), a daily bread ration and a set of clothes in winter and summer. The orphan pupils also received a daily bread ration and not infrequently some maintenance money. There were also other benefits distributed at the important annual Muslim festivals.

Educational theory and the practice of the primary *maktabs* were not likely to have been much of an issue in the Mamlūk period. There was a general agreement that the syllabus should concentrate on a basic literacy and numeracy and the memorisation of the Qur'ān. It is true that in Ibn Haldūn one does find a discussion about the practices of different parts of the Islamic world, dealing with the question of to what extent a concentration on, or primacy accorded to, the study of the Qur'ān was desirable and whether it was a sounder practice to start pupils on other subjects so that, for instance, they might gain a solid knowledge of literary Arabic before embarking on the Qur'ān (Ibn Haldūn, *Muqaddima* 1038-1044; Rosenthal 1958: III, 300-

305). A much commoner attitude is likely to have been that expressed by as-Subkī. When dealing with what is proper practice for a Qur'ān-school teacher (there called *mu'allim al-kuttāb*) he wrote: "It is right for a teacher of the young not to teach them anything before the Qur'ān, and then after that the *ḥadīṭ* of the Prophet. He should not discuss matters of belief (*'aqā'id*) with them, but put these aside until they are properly fit for them" (as-Subkī, *Mu'īd* 185). The original *waqfiyya* of Sultan an-Nāṣir Ḥasan lays down that in the *maktab* attached to his foundation the teacher (*mu'addib*) should teach the orphans "what they can manage to learn of the Noble Qur'ān and instruct them in what they are able to learn of the Arabic script and alphabet (*mā yaḥtamilūna ta'allumahu min al-ḥaṭṭ al-'arabi wa-ḥiḡā'ahu*)³. The *waqfiyya* of the Sultan Farāḡ ibn Barqūq lays down that the school master is to teach "the Holy Qur'ān, writing and arithmetic (*al-istiḡrāḡ*)" (Haarmann 1980:45, ll. 582 ff).

The two works of *ḥisba* which are relevant in terms of place and time, those of aṣ-Ṣayzarī (late 13th century) and Ibn al-Uḥuwwa (died 729/1329), follow the same broad lines when dealing with the qualifications and practice of a schoolmaster. Instruction should begin with the short *sūras* of the Qur'ān, writing and arithmetic are specified but also approved poetry and good examples of prose composition are included in the ideal syllabus. Gentle treatment of pupils and moderate punishment for misdemeanours are recommended and both authors stress the need for irreproachable morality on the part of the teacher. Indeed, Ibn al-Uḥuwwa states that it is preferable that he be married. Sultan Farāḡ's *waqf* document actually requires that the schoolmaster appointed should be married and also demands kind and gentle treatment, although I doubt that the acceptable chastisement would meet the approval of a modern school inspector⁴.

In comparison with grand royal foundations and those of emirs in Cairo the *maktab* which features in Haram document no. 49 was a minor affair. However, I know of no other document which puts one in touch with a modest provincial foundation, many examples of which existed perhaps in the smaller towns of Egypt and Syria. This document is a statement of account (dated 14 Rabī' II, 781/30 July, 1379) for a *maktab* in Jerusalem that was established by a certain Emir Faḥr ad-Dīn Iyās al-Manṣūrī. No information about this emir's career is available. At the date of the document he was clearly still living but the business connected with the administration of his educational endowment was transacted on his behalf by his *dawādār*, named Sayf ad-Dīn Aqtimur. The income of the school derived from the revenue of the village of aṣ-Ṣīr, which had presumably been the property of the emir, in the district of Qāqūn. The *dawādār* Aqtimur, according to the account, had been responsible for delivering the cash that had been realised from the produce of the village. By the 16th

³ The text of the *waqfiyya* is quoted in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadkīra* III, 385-449. This passage is on p. 433.

⁴ See aṣ-Ṣayzarī, *Nihāya* 103-105; Ibn al-Uḥuwwa, *Ma'ālīm* 170-172; Haarmann 1980:45, ll. 583-591.

century there were no *waqf* lands at aṣ-Ṣīr according to the list of the *awqāf* of Palestine in an Ottoman *Tahrir defter*. Indeed by that date it was imperial *pādiṣāhī* land according to Hütteroth and Abdulfattah's study. Thus the *waqf* of the Emir Iyās had failed or been suppressed some time earlier⁵.

The resources of the school also included the rents of at least four shops in Jerusalem and a house (*dār*). The total income for the period in question was 1134 3/4 dirhams. However, it is not clear what period was involved. The rent for some shops and the house is said to have been overdue and for two other shops all that is said is "up to the end of the month Rabī^c II of the year 781" without saying for what period of time before.

After the statement of the receipts there follow details of the expenditure, paid out in the *dawādār*'s presence. The main recipient was the teacher, Burhān ad-Dīn Ib-rāhīm ibn Rizq Allāh an-Nāṣirī, who features as a rather humble *ʿālim* in a large number of varied Ḥaram documents but is totally unknown in other written records. He received 348 dirhams "up to the end of the year 780 [1378-9]". In Ḥaram document no. 3 (see below) his salary is specified as 30 per month, which, broadly speaking, comes to the same annual total. For the sake of comparison, the two *waqf* documents of Sultan Ḥasan (dated 760/1359 and 761/1360) assigned 60 dirhams monthly to two teachers (later increased to 100 dirhams for each of *four* teachers). Two assistants (*ʿarīfs*) with 40 dirhams monthly were also increased in number to four.

In this present document thirteen "orphans" (all male) are listed who, for the preceding year 780, received sums that range from 87 to 10 dirhams. The average is just short of 48. These sums are for their general maintenance, mostly, one assumes, for clothing. Their free education is covered by the salary paid to the schoolmaster. Again for comparative purposes one finds that the *maktab as-sabīl* in Sultan Ḥasan's foundation originally catered for 100 orphans. The sultan's second *waqfiyya* increased this number to 200. Each orphan received each month 30 dirhams (expressly for their maintenance [*nafaqa*] and their clothing [*kiswā*]), the same sum as the teacher in the emir's Jerusalem school. If a pupil "completed the Qur'ān" (*ḥatam al-Qur'ān*), he and his teacher received 50 dirhams each.

On the *verso* of the document six other persons were named with generally lesser sums for each (on average about 20 dirhams) "up to the end of Rabī^c II 781", the month the document was drawn up. There is a discontinuity in the listing and I take these persons to be other personnel of the school. One appears to be called Muḥam-

⁵ İpşirli & at-Tamīmī 1982. For *maktab*s listed there, see p. 46, (schools in Jerusalem and Gaza, each for 10 orphans, founded by Maṅğak, *waqf* dated 771/1369-70); p. 17 (a school for 10 orphans, *waqf* dated 799/1396-7. The founder was T.m.s.n.k (?) al-Ḥusaynī according to the editors. The reading is more than doubtful and one might expect a final *-bak*); p. 53 (a school for "children and orphans" founded by Qādi Aḥmad Çelebi ibn Naṣūḥ near the Bāb as-Silsila in Jerusalem, *waqf* dated 952/1545). See also Hütteroth & Abdulfattah 1977:125; aṣ-Ṣīr is listed as P5 in the *liwā* of Nablus, *nāhiya* of Ġabal Šami.

mad ibn Muḥammad al-Mu'allim (perhaps an assistant teacher?). Then other items of expenditure are listed, for notary services (witnessing etc.), for money changing and for a *muhandis*. On the slender evidence of this latter term I assume that the school was in its own dedicated building which had come to require some maintenance. There are also items for mats (*ḥuṣur*) for the school, for a water storage jar (*zīr*)⁶ and other vessels for the orphans, and most interestingly for the cost of ink and pens (expressly "for the orphans") and for paper (fourteen dirhams). No tablets or boards are mentioned. In the details of Sultan Farağ ibn Barqūq's *waqf* for his mosque just outside the Zuwayla Gate it is clear that the orphan pupils of the charity school it contained had to supply their own ink, writing tablets and ink-wells out of the monthly ten *dirham fulūs* they received for their personal expenses⁷. On the other hand, for the *maktab* in Sultan Ḥasan's complex, the *waqf* foundation was to purchase "whatever mats the orphans needed to sit on ... and tablets (*alwāḥ*), ink, pen boxes and pens and to provide the sweet water they need for drinking and washing their tablets." In the school within the mosque of the Emir Sargitmiš (his *waqfiyya* is dated 757/1356) the overseer (*nāzir*) was also responsible for buying such items needed by the pupils from *waqf* funds (ʿAlī 1965:153).

The total expenditure of the Jerusalem school is stated to equal the income (1134 3/4 dirhams). The total monthly expenditure for the personnel alone in Sultan Ḥasan's school was over 6,500. The figures are here given in the Mamlūk style *siyāqa* numerals. The difficulties they present may explain why the expenses can only be made to total 1134 dirhams (three quarters short). The fractions could easily have been misunderstood. All the figures must remain doubtful.

Ḥaram no. 3 is closely associated with the other document. It contains an order of the same *dawādār* Sayf ad-Dīn Aqtimur, appointing Burhān ad-Dīn an-Nāṣirī as *faqīh* of the Emīr Iyās's *maktab*⁸. One should say "re-appointing", as the order is dated 25 Rabīʿ II, 781/10 August, 1379, that is, just a few days after the statement of account. Burhān ad-Dīn had clearly been functioning as teacher through the previous year. Does this mean that the post was "un-tenured" and subject to review? At all events it argues for a certain strict control by the founder exercised through his *dawādār*. The salary is specified as 30 dirhams per month, which is in line with the 346 dirhams received by Burhān ad-Dīn for the preceding year 780. Permission is given for his salary to be drawn from the rents received from the Jerusalem property,

⁶ Bagader (1984:54) mentions the *zīr*, "a cool water container with glasses for the children to drink".

⁷ See Haarmann 1980:46. In an early 18th-century charity school in my own village of Eynsham in England the teacher had to supply such consumables out of his annual salary of ten pounds.

⁸ Published by Kāmil ʿAsalī (*JHD*) but with a serious error in line 7 of the *recto*, where *an yaktub al-maqarr al-kaṛīm* is read instead of the correct *faqīh maktab al-maqarr* etc. At the beginning of l. 8 read *allatī la-hu* rather than *al-hāliyya*.

which might have been due monthly. Thus his salary should henceforward be paid monthly, more desirable than waiting for a lump sum at the end of the year! In addition Burhān ad-Dīn as teacher is given responsibility for the management of the *waqf* properties in Jerusalem, to fix the rentals annually. This new arrangement is to be in force with effect from the beginning of the month, Rabīʿ II (781) and the authority of his predecessor, presumably for the management of the *waqfs* as distinct from the teaching, is accordingly cancelled.

Haram document no.49

19.5 x 28.5 cm. See Little 1984:348.

The document was folded three times vertically and twice laterally. The final text on the far left of the *verso* probably served as identification of the contents.

Recto

Right-hand side:

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | ١ |
| | اوراق | ٢ |
| | مباركة بما صرف على الفقيه الامام بالمكتب انشا المقر العالى الفخرى | ٣ |
| | اياس المنصورى اعز الله تعالى نصره بمدينة القدس الشريف من المال المحضرى؟ من مغل | ٤ |
| | قرية الصير من عمل قاقون المعمورة الواصل على يد المجلس العالى السيفى اقطر دوا دار | ٥ |
| | المقر العالى الفخرى المشار اليه وما تحصل من الحوانيت بالقدس الشريف | ٧ |
| | مما صرف ذلك بحضور الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ برهان الدين الناصرى معلم | ٨ |
| | الايتام و من يضع خطه عليها من الشهود بتاريخ رابع عشر شهر ربيع الاخرة | ٩ |
| | سنة احدى وثمانين وسبعماية | ١٠ |
| | من الدراهم ١١٣٤ (٣/٤+) | |
| (ا) | من قرية الصير المذكورة ٦٦٣ (١/٢+) | |
| (ب) | من يد ناصر الدين محمد الطورى مما كان تاخر تحت يده من اجرة الدار والحوانيت بالقدس الشريف بمقتضى المحاسبة ٢٥٩ (٣/٤+) | |
| (ت) | من اجرة الدار وحانوت عبد الله المصرى الي اخر شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٧٨١ ٧٥ | |
| (ث) | من اجرة حانوت احمد المغربى الي اخر شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٧٨١ ٣٦ | |

Left-hand side:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| | خضم ذلك ١١٣٤ (٣/٤+) | ١ |
| | الشيخ برهان الدين الناصرى معلم الايتام الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ ٣٤٨ | ٢ |
| | الايتام الاتى ذكرهم فيه ٧٨٦ (٣/٤+) | ٣ |
| ٨٧ | حسين بن فرج الله الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | (ا) |
| ٨٢ | ابراهيم بن الفنس؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | (ب) |
| ٨٢ | خليل بن الفنس؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | (ت) |
| ٨٥ | ابو بكر بن السيحة؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | (ث) |

٢٨	(ج) احمد بن جواد؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٢٠	(ح) احمد بن القطان الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٨٢	(خ) محمد بن السبق؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٥٥	(د) محمد بن حسن الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٥٣	(ذ) على بن حسن الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٣٠	(ر) عمر بن خلف الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ (...؟)
٣٠	(ز) ابراهيم بن محمد الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٣٠	(س) على بن الحمال الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
١٠	(ش) محمد بن الشاهد الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠

Verso

Right-hand side:

١٥	(ا) سيف الدين بن خليفة الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
١٥	(ب) محمد بن محمد المعلم الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
٢٣	(ت) عيسى بن خليل الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
(١/٤+)	٢٧ (ث) احمد بن الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
١٥	(ج) عبد الله بن المعلم الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
(١/٢+)	٢٠ (ح) احمد بن البيطار؟ الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١

١٨	(خ) ثمن حصر للمكتب
٦	(د) ثمن حبر واقلام للايتام
٥	(ذ) ثمن زير وجرتين للايتام
٥	(ر) اجرة صيرفى
٣	(ز) اجرة مهندس
٧	(س) ثمن ورق
١٠	(ش) اجرة شهود

ان شا الله

الحمد لله وحده وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلامه

حسبنا الله تعالى ونعم الوكيل

Witnesses from right to left:

١	حضرت الصرف المذكور والامر على ما شرح فيه باطنا كتبه احمد بن محمد بن خليل
٢	حضرت ذلك والامر على ما نص وشرح فيه باطنا كتبه ابو بكر بن محمد بن
٣	حضرت الصرف المذكور والامر على ما نص وشرح فيه باطنا كتبه ابراهيم بن رزق الله الناصرى

On far left:

١	ورقة مباركة بما صرف على الايتام بمكتب الامير
٢	العالي الفخرى اياس المنصورى بالقدس الشريف
٣	اعز الله نصره بتاريخ رابع عشر ربيع الاخرة سنة احدى وثمانين وسبعماية

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي جعل في كل شيء
دلالة على قدرته العظيمة
ويعلم ما لا يعلمون

عسى الله العليم الخبير
يجمع لكم من فضله
كل خير وتوفيق
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محمد بن عبد الله
القرظي

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الحمد لله الذي جعل في كل شيء
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و...
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ARAB PERCEPTIONS OF THE BALKANS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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The opening decade of the last century witnessed dynamic political developments in both the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire and the newly re-established independent Balkan states. The Arabs and their northern neighbours from the Balkans, once pals within the Ottoman Empire, have inherited quite comprehensive patterns of perceptions *vis-à-vis* each other. These long-standing stereotypes have been altered considerably in the course of the Balkan Wars 1912-1913, in particular with regards to the assessment of the events and attitudes adopted by the emerging Arab nationalists.

From its very outset Arab nationalism navigated between the *Scylla* of the growing scepticism about the Turkish domination in the Ottoman Empire and the *Charybdis* of the deepening mistrust of the encroaching European Powers. In some aspects the perceptions on the Balkans of the Arab nationalists became derivative from the general encounter of the Middle East with Europe. On the other hand they were a part of their overall attitudes towards the Ottoman Empire. The concern for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire with the nationalists could be compared in Edward Saïd's terms to the "Australian syndrome" (Saïd 1993:xv-xvii) where the rejection of the metropolitan centre was fused with quite sympathetic feelings for the "old country". The Balkans were therefore embedded in a very substantial way into the paradigm of Arab nationalism.

In previous times both the Arab provinces and the Balkan possessions of the Ottoman Empire triggered attempts at reform designed to transform the whole multinational state. The *Gulhane Hatt-i sherif* of 1839 came at a time when European support was indispensable for the Sublime Port against the victorious armies of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt. The *Imperial Rescript* of 1856 was to great extent prompted by the Crimean War, when Western intervention in favour of Turkey prevented Russian advance on the Balkan. Once again in 1876 the looming Russo-Turkish War following the Bulgarian insurrection urged the Young Ottomans to act and the Ottoman governing elite to accept the Constitution, compiled by Midhat Pasha, the Governor of the Danube vilayet and later of the provinces alongside the Tigris and Euphrates. It would be erroneous simplification to suspect the constitutionalists of cynical "window dressing" objectives to please the West but a certain degree of opportunistic considerations was in the fore of their minds.

In modern times Arab attitudes towards the Balkans have very much in common with the shared experiences in modernisation. These date from attempted reform dur-

ing the Tulip period or *Lale Devri* (1718-30), the New Order or *Nizām-e Ğadīd* (from 1792), but mostly from the *Tanzīmāt Reform* period (1839-61). Since the European economic and political penetration differed in intensity and purpose "the modernisation experiment" – as some historians term it – "took place in so many distinct geographical and historical settings. Local provinces of the Ottoman Empire, despite many superficial similarities, were challenged by and reacted to the West in different ways" (Cannon 1988:4).

Of particular interest are the Arab reactions to the Berlin Congress following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, in which Egypt was a faithful ally to the Sublime Port. As it is well known, at the congress Bulgaria received a wide international guarantee of local administrative autonomy while secret understandings soon opened Egypt and other Arab countries for indirect European control. The editorials of the nationalistically minded Egyptian daily *al-Waṭan* are full of comparative comments of the two cited cases. Miḥā'il 'Abdassayyid, the opinion-maker of the liberals in Egypt was particularly bitter when he juxtaposed Egypt's plight to the arrangements for the Principality of Bulgaria, which through its National Assembly acquired autonomous institutions and began adjustments to the unfinished *Tanzīmāt* legislation with the consent of the European Powers. "Why", asked 'Abdassayyid, "can't they recognise similar autonomy for Egypt's civil (legislative) and administrative apparatus? Egypt is wealthier than Bulgaria.....has a better system of administration and....local courts.... If it is argued that treaties still exist between the Port and Europe (preventing this), we say that it is time to revise these, because of obviously changing conditions..." (*al-Waṭan* 12.04.1879).

Chronologically, yet another crucially important point happened during the first years of the twentieth century. After the long record of relentless resistance to the Ottoman rule, there came the insurrection of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. It failed to achieve tangible European intervention, apart from a hastily produced Russo-Austrian initiative for the *Mursteġ reform* program. Again Arab public opinion and parts of the Egyptian elite remained sensitive to the developing process. These sensitivities became even more evident when exposed at the area of diplomatic representation that is highly indicative of the degree of international emancipation.

The independent Balkan states as well as autonomous Bulgaria began sending their diplomatic agents to Egypt, whereas Egypt did not have the right to dispatch envoys. Furthermore, in order to receive foreign representatives Egypt needed formal consent from the Sublime Port in the form of *exequatur*s. In regard to the various practices of the Ottoman Government in executing its prerogatives, the official paper *Journal du Caire* published in January 1907 an article entitled "Diplomatic agents of the Balkan States in Egypt" (28.01.1907). It contains the observation: "The Port should not dare refuse to do for Egypt the concession which it had allowed for in Macedonia. In the latter country the consuls of the above-mentioned states have received *exequatur*s".

The 1908 revolution of the Young Turks turned to be a crucial moment for the Macedonian freedom fighters and for the emerging Arab nationalism alike. In its Annual Report of 1909 the British Consul-General in Cairo Sir Eldon Gorst observed: "The general movement against autocratic government in the neighbouring Moham-medan countries which has been the main political feature in the East during the last year, has not been without effect upon the state of public opinion in Egypt. ... Though the conditions of Turkey and Egypt are entirely different, and though no real analogy can be drawn between the two races, the fact that parliamentary Govern-ment has been peaceably established in the former country has given considerable en-couragement to those here who hold the view that Egypt is ripe for a similar regime" (Lord Lloyd 1933:68).

The ideas proclaimed by the *Committee for Union and Progress* (CUP) were attrac-tive for nationalists from both the Balkan and the Arab provinces of the Empire. Yet the Young Turks did not draw their members from all ethnic sections of the Otto-man society. There were practically no Greeks, Bulgarians or Arabs among them" (Zürcher 1984:22). With one notable exception – that of ‘Azīz ‘Alī al-Miṣrī who later founded the Arab nationalist organisation *al-‘Ahd* in 1914. The policies of the Young Turks, which ensued proved their utmost hostility *vis-à-vis* voluntary cessa-tion of the territories inhabited by other than the Turkish ethnicity. Instead they opt-ed for forced Ottomanization, which was diametrically opposite to the ideal of nation-alists both on the Balkans and in some Arab countries, notably in Lebanon.

Arab nationalists and leaders of Balkan countries sought to encourage the CUP to implement faithfully the constitutional principles proclaimed in 1909. For ex-ample, Grigor Nachovich, a prominent Bulgarian politician and diplomatic representa-tive to Constantinople believed that the Young Turks have to implement in real terms the provisions of the Constitution, and through the recognition of the rights and freedoms of the provinces should reconcile them with the centre of the Empire. Furthermore, in his opinion improvements in the administration were badly needed to change the situation where every state civil servant sent to the regions "behaves like a small Hamid". Once these conditions are in place, then Nachovich predicted that there could come into existence "an alliance between the Empire and the Christian nations of the Orient. Turkey has every reason to fear the European Powers, much stronger than itself", he wrote, "while Turkey has nothing to lose and much to gain from the Balkan nations, which are much weaker than the Empire and inclined to seek amicable relations with a modern and civilised Turkey"¹. The Proclamation of Bulgaria's independence in September 1908 and its recognition by the Sublime Port eight months later was exemplary with regards to such a Grand De-

¹ *Central State Historical Archives*, collection 176, list 2, unit 1072, p. 108-109.

sign. The event coincided with the annexation of Bosnia by the Habsburg Empire and was followed by the Italian campaign in Libya.

Once the Berlin Treaty of 1879 was irreversibly overturned, the Balkan Alliance came into existence. The increased tensions among the Great Powers and in particular between Russia and Austria-Hungary provided the Balkan States means to advance their national aspirations.

In some historical studies², prevails the hypothesis for different kinds of motivations for the Balkan States to abandon temporarily their rivalries and to contemplate a major showdown with the Ottoman Empire. It arises from the assumption that the Young Turks were discovering their national identity along Western European patterns and chances were increasing for continuous European support to Turkey's transition. Therefore, the opportunity for Balkan States to pursue their national objectives at the expense of the Ottoman Empire was doomed to whither away.

There were many tense international situations in Arab lands in the first decade of the twentieth century, such as the Agadir crisis or the Italo-Turkish war over Tripolitania. In the eyes of the Arab nationalists, however, it was the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 which made a difference. For they indeed presented an unusual case when former provinces of the Ottoman Empire waged a successful military campaign against their ex-suzerain.

There are numerous examples of the coverage by the Arab nationalistic press of the events of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. A suitable source of reference in this regard is the New York based weekly *as-Sā'ih*, established by 'Abdalmasīh 'Abduh Haddād.

The paper's first main conclusion from the survey of the period pre-empting the wars was about the inconsistency of the Great Powers' policies on the Balkans. Austria-Hungary was described as the Empire which harboured considerable concerns over the Balkan Alliance. These attitudes were grounded in the fact that the Slavonic ingredients in that multinational state was very sensitive to developments in the neighbourhood and were exposed to influences (*as-Sā'ih*, 17.10.1912). Austria-Hungary was later perceived as the main geopolitical beneficiary from the outcome of the Wars, in particular from the exacerbated divide between the strongest country in the region which was at the time Bulgaria and the rest of its neighbours.

The Russian reactions to the emerging crises in the eyes of *as-Sā'ih* were quite ambiguous. Russia was setting the scene for potential extension of its own influence in the region. But the Russian Empire lacked self-confidence. The result is an imbroglio which allows the Balkan States freedom of initiative.

At the very week the Alliance declared war on the Ottoman Empire, *as-Sā'ih* published an extensive analysis which contained outspoken recognition for their bold and

² See Hall 1996.

daring stances and the patriotic inspiration of the Montenegrins and the Bulgarians. The paper predicts quick victory of the Alliance, liberation of Macedonia from Turkish domination. The expectations of many Arab nationalists are eloquently stated in the conclusive statement: Now that the Ottoman Empire was expelled from the African continent after Tripoli fell in the hands of the Italians, in view of the fact of the astonishing initial success of the Balkan allies, Turkey would be ousted from Europe, the eyes turn towards Syria and its common action with Egypt. The autonomy of Lebanon should also develop into the country's independence under international supervision.

The aspirations of a substantial and vocal part of the Arab nationalistic opinion arouse the concerns of the ambassadors of the Great Powers in Istanbul and their consuls in major Arab cities. In his reports the Consul General of France in Beirut M. Coulondre distinguishes two major trends that developed in the local Arab society under the influence of the war in Rumelia³. Most of the Christians sought to increase the autonomous character of the Lebanese Highlands under French protection in a way that would lead to independence from the Ottoman Empire. The Muslims, however, were very much inclined to follow the path of reforms, and in particular the establishment of a Caliphate, headed by an Arab ruler and encompassing Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Arabia. An obvious candidate for a new caliph would in this case be the Khedive ʿAbbās Hilmī II, deemed by the French diplomat to be a British protégé. Among the journalists who promoted the idea there were several well-known editors of Arab papers: Muḥammad and Aḥmad Kurd ʿAlī, owners of the Damascus based journal *al-Muqtabas*, ʿAbdalḡanī al-Urayssī, owner of the Beirut journal *al-Mufīd* (later *al-Fatā al-ʿarabī*), and also Rašīd Riḡā, who edited the Cairo based Muslim journal *al-Manār*.

The extent of the Turkish defeat became clear from the first days and weeks of the war, when in the West only the fortress of Scutari and Yanina remained in Turkish control while in the East the Bulgarians surrounded Odrin (Edirne) and drove back the Turkish defence to the Catalca-lines, forty miles west of the capital.

Following the unsuccessful Turkish counter offences at Bolayir and Sarkoy in February 1913, in March 1913 the Bulgarian third army entered Odrin. The fall of Edirne was reflected by *as-Sāʿih* through a large interview with Šukrī Pasha, the Commander of the defence (*as-Sāʿih*, 19.05.1913). One reason for the surrender was the sharp division and mistrust among the unionist officers ʿAzīz Pasha and Ibrāhīm Pasha on the one hand and the supporters of Nāzīm Pasha who challenged the active members of CUP. Still the Arab newspaper underlines another aspect of the victorious Bulgarian assault on the city, *i.e.* the patriotically motivated high spirit and the

³ *Documents* 1978, vol. XIX, doc. 30, p. 109.

astonishing courage displayed by the Bulgarian command and troops united like never before behind the national cause and interest.

The diplomatic records concur with that view, when describing the reaction of the Arab public opinion to the loss of Odrin. "The fall of the ancient capital of the Turks in Europe", writes Ottavi, the French Consul General in Lebanon, "has produced such a deep impression on the Muslims here, that to my mind, the eventual entry of the Bulgarian army into Constantinople, could not astonish them much more. The Christians rejoice very much at the defeat of Turkey." But the Governmental authorities according to Ottavi dare not appeal for solidarity to the Arab Muslims, out of fear that the move could be leading to the exactly opposite effect. Because of their indignation for the ruined prestige of Islam, the Arab Muslims felt inclined to rise against the Young Turks, rather than to stage support for them⁴.

The conclusions drawn from the experience of the Balkan War appeared in the editorial of *as-Sā'ih* on June 2, 1913 under the title: "The signing of the Peace Agreements". The event was characterised as the most important one since the Crimean War. The arguments through which such a statement has been backed include statistical data review. It proved for example that Bulgaria has managed to mobilise under the banner of a patriotic war 480 thousand troops – the highest percentage of the population of any party in an armed conflict to date. Not only the totality of involvement was surprising but also the tremendous numbers of the casualties sustained that exceeded for example the losses of Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. At the same time more soldiers from the Turkish armies fell victims than for instance the casualties Russia had to give in the course of the Russo-Japanese conflict.

From the point of view of Arab Nationalism the most important conclusion from the war time has become the proven weakness of the Ottoman Empire, which after its defeat from the Balkan neighbours was doomed to seek further foreign financial and political support in order to be able to strengthen its grip on the remaining possessions of the Empire in Asia. In particular in Syria the calls for independence increased, which were echoed in Iraq. Armenia was to follow leaning on traditional Russian support. "Turkey", predicts *as-Sā'ih*, "will emerge from the war only to enter yet another this time 'internal war' facing all of its neighbours".

A second important lesson which became apparent in the prescriptions of the London Peace Treaty was the fate of the islands in the Aegean which Greece occupied in the course of the hostilities. Contrary to the Greek claims that the arrival of its fleet at the islands was liberation, the Arab public opinion considered the change to be mere substitution of foreign Turkish rule by an even worse form of Greek control, which chased away Palestinians, living on the islands. *as-Sā'ih* goes on to conclude that the London Peace Conference was in fact a repetition of the Vienna Con-

⁴ *Documents* vol. XIX, doc. 139, p. 392.

gress of 1815 through its acknowledgement of enforced inclusion of smaller entities into sovereignty of a State that lay claims on them. Furthermore, it made predictions that the interested European Powers will use their influence in the Balkan region to incite hostilities among the members of the Balkan Alliance. The other prediction – that a military engagement between Russia and Austria-Hungary might ensue from the Balkan War – proved to be wrong, and then, again, inaccurate only temporarily.

The second stage of the Balkan conflict received a very comprehensive coverage by *as-Sā'ih*. The very reasons for the Second Balkan War and its consequences have been analysed in an editorial dated September 1, 1913, under the title: "The Future of the Balkans". The text is important as it contains perspectives different from the ones that are abundant in historical writings both in the Western and in the Balkan parts of Europe. As Pierre Hasner suggests the former interpretations lay the stress on the lack of economic development and insufficient maturity of the societies in the Balkan States which regarded "territorial disputes as a vital issue calling their identity into question" (Hasner 1998:4). By contrast, the second interpretation, most favoured by the countries of the region themselves, attributes the peculiarities of the Balkans to the arbitrary divisions, corresponding to the sole interests of the Great Powers and their balances which led to the Post-Ottoman territorial arrangements.

The views expressed by *as-Sā'ih* in the name of Arab Nationalism have elements from both interpretations. It describes the injustices imposed on Bulgaria through the Bucharest Treaty as a source of future instability, but goes on to state that this might prove to be the smaller imperfection. The principal sin of the Bucharest arrangement was that the aspiration of the population of the former Ottoman provinces on the Balkans have been completely ignored in the setting, with one notable exception – the proclamation of the independence of Albania.

The attitudes of Arab Nationalism *vis-à-vis* the Balkan States evolved considerably in the years preceding the European Wars. Throughout the last stages of decay of the Ottoman Empire the Balkan nations and the Arab societies alike took part in the reform process imposed on Constantinople by the European Powers. One can suggest that at certain stages Arab self-determination passed through comparison with other parts of the Empire, and in particular its Balkan possessions. Thus for instance Arab Nationalists deemed it fair to claim that the encouragement Europe accorded to statehood and autonomy in the Balkan countries, largely exceeded the constitutionalism which they allowed to take place in Arab lands.

Furthermore, again with western consent Balkan states as they asserted and strengthened their independence, managed to do away with the system of the Capitulation, inherited from their Ottoman past. This objective remained in the focus of Arab attention for a much longer period of their gradual international emancipation. This fact was a source of deep frustration and dissatisfaction especially among those leaders of Arab public opinion who deemed the development of their homeland to be far superior when compared with other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

In the historical period under scrutiny and particularly during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 Arab Nationalists developed a positive perception on the potential that the Independent Balkan States displayed so vibrantly and convincingly. Though conscious of the shortcomings of the process that unfolded before their eyes, Arab Nationalists remained supportive of the aspirations of the Balkan States, which acting in a concerted manner managed to challenge successfully both their former sovereign and the almighty European Powers of the time.

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IV. REVIEWS

REVIEW ARTICLE

Die Geschichte der Erhaltung arabischer Baudenkmäler in Ägypten. Die Restaurierung der Madrasa Tatar al-Ḥiğāziyya und des Sabīl Kuttāb ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Kathudā im Rahmen des Darb-al-Qirmiz-Projektes in Kairo. By PHILIPP SPEISER. (*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, 8.) Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 2001. 249 pp., 48 plates. ISBN 3 927552 27 5.

The present publication is, as it were, the written summary of the activities of the author in Cairo in the field of the preservation and conservation of monuments of architecture for the period between 1979 and 1990, thus it consists of several interrelated parts. The first section, dealing with the foundation and history of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*, is a revised version of the author's thesis submitted to the Federal Technical University in Zurich (*Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zürich*). As an introduction, this section also contains a long presentation of the history and development of Cairo, especially in the 19th century. Then follow two reports on restoration work carried out by the author in the historic old city of Cairo: that of the 14th century madrasa-mausoleum of the Mamlūk princess Tatar al-Ḥiğāziyya and of the 18th century Ottoman *sabīl-kuttāb*, erected by ʿAbdarrahmān Kathudā, a characteristic structure consisting of a public fountain and an elementary school, and one of the most conspicuous landmarks of the old city. Both works constituted part of the major Egyptian-German joint project "Darb al-Qirmiz" undertaken by the German Archeological Institute (DAI) in conjunction with the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (EAO), which aimed at the restoration and conservation according to modern standards of a closely delineated area in the historical old city; the Darb al-Qirmiz. The former was carried out in 1980-1982, the latter in 1980-1984. André Raymond, the celebrated authority on the history of Ottoman Cairo, contributed a long essay in French on the life and achievements of the patron of the *sabīl-kuttāb*, perhaps the most active embellisher of the Well-Protected City in premodern times, ʿAbdarrahmān Kathudā. Muḥammad ʿAfifi and André Raymond published the relevant section from a *waqfiyya* by ʿAbdarrahmān Kathudā dated 1744, dealing also with the *sabīl-kuttāb* in question. The original Arabic text of the document is accompanied by a French translation with notes. Finally Peter G. French submitted an essay in English on the ninety-five smoking pipes (complete and fragmentary alike) that were recovered during the restoration work in the madrasa of Tatar al-Ḥiğāziyya. A good selection of photos and drawings makes the work complete.

It must be stated right away that the present work contains a wealth of important source material that is impossible even to list here. The detailed reports of the restoration works on the two monuments not only offer significant insights into the history of these monuments but also document the application of exemplary modern methods in the preservation and conservation of monuments of architecture with special emphasis on the renewed utilization of these structures by the population of the neighbourhood, the nearer and broader environment. The publication of a *waqfiyya* accompanied by explanatory notes by experts is always an exceptional event and constitutes an important step towards an ever deeper understanding of these most important though difficult contemporary documents, shedding light on more and more aspects of medieval life and history. André Raymond's intriguing contribution on the personality of ʿAbdarrahmān Kathudā is a great asset to the publication.

In recent years interest has focused more and more on the Ottoman period of Egyptian history and in this context a detailed account of the personality and life of this outstanding embellisher of Cairo can be regarded as an important case-history, which also makes splendid reading and simultaneously represents a new reappraisal as compared to previous treatments of the subject by the author.

The section which interested this reviewer most, however, is the one dealing with the history of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*. This body was founded in 1881 and existed until 1953, playing a role that can hardly be overemphasized in the preservation and conservation of monuments of Arab-Islamic, and later also Coptic, architecture in Egypt, but mainly in Cairo. An extensive treatment of the subject has been a *desideratum* for some time. Two shorter treatments existed for the first period of the existence of *Comité* by Achille Patricolo: one was published separately in 1914 and another in Volume 32 (1915-1919) of the *Bulletins*. The former is entitled *Achille Patricolo: La conservation des monuments arabes en Égypte. I. Histoire du Comité*. Cairo 1914, 28 pp. It seems to have been a private publication printed at Le Caire, Imp. M. Roditi & C^o - 1914. It was to be followed by two other volumes, or rather fascicles: II. *Les méthodes de travail* and III. *Les travaux exécutés*. The reviewer has not been able to find any trace of these works, which probably remained unpublished because of the difficulties entailed by the outbreak of World War I. This rare work, which also contains a bibliography of Patricolo which sheds some light on his earlier activities in Italy before arriving in Egypt, seems to have escaped the attention of the author. The history of the *Comité* presented here is based in the first place on the material contained in the printed *Bulletins* as well as on the practical experiences of the author. In this respect the technical details concerning the methods and procedures adopted by the *Comité* are of special relevance and constitute one of the chief achievements of the present work. The *Comité's* work and achievements are also evaluated and assessed in the light of modern standards and requirements.

The monograph also deals with the person of Max Herz Pasha, among others (pp. 68-70)¹. Here some inaccuracies can be found, which should be corrected. Herz's birthplace, Otlaka, is not in the so-called historical Banat territory but in the Great Hungarian Plain. He studied architecture in Budapest between 1874 and 1877, not between 1876 and 1877, going subsequently to Vienna, where he studied from 1877 until 1880. In connection with his studies in Vienna the abbreviation *u.a.* (=German for "among others") should be deleted because in Vienna he studied only at the Technical University. Herz studied only architecture but in this area he finished a complete course of studies. It is true that he did not take a degree (*diploma*) but in this he followed the custom of his age. It did not become common to take a degree (*diploma*) at the Technical University in Vienna until after the end of World War I; only very few students did so when Herz studied there. In Vienna his teachers even regarded and

¹ On him see István Ormos: "Max Herz (1856-1919): his life and activities in Egypt." Le Caire - Alexandrie: Architectures européennes 1850-1950. Sous la direction de Mercedes Volait. Cairo 2001. *Id.*: "Preservation and Restoration. The methods of Max Herz Pasha, chief architect of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, 1890-1914." *Historians in Cairo. Essays in honor of George Scanlon*. Edited by Jill Edwards. Cairo 2002. 123-153. and the forthcoming monograph of this reviewer.

remembered him later on as one of the best students². If this *u.a.* is a reference to Herz's alleged studies in music then it is certainly unfounded. Reid's article, which Speiser refers to repeatedly, contains the information that Herz was originally a music teacher and switched to architecture later on, in order to avail himself of the possibilities opening up in Egypt, so to speak, and joining the long rank of obscure Europeans undertaking jobs for which they were totally unqualified. This is based on a misunderstanding³. Herz never was a music teacher. According to oral information supplied by his grandson, Mr. Paolo Sereni in Naples, Herz liked music in general, as many people do, but that's all; he did not even play an instrument.

In 1880 he did not return to Budapest from Vienna but left with a family for Italy, from where he also accompanied them to Cairo, where the head of the family was the director of the prestigious Hotel du Nile in the Moski.

Herz did not return to Egypt after his retirement and expulsion as an enemy alien at the end of 1914 and after moving to Zurich from Milan in 1915; the brief return to Egypt the author is referring to took place *before* these dates (p. 70). The Herzes spent the summer holidays of 1914 in Italy as usual, and they were there when World War I broke out. In September Herz's beloved son, Géza, died tragically of typhoid fever in Milan, a blow from which Herz never recovered. Some earlier sources supposed that Herz did not return to Egypt after the outbreak of the war. This is not true. At the end of the summer holidays, at the end of October or at the beginning of November, Herz did in fact return to Egypt because he did not know how the new situation would affect his work and position; he was a Hungarian citizen in a country occupied by Britain. Nevertheless he must have had some evil forebodings because he returned Egypt alone leaving his family behind with the relatives of his wife in Milan, although after the death of his son Herz, who is known to have loved his family very much and to whom his family was very important, would have needed the psychological support of his wife and daughters more than ever before. His retirement was decided on November 30 and he left Egypt before the end of the year. He never returned to "his second fatherland".

The Comité extended its activities to encompass monuments of Coptic architecture in 1896, and not only in 1903 (p. 69; cf. p. 52). How far this event can be connected to the personality of Murqus Simayka Pasha, remains an open question; in any case, Simayka did not become

² Carl König: "Heinrich von Ferstel als Lehrer," in: Heinrich Freiherr von Ferstel. Festschrift bei Gelegenheit der feierlichen Enthüllung seines Denkmals im k. k. österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie. Vienna 1884. 43. Franz Freiherr von Krauss: "Die Lehrkanzel der antiken und der Renaissancebaukunst," in: Hofrat Prof. Dr. Joseph Neuwirth (ed.): Die k. k. Technische Hochschule in Wien 1815-1915. Gedenkschrift herausgegeben vom Professorenkollegium. Vienna 1915. 527. Markus Kristan: Carl König 1841-1915. Ein neubarocker Grossstadtarchitekt in Wien. (Wiener Persönlichkeiten, 1). Vienna 1999. 133.

³ Donald Malcolm Reid: "Cultural imperialism and nationalism: the struggle to define and control the heritage of Arab art in Egypt." International Journal of Middle East Studies XXIV (1992) 63. It has been corrected in Reid's recent comprehensive treatment of the subject. See *Id.*: *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, museums, and Egyptian national identity from Napoleon to World War I.* Berkeley - Los Angeles - London. 2002. 213-257, 354 (note 57). The author of these lines hopes to publish a review of Reid's book in the near future.

a member of the Comité until 1906. It cannot be discounted that Simayka, who was an influential factor, was very active behind the scenes, thereby exercising an invisible influence on decisions; this is in fact what he is suggesting in the relevant passages of his unpublished memoirs. However, the exact extent of his influence remains unclear. While there can be no doubt that in general the high standard of the preservation and conservation of Coptic monuments, as well as the flourishing of the Coptic Museum, are forever closely connected to his name as far as later years are concerned, the strictly verifiable facts for the early period of the preservation of Coptic monuments as well as the foundation of the Coptic Museum do not seem to show any connection to him, indeed the foundation of the Coptic Museum was evidently Herz Pasha's idea, in contradistinction to what was later said.

Speiser politely rejects Reid's allegation that Herz, as an exponent of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was keen on preventing the rise of Egyptians, especially that of 'Alī Bahgat, arguing that the conflict between Herz and Bahgat was more of a personal nature (p. 94)⁴. I am convinced he is right. It is true that Herz was a proud Hungarian and similarly a proud Austro-Hungarian, but his work in the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration, the Comité and the Arab Museum cannot be regarded as the result of conscious Austro-Hungarian imperialistic aspirations: after all, it was by mere chance that Herz came to Egypt and then again it was by mere chance again that he met Franz Pasha and accepted his offer to join the Technical Bureau. No doubt later on Austria-Hungary was proud of her son's achievements, but nothing that is known about Herz's activities supports the allegation referred to. As far as his conflict with 'Alī Bahgat is concerned, the following can be known. Already as a subordinate official in the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration, Herz participated in the works of the Arab Museum (the present-day Museum of Islamic Arts). In 1887 Franz Pasha retired from the Waqf Administration and the Comité but remained by his title, nominally, the conservator (director) of the Museum. At the same time he could not have fulfilled the duty of conservator properly, even if he had wanted to, because he spent most of the year in Europe. However, more and more complaints were raised concerning the rapidly declining standard of work in the Museum, and so the Comité came under pressure to solve the situation⁵. Finally a decision was arrived at: it charged its chief architect, Herz, with the direction and supervision of the Museum in its session of 20 April 1892, without, however, officially nominating him director. So work was carried on for years. Then all of a sudden, at the beginning of 1900, 'Alī Bahgat, chief interpreter in the Ministry of Public Instruction, was transferred to the Museum by two high protectors, Ḥusayn Fahrī Pasha and Ya'qūb Artīn Pasha, after his position in the ministry had become intolerable because of personal conflicts with British Under Secretary Douglas Dunlop. The two protectors wanted to nominate him director of the Museum right away, a post to which his earlier experience at the French Archeological Institute may have entitled him. Herz however insisted that if a post of director was to be created at the Museum at all, then he himself should fill it, because he had in effect been in charge of the Museum for eight years. (This latter fact is tacitly left unmentioned by Reid.) Herz may have felt gravely offended by the procedure of Ḥusayn

⁴ Cf. Reid: Cultural imperialism..., 67.

⁵ Achille Patricolo: La conservation des monuments arabes en Égypte. Cairo 1914. 18.

Fahrī Pasha and Yaḳūb Artīn Pasha, who, like a bolt from the blue, wanted to instal an outsider who had had absolutely nothing to do with the Museum before, thereby neglecting Herz's dedicated work and achievements of nearly a decade. It must be mentioned in this context that at the birth of the institutionalized movement of the preservation of monuments of architecture in the 19th century in Europe, the posts of the heads of the national preservation bodies were always filled by the directors of national museums. (It was only later that it was deemed desirable to separate the two posts, as happened also in Egypt after Herz Pasha's retirement.) In the present case, Herz may also have deemed it desirable that the post of the director of the Museum be filled by the chief architect of the Comité – independently of his own person – because the Museum was in fact an ancillary institution of the Comité organically involved in its activities, as had been declared in the viceregal *decreto* of 1881 ordering the foundation of the Comité: objects from monuments which were undergoing restoration or preservation work were deposited in the Museum and also objects deposited in the Museum or their copies were returned to monuments looked after by the Comité. (The Museum had been originally founded much earlier with the aim of halting the large-scale illegal export of *objets d'art* to Europe.) In the end Herz's standpoint prevailed. I think that in view of these facts it is clear that the conflict between Herz Pasha and ʿAlī Bey Bahgat was of a professional and personal nature, and it is wholly unfounded to see Herz at work as the tool of Austro-Hungarian imperialistic aspirations, trying jealously to suppress the rise of native specialists⁶.

In connection with the foundation of the Comité, Speiser mentions a document in the "Archives of the Citadel", a memorandum in French, submitted to the Viceroy in 1881 by representatives of al-Azhar and the Waqf Administration, in which they demanded the foundation of an institution after the model of the "Commission des Monuments Historiques" in France for the protection of monuments of Arab art in Egypt (p. 49)⁷. In a quotation adduced by Speiser the importance of the revival of Arab architecture, instead of foolishly imitating Western art, is also emphasized (p. 49, note 136). Speiser adds that it is not clear how far Europeans participated in the composition of the memorandum. Now, the major part – not all, though – of the quotation Speiser adduces from it in note 136 on page 49 can be found, word for word, in an important article by Gabriel Charmes on Arab art in Egypt published at the beginning of August 1881, in which he deals *in extenso* with the necessity of founding an institution for the protection of monuments of Arab art in Egypt after the model of the French "Commission", giving a detailed description of the main tasks and activities of the future Egyptian institution as well as adding important remarks on its financing⁸. In view

⁶ See also Ormos: Max Herz..., 167 (note 20).

⁷ "Archiv der Zitadelle, ʿAbdīn, al-Qaf, Box 163." It is not clear what Archives exactly this is referring to. To my knowledge, in the Citadel there are only certain parts of the Archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. There are State Archives *below* the Citadel, the so-called *Dār al-Mahfūzāt*. On the other hand, the ʿAbdīn fund mentioned in this reference is to my knowledge kept in the National Archives located on the Corniche of the Nile in Būlāq.

⁸ Gabriel Charmes: "L'art arabe au Caire, I." Journal des Débats du 2 août 1881. This first instalment was followed by two others on the subsequent days.

of this fact there can be no doubt that Charmes did at least participate in the drafting of this memorandum; indeed the possibility cannot be excluded that he wrote it in its entirety and then submitted it to friendly-minded colleagues asking for their support and signatures. It would be interesting to find out how far local Egyptians participated in this undertaking. In general, the idea of professors of al-Azhar and officials in the Waqf Administration submitting a French memorandum to the Khedive on the importance of the revival of Arab architecture – and that at the time of the ‘Urābī-revolt – is at first glance rather strange, though of course cannot be discounted right away. On the other hand, what can be known of this document from Speiser’s work is so much in line with contemporary Western ideas, and especially with the general tenor of Charmes’s article referred to above, that it is probable that he was the author, or at least one of the authors. In any case, this document deserves further study; the possibility that certain local circles did in fact expressly favour such a development is worth a special investigation⁹.

Speiser mentions that in 1887 two minarets collapsed in the city centre causing several casualties. This event induced the Comité immediately to demolish five other minarets in order to avoid further casualties, and in the hope that they could be restored at a later date (p. 68). However, under the reference given by Speiser, one can read that one minaret fell in 1882 and another in 1884; there is no reference to casualties, and the demolition of the five other minarets does not seem to bear any relation to the collapse of the two minarets several years earlier. The fate of minarets is highly interesting in general because of their conspicuousness and their impact on the landscape of the Well-Protected City. It is known that the fragile minarets of the late Mamlūk era suffered a lot, especially in the 19th century, from negligence and the lack of funds, and in general were in a rather bad state. The Tanzīm Department insisted on the demolition of unstable minarets because they presented a menace to public safety, while the Comité was of the opinion that unstable minarets were ugly and insisted on their restoration. Quite a few were then restored but it is not always clear what served as a model for the restoration. So every detail that can shed light on this process is important.

The number of mistakes in the transcription of Arabic words and in the Arabic forms in general is unacceptable for a scholarly work.

As far as the history of the Comité is concerned, this work will not be the last word on the subject. However, it constitutes a most important contribution to the investigation of this special field and the history of Arab architecture in Egypt in general. Perhaps the publisher could be persuaded to bring out an English translation because in its present German version this work will not be accessible to the overwhelming majority of the ever growing number of scholars and students interested in the subject.

István Ormos

⁹ On a similar document cf. *Mercedes Volait*: “Amateurs français et dynamique patrimoniale : aux origines du Comité de conservation des monuments de l’art arabe.” *La France & l’Égypte à l’époque des vice-rois 1805-1882*. *Cahier des Annales islamologiques* 22 (2002) 320-322.

REVIEWS

Sprachatlas von Syrien. II. Volkskundliche Texte. By PETER BEHNSTEDT. (*Semitica Viva*, Hrsg. von Otto Jastrow, 17,2.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000. xv, 661 pp. ISBN 3-447-04330-X.

An excellent supplement to vol. I. (*Kartenband*) is the collection and German translation of texts that formed the basis of that volume. The allophonically transcribed texts are grouped according to the dialectal sub-groups within the country (though it might be questioned whether it is appropriate to take into consideration political boundaries in case of dialects which span across countries, e.g. as in the case of the *Rwala* dialect). An Arabic word index and a thematic index in German provide useful supplements to the texts, introduced by short surveys of the phonological and morphological characteristics of the dialectal sub-groups. The topics of the text naturally offer a wide variety, so it is quite understandable that not all of them seem to fit under the heading *Volkskundliche Texte*, or even if they seem to fit may not always be of sufficient interest for those who read them with an eye on Syrian folklore.

It might also be questioned whether it can be considered relevant for the readers of the volume to see a discussion in French of two pages (duly translated into German) between two young members of the *jeunesse dorée* from among the Christian inhabitants Aleppo. While the author merits to be admired by the reader for the difficulties he undertook to record the dialogue, a two page long discussion containing only 6 words in Arabic cannot in any way be relevant to the study of the Arabic dialects spoken in Syria. A short remark would have been sufficient to draw attention to the general usage of French in certain circles. While the linguistic peculiarities of the dialogue belong to the study of French language.

It is felt that on the whole a shorter selection with somewhat detailed notes would serve the readers more, though the volume in its present form might serve as an excellent starting point for further, in-depth studies on this group of dialects.

K. D.

Der arabische Dialekt von Āzax. By MICHAELA WITTRICH. (*Semitica Viva*, Hrsg. von Otto Jastrow, 25.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001. xxiv, 212 pp. ISBN 3-447-04377-6.

Michaela Wittrich describes in the 25th volume of the outstanding *Semitica Viva* serial the dialect of *Āzax*, a *qaltu* dialect from South-East Anatolia, the speakers of which had almost exclusively emigrated from Turkey. It means that the whole material was collected among Turkish immigrants in Germany during the 1990s and compared with Otto Jastrow's tape records, 1967-72. It is a very important circumstance since these original records could compensate for the usual language merging of the emigrant communities. The book contains the following main parts: after a short introduction there is a not really convincing Part II on phonology (pp. 11-27). Part III (pp. 28-139), morphology, gives a really detailed and abundant description of the formal phenomena of the *Āzax* dialect and consequently this long chapter rightly gives merit to the author and makes the book worth reading. However, one wishes

the author had fixed the nature of her work a little more thoroughly and decided in advance whether she wanted to write a comparative-historic grammar or a descriptive one. In the latter case we had rather the author omitted such assumed historic derivations which had not formed part of her findings anyhow. Nevertheless, these seemingly superfluous historic derivations (and consequently, the lack of interpretation of some really interesting phenomena) cannot completely destroy our pleasure in studying the massive collection of precious data piled up in this long chapter. Part IV (pp. 140-172) is a really brief and insignificant account of the 'syntax' of this dialect. The last part (pp. 173-212) bears the title 'Paradigmen' and its significance cannot be really understood in this book. This kind of paradigms are (not necessarily properly) appreciated mainly by the learners of a language or dialect. But this is not meant to be a textbook or course-book, neither would it be reasonable for anybody to learn to speak this small dialect. Thus, instead of this irrational and excessive use of tables one would have preferred in a scientific description a somewhat more profound linguistic analysis of the verbal system and conjugations. Summing up, Michaela Wittrich presented us a valuable description of a less known Arabic dialect.

I.T.

Der neuostaramäische Dialekt von Särdä:rîd. By HELEN YOUNANSARDAROUD. (*Semitica Viva*, Hrsg. von Otto Jastrow, 26.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001. xxiv, 261 pp. ISBN 3-447-04430-6.

Särdä:rîd is one of the three villages near the regional capital Urmia in North-West Iran where a modern East-Aramaic dialect is, or rather, had been spoken, since most of the Christian inhabitants of these villages fled after the Islamic revolution in 1979. This circumstance increases the significance of Helen Younansardaroud's work, herself a native speaker from the above mentioned village. Preservation is, however, only one of the important aspects of this book. First of all, the fact that the author is a native speaker greatly increases its prestige. Besides, it contains a very interesting chapter and an excursus on the theme of the so called 'synharmonismus', or vocal and consonantal harmony, which formed originally the basis of the book in the form of a dissertation. Since Särdä:rîd is a multilingual community, Assyriac, Armenian and Turkish having been spoken, the description of an Aramaic dialect is interwoven throughout with the analysis of outside linguistic influence. The book consists of three parts, phonology, morphology and syntax, of which the first is the most attractive because of its excursus and the second is the most voluminous (pp. 71-192). We must confess that the third part dealing with syntax is not really profound and seems to be there only for the sake of the completeness of the description as it is far from being a satisfactory syntax, either theoretically or practically. The volume ends with an appendix-like fourth part, the texts (pp. 215-249). All in all Helen Younansardaroud's work means not only a major step towards the better knowledge of Neo-Aramaic but helps understanding the recent development of the Semitic languages in general, thanks to *Semitica Viva* and Harrassowitz.

I.T.

"Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag. Edited by WERNER ARNOLD and HARTMUT BOBZIN. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002. xxii, 876 pp. ISBN 3-447-04491-8.

The sixty studies published in this impressive volume provide an excellent present for the 60th birthday of the outstanding scholar, Otto Jastrow, whose epoch-making studies in the field of Neo-Aramaic languages and Arabic dialectology combined with his editorial skills (e.g. *Semitica Viva*; *ZAL*) have been providing food for thought for numerous researchers in these fields.

The papers in the volume fall broadly into these two territories, while some try to build a bridge between the two (C. Holes: Non-Arabic Semitic elements in the Arabic dialects of eastern Arabia; E. Y. Odisho: The role of aspiration in the transliteration of loanwords in Aramaic and Arabic; Z. Youssef: Die Konstruktion "ʾakalūnī l-barāġītu" in den volkstümlichen Sprichwörtern).

Among the authors who deal with Arabic, A. S. Kaye has chosen to deal with the prevailing problem of diglossia, while other contributors treat specific Arabic dialects: Iraqi Arabic is treated by F. Abu-Haidar, G. Krotkoff, and J. Mansour; Moroccan by J. Aguadé, and P. Behnstedt & M. Benabbou; different Beduin dialects are examined by L. Bettini, and B. Ingham. Various dialects spoken in Egypt at different times, and their different aspects are surveyed by H. Grotzfeld (late 17th-century Cairene Arabic), M. Woidich (al-Qaṣr in the oasis of Dahla), R. de Jong (the Upper-Egyptian dialect of the ʿAbābda), and G. M. Rosenbaum. While A. Geva-Kleinberger provides a valuable insight into the Judaeo-Arabic Dialects of Sudan, M. Piamenta describes fossilized and semi-fossilized verbs in Jerusalem Arabic, J. Rosenhouse analyses the phonetic trends of Arabic dialects of Israel and R. Talmon makes some observations on Palestinian dialects. A. Levin examines the modern Arabic dialect of Aleppo, while other contributions deal with the peripheries of the Arabic dialectal area (U. Seeger: Khorasan; B. Isaksson & A. Lahdo: three border towns between Turkey and Syria; S. Procházka: Adana, and M. Wittrich: Āzax). The somewhat neglected impact of the Berber dialects in Andalusia is the topic of F. Corriente's interesting contribution to the volume (The Berber Adstratum of Andalusian Arabic). A fascinating proposition is made by W. Waldner, who calls for a unified dictionary of Arabic dialects, making an attempt at two radicals (*b-y-n*, *s-n-r*) on the basis of available dictionaries. In his pleasant but at the same time erudite article, H. Palva publishes a 14th-century Arabic manuscript written in Hebrew characters, probably coming from the Old Karaite Synagogue in Cairo, and containing an anecdote about a grammarian and a physician, while M.-R. Hayoun's study presents the Commentary of Moses Narbonis (d. 1362) upon Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān. The articles of A. A. Ambros, W. Diem, W. Fischer, G. Goldenberg, R. G. Khoury, and J. Owens draw our attention to various problems of literary Arabic, while the article by H. Bobzin deals with a great authority in the German orientalist tradition, Theodor Nöldeke.

From among the papers that deal with Neo-Aramaic, a few present general characteristics (O. Kapeliuk: Compound Verbs in Neo-Aramaic; M. Tosco, Aspiration and emphasis in Eastern Neo-Aramaic), while the majority describe specific dialects (W. Arnold: Maʿlūla; K. Beyer: Hatra; S. E. Fox: Bohtan; W. Heinrichs: Senāya; S. Hopkins: Kerend; G. Khan: Rustaqa; H.

Mutzafi: Aradhin; S. Talay: Mlaḥsō; S. Weninger: Ṭuroyo; H. Younansardaroud: Sārdā:rid). K. Kessler examines a problematic passage of the Nabonid-Chronicle; M. Krebernik presents an Aramaic text written in Greek script; H. Murre-van den Berg writes about a Neo-Aramaic Genesis translation, and B. Poizat publishes the complaint of Mar Hnanisho about the penitence. The article of Y. Sabar provides an insight into the changes that occurred in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Zakho between 1870 and ca. 1950, on the basis of a text transcribed first by Albert Socin and now by the author.

A few articles pay tribute to O. Jastrow's role in Yemeni dialectology, one treating the Arabic dialect of Yafī' (M. Vanhove) and two treating the South-Arabic Mehri dialect spoken in Yemen and Oman (A. Sima and M.-C. Simeone-Senelle). Another Semitic language, Classical Ethiopic is being dealt with by H. Stroomer who publishes magic parchment strolls written in Ge'ez; while W. Wagner deals with the function of the accusative morpheme *-w* in Harari; a typology of the gender of Semitic numerals is offered by E. Ternes; and the article of A. Zaborski on the "Interplay of Tense, Aspect and Aktionsart in Semitic Languages" gives the volume a befitting ending.

The editors can only be praised for bringing together these studies in one elegantly produced volume.

K.D.