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

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BUDAPEST, 1996
To the Memory of Professor

*Károly Czeglédy*

(1914-1996)

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

*Proverbs 3.13*
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The present volume is the second and last part of the Proceedings of the Colloquium held at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest between 18-22 September 1995. The Colloquium, which was devoted to the logos, ethos and mythos of the Middle East and North Africa, both ancient and contemporary, attracted, because of its diversity, scholars from different parts of the world, whose interests in the area cover a wide scope of subjects and disciplines.

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

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

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

Budapest, 21 December 1996

The Editors
In a previous paper I tried to show the close connection between practices of bowl divination as described in the Greek magical papyri and recipes of similar contents offered by modern Arabic magical literature\(^1\). I also referred passingly to the evident Şūfi colouring in the description of the “banquet of the spirits”, the main scene in the divinatory operation which presented the familiar requisites of Şūfi feasts with processional flags and scenes of gatherings for common meals.

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

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

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

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\(^1\) See Fodor 1994:96, n. 49.
degeneration or deviation which characterizes the later developments of Ṣūfism. So, Winter says that by aš-Šārānī’s time Ṣūfis became the main exponents of the occult sciences, although the famous Ṣūfī sheikh disapproved of this practice (Winter 1982: 173-176). Arberry speaks about an “age of decline” when “charms and amulets came to acquire a special value” (Arberry 1972:120f).

Lings stresses the point that the devotion to jugglery and sorcery represented the deviation of only a few among the Ṣūfis. Whatever the exact numerical proportion of those Ṣūfis who practice magic may be presently, we have different proofs about their constant interest in the problem. Among the sources which show the Ṣūfī involvement in magic mention must be made of their own publications which never miss to condemn these practices. The common view of “official” Ṣūfism can be summarized in the following: the use of invocations (ruqya) is allowed when they contain only passages from the Book of God, His Names, His attributes or anything else which is intelligible and uttered in Arabic language. Another important condition for the employment of these licit ruqyas is that the invoker must firmly believe that the efficacy of the incantation is due to God’s will alone. Accordingly, the strange words, artificially created expressions, imaginary spells and repulsive fumigations (kalimāt ġariba, al-fāz mustanā’ā, ‘aza’īm mūhaba, bukhi‘āt muna‘īfā) are strictly forbidden. Neither is it permitted to make a living on this kind of activity.

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

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

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

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

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

3 aš-Šādīlī, 1987:54. Lawful incantations are legalized by claiming that they heal the soul (ibid., 56). For similar views, see Aḥṣādīyya, 67ff. The custom of eating glass or snakes is rejected together with other arts of jugglery on the basis that neither did the Prophet practice them, nor are they useful: aš-Šādīlī, 1987: 58ff. The popularity of magic among Iraqi Ṣūfis and its severe criticism are well demonstrated by al-Kasanzānī (Ṭarāwuf, 290-298) who gives detailed descriptions of the magical operations in use.
that; he is responsible for what he does and the consequence is on him; for the 
*tariq* is free from that."

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

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

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

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4 See at-Ṭūḥī, *Wilāya* 54ff where he speaks about dream visions in which Naqṣabandi sheikhs appeared to him. See also Fodor 1994:76.
it be] the clothing, the body and the place. [There should be] abstinence from the people unless it is necessary. [There should be] accuracy in the soundness of the number during the recitation. Do not add and do not reduce, otherwise a disorder will take place and the operation will be futile."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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5 For the riyaḍa, see e.g. aš-Šarqāwi, Muğam 163f. See also Doutté 1908:96ff.
6 On the importance of niyya, see e.g. Massignon 1954:186.
7 For a riyaḍa of 21 days, see e.g. aš-Tūhī, Sihr al-kullhān 24.
8 See e.g. aš-Tūhī, as-Sihr al-aṣghīr II, 16.
And you should write the following damāʾır of the invocation in a bowl with musk, amber, saffron at sunrise and you should wipe it off with rose water. If you wish to drink, you should drink from this water during daytime. You should also write the damāʾır of the invocation once more at sunset and you should drink from it during the night. [The practice is supposed to be continued] during each day of the service [let it be] the riyāḍa [or] the ḥalwa. The necessary damāʾır of the invocation are as follows: ABRYḡ, ṬRYḡ, MSTDḡ, HYḠYḡ, ḤYḡ, ṬHRYḡ, ṢḠZ, ḤḠZ, ṢḡḡZ. You should recite the invocation after each prayer 21 times, while incense is fumigated. This should be [mixed] from black raisin, root of the mandrake, poppy-seed, lettuce-seed, styryx, [Lebanese] frankincense, and Turkish mastic.

These damāʾır (sing. damāʾir) which here appear as magical names representing the substance of spirits to be adjured can obviously be identified as the familiar technical term for “pronom” used in linguistics but taken over by the Sūfīs in the sense of “le moi conscient de l’homme” (Massignon 1954:40). The recitation of the magical names represents a constant part of the conjurations and some recipes call this wiqr in imitation of the Sūfī practice of reciting daily offices (at-Ṭūḥi, as-Sihr al-ʿāqib II, 42).

According to our prescription a direct encounter can take place between the practitioner and the spirits at the peak of the continuous invocations during the ḥalwa. Other recipes describe the scene in a detailed way, emphasizing the occurrence of the following elements9: The appearance of the light frequently indicates the arrival of the spirit or spirits who exchange greetings with the magician, ask about his wish to be fulfilled, and conclude a pact (ḥabd) with him. This pact which may oblige the practitioner to accept several conditions (like the promise not to use the spirits in actions of disobedience towards God), resembles very much the traditional pact concluded between the Sūfī sheikh (murṣid) and his disciple (murīd) as an important rite in the latter’s initiation ceremony.10

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

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

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9 In the original text: آصول البوارج which has no sense here.

10 See e.g. at-Ṭūḥi, as-Sihr al-ʿāqib II, 17f.

11 For this, see e.g. Gilsenan 1973:239f.
Thessalus in his letter relates that he failed when he wanted to use the recipes of the famous magician, Nechepsos. In his search to discover the cause of his failure, he went to Thebes to speak to the priests. One of them was ready to help Thessalus in arranging an encounter with a god. Upon the priest’s order the physician fasted for three days then went to the priest at the dawn of the third day. The priest prepared a chamber for him which was to serve as the place for consulting the deity. He seated Thessalus in front of a throne then, in compliance with Thessalus’ wish invoked Asclepius with the help of mysterious names and finally left Thessalus alone. After this preparation Asclepius really appeared in a beautiful form, greeted Thessalus, inquired about his wish and upon his request revealed the cause of the failure with the magical recipes. At the end Asclepius promised Thessalus that soon people would greet him also as a god.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 PGM III, 411f; Betz 1992:29. For the importance of barley, see RE 7, 1281-1284.
room, without light (PDM XIV, 150; Betz 1992:204), the Eastern section of the village, the city or the house (PGM IV, 58f; Betz 1992:38), or even a tent (PGM XIII, 99f; Betz 1992:175)] is always a separate place like the balneum with occasional indications to its orientation [to the South (PDM XIV, 119; Betz 1992:202), to the West (PGM XIII, 8; Betz 1992:172) or to the East (PGM XII, 212, Betz 1992:161)].

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

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

As we have seen, the Arabic magical prescriptions are usually content with speaking about the encounter with the spirits and seem not to go as far as alluding to the realization of a union between the practitioner and the invoked spirit. This cautious attitude is quite understandable since any attempt to hint at such a possibility would probably expose him to charges even more serious than those of illicit magic. Among the many accusations levelled against Sūfis, the practice of union with God (ittihād) has proved to be the most dangerous, which the partisans of Sūfism have always tried to repel by every possible means\(^ {16} \).

In spite of all this precaution and readiness of the magicians to censor themselves, we can still find recipes with prescriptions implying the union between the conjurer and the conjured. In a spell the "servants" of certain letters are invoked to go to a person in the magician’s "image" (mišāl) and "capacity" (ṣifā) (at-Tūhī, Sihr al-kubbān 8). The spirit may also be called to enter the magician’s "shape" (hay’a) (ibid., 29) or "figure" (sūra) (ibid., 23).

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

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

\(^ {15} \) PGM VIII, 49f; Betz 1992:146. See also PGM XIII, 795; Betz 1992:191.

\(^ {16} \) See e.g. aš-Šarqāwī, Muṣḥam 25f, 59, 227.
union with God with the help of theurgy (Dodds 1951:287, 291; Eitrem 1942:50). In the case of Neoplatonists this meant that popular magical practices coexisted with high philosophical ideas (Dodds 1951:282; Wallis 1972:2f). The connecting link between the two was the jointly shared fiction of the law of sympathy governing the whole universe (ibid., 70, 107).

Some of the philosophers also advised fasting and abstinence from “animated” things to reach the state of purity as a preparation for the union with God (Porphyry, De Abstinencia 44.2, 49.2, 34.3). Some of them were reluctant to turn to theurgic practices to realise their sublime goal, but others were willing to profit from the magical techniques (Luck 1989:204). So, Proclus was also well-known as a magician, who practiced divination, could bring about rain or avert earthquakes.

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

In other words, this is to say that the position of magic in Şulfism reflects a situation rooted in Greco-Egyptian spiritual life. Research has accepted Şulfism as the result of an inner development within Islam and has admitted the influx of outer influences, like that of Neoplatonism as secondary only and rather late.17

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

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

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18 See e.g. Massignon 1954:73-81.
occult sciences. He also produced miracles (karaṃāt)\(^{19}\). In fact, his different preoccupations were in perfect harmony with the idea dominating the first centuries A.D. which looked upon magic, philosophy and wonder working as essentially similar\(^{20}\). In conclusion we may emphasize again that the spiritual background behind this idea has manifested itself in Şūfī magic and its practitioners. The dimensions of the influence of Greco-Egyptian magic are well illustrated by the fact that Jewish mystical and magical literature of the period reflects the same characteristics as we have seen both in the Greek magical papyri and in the Arabic magical literature\(^{21}\).

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*PDM = Demotic Magical Papyri. = Betz 1992.*


B. Secondary sources


\(^{19}\) On Dū-n-Nūn, see Ibn al-Qīfī, *Ṭārīḥ* 185; Nicholson 1906:322ff.

\(^{20}\) For this, see Segal 1981:362.

\(^{21}\) For this Jewish connection, see Lesses 1996:60.
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IBN DANIYAL’S SHADOW PLAYS, AN EXAMPLE OF CULTURAL TOLERANCE IN THE EARLY MAMLUK AGES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 For the hadīt where the Prophet mentions the games see, Ibn Ḥaḍār al-'Asqalānī, Fath XIII, 334-336 and VI, 150 b 31-33; Ibn an-Naḥḥās, Maḥārīr I, 448.
Ibn Dāniyāl’s shadow plays stand on the side of the tolerant and open-minded approach. The choice of using the shadow play as a means to represent the comedy of life reveals the philosophical ideals of the author. He believes, like the mu'tazilites, in the freedom of human action. Furthermore as Ibn al-Fārid had explained, Ibn Dāniyāl’s shadow plays affirm that God is like the puppeteer who moves in good and evil the destiny of the marionettes which act freely in the earth scene until the final act when they repent to rejoin their God (Ibn al-Fārid, Tā’rīḫa 68).

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

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

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

The festival is an extraordinary moment of general catharsis. Even if ideologically it recalls a new edition of an older myth of the origins, or to a legend or to the foundation of a new worship, it always celebrates a renewal. In Egypt there were many festivals, some of them were directly linked to the natural season cycles, like
the festival of *Nayrūz* and *Mihriğân* (spring and autumn), or the *Hālīğ*, at the breaking of the water canal that watered the land. Other celebrations took place on the occasion of religious anniversaries, of Muslims, Christians and Jews, and also at the departure for a military campaign. The abundance and display ostentated in these occasions were considered to be propitiatory of a long period of prosperity. These extraordinary events served to renew the dream of the time of the rebirth, when the regenerated nature banishes all the sufferings from the daily miseries of life. The collective rejoicing of the amusements removed the pains and the feeling of loneliness; the individual drew the source of satisfaction and reassurance from this communicative and participant sociality⁴. The entertainment techniques like dance, music, games, mimes and jests, provoked the very much needed evasion. The festival is not the symbol of an escape but one of transformation and of preservation. The reversal of the established order, which takes place during the feast time confirms the immutability of the existing order. It makes it more acceptable. From this temporary reversal people could also draw the needed energy to face the daily struggles for survival, and in this sense it performed a regenerating function⁴. Life conditions were in fact very hard for the poor in a time ravaged by war, the plague and famine and the rivalries among the Mamlûk clans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ al-Maqrîzî, Hitat tr. 609-611, 194-196; Wildung 1989:57.
way with his huge proboscis while Mubarak al-Fayyāl sings. Then Abū l-Ağāb (the cat tamer) appears with his golden ram, he makes a sign to the ram and he moves the bows of his horns; then he orders him to stand up on two feet and to show him a legitimate child; he helps him mounting on few wooden pieces, and on a chair; then he sings exposing his request: “In vain I’ve transmitted my teachings to a ram who became my zodiacal sign, though I ignored the stars but the ram is wiser than he who doesn’t understand the teachings”. He goes away with his handful (of money) followed by the ram. Abū l-Qittāt comes out with the mouse and a basket, he makes a sign to the cat and sings a poem: “I made a virtuous one whose nature was degenerated and I subdued the stubborn I had put cats and mice together until love and friendship among them were sure”. Then he says: Numayr (little tiger) mount on the circle and be careful don’t bite al-Fa’ra (little mouse). Oh Sammūr the caudate get out and follow him. Oh Sinān the blazing take the red fur, and you take the yellow one, and you oh Summān the quail of the field attack Singāb (squirrel) on the wall; and you Ṭaliq (saxicola) jump on his back, and you Abū l-Qurān (father of the rat) bite him on the back! (he goes out) Za’bar al-Kalbi and his friends appear, the puppies and the dogs, he sits down and sings (mutaqārib metre): “I have learned from their nature I have no friend as faithful as them they are patient, they watch over the house, and defend me from the friend in the quarrel he keeps an eye on me when I sleep in the desert and protects me from the wilderness of the wolves they are dogs but better than certain people that go around dressed”. (he goes out)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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7 Corrao 1990:203-210; Hopwood & Badawi 1992:100-104, Abū l-Urf  Şaḇbah, the one of the morning crest.
towers, and with his two horns he breaks into pieces the bastion of Gog and Magog! The red that is in the air is the twilight of the glory, is the sign that the stars are hiding; with him I have tried to win seriously, I didn't put grease on his horns. Call an arbiter so that he can fulfil his duty. The messenger calls: "Oh arbiter Zayhūn!" And he answers: "To God we belong and to him we return, after the fight we go back to fight, we come from the boredom of laziness, as if in the fight we bore a feather. Give, my lord, where is your bet? When a man goes through a trial he shows whether he is noble or miserable! Few words, each horn recognizes his pair "who sifles doesn't hide his bear"8, who among you faces this challenge and kills this small yellow gazelle? And who wins exclaims "Oh arbiter, for him I had wished the victory!" Mutayyam appears and says: "Oh arbiter of the arbiters, this young has shown me a ram from Bašmūr9, famous for his attack, he has not a big size, he knocks down with his horns the mountains, he is a demon!" The people have assembled, the games are over, the hit makes a great noise, and the bet is compulsory! Then he puts himself in between the two, Wahšī and Abū ǧīn standing still, then the rams fight. The two rams clash as the marionettes used to do in this field. Yatīm's ram is defeated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 al-Maqrizi, Hitet French transl. 194-196; Lengherend 1861:182; Palerme 1971:102; Leone Africano MS fl. 42v-43r, 91v-92v; Della Valle 1843 I, 174; Mantegazza 1616:90-111; Castela's travel to Cairo was
The artists came from everywhere to entertain the people during the days of the festivals; the mingling crowds led to lascivious behaviour which sometimes degenerated into obscenities, to the much disgust of some Arab and European travellers. The verses of an anonymous poet quoted by Yaqūt say:

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

Palerne explained:

Je ne veux point mettre ici quantité des bouffoneries libertines qui se représentent dans leur festes publiques, et qui ne sont pas moins digne de détestation que d'oubly.

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

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

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

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12 Yaqūt, Muṣḥam V, 141; Ibn al-Faqīh, Buldān V, 75; Palerne 1971:75-83.
13 Wild 1973:235, 281-282; on street comedy see Moreh 1992; on women see Corrao forthcoming; ar-Rāziq 1973:75-76; Lane 1846:42; Kahle 1950:11-15, 100; Corrao 1990:76-77.
Fustat quarter had a bad reputation, as is witnessed by al-Muqaddasi: “(there) men never stop drinking wine and women don’t cease making adultery, the Şayh is drunk and the woman has two husbands (the schools have two different factions) and the language is obscene.”14

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

In my group there is the one who cuts his bones, the arrogant, the quarrelsome, the cholerical and the one who pushes with violence  the profiteer, the submissive and the robber, the coarse and the stingy, the whores, the foolish, and the doped  the coward, the impudent, the stinking  the thief of the houses and of the slim beardless. To share the resting place for them is not an obstacle  when I sleep my bed is the oven’s hot ash, and the bowl is under my cheek  I warm myself with the fire until my body is stained like a leopard. This happens when the situation worsens, the money disappears, the mind falls sick, the gold vanishes, the motivation dies away, the silver is stolen, the recovery blocked. We put aside the decency, we have gathered the public in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, and for us things which were similar become the same. I have claimed false petitions, I have pretended to know the chemistry, and from time to time I have revealed spells and white magic, and other times talismans and adjurations. Sometime I write on the remnants liquid of a vase, because the water of the well has disappeared; I pretend to judge the king of the demons, and I invoke Miṣârūn and al-Šaysûbân, then I exalt myself like a mad man and I produce foam with soap and pull it out from my mouth. I have often declared to be blind and I have glued my eyelids with the chewing-gum. I have blown up my muscles playing dirîyâs, and I have produced tears with the soap-root because I am a failure. Oh ra’is ‘Ali, I have revealed these secrets only because the drunkenness had the upper hand in my mind, and in my head I have a melody that has to be sung, for the life of your neck that is heavy to bear like the shit in the belly.15

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14 Yaqût, Mu’jam al-taṣawwuf; Mu’jam V, 141; cf. al-Muqaddasi, Taṣawwuf 200; Ibn al-Faqîh, Buldan 69, 75; Ibn al-Hâjî, Madâr al-taṣawwuf, 61, 1; 17-18, 46, 52, 57, 297; as-Subki, Mu’id 199-200; al-Maqrizi, Hitâj tr. 182; and Wild 1973:335, 278, 281-282. On wine and alcoholic drinks see an-Nawâqî, Ḥalba cap. X, ms. Vatican V. 311, 469. Ibn Dânîyâl here mentions the persecutions against drunkard and Christian hosts ordered by Sultan Baybars. See also al-Maqrizi, Hitâj, 1, 363.

15 de Savary 1628:263-265; In Hopwood & Badawi 1992 (= c) we find some words taken from a different manuscript than the one I have used; I have chosen the following words because they also correspond to the qaṣida of the Banû Sâsân edited by Bosworth 1976. In b. (Escorial ms.) ra’zâkâhî, in a. (Afâb Taymûr 16) raqkhâwî, quarrelsome, while in c. is zâbâdî; in a. and b. ar-rażmâdî, cholerical, in c. is zarandî; in a. and b. kadhikân the one who pushes with violence, in c. is kwâkî; in a. and b. baṣnî, profiteer, in c. is hâfânân; in a. and b. qâdâhî, submissive; in a. is baṣbâsî in b. baṣbân, maybe from the Arabic robber, in c. is baṣârî; in a. and b. mufakkar foolish; in a. and b. qâmî cannabis, maybe it means “doped”; in a. and b. ma’dân impudent, rather than maqamî, as in c.; in a. and b. qamandî stinking; in a. naftâl while in b. barâl, Imâdâ follows the first (Hitâj 188), and Jacob (1910:12) the second, but it is meaningless, like in a. in Persian means thief; in a. kadhî is house, while in b. kamad is meaningless. As for sammaqîn alqâî like in a. or sammaqîn al-qâî like in b. I would read as earlier, sammaqîn al-hîf. As for those sleeping in the ashes Jacob writes that at the beginning of this century in Turkey the kulbars
The lower part of the body, the area of the genital organs, is the part that fecundates and procreates and the metaphorical use of this terminology confirms the link between death and rebirth, fertility and renewal. At the time of Ibn Dāniyāl this creative approach was not considered to be vulgar. In the gestures of the buffoons and the charlatans, like in the remarks of Ibn Dāniyāl's characters there is neither cynism nor roughness. All the metaphors, both words and gestures, of this kind are part of a unitary conception of the world as a continuous and contradictory becoming. This unity is represented by the burlesque drama of the death of the old and, at the same time, the birth of the new. It would lead us astray to interpret and to judge the elements of these buffoonery of the market place and of the play, according to their actual meaning, namely to take them away from their historical context. If these elements lose their direct reference to the life-death cycle, they would be transformed into vulgar cynism as a result of their loss of ambiguity. But at the time of Ibn Dāniyāl the popular culture of laughter, which had been formed throughout the centuries and kept in the non-official forms of art, had arisen to the peak of the noble literature and had regenerated it. The radical freedom of the comic culture could be partly explained as opposed to the excessive seriousness of the official religious culture, from where it was banned, and as a result of the internal instability of the regime. The political power was not yet firmly consolidated and therefore it was relatively tolerant towards the masses and their beliefs.

Ibn Dāniyāl in his second bābā introduces characters that represent different religious beliefs; we have so far introduced the acrobats, but they are followed by the men of knowledge, like Ḥunayn, the dealer of the antidote against the snakes, then ʿUsayla who prepares the electuary and Miqdām al-Mawwās, the surgeon. The most interesting characters, as to the subject of the cultural tolerance, are the magicians, like Hilal al-Munāγgīm, and the enchanters, whose tricks do not accord with Islamic principles. Hassāna al-Mawzūn, as an example “changes the dust into wheat and the cedar into a goose”.

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

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(vagabonds) used to sleep by the public bath on a bed of ashes. Also Karagöz is called with the same name (Jacob 1910b:7). Jacob (1910c) translates hanṣama jester, but it is banṣama, from the Persian as in the Qasida Sāsānīya by Ṣafī (Bosworth II, 295, v.5, 304, n.5). Starting from this point in a. and b. the character uses the singular and not the plural as in c. To Miṭṭārūn is dedicated a chapter of al-Būnī's Šams 136-137; he is the king of the spirits. The name is transliterated from the Greek metābrōνου – close to the throne of the Lord – he is the angel Mihāʾīl. The name is used as a magic formula, here it appears together with ʿāš-Sayṣūbān, one of the names of the devil, see Doutté 1984:136. Miṭṭārūn is also quoted by al-Masʿūdī, as the little lord invoked by the Hebrews on the day of Kippur (al-Masʿūdī, Mūrīq II, 802, French transl. II, 303). Diriyās, from the Persian, is a sort of betting, it consists of throwing nine stones.
I swear against you, community of devils, demons, Iblis, and rebel angels of the damned Ṣayḥ Abū Murra's ranks. If you are Jews: Hiyāʾ, evil, hiyāʾ! If you are Christians: For the truth, oh Šīn if you are inauspicious go away, hiyāʾ. If you are Zoroastrians then: For the light, the fire, the shadow and the hot wind! If you are Muslims: I swear upon the Qurʾān, thank to the benediction of Ṭāḥā, Ya Šīn!16

At the end of the procession a curious personage appears, Ġammār Maṣāʾīlī al-Maḥmāl, the torch holder, who escorts the mahmal procession at its departure to the Mecca pilgrimage. He is an emblematic type who introduces himself as a fire worshipper, hinting, by saying so, to a possible Zoroastrian origin; but he confuses the listener because soon after he declares to be Muslim and invokes the name of ʿAlī; but at the following remark he prays for the Virgin Mary and all the Apostles; and in the end he concludes with the exaltation of the Torah and of the families of Jacob and Israel.17

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

Many sources witness that in Egypt the festivals of different religious communities were jointly celebrated. This is also confirmed by Ibn Taymiyya's and Ibn al-Haqq's criticism of the Muslims who took part in them and by the remarks of the protagonists of the shadow play. They show a picture of a mass of different religions, which at the time in Egypt were various and articulated. The immigrants brought new elements, which stimulated the showing of alternative religious syncretism.18 They were the refugees escaped from the Mongol invasion, the victims of the Age, like the protagonists of Ibn Dāniyāl's plays, among them were Muslims, Zoroastrians, Mazdeans, Christians and Jews. According to the stereotypes of the slum-dwellers,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The prince Wısal, the Mamlûk protagonist of the first bab shows his tolerance, but at the same time soliciting him says:

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

Tolerance and the freedom of thought and speech did not last too long. The opinions of the ’ulama’ were often contrasting and there did not exist a particular institution that could prosecute the illicit, like the Sacred Roman Rota. If a Şayh like Ibn Taymiyya or Ibn al-Haqq issued a fatwa, condemning somebody accused of immoral conduct, it was not taken for granted that the military power would execute it. To give an example a renowned mystic friend of the Sultan Baybars, the Şayh Hadir al-Mihrañi19, was accused of peculation, fornication and sodomy, and the fatwa against him was immediately executed, because it had been issued on the Emirs’ request. While a similar condemnation, against the Şayh al-Hariri (d. 1247/8) was never taken into consideration because the Emirs protected him.

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

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

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يا طالع الشجرة
ترجمة إلى المعبرة "حتحور" سيدة شجرة الجميز
صابر العادلي
ودابسط

ثمة أغنية الأطفال المصريه وهم منغمون في ايقاف حركه يبدو مألوفا، منتظمًا، متعارفا عليه وتبدو كلمات الأغنية تقول بأن كل الأطفال التي يؤديها الأطفال غايته في البساطة غنية بالخيال وعليها كمسرحي يترنم في الرمزية
هات لي معاك بقرا
بال潵رية الصماني
يا مين يربطني
المعطية للكسر
دخلت رسول الله
بخير
وجه في حماي أخضر بارتشني أنا دقت له (عمران 1983:31).
و جاء يوم طيرت فيه الافاق ذكر "يا طالع الشجرة" بين المثقفين والأدباء وغيرهم من المهتمين الذين لم يبتغوا بها. ولكن لتصبح "يا حسن الشجرة" ويا للعجب شاهدا على تضمن المثير الشعبي المصري لـ"لامعقول".
والحكاية أن مصر شهدت حملة تثقيفية غايتها التعريف بالمسرح العالمي المعزول آنذاك. أي في أوائل السنتينيات. وقد تركز الاهتمام على الاتجاهات والمدارس التي انتشرت بالحدثة إذ ذاك مثلا: المسرح، والمغربي، واللازمي، وغيره. وقد شارك الممزر من أدباء مصر ومنكمها، وصولاً إلى أبن أمه في ذلك الهندسة المسرحية والمبحري في تلك "الزهوجة" عبر القوانين التقليدية مثل الإذاعة والتلفزيون وتنظيم المعارضات والأدوات وبالنشر أيضا.
ولقد بلغت الوسيلة إياها دناها بإصدار توجيه الحكيم "يا حسن الشجرة"، والعروض أن الحكيم كان مهموماً بيها هذه الفترة. بل ومن قبلها معظم من الأدباء على الأقل بقضيته بالبحث عن القلاب، أي الشكل المسرحي الم воп لمسرح مصري معزول، بقصد تأسيس النمو المسرحي في الثقافة المصرية المعزولة. وبالطبع ما كان نتاجه مثل هذا أن يغلق رواج التأثير الشعبي المصري إلى أن كان عام 1921 حيث كانت محاولة أخرى لربط بعض ملامحنا الشعبيه القديمة بأحداث ماظهره الفن المعزول في "يا حسن الشجرة" وكان تتناول فيها هل تستطيع أن تблок بأحدث اتجاهات الفن العالمي عن طريق فننا hưởng التأثير الشعبي (الحكيم:1921:100).
والآن وقد مضى على الوقائع السالفة ما يزيد على ثلاثين عاماً، واستمر على ساحتي الأدب الرسمي والتأثير الشعبي ما استمر، وبما لف النسيان قضيه بمرورها، فالحق أقول إنني ومن يومها بث وفي تفشي شيء من "يا حسن الشجرة"، ذلك أنه صعب على ما لم يستحل القبول أو الاكتشاف بما ذهب إليه الحكيم عند استناظه للنص واتخاذه开放式 لامعقول المسرحي، ومن يومها كان يعودني الهاجس بأن رواه الأكمة ما وراءه. أن القضية ليست قضية العقول واللامعقول (بارة فوق الشجرة) ولا حتى عصفورة كما حاول المؤلف الشعبي المجهول في تنوعه

يا حسن الشجرة
وسبع شتقات

1 هذه الأغنية مخالفة لحجة بالشجرة يبدا من الشجرة.
في العشرات وتقطن
والمسكر
واقف طاير
(عمران 48:1983)
أظن أنه أصبح في مقدوري أن أقدم التفسير الحقيقي للنص مدعوًا بأذالته لاعتبارةها. وأشذده هنا على أنني لا أتراع أبداً حقاً في استلبيع الأثر التعبيري ولا نمط لناني ولا جمل في بعض نواحي المحكمة. ولكننا نرى أنه لم تلزم علينا التشبيهة إلى المختار الناجم عن ذلك المنحنى الأثري، نحن نقصد المجرماً بالذنوب والطيب والذكاء استلبيهما للسورة، مما يؤدي إلى أن يكون البكاء ماجراً للطلاقة والصاحبة، مما يوجه مسيرة البحث نحو خاتمة وإن لم يصر النظر عنها استهانة. إن أغرته في غالب الشجرة - فيما تركى - ما إن تغيص باحث الرفيق، تسعداً بعديرة تستخر magna في وجبان المصريين مما قبل الأسرة، وتعني أود عقدة الآلهة "تحصر"، ؛الأم الكبرى مرضعة الإله "حوروس"، وكل الفراعين في الحياة والممات وسيدة شجرة الجماع. وفي نفس المير، تفضل عن تقدير المصريين القدماء والمصابرين للأشجار، والأنثدام كما مثير في الوقت النصي، يوسف عن تقدير المصريين القدماء والمصابرين للأشجار، والأنثدام كما مثير.

ولكن التعبير النافع في "medium" الذي يمكن عقيدة وثنياً من الاستمرار مع عقيدة عارمة القوة سارية التوحيد، نقصد الصرامة essays إذا قدر لنا في ذلك أي نجاح فإننا تكون قد أبقتنا ببعض الضوء على دور الفككلور في تأثیر الاستمرار لمقاتلة مرغ نشأتها رمان طويل ولم تعلم مقاتلة جديد للإقتراح أو طبكة، لأن معاداة كافئة والتي في الأصول التي أبدتها عنها.

لكن هذا لا يعني أن نكتشف عن بعض من آليات الاستجابة لدى المصريين خلال عمليات التثقف والتغيير الثقافي. وتكون في مقدورنا تفسير الواقع الجماعي المصري الباهي للشراب، التقط، المبروك، والديو وتسميعها وعلاقتها، والنهائية، ستراباً للقراءة في جماليات النص، ونستعرض ظاهرها الفرح والشام، موجز إلى حد الأسر الإساس، إن النص يتغيني بشرجة ويستمر على اسمها، اعتذاراً أو مهابة أو أن الجماعة تعبر هوية الشجرة. وقد يكون السبب أسوأ لمعاني الأداء، ونستعرض تطور القمر ما ينطوي على الشجرة من عدم التعبير، وكل ثلاثة تمثل وتمثل في مرحلة هامة وطويلة من التطور الإنساني آمناً للإنسان بالمعنى الحقيقي والمجازي.

في هذا المقام لا نريد تقسيم العلاقة التي تنفصص بين الإنسان والأشجار فذلك أمر تتوه به الموهوب، لكتنا نريد هنا تحديد بعض الأطر لهذه العلاقة، خاصة الدور الموهوب الذي تلعبه الأشجار في حياة الإنسان، وحريته في أفكاره وتصوراته، حين أن جمعية، يصرفها معه في إتقان وقطعاته معنا الشعوب، يحمل من بقايا تقدير الأشجار، صناعة مما يحتويه صناعون، ويكبار عند التغريب على شجرة،apple بأعتبره قاطعين: إنها تنسجها تبكي؛ أن يقيد نصاً. وما من مختبر غير مجراً لا ينتمي بأن حرق الأشياء حرام، وحتى احتساب بعض أنواع الشجر حرام، وذلك بدراسه - وهو ليس من العادة بالتأكيد - فقد رد فيهما يحكم على بعض ضيافاته المستغبرين خلية من الأزهر قائل: "إن أحب الأطفال أيضاً لكنه لم أقدر رأس طفل لأردن بها بيتي".

ولكن جديري بالتحلي في بعض الشروط الإقليمية عندما تسوي مسواة على أفرع الشجرة، حتى أن المتكافئ، ثم يجمعون عظامها ويملونها في لحاء الشجرة، ويعملونها على أكوابها تنزل منه إلى مراكبها على أفرع الشجر وتترك تحت تبلي. (فريدير severely: الفككلور، ج. 2 ص. 131)، لا يبدو لنا إنهم يميلون ميهم من جديد إلى الأم الأم! لقد رأى الإنسان في الأشجار العديد من متواريات الاستمرار والخلوة، فهي الزمان العائم المتكرر الجمالي، زمن الفصول والأشجار تحتوي الدماء والسهر، تعرف البحث والتعلم، يعتبر كاهناً وقائماً مثير جلدها كل عام، تدب فيها الحياة بعد موت الشتاء، حبيه ومزهرة يجري فيها نفس الحياة وتشكل المتمايلات الخالدة: البذرة — الثمرة.
الأشجار هي تقاوم شواغل الورقة، وتأطر طيورها بعرق الفضة والحناء، وموعود عودة الطيور المهاجرة، ومن تنبيه الأشجار وتهذيب العواصف وبطيط المطر وتفييض الأنهار بالسياحة.

١٠ سيباس مزروع جزء ماجور
١٠ سيباس مزروع في جنينة
(من الكبايات المصرية - جمع فني عبد العلم)

ويجلب مفهوم أزمة الأشجار أيضاً في الرواية الترويجية والتي لم يغفل القرآن تناولها، القصة التي تسعى جادة لتفصيل سر الفناء الإنساني وتفكك، توفر الرواية الإنسانية وتشكل فيها. إن قيمتها الرواية الترويجية ليست في قصاستها، ولكلها كتارية، بل لديها نوعية وتفاسب العامة الواضحة.

والرقم فيهم المعلم لائي الشعبين الانتقاد، بأن ستر العورة في ألف مرة الأولى كان بأوراق

التين، وفي الشمال الإفريقي كلما ما يزال يوجد الكثير من الملاحظات المألوفة التي تصور الواقعية إلى أما ولا غرو فإن شجرة التيل أثيرت من أكثر من خمسة آلاف سنة في المنطقة، وفضلًا من طبته شعرها فإنه إذا ما جرحته مفتاح سائل أشبه باللبن لونه وقواقاً، والذي ربما أدى إلى ارتباطها بهم، الفناء الأمور يؤدي إلى شجرة المنفة، فإن مفهوم الأمور من حيث السابقة أو ما يجسده في أم مرضية، لكن ما يلفت النظر حقاً هو أن الأشياء الإنسانية التي يحظى بها العديد من أشكال الأمور في هيئة شجرة مدرة بالخصوبة وخاصة صدر من لونه بدون أوراق (مثل فينوس فينندورف) وفي أشكال كيفها، فإن بين المرأة بصعب تحسين الأهميّة بحث، كما تلاحظ في من الأشياء الذي يثير وحزنها وخبرها.

ويبدو الدور الملاحظ الذي لعبته الأشجار في المفاهيم والأشكال والصورات الإنسانية: شجرة الحياة، شجرة الخلد، شجرة المعرفة، شجرة الوليد، شجرة العائلة. وحتى تمثيل البنيات الهيكليّة للمسؤوليات في هيئة يمرده في مثال العملية "شجرة". ويشكل الفناء عنامة، ومن العقود السحيقة أن الأشجار مثله مفهوم و.closed. ومع الإطلاع بمهمة التحصين قد قرب من مفهوم أزمة الأشجار، عشمة وقائع وصلة - مثيرة للإعجاب - نجس هذه العلاقة المحببة. ويدعو فريق

فما زالت عادات الزواج الفعلي بين الإنسان والأشجار في الهند وبلاد الشرق (1979).

الساهل وتحدي الأشجار:

لا ريب أن النخلة كانت سيدة الأشجار بحث في كل الشرق القديم، بابا وشبه الجزيرة العربية وفينيقياً وكذلك في مصر حيث حظت بمكانة رديئة باعتبارها مصدر القروء الأساسي وأصل كل المشغولات التي عرفت حينها، وفضلًا عن ذلك فقد كانت مزراً للزمان والسناء ومن ناحية ميثولوجية سرقة فهي بمختلفها الدائرة أصبحت رمزاً للحياة المجردة، وبحث، بالغدر (10:1980)، واكتسبت مكانة خاصة باعتبارها شجرة الأورمة والميلاد، فالنيقيون ينتمون إلى النخلة (25). واسمه في صورتها الفينيقية، معروف بأسماء "قيني" أو "فيني" وهو Punicus dactylifer).

ويشتمل أن كلمة "أَمْلَكَة" العربية المصرية في رأي من نفس الاسم، ويرى لويس عوض أن صيغة "أَمْلَكَة" - "وَيْئِنَّا" التي ترد في الشعر الجاهلي بمعنى عنصري أي الطائر الأسطوري من نفس الأثر (1958).

ويرتبط مفهوم "أزمة النخلة" بالعبرانيين أيضاً فإن الأم الكبير تدل على الشعب اليهودي وتعني تمر النخلة، وثمرة في العربية هي حمل الشجر، ومعنوي الأمور ليس خائفياً. وفيما يتعلق بعرق الجاهلي، فإن المصادرة التي وصلتنا مثيرة للتشويق والانتداب وتتفاوت الروح النقدية، ومع ذلك فإنها تتفاوت على تقدير العرب للأشجار به تعديهم لها. (1982).

ويذكر ابن الكلبي أن اللات كانت أعمد أضمان قريب وأنهم
كانوا يطوفون بالكعبة مرتدودين: "واللات والعزى ومناة الثالثة الأخرى، فإنهم الغرامين العلا. وإن شافحتين للترجي، وكانت قريش نشأت دعوى دون غيرها بالكعبة والإلهة. وزمضون أن النبي صلعم قد أهدي وهو على ذهنهم له دعاية وعبارة. ورأين أن المصائر يتمعن في الحرم والشجر موجود، بل وتعود تعريضهم ليس بقائسة الحرم على ما يضمنة من شجر أو سرر أن الشجر كان قد مسدداً. وتذكر الروايات أن أهل مكة كانوا يهابون حتى في الإسلام قطع شجر الحرم، وحتى قطع كل شجرة دخلت من أرض الحرم في دور أهل مكة، كما أن عمر ثاني الخلفاء، لما قطع دورة كانت في دار أسعد بن عبد العزيز، فذاهباً به، وذكرنا أيضاً أن عبد الله بن الزبير حين انتهى "الشقيقني" ترتدي في قطع شجر الحرم للений، وجعل فيه كل شجرة بقرة في 1438هـ.

ولعل أبرز ما وصل إلينا من معلومات عن عبادة الأشجار هي تلك التي تحدث عن "خليفة نجران" وهي خليفة عظيمة كان أهل البلد يتعبدونها. ولها عيد في كل ستة، فإذا كان ذلك العيد علموا عليها كل شرب حسن وجدوه، وحلي النشاء، وخرجوا إليها يهابون وعكفوا عليها يوماً. (البلد) في 8 مارس، وأما "ذات أوان" فهي شرارة كثيرة كانت بالقرب من مكة، وكانت لاحقة بعثتها كل سنة عظيمة لها تفتقر عليها أساليبها وتدوين أثرها. (البلد) في 1438هـ.

وفي رأينا أن خلع الأشجار مابيسها وتتكييفها على الأشجار وتتكييفها لها سبوناتهم، وحتى نسائهم وغيرها هو نوع من ممارسات السحر الشفكي، ويمكننا قول أن يستهدف تبادل الجهل الأدنى الفعال لبلاحة الشجر المتجمد (فإن هذا الشيء أشبه بالسجدة فين تحته). إن اتخاذ العرب عن لحاء شجرة قلائد لنحوه لسبيهم كنام، ففيهم الرجل يمكن حتى إذا انتهت الأشجار قلادة أن يرجع إلى أهل قلده فتهب من لحاء الشجر فيرام حتى يأتي أهلها. (البلد) في 1438هـ.

أما تقلات الحرجين إذا أعدوا أن يمرن بالأيدي اللحاء المضفر (المصدر السابق، ص 440).

ولن يقتصر عن الناس أن المصريين ما زالوا يحتفلون بـ "خليفة نجران" حتى ومنا هذا. وضفرون من أجل أنواع الخواص قلائد لأنفسهم وذويهم.

إن المشارك دورًا دورًا عندما تقدر شجرة (سورة مريم) 22) كما أن المرة الأولى المقدمة كان طلهاها هو الرطب (مريم). وكثير من المنتظمات الشرقية السامية تصور هذا المشارك الأدواري كأن (الرحمن): 11.


إذا ما تجول الإنسان في أي من قرى الدلتا مفتوح المعينين فقد يرى أن يلحظ أشجار جميلة صغيرة لا تكتنف كثيراً الأكوام الطينية التي تظليلها ولها أحجار تهم، وترى أيضاً أي أشجار جميلة.
الجيمز على جسور الرزوع ورؤوس الغنيطان وكذلك الضخمة منها تظل هي قبا أضرحة الأولاء سواء كانوا مسلمين أو أقباط أو يهود أيضاً.

إلى الموجو الظيف سرعان ما يلزح أخوذا عوفقا ببعض جذوع تلك الأشجار الصغرى، فيما يبدو أنه محاولة لم تثم قطعها. إن تلك الأخذاء العميقة هو ما خلفت ممارسة توضوية قامت بها العائلة صاحبة الشجرة سيدة الطالع، في نجم أحد الأيام السابعة للشخص - وقد انتقل الآن بذء نبتة سد أسوان - وتوجت عائلة صغيرة إلى قبرها وتوقفت هناك عند زربية كان كالدك. فيما يقول شهيرة بها شجرة صغيرة شربت علاجها، "كما يقال: "حققنا بيا بنت الكلب يا عيداً، يا بنت عيداً" مكونا ذلك، بينما راحت الأم الخفيفة وراء الجانب الآخر من الجبة توزع مستقطبة: "أعمال معرفة في عرضة ياسهي الحاج، جرينبي، ولكن الآب لم يلق بالا إلى ورح الجبة الممشوقة وهو غير يكلبه بكل عام على جذوع الشجرة مصدقا أخوراها بالغا ولم يثبت أن بدأ سائل شبيه الكلب والقوام ينز. وعندما رفع الآب يدية وخلص لبلبه من الشجرة إذا بانها أكبر، وهو فورا، هو حجره طالع انغام: "أو خرجت، "معننا تشا"، بينما راحت الأم (روح الجبة) تنقرض في "في عرضة، "النفي وساح بيني مسيب لبي، حلمت بالصغير صحيح" - كانت الشجرة تحمل اسم أصغر الأبناء، أي "شجرة فان". لكن الآب وقد اتفق من طوقه انها رحmadة رحيماً وراها ضربة الداء الآخر، مكونا ويعيد الرؤوس بينما ذهبت تضرعات الأم وردها بالإشارة: أدرك الرياح. وعندما اكتمل الطرق الأخواني ألقى الأم ببلده، واصطفت الجهم على الفطير في مهرب.

ومهم الشعبة تفسير كيف حملت الشجرة إياها الوفير من الثمر بعد موسمين - لعل علماء النباتات يرون بذلك تقنيا - وسناسا بحاجة إلى القول أن هذه الممارسة الطفوعية معروفة في

1979:149

"الإيحاء من هذه البذور، منحنى من مركز مشترك أو نظرية تعدد الأصول، المهم هنا أن الأشجار التي تحمل هذه البذور تتماحية باحترام يصل إلى حد

القداسة تتعشى لما هو المكس علوي، أي - العبد الذي يرتقي إلى مستوى اللغز وإن كان رمزياً.

ثم أن الخصومة والوفر كانت لنا من هموم الإنسان الثقيلة. وحثه إشارة في العهد الجديد فوراً أن يصبر على صاحب شجرة بالضيق عليها (رجل) هذا المثال كان لرجل تينة مغروسة في كمية فجاء بطلب فيها خيرا فلم يجد. فالافقت للكرامه ما إن ثلاث سنين آتى وأطلت تمر في هذه السنة فلم تج بئسها. فلمما تدخل الأرض، فأجاه قال له في سماحة هذا المثل: (رجل) 12، 13، 14، 15، 16، 17، 18، 19، 20، 21، 22. وهكذا.

فإن الخصومة يستحق التعويض. ومن ناحية أخرى فإن استقلال تضيع الألفية في الأديان - في مصر القديمة - كان يعود إلى البذور فيها أو الجبة أو الفطير أو النافل ورماح (Budge) ابتهالات توبرات أو القصر وإزالم الألفية على تحقيق مطالب الكهنة بالhtdocs والورية.

المصدر، وفي مصر إن ذين الدين من الأديان المألوفة، ناهيك عن المصريين وغيرهم من شعوب المنطقة.

جرب ما عرضنا أننا أن الجيمزة هي الشجرة الوحيدة في مصر التي تتعرض لمثل هذا الابتدأ، الفضي والجميل التي لا يرجح إلا اعتقاد بأن للتغير روحًا، ويؤكد ذلك قولهم بـ "الجمزة مشهورة، ويجبها الإنسان والحباري أيضًا" وتتلمع ذلك في التحرير الصارم للالتزام من الجيمزة بعد الغور وحتى صيانة بنيك. كما أن الحماس خاصة تطرد أبناء إذا ما تبناه ليلا.

وعدة طابعية تطأبها عالم: حالة آخر خدم العبارة - آل معاوية - إحدى العوامل ذات الصلة في القرية إياها. ما هذا الخادم ميئة عابضة ولعله طويلًا ؛ إثر شجار، فكثيرا ما دفع الاسم حاجياتهم عند الاستماع من ساندهم - وليس فقط بحرق المزروعات والدور - كان كفنا، وقد قبب الأقرع.
في حياته كان مقره "مرآب البلاء" الذي تسليمه حساب جمعية مهدمة لحبيبته حساب قصرها. ولم يكن أحد يجبر على تسليمه لحبيبته - بما فيه شق عباره بحيرة - وكان على الجانب الآخر بقرار مصير مشابه في مدينة. وفي الديار كان الملاذ زخرف على الملفة بأسم الأشخاص، وفي الوقت كان المكانه كله مهدهما وكيما. وفي الدوام كان الملاذ يجهز على الملفة بأسم الأشخاص، ويتضمن النفس حكما. ويتضمن النفس حكما، ويتضمن النفس حكما، ويتضمن النفس حكما. وفي هذا المسلسل مهدهما لا تعهد على الهيجه، فقد شاع أن النهادة تظهر من حين إلى حين في الليالي القمرية المفاجئة يغتالونها شعرهم الآثرين لتكبر أكثر الرجال. فقلتموا إلى مسكتها بالبئر، بعد أن ثلاث تعيدوا إلى DNA. وقد قبولاً على سلطة مياه الديك بموت موهماً غيرما. وللثقب "ناضج بدون متنين" وعاجنا ما كان يفخع من نفسه في المثفاط - أو يأخذ غطاس في الساقية، علم ما دعما مكتبا وطرطحة. ولم يجد الرجل بذا من الأنتيوم إلى "الشيخ الغلام" - والذي كان مرايا - ولم تسأل كل حيلة لإنشاع الأفرع بالحسي. لم يخشع على عرشه، أي يعرعي أو يستغي. فقى في عليه مظاين يأفي من جانب في آركا، تصنيف الجريمة يتحداه من الخروج والإياب إليها. وكان نوبة القرية يقسم بأرواح أمهات أنهن كي يسمح أن تكنا، تندفع من ألم وخز المزمان.

وقد حدث أن كان على الصبي صاحب الجريمة التي هدد بالأقطع أن يتوجه إليها بعد الفجر لبحضور سرد الفلاحين على طبر شامها. ورغب وعند الملاحكة الكامنة عن الحزن، إلا أنه غادر واستلقت الطريق موريا بها. وكان مسر بسر الخروج من مهدهما، وما كان يتضمن الصدأ، فرح نجاته بمكان الخروج. وقد عرفت إلى هيئة إمكانيات مكيفة خوف بنفسها فقرر كوم سياح واقع لمحات مربط البلاء. وراح يصرع عن الهيئة إياها إطار بيوس على الضحكات أكثر منه على الخوف. ولم يكن الفجر قد طفح بعد. كان الطريق يستمر وينقطع مصحبا له في اجتياز. وتعثر قتاليا، وانكسارا وهو الآخر على وجهه، وبينما ياهذ ليصباح، إذ يصداع بصورة غامضة بهيئة تعلوها عيانها وسمع صوتا يأتي من أشعاع الجريمة أو البئر مهددا من روعه، قائلا: هي عمليها فيك، إخو إنتر. فالصيح ها هو قد كأنه أتى أسميا، وأوصاه قائلا: في المرة الجاية، كن له كتب إنشر على إليك، يا أفرع.

وقد يشكو أي من الفلاحين بأن الأفرع (واسمه عبد العظيم ضيف الله) كان في الهيئة المكيفة المنصفة في طريقه فيديو، وصعب إزار صبي صبوه الخروج ونواب الحلث. فلا يوجد منها بحثا في طموحات الجن والملعقة بالأصل بالمفهوم المحلي، واللغوثير مو شيب البيت الفقيرة أو الزرق إلى آخره، ولكن لم أسمع قط بأنه كان عدى سكان الجريمة (عريفة) يسميه عادة. 

"أبنتا - مؤقتا - لنشر بالاخرية والانتقاية الأعرة العقائدة المحلة المنجمدة، فإنه ناحية، تحريماً مهدهما الجنابي "أبابة" أو "ورجم" كما ذكر من تصريح صدوه أو الاقتراض منها أثناء الليل، وكذا حرق أفعالها فضلا عن قتشها. ولننسحب الخوف منها على الإنسان وحده بل يتحدها إلى الحوارما، ويتضمن الفتاقون أن كبير عادلة الدلب مقاوملا ولم يكتب أن يحظب به ابنه إثر حادثة، وكان سوء الخطاب اشتغل النار في الحرم، وامتدت إلى الدار، وكل هذا لأنه تجوزوا على طفلاه لأنها أطلقت ووجدت بيض في خراب ثلاثة رفيق من الأرض.

على إنه هناك أشعار جمود مبارة خاصة كلئ التي تقوم بجوان الضرجة أولى مهديين، أو ممدوحين، منشورين في قبلي مصم ومريحه، ففي جميعة على القاهرة والجهدة، وجدت جريمة تحمل اسم “الشرطة” (التاريخية منشورة): وأخرى في مоватьن الجريدة تظل ضريح سيدي زهده (حور، المادي 1970:70) وتواجد أخر في البهجة وتحمل شجرة مريم، وأخرى في "شريان" وغيرها الكثير.
وتبدو لنا هذه الأشجار مدققة في أجزائها مسافرًا بعدًا وضة في السماح وأنذارًا لم نجد عند جزءها شمسًا وحولى وواصفًا. إن هذا كله ليس إلا ذكرًا ورقجيًا، إذ أن الأشجار الأخرى ومثل شفاه من الأرض ومساعدة المحروقات من الإنجاب وإعداد الأثاث وغيرها، ومساعدات الطاقة المدارس على المرور بالإنسحابات أو الاندماج أو الأحداث أو الأحجام، وغير ذلك من هموم بسطاء المصريين. على أننا لم نتعبد ولا نستخدم بوقعية توجه الناس في الياسر في المجيء إلى إيقاف ضرورًا ببعض الآخر.

(Blackman 1924:56-57)

وبالتأكيد فإن أعير جمبزة - كانت موضوعًا للعديد - في مصر الحديثة هي شجرة مريم، بالقرب من هيليوبوليس التاريخية. ففي ضاحية المطرية، والتي كانت مجرد قرية صغيرة إدراك، والشجرة جافة تماماً مطلاً، وقد فقد كل لحاءها، وتبقت محمولة على أكاسيات من لجر وخشب، والشجرة معمرة ذات أوراق محمرة، وشرمها الفجر لم يغطى على الأرض، والشجارات محاطة بسور أنباق صلب يهدئه ضباب ضار/blob لهيبة الآثار، وواضحان له خفيف على عامله، ولسانفا في العثور على أي إشارة تفيد بأن طاب حادة جربت معها معلماً ثابثًا إلى الجميزة الآمنة ناقدة أو الأخرى التي لا تتطور أحد بتكثيفه ريمًا خوفًا عن الضرائب وليس عن ساكن الجميزة.

ويقال أن الآباء الفرعونسكان قد استدعوا في النحو 1872 شجرة المديدة من صدى، المقدسة التي استمرت بها مريم وعائلاً. أما الشجرة الخضراء فعمرها لا يتجاوز العقد. وقد استعارًا من أواخر القرن الثالث عشر، فإن المنطقة أضحت مزارًا للمسيحيين والمسلمين على السواء. وفي تلك السنة نزعت الكنيسة، ثقة دينوكيسة، وهي دانيلا الكنيسة التي كانت مقبّلة للنساء حقاً بضمنًا وورثية سوى والإحمل الظاهر عليها، وعلى جانبها تقوم رسوم الفرسان التي تصور رحلة الأسرة المقدسة من فلسطين إلى مصر، وهي تصور جلالة السماحة وتتفجر إلى الأبد. (للإسلام، من المعلومات الانتهاء رؤوف حبيبة: المطرية، شجرة الماجدة). "قد ينسى الشعريون الولادة إلى الأساتذة، الضخمة وأجزاء المثلية، فإن هذه لا يروها يقبلونها، مثل تلك الشجرة التي تدعى الشيخة خضر، فإن الداريج يظهرون بها ويقبلونها في رفع تأثرهم عليها مختلفًا بشمس، كما أن كل شجرة غليظة الساق يطلقون عليها لقب سيدي الأربعين، وأغلب هذه الأشجار من الجميات، و كثيراً ما يقومون بعمل الروالد لهذه الأشجار." (عمر 1926).

إنما تشعرنا أننا إما هو والسيرة وليد لتقاليد وثاني ترجع أكثر من ألف عام قبل الميلاد. ففي هذا المكان قامت أساتذة الأشجار المقدسة في زمن الفراعنة، والذي كانت قد حكمتهم ISHED طويلاً، أولاً على أرواح هذه الأشجار قام إليه بتشجيعهم وتاريخ اعتلاله ومرضه وبدء حكمه، ويرجع أصل عقائدة تقدير الأشجار إلى عمود جد بعيدة، فيقال أن هذه الشجرة قد اشتدت لخرب من جروحها لإنه الشمس عند ما كان رع يصارع أعداءه وقتها. إن هذه الشجرة أصبحت أكثر اشجار الحرب المفيدة في هيليوبوليس مثمرة، وإن لم تكون أقل تراثية. مثمرة لا تحتوي الشجرة مع شجرة عبد رزاق الشهير في دومون، إلا أن الغيب عن بداخلها هذه المسجل على أرواحهم اسم المفروض وبدء حكمه إلى آخرًا، بالاستدلال الشعري المذكور في كل بلد ومحموم على أرواحهم اسم كل حي وموضع ميلاده وموقعه حتى نصيبي من الدنيا، باختصار (اللوج المحفوظ) وحتى يومًا هذا يعتقد الناس أنه باصف وزرعه ما يعني قرب أهل صاحبها.

في بردية هاريس (مجموعة 29، فقرة 21) يتأي ذكر شجرتين مقدستين في هيليوبوليس، كانتان تقدم لهما القربيين من المشروبات. إن أشجار هيليوبوليس كانت هي أكبر الأشجار قلادة في مصر القديمة، ولكنها تعرف لأشجار أخرى مقدسة وهي جميعًا ترتبط ارتباطًا تاماً بإله أو آله معبية.
فحتحرم على سبيل المعالمة كثيرا ما تلقب بـ "سيدة الجماعة القبلية". كما أن نتاج وتحوط يرتبطان
بأشجار الزيتون، وإلا رفع كان يزرع كل صباح من بين شجرة جميس. وقد لعبت الأشجار دورًا
من أهميتها تلك أن بلوثر ماذا أجرا أشجار تسمى مطحنة، وفيها كافهرس توجد صهوار تمثل أشجارها. ويؤكد
الذي يبدو ثم يبعث من جديد (المراجع السابق). (إن الاعتقاد بأن الأرواح تحلم في الطيور ما زال
مشدديا في المصريين) وإنه من المألوف في كل مصر وضع جراح فخارية أمام القبر سجينة
بالناء لو للرسول على الدروج العائدة إلى قبر ساحرها أمة كل خمس أن تشرب منها. ويؤكد هذا القول
الذي طلب الإنسان للشرب: "استم أعظم".

أبى حنفي طبعة على السجرة
وشوفعين ميتي كيا غريب
وأرغب بعيني ميهية الغريب
وأرغب بعيني ميتي كيا غريب
(النظر: علي 1980/8/13)

والوجه الآخر للهامة هو زعم العرب بان القليل المطلول الدم أي الذي لم ينصح له يظهر عند قبره
طائر ليبي صغير يقال له الهامة وقد يسمى - الصدى - ولا ينفقه يصرخ قلنا: استواني، حتى يؤخذ
بشار صاحب، ويوسل له الأصباغ العذوابي:

أبى عمر ألا تدع شمسا ومنتصبة
أضرب حيث تقول الهامة استواني
(النظر: حنفي 1977/8/9)

إن أشجار أوزوريس التي سبق وتحدثنا عنها هي تلك التي نرها اليوم تظل قيام ومزادات
الأولاء. تظهر شجرة إلى الغرب نست لجاه، في حين أن نظرتها الواقعة إلى الشرق تنمر من دم
"ست" المрак. وفي الفصل 193 من كتاب الموتى فإن شجرة النخيل هي جنس أوزوريس نفسه،
ومن ثم يحرم تهجير التوابيت منها (إن الجنة شجرة تروي بدءة الشهداء). وثيوه هذه الأشجار
في الرسوم متجازرة الفضاء الكروي المنظور.

من المثير إذا تشاو في مقارنة تحروض الثالث أخذ التصوير البصري تمثل شجرة ينثيق
منها في رفع من الفروع لتهبه القوة عند ولاته بنهاية من جديد. إنها إمام ليمن أن يحيي، وما
أخيرا إمام شجرة (المجهزة) ترضي، ولا يبقي لنا إلا أن نجد البصرة في الجميرة. وهذا ما تفضله
فيما بعد سن تشاو بالله البكريح (النظر الشكل رقم 1).

ومن المزيد من المألوفة في برادات الموتى - شجرة يتوضأ منها فرع مشيرة إلى الميت مندبا
عليه مقطما إياه؛ أو يبدو وكان الغرور بأخب بيه في طريقه إلى عالم الآخيرة.

إن تقدير الأشجار لمتحمل الكثافة المرموقة التي خصا بها عبادة اليهود، ولكن جمالها
وحصوبيتها وغمرها خلاب الابوب المصريين. ومع أنها تم تطهير بالجذور والدينياوية والقلمة التي
تكم في الحياز واصلا لم تصح قط الهبة، لكنها أكتسبت مكانة بارتكابها بإله أو أنه ذات
مكانة. (إن هذا يفسر لنا ما دا غامضًا حتى الآن من العلاقة بين النصرة وضحية الولي؛ وبذلك
تفسرنا ذلك أنه ما من قربة إلى مصر تبرر إلا ثمنها لمرينا سيدى الأربعة، الذي هو بالتأكيد
الأله أوزوريس وأمل أن نثبت تلك الفرضية - أوزوريس = سيدى الأربعة - في دراسة لاحقة.

ج Najah: الحجار عليها طينية
وينخش الضرح نذر الغزلي
وكرمة البلح جروح الضريح مرمرة
(جمع أحمد رشدي صالح)
إنه ليبدأنا بحق صمود الأشجار واحترامها وقداستها متوقعة بذلك على الألقاب المصرية القديمة وكذا المعدولة الحيوانية، ومع التدابير الدينية التي ابتكرت مصر من المسماة إلى الإسلام، فما زالت الأشجار ممثلة في الجمعية تشجعًا رسميًا عن عمائد المصريين المعاصرين. وحيث يومنا هذا نترعرع بعض النباتات والأشجار عند القبر ونخرج النسوة كل خمس في "قلعة الزينة" حاملات المنتمين والسلال الظاهرة بالبحر وقرص الرحمية.

ومنطقة سفح النخل الذي يوجه على القبر عوساء من الأشجار.

نزروها النخيل ع اللحود
نزروها النخيل ع البحارة
وسلبية تمتسيز الزينة
بين اللحود لا بين ولا جميرة.

(أرشيف مركز القلمية الشعبية - القاهرة)

وثمّة آملة من سفاح لا يعرف قتل 99 رجلاً وألحت عليه الرغبة في الخيرية فأستشارنا علم
وتقوى الذي طلب منه أن تغزّي نبوته الذي قتل به ضحاياه في الجبانة ويتكرّر هناك للصباح، فإن
، لحدّق به حكمة الله وإلا، والمثلي صاحبنا للمشرفة ولدته، رحب به، تدريجًا أصلح شجرة. ولما تمكن دمّبة حزنًا بأقل، وما استمرّة عن أخا آخر، إنه عندما غبّ الجبانة
معه إلى معرفة نبوته، يعني صوته من أحد القبور، ثمما علم أن هناك بيهم بالفعل بعثة فتى
لتلوها، فسار دم وقال: خسارة خسارة، وأكله عدد قتاله من ثم، غرس نبوته المخصب بدم
ضحيته.

وصرّر النظر عن الدلالة الأخلاقية النهارية فإن العلاقة بين الجبانة والدم والشجرة جلية.

حتثور سيدة شجرة الجميرة:  
تعمل المصادر على عبادة المصريين منذ ما قبل الأسرات هذا وقد صورت في الفن المصري
القديم بأشكال ناعمة لا تحترس، ولكنها تغيبها ما كانت تصور كثيرة أو بشكل إمارة يزودها فرض
الشمس بين قرهي بقرة. وفي كثير من الأحيان كانت تمثل كأمارة لها رأس بقرة تحمل قرص
الشمس، وقد اختلطت الفكروتان، رأس المرأة ورأس البقرة تماثيلما حتى انتهى الأمر إلى تمثيلها
بأمرة وأذن بقرة. وكانت حثور مرضعة جصيحة ابن أوزيريس، وكان رأسه شجراً جذابًا ومن
ثمّ بغتته برميه، وسيدة الرقص، وسيدة النجاح، وانتهى بها الأمر أن تصبح ربة
الجبانة ترمى الموتى وترامهم. وكانت تسمى فيما تسمى "الأولى بين البقرات" نظرًا للدور الذي
كانت تلعبه بشكلها الجميري. وهي فتى وفي الجنوب من معبد من بحث عتبة حثور ولقبت
بـ "سيدة الجميرة القبلية" عند كوب الكاليا الحالية.

ويزدرو بعض المؤرخين أنها ربما كانت إحدى عبادة العجل عند بني إسرائيل، الذين يعتقد أنهم
صادفوا العجل الذي يعيشنا للأبنا الكبيرة "حتثور" والتي عرفت عبادتها في سياني، ولا غريبة
فلقد كان من أسماها الشجيرة، والغير هو أنهم كان يدعون "إيحي" أو "أنه" (ربما يفسر لنا هذا
بكاء المصريين على المريض من الأطفال بالناج: "أنت عليه، أنت عليه"). وأي أن هذا ما بقي
في الذكورة الجمعية من ذكرى ابن حثور.

والهم في حالتنا هذه أنها كانت تتمثل سيدة شجرة الجميرة وقد بذل قربانها من الشجرة التي
تنمو على شاطئ البحر، واتحث حثور كذلك كبرية ترضع الفرعون الميت وكذا أرواح موتى
آخرين. فما في هيئة المرأة أو بقرة.

وإذا تركنا جانباً المراجع التقليدية وبحثنا في الفولكلور، فإننا نجد نصًا
نشر في عام 1885 يصور بديعة مملكة العقيدة الحجيدة: البقرة "أما- الشجرة، والنحص كما
اليها: كان في ناحية جزيرة (أمة) خلفت له ولدين، ونفر، ولراجل (شجرة) كانا جابا منهما
ولد ولدها، وكان عندمًا بقرة. المرأة تدعي ولدها وبنبتها كل عمصور والجددين النافذين إلى موش
أولداتهم تدعي لهم عيش الكلاب، الأولاد يأخذوا البقرة يسرحوا ويدوا العيش للبقرة، ويقولوا: يا بقرة

ينفي هذا أوائلهم عنveget "MEHET-WRT" أعراض الشكل رقم 2، والذي تظهر فيه البقعة ألفونسة برداء أحرار الفئران عاماد (فشلهم أن يجدوا) في عقنهم نقاء ب"لاي".وفي عيد رأس السنة الثاني 1200 ق.م. تظهر البقعة وفرق كأنها صواريخ الأمل "م" بينما يظهر عند حافزها الأمامي RE-HOR-AKHTY ومكتوب في أعلى المشهد "حور الباقين الذي يظهر إلى

إن ما أورده ليب صورة لم تضمن كثرة للبئرة حثيثور التي ظهرت في عشات الرسوم على جداريات المتكبر الفرعوني تحت اسم "MEHET-WRT" أنظر شكل رقم 2، والذي تظهر فيه البقعة ألفونسة برداء أحرار الفئران عاماد (فشلهم أن يجدوا) في عقنهم نقاء ب"لاي".وفي عيد رأس السنة الثاني 1200 ق.م. تظهر البقعة وفرق كأنها صواريخ الأمل "م" بينما يظهر عند حافزها الأمامي RE-HOR-AKHTY ومكتوب في أعلى المشهد "حور الباقين الذي يظهر إلى
السماء سيد مهته وـ "البقرة" التي تحدثنا عنها. وما زال هناك أشعار تشكل طليقة ترعرع في القَطَبَة مِنْ الليلة إلى الديوان. في القرن الثالث عشر ميلادي، أحمد فؤاد نجيب يصف المسمار حيث يتحدث في عهد المجمع، فهذا إنشاء مباشراً على أحد من ألقاب ماريا، والتي كانت تسمى "السيدة السوداء". وتشمل على تقدير، نحن هناك مدرسة في الفلكية المصرية، اolls وهو - بقرة حاحا - وهذه ليست نقطة ماضية ولكن الكلمات تشكل بعضهما البعض، كما "حاحا" إلا البقرة. وهو اشتقاق مباشر من حاحو وتعود إلى كلمة مصرية ترجمها كتاجمة لها أو الدلالة عليها. وكمثال، نداء بهاء الدين: حمبال بها فلعبة، فكأنها حامببا، كان في الحديقة ومثناها في المقتفي تسمى ومعناها هنا في القطبية من وصل والكامليها يعني الآثار إلى الأشياء.

وأما هناك النص الشعبي للأغنية - بقرة حاحا - دائما حتى يومنا هذا:

- بقرة حاحا
- حاحا
- تحلب وتجيب
- شخبين حاحا
- راحوا فين
- حاحا

وقد اكتسب النص السابق ذيوعاً وشهرة عندما استلهمها الشاعر الشعبي أحمد فؤاد نجيب في قصيدة تذكيرية:

"دأب الشوا، والتواجه
على بقرة حاحا النضافة
والفقرة حلب
إن رواج الأغنية وفيها العظيم، وتقديرها، مصدر بالتأكيد هو المكانة التي تحتلها حاحا البقرة
في عقدة المصريين ولم تخضع الوعي.

ونصل الآن إلى نقطة حاسمة في فضيتينا، فقد كتبت العلاقة بين البقرة والبقرة وعرفناها خلال أشعار الرسوم القرآنية (انظر الشكل رقم 34)، التي تصوَّر حاحو نظر إلى المجمَّعة مقدمة الطعام والشراب للجنسين، وأيضاً الاستمرار العقيدي الحثيثي في وجدان لبقرة المصريين، ولننقلاً الآن إلى نورد بعض التراث أو الأفكار أو الأفكار التي وصلت اليها من الأدب القرآني القديم، وسأستفيدها هذا بإعداد نصين يتفتَّحين بالجميلة:

أو راواها تتم لتنقل
في حديث سيدي
تلك الشيَّة معنٍ
فأنا جارتها
لكنها لا تقدم لي الشراب يوم العيد
سجودي مدعُا للضحى، لظاملي
ستحملين إلى المحاكمة

ما أجمل أن تُسرت
سأتمأ لأجلها
 وإن لم تكن لها جارية
جَعَّلْتُهم يغسوني في حديثها
ولا تَضْيِمُي بحاء من القراب
كيف تعشي روحي، يا حبيبة
والنص الثاني يقول:
شجرة الحمزة التي غرستها يداً
وكلاكم كالعسل
زهرها يقول، ما هو أجمل من العسل جميلة هي وأغناها تتألَّق.
مال يبطي الشعر الناضج
شعرتي ملتهب الأشواق
(هذه ترجمة إنجازية ملتزمة بالنص)
(Paulkner 1972:3:314-315)
ففي النص الأول تشير شجرة قد يردتها إنها لا تخضع للشجاعة. ومع ذلك، إذا تقدم للشجاعة، كما أن أولئك الذين لا يذهبون بروح الجميلة
سيتعرضون للمحاكمة.
أما عن أنانيه حب الزمان التي كرست لها فهي لا تعتقد ولا تحمل وترقبها إلى مصاف الله الأعظم والأحر، وتحتفظ بأنها الردوم وسيدة العالم آلهة الحياة والانتماء، سيدة السور والطلاء والقص، ومسؤؤية، مسية الله الفرحة الجائزة، سيدة الانتفاضات ومرضية الفراغ، وأم كل المصريين، فلن تذكر أن تخضع لنفس النصوص التي نشرتها لوسي لامي (من 26).
استطاعا لما سبق، فمن حقنا أن نتفق أن تلك الاعتقادات والآماضية التي كانت تؤدي لمحتور
سيدة الجميلة وكدما تلك التي كانت تؤدي للمجابة. قد اعتراها الاعتماد بمصر النصمة نتيجة
لترحيل فكرة الإخضاعية وأصل اليمينة، ودفع إلى ما قبل الإسلام. وإن تلك
الإنسانيات والتسميات فضلاء من الألقاب وصفات الإلهية التي أسبيت حب الحب نى تاجحا، بل تصل إلى نصها وتحقيق واحد، بعد الرسالة، والواحد كل تبائيزه، وتهوية، وبراءة الزمان أيضا
مع تآمك الناس وتروية، قد امتدت في تراثنا الخاصة يتحور وكذا تجربة في تراثنا وأحد
والشيق الذي من ترقيتها كلما يحتار مع الدين الواحد، وفي التوحد الفيزيائي في أنت
صورى، وتشهد عملية بالطبع وتحويل من التوقيعات العقائدية الدينية التي لم تي فيها الديانات
العربية الثلاث دورا مؤثرا.
إن حب حboa الآلهة الروحية التي ترقب إلى مستوى أعظم الله تعالى على أن تتحنف إلى نوايا من
التراث الحالية التي قام قبضية قبل الفتح الإسلامي بتطبيقها واستخدامها لكل ما يشير إلى النص
السري وسواتر يا أمه
روحه يا أجمل من نور عيني
والحق ل nalzse يأله
من الصحن وقوع انكسر
(من توم النصح)
على بشر يملع
لأجري الرآء
أما الشطرات الأربعة الأخيرة من يا طالب الشجرة فهي آلفت حتى تعالج النص الرؤوي الأصل
بذلك نمادرنا، وهي تبرى هنا زقط باب الله ورسول الله وحمام أخرين، أي أنها تحاول جعل النص
إسلاميا مقابل نص كان يعترف أن تتحنف وراء عدة وعائية.
إن الشكل رقم 6 يمثل تحولات الثالث رافقةарам لله، فيما يبدو أنه رحى طوفي.
وعلى إسباح يلزم الطائر "الله" الذي يحمل "الكأا" و"الابا" مع الله، بينما تتمتححه أدواته الإلهية المسمى " المنا" وتغذوه
بالإيقاع موسيقي أي مزج الخيرات. بينههم هذه المراكز. إن أهمية هذا الشكل أن هذا الفروع
هو نفسه الذي تظهر راعيا من ثني جمعة، وهو يربى لللنة هنا، ولما كانت أفعال النصوص لا يصح
باستعالة للأبطال، فإنه من المرجح أن يكون هذا العام الذي تطور عن رحى طوفي رابعنا
تهويم المفرعون يؤدي وهو نفسه الذي رأينا وهو طالب يرضع من ثني جمعة.
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احتفالية الختان في مصر

شوقى عبد القوي عثمان حبيب

القاهرة

إن الختان من أقدم الممارسات التي استمرت ولا تزال متصلا عبر السنين. توجه إلى فائدته البشر منذ آلاف السنين وقبل الديانات السماوية. وأفرغت تلك الديانات ومارساتها. يمكن القول أن الختان عرف منذ الدولة القديمة وكان عما، إذ استظهر الصبيان في المنافذ العائلية للخدم والصيادين والرعاة. كما تبين في التقاليد العائلية والعامة والجيش السلبي الباقية، ومن أطرف صور الختان التي وجدت — من مرحلة من مرحلة — استنادًا دونها منه أنه كان قد أخفت مع مائة وعشرين طفلا ولم يضاهيه واحد منهم. غير أن قراءته لا تخلو من شك ولد صحة لأمكن تقرير هذه الرواية لما يحدث في موازل الأولاد بمصر حيث ينتهي البعض المولد فيختون أولادهم تبكيهما (صالح 1981:53-54).

ولقد أقرت الديانات السماوية الختان وإن تفاوت درجة الأخذ به، فبينما تجد أن اليهود والمسلمين اعتقده ملزما، تجد أن المسيحيين اعتقدها غير على وجهين. وجد في ذلك أن أتباع الكنيستين القبطية والمشيخة لا يزالوا يقومون بإجراء الختان كجزء من مراسم مسيحي تقليدي (الهواري 1978:84-88). أما العرب فقد عرفوا الختان في الإسلام واستمرت ممارسه الختان بعد ظهور الإسلام رغم عدم رؤية ذلك في القرآن الكريم، لكن جاء ذكره في بعض الأحاديث التي تعبيرها واحدا من خصائص الفطرة. وإذا ما نشرناها في اقتصاداتنا في مصر فسنجد أمامنا نجومًا في المعلومات في بعض الخصائص التاريخية، فالعصور الاصطناعية تحثنا على وجود عملية الختان في مصر القديمة، كما سبق، ولكن لا تحثنا على استقبالها. تلك العملية لمثل ذلك يعني أن الختان في ذلك الوقت كان ليصاحبه احتفال. وفي مصر العصر المسلمية والرومانية واللقبية لم تعت على أثر أو كتبنا تتحدث سواء عن عملية الختان أو عن الاحتفال به، ولا يعني ذلك أن الختان لم يكن موجودا في مصر في تلك الفترة، ولكن نحن ندراسها الأثناء تلك الفترة لم نجدها في تاريخ الختام الاجتماعي للمسريين حق، وهبمهما سبق في مصر في تلك الفترة، أيضًا الختان الاجتماعي في مصر. فكلما تطورت الديانات على الختان في مصر في عصرها الإسلامي خاصة المفكرين في إلى حد ما متوفرة ولكنها لا تروي نهم البحث، ولكن نستطيع القول بأن بحثنا تلك الفترة استخرجنا أغلب ما في بعض المصادر، لذلك أثرى مضطرنا تلك الفترة السابقة بانتهاك بالعصر الإسلامي. كان الختان من أمر ولا يمر ولا يطارد، بل كان لا عيبا عليه، وإحتفظ فيه الكفاعل من من يعرف وأمر ووضوع. كما كانت تلك العملية تجري لمجموعة من الأطفال في وقت واحد وتخرج لطول واحد واحد أيضا. وكان بعض الحالم يقومون بهدف الإعداد — بإعداد على الصعب بالمنع والبطاولةكذلك الأمراء لاتباعهم واللغة للنغارة، كما كان متضاعفة للفت الخير وإطعام الطعام كما كان بهدف عليهم، فنجد لدي القبط갑يد ورسالة تهيئة أمير جنوب ولدين له (اللغرضنثي، صبح 0-47). وفي العصر المماليك أجريت مختلف الطبقات على الأحوال وختان الأطفال، حيث جرعت عادة على أن يقوم المرمز بإخلاء الختان في عصر المماليك، وعندما يقدم أم المثل شفلا كبيرا يدعون إليه سائر الأهل والأصدقاء، ولا بد للمدعوين في هذه المناسبة من تقديم النكبات لأهل الطفل حيث يوضع في الطاش الذي يختن فيه الوالد.

التشريده هو عبارة عن طريقة عينية أو مالية تقدم من الأهل والأصدقاء.
وإذا كان الختام خاصًا بأخذ أولاد السلطان نادية المنادي بذلك في القاهرة حتي يحضر الأباء والنساء أولادهم ليخترونهم بعد ابن السلطان. وبلغ أحيانا عدد الصغار الذين أهتمهم أهلهم ليخترونهم بعد ابن السلطان أكثر من ألف وسبع، وظل من أبناء الفقهاء والعلماء، هذا خلاف أبناء الأموال والعبد، وكثرвалما طالت الأدراج بهذه المناسبة، فاستمرت أحيانًا بين ثلاثة أيام وسبعة، يأمر السلطان خلالها بعرض الطعام والقيام بعض الأعمال لطهارة الفرح، كما كان يوزع كثيرًا من الهبات والأموال والخيل (عاشورى 1942/1423-1426).

ويمكن الزمان وتستمر إعادة الختام والتصرف بها، فهي حت تي شارول ما يحدث في أوائل القرن التاسع عشر. ووصف لنا الجبرجي احتفالات بيبرق القوم بالختان وألم قصص احتفالات المصريين بالختان في أوائل العقد الرابع من القرن التاسع عشر، وبعد لين بحوالي عشر سنوات يأتي جبريجري نقول ليصف لنا حفل ختان في قرية صغيرة في ذلك الوقت في شبرا، ويأتي كروت في راجي يذكره في كتابه ومنهذا(page 45) لاحتفال الختان. ولم يذكر أيئا في هذا الأئتم. ويأتي ليدير ليدير في عام 1914 ليكتب عن عادات المسلمين في الصعيد، وتأتي ويتفقدوا بلاكمان إلى الصعيد بعد ليدير بأقل من عشر سنوات لتجد معنا كتاباته.

ولذا ماذاやすい من العصر الحديث وما تعمي هذا قبل عقود أو ثلاثة من الآن، دفعنا هذا إلى التحول في بعض أحياء القاهرة البحرية وثقافيا وحضريًا، والمثل الذي قرأنا متحدثًا عن المناطق الجغرافية التي ترى احتفالات أهل هذا الزمان - المسلمين والمسيحيين - الخاصة بعملية الختان أو الصاحبة لها وبدون تشاوة والتغير وعوامل هذا أو ذاك بالإضافة إلى الدوائر والرواء كل ما ذكر.

وقد سُلتقى بعض من شاركوا في هذه الاحتفالات أو شاهدواها في مواقفهم، حيث راعيت أن يكون الراوي أو المشارك من نفس المدينة أو الغرب.

ومن أقدم أحياء القاهرة حي نشأ كميناء شهر، وقاروا الفرسين وأشتر في النفوذ، ونسب إلى أحد الأولاد هو مو ضن أبو العلاء، وعليه سيدي السلطان أبو العلاء في نجوى أهل الحي خاصة كان ولا بد غالبًا أن تكون السلطان تحت رده، وليست من البداية. تنتمي عملية الطهارة سواء للولد أو البنين مساحة من الحفظ، وليس هناك سن محددة للطهور، فممكن أن يكون عمر الطهارة شهر أو سهيم سنوات، كما أنه في أحيان كثيرة يتم عملية الطهور لمجموعة من الأطفال مرة واحدة وليس شرعا أن يكونوا أقرباء، فممكن أن يكونوا من بيت واحد أو من العائلة واحدة، أو جيران، أو مهرر، أو مشرف، أو رضي، أو رضي من السحر. والذين تل يدل عليهم بجدية، لا يكون فيها أي شيء لا تلي غتأ، خلافًا أيضًا من المصدر أو مرض الطالب نتيجة لنشرة غير، وسُتتر هذا التأثير بالعلامات في اليوم السابع.

اليوم السابع هو يوم الإعلان عن ذلك الطيور قد تم في جميع الأهل والجيران على الغداء حيث يتم ذبح أحد ذوات الأربع أو شرو سنة، وذلك حسب المقدرة، بالإضافة إلى تناول المدعومات للطعام سوء طعام الغداء وعظام العشاء ويطعي الصاحب فعله بالنحم وب服务质量 التي باع أولاد السلطان أبو العلاء ووصولا ليصلها إلى السيد زينب أو سيدة أحبائهم للفقراء، وتقوم السيدات والرجال بتقدم التقويم سوء لألم أو ألب، أما المزين التي قام بفترة الولد أو البنين قبل ذلك بسبعة أيام فكان يأخذ ذلك في حينه من أهل المطور فقط، حيث - كما سبق القول - كانت العملية سرية، تبدأ الزفاف من عند جامع أبو العلاء، القريب المغرب حيث يعتقد فارس هذه الزفاف حماسًا، وستبدأ جليباً أبيض وعظام تحمل شال أبيضًا فوق الرأس وإذا كان النادر صغيرًا يريد وراءه رجل كبير في يمسك به خوفًا من ورقه وينفرد الزفة الضرير بفترته المكونة من حوالي عشرة أفرار بطيبولهم.

الضوء اسم شهيرة لأحد الأطوار في حي بولاق، وهو الذي كان يقود زفة المطورين كما كان يبني أفراحهم بالأشياء الدينية.
وتفوزون وتحاجرون حيث يقومون بدوره حول العالم بتأدي من اليمين ثم ينطلقون إلى مكان الفجر. ويبرز الرجال خلف الفرقة التي تشتد وبجوارها. وبعد ذلك النساء اللواتي يغزون ويتخلط الصغار بهم ويتقدمهم فارس هذا اليوم. وتصير هذه الفرقة إلى مكان الاحتلال حيث تسب صوان وضعته بكرسي للسراجين، وتشتد الفرقة بعض الآلاف، وفي بعض الأحيان تحي الفرقة هذا اليوم وفي أحيان أخرى تكتفي بالرمل وبعض الأدوات صغرية تُشكل الليلة فرقة غنائية أخرى وعلى رأسها معلم عالم - على حسب رغبة أصحاب الحلقة - ويستعرض ذلك إلى وقت متأخر من الليل. وكانت الناس تتكاتف في تقديم النقوش للفرقة والموالع. وفي بعض الأحيات تكون هذه الفرقة في منفذ السيده زينب أو سيدنا الحسن وفجأة حوراً للسراجين أعلان ما يحدث ذلك إذا كان هناك تذكر. إذا هذه الفرقة تأتي إذا كان لواء النار ذكر، أما إذا كانت أفكار على في الحارة أو الشارع فقط ولا تأتي من على السراجين، وغالبًا يتلاقают بطرف الأرجل أيضًا ولكن ليس بنفس الصورة التي تحي بها للنار، واستمر ذلك نحو أربعين سة مساءً أما الآن فقد احتفظ تشريباً تلك الفرقة. أما أشهر الاحتفالات حيث تتشاهل بين الحين والحين حفلًا لطفال مختونون خاصة في موالي السراجين أو الأعلام وكان ليَّس بنفس الصور أو الفرقة كما كان يحدث في قُر. وتشتت الفرقة بين ومباعدة بالسراجين إلى ما زالت آثار أُثر عن فقد هذه الثقافة وأي شيء مما يخزن في منازلنا. تزداد الرواية هزل كان المسميين يufacturerون تشيدهم في يوم عيد الختان؟ أجاب: لا يوجد عادة تعلو على كل شيء، والعادة هنالك الميعاد الأفضل للطهور - من زمن سابق لا يطير ولكننا نقول أيضاً جاهل - هو أن يكون النيل وفيما ذا يعني الطهارة. وكان موضع الفيضان هو شهر أغسطس وسبتمبر بالتهوي البارد، ويقابله مسرى من الأهرامات ولا يوافقه فجراً للطهارة فالحرب ينشئ بسرية، في وقت الفيضان كانت معظم الناس من مسيحيين ومسلمين تقوم ببطارورة. ففي الشتاء لا يشغله سرعة. وفي يوم الطهور يدعو الأهل والأحباء ويحضو الأطفال الذين ينضتون ويدعون.

3. زيـوث حسن سلطان: عالم ساحة، بولاق أبو العلاء، الجامع الشرقي، أبو العلاء، مارس 1996.

4. يتم إلهام جرح الطهور بأن يشترط من وردة زينب أو زينة مائي حيث تصمد كوب وصبر سقاطري ومصفحة حرة ويفتى الزيت على النار ويفضل ماء سبب على الزيت إلى أن يدوب ويترك ليبرد ويحفو ذلك في زجاجة. كول يوم يمضى للطهور في الصبح وفي الليل حتى يجري الجرح. والسبب كله يريح ويذهل ويشد ويلع ويحلب وكان ذلك يعطي الطهارة ويجعله شيخ وبشارة طهوري وقيل أن لي رجل 27 سنة، قبالة أبو قير، الإسكندري، الجامع الشرقي، أبو العلاء، 1994.

5. نوال محمد مصطفى، عالم أحمد، رهبة بيت، أبو قير، الإسكندري، الجامع الشرقي، أبو العلاء، 1994.

6. مثل النيل وهيئاته دوراً كبيراً في حياة المصريين حيث كان يضمن الفيضان الخصب والبنها، كما ما يواجه الفيضان كأن تم تشكيل أرضية ما تأوي إلى هناك الأمور بعد موتها. ورغم ما كان يتمثل الفيضان من عين، على وادي مصريين خطورتهم لأحياء جنود كانوا يتميزون بحري وكفوف.

7. وكان لدور كما invariably أن المصريين كانوا يجرون الخثان في سبيل موسم الخصوبة حيث تتغير النقوش معه وللعلم أنه في شهر سبتمبر يكون بعض القلاقل قد تكون من تزوير القيام، وليدة لا لم تَت بكر، وتعتبر أن الختان ليس محاولة بالنقية للعلاج هذا الزمن أو الآجر حيث يكون أكثر للاستفادة. أما المحصول النذيقي فكان الحسن وذالك مما ذكره عن اعتقاد المصريين في فترة الفيضان والروس مباهى أو الأقر للتصديق.
الصباح المبكر. يردخ فريدة من هم أكبر منهم سناً. وفي الذهن المحدد لياة عملية الطهارة كان أهل الطيور يحاولون خداعاً لكي لا يلقون أمراء إجراء العملية، ويعض المزاج كشف تقدم العملية بسرعة. هذا إذا كان الطيور صغيرة: أما إذا كان كبيراً، فهذا يكون مرتين تقريباً لأن الطيور تليس بالذباب فهي تتطلب قوة النزول. وكان الطيور يقومون بتقدم التقوية للمساء الذي كان يردح أسماء مقدمة التقوية، مكرراً بها التهيئة المبتكرة - كما كانوا يتميزون التقوية لأي الطيور وتحديداً في الأيام التي تكمن:

وكان يرتدي بحفرة حيث توضع في حجاب ويعلق أو يوضع تحت الرسادة، والحجاب كان يوضع في الخيمة. وقد تقوم الأمهات بمعظمهم على أضراسهم، وعرفتها أن الأمهات تمت بتنجح، وسن الاحتياط بها أنها تخدع من جسم الإنسان.

وبداSeq.alfصراً في اليوم السابع، حيث كان يلقي المطر جلدياً بيداً معه يئسون، وانليلبية بليزوز، وأحياناً صدرينا مطرزاً بالرذاذ ومزمنا بالصليب وحائط أبيض، وان ينفد الأهل والأباح بدأ على عيان ولاس، وقبل ذلك كانت الهدايا عباية من شاي أو سكر أو ما في ذلك ذلك، وان ن갈 تصفيف وتردد الأغاني خلف إحدى المغاني من أهل المطر أو من الجيران. المهم سيديداً أو تنت تجار الغان، ويومنا الطيور معما يبدون في ذات جمعاء، ولكن إذا كان للأب أكبر من ولد فهمك أن تكون طهارتهم سريًا، وتدفن التقلة في الصحراء. وفي الثالث يوم بعد صلاة الماء في جامع البخاري يعلن أن رلاسم قد طاهر ابنه فلان وأنهم سيذين إليه بعد أن يخير. ويبدو الناس ترقبهم في العالم حيث يأخذ كبرهم ويدافع الأبناء والبابشان في كشف، وتذينهم بعد صلاة غرام اليوم التالي للمباركئين: "مركوب مبروك عقبال الصائم والفرح". ويستم متوافد الدهر، والسيد تلقى تقوية لأ ولد وهو عبارية عن قدر، ويذكر آل من يتشن جدي أو تشنه، ويذهب فوراً دوماً، ويذهب أسماء غريباً إذا، ويذهب الأداء العام، ثم يغمر الطيور، ويعيد الطيور.

والصباح يرتدي هذا اليوم بعوضة الدمشة، وتوزع على الأطفال خلافاً. وكسير رملي، وتتراوح عمامة الإحلام على مكانة الطيور، فإذا كان كبيرة فهذا يكون طيوراً به إنها. ولا يحلط بظهر البنين، ولكن لا يذكرون الطيور وحالتهم تتم كما كان يردح أسماء الطيور الأهل من غير الأحوال الطيور ويعيد الطيور إلى البيت ويطير الطيور ولا ينتم على أجر ولكن يأخذ شوية تقولفته (أي لتقوية). وتواجد شرق بسرة بحوار منات والدرين كيوتري وعلي دوى، متخيلاً المطاردة توجود واحة جارة أم الصغير في بلدة من أهم بقاع مصر حيث تجذب بهم إبراهيم رحال إحدى عشرة عين، تشوي سرافن فذان تضريحاً حاصلات البلاط والزينات، كما كانت إحدى محاكيم.
الوقائع بين سوء ومطروح. هذه الواقعة تمت جيدًا لعزلة المكان والسكان الذين يبلغ أعدادهم حوالي مائتين وستين قردًا ولا تصلها سبورة أو مطروح أو أي مكان خطوط متقاطعة أو غير منتظمة. ولم يخلو إرسال اللغز غير أخبار الصحافة في جزء؟ وإن كانت هذه الواقعة غير تنظيم. حيث أصبح الآن أكثر من أهلها يسافر إلى سبورة ومطروح لقضاء حوالاتهم وأيضًا هناك البعض منهم يعترضون في بعض المدن المصرية إن كان لديهم قليلا. ويختلط أغلب الجارة فيما بينهم بالملاحظة السيوية.

وكل سبورة لياض من إجراء عملية الطيور (التحليل) في الصباح البكاليار حيث يجلس الولد (المولدة) فوق قصبة، ولعدم الجرح كان المطحر يرمي في الرمال أو يدايًا يبيض الماء. والسن التي تجري فيها عملية الطيارة تتراوح بين خمسة وعشر سنوات. وفي أثناء الطيور تسمى طبقات النار ابتداء. وتتفن الطيارة في الرمال وغالبًا ما تكون عملية الطيور تتطلب أيضًا جمعية بعض المزمن من سوء وكأنى مرة واحدة في السنة يطبعون أبل "اللمة" ثم يعلم أحد أبناء الواجهة. والآن يمكن أن تتحرك بعض الأطفال في سبورة أو مطروح. وعندما يكون العدد كبيرًا يحضر المطحر إلى الواجهة. في يوم الطيور تأتي شاة أو أكثر، وأحيانًا ما يكون أكثر من أهل أنه يجرون عملية الطيور - فمن الممكن أن يشتركون بشرة أو أكثر - لذا ساعدان سناء، ويجار يقدرون النقود والسقاء يقدرون عددًا عينية مثل البشري والطيب والسكل وآخر وغير ذلك. وفي ساعيوم تتمتع السيدات والنبلاء في منزل الظهر حيث يقبل ويزمون مصابيح ذلك بالغذاء، ويلبس الولد في ذلك اليوم جلباب أبيض من فتحة الفنتان (البيبة) ويذهب مع أصحابه أخذن معهم فوه سوداني وحلاقة بعرة، أربه، إلى مقام الضفة في ي SQLite الأكل ينكل هنالك ويفوزون القفطانة ويعودون.  

ونترك الجزء الشمالي من الصحراء الغربية منطقين جنوب الجنوب حيث واجهة باريس بالواحات الشريفة واحة العروش داخلة، وتتشابه الحياة الاقتصادية في باريس بالقصر مع الحياة الاقتصادية في سبورة وال👀. حيث يقوم الاهتمام على الزراعة، وإن كان يوجد تعب في الحاصلات الزراعية بجوار المطر، والأرض أأخبسب والسياسة أبوب، واحتاكات واحتياطي باريس والقصر عادة بأهل الفيصى الذين يقون هناك للعمل والإقامة حيث أنشئت لهم قرى جديدة خاصة بالخارجية بالإضافة إلى وجود نسبة كبيرة منهم تعمل بالقاهرة ونسبة أقل بمدن الصعيد. وهم من الناتجات التي تقع على خط واحدة مع كوم أمبو بأسوان، تذكر السيدة "أم عمر" أن عملية الطيور كانت تتمني وعمر للولد يتجاوز ما بين خمسة سنوات، ولكنوضوح هذه النشاطة قاضي على الولد، أما البنت فليس لها احتفالًا لأجتنا وبأوب وإما لا يحلمون بمذع طهارتها. وبدأ أداخل الظهر قبل العملية بالليلة ثلاثة أربعينيات أيام فيظهرون الغابة حيث تغزل وتغزل وتغزل. ويدفع أفراد مكلمون بجمع النار استعدادًا للخبز والطبخ مقابل تقديم النكهة لهم. ويستمرون "الززالة" عند ما يحضرون يقلعون: أين الحالة؟ يأجلا الحالة، أي أن حالة الطيور قد يقلعون، وتنزل محلية النذاء ويكون تركيبة مهمة لذيذة ويأخذ كلاً وحدهم كمكتبي ويسمى "المحلية". ويبدأ خبر العيش في اليوم التالي لجمع النفط، وتالي يوم يطيرون حيث تحضر النساء للمساعدة وتحضر معها عيش، ويدفع أهل "العرس" وهو الاستدامة الذي يطلق
على الولد - جدياً أو أكثر أو خروفاً أو أي شيء حسب المقدرة. ويدعى الأهل وتجييران حيث يقذفون النقوف، فمنهم من يقدم نقوداً أو قدرون من النقح أو الأربع أو المهر. ونساء يقدمن الشاي والسكر والأرز والقمح والخبز. ويبدأ تنزا الجلابين على مصالح التأكد من أنهم خرجوا قبل الساعة الثالثة بعد الظهر. وبعد ذلك تنزا الجلابين الأفراح. ويقوم نفس ما قام بتكمية الرجال بخدمة الحريم، وهم عادة من أهل العريس. وفي أثناء ذلك يكون ولد العريس (المطرود) وأحفاد يزمون توزيع الطعام. فإذا نقصت طبق او صحن أمام أحد المدعون، طالب بهم، وبعد صلاة المغرب يحضر الرجال الذين لم يحضروا في فترة الصباح. وبعد العشاء تحضر النساء من ثم يتناولون الطعام قبل ذلك. وبعد صلاة العشاء يقام مولد حيث يحضر المواليد للإنشراة. وقراة المولد يشاركون فيه. وفي هذا اليوم - ويسمى يوم الجلسة - يحضرون 11 الجلابين الحجري من الأكمام والمثل والد. ولا يد واحدة جلابين أي لون، ويطلق على الجلابين اسم "الروميمة" ولا يعرف سبيل إطلاق هذا الأسم. كما تحتوي هذا العريس وقراة صباح اليوم التالي ويسمى يوم المدة في نفس وأخيراً، 12 فطير كما تحضرون المدعونات. في هذا العصر يربك العريس حماراً ويرتدي جلابين الأبيض المخصوصة (الرومينة) وآباد مشاهير ملخص من PARTICIPATION. وعندما يلبس، ويستوعب عقدة خنجره سريعاً ومكونه، ويستوعب عقدة أخرى من شجر النخيل. وشريعة ونثارة الدورين الرئيسيتين من اليمين واليسار، وتعتبر هذه اللباس النافع للأعمال. وتعتبر هذه اللباس النافع للمساء والملابس. وتدفع هذا الموكب أمام كل بيت حيث يقام له أهل البيت النقيمة التي هي قمح أو نخا أو بلف وغير ذلك. والبعض يقدر له أملاك النشأة يلزم عليه البليغ والملبس والغول السواداني. ويщий ان المدعو يعودون إلى المنزل ولا يحتضرون هذه اللباس. 13 ولأمثال لنشره، وي듭ع الإشارة باستخدامه 14 للطريقة، ويقدم الجلابين بالخلالة على المطرود فيقول مثالاً: خلف الله عليك يا أحمد وقلان يصيح عليك بخير. وهكذا، وينفح الحساب في الحلال بالفلوت والجبابرة، وعند يرسم الأحلام التي صبخت منذ الحرم حيث تكون أم العريس وأخواته مرتديات أذه ملائمين ملائمين ملائمين. ولا يد واحدة من أنهن. وتقراة ولا بد من حضاير الأقارب. وبعد الحالة يقوم الحلال 15 بحماية أولاد. يمكن أن يتم عملية المطهرة لأكثر من ولد وعدها ما تم حتى الطغط - كما 16 تسمى هناك - خلال المطرود، ويتفق القلق تحت محلة ليكون باستمابل مثل الانتفاص أو عند صبخ ليكون المطرود ثرياً مثله أو عند مدرسة ليكون محايا للعلم أو تدقتح تحت الزيري أو بلاص ماء اعتقاداً
لا يوجد نص قابل للقراءة من الصورة المقدمة.
والمعلم يقول خلي الخيات (الأخوة) دول سوا
والمعلم يقول خلي الشياق (الشياق) سوا
وفي خلي خلي الخيات، يزعم بعض الأهالي:
مؤام وإن على من على المجدية (نوع من النخيل ذو ارتفاع كبير)
مؤام وإن على من على المجدية
وإحنا يا على ما إلا الشاشة
ولا ولا الجنيه الأخضر ولا فتحة رابه
ولا وفاء معينة (ملموسة) ومحلل.

وأحتفالات الطهارة بالقصر، تشبه إلى حد كبير مثيلتها في باريس. وكان موعد الطهارة غالبًا ما يكون مصادفًا لعيد الأضحى، وكان عملية الطهارة تتمنى بأن يجلس الولد على ماجور 43 يوضع
 مقلوية ويحتله فرحة يأخذها الحلاق بعد إتمام عملية الطهارة، ويؤدي بهزاء فخار كبير يملأ بالبطء
 وينقل الحاضرون بقطع تقود معدنية فيهم تجبارًا للمزيد. وفي القصر أحيانًا ينذر لجروح الولد
 ليوم طهارة أو الأحذية يلزم مغارق الشياق في الماء. وفقاً بعد الطهارة يقومون بزيادة معام الشياق
 ويتركون حوارات الكنيسة ي先导 ويفحنون المجدية داخلهم وحولهم، ويجدون أبا أن ذكرًا كيف إجراء
 عملية الطهارة: "يوضع الولد على الجبه الذي سيقف علامة بملوم كوبية. ويتقول تمرّة للدلائل
 بقطة حش بناية كلامدر ويدعو الجرد للحوار، ويدعو علامة بالكوبية على المسافة بعيدة عن
 التمرة حتى لا يقطع التمرة. وبعد أخذ الراحة يحض الأمين أو الوراي ويقطع هذا الجزء ثم
 يضعه في ماء ملموسه بالماء، ثم يرشهم أمتحن البلاط ثم يبقى في الماء، ويتكلم، ويدفع
 أو يدفع تحت حرة المياه في الطين يغفف الألف".

وبالتالي للنوار فكت تشوير طهارةها في الدنيا، ولا يحض الرجل، أو حتى وارد البيض هذه
 العملية، حيث تنظم في سرية وتكتشف الدالية بنفس الطريقة السابقة ومن السيدات فقط. ويكون عمر
 الولد عند الطهارة أربع أو خمس سنوات.

ومن الأحذي التي تختفي في تلك المناسبة في القصر:
- طاهر يا مزين
- واحلم تنبكي
- يا ربي يخلع
- مملوك وغروفة (أي خايب الكيس)
- طاهر يا مزين
- وعبد الكريم علي
- طاهر يا مزين
- وجد الفقيرة

وكان عصر عيد الأضحى من الأيام المحضرة للحوار، فتشتت دعوة الأهل والأقارب والمزيد على
 الطعام، وغالبًا ما تكون هناك ذيجة في ذلك اليوم، ويكمل المطهر جلبيًا أبيض اللون مرسومًا عليه بالخيوط الملونة أشكال مثل اللمع والخشى، ويفتح المزین بالمنود من

22 عصر عيد الأضحى، 40 سنة، شريط 8.
23 القصر قريبة بما كثير من الأثر الإسلامي، وهي إحدى قريب الواجهات الداخلة واقتصادها قائم على الزراعة، كما تجد بها
 كثير من الفن المعماري للفخار والحدادة والرسومات.
24 الماجور: وداعاً كبيرًا من الفخار.
25 الشادرقة: غلق صغير من الخوص.
26 غلي مفتري، 42 سنة، ملكاً بالإدارة الصحية، شريط 7، وجاء 2، الجامع: هوغي عبد القوي 1992. ماه، ماه.
27 موس، مسرع لغة عربية، 40 سنة، شريط 7، وجاء 3، الجامع: هوغي عبد القوي 1992.
المصريين، بالإضافة إلى أخذ الآجر المتفق عليه وأيضا قطعة من الفضائل وعطلة صانون أو أكبر
أو أي شيء من قبل ذلك. وتذكرون القمية في طنجة وقادة احتجاز بأن وضعا في الهيلين البتراء. يجل
الجرح بارد ولا يلوم على الماء، وآلان بعد أن انتشرت الوحدات الصحية احتجز دور المزيد أو كذا.
وانتُهمت مع غبالة تلك العظام المصاحبة للخليط.

الخليط تاريخياً واجتماعياً وتنفيذياً،
بما لقيه متناجاً وما موجزاً لاحتطابية الخليط كما تجري في مناطق تمت مختلف الثقافات
العريضة المعاصرة وعلى أساس الحضور المباشر لمثل هذه الاحتفالات، وفيما يلي ستختر
للجوانب المشابهة إليها.

وكما هو شأن تاريخياً فقد عرف الخليط في مصر القديمة ثم أخذ عنهم الفينيقيون
والسوريون كما ذكر هرودوت (145–187), (220). ولما كانت تلك الممارسة مفيدة في التواريخ
الصحيّة والأخلاقية فقد أثرت هذه الديانات السماوية، وذلك صار الاحتفال بها، ولما تتقن مع غبالة
العميد بوينس (1943) في اعتبار الخليط اختباراً للفرد على تحمل الألم ولكن يمكن اعتبار أن
الخليط - خاصة في مرحلة سنية متأخرة - فرصة لإظهار الروحية والمقاومة على تحمل الألم، فهو
لا يجري كاختبار ولكن أمر لازم، كما يتزامن البعض فرصة إجراء الخليط لispens إكسبيك للظل
مدة عدم الحفر من أحد، وقد منعه اعتباره. وهو عملية الخليط تخضع للحالة بيئة

كما أنه لم يتضيف النتائج مع دي شابارل في مقالته بأن "الخليط يعتبر نهائية مرحلة الطفولة 
في اعتباره عبئية لإجراء تلك العملية، التي يمكن أن تأتي في الأيام الأولى أو في أي
سن من عمر الولد أو حتى بعد العاشرة. والاختلاف في سن الخليط يوجد في القرية الواحدة،
فيlijke في المنزل حيث تختلف السن التي تجري فيها تلك العملية بين الآخرة حسبما يراه روب
الأسرة. ولن تستطيع هناك شويخه فيني في الذي يحكم سن إجراء عملية الخليط. ففي البحث الميداني
تبت أن طفلا قد ختى وهو في الثامنة، ورخين آخره وهو في السادسة. ولكن هناك مناسبات تتم فيها
تلك العملية استجابة لبركة واستجابة، فيمكن أن تتم أثناء مولد أولي من أوباء، أو في المنطقتة
أو في مولد أحد الأولياء المشهورين كالحسن والسيد البديوي أو مولد أحد القدسين كماري
جراح، أو بعد الست مديات بكر الشيخ، كما تتم أثناء مناسبات زواج أحد أفراد الأسرة أو في أحد
الأعياد أو المناسبات الدينية، وفي هذه الحالة غالبًا ما يكون الفراغ منها خفض النتائج لما هو
موجود أساسيًا من طعام في هذه المناسبة.

ومن الطرق أن مصدق الخليط في المدينة غير خاص، فوافق أنه يجري في أي وقت، ولكن في الريف
أجمعت الأغلبية على أنه يجري في شهر سبتمبر بعد فصل النبل، فلماما بعد فصل النبل؛ تحدث
الاحتفال، فهناك من أجانبه أثناء المطاف يبدا بالطبخ وسراعه، والبعض أجاب
بأنه يصبح قليل الحمراء وأكثر برودة من أغسطس، وهذا يجعل الجرح يتميز سرعًا. أما ليد
فقد ذكر أن الخليط كان يجري في سبتمبر بعد موسم الحصاد حيث لا تتوفر النقد.

وبالنظر إلى أحوال الفلاحين في شهر سبتمبر تبدو أن الخليط يكون قد بدأ قبل أسابيع، وأن
الفرح استمر تقربيا من ندبة القرب والذرة كثيرة في الحقول، وكذلك الخلل حيث يجمع في شهر
أكتوبر، وهذه هي الحوارات الرئيسية له. ومن المعروف أن القمح ليس محصولاً كثيراً بالنسبة
للفلاح ذلك الزمن أو الآن، حيث كان يخزن أكثره للإستهلاك، أما المحصول النقي للفلاح فكان
القطن، واما ذكر عن اعتقاد المصريين في مياه الفيضان وخصائصها وطراوة الجو، ربما يكون هذا

27 ماهر عز الدين يوسف، نفس القصة.
28 لم يعد يتم الخليط في تلك السن المتأخرة الآن.
ما ثبت في أذهانهم وورق في صدورهم، دون تحريض عن الأسباب العقليّة، أو هو التفسير الآسي.

لكننا نرى أن أفضلية شهير سيتيمبر لإجراء الختان ترجع إلى أن الفلاح ليس لديه عمل كافى في ذلك الوقت، والفراغ يصبح أكثر. هذا عن الفلاح في الوجه البخير، أما فلاح الصيد أو الوجه الفقيلي فلا يقل عنهما النسبة ولا عمل له تقريبا، ويحصل برودة الغمر في سبتمبر فهناك شهر أشد برودة أصلل للجرح فعلا، فلما لا تتم في تلك الشهر الباردة ذلك لأن النيل طويل وبارد في تلك الشهر بالإضافة إلى عدم وجود كبراء في تلك الحين والتي لا تنتج على النيل في الصيف فلا حلال الختان في الدور، أما من هذا الشيء من الدور في تلك الفترة وقبل انسحابه الجميع الختان، إذ يمكننا القول أن فراش الفلاح هو الذي يحكم في موعد إجراء عملية الختان.

وكان الاحتفال يتم قبل الختان في بعض المناطق وبعد الختان في مناطق أخرى وتتحمك مكانة الوالد إذا كان هو الأول بعد أخرى بنات أو بعد طويل انتظار في شراء الاحتفال، وغني عن الذكر أن هذه الاحتفال ترتبط ارتباطا وثيقا بحالة الأسرة المادية ومكانتها الاجتماعية. فكلما زاد شراء الأسرة كذا كان الاحتفال بأدائحنا والعكس صحيح، وطبعا هناك حالات لا ينطبق عليها ذلك كثير.

وبخلاف هذه الاحتفال يسبوع الطفل تجد هنا أن الختان يمكن أن يجري لجميع من الأطفال في وقت واحد ويعتبر منهم جميعا نواة واحدة، والنص بالحكم هنا هو الرغبة - بخلاف السبوع الذي يحدث سينتهميًا في الختان القلب بالخارج.

ولا يلاحظ أن الاحتفال يجري يوما في الاحتفال، وخصوصا جماعية الختان أخذ بها بعض الحكام والخبراء في فترات تاريخية مختلفة حيث كانوا يدعون الناس لخياICATION أطفالهم مع طفليهم على نفقات ولاية الذي يقدر الطعام والشراب للطفلة بالإضافة إلى إجراء الختان. هذا فعل طاهره على ما يبدو له سبب في العمل والتصدق على أفراد الشعب وباختصار محاولة كسب الأموال والدعم في ذلك الوقت. كما انتهى البعض من هذه المناسبة لإدخال نذر أو التعب على الفقراء والمساكين بإعطائهم خيسي للطعام إلى أمكينية الأولياء، لكي ينطلقونغ وهم.

иетاظ أن الاحتفال قاصر على الذكور دون الإناث. فتغاضيا يتم سرا لدرجة أن بعض الرواة يذكر أن وارد البنت لا يعلم بها الختان. ويبدو أن ذلك راجع إلى الأفكار البعيدة لدى الكافية بأهمية الذكر على البنت، ولهذا الأسرة تعود إلى أسباب عدة منها أن الذكر قوة مضافة إلى قوة الأسلوب الاقتصادي، والذكور أيضا عزما، وكذلك هو الذي يضيف اسم العائلة، كما أنه سيحافظ على الأملاك سواء زراعية أو عقارية داخل الأسرة.

وتؤكدنا الممارسات التي تصاحب الختان همس الممّميين من الجسم وخوقهم منه، ولذلك تبتد الأجراءات الواقفية التي تتخذها لمنع هذا الشر العقلي منظور. وسيد هذه الإجراءات في هذه

29 في قرينا السماوية بها، لا يحتفل جماعيا بالختان ولكن كل طفل يحتفل به بمفرده رغم أنه من المعروف أنها منطقة ماردة. ولا يدري إذا كان هذا التعدد مستقبلا في قرينا السماوية أم لا. ولم يطرح وكيل تلك وإن كان تميل إلى أن هذا انتزاع بالمولد الذي سيستثنى إلى حالة الأسرة التي تمكنها العصبة.
المشاطرة وغيرها هو المثل الذي يستخدم لمنع العين الشريرة الحاسدة وذلك بالنظر حتى يجرب عن تلك العين الأشعة التي يخفّف عليها من الحسد، وتكرب الأقوال الشعبية التي تشير إلى وظيفة المثل في المجتمعات الشعبية مثل: حصوة في عين اللي ما يصلح على النبي. وفي الأغنية الشعبية: "يا أم المعارف راقي المثل سبع مرات" ويدير من هذا المفهوم جاء من أن المثل مادة حافظة واتجاه حذر، فبوضرة أمام العين الحاسدة يجيب عنها أما لا يرد له أن يجرب.

كلاً عدم كراء احتفال الختان إلا في ثلاث يوم أو سابع يوم بعد أن تكون عملية الختان التي تجري سراً، وأيضاً غلقًا المظهر تزج له في مكان كم وتفنن عند دكان صاغ سيدي شرقي أو مهرب للطلب بالموارد، بلغ بالموارد داخل المنزل. لكى يبتكر على الدخل، ولكن في حفل الختان الذي يتم للطفل، وهو أكبر سنًا يرتدي الطفل حوال القرية أو حوال الناحية، ويبدو أن ذلك إعلان على أن الطفل قد انضم إلى المجتمع في الناحية، ونرى في وعبر عرف على ما حوله وعبر عزوف، لا يجوز يحتفل الطفل في حفل في القرية ولكنه حفل مخصص استقباله من مهارته. وكان يظهر عليه حفل الصلاة، فهو الذي يتولى أطفال القرية - مسلميها وموسيقيها - ويجعل المرض، وربما يوجد حفل آخر معه.

وكان ليس لكل حفل القرية يقومون بإلا هذه العملية.

يدفعنا ذلك إلى القول بأن الممارسة من ختان واحتفال مصادر لجذب تشايعتها لدى كل من المسلمين والمسيحيين. ويرجع ذلك إلى أن النبع الذي استل من المصريون تطاقتم كان نوع واحداً. فرغم أن تعاليم الدينان المسيحية تحت كفن الطفل في قبل التعميد الذي هو عادة يتم في عمر أربعين يوماً فإنه حكمة الثالث على أن يتم خن الطفل قبل السنة أو الخمسة كما قد يحدث.

فديماً، قد قال مصري مسيحي: "العامة تعلم على كل شيء".

أيضاً تجد وحده تلك الممارسة في جميع مناطق مصر المثبتية جغرافياً، والاقتصاد فقط في بعض مظاهر الاحتفال يوم الاحتفال، هل هو يوم الختان أو قبل أم ثم يوم آخر يوم؟ ويرجع ذلك غالباً إلى عرف سناء أحد الأفراد في فترة سابقة وأخذ بعدهه الكل بعد ذلك، والأمر الملفت للنظر هو لون الذي يرتدي المظهر وهو اللون الأبيض، حيث يتأرجح هذا اللون أو انتشاره بهذه الكيفية. وإن اللون الأبيض في التحرير المصري هو اللون الذي يتفاوت به، مثل عبارة "ربنا يلبسها سنين بيضه عليه"، وأيضاً عند التشبيه "نهاك أبض".

وذلك هو لون ملعب الحجيج، وهو ذايب لليظهر من ذكريه، وهو لون زي الخير في الاحتفال "أبنته لايس بيبس في أبض". وهو لون فستان العروس في يوم زفافها.

ولكن إذا ما استطاعت الاحتفالات الختانات فيها رفع الأسر الأثر الاحتجاجي الذي عاقب بينه أكثر من ألف عام قد احتفظت بحوالي عشرين عاماً، فلم يعد يحتفل به أحد إلا داراً خاصة في مناطق معرفة، وإذا استطاعنا أن نبتكر هذا الاحتفال جاهد الإجازة بأنه لم يعد هناك وقت في لهذا وأصبح الإنسان مشغولاً طوال اليوم، وطبياً هذه إجازة خادمة، لأن وقت الفراغ أكثر من كل قيل هو كبير في الإحصائيات العالمية حيث لا يملك الإنسان في مصر سوى عدد وشريين دقيقة في اليوم فقط. ناحية عن اكتظاظ المقاوم وإزاحة الشارع طوال اليوم تقريباً، ولكن لا يمكن لتحقيق تفاصيل تجربة مثالية في مناطق. ويعتقد على أن هذه الحقيقة صمغة أساسية في أبهرة الإلهام التي أصبحت تجربة الناس حواله وتثبت فيما عائدات غريبة من الاحتفال المصري مثلاً مرور جدران المفهوم وتغريقها من تفاصيل التي عاشت وتزوجت مع آلاف السنين. ولا يعني ذلك أن كل المعارف الثقافية نافذة ونهاك هناك بعض العادات العادية التي يجب أن تتحل منها وأن نؤكد في نفس الوقت على العبادات المفيدة. فشئب بلا ترافع ضع ضع ضع، وانتباه تاريخية في المقولة أن الإنسان لم يعد لديه وقت وقت لبحثهم بحالة، حيث لم يبقى من الاحتفالات مصر سوى الاحتفال بالزواج وانتشرت باقى الاحتفالات رغم ما في هذه الاحتفالات من فائدة في توطين الصلة بين أفراد المجتمع الواحد، حيث يد كل منهم يد العون.
للتاريخ في تلك المناسبات وبذلك كان المجتمع كلتا واحدة عكس الآن حيث أصبح كل فرد جزءاً متعارلاً بذاته.
أما عن وقت الفراعنة فقرى أنه الآن أكثر من ذي قبل. وإذا حاولنا أن نعقد مقارنة بين حاضر وقت الفراعنة في العصر القديم والآن، على سبيل المثال فإننا سوف نخرج بالحقيقة التالية: امتلأت أوقات الفراعنة لدى المصري القديم وهي التي تعبق الفضانات بالاحتفالات بين الحضارة المعمارية التي نشأت في ذلك الوقت يمكن أن نسميها حضارة وقت الفراعنة، فالأهرامات والمعابد الضخمة جميعها بنيت في وقت فراعنة المصري، بل يمكننا الزهام في القول إلى أن سمو الدرايات المصرية القديمة وصولاً إلى الرؤودية إنها هو نتيجة التأمل الذي لا بد وأنه حدد في فترة الفراعنة.
والآن أصبح المصري عازماً حتى أن يفرغ ويحتفل ويحتفل، وأناقة كل عاداته تاركاً نفسه فريسة ساعة لثقافة الدبسكو والهابيروج التي تهدف إلى تمييز الشخصيات الوطنية ليس للمصري فقط ولكنها موجهة لكل شعوب العالم، وهذا هو الاستعمار الجديد فلتذكر منه بالتمسك بالعادات والتقاليد وتحاول إحياء ما أندثر منها وكان مفيداً.

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MAGIC AND POPULAR MEDICINE IN SPANISH ALJAMIADO-TEXTS
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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

In nearly all the manuscripts there are also passages in Arabic, apart from the Spanish text. But here we can often realise that the Moriscos in Spain of that time have already been re-educated successfully. There are lots of mistakes in the Arabic parts of the texts, similar sounds are mixed up. So the reading of the manuscripts is sometimes difficult (Kontzi 1974: I, 8).
As for the content of the Aljamiado-manuscripts, they treat very different subjects such as literary texts like the tale of Paris and Viana, interlinear translations of parts of the Koran, instructions about how a Muslim has to behave correctly, but there are also some texts which deal with magic and give recipes for the treatment of illnesses. Some small parts of these last mentioned manuscripts (those which are about magic and recipes) will be shown here. Then I shall examine some of the forms we can find there and the fields of application. And, above all, I shall try to find out whether the bi-cultural situation of the Moriscos is also reflected in the magic texts, that is, whether they have a Christian European tradition or a North African Islamic tradition.

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

The shapes of magic in Aljamiado-texts

1. Amulets

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

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

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

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

   Enušra para cortar frío i fiebre. Escribirás en tres mañanas cada mañana ésto:

   ![Amulet](image)

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

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

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

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

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

\[\text{Alherz para aborrence a quien querrás. Escribirás estos alhavetmes en una caña i creharás la caña en la casa que tienen amor. Pues no se ajuntarán más. A se d-escribir día de miécoles:} \]

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

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

In this example we also find that the amulet - alherz - is, so to speak, the external form of magic. The content however consists of so-called alhavetmes. Here is one of the common spelling mistakes in the Aljamiado-manuscripts. This word is the plural form of the Arabic hatim - havâtîm that means “seal”. Here we find once again the use of an Arabic word but in this case the usage is not an exclusive one. Be-
sides ḏḥawetim the writers of the manuscripts also used the Spanish “sillo” as we will see soon.

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

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

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

c) Spectacle characters

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

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

![Image of spectacle characters]

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

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

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

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

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

*Para los gusanos cuando caen en el animal. Escribirás estos alhabetines i cuélgalos o meteles donde están los gusanos:*

![Image of Arabic characters]

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

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

d) Religious elements

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

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

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

Then it goes on:


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

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

2. Other forms of Morisco magic - symbolic actions

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

3. The magical drink

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

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

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

Unfortunately we are not told how to mix this potion. The next lines in the manuscript give us only a more detailed list of the other cases in which this potion is effective. But we have here, once again, the appeal to the help of God. Without this help of God, there will be no cure.
In the description of another potion (BRAH T 8 Fo. 226v), we are told to dissolve in water the nest of a swallow. This should be drunk by a woman to facilitate giving birth.

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

4. Recipes - popular medicine

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

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

The following recipe is against cough and shortness of breath (BN 4937 Fo. 33r):

Translation: “Recipe. Marvelous against cough and shortness of breath: Take seed of fennel, ground and strained seed of lavender, one ounce, and stir it all with honey.”

The patient is supposed to take every morning and evening a ninth of it.

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

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

Conclusion

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

1) These Aljamiado-texts from Spain have been created in a bilingual situation. But the Moriscos had better knowledge of Spanish than of Arabic as we can see by the many spelling mistakes in the Arabic parts.
As far as the linguistic part is concerned, we find both Romance and Arabic elements. But, as far as the content is concerned, we realise that the magic we find in the Aljamiado-texts has a pure Arabic origin. For all the forms of Aljamiado-magic that I have shown here, examples can also be found in some of the works of Arabic authors concerning magic (like for example the already mentioned Tilimsānī). We can see other elements of Aljamiado magic on pictures of amulets and lucky charms. Briefly, the magic of the Aljamiado-texts is in the Arabic tradition.

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

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BRAH = Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Followed by the number of the manuscript.

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

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1 Introduction

This paper wishes to deal with the "Sitz im Leben" of a magical handbook. Due to the lack of an appropriate translation of the expression I shall try to explain it in a few words. The "Sitz im Leben" of a text can be defined as the intended purpose or exact use of a text when it was written or transmitted\(^1\). In order to elaborate this purpose and the functions of the text in everyday life one must determine which type of literature a magical handbook represents and examine the motives and intentions for writing and using this kind of literature.

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

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

There are only few studies, e.g. by El-Gawhary (1968) and Pielow (1995), that deal with magical literature. While these centre on the more "scientific" or "sophisticated" magical treatises (see below) and are characterised by a comparative approach, this study tries to analyse a limited corpus of text which enables one to acquire a deeper insight into its structure and into the specificity of its magical practices\(^2\).

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2 For a similar approach, see e.g. Hamès 1987.
2 The description of the MS Sprenger 1933, 10, fol. 123-139, (Ahlwardt Nr. 4170)³

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

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

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

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

3 The contents

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

3.1 The magical aims⁶

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

The aims can be classified in six categories. These will be presented according to their frequency. This categorization, however, should be regarded as provisional and heuristic. 3.1.1 Aggressive action or reaction:

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³ See Ahlwardt 1891: III, 530.
⁴ For the “Sprenger” collection see Sprenger 1857 and also Kurio 1981.
⁷ The chapters are numbered from 1 to 68. Chapters 2, 21 and 22 are completely missing. Number 57 is followed by 68, probably a lapsus calami for 58.
Twenty-two chapters belong to this category, each of them giving recipes for causing harm to somebody or something. The motivation for such attacks lies either in the pursuit of personal advantage or in the need to take revenge. The latter occurs more frequently; most of the chapters instructing how to damage somebody or somebody’s property stipulate explicitly that this should be directed towards one’s opponent, an evildoer, or an oppressor. Such acts include:
- Inflicting a fever on somebody.
- “Degrading” somebody in order to take over his position.
- Inhibiting somebody’s urinating functions.
- Inflicting flatulence on somebody.
- Destroying the building of a public bath.
- Inflicting a colic on somebody’s riding animal.
- Preventing a woman from marrying.

3.1.2 Restoration of the health of people and animals:

This category consists of 14 chapters. They concern the means to cure illnesses caused by djinn, magical practice etc. Aims of this type are for example:
- Treating a possessed person.
- Healing a non-specific illness.
- Curing a person “bound” by magic.
- Relieving a woman’s labour pains.
- Making possible a woman’s pregnancy.
- Curing a sluggish and a vicious horse.

3.1.3 Apotropaic recipes:

The 11 chapters of this category provide the means to protect somebody or somebody’s property from attacks by other persons, animals, and djinn. The following examples belong to this type:
- Clearing someone’s place of scorpions, snakes, geckoes, and wolves.
- Protecting somebody’s vineyard, orchard, or plantation from thieves, wild animals, birds, or worms.
- Protecting children from evil djinn.
- Expelling locusts from someone’s orchard, plantation, or vineyard.

3.1.4 Recipes which cause somebody or something to act compulsively:

There are six chapters concerning this matter and these deal with, for instance:
- Making men take a woman in marriage.
- Gaining somebody’s affection.
- Moving an object to someone’s place.
- Bringing a bird to a given place or to an aviary.

3.1.5 Divination:

This category comprises only five chapters, for instance:
- Solving a theft through reconstruction of the act in a dream.
- How to practice darb al-mandal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2 The elements of the magical instructions

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

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


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

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

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

Another important component of the writings are Qur’ānic sûras and verses. Due to their sacred character they are considered to be very powerful in magical practice. Their content is taken literally by the magician and is connected directly or by analogy with the magical aims of the recipes\(^2\).

The written recipes quite often require the naming of the person with whom the magical practice is concerned. Unlike the conventional application of the first name in connection with the father’s name it is usual in magical affairs to rely on the mother’s name\(^3\). In magical practice the name of a person has a special value. It is connected with this person by spiritual forces. If, therefore, a person’s name is “bound” magically, the person himself is “bound” too. Generally speaking, the part (the name) represents the whole (the person) (= pars pro toto)\(^4\). This rule also applies to the part or particle of the person (al-atar ‘trace’) that serves the same purpose in magical practice. Several chapters speak of the need to obtain a part of persons. Usually such parts are not specified; only in some cases instructions demand specific parts like hair.

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

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\(^1\) See, for example, Winkler 1930; Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1962: II, 74-80; Doutté 1908:155-159 and El-Gawhary 1968:155-165.


\(^4\) See further El-Gawhary 1968:9-10.
al-arba’a. This recipe corresponds with the magical aim\textsuperscript{15}. In order to achieve the “degradation” and so-called reversal of somebody it is imperative to write down the names of the four chieftains in reverse order.

An indispensable constituent in many chapters is the burning of incense. The ingredients may be olibanum, sandarac, monkey’s hair, excrement of a lizard, and so on. A necessary condition for some magical practices is to perform them at the right time. Usually for each magical recipe the time of performance is fixed by astronomical or astrological means. This time is related to the magical aim or to one or several elements of this recipe\textsuperscript{16}. The handbook contains only a few of these instructions, which, moreover, give a confused impression. As far as the magician is concerned, he is sometimes expected to fast for a certain time and to purify his body and clothes before being able to carry out a magical practice.

3.3 The chapters’ structure

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

Chapter 14 (see plate 2):
If you want to inflict a fever upon a transgressor or an enemy, write down the names of the four chieftains on yellow paper and recite the invocation seven times above it. Hang it into the smoke and recite it seven times for seven days at the end of each daily prayer. Then hang it into the smoke of a seal. He will get fever and will not regain health until you remove it.

Chapter 27 (see plate 3):
If you want to “tie a knot” onto a weapon which is directed at you or at anybody else, take the skin of a wild ass and write upon it the word of the Sublime\textsuperscript{17}:

“And why should we not rely on Allāh” until His word “the reliant” (Q 14:12); “Do you then think that We have created you in vain, and that you will not be returned to Us?” (Q 23:115); “Deaf, dumb, (and) blind, so they return not” (Q 2:18); “And we have set a barrier before them” until His word “so that they see not” (Q 36:9); “O assembly of djinn and men, if you are able” until His word “but with authority” (Q 55:33); “The flames of fire and sparks of brass will be sent upon you, then you will not be able to defend yourselves” (Q 55:35); Ayūhin Hayūhin Ahyūbin Mahyūbin\textsuperscript{18}; “And stop them, for they shall be questioned” (Q 37:24); Šamḥa Šamḥ\textsuperscript{19} who is above all barāḥ; Hold back and knot all weap-

\textsuperscript{15} Cf. Hamès 1987:318.
\textsuperscript{16} See also El-Gawhary 1968:176-183.
\textsuperscript{17} The translation of the Qur’ānic verses has been taken from ‘Alī 1951.
\textsuperscript{18} These are most probably names of gods, angels or djinn. El-Gawhary (1968:221) pointed out that names of djinn often end with -āš, -āš, -as or -us whereas names of angels end with -īl.
\textsuperscript{19} El-Gawhary (1968:225) verified the names Ašmāḥ (here: Šamḥa) and Šamḥ as names of Syrian gods.
ons, oh Māzir, Kumrūm, Qaṣūra and Tāykal, and turn them away from the bearer of these names, in the name of Sādim 20; "He is the First and the Last" until His word "and He is Knower of all things" (Q 57:3).

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

The structure of these chapters is representative of the whole volume. The aim is quoted at the beginning of the chapter and is repeated after a description of the rites. I was able to distinguish four constituent elements 21:

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

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

5) the neutralization of the practice.

4 Conclusions

In order to determine the “Sitz im Leben” of this handbook and its functions in everyday life it is necessary to identify the type of text. Obviously this text can be classified as non-fictional. It represents a type of utility literature which is defined as primarily non-artistic literature, composed for use or consumption with a definite purpose 22. Furthermore I observed that the structure of a magical handbook is comparable to a recipe or cookery book.

It has been argued that the magical aims reflect the daily needs and concerns of the magician’s clientele 23. Therefore let me ask the following question: Do the magical aims paint a picture of the magician’s cultural environment or can they be regarded as reflecting universal tendencies?

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

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


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

However, in order to determine the geographical origin and the cultural context of the magical practices the analysis of the magical aims alone is not sufficient. It will be necessary to analyse the different elements of the recipes, like the vegetable, animal, and food ingredients. I have found out that in the contents and the structure there are far-reaching parallels with, for instance, magical practices of the Soninké in Western Africa\textsuperscript{24}. Reliable statements on the spread of these magical practices, however, can only be made after this handbook has been compared with similar texts.

In comparison to other magical treatises, like the works ascribed to the well-known al-Būnī\textsuperscript{25}, this handbook seems to be simplified and less systematic. As it only consists of practical instructions it differs from the rather “scientific” or “sophisticated” magical literature which explains for the most part complex systems like planetary constellations and their connection to different magical elements. By contrast, the confused instructions in the handbook about the proper time to perform magical acts reveal by contrast the scribe’s uncertainty and ignorance about these complex systems.

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

It can be assumed that the scribe was not a professional one. It seems plausible that the secret knowledge of magical recipes was passed on from teacher to apprentice, from father to son, or from a magician to his colleague\textsuperscript{26}. In order to preserve this secret character outsiders were not involved. Therefore, it is most probable that the scribe was at the same time the magician using this handbook. Moreover, it stands to reason that this handbook is an incomplete copy of a more comprehensive work. These assumptions are supported by the fact that the scribe omitted some parts like the invocation’s text as he was familiar with it.

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

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

\textsuperscript{24} As described, for example, in Hamès 1987:305-325.
\textsuperscript{25} Muḥāfiz d-Dīn Abū l-Abḥās Āḥmad b. ʿĀli b. Yūsuf al-Būnī al-Qurašī. For his works see El-Gawhary 1968 and Pielow 1995.
\textsuperscript{26} See El-Gawhary 1987:20.
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Chapter 27
THE IMAGE OF THE MOROCCAN SAINT IN ORAL AND WRITTEN HAGIOGRAPHY

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

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

Changes in images

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

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

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

3 See the examples given in Errazki-van Beek 1994a & 1994b show. For example, Sidi ‘Abd al-Aziz’s reputation changed and the type of patients visiting him changed accordingly. His change of image did not, however, imply a loss of visitors. Al-Qadi ‘Iyad and al-imam as-Suhaili, however, seem to have been less fortunate, and people in Marrakesh no longer have much to tell about them.
cribed here. Before the present group of Seven Saints was institutionalized in Marrakesh another group of seven saints is said to have been venerated by the people: seven anonymous brothers who are buried next to each other in seven tombs that can still be visited, close to the sanctuary of Sīdī Abū l-‘Abbās as-Sabtī. Since Mauлавī Ismā'īl decided for political reasons to form another group of Seven Saints, i.e. those who are at present included under that name, the others have tended to sink into oblivion. But although the historians do not talk about the seven brothers, as they are no longer the ‘real Seven’, there are still people who even after three centuries still consider them to be the Seven of Marrakesh (Jemma 1972:11).

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

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

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

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4 The same can be said of some caretakers of sanctuaries. One muqaddam at Sīdī Abū l-‘Abbās as-Sabtī’s shrine for example was clearly reluctant to relate some anecdotes about his saint and the miracles that occur around his tomb. As Gilsenan (1990:77-78, 85-87) explains, these people in charge do not want the image of the saint to become too fantastic and spectacular.
legend, too: in the Maghreb saints are often busy creating wells and turning deserts into fertile land (Goldziher [1890] 1971:270, 312-313).

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

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

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

A legend about Mūl le-Qsūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā
In what way do the legends that people transmit through time reflect changes in images and reputations of saints? We have seen that in order to answer this question, it is important to analyse not only the legends themselves, but also the context in a broader sense. In this way the different images that emerge may be linked to (1) political, religious and philosophical attitudes and (2) social and economic conditions prevalent at the times concerned. For example, it is important to see which groups of society were in power at a certain moment, which deviations in religious thought were accepted and which were not, and what rituals were practised by the common people. The social and economic positions of the story-tellers, too, are a factor of influence. A caretaker of a sanctuary may tell a positive story about his own saint and his miracles, but a negative one about another saint. This is to be expected: such a caretaker will obviously promote the sanctuary in his care, because his living depends on it. The caretaker of the other saint’s sanctuary may do the same the other
way round. To show that this does actually happen a legend about Mūl le-Qūr (1494-1528) is presented here. The story-teller is Mūlāyah Ibrāhīm, the muqaddam of Mūl le-Qūr's tomb. He belongs to the descendants of the saint, the awlād al-wālī:

"(...) Men l-karamat lli biya nēnī matālān dyal-ū buwa: tan f-wahed l-wooq ḡa 'end-ū Sīdī Hmed u Musa « raṣiyya šalā 'en-hū », ḡa ḡa b-waṣīṭat si malik f-dēk l-wooq. ḡa 'end-ū baṣ yihf had l-Gezwāni ḍkun a buwa, ašū buwa šūqūl u ašūn biya umarat-ū. U-bhī ḡa hadak ta-ygulū ṭamā-hū ḡa raḵe ḡa 'la sb. U-bhī ḡa tiq men dak l-malik, ḡa dak l-malik dah s-sē ṭeb men sī wāli men dah l-awlīya'li yirī bīb sī sīfīt. Kūnt sī qadīya 'end-ū fa-smiyūt u t-teqda dah l-ɣarad u-badak ḡeb man dak l-malik baṣ hada, Sīdī Hmed u Musa, baṣ yemū 'end had l-Gezwāni wūṣūfū u yuttelī 'la 'aṣya dyayū u l-umarat dyayū. Fīllān, ḡa l-'end-ū, ḡa 'end-ū māfrad b-waṣīṭat l-malik u-dghel 'end-ū l-ḍar u u-takfer buwa u-yay-ū nēnī f-dak šīli buwa fī-man bīn-bīm u-takfer šīb, wa-lakín hit thett t-lam gal lih: "Zīd takūl", gal lih: "La", gal lih: "ana mwelāf tā-takūl gīr zemmīta." Gal lih: "La?" Gal lih: "Fīa, ašī biya lli mwelāf." Gal lih: "Kul-ha. Ma-'end-na svq." Kal hadik zemmīta nēnī matālān weseṭt rawqit n-nāt t-ta-h mahell fīn yeṭ. Mul le-Qūr bqa m'ā le-yaḍu yelbe n-un smiyūt u dyu-ulū. Gal: "Fīa, bada buwa l-wālī." Hettā nēnī n-nas fsgit u smiyūtSa gēd hada u-munawwad kasa u-dak šī, l-awlīya'li yeqeq b-l-qadīya. Weseṭt rawqit l-muweṭden. L-muweṭden twedden dyayū s-subb, ma-nad-ṣ Mal le-Qūr feq-l-wooq lli buwa tessel hadak u-bdat ta-ṭaseq šīns saff fī baddāl, gal lih: "Fīqi hada s-ṣayyid!" Fiqqat hit bhryq lqa n-nīṣūm u-la ḍak. Gal lih: "A sīb-ū gīṣī t-subbīt?", u-buwa kan ta-yṣīr šīms u-khan ta-yṣīr smiyūt u-walel hit bhryq wēla ta-yṣīr l-muweṭden ta-yṣīr bēm smiyūt. Gal lih: "A sīb-ū gīṣī t-l-wūdīt", hadik lī baddām 'end-ū. Gal lih: "Fīyā." Saffit fe-qīmsa u-biyya tnezzel waḥēd ṣeṣa l-ammā bāl-ma nēnī f-dāl baddik l-wooq u smiyūt u-tweddī u-dak šī. Bqa buwa Sīdī Hmed u Musa ta-yṣīl m'ā asāra: "Wā-h, kif tō l-bād šī?" Ṣellaw s-subb, dghel l-endo, l-lefer, gal lih: "Zīd takūl" Gal lih: "La. Ana mwelāf b-baddik." Hettā gēd 'end-ū telt iyamam ṭīna mwelāf hadik zemmīta. Mul le-Qūr ta-yakūl nēnī matālān bēṣṣāf u-l-leḥem, u-l-keskūt u-badā w-badā w-lhī ḍa u-salā kmatēl telt iyamam gal lih: "A sīdī bit nēnī. Kaḥyss-ek tētifī šī ḡa ḡa li yēnī biya matālān nāṣāmmed 'la-ha." Gal lih: "Ašā biyya?" Gal lih: "Gadī yugul l-ék wahed l-kebema Hmed u Musa, bma ta-yṣīr b-bīrīt, t-taršīburn b-yṣīr u-kandereu ma dēr-dēr hel l-ṣīrat, mi lī ma ta-nemāsir n-bēdū llaḥ f-leb-ha bīn le-bwai l-kērmūna n-bēdū fug lefrat u-l-menqī. U-buwa yaghreb kāyln nqeg qeq qeqd b-dak l-fārāb u-dak šī. Hadi uwha mul haramat Mul le-Qūr." "(...) One of his miracles was for example: one time Sīdī Hmed u Musa « may God be pleased with him » came to visit him at the command of the king of that time. He came to find out what kind of person l-Gezwāni was, what kind of work he did and in what kind of matters he was further involved. People say that Sīdī Hmed u Musa arrived at l-Gezwāni's house while riding a lion. It was on behalf of the king who ruled at the time that he arrived there. The king had just asked some saint to say a ṣafat, a humble prayer on his behalf. The king had had some unknown desire and his wish was fulfilled. Thereupon the king was asked to send Sīdī Hmed u Musa to l-Gezwāni so that he could look around at his dwelling place and perhaps reveal something of the matters he was busy with. Thus he arrived at l-Gezwāni's because the king had invited him to do so. He entered his home and they were talking together. When the cousous was put in front of them and l-Gezwāni said: "Come on, eat!", Sīdī Hmed u Musa said: "No, I am used to eating zemmīta (food prepared from grilled ground maize, oil, and sometimes honey, ME) only." He asked him: "Why?" He answered: "Well, I am just used to it." He said: "Eat it! It is none of my business."

Sīdī Hmed u Musa ate his zemmīta, then it was time, let us say, to sleep. l-Gezwāni gave Sīdī Hmed u Musa a place to sleep, but he himself stayed with his family, enjoying himself and laughing. Sīdī Hmed u Musa said to himself: "This is our saint!" Everybody went to sleep, how do you call it, but he was still up and making a lot of noise. This is what Sīdī Hmed u Musa noticed. There came the time of the muweṭden. He called the people to the morning prayer, but Mul le-Qūr did not get up, while Sīdī

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

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

Narrator and focus
An external narrator tells the legend of Mül le-Qṣur and Sidi Ḥmad u Mūsā in the Moroccan Arabic dialect of Marrakesh. The external narrator is not the physical story-teller, Maulāy ʿIbrāhīm. He was not present when the supposed events that he

⁶ The bucket mentioned here may be taken literally by the listener, because there exists a variant of this story in which the saint presents a bucket to Sidi Ḥmad u Mūsā to drink from, just to provoke him or to make fun of him.
is telling about took place. We see Siddi Hmad u Mūsā (mostly) through the eyes of the narrator. The same applies to Mūl le-Qūr, but to a lesser extent, because we also get a picture of him through the eyes of his guest. Although it is mostly the narrator who describes Siddi Hmad u Mūsā’s reactions to Mūl le-Qūr’s behaviour, he gives in one instance some space to the man’s personal focus: “This is what Siddi Hmad u Mūsā noticed.” Siddi Hmad u Mūsā was sent by the king to find out more about Mūl le-Qūr and this is exactly what he does. He looks at the saint in a very critical way and clearly does not like the way in which he is behaving himself. He does not find Mūl le-Qūr much of a saint. Nevertheless extraordinary things happen at his dwelling place: dawn turns into night again and the charwoman takes a bucket of water from the sky. It is not without meaning that the focus at these important moments first briefly shifts from the narrator to Siddi Hmad: “This one had already seen the sun and how-do-you-call-it (…)”, “(…) he saw the mvedden another time calling the people to prayer (…)”, and then from the narrator to the charwoman: “She looked up to the sky and let down a bucket filled with water (…)”. Now that we are confronted with three witnesses, it becomes more difficult to doubt these miracles. Although Mūl le-Qūr does not seem to be the direct instigator of all this, the comments at the beginning (“One of his miracles was for example”) and the end of the story (“This is one of the miracles of Mūl le-Qūr.”) give the impression that he is. He is the hero who is teaching Siddi Hmad u Mūsā a lesson, as if he knows the latter is criticizing him. This is a characteristic feature of saints: they know not only the visible world, but the invisible and hidden world as well (al-bātin). That these miracles happen just like that and are even performed by a charwoman gives them an extra dimension. They seem to be part of normal life at Mūl le-Qūr’s house and nothing to wonder at. But Siddi Hmad u Mūsā does wonder at all these things. This means that he is not able to do the same thing himself. He cannot even do what an ordinary charwoman does! In this way, Mūl le-Qūr really puts him in his place. Siddi Hmad had arrived riding a lion, however, so he must be capable of something. Doubts are cast upon this because the narrator does not want to take responsibility for this statement: “this is what people say”. The implied suggestion is that it might not be true, since, as we all know, people say many things. The small amount of

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7 Of course this does not mean that the the physical story-teller does not have an impact on the story, because he does, and to a great extent; Maulāy Ibrāhīm intervenes five times in person in the story by saying: nēnī (I mean). The link between the physical story-teller and Mūl le-Qūr is clearly established, because their common family-name al-Gazwānī is mentioned more often in the legend than is the nickname of the saint. By doing so, the story-teller and caretaker of the sanctuary strenthen both his own status and the validity of the legend. The nickname Mūl le-Qūr (‘the Man of the Castles’) refers to another miraculous story in which the saint is involved in the sale of one or more castles in heaven. Le-Qūr is also the name of the relatively well-to-do quarter in the madīna of Marrakesh in which the zāwiyah of the saint can be found.
attention that is paid to it in terms of words is also meaningful in this respect. A lion
usually makes some impression, but here his appearance is passed over quickly.

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

Subjects and objects

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

Although Mūl le-Qṣūr and Sidi Hmad are both important subjects in this legend,
the former is definitely the stronger. Mūl le-Qṣūr does not only decide whether Sidi
Hmad gets what he wants or not, but also how and in what form he gets it. The
whole story really pivots on the confrontation between the two men who are each
other’s polar opposites. Yet the listener may feel sympathy for Sidi Hmad u Mūsā.
This is possible, because some incoherency is felt in the legend: Sidi Hmad is not
just weak. For example, both he and Mūl le-Qṣūr get what they wanted. In this
respect they are each other’s equal. The contrast between the two men may, after all,
not be so strong as was initially taken for granted. It is striking that differentiations
in the opposition are made twice: once at the beginning of the story and once at the
end. The mentioning of the lion (and the wild animals) already raises doubts with
regard to the powerlessness of Sidi Hmad u Mūsā. The eulogy “may God be pleased
with him” does so, too, because it is not usually used in referring to ordinary
believers. The relation between the two men does not seem to be bad in the
beginning and the opposition between them seems to become strong only when Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā behaves as an opponent. When, after a few surprises, his opposition gradually gives way to recognition of Mūl le-Qṣūr’s status, so that he ends up being pleased with him, the distance between the two saints is also significantly reduced. Although Mūl le-Qṣūr’s activities are responsible for this outcome and he thus seems to be the one who wields power, he (and the narrator) does not succeed in fully obliterating the competence of Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā. Moreover, the competence of Mūl le-Qṣūr does not become very explicit either. We do not know beyond doubt that he was the one who performed the miracles.

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

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

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

In this legend only Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā travels through space. Although we have no definite information on this, he probably moved from the countryside to the city. He takes the trouble to come to Mūl le-Qṣūr, Mūl le-Qṣūr does not come to him. The time between his arrival and departure is important: Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā sees the error of his ways. Maybe his journey from the countryside was already a sign that things were going to change for the better. In this story the city is preferred to the countryside, so a move away from the desert may already presage a favourable turn of events. The harsh life does not seem to have made Sīdī Ḥmad happy. He is just as dull and boring as the countryside. Mūl le-Qṣūr, on the contrary, is just as lively as the city. After Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā has spent three days in the city,
however, he leaves Mūl le-Qṣūr full of happiness. With his change the concept of the city has changed, too. First it is seen as a morass of vice in which Mūl le-Qṣūr lives his mundane life and to which the sober life of Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā in the countryside with its idyllic innocence forms a striking contrast. When Sīdī Ḥmad’s judgement about Mūl le-Qṣūr becomes more balanced, the city becomes a more positive place where changes and new developments occur while the countryside lags behind.

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

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

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

Oppositions and metaphors
Throughout the analysis we have already dealt with some oppositions. The city of Marrakesh versus the countryside is one of them. Other oppositions may be connected with it such as that of the food consumed by the two saints; couscous, which is eaten by Mūl le-Qṣūr, is for rich people and special occasions, while Sīdī Ḥmad’s zemmīt is food for poor people and farmers on ordinary days. Moreover it must not be forgotten that for many citizens who listen to a story such as the one above, the countryside has negative connotations. In their view farmers are stupid and old-fashioned. Throughout Morocco the people of Marrakesh are known for their jollity and proclivity for laughing and joking. Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā is not likely to appeal to these people. He does not seem to enjoy life very much, he eats very little, goes
to bed early and seems to prefer seclusion to social life. He quickly gets irritated: he really is a boorish sort of person. Needless to say, such details work in favour of Mūl le-Qṣūr who, although in origin not from Marrakesh, seems to have adopted the mental attitude to life of its inhabitants.

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

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

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

_Psychological and ideological relations_

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

The opposition between Mūl le-Qṣūr and Sīdī Ḥmad u Mūsā is an ideological one, too. On the political level, Sīdī Ḥmad is associated with the king and maybe his lion is symbolic of this. Such an association has not always been a fortunate one in Moroccan history. Historical sources tell us, for example, that Mūl le-Qṣūr did not have very good experiences with the dynasty of the Wattasids who ruled for part of his lifetime, and in the person of Sīdī Ḥmad he seems to ridicule the king’s messenger. But he ridicules other saints as well, because it was they who asked the
king to dispatch Sīdī Hmad. This implies that they somehow felt that Mūl le-Qsūr was a threat that had to be controlled, a task for which Sīdī Hmad was best equipped. The fact that the latter consented to play this role for the king and his holy advisors is not to his credit. For according to many people true saints are always on the side of the common people, not on that of the king or of any other oppressive authority.

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

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

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

It is possible that the listener has the same narrow vision of what a saint should be as Sīdī Hmad u Mūsā. Let us see what happens then. Sīdī Hmad u Mūsā’s first and negative ideas about Mūl le-Qsūr were only based on superficial observations and he did not seem to bother to look any further. That Sīdī Hmad could only judge his host from his external appearance and not from the inside, leaves the impression that he did not possess much spiritual power himself. He seems to have no knowledge of al-būtūn and this, in a way, forces Mūl le-Qsūr to show him something visible to convince him that his nīya, his intention, is good and that to God, Mūl le-Qsūr definitely is a saint. The mere fact that Sīdī Hmad judges somebody else is proof of his own pride and haughtiness, because, to a Muslim, nobody is really capable of judging except for God. Provided the listener has shared Sīdī Hmad u Mūsā’s view, they both turn out to have been wrong. Both are taught a lesson. One may even wonder whether this is not one of the main purposes of the story, since
a lot of Sîdî Hmaid u Mūsâ’s inner feelings and experiences are shown to the listener. In this way the listener is enabled to feel a bond with him, an important condition to share in his learning process, too. This shows the power of the narrator or focaliser. By giving selective information he pushes the listener in a certain direction.

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

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

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

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

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8 Nevertheless one variant of the legend which explains his nickname tells about Mûl le-Qsûr as an ascetic. The story-teller thereby supposes that all saints are like that.
lli la bas ‘li-hum, “who are rich”. They do indeed receive an income from the collecting box in the sanctuary of their holy ancestor. Maulay Ibrâhim himself lived in the big zāwiyā until recently, loves good food and likes buying antiques. The tâ’ifa of Mûl le-Qšür has in the past been criticized strongly by Ibn al-Muwaqqit (1922:141-142, 144-145) for their various ways of making money in and around the sanctuary. Nowadays it is said that although the Dalâ’il al-hairât, a book of praise to the Prophet Muḥammad, is recited every week in the sanctuaries of its author Sîdî b. Sulaymân al-Ġazulî, the fourth of the Seven Saints, and Sîdî Abû 1-Abbas, the descendants of Mûl le-Qšûr do not want the reciters to come to their zāwiyâ on such a regular basis out of fear that they might lose some of their income to them. In his turn, Maulay Ibrâhim is rather critical about the carekeepers of these and the other sanctuaries of the Seven Saints who, in his opinion, do not know anything. He says that everyone who wants to know something about the Seven Saints comes to him. When the Moroccan king, Hassan II, visits Marrakesh, however, he does not visit Mûl le-Qšûr. He just goes to Sîdî Abû 1-Abbâs and al-Ġazulî.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Dilmun is usually identified with Bahrain but Failaka might also have been part of the territory of Dilmun. For this, see Potts 1994:35.
each head and footstone. No explanation exists as to why the graves appear to be so long and local lore murmured, “Giants once inhabited the island”.

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

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

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

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

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

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2 The preference to locate a shrine of al-Hīdr in the vicinity of the sea is a clear indication of al-Hīdr’s character as a sea demon. For this and for a general study on the shrines and sanctuaries dedicated to al-Hīdr, see Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1960: Index, s.v. “al-Hīdr”. On the figure of al-Hīdr, see also EI II, 923-927 and EII IV, 902-905 s.v. “al-Khādir”.
remained a holy place for the past 4,000 years. Every weekend bus loads of black robided women could be seen approaching al-Hidr in buses or walking there from the port.

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

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

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

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

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

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3 Visit for the sake of becoming pregnant is a general characteristic of the shrines dedicated to al-Hidr. See Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1960:160, 190, 241, 247, 289.
sional bits of jewellery like a gold ring were left in the interior of the Shrine⁴. The pleasant scent of incense and rose water hung faintly inside the Shrine and henna handprints decorated the walls around the inside.

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

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

The al-Hīdhr Shrine (photograph No. 1) constructed from blocks of stones and built most likely by Failachawis, was pulled down by the Government. That photograph had been taken by Dame Violet on her first visit to the Island in 1935. It is said that previous to that one there had been another Shrine which had also been removed, there are however no descriptions or records about it. By the 1950s, maybe earlier, the Shrine had been rebuilt and was once more thriving. Around the early to mid 1970s it was again removed, an action which coincided with the rise of the Wahhābīsm⁵. This caused much resentment in Kuwait’s Šīʿī community, as will be seen.

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

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

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

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

⁵ Kuwaiti Sunnī thinking is always of the Wahhābī brand, and even a talk given in Kuwait in 1996 by a very eminent German scholar on “Aspects of Šūfism” brought disapproving looks and comments from the audience. However, the fact that the professor gave the talk at all is interesting.
cars and people, many including children dressed in black. It was all perfectly orderly, with people and their families quietly picnicking, those near the mosques listening to the tale of the murder of ‘Alî, and there they stayed most of the night. The author had never before seen in Kuwait so many people out in public for Muḥarram, and this year she has been invited to attend some of the prayer and story sessions.

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

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ŠAYH ʿADI B. MUSĀFIR’S BIOGRAPHY ON THE BASIS OF ARABIC AND KURDISH SOURCES

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1 Introduction

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


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

2 Biography of Šayh ʿAdī

2.1 Previous Inadequate Attempts to identify Šayh ʿAdī

In the past there existed a number of suggestions concerning Šayh ʿAdī’s personality (Badger 1852:110-113; Semēnov 1927:76; Wigram 1914:104). With regard to the information in two Christian sources of the 15th century, that of an archbishop of Arbil Ješū Ayyāb and that of the monk Rāmišū, the case is as follows: in the early 13th century, Šayh ʿAdī al-Kurdi fled to the mountains and occupied the Christian monastery in Lalish, transforming it into his sanctuary (ʿAlī 1989:81; al-Ḥasanī 1953:12, 20-21).

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

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

2 The Kurdish authors and titles are referred to according to Kurdish Latin alphabet.
some reason, was engaged in a struggle with the monks quartered in his patrimonial (at least, as it appeared to him) abode.

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

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

2.2 Data on Ādī’s Origin

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

“Šayh Ādī came from Šām
In the East [he] got down to work,
Virtue is upon the houses of [our] fathers,
Šayh Ādī himself is a gift of the Light,
[He is] Light from the house of the Šayhs”.4


With regard to Ādī’s descent, the issue is still debated. al-Azzawī (1935:29) adduces the two most widespread genealogies:


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

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3 See e.g., “Kurdskie evrei” 1988:634.
4 Cellî 1978:18. See also: Silêman 1979:100, 104.

5 The sources prove that the last Umayyad ruler, Marwān II, is a direct ancestor of Šayh Ādī. Before ascending the throne (740-750), Marwān II ruled over Northern Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan,
Thus, with certain reservation, we can conclude that Sayh ʿAdī b. Musāfir was an Arab from the once powerful dynasty of Umayyads with Kurdish blood running in his veins.

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

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

2.3 The Baghdad Period⁹

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

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

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⁶ i.e. the provinces with a sizeable Kurdish population. Moreover, his mother was Kurdish (Bartold 1966; Semënov 1927:78-79). Šaraf-jiḥan Bīdīšī informs us of the Kurdish tribe, Sulaymani, which mostly consisted of the adherents of the Marwānīans. Part of the Sulaymani tribesmen “chose an iniquitous Yezidi persuasion”. Moreover, Bīdīšī defines Šayḥ ʿAdī as a subject of Marwānid caliphs (Bīdīštī, Šaraf-nāmē 83, 314).

⁷ ‘Friend of God’ is a term for Şūfī.

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

⁹ Sub-chapters 2.3 and 2.4 are chiefly based on the two major sources – ʿAdī b. Musāfir, Works; Frank 1911 – which, therefore, are not referred to.
in 'Adī’s view belonged to the ahl al-bid’a is of great interest. On the basis of the Shayh’s works written in Baghdad, we can conclude that the theologians of his circle criticised the following: aš-Šī’a, al-Mu’tazila, al-Qadariyya, and al-Mušabbiha (Anthropomorphists), which means that ‘Adī b. Musāfir, in general, shared the point of view of al-Hanābiya. Nevertheless, as early as in the Baghdad period of his activity, Shayh ‘Adī took a great interest in Ṣūfism, a position which contradicts the attitude of al-Hanābiya to the theory and practice of Islamic mysticism. This ‘inconsistency’ can be understood by taking into account that ‘Adī’s Ṣūfism integrates with the Qur’ān.

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

Speaking of ‘Adī’s activity in Baghdad, we must pay special attention to the Ṣūfī Shayhs who influenced his treatises and his subsequent life in general. Shayh ‘Adī and al-Gazâli (1058-1111) could have become acquainted with each other, and in the year of al-Gazâli’s death, the Shayh moved to Hakkari. Another version is that ‘Adī b. Musāfir knew al-Gazâli’s brother Mağd ad-Dîn Ahmad al-Gazâli. At any rate, Shayh ‘Adī attended Ahmad’s lectures in Baghdad, including those concerning Iblīs.¹⁰

In different ways, other Ṣūfis influenced the Shayh’s teaching, as hinted in the Yezidi sacred book, the Meshef-i Res (Marie 1911:22-39).¹¹ Yezidism supposes that the historical personalities are represented in the capacity of seven angels/deities, ruling the universe, by turns, through the will of God. Five of them have been identified by Semënov (1972-77). They are: ‘Abdalqâdîr al-Ǧilânî, al-Hasan al-Ǧašrî, Manšîr al-Ḫallâq, Qâdîb al-Banî, and Fâhîr ad-Dîn Tabaristanî al-Qâydi.

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

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

¹¹ This text’s authorship is unlikely to be ascribed to ‘Adī b. Musāfir (Bittner 1911), although Kurdev (1971) holds an opposite opinion. At any rate, the Meshef-i Res reflects some points linked to Shayh ‘Adī’s life and teaching.

¹² ‘Diligence’ (muğābada) in the Ṣūfī terminology is one of the stations on the way towards God.
who left a sea to come to a brook. I can see ‘Abdalqâdir taking the rein of all the saints in his hand and operating the cavalry of lovers of God’.


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

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

However, the most esteemed personality in the religious folklore of the Yezidis is Abu l-Muğît al-Husayn b. Mansûr al-Ḫallâg (858-922). In the Yezidi canticles, admiration for him is re-enforced by the grief of his tragic death (Celî 1978:37-40; Silêman 1979:133-139). In general, starting from the assumption that al-Ḫallâg was of Kurdish origin, both the Yezidi and Muslim Kurds have created a special image of al-Ḫallâg. It is possible that after al-Ḫallâg’s execution, some of his followers found asylum in the Kurdish mountains, and, thus, could have joined the ṭarîqa ‘Adaviyya.

The two last historical personalities represented in the Meshefî Rêş in the capacity of angels are a native of Mosul and ‘Adî’s contemporary Šayh Qâdib al-Ban and the famous Şûfî Fâhr ad-Dîn Tabaristanî al-Qaydî (Ibn ‘Abdallâh Muḥammad b. ‘Amr-mâr al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. ‘Alî at-Târim al-Bakrî), who died in Herat in 1210.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16 The Highest Truth (al-ḥaqiq) is one of 99 Qur’anic attributes of God. In the Şufi terminology, the word is the name of God relating to His essence (Prozorov 1991:265).
(faqr). He told them, and they rent their garments, and went out naked" (al-Ḥasānī 1953:8).

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

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

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

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

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

However, as early as in the late Baghdad period, ‘Adī’s qasīdas reveal motifs of self-deification as a result of the “union with God”. After his death, they developed into the idea of the incarnation of a lower deity. According to the Yezidis, alongside the Creator there exists the lower deity incarnated in three images: the beautiful bird – Melek-Taus, the young man – Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, and the aged Šayh – Šayh ‘Adī (Semēnov 1927:72-73).

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17 In 1216, Badr ad-Dīn Lu’lu’, the ruler of Mosul, defeated the Yezidi Kurds and defiled Šayh ‘Adī’s tomb. This shocking event, according to al-Ḥasānī (1953:22-23), explains the Yezidis’ belief that after his death, Šayh ‘Adī ascended to Heaven having left a testament. Then, a good angel appeared and said that that place should be regarded as Šayh ‘Adī’s grave. Thus, the Yezidi Kurds found consolation in beliefs of Šayh ‘Adī’s ascension and, consequently, in his divine essence (see e.g. Bidlīsi, Saraf-nāmê 83-84).
Material on ʿAdī’s life in Kurdistan suggests that while he was alive, the idea of his ‘divine nature’ remained in embryo. The stories of ʿAdī’s miracles (karāmāt) and grace (baraka) are characteristic of that period when Sufism slowly becomes a popular religion. Expressive stories such as the following, illustrate ʿAdī’s pious erudition and holiness:

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

Afterwards, when the boundaries between the Yezidis and the tariqa of ʿAdawiya had been fixed, the Kurds began to ascribe their own ideas to ʿSayḥ ʿAdī. This is a frequent phenomenon in history which intends to consecrate pre-Islamic creeds by famous Islamic personalities.

ʿSayḥ ʿAdī b. Musāfīr said about his mission: “I know that I am given time when nothing soothes me and supports me. But in this time I soothe everything in me and I support it”.

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

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

This is a general re-construction of ʿSayḥ ʿAdī b. Musāfīr’s biography. Other views and suggestions do not appear to be well argumented.

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

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

20 Legends of ʿAdī’s pilgrimages are described by Seabrook (1927:326-327) and Wigram (1914:104-105).
3 Conclusion

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

The decisive factor in the Yezidi case is the personality and teaching of Şayh ʿAdi b. Musâfir. Thus, the Yezidi case proves that Sâfism was one of the main ways for the introduction of the Kurds to Islamic values and evolution of the Kurdish tradition.

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

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

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

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

Un autre principe vient s’y ajouter: “La non-captivité de la femme libre”. La liberté était la condition naturelle de la femme, mais que la femme fût enlevée par le groupe vainqueur, ce faisait défaut. Les Arabes appelaient les femmes qu’ils enlevaient à l’ennemi - sabāyā. Ils les traitaient avec bienveillance, les honoraient et souvent les prenaient en mariage (al-Isfahānī, Ağānī XVI, 97). Malgré ça, les femmes abhorreraient le saby. Elles en subissaient la honte. Le saby était un élément de déshonneur pour ceux qui en étaient la victime et par ricochet, un élément d’honneur pour ceux qui en délivraient leur femmes (Farés 1932:81).
Je ne parlerai que brièvement du principe de ġiwar ("protection") qui sera présent dans les lois de Bédouins contemporains concernant l’enlèvement (ḥatf) des jeunes filles. Voilà ce qu’en dit Farès, en parlant de l’époque préislamique: "Quand un Arabe se trouvait opprimé, poursuivi ... etc., il se réfugiait (yastağīru) soit auprès d’un groupe, soit d’un individu influent (...). Octroyer le droit d’asile constituait un élément d’honneur" (Farès 1932:89). L’homme à qui on accordait sa protection était nommé ġar — ce qui veut dire en même temps "protégé" et parmi les sédentaires "voisin". Donner asile à qun (ġiwar) c’est s’engager à le protéger dans l’avenir, c’est-à-dire à lui fournir toute aide dont il aura besoin. Renoncer à la protection, est considéré comme un déshonneur. Par contre, on recueillait les plus belles louanges quand on était fidèle à son ġar, quand on mettait à l’abri des vexations (Farès 1932:90).

L’importance et le haut rang de la défense efficace et de la protection apparaît dans les proverbes arabes groupés récemment par Ahmad al-Bisr ar-Rūmī et Sāfwat Kamāl dans un recueil de quatre volumes, dont nous citerons quelques-uns: al-ġar qabla d-dār (Protégé devant la maison), et ġarak tāmma dārak (D’abord ton protège, ensuite ta maison) (ar-Rūmī & Kamāl 1978-82: II, 317). On ne peut pas exclure qu’ici le mot ġar puisse signifier tout simplement "le voisin". Cependant il semble que c’est l’honneur de celui qui donne asile et sa protection à ġar est tellement important que la personne de ġar domine sa propre maison et sa famille. Le témoignage pour cette attitude nous avons trouvé chez al-Qāhīz dans l’histoire de poète Muhriz b. al-Muḳaḥir qui demandait l’aide (yastağīru) “d’un individu influent”, le chef de Banū Māzin, Muḥāriq b. Shīḥāb (al-Qāhīz, Bayān III, 246)1.


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

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

L’attache ment des tribus bédouins aux principes de ʿīrd et l’échelle des valeurs qu’ils respectent, sont illustrés par le dicton qu’ils emploient souvent:

“alṭ ibāṭa li-l-māl, wa-lā ḫānā li-l-ʿāyāl,
alṭ ibāṭa li-l-ʿāyāl, wa-lā ḫānā li-l-ʿīrd,
wā-alṭ ibāṭa li l-ʿīrd, wa-lā ḫānā li-d-dīn” (ibid.).

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

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

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

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

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

Il y a cinq sortes “d’enlèvements”:
1. Celle qui crie à l’aube: šâ’hat ad-dûbâ,
2. Enlèvement par force, contre la volonté de l’enlevée: hatf ḡâsbân,
3. Enlèvement avec le consentement de l’enlevée et sans témoins: hatf bi-r-rîdā bi-dûn šubîd,
4. Enlèvement avec le consentement de l’enlevée et avec témoins: hatf bi-r-rîdā wa-bi-shubûd,

Je passe sous silence l’enlèvement par force et le viol (existants d’ailleurs dans les lois des Bédouins d’Égypte5), qui forçément sont punis le plus sévèrement, et j’analyserai les trois autres cas: “Celle qui crie à l’aube”.

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

4 Selon mon informateur Georges Qass d’Aleppo qui connaît les tribus bédouins de Hasake, et aussi mon étudiante Violeta Trabulsi, qui a passé un mois parmi les Bédouins à Sinaï en 1990.

5 La même situation est mentionnée dans la loi des Bédouins en Égypte; voir Mahgoub 1994:155.
en appelant au secours. Pour prouver son innocence, elle doit avoir des colliers cassés, des vêtements déchirés. D'habitude elle n'est pas punie. C'est lié au fait qu'elle n'y est pas responsable. Quand même elle doit être "purifiée" par la peine infligée à son agresseur. Alors le ravisseur:
- est déshabillé complètement et marche sous les regards méprisants de toute la tribu jusqu'à l'endroit où on lui dessine "un cercle" par terre.
- "le cercle" (ḥitte) est l'endroit où il doit jurer qu'il n'a pas fait de mal à la fille. Le cercle à une signification symbolique de "lieu clos" et s'il prête un faux serment, Dieu le mettra, après sa mort, dans un lieu clos dont il n'y a pas de sortie, et en ce monde, il aura des revenus limités. À l'intérieur de ce cercle, on place aussi d'autres objets tels que: une épée, une fourmi et un couvre-chef de Bédouin (ṣayf, namla wa-ṣamla). L'épée piquée, la pointe dans la terre, au milieu du cercle symbolise le châtiment de Dieu pour le parjure — tous ses descendants mâles périront par l'épée; la fourmi symbolise le fait que ses revenus seront très petits. Dans une note, l'auteur de l'article explique que ṣamla est un morceau d'étoffe faite du poil de chameau qui, par sa couleur noire, doit symboliser le fait que le Dieu punira le parjure par "un destin noir" (ṣawād al-bazz) et par un mauvais renommé (ṣuṣ as-sam'a) en ce monde et dans l'autre (al-ʿAzīzī 1987:61). Mon l'informateur Georges Qass (d'Aleppo) qui connaît des tribus de Bédouins de la région Hasake, considère que "prendre le couvre-chef d'un Bédouin et le jeter par terre, équivaut à un déshonneur". Je pense que ces deux explications sont valables pour le cas écrit.
- Le ravisseur doit offrir un chameau en entrant dans le cercle et puis un autre, en sortant. Debout dans le cercle il prête un serment suivant: "wallāhi mā qaḍītu laḥā yamīn, wa-lā habbitu laḥā ẓāḥīn" (Je jure sur le nom de Dieu que je ne lui ai rien fait, qu'elle peut marcher le front haut).
- Le juge prononce un verdict supplémentaire: toutes les obligations et tous les dé-lits de la famille de "l'enlevée" vis-à-vis la famille du ravisseur sont annulés jusqu'à la cinquième génération des aîeux. La famille de ravisseur perd même le droit de venger le sang de son parent et celui de diya (rançon du sang) (al-ʿAzīzī 1987:59). "Enlèvement avec témoins".
Pour ce genre d'enlèvement la loi bédouine est plus clémente, mais les règles d'honneur doivent être observées. Un tel enlèvement à lieu lorsque son auteur, après avoir essayé toutes les possibilités d'un mariage normal avec la jeune fille éluée et étant sûr des sentiments de celle dont la famille a rejeté sa demande en mariage, ainsi que les demandes d'autres intermédiaires, décide, avec le consentement de la fille, de l'enlever. Il invite pour témoins (ṣubūd) des personnes respectables dont le témoignage sera accepté car leur droiture est connue. Le ravisseur "se réfugie" (yastaqīru) à la maison (tente) d'un des voisins les plus proches de la maison de la jeune fille. Il y mène "l'enlevée" en compagnie des "témoins de l'innocence" (ṣubūd al-barā'a aw t-tabriya), et ces voisins la prennent sous leur protection. Elle devient "šīr" pour eux, tout comme dans la loi de l'honneur préislamique. Ensuite "les témoins de l'innocence"
se rendent chez le juge et certifient que l’auteur de l’enlèvement “n’a touché la main de la fille ni ne l’a pas embrassé sur la joue” (lä yumsik li-l-maḥṣūfā yadan wa-lā qabbala labā haddān). Le juge demande encore si l’enlevée a donné son accord pour cet enlèvement et si elle est en âge de se marier, et après avoir recueilli “les témoignages” des témoins, il prononce le verdict permettant aux jeunes de se marier après avoir tout de même rempli des conditions suivantes:

1. L’auteur de l’enlèvement paie une amende qui n’est pas inférieure à 400 dinars de Jordanie.

2. Pour “l’enlevée” il donne sa soeur ou sa parente, pour que l’un des frères de l’enlevée puisse l’épouser. Si elle n’a pas de frères, la fille va au père de l’enlevée. Le ravisseur paie “mabrī” (dot) pour cette parente, à la famille de celle-ci.


“Allāhu yubayyida wağbak yā fulāna, allī samaha ‘annā wa-karramanā”.

(Que le Dieu éclaire ton visage (nom de père), toi qui nous as montré de la compréhension et nous as fait du bien.)

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

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


L’importance des “témoins de innocence” ressort pleinement, si on examine le cas de “enlèvement sans témoins et avec le consentement de la jeune fille”. L’auteur écrivit: “L’enlèvement sans témoins est un délit très dangereux, il a des conséquences néfastes même si le ravisseur met l’enlevée (yastagīr) sous la protection d’un chef connu, et si l’enlevée avoue qu’elle a donné son consentement - le verdict du juge est sévère”. Les Bédouins considèrent “l’enlevée” comme “tuée” et ‘urf (la loi de tribu) définit le prix du sang de la femme comme le prix du celui de quatre hommes. La famille de la fille ne l’accorde presque jamais en mariage à son ravisseur et souvent ils la tuent (al-ʿAzīzī 1987:59). Parmi les Bédouins il y a un dicton qui illustre cette situation:
"ad-dam māʿalayhi ṣuḥūd, wa-l-ayb māʿalayhi wurūd" (il ne faut pas de témoins pour l’effusion du sang, il n’y a pas de roses qui couvriraient la honte) (ibid., 60).

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0 Introduction

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

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

1 Proverbs

1.1 Evil eye (šīn)

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

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

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

2 Hughes 1982:112 under ‘Evil eye’. For other references to the Prophet’s belief in the evil eye and popular expressions to avert the evil eye, see Piamenta 1983, particularly, 87-90.
the evil eye. Hence, if one sees a handsome boy he should either say the expression mā šā'a Allāh (This is what God has willed) or ism-Allāh 'alēh (God name on him), or tfū 'alēk, mā abša'ak (I spit on you, how ugly you are!), (cf. Lane 1908:256; Piamenta 1983:87, and Meyuhas 1937:183).

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

A few Arabic proverbs and expressions refer to the evil eye and to how one should act if affected by its baneful influence. For example:
1. al-hasūd la yasūd or ‘ēn al-hasūd la tasūd – ‘May the envier’s evil eye never prevail.’
2. al-hasūd bi-‘ēnī – ‘(May) the evier’s eye be pierced by a chip of wood.’
3. al-hasūd la yasūd u-mā bi-mūt illī u-huwa makmūd – ‘May the envier never prevail and may he die only heartbroken.’
4. ‘indak ‘ēś u-‘indī ‘ēś u-faṣat al-‘ēn lēś? – ‘You earn your living and I earn mine, so why the evil eye?’
5. al-‘ēn illī bi-tṣīb, qal‘ba ḥalāl – ‘An eye which harms, its gouging out is legal.’
6. al-‘ēn qattāla and al-‘ēn ṭawāsīl ad-dafn – ‘The evil eye can kill.’
7. ‘ayān zurq, u-smān furq – ‘Blue eyes and teeth with gaps between them’, i.e. an evil eye\(^4\).

1.2 Blood feud (ṭa‘r)

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

\(^3\) = ‘Apotropaic name’. For further details see Crystal 1992:113.

\(^4\) For the Arabs’ attitude to the blue colour in general and to blue eyes in particular, see Shivtiel 1991.
the elapse of many years, no time-limit being imposed, although the acceptable limit is normally five generations (cf. Lane 1908:202; Stavsky 1946:348-362). Blood-revenge may also result in a series of murders, which may only be stopped by an agreement of reconciliation (sulhā), which usually involves the payment of blood-money (diya) by the first killer or his family (cf. Lane 1908:108; Stavsky, loc. cit.).

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

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

1.3 Dowry (mahb, siyāq)

The custom of paying a dowry to the bride’s family goes back to ancient times and is well rooted in all old cultures around the Middle East. By paying the bride’s family the wife becomes the property of her husband, a fact which is significant as far as her duties and rights are concerned. Since the bride usually moves to live with her husband the dowry is a type of compensation offered to her family for ‘losing’ her. The dowry can be paid to the bride’s family with money, property, land, products or services. In primitive societies the payment, which is usually made to the father, brother or the guardian of the bride is for his own use (cf. Lane 1908:166, fn. 1; Baer 1960:46). However, in more progressive societies the dowry is largely spent on the newly-married couple (Lane, loc. cit.; Lancaster 1981:52), and the rest is used by the bride’s family, e.g. to help one of the brothers of the bride to pay a dowry for his own wife. Since the amount to be paid as a dowry is decided arbitrarily by the family according to the bride’s merits
(her distinguished lineage, her being a virgin, beautiful, young, healthy, etc.), only wealthy suitors may be able to afford her (cf. Stavsky 1946:231-234; Meyuhas 1937:60-62; Ashkenazy 1957:69). Hence, there have been many cases of marriages of young and poor girls to old and wealthy men. This practice has for years been criticized by many progressive Arabs, both men and women, with a fair amount of success in keeping the number of cases low, especially among urban society, though such marriages are still customary in rural areas (cf. Waschitz 1947:207-208; Stavsky 1946:236). On the other hand, there are many cases of bridegrooms and brides who choose to escape together, an act which may often result in their killing ‘to save the face of the family’. Another way to avoid payment of the dowry is by ‘cross marriages’, i.e. two brothers marry two sisters (cf. Stavsky 1946:238-239; Meyuhas 1937:62).

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

1. *abuy ba‘nī u-ğōzī (bi)tavānī* – ‘My father has sold me and my husband has bought me.’ The proverb indicates that marriage has been agreed upon between the father of the bride and the bridegroom without consulting the bride, as if she were goods for trading.

2. *illi mā bi-ddōs yeğawwez binton bi-gāllī maberhā* – ‘He who does not wish to marry off his daughter puts her price up.’ This proverb is usually used metaphorically as a warning to any businessman not to be too greedy, otherwise his goods will not sell.

3. *illi ma‘ō fānsō bint as-sulṭān ‘arūsō* – ‘He who has money can marry the Sultan’s daughter.’

4. *al-fūłūs bi-tiğib al-ṣarūs* – ‘Money gets the bride.’

5. *wīf fi l-ḥubb, fi’sāfa’ at-taklīf* – ‘He who falls in love has higher expenses.’ The proverb is used metaphorically as a warning to any customer not to show too much enthusiasm about the goods he wishes to buy, otherwise the seller will put up the price.

6. *al-muqaddima mā labhā maber* – ‘One does not pay a dowry for a bride who is not a virgin.’ This proverb may be used metaphorically to signify that he who sells used goods should not expect a high price for them.

7. *abū 1-banāt marzūq* – ‘The girls’ father is blessed.’ This dictum is said to a person who has many daughters, signifying that one day he will be compensated for the sorrow of having no son (cf. Stavsky 1946:234-235).

1.4 Beard (*daqən, lihyu*)

The beard was regarded in ancient times as a symbol of manliness and manhood. The Egyptians of Pharaonic times used at first to grow beards, but at a later stage began to shave them, perhaps because of the influence of the Romans, who usually used to shave their beards and mustaches. The Greeks nearly always favoured beards, as evident from drawings and sculptures from ancient Greece, while in Mesopotamia, noble people and officials used to grow beards, whereas beardless males were usually eunuchs (cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, V, 329). The Old Testament refers to man’s beard as a sign of nobility (cf. Psalms, 133, 2), while a shaved beard was a mark of shame and ignominy (cf. 2 Samuel, 10, 4-5; see also Meyuhas 1937:117; Stavsky 1946:304).
Arab men also used to grow beards, as they shared the attitudes prevalent in the area regarding the issue, and when men began to shave their beards moustaches were usually left to indicate manhood. The importance of man’s beard can be seen from the custom of holding one’s own beard or other people’s beards or mentioning the beard of the Prophet Muhammad when taking an oath (cf. Stavisky 1946:243). This practice indicates the integrity and sincerity of the person who swears by the beard, demonstrating either his innocence or his commitment to keeping his promise (cf. Meyuhas 1937:109; Stavsky 1946:300). Hence, in the Yemen the idiom mahlūq ad-dign (a beardless man) means an unreliable person. The reason being that he has nothing substantial to take an oath with or that he is as weak as a beardless person, e.g. a woman. Moreover, a saying current in the Yemen is: ‘If I do not fulfill my promise, shave my beard!’ (cf. Yitzhary 1993: II, 31, proverb 208). Furthermore, a beardless person also symbolizes bad luck and accordingly whom one should not associate with (see above p. 2, and Frayha 1953: No. 3101).

A number of proverbs in Arabic refer to man’s beard and its connotations:
1. illi bu-bzq bi-kaffšk, ubzq bi-dagnō – ‘If a person spits on your hand, spit on his beard.’ This means that if a person insults you you should insult him even more.
2. illi bu-bzq bi-l-šāl, bi-tirgha ‘alā daqnō – ‘He who spits upwards the spit falls back on his beard.’ This means that if one tries to harm others, especially his superiors, it will affect him in the end.
3. mä ḥada bi-sallem daqnō la-wlādō – ‘No one gives his beard even to his own children.’ This means that no person entrusts his fate even to the hands of his own children.
4. baynna ḥānā u-mānā dā’at lihānā – ‘Between Hana and Mana our beard perished.’ This means that the person may often be the victim of two rivalries, or fall between two stools.
5. bāz i wilād ǧērō, u-nāsh dawlitō, u-mustirr ‘alā mratō – wāġeb ħalq diq̄nō – ‘He who brings up a child who is not his own, and he who gives advice to his government, and he who tells his wife his secrets – should have his beard shaved.’ The proverb indicates that the doer of all these three things deserves to be humiliated. A similar proverb is maš sā’ad ǧaww marthē yistḥiq natf lihyateh – ‘He who supports his wife’s views deserves to have his beard plucked out.’
6. diq̄n mä tiḥteh fulūs yiḥṭāq ilā mūs – ‘The beard of the poor deserves to be shaved.’ This proverb signifies the shame of being poor.
7. daqn at-tammā‘ fi īṣ al-miftis – ‘The greedy man’s beard is inside the bankrupt’s anus.’ This proverb is said about a greedy usurer who loses his property and consequently his honour because he lent his money to a bankrupt person.

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

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5 For customs relating to beard growing in Egypt, see Lane 1908:29.
over a blood-revenge case which ends with peaceful agreement: it is the drink which is offered on the occasion of marriage negotiations; it is the drink offered at the time of rejoicing and mourning and it is in fact the drink offered to guests soon after their arrival.

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

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

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

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

⁷ Such utensils reached Europe in the 17th century, cf. Arnold & Guillaume 1931:150.
5. awwal finqān la-ddef, tānī finqān la-l-kef w-tālet finqān la-ssēf - ‘The first cup of coffee is for the guest, the second is for enjoyment and the third is for the sword.’ This proverb is current especially among Bedouins and it indicates that if a guest stays too long in the house of his host, he may cause troubles in the end.

6. al-qtabweh in liqyet hamm tżlō, w-in liqyet farah tżlō - ‘When coffee encounters a problem it gets rid of it, and when it encounters happiness it adds to it.’

7. al-qtabweh miftah as-salām w-il-kalām - ‘Coffee is the key for peace and conversation.’

2 Idioms

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

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

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

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

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

a. when fate is referred to directly, e.g. dārat ‘alayhi ad-dā‘ira – (lit. ‘the wheel has turned over him’) – ‘to suffer adversities’; tawwabat bihi at-tawwâ’ – (lit. ‘vicissitudes have made him go astray’) – ‘fate dealt him severe blows’; āfala nağmuhu – ‘his star has

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8 For more details on Arab fatalism, see Pimenta 1979 & 1983.
set'; *ibtasam labu al-hazz* ‘fortune smiles on him’; *aqbala ‘aleybi ad-dahr,* or *aqbala ‘aleybi ad-dunyā* (lit. time or the world have drawn near him) – ‘luck is on his side’.

b. when fate is challenged by sorcery and divination or by gambling, e.g. *ra’sansa bi-l-qayb* – (lit. to cast stones at something invisible) – ‘to predict the future; *labu al-qadîh al-mu’âllâ* – (lit. he has the top-scoring arrow) – ‘to have a major impact on’; *‘alâ ‘ayy al-maymûn* – (lit. on the bird which flies in the right direction) – ‘God speed’; *ka’amma ‘alâ rû’ushih a‘ayy* – (lit. as if a bird is hovering over their head) – ‘they were motionless out of fear’ (see also Genesis 40,16-19); and perhaps also *daraba abrnàsan li-adsâsin* – (lit. to beat fives for sixes) – ‘to brood and to intrigue’.

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

He died: *la’sâna an-nafas al-åyîr* (lit. to spit out the last breath); *qarad ribâtahu* (lit. to cut off his ribbon); *labha nidâ’ rabbibi* (lit. he responded to the call of his Creator); *šâlal na’âmatahu* (lit. his tenderness has risen); *madâ sabîlabu/lisabîlabi* (lit. he proceeded in his way); *qâdâ na’abahu/aqalahu* (lit. he completed his fixed time); *intaqala ilâ rahmat Allâh* (lit. he moved to the mercy of God); *qadîya anruhnu* (lit. his business has been accomplished); *ista’qar Allâh bihi* (lit. God has claimed him); *ista’qarat bihi rahmat Allâh* (lit. God’s mercy has claimed him); *ibqâruhlu Allâh ilâ qiwdîribi* (lit. God has chosen him to be in His neighbourhood).

He was buried: *wassadabu at-surâba* (lit. he covered him with soil); *surwiyyat ‘aleybi l-ârd* (lit. the ground was straitened over him).

The deceased: *al-faqîd* (lit. the lost one); *arrâhil* (lit. the one who has travelled); *al-marbîm* (lit. the one God has mercy upon); *al-maqîr labu* (lit. the one God has forgiven); *sâkin al-šînâni* (lit. the dweller of the Gardens).

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

Funeral: *al-mawâkhîb al-åyîr* (lit. the last parade).

Angel of death: *abî yahyâ* (lit. the father of the living).

3 Conclusions

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

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

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"يا ريمهم بقرة وإحلال وأكل سمكة"
(Proverb from Dhofar, South Oman)

0 Introduction

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

1 The sources

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

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

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

3 The material was collected from a great variety of informants who represent all the tribes and regions of Oman. Written sources were also made use of. For the list of informants and other sources see al-Humaydi 1986-94 IV, 216-221. Since the collector does not mention the exact provenance of the proverbs, it would be misleading to present them here in transliteration considering the great differences in pronunciation from one Omani region to another.
these proverbs and proverbial sayings are a treasure-trove for all kinds of purposes. Our aim here, however, is confined to the presentation and analysis of the animal world.

2 The animal proverbs

2.1 The proportion of animal proverbs

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

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

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

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

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

- birds (طيور) and their different species (51), in decreasing frequency

  طير (generic, 15)
  غراب (raven, 9)
  رختة / مارخيم (vulture, 6)
  حمام (pigeon, 5)
  صقر (falcon, 4)
  عصفور (sparrow, 2)
  بغير (small bird\(^5\), 2)
  جبارى (bustard, 1)
  ضاضوة (Indian roller, 1)
  مطيطو (lapwing, 1)
  علما (griffon, 1)
  صفرد (quail, 1)
  يهطة (owl, 1)
  بوباغية (1)
  قلق (stork, 1)

- sheep and goats\(^6\) (counted together they precede the camel) (47)

  جامد (ewe, 12)
  شاة (goat; never sheep or ewe, 11)
  غنم (flock, 8)
  تيس (billy-goat, 7)
  كبش (ram, 5)
  هوش (flock, 1)
  سخلة (young goat, 1)
  عنز (female goat, 1)
  جلخا (hornless goat, 1)

- camels (under the following names, in decreasing frequency) (39)

  جمل (male, 14)
  طاقة (female, 11)
  بوش (generic, 7)
  فاطر (female which has recently given birth, 2)

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\(^5\) Dozy (1881 I, 100) explains بغير as either plongeon (diver, little grebe) or graculus (jackdaw). The meaning of the proverb where this word occurs and al-Humaydi’s explanation (“a bird smaller than the sparrow”) make these meanings unlikely here (see al-Humaydi 1986-94 IV, 203, esp. fn. 1).

\(^6\) For the terms denoting these animals cf. Landberg 1901-13 II/2, 712-715. These animals were counted together since غنم and هوش, meaning ‘flock’, are used both for goats and sheep.
- dogs (كلب) (31)
- donkeys (حمار) (26)
  Donkeys are referred to as himār in al-Humaydi’s collection, whereas Jayakar (1904a) uses exclusively the word mašrī (masā’ra).
- poultry (25) are represented, in decreasing frequency, by
  ديك (cock, 11)
  دجاجة (hen, chicken, 10)
  فرخ (duckling, chick, 3) and
  بط (duck, 1)
- cattle (23) appear, in decreasing frequency, in the forms of
  ثور (bull)
  بقرة (cow) and
  عجل (calf)
- fish (سمك) (22)
  Fish occupy only the eighth place in frequency, but besides the generic name (سمك 7) they appear in several varieties, from the different types of sardines (ورى 1, جبهة 1) through types of tuna (غيرة 1) to the biggest fish of Omani waters (أصل 2). Next to marine fish we find a small type (وفي 2) which lives in the aflāg and other sweet waters. Mention is also made of different types of dried and salted fish (ماحة 1, قاشع 2, سحننة 1, عوالة 9). Next to the fish, crabs (شنجوب 2) also appear in the proverbs as another type of animals that live in water. The great variety of fish mentioned in the proverbs reflect well the importance fishing occupies in the maritime settlements along the coastline of Oman, especially in the Batinah region.
- cats (سنور) (20)
- wolves (ذئب) (13)
- mice (فار) (11)
- gazelles (فأر, غزال) (8)
- horses (حصان, خيل) (8)

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7 For this word see Brockett 1985:164, no. 1142.
9 The dried and salted flesh of shark (geries, also called in some parts of Oman ilbom (literary Arabic ilham)). Cf. al-Humaydi 1986-94 II, 184, 350. See also Jayakar 1904b:268; Rhodokanakis 1908-1911 II, 53; and Jayakar 1889:866.
- snakes (حبيبة, 6 غول (1) (7)
- foxes (7)
- locusts (6)
- scorpions (7)
- scorpions (عقر) (6)

The other members of the animal kingdom which are mentioned in the proverbs appear six times or less, and include lions (أسد, 5), flies (ذباب, 5), ants (عمل, 1), monkeys (♀: سبالة, 2, and male: شاذ الب، 1), frogs (مجرة, 3), dung beetles (برقع الغريب, 1), worms (دود, 1), stinging insects (حشرة، 1) and also (لقط, 1), lice (حشرة، 1), mountain goats (الجلة، 1), rabbits (أرنب, 1), and the hyena (حيوان، 1).

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

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

3 Types of meaning and reference

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

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

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10 For this name see Brockett 1985:82, no. 324.
11 For this name see Brockett 1985:163, no. 1135.
12 For this name see Brockett 1985:74, no. 248.
13 For this name see Brockett 1985:121, no. 712.
14 From Baluchi šēdē (cf. Collett 1983:146). For the Persian origin of this word see Steingass 1892:722, where: šēdi “an ape”.
15 For this form, see Jayakar 1889:838.
16 al-Ḥumaydī (1986-94 IV, 167, fn. 9) mentions only that ǧūbā is a kind of animal. In a personal communication he further clarified that it is a kind of donkey now extinct.
17 For a survey of the wild animals in Oman see Harrison 1981.
18 Cf. Jayakar 1904a:436, 481. This animal is rare in other collections as well. It has been found in only one proverb by Al Sudaīs (1993: No 9 and also p. 226).
The percentage and number of animals in Omani proverbs

- **All other**: 19.16% (73)
- **Birds**: 13.39% (51)
- **Sheep & goats**: 12.34% (47)
- **Camels**: 10.23% (39)
- **Dogs**: 8.14% (31)
- **Donkeys**: 6.82% (26)
- **Poultry**: 6.56% (25)
- **Cattle**: 6.04% (23)
- **Fish**: 5.77% (22)
- **Wolves**: 3.41% (13)
- **Mice**: 2.89% (11)

Diagram I
iii) Extreme, usually imaginary acts used for the characterization of people’s behaviour
b) The interrelationship of people and animals
   i) Speaking about people
   ii) Speaking about animals
c) Reference to a specific animal or event connected to an animal
d) The observation, comparison and evaluation of animals
   i) Characterization of animals
   ii) Relationship of animals
   iii) Relationship of animals and plants
An additional type is made up of one proverb where the name of the animal is only chosen for linguistic purposes: جمل وأنت تقول جبيل أنا أقول (i.e. there is a misunderstanding between us)\(^{19}\).

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

3.1 The characterization of human behaviour in connection with animals

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

3.1.1 Positively evaluated habitual actions

No. 1057 (II, 287)
كل شاة تعلقة مِن عَرقوئِها
Every goat is hanged up by its hamstring (i.e. everything must be done as is usual).

No. 770 (II, 136)
الطيب يخرَج الخول مِن سرِه
Good deeds or kindness bring out the snake from its den.

No. 772 (II, 137)
الطائر يحَط عُلَحَب مَا عَلَقَب
Birds come for seeds, not the stick.

\(^{19}\) See al-Ḥumaydi 1986-94 I, 99; also Jayakar 1904a:444, no. 27.
No. 2619 (IV, 167)  
He beats it away as the ġūba²₀.

No. 1438 (III, 81)  
If there was no God and fish, the water could not go down the throat²¹.

3.1.2 Acts condemned by customs or considered unreasonable

No. 589 (II, 43)  
No. 1883 (III, 222)  
He does not even feed a cat.

No. 1014 (II, 269)  
Too many shepherds will disperse the herd.

No. 2219 (III, 323)  
If there are too many fishermen the fish will flee.

No. 1135 (II, 323)  
Like he who heats up the [dried] salted fish.

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

No. 2509 (IV, 117)  
Oh you stealer of the cock, there is a feather on your head (i.e. your crime is apparent).

No. 2607 (IV, 162)  
He slaughters the cow mourning the goat.

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

²¹ This proverb is current in the coastal areas of Oman where fish is the staple diet. It is used when drinking during meals.
No. 2749 (IV, 215) 
He gives his camel as a present and is compelled to [carry] the load.\(^{22}\)

3.1.3 Extreme, usually imaginary acts used for the characterization of people’s behaviour
No. 1946 (III, 240)
No one can lead a cock on a rope.

No. 2641 (IV, 175)
He pierces the fly\(^{23}\) which flies by (i.e. a very swift person).

No. 842 (II, 177)
You should eat meat even if taken away from the vulture (i.e. even if it be taken away by force and with difficulty from the vulture).

No. 2719 (IV, 203)
When we have meat we do not hunt the vulture.\(^{24}\)

3.2 The interrelationship of people and animals
The proverbs that fall into this category can be further divided as follows:

3.2.1 Speaking about people (people usually, but not always, appear as owners of animals)
No. 903 (II, 213)
You have missed the meat of your goat (i.e. an opportunity).

No. 1628 (III, 143)
He took only the ears of the goat (i.e. he is very poor).

No. 2438 (IV, 89)
Eat together with a mouse rather than with a long-nailed [man].

\(^{22}\) A famous example for the occurrence of this event is found in Imru’ l-Qays’s Mu’allaqa (line 11 in Jones 1996:60): wa-yamua’aqar s il-sadāra matīyyati (“a day when I hamstrung my camel for the young unmarried women”). For the details of the story, see Ibn Qutayba, Si’r 44-45.

\(^{23}\) It deserves to be pointed out that nowadays the number of flies has greatly decreased, wherever descriptions even from the 1950s do not omit to mention the enormous amount of flies (cf. Morris 1990: 75 describing his personal experiences in 1955).

\(^{24}\) It is needless to emphasize the filthy nature of the vulture, but in case of hunger and no other meat available people might have been forced to hunt it as it seems apparent from the proverb.
No. 1741 (III, 91) 
Whose guide is a raven will fall to a pit. (Cf. No. 2438)

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

No. 1843 (III, 212) 
Mice do not enter your house except if there is enmity between its inhabitants and their neighbours.

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

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

No. 1105 (II, 310) 
The black bitch, whether steals or not, is the thief (i.e. people are prejudiced and hate those against whom they are prejudiced).

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

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

No. 1731 (III, 177) 
No fly has dropped in it (i.e. in a dish, so it is desirable.)

No. 892 (II, 204) 
The raven leads to destitution.

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

26 Though the wording is different, the meaning is that of No. 1741 quoted above.
3.3 Reference to a specific animal or event connected to an animal

No. 2272 (III, 340)

What has made you learn how to divide? He answered: what [I saw] in the face of the wolf.

No. 902 (II, 209)

The serpent of the Hanaba [Omani tribe]

No. 1183 (II, 343)

Like the cat of Adam, you can lift it or put it down, its weight is always one man (4 kgs).

No. 1625 (III, 142)

He did not accept [the help to stop the bull] save from al-Ayn.

3.4 The observation, comparison and evaluation of animals

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

3.4.1 Characterization of animals

3.4.1.1 As expressed by a complete sentence

No. 973 (II, 248)

A frog cannot exhaust the running water of the wadi (i.e. it is too weak to exert any influence).

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

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

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

30 Though no animal is mentioned in this proverb, it becomes apparent from the accompanying story that the events centred around a bull and his owner. The story is as follows: There was a man in the town of ‘Ibri who had a bull which escaped one day. The people were frightened and offered their help to the man to stop the running bull, but he refused their help until finally, they arrived at the distant village of al-Ayn, where the bull was stopped with the help of the local people. Cf. al-Ḥumaydi 1986-94 III, 142.
No. 1357 (III, 52)  
Neither the milk, nor the meat of old goats is to be eaten for dinner (i.e. it is too heavy).

No. 1311 (III, 44)  
Neither the running water nor the gazelle will ever be tired (i.e. this is their constant characteristic by which they are in equilibrium).

No. 2371 (IV, 56)  
Ants will only go on grease (i.e. interest, incentive).

No. 2743 (IV, 212)  
When the raven will turn grey (i.e. impossibility).

3.4.1.2 As expressed by comparison

No. 1172 (II, 339)  
Like a dove submitting to God (i.e. submission, surrender).

No. 584 (II, 40)  
The cat of two quarters (i.e. taking advantage where it can; also: hypocrisy)

No. 623 (II, 60)  
As the drinking of a mountain-goat\textsuperscript{31}.

No. 1192 (II, 348)  
Like the blind female Indian roller, the nourishment comes to her hole.  
This proverb is used to describe inability as well as laziness and improper behaviour.  
In its meaning and the portrayal of an animal not moving for its food, it is similar to the next proverb, though one proverb describes a wild animal, while the other a domestic one:

No. 1117 (II, 315)  
Like the cow whose food is underneath her\textsuperscript{32}.

\textsuperscript{31} It is said that if a mountain goat drinks from a source it does not return to it once more.  
According to others, this animal drinks only once a year.  
Be as it may, the proverb refers to those who know how to take advantage of an opportunity when it arises.

\textsuperscript{32} We can understand this observation if we keep in mind that cows are penned in, and so they can hardly move.  
This is how they are kept in most parts of Oman with the exception of the Zofar region where, owing to the monsoon, there are rich pastures.
3.4.2 Relationship of animals

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

No. 912 (II, 217)  
فِيْنَتْ النَّفْسُ وَلَا فِيْنَتْ الْقُرْءَةْ
Rather inside a snake than a frog (i.e. the snake symbolises strength, while the frog weakness).

No. 776 (II, 142)  
الْطَّيِّبَةٌ ثُقُودُهَا غُرْرُانُهَا
The gazelles are lead by their offsprings (i.e. it is the opposite what should be, since the old should lead the young).

No. 597 (II, 49)  
الشَّجَادُ يُفْتَينَ أَمْةً غَرْرَالَ
The monkey is a gazelle in the eyes of his mother (i.e. motherly) love is blind.

No. 642 (II, 68)  
شَنْتِجَوبٌ مَّنْسَيْحِ جَنْرَمْ
A crab draws a whale ashore.

No. 643 (II, 68)  
شَنْتِجَوبٌ مَّنْغَرَقِ حَجَمْ
A crab drowns a camel.

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

3.4.3 Relationship of animals and plants

No. 679 (II, 89)  
الصَّدَمُ مَنْ قَصَصَتْهُ السُّنَّتُ
The wild thyme becomes the small fish (that live in the falaj)\(^ {33} \).

No. 891 (II, 204)  
غَرَابٌ فَوْقُ يَاسَمِينِهِ
Raven on a jasmine (i.e. lack of harmony)\(^ {34} \).

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

\(^ {34} \) This proverb is the opposite of No. 679 by the portrayal of the black raven on a bush white jasmine.
No. 767 (II, 133)

The length is that of a palm-tree, but the brain is that of a young goat (i.e. appearances can be deceptive).

No. 2737 (IV, 210)

The day people fold their palm leaves [on which the dates were spread out to dry], there comes the raven to unfold them.

4 The morale of the proverbs

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

No. 1195 (II, 350)

Like an unlicked calf (i.e. it has not yet been licked by its mother after its birth, so it became restless and disturbed)

No. 2560 (IV, 140)

Shakes like the meat of the [freshly slaughtered] calf.

No. 2553 (IV, 138)

Jumps like the ram of the Handalites. (This proverb is connected to a ram of this tribe which was famous for its constant merry jumping).

No. 1133 (II, 322)

Like whose [mother] was a locust collector (i.e. according to local belief the child whose mother had collected locust while pregnant will be as restless as a locust)

No. 1162 (II, 335)

Like locust in a saddle-bag (i.e. these locust keep moving continuously).

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

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

36 It is also very common that one proverb is used to express different morales.
ANIMALS IN OMANI PROVERBS

No. 1170 (II, 338)
Like [hot and fluid] sweet in a vessel (i.e. it flutters).

5 Conclusion

A comparative analysis of animal proverbs would merit some attention. It can, however, be said at this point that although several proverbs most certainly belong to a common Arabic stock of proverbs\(^{37}\), there are several others that cannot be found outside Oman\(^{38}\). From these two groups a picture of Omani life can be drawn as is seen by the local people.

Though the detailed comparison of the representation of animals in different proverb collections is outside the scope of the present investigation, eight animals (or animal groups\(^{39}\)) were chosen and their relative occurrences are presented in Diagrams 2 and 3 on the basis of three proverb collections, those of al-Humaydi, Al Sudaïs and the collection of Classical Arabic proverbs by al-Maydâni\(^{40}\). These animals, selected on the basis of their frequency in Omani proverbs, are as follows: sheep and goats, camels, dogs, cats, cattle, fish, donkeys, and wolves. Diagram 2 presents the frequency of the selected animals within the entire collections, whereas diagram 3 presents their frequency within the animal proverbs of each collection. From the 6000 proverbs collected by al-Maydâni 1100 contain references to animals (18%), this ratio is 22% in the collection of Al Sudaïs (263 proverbs from 1100), whereas it is only 12.66% in case of the Omani proverbs (348 proverbs from 2749). This, in itself, reflects the difference in the societies where the proverbs were collected.

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

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

\(^{38}\) An excellent example for Omani proverbs with special local flavour is provided by the many proverbs which mention fish.

\(^{39}\) Sheep and goats were treated as one group, and animals were not differentiated according to their sex.

\(^{40}\) In connection with al-Maydâni’s collection one should mention the series of articles written by T. Fahd where he collected and analysed the animal proverbs of that collection (Fahd 1971-78).
Diagram 2

The percentage of selected animals in three collections

- Classical
- Njëdi
- Omani

- wolves
- cats
- fish
- cattle
- donkeys
- dogs
- camels
- sheep & goats

0.00%
1.00%
2.00%
3.00%
4.00%
5.00%
The percentage of selected animals within the animal proverbs of three collections

Diagram 3
highly esteemed Bedouin culture, whereas the relatively elevated position of the wolf – as compared to, for example, the cattle – can be understood if we think of the position this animal fills in the poetry of an extended period of Arabic literature. The negligible number of cattle and other representative of animal husbandry proves that proverbs were not collected from rural communities and there was a general despise and disregard for agriculture. Though the comparison of different present day dialectal proverb collections to the Classical collection of al-Maydānī may yield interesting results, present day collections – so, for example, the proverbs of Najd and Oman – can more primarily be compared. It is especially so, since when al-Maydānī collected the Classical proverbs he did not concentrate upon his age or a certain territory, but span across centuries and various territories. In this respect, the less sedentary nature of Najdi society is apparent from the relative frequency of the selected animals. In spite of the diversity of Omani landscape, the society in its majority can be considered sedentary, and the largest nomadic territory being the desert of Ḟaddat al-Harāsīs which area did not belong to the areas of collection, a fact easily understandable knowing how scarcely populated this large area is, and how difficult the access to the different tribes is.

Animal proverbs reflect the environment in which they are collected. This is best apparent from the frequency of proverbs mentioning fish. The long coastline of Oman and the traditional fishing industry explain why the number of Omani proverbs containing references to fish is nine times more than those of Najd. Wild, semi-wild animals (wolves, dogs) appear more frequently in Najdi proverbs. This ratio is also true for the camel, and we should not forget that Najd is the home of camel breeding nomads. Whereas the more rural and semi-nomadic characteristic of Oman is well expressed by the higher frequency of sheep and goats. The sedentary nature of Omani society is also well represented by the cat which occurs about three times more than in the Najdi proverbs.

The content analysis of animal proverbs of Oman has shown that although these proverbs amount only to one seventh of the whole collection, the minute observation of animal life and its vivid representation in the animal proverbs confirm that they are indispensable to our understanding of Omani way of life and thinking.

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41 In connection with the place of the wolf in Arabic literature, cf. Ullmann 1981.
42 For the scope of the collection see Al Sudais 1993:vii.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES TO
“THE VICTISSITUDES OF TWO LINES OF POETRY”

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In the first volume of the Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa, Budapest 1995 (The Arabist 17.81-94), I published a paper carrying the above title. On p. 91, note 36, I noted that in order to justify my suggestions on the authorship of the two qīṭṭās in this article, as well as my suggestions on possible interpretations, I would have to add several appendices. On the one hand I felt that I would, by making such additions, take up too much space in a publication which had to provide room for a considerable number of papers by participants of the Colloquium; and on the other hand I was hoping that I would find some additional material suitable for being included in a list of appendices and make some corrections. In the following I present the results, still meagre, of my earlier and later findings which I hope may make it easier for readers of my earlier article to draw their own conclusions. I may as well begin by listing some less important typographical errors and omissions that slipped into my article in the Proceedings:

p. 81 (under B): The reading muqṭirīn for muqṭarīn which is found only in the version of as-Silafi, is a poetic license. Uncontracted forms from reduplicated roots are not very common in the middle of a line, but see Wright 1962 I, 69 A-B; II, 378 B-D, and Ibn al-Aṣʿīr, Niḥāya III, 205 l. 1.

p. 83, l. 10: read 221, not 221.

p. 84, ff. Possible translations of II: Professor Annemarie Schimmel informed me that the ʿraʾ is commonly compared with the dagger. This would fit in with a description of love sickness as perilous to the lover, and lend support to the reading ad-daʾī as a possibly deadly disease if indeed the poet intended a hyperbole. The preference of Prof. Irfān Shāhīd, also expressed in a letter, is for ad-daʾī. To both scholars I feel indebted for their kind suggestions.

p. 85, note 15: read ʿarkububī. According to Dozy 1927: s.v. ʿarkub may be the plural of ʿrikāb ʿerīyar, stirrup. One may be tempted to read ʿarkububī, ‘holding on to its stirrups’, but this would result in a metaphor too far fetched to be acceptable; idem, note 17: Nuwayrī, Niḥāya I, 255, and al-Maqzūrī, Nasb I, 33 have ḡirāḍ for raṭṭāt. ibid (poem by Ibn Raṣḥīq); see now also Ibn Raṣḥīq, Dīwān 174, no. 210 (ḡirāḍ for raṭṭāt).

p. 86, note 19: read ʿirīṣuḥū, ḥāṣuṭuḥū, ʿubāḍuḥū, masāṭuḥū, not ʿirtuṣuḥū, etc.

p. 87, l. 9: read ʿaʾyībī

p. 87, l. 16: read qalṭu, qalḥu; l. 20, read: “in the second of two lines”; l. 21 read: “... qīṭaʾ as a whole and can therefore be disregarded, except in C”.

p. 88, l. 10: read al-ʿina

p. 90, l. 3: The second line should perhaps be understood in the sense that, being sad, he puts his hands with the letter raʾ written on it to his face.

p. 90, note 29: read ‘anonymous’, not anonymous.

p. 90, second line from the bottom: read Taḥḥābat 132, no. 251.

p. 91, l. 1-3: see also ar-Ramāḍī, Shīr 51, no. 1.
Appendix I
The letter rāʾ (poems I and II)
Rāʾ for raʾy, and rāʾihī for raʾyībī:

Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, ʿIqd V, 71 (anonymous):

قائل: للخليفة في اكتفائه دون الأنام بحصان رأيه

and al-Kutubi, Fawātīh II, 438 (no. 320) by Ibn Humārāš (d. 619/1222-23):

عثمان بن خمار تاش الهيثمي ... وله ما نزوج:

كان رأيي أن لا يكون اللذي كان فيها ليتني شرَّكتُ براة

Cf. also Wright 1962 II, 376 B-C and al-Mubarrad, Kāmil 626 & 1113:

قال كُتُبَ:

وقال خليل راهتي فهو قائل

قوله راهمي يريد رأيي. رأتي

وقال الحارث بن خالد المخزومي:

فر عبيد العزيز إذ رآى عيسى

قوله إذ رآى عيسى الأصل رأى ولكنه قلب فقدم اللف وأختر الهبرة كما كتب... الخ

Appendix II
Rāʾ in speaking of the sea, zabād (poem I)

See Bonebakker 1996:84, bottom of the page under 3, Ibn Manzūr, Lisān III, 193a, az-Zabīdī, Taḡ I, 256a-b (cf. VIII, 131b); Lane 1863-93 s.v. zabād; and cf. ad-Dinawarī (d. 282/895-896), Nabāt 275-276, no. 1028, s.v. māzāz; Ibn al-Abbār, Hulla II, 297. Ibn Manzūr, Lisān:

والزيد زيد الجمل الهائج وهو لعامة الأثواب التي تلتزخ به مشافرة إذا هاج ولبحر زيد إذا هاج

موجه، الجوهري: زيد زيد الماء والبحر والفضة وغيرها.

az-Zabīdī, Taḡ:

وقال أبو الهيثم الراة زيد البحر وانشد:

كأن بحثها وحمشيَّتها

والمحجع أثفيها رأى ومضنها

والمظلم الأيمن وهو دم الغزال الغ

ad-Dinawarī:

وأنشد أبو الهيثم لبعض غلي:

خو يصر الحاد ميَن إذا عظا

كأن بحثها وحمشيَّتها

والمظلم أثفيها رأى ومضنها

Ibn al-Abbār (d. 627/1229-30), Hulla:

كالبحر لا تقدم المرجان لجَّته إلَّا إذا قذفت أمواجه الزبدا

1 Cf. below, Appendix VII. Cf. also as-Saraqūstī, Afāḥ. Rāḥa l-māʾu ... idā ṭurabba ʿalā waṣṣīfī l-arādī wa-

huwa r-ruwāhā wazay-yoqulū r-ayyū ruwāhā ssārābī aṣī dīṭābūn. Doubts about the existence of this root in Ibn Fāris, Maqāyīs 432a.
Appendix III

Rā’ alluding to riqq (poem II) or to other terms beginning with a rā’

In support of the interpretation suggested on p. 87, lines 11-12, one could quote from aš-Šariši, Šarb (Beirut ed.) III, 42, (Cairo ed.) III, 259 (Maqāma 25)²

"ألقى بها الحرة إن وافق فإن بردًا رق وروج ورقيق وريق رشأ ورفق وريشان وريق رشأ"  

Instead of taking the rā’ as a reference to riqq as suggested by the editors of at-Ta’ālibī, Mutrib (see Bonebakker 1996:87, under A), one may think of other references, such as rifqa or rafaqā’, i.e. the heart of the lover is a constant companion to the beloved. But I have no support for this suggestion other than the phrase rafiq al-qalb, translated ‘compatissant’ in Dozy 1927 I, 544a, l. 5. Moreover, this expression was taken from the dictionary of Ellious Bochner revised and published in Paris in 1864³. See also below, Appendix IX.

Appendix IV

Letters in similes: Rā’ for sudg

So far the only examples I have found of the sudg being compared to the rā’ are in Ibn Abi ā’Awn, Tašbihāt, and Ibn ā’Abdrabbih, ʿIqd.

Ibn Abi ā’Awn (Tašbihāt 251) quotes from Mānī [al-Muwaswis] (d. 245/859-860):

"ماء السدغ معه خفيف والماء معه نفف"  

The same line appears in Ibn ā’Abdrabbih, ʿIqd VI, 475. The ʿIqd has mutahāyyi run for muṭa’asfirun and li-r-rāʾi for ar-rāʾi. Ibn ā’Abdrabbih attributes this line to an unnamed muḥdāt poet.

In addition we find in ʿIqd V, 510 by Ibn ā’Abdrabbih himself:

"لا يأتي سدغ حكى المعنى عطشته وصارت ميسك قد حكى مسكة الروائي"  

As noted above, Professor Annemarie Schimmel kindly informed me that she never came across an example of the rā’ compared to a curl or tress, but that the rā’ is commonly compared with the dagger.

² As far as I can see one can suggest various vowellings.
³ See Dozy 1927:XI, last paragraph.
⁴ See also Ibn ā’Abdrabbih, Dīwān 20, no. 2.
Appendix V

Some further examples of letters in descriptions of parts of the body the ‘aqrab, the șawlağ, etc.

Ibn Hağala, Dîwân 46-48 has a section on similes for parts of the body: As far as I can make out (the text is full of errors), this section lists the letters that appear in similes. They are as follows: the alif (‘ārid, ‘cheek’; or ‘hair on the cheek’?), șîn (tanâyû, ‘central incisors’), șîn (turra or turra madfûra, ‘plaited forelock’), șâd (‘eye’), șayn (ṣudgô), șâm (‘ārid, ‘cheek’; or ‘hair on the cheek’?), șîm (‘mouth’), nûn (hağûb, ‘eyebrow’), waâw (‘ārid and șudgô?). Thus the șudg is compared to the șayn and the waâw only, and the șâm is not mentioned.

Schimmel (1970:13) mentions the șîl, the șîm, the șâm, and the qâf for ‘curls or tresses’, nûn for a ‘curl with a mole’, and șîn for ‘teeth’, șâd or șayn for ‘almond-shaped eyes’, and refers in a footnote to Rosenthal 1961:19. For the use of letters in satirical poetry, see Ibn Dânîyûl, Three Shadow Plays 25, and Corrao 1996:149-153. A new element is the letter șayn on p. 40 (p. 130, notes 41-44), compared (according to Corrao) to a protruding eye covered by an eyelid with a speck (skin blemish: “occhi a palla sormontati da un punto che fa da sopraciglio”5).

Examples from Persian literature are discussed in detail in another recent article, Neubauer 1994. On pp. 570-574, for instance, the article mentions the letter șîm for ‘Stirnlocken’ and, also compared to ‘Scheren des Krebses’ (‘aqrab), and the șâm-alîf for ‘Zöpfe (zolf)’. The șîm stands also for ‘Braue’, the șâd stands for the eye, the șîm for the mouth 6.

This category of similes is not particularly attractive, but it occurs frequently. It may therefore be useful to quote some examples from other texts 7.

Ibn Abî șAwn (Tașbihât 250) quotes the following line by Ibn al-Muṭazz (d. 296/908):

5 “... fa‘aṣnubâ liḏâlīka șayn”. The interpretation by Corrao is probably based on the description of her skin two lines up: “wa-haddûn mudarrajatun bi-l-bûrû wa-n-namašt”. Ibn Dânîyûl, Three Shadow Plays 25: wa-ṣadābû șatûbû wašûn should perhaps be read wa-ṣudâbû șatûbû wašûn.

6 See also Neubauer 1994:579, l. 2, and 580, line 11 from the bottom of the page.

7 A curious example of the popularity of plays on the letters occurs in a line by bād aI-Ağam in Ibn Abî l-Iṣba’, Ṭahrîr 494, and Ibn Ḥûṣân, Hitbâna 359: the șîdâr is compared to a șâm; the colour of the turra (hair over the forehead) is compared to a black night; the mouth [while smiling] is compared to a șâd robbing the lover of sleep:

The letters șâm and șâd stand for lîss, robber. The terms lâyî and suqîq in the second line indicated respectively the profession of the lîss and the darkness the robber seeks. Cf. also al-Kâwâbânî (d. 1151/1738-39), Ṭîr 147:

باقعٍ أَثْمَت مَلَأَتْهُ حَاجَبٍ
لَمْ يَقْطَنَ سَادٌ وَلَا يَراءٌ
and on the same page:

ibidem, 251:

ibidem, 252:

and:

as-Sarî ar-Raffâ‘ (d. 362/972-973), Muḥibb I, 75, no. 115 by al-Mufaţţâ‘ (d. 327/939; see GAS II, 509-510):


Ibn al-Kattâni, Taşbîhât 123, Ch. XIX, no. 224; transl. 125. The poet is Sa‘îd b. al-‘Âs (not identified):

This rá‘ is interpreted by Hoenerbach (1973:125) as referring to a mustache.

In Ibn al-Kattâni’s Taşbîhât the sudg compared to a scorpion, less often to a letter: Ch. XXI, no. 235, l. 2; transl. 128, no. 1, (see Heinrichs 1980:364b). The poet is Sulaymân b. Muhammad b. Bâtîl (d. cca 400/1009):

ibidem, 129, no. 237, l. 2; transl. 128. The poet is Marwân b. ‘Abdarrahmân:

ibidem, 130, no. 239; transl. 129, no. 5 (Heinrichs 1980:364b see Ullmann 1977:118, l. 18). The poet is Yûsuf b. Hârûn [ar-Ramâdî]:

See also Ibn Hallîkân, Waṣfayât V, 63 (cf. below, Appendix VI): example by al-Hubz’aruzzi (d. cca 330/941; see GAS II, 520-521; ‘aqrab); and Schippers 1988:210. To

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8 A tawwun bunaﬀa‘a, carried by the beloved, 142, Ch. XXVI, no. 275. The poet is ‘Abdalmalik b. Ġawhar.

9 See al-Ḥumaydî, Ġadwa 206.
this important study I owe the references to Ibn al-Kattānī, Tašbihāt 129, no. 235 and Ibn Abī ‘Awn, Tašbihāt 251.

Giese (1981:49, 58 (cf. p. 50)) refers to Kuşāğım, Divwān 316, no. 300; the sudg of a girl compared to the niṣn; p. 343, no. 322 to ‘scorpions’. On p. 450, no. 443 of Kuşāğım’s Divwān, blue is characterized as the colour of mourning. On p. 250 of Ibn Abī ‘Awn, Tašbihāt, Abū Nuwās compares the two sudg to two qaṣfās.


Ibn Dihya (d. 633/1235-36), Mutrib 121-122; as-Sařīšī, Ṣarḥ (Beirut ed.) II, 222 (Cairo ed. III, 118), Maqāmā no. 23. The poem is by al-Ḥadrāmī (d. 609/1212-13, see GAS II, 110):

科尔بد السكين فوق ندى لام المذار بدأ
أورد قبلي الردى لام المذار بدا:

and on the same page:

Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1259-60), Tuhfah 120, poem by Ṣafwān b. Idris at-Tuṭībi (d. 598/1201):

Ibn al-Abbār, Tuhfah 121, poem by Abū Bakr Yahyā b. Ahmad b. Baqi‘ al-Ībīlī:

ibidem, 131, poem by Ibn Kisrā al-Māla‘iqi (d. 603-604/1206-08) on a dancer by the name of Nuzha:

Ibn Kisrā is said to have borrowed the theme from Abū ‘Ubāda b. Mā‘ as-Samā‘ (d. 540/1145):

Ibn as-Sabūnī (d. 634/1233-34), al-Kutubī, Fawāʾid III, 285; as-Safādī, Wāfī II, 100:

ابن كنها في اعتمالها ألب ترجع عند اقتصافها لاما

ibidem, 233 by Ibn as-Sabūnī (d. 634/1233-34)12, al-Kutubī, Fawāʿid III, 285; as-Safādī, Wāfī II, 100:

وانوات أصدق أقارب نسية

234 بوصف عقارب

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11 See also Ibn Sa‘īd, Muṣāriḥ II, 260. Lines from this poem in ed. al-Garnāṭī (d. 760/1359), Šarḥ I, 57.

12 See p. 230 for references, some not correct.
VICISSITUDES OF POETRY — APPENDICES

Appendix VI

The latāq as something attractive to the lover

al-Ǧumahi, Tabaqāt 70, observes that an occasional ziḥaf is attractive, just like a ḥaswul or a latāq in a slave girl.

Ibn Bassām, Dahira I, 306: Ibn Bassām quotes Abū ʿAmir b. Șuhayd (d. 426/1035) who is in love with an alṭāq:

\[ \text{ياذكَرِيْيَلَىِْالْأَكَبَائِ جَمْعَةٌ مُّحْرَقٍ} \]

\[ \text{ضَنَّ لِي بِالْبَنْغَّ لا يَزَالُ حَدْيِهِ} \]

In the title of the article "What is the tress like", perhaps "curling lock" would be a better translation. One could also consult Chebel 1995 (unreliable), 138-139 quoting Şarafaddin ar-Rāmi, Anis al-ṣušaq (trad. Huart?): lām, geyn, ẓim.
and follows this up with other lines on the subject. On p. 308 he quotes a poem by ar-Ramādī, see Bonebakker 1996:90, 1. 3-4.

as-Šafādi, Nusrā 238, makes clear that in poems on the al-taqāf there are frequent plays on the name Wāsīl, the Muʿtazilite, known for his theological views but perhaps equally famous for his inability to pronounce the letter rā':

وأما رأيت الشَّيب راء بِعَضْرِي

explained (Nusrā 240) in the following way:

وَشَيَّبَ الَّذِي بِعَضْرِي

On the same page the Nusrā quotes the line by ar-Ramādī which, he says, is fi malih. Ibn Hallikān, Wafayāt V, 61-6214; idem, ed. ʿAbbās VI, 9 and 10:

وَأَسْتَمَّلَ الشَّيْرَاء إِسْقَاطِ الْرَّاءِ فِي أَشْعَارِهِمْ كَثِيرًا... وَقَالَ أَخْرَى:

وَقَطَعَ الْجَنَّةَ حَتَّى كَانَ كَأَنْ تَأْوِيَاً

and:

وَقَطَعَ خَالِلَ الصَّدَقَةَ

وَأَمَّنَجَلَّ وَصِلَ الْرَّاءَ لَمْ تَنَطُّقِ بِهَا

فَكَنَّا قَوْلَ بِضَمْ: لما وَبَيْاضَ الْقَشْقَيْنَ مُحْيَةٌ

لَفَنْتَ سَلَاةَ هَذَا الْلَّيْلَ

مُسْلِمَةَ دُونَ الأَنْفَامِ عَلَى الْجَلْدِ

Moslem in the Alavī Schools.


ibidem, 63 (= VI, 10), by al-Hubz'aruzzī:

وَكَانَ الْأَمِينَ يَقُولَ وَقَالَ لَهُ الزَّهْرَاءُ

وَقَدْ نَضَغَتْ كَأَسِ الْحَيَاةِ وَأَظْهَرَتْ

يَدِينَهُ وَالْشَّيْخَ سَكَّتاً عَلَى سَكَّتِهِ

The poem by ar-Ramādī is quoted on p. 62.

Ibn al-Kattānī, Taṣbīḥat, 179-182, Ch. 40, nos. 375-380: Bāb fi l-bahr wa-s-sufun; transl. 167-168 (introduction 152-160); see also Heinrichs 1980:368b, Ullmann 1977: 121, and al-Hafṣā (d. 748/1374, see Bonebakker 1996:83, F.), Ṭirāz 220-221. See also: Ibn Hamdīs, Diwān 8, no. 6:

Appendix VII

The sea, dangers of the sea, the ship15


Ibn al-Kattānī, Taṣbīḥat, 179-182, Ch. 40, nos. 375-380: Bāb fi l-bahr wa-s-sufun; transl. 167-168 (introduction 152-160); see also Heinrichs 1980:368b, Ullmann 1977: 121, and al-Hafṣā (d. 748/1374, see Bonebakker 1996:83, F.), Ṭirāz 220-221. See also: Ibn Hamdīs, Diwān 8, no. 6:

14 The poem by ar-Ramādī is quoted on p. 62.

15 Ibn Sīdā, Muḥassen, 10th chapter, corresponding to the first chapter in III, 15-29, in particular 23-29. See article l浑m in Ep, especially the section on symbolism of colour.
Appendix VIII
Blue as the colour of mourning; blue in a garment

We find the theme of the second line of poem no. II in Kušāqīm, Divān 27, no. 7, lines 1 and 3. See Giese 1981:51:

ibidem, 450, no. 443; Giese 1981:58:

al-Himyarī, Badi‘ (e.g. 36, 37, 68, 106) offers examples of associations of the banafṣāg with sadness16.

Ibn Ḥamdīs, Divān, appendix 537 taken from Maʿāhid at-tansīs 372 (two lines); Ibn al-ʿAṯīr, Matḥal, II, 32:

يا سالبا قَمِّر السماء جمالها

and by Abū Gaʿfar (Abū Ḥāfṣ 7) b. Burd:


16 White is the colour of mourning in Spain, see ʿImādaddin, Harida II, 187 and Pères 1953:299.
Appendix IX

Qalb: emotional associations

For *risqa* and *rusqa* see above, Appendix III.

at-Tawhidi, *Basa'ir* IV, 142, no. 491:

قال سهل بن هامون: ينبغي للنديم أن يكون كأشما خُلقي من قلب الملك يتصرف بشوهاته الخ

al-Askari, *Divan* (Cairo ed.) I, 222-285, (Beirut ed.) 214-274, passim, e.g. (Cairo ed.) 264, (Beirut ed. 254):

�ٌظْبِي قِدِّه مِن قَلْبِ اللَّدِّن النَّاسِ بَاِيِّئَةَ من المُودَةِ تَجَنَّ أُطِيبَ السَّمْرَ


 أهم ذلك الردي الخ حرك قلبي فطار and أو ردي قلبي الورد الخ حرك قلبي فطار (see above)

as-Safādi, *Fadd* 226; Bonebakker 1966:95, poem by at-Tilimsānī (d. 680/1289, see GAL I, 258, S I, 458):

وَمَا كَانَ مِجَانُونَ الْهَوْرَى قَبْلَ أَن يَزِيَ الْخَلْطَيْيَ مِنْ صَدَقَيْكَ فِي الْآَسَرِ عَاقِل

To explain the *tawriya*, as-Safādi paraphrases this line as follows:

وَمَا كَانَ مِجَانُنَ الْهَوْرَى قَبْلَ أَن يَزِيَ عَاقِلَ مِنْ صَدَقَيْكَ لَقْبَيْكَ فِي الْآَسَرِ

See at-Tilimsānī, *Divan* 200, no. 245. Part of this poem is in al-Kutubi, *Fawāt* III, 377; as-Safādi, *Wāfi* III, 134.


والقلب النُؤْدَاد ... أو ... أَخْصِ الأَيْ أَأَمَّل النُؤْدَاد في الاستعمال ويشهد له حديث "أَناَ أَكَمْ أَهْلِيَمَن

هم أَرقَ قلبي وأَليَنَ أَفْتَدُية" ووصف القلوب بالرقة

Appendix X

Authorship

Can we trust at-Tabāli, as-Silāfī, Ibn Dīhya, Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hašāfi against the other authors I quoted when they attribute these two curious lines to Ibn Rašīq?

I have not found as yet any inclination that Ibn Rašīq (d. 456/1063-64 or 463/1070-71) after leaving Tunisia and setting in Sicily moved on to Spain, even for a short visit. The question has been dealt with by al-Bāghi (1961:203-204, 254-255), and by 'Abdalwahhāb (1970:82-83, 92-93). al-Bāghi cites a scathing poem by Ibn Rašīq on
the "Abbadids". If indeed Ibn Rašiq was the author of these lines, it is unlikely that he ever had any intention of going to Spain. I cite this rather amusing qit'a:

\[
\text{"مما يَزَرُدُونِي في أرض أندلس تُقَبِّب مَعْتَضِدَ فيها وَمَعَتِيد كَاهِر يُنْكِنِي انتِقَافًا صوَّةَ الأَسْرُ\"}
\]

al-Bāqī citing al-Maymanī (1924:69-71)\(^{18}\) argues, however, that Ibn Rašiq is not likely to have composed an aggressive poem on the "Abbadids who had not done him any harm; nor was aggression part of his character. They therefore reject Ibn Rašiq's authorship of the two lines. The following version of the invitation extended to Ibn Rašiq, if correct, makes Ibn Rašiq's authorship even less likely:

"Abdalwahhāb 1970:93-94, citing a passage in Ibn Bassām's Dāhīra (IV, 2 = VIII, 610-611) suggests that after having refused to join Ibn Šaṣāf al-Qayrawānī (d. 460/1067 in Seville)\(^{19}\) who embarked for Spain in 447/1057\(^{20}\), Ibn Rašiq changed his mind and was prepared, even eager\(^{21}\), to join al-"Abbād al-Muṭāḍid (433/1042-461/1069) in Spain, but was left behind by the merchant who was supposed to provide transportation. At a later date he seems to have planned the trip once more, but could not - or could no longer - bring himself to venture on the sea\(^{22}\). On this last occasion he would have composed two short poems; the first, the poem on ilaybi, I have quoted earlier (Bonebakker 1996:85, bottom of the page). The second runs as follows\(^{23}\):

\[\text{...}\]


\(^{18}\) al-Maymanī attributed the poem to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār (d. 479/1086; see \textit{EP I}, 705b-706b), see preceding note. The work by al-Maymanī is not accessible to me, but his suggestion is supported by ʿImādaddin, \textit{Harida} I, 72: \textit{wa-mimmā yunsabu ilaybi: mimmā yuqaābiha ʿindi dīkra Andalūsīn samā' u Muṭāḍārin (sic).}


\(^{20}\) See \textit{EP} s.v. "Ibn Šaṣāf" for a detailed biography. The two poets were bitter rivals, but seem to have made up their quarrel in Tunis or in Sicily.

\(^{21}\) Ibn Bassām, \textit{Dāhīra VIII}, 610, 1. 14: \textit{yartāhu ilā ḍanābīhi.}

\(^{22}\) Ibn Bassām, \textit{Dāhīra VIII}, 610, il. 19-20: \textit{ṣaṣāf ṭāma ramā ... haʿda ḍalika rukūb bахri fa-ḥašuna labū masabu ṭa-la-m tasāʿidhu ilā rukūbīhi naṣṣhu, fa-qāla ...}

Was the two line poem quoted by Bonebakker 1996:81ff perhaps composed by Abū l-ʿArab? Ibn Bassām’s Dabīra mentions a list of texts offering biographical details about Abū l-ʿArab (d. 506/1112-13). In 464 the advance of the “Rūm” made him decide to leave Sicily. He joined al-Muʿtamīd in Seville the next year becoming the favourite of al-Muʿtamīd as well as of other rulers.

Two notes in as-Silafî, Abbār (68, 137-138) should be taken into consideration: One ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad al-Balaqī meets as-Silafî in Alexandria; after stating that he was born in 487, and was a hatīb in Tīmsān, he mentions that he met Abū l-ʿArab in Majorca. The second note mentions that al-Walīd b. ʿIsāʾīl al-Ǧāfiqī met Abū l-ʿArab in Spain and heard him recite two lines of poetry, the first of which was:

Could one suggest reading al-bahr for an-nahr and mimma for mimman?

The same poet praises al-Muʿtamīd when he has to undertake a sea journey (Ibn Bassām, Dabīra VII, 303):

In other collections of biographies and poetry I checked there are several poems by Abū l-ʿArab, but these collections give no further particulars about his biography.

Taking note of the above one wonders if it would not be more likely that the lines annartani bī-rakūbī bī-bahr were addressed (perhaps jokingly) by Ibn Raṣīq to Ibn ʿAṣn. Moreover, it appears unlikely that Ibn Raṣīq would include allusions to biblical history to a Muslim ruler he does not know yet, but not so difficult to assume that they were addressed to a friend.

Remain Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī and Ibn Ḥamīd cited as authors under D,E, G, and I. al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 488/1095) went to Ceuta and later to Seville where he stayed from 462-468, having been invited to Spain by al-Muʿtamīd b. ʿAbbād, but also

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24 Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Fuʾūl b. Abī Fuʾūl al-Quraṣī, better known as Abū l-ʿArab. See Ibn Saʿd, Raṣāl, Cairo ed., 120, 148, 149 (the earlier edition by García Gómez, Las Banderas, refers to BAH, V-VI., = Ibn al-Abbār, Takemila, no. 1009 (= idem, Takemila II, 703 (no. 1786). From the story in Las Banderas, it appears clearly that Abū l-ʿArab served al-Muʿtamīd at some time in his career. A duṣān of his poetry was collected. Abū l-ʿArab distinguished himself also as a philologist lecturing on the Adab al-kutāb of Ibn Qutayba (a teacher and a pupil are mentioned). Later he joined Nāṣir ad-Dawla in Majorca where he died in 506. According to ʿImād add Din, `Harīda II, 219-223 (references 713), he was born in 423, addressed a poem to al-Muʿtamīd upon meeting him in 465 and was still alive in 507, living in Spain. See also Ibn Bassām, Dabīra VII, 301-308 (Section 4,1); al-Maqqari, Naṣīf III, 569-570; and Ibn al-Qaṭṭā, Durra (ed. Bakkūtī) 217-223, and 217, footnote.

25 b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Fihārī, see EP, 640a-641a. Not to be confused with Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the author of the Zahir al-adab.
visiting various other places to address poems to rulers. Ibn Ḥamdis was strongly attached to al-Muṭṭamid even following him to Aqūmad. al-Ḥusri hailed from Qayrawān and so did Ibn Raṣiq. Both poets, therefore, could well have composed poems about the horrors of sea travel.

Several details should be noted: Ibn Raṣiq is most frequently mentioned as the author; as-Silafi is the oldest authority to mention the two lines; and, finally, there is to my knowledge not a single report suggesting that Ibn Raṣiq, if he ever left Mazara and ventured on a trip by boat, went any further than the Balearic islands. Moreover, we have seen that a satirical poem on al-Muṭṭamid and al-Muṭṭadid is attributed to him; if we could prove that it is genuine it becomes even less likely that he ever went to Spain.

It should also be noted that as-Silafi (d. ca. 576/1181) is specific about the ruler who invited Ibn Raṣiq identifying this ruler as al-Āglab (or Ibn al-Āglab);26 mašūd of the cultured al-Muṣṭahid b. Yūsuf, ruler of Denia from 405-436/1014-1044/45. This Ibn al-Āglab was residing in Majorca, and himself a client of the ʿĀmirids. He is also specific about the authority who quoted the lines to him.27 Other anthologies take the poem as addressed to a ruler in Spain or do not specify to whom it was addressed. This would make it easier to accept the conflict in date; for al-Āglab’s rule came to an end before Ibn ʿṢaraf accepted the invitation which took him to Spain in 447/1057, so that the poem cannot have been composed as a reply to Ibn ʿṢaraf’s suggestion.28 This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that at some time Ibn Raṣiq received an invitation from al-Muṭṭamid, nor the possibility that he received this invitation while in the company of Ibn ʿṢaraf which could mean that Ibn Hallikān (Bonebakker 1996:82-83, under D) confused Ibn Raṣiq with al-Ḥusri, both Tunesians. Nor is it necessary to rule out Ibn al-Āglab as a would-be patron as long as we do not know Ibn al-Āglab’s biography in detail. Could he not have invited Ibn Raṣiq before or after he played an active role in politics?

The authorship of II

The authors of the anthologies I have quoted all agree that the second set of two lines is by Ibn al-Muṭṭazz. There is no good reason to reject this attribution unless

26 This may be [al-]Muṣṭādī al-], Āglab, ruler of Majorca for al-Muṣṭāhīd, see Ibn Suṣād, Muṣhirīb II, 466 (“mašūd al-Muṣṭādī Āglab”). For al-Muṣṭāhidd, see Ef svv. “Dāniya” and “Mayurḍīa” (926b).
27 as-Silafi offers an identifiable ismād quoting al-Ġāṣfī, ʿAdī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAdī, whom we can trace in al-Marrākuṣī, Deyl V/1, 141, no. 287 and aṣ-Ḍabbi, Buğju III, 425, no. 1271 (same text, no date). al-Ġāṣfī was a pupil of Abū ʿAlī as-Sadafi (d. 514/1120) see Ef VIII, 707b-708a. as-Sadafi travelled to the East in 481/1088 and returned to Spain in 490/1096. Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafi held an iqāza from him.
28 The references in Bonebakker 1996:note 12 are the only information I have found so far on Ibn al- Āglab.
one feels that Ibn al-Mu'tazz could not have produced lines that are difficult to interpret or clumsy. With this in mind I tried to look for an alternative.

I can find only two possible reasons for attributing the line to Māni al-Muwāsī (d. 245/859)29. The first is a quotation from Māni to Ibn Abī l-ʿAwīn’s Taṣbīḥāt (251) mentioned earlier:

Which I would translate freely:

"Healthful youth lends his cheeks a bright colour
and the lock of hair on his face looks like the twist in the letter ṛā'.”

In this line there is question of a sudg, “the curved lock of hair hanging upon the temple” (Lane), this sudg being compared to a ṛā'. As far as I know at present, there is no example of the ṛā' being used in this kind of simile30.

I found two quotations in the al-Ḥātib al-Bağḍādi, Taṣrīḥ (III, 169-170) where Māni uses again a letter, the alif, in a simile to describe an emaciated body31 and, more interestingly, speaks of arranging the sudg like a ring (ṣurūfīn):

Another argument would be the criticism directed against Māni in al-ʾAskārī, Dīwān I, 28332. Abū Hilāl criticizes the first of a pair of lines by Māni for its very poor sabk33 and rasf (literally: ‘bricklaying, construction’)34 though he finds the idea (maʿnā) original (sabkhuṇ bāyta l-awwasla wa-raṣfhuḥu raḍiʿun ṣiddan ḫa ḫyra fībū wa-innāma ṣṭaḥrābū l-maʿnā fa-awradtūḥu). The lines run as follows:

Another interpretation, by Hoenerbach (1973:125) as referring to a mustache.

29 Abū Ahmad Muhammad b. al-Qāsim, see GAS II, 558-559.

30 Ibn al-Kattānī, Taṣbīḥāt 123, Ch. XIX, no. 224; transl. 125. The poet is Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀs (not identified):

31 See also al-Isfahānī, Agānī XXIII, 182.


Still neither of these two arguments convinces me that there is a valid reason to suggest that the lines attributed to Ibn al-Mu'tazz should be attributed to Mānī al-Muwaswis.

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as-Ṣafadī, Nakṭ = Salāh ad-Dīn Ḥalil b. Aybak as-ṣafadī, Nakṭ al-himyān. Edited by Ahmad Zakī Bey, Cairo 1329/1911.

B. Secondary sources


The first part of the Ethiopic book of Enoch (ch. 1-36) is generally called the Book of Watchers. It begins with a description of the creation of the world, then continues with the story of the Watchers (gýyn), whose sin — the relationship with the daughters of men, or rather the deeds of the giants born from these relationships — provokes the punishment of the Flood. We are dealing with mythical history, the beginnings of the history of mankind and the origins of the appearance of evil in human history — and according to the intentions of the author this story is a 'parable' for the history of his own age. In later historical overviews this tradition plays a very important role.

Earlier the Book of Enoch was only known as a part of the pseudepigraphic tradition, in Greek, or Ethiopian translation. It had been supposed that its original language may have been Hebrew or Aramaic, and that the Greek translation¹ was prepared from this, only a part of which has survived; luckily the ge’ez (Ethiopian) translation² has preserved a much longer text. The work known only in translations earlier was uniformly dated to the middle of the 2nd c. B.C.. Some parts of it (ch. 37-70) were dated to a somewhat later time³.

The finding of fragments of the Aramaic original of the work among the Qumran texts⁴ brought a veritable turning point in research. The manuscript fragments found at Qumran — despite the fact that we are dealing with very minute fragments⁵ — not only answered certain question about the history of the origin of the text, but also provided an insight into the kind of role the work played in the literary tradition of

¹ Its editions: Fleming-Radermacher 1901; Black 1970. About the Greek MSS see also Denis 1970.

² The Ethiopian manuscript tradition can be traced back to the 15th c. The first edition of the Ethiopian text: Charles 1906; the new, critical edition of the Ethiopian text, which takes into consideration the Aramaic fragments, with translation and annotation: Knibb 1982.

³ The earlier dating of 1Enoch: Schurer & Vermes 1973-79 III/1, 256.

⁴ Their edition Milik 1976; the new edition of the Ethiopian text was prepared in the light of the Aramaic fragments, with translation and commentary Knibb 1982.

⁵ In the text edition Milik mentions that 50% of the text of the Book of Watchers was preserved, in the case of the other parts of the work the percentage is less than this; more closely, however, these numbers only mean that this is the proportion of the Aramaic text that can be reconstructed on the basis of the fragments; see Milik 1976:5; also see VanderKam 1984:111.
the group which left behind the library safeguarded in the caves. Based on the number of fragments found we may suppose that the work was not merely known at Qumran, but that it must have been an important work in the tradition of the community. This is also indicated by the fact that numerous other works, found at Qumran, and either already known from the pseudepigraphic literature or not, contain a tradition similar to that known from 1Enoch, or mention or use 1Enoch. No fragments of chapters 37-70 of the work appear among the Qumran fragments — it has already been supposed about these chapters that they are of later origin than the other parts of 1Enoch, and that at the least they show traces of a Christian revision; this lack proved these suppositions right, and that these sections were of a later origin. The Qumran manuscripts, however, also contain texts — fragments of the parts called by their editor Astrological Book and Book of Giants (Milik 1976:273-317) — which were earlier not known from any of the translations. The oldest Qumran manuscript of 1Enoch (4Q En.ar/a) may be dated to the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C., and already this manuscript contains the text of Chapters 1-12 (but most likely the entire Book of Watchers, the material of Chapters 1-36, belongs to this layer). The later manuscripts contain further parts of the work; this indicates

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6 On the significance of the Aramaic fragments, see García-Martínez 1992:45-96.

7 In his edition Milik identified seven manuscript copies on the basis of the fragments found in cave No.4, four manuscripts from the Astronomical Book, on the basis of the fragments of the Book of Giants we may also suppose the existence of several copies from this part as well, see Milik 1976:139-317.

8 To mention just a few important examples: the Book of Jubilees, known already earlier from the pseudepigraphic literature, whose Hebrew fragments were also found at Qumran uses and explicitly quotes the book (see Charles 1913 II, 18-19), and elements originating from 1Enoch play an important role in its entire narrative; see below in greater detail. The Damascus Document, fragments of which were also found at Qumran, also alludes to the Enochic tradition in its historical overview; similarly the historical schema outlined in 4Q 180-181 is also based on the story of the Watchers, of the Enochic tradition. On the relationship of the Book of Watchers and the Aramaic Levi, and the interconnections and the origins of the sect see Stone 1988.

9 Milik 1976 supposed a Christian origin; Milik’s theory was sharply criticized. On the question see Schürer & Vermes 1973-79 III/1, 257-59

10 The Astrological Book contains fragments of the 364 day calendar known at Qumran and fragments of other calendars. The Book of Giants contains the rich tradition concerning the giants, the children of the Watchers, unfortunately in a very fragmentary form. The order of the fragments is very problematic. On this see García-Martínez 1992:97-115.

11 Earlier works, (such as Beer, in: Kautzsch 1900 II, 224; Martin 1906: lxxviii; Charles 1893:2-3) considered the material of Chapters 1-5 to be a subsequently written introduction to the whole work — in view of the Aramaic manuscript tradition, however, it seems certain that this part is contemporaneous with the narrative parts that follow, and that it represents a tradition predating the 2nd c. B.C.

12 Milik 1976:140. Milik also supposes that the writer of the text followed the Northern Syrian or Mesopotamian scribal customs — and this may also indicate the origin of the tradition. The fragments also
that the work was continually transmitted until the 1st c. B.C., and that in the course of this transmission the collection was enriched by further pieces. The manuscript tradition can be traced to the turn of the 3rd and 2nd c. B.C. — this means that the Book of Watchers was written at least during the 3rd c. B.C., but it may have been written even earlier.

A few years before the finding of the Qumran manuscripts Jansen (1939) examined the figure of Enoch in the light of the Mesopotamian tradition. Grelot's works demonstrating the Mesopotamian origin of the Enoch-tradition were also written before the publication of the Aramaic fragments (Grelot 1958a, 1958b, 1958-59 and 1975). VanderKam's book (1984a) re-examines the origin of the tradition associated with Enoch in the light of the already published Aramaic fragments, and affirms the earlier findings relating to a Mesopotamian origin. In all likelihood then the tradition connected to Enoch originates from authors living in a Mesopotamian diaspora-community during the Babylonian exile or during the Persian rule following it. The figure of Enoch and the elements of the revelation-tradition associated with him originates in the figures of the Mesopotamian apkallû-s, i.e. wise ones, more exactly in the figure of the 'Mesopotamian diviner-king Enmeduranki' and in the tradition about divine revelation given to him (VanderKam 1984a:116). In addition to these in the text of the Book of Watchers, numerous other Mesopotamian elements have already been shown to exist. The kernel of the Enochic tradition then — similarly to the early pieces of the Danielic collection — may have come into being in Mesopotamia, most probably in a local Jewish diaspora-community.

The book of 1Enoch, however, contains more than these early pieces. The entire Book is constituted of a collection of pieces that came into being at different times, and even if the basis of the early pieces of the collection was the Mesopotamian Jewish tradition, certain later pieces may have been written much later in Palestine.

The text of Chapters 6-11 about the Watchers clearly contains at least two narratives. Based on the names of the characters the texts of 6:1-7:6 (the narrative about

prove that Chapters 1-5 already belonged to the so far known earliest Enoch-tradition.

Milik 1976:164 dates 4Q En/b to the mid-second century (this manuscript also only contains the Book of Watchers; the later manuscripts, designated by c, d, and e which can be dated to the first c. B.C.-1st c. A.D., also contain parts of the Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 83-90) and of the Epistle of Enoch (1 En. 91-107), see Milik 1976:178 and 12, 217 and 22, 225.

Sir 44:16 also mentions Enoch as 'a wise one'.

On the geographical description of the part following the Watchers-narrative see Grelot 1958a.

This fact has already been noted by earlier scholars dealing with the work: Dillmann, "Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments", in RE², 12.352; Beer, in Kautzsch 1900 II, 225; Charles 1893:13-14, all differentiated between two narratives in the text of 1En. 6-11. More recently Hanson 1977 and Nickelsburg 1977 have analysed the constituents of the text and they too differentiated between two sources, while according to Dimant's analysis (1974:23-72), three versions of one story may be read in the text.
Shemihazah) and of 8:1-4 (Asa’el-tradition) are to be separated.

**The Shemihazah-Tradition**

The narrative of the ‘Shemihazah-tradition’ can be read in 1En.6:1-7:62\(^\text{17}\). The story is the parallel of the narrative of Gen.6:1-4, about the angels and the daughters of men, but with a message different from the narrative of the Masoretic Text. According to the Shemihazah-story sons of heaven (6:2), whom the text similarly to the terminology of Dan.5 calls “watchers” (\(\text{yr}\text{yn}\)), glimpse the daughters of men, desire them, and decide to descend to them. Their leader Shemihazah (\(\text{šmyhzh}\)) considers the plan to be sinful, for which he does not want to bear the responsibility alone (6:3). Therefore the Watchers, in order to fulfill their plan swear to unite on the Mount Hermon (1En. 6:6)\(^\text{18}\). Then the Watchers “…began [to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them] and (they began) to teach them sorcery and spellbinding and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants…” (7:1). The women become pregnant from them and bear children, who growing up become giants. The giants “were devouring the labour of all the children of men and men were unable to supply them.” (7:4). After this the giants begin to devour men, then “…they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth [and reptiles … and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of another; and they were drinking blood. [Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it” (7:5-6)\(^\text{19}\).

These then are the transgressions, which finally bring about the punishment of the Flood (1Enoch 9:1ff)\(^\text{20}\), thus the story serves as a justification for the catastrophic punishment.

How the author of the story evaluated the relationship of the Watchers and the daughters of men may be seen from two comments. One of them is heard before the

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\(^{17}\) Wedged into the narrative about Shemihazah and his companions there is another story, which after its protagonist is called the Asa’el-story. The separateness of the two stories has long been recognized see Dillmann *ibid.*; Beer, in: Kautzsch 1900 II, 225; Charles 1893:13-14, more recently Hanson 1977, Nickelsburg 1977. On the precise delineation of the parts of the texts and with regard to the origin and role of the stories there are different opinions; on these see VanderKam 1984:123-24. D.Dimant supposes three versions of one story in the narrative of 1En. 6:11: 1/ the angels defile themselves with earthy women, who bear them giants, and these are the source of evil and aggression, 2/ the teachings of the angels betray secrets to humans, 3/ Asa’el’s teachings corrupt people.

\(^{18}\) Pun based on the similarity of the Aramaic hr\(m\) ‘devote’, and the hr\(ms\)om placename.

\(^{19}\) Translated by Milik, based on the Aramaic text reconstructed by him; see Milik 1976:166-167.

\(^{20}\) In the Ethiopian text of the Enoch-book the narrative about Asa’el is wedged between the narratives of the sins and the punishment. The same is true for the Aramaic fragments. Based on the text of the first copy (Milik 1976:150, Pl. III) it is probable, and based on the second copy (Milik 1976:166, Pl. VJ) it is certain, that the Aramaic texts also followed the same order. According to 1Enoch 9:1ff, however, the punishment is clearly connected to the sins (bloodshed upon the earth) described in the Shemihazah-story.
deed of the Watchers, from the mouth of Shemihazah: "I fear that you will not wish
to do this deed; and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin (חט' roman)" (6:3). The writer
of the Shemihazah-paradigm then considers the relationship to be a sin from the
outset, which goes against some prescription, but he does not identify the nature of the
transgression.21 According to the second comment the Watchers defiled them-
selves22 with the daughters of men (7:1c) — that is they offended against some provi-
ion relating to sexual relations.23

The elements of the Shemihazah-story: the naming of the protagonists 营养价值,
'Watchers' and "sons of heaven" (זי죠 ימה) (6:2). The text also enumerates the names
of their leaders24. Most of the names contain an element of the name of a deity (י),
furthermore the names of celestial bodies and natural phenomena (Ram.el, 'Burning
heat of God', Kokab'el 'Star of God', Ra'ma'el, 'Thunder of God', Zek(i)el, 'Light-
ning-flash of God', Baraq'el, 'Lightning of God', Matar'el, 'Rain of God', 'Anan'el
'Cloud of God', Sataw'el 'Winter of God', Shamshi'el, 'Sun of God', Sahri'el, 'Moon
of God', Turiel, 'Mountain of God', Yomi'el, 'Day of God'. In other names the el
element is not linked to natural phenomena (Dumi'el, 'God has judged', 'Asa'el, 'God
has made', Tummi'el, 'Perfection of God', Yehaddiel, 'God will guide'). In two
names a natural phenomenon and a geographical name appear but without the י
name element ('Ar'taqoph 'The earth is power', Hermoni 'of Hermon'). Finally the
meaning of the name of the leader, Shemihazah, 'My name has seen' probably also
refers to the name of a deity. After their descent to the daughters of men the

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21 Most interpretations see the deed of the Watchers, based on the analogy of the theomachia-stories
of Greek and Mesopotamian mythologies, as a rebellion against God; based on the text of 1Enoch it is
not necessarily so, just as much as the other comment ('defiled themselves') does not refer to such kind
of sin either. It is self-evident that the mixing of men of heaven and daughters of men violate unwritten
laws concerning the relation of divine and human beings, and trespass on the Mosaic laws forbidding the
mixing of different kinds.

22 The part containing the expression is missing from the Aramaic manuscript fragments containing
the story of the Watchers. In the Ethiopian translations "they began to go in to them and were promiscu-
ous with them", while in the Greek ones "they began ... to defile themselves with them". The basis for
the difference is most probably the Aramaic תמר 'to be mixed upon' and תמר 'to be defiled', see Knibb 1982:
2.77; VanderKam 1984:123.

23 The cases of the sin of תמר as sexual impurity are enumerated in Lev. 18:19-25. According to this
whoever lies with the wife of another, or lies with an animal, or with a menstruating woman will become
defiled (although the verb תמר does not appear in this prohibition, logically it results in it); Lev. 15 which
also deals with defilements expounds in detail that the bedstead and seat of a menstruating woman are also
unclean and are defiling objects, and sexual relations with such a woman make the man unclean for seven
days. Dimant (1974) suggests that the sin of Shemihazah and his companions was transgression against the
latter prohibition.

24 According to the Greek and the Ethiopian texts there are two hundred of the Watchers, and ten
Watchers have a leader each, thus the number of names is twenty, of which, with the help of the names
appearing in the Aramaic text, 19 can be identified, see Milik 1976:152-154.
Watchers teach them sorcery, spell-binding and ‘the cutting of roots’, and ‘show them plants’ (7:1). The first two terms (ḥrs, ḫṣph) determine the negative nature of the teachings. Thus the seemingly innocuous ‘cutting of roots’ and ‘knowledge of herbs’ in the view of the author of the Watchers-story are also considered to be negative, that is to say forbidden things25. After the interjection of the Asa’el-story we once again read about the teachings of Shemihazah and his companions (8:3); Shemihazah “taught spell-binding and cutting of roots”, and Hermoni the reversing of these “taught the loosing of spells, magic, sorcery and skill” (8:3a). This section enumerates the teachings of the other Watchers as well, which are always related to those phenomena which appear in the name of the given Watchers: “Baraq’el taught the signs of thunders. Kokab’el taught the signs of the stars” etc. (8:3). The teachings of Shemihazah and Hermoni then are related to magic in general (in addition, those of Shemihazah also relate more particularly to the knowledge of herbs), and those of the Watchers to natural phenomena, and most probably to the interpretation of astrological and natural omens26.

The third element of the narrative, the motif of the giants devouring everything, seems to be without precedent27. In the narrative, however, it is an important

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25 Knowledge and use of medicinal herbs in most cultures is considered natural and applied alongside with magical practices it belongs to the traditional practice of healing. Naturally the use of herbs for male-factory purposes is also known. The severe disapproval of the knowledge of herbs in the text of 1 Enoch may be related to a view that is also known from other non-canonical texts found at Qumran; according to this the only method of healing considered to be efficacious was the laying on of hands (ṣmykt yelym, g’y). The healer cured the patient with divine help, and exorcised the demon causing the illness through releasing the patient’s sins. 4Q OrNab, its edition Jongeling et al. 1976:121-131; Genesis Apocryphon, see Fitzmyer 1971. On this method — which is not only known from Qumran, but also from the New Testament, see Fitzmyer 1971:140-141. Such a division of methods of healing, incidentally, corresponds to the two methods known from Mesopotamia which are carefully differentiated from each other, that of the activities of the ʾāšīpu, and the ʾašī-Doctors. On the one hand, the ʾašī-doctors identified the symptoms of the patient with the help of prognostic omens, and also suggested medication for the patient on the basis of texts of omens — usually herbs and potions prepared from them. On the other hand, the ʾāšīpu-doctor after observing and noting the patient’s symptoms cured by magical methods deemed to fit the particular case, see Oppenheim 1956:359-61.

26 Others (e.g. VanderKam 1984a:55) have already noted the possible connection of these elements of the Watchers-story to the Mesopotamian Enûma Anû Enlil (“When Anû and Enlil”) collection, which was the ‘canonical’ series of the interpretation of the omens of the moon, sun and meteorological phenomena. Naturally, in the Enoch-Book this science appears as a synonym of magic and sorcery. The Mesopotamian tradition may have become known to the Jewish author or authors of the Aramaic-language Enochic tradition in the Babylonian exile through Aramaic intermediaries. On the Mesopotamian texts see Weidner 1941-69.

27 The motif of non-human creatures who devour everything is familiar from the Mesopotamian literary tradition, namely in connection with the Anunnaki deities (see below). It seems that it is not only the figure of Enoch that can be traced back to the apkallu-š, wise men, of the Mesopotamian tradition, but also elements of the Shemihazah-story, although Enoch does not appear in this part at all, and thus the
element, since this is the origin of the cannibalism of the giants, of their sins against the creatures of the air, earth and the water, of the drinking of blood, and these sins lead eventually so far that the earth accuses against the sinners.

The Asa'el-Tradition

The Shemihazah-narrative is directly followed by another, the protagonist of which is Asa'el (1Enoch 8:1-4), and which tells of the kind of teachings Asa'el ('3?l) imparted to the people. According to the narrative it was he who taught the men the making of swords of iron and breastplates of brass, he showed them how they could make jewels out of gold and silver; he informed women of the use of antimon, eye shadow, precious gems and dyes. In the narrative of the Asa'el-tradition the teacher is that same Asa'el whose name had been also mentioned in the Shemihazah-story. Asa'el's teachings differ from those we read about in the Shemihazah-story.

The story says nothing about who Asa'el is; it does not mention the motif of the oath or the rebellion or the nature of the relationship of Asa'el and the people. The fact that Asa'el does not teach women, but men and women, is also different; and the

two traditions could be independent of each other. One of the motifs of the Shemihazah-story, which suggests a Mesopotamian background, is the motif of omen-interpretation relating to stars and natural phenomena; the omen-interpretation collection of the series entitled Enûma Anu Enlil contains the interpretations of the omens of the moon, sun, meteorological phenomena and the stars—the same items that the Watchers teach the daughters of men. One of the title characters of the series is the god Anu, the mythological motifs relating to whom would deserve a thorough examination in the future, all the more so as in the second part of the rule of the Achaemenid dynasty in Uruk the god and protector of the town, and according to Diakonoff he was worshipped as 'the god of the sky'—by the same name which becomes the adjective of Yahweh in the same period. Based on Anu's popularity during the Persian period and the similarities that can be demonstrated at this time between the figures of Anu and Yahweh it is not unimaginable, that the Watchers-story preserves a certain tradition relating to Anu and the gods connected to him and to demons. A discussion of the possible origin and relations of the literary material of the story of the Watchers would require much space, therefore let me just refer to a few possible points of connection with Mesopotamian mythological ideas. According to the Mesopotamian tradition Anu, the god and creator of the sky orders the birth of the Anunnaki deities on "the mountain of the sky and the earth". The Anunnaki eat cereals and drink milk—which is provided for them by a divine couple, Lahar and Asnan—however, their hunger and thirst is not quenched (Lahar and Asnan). In the Mesopotamian mythology the evil demons also appear as the progeny of Anu, he created them with the Earth (Erṣetu), and then, determining their fate, he gave them to be the helpers of Erra, the god of pestilence (Epic Erra, Epic Lugalbanda, the collection of incantations entitled 'The evil utukku-demons'). The mention of the name of Gilgamesh elsewhere in the Enochic collection is also of Mesopotamian origin. In the Shemihazah-story the children of the Watchers are giants; later mentions of the Watchers stories within the Enochic collection, however, always clearly refer to demons.

28 His name is the same as that of the tenth leader of the Shemihazah-story. The Aramaic text uses the same form of the name in both places, so it may be supposed that we are dealing with the same figure; the manuscripts of the Greek translations, however, provide two different names, it is likely that these forms are the result of corruption of text. Dimant 1974:52-59, supposes a different figure for the protagonist of the Asa'el-story.
motif of the consequence of the sin is also missing. The section about Asa’el is followed once again by a section belonging to the Shemihazah-story (the teachings of the Watchers), which is ensuèd by the description of the punishment in which elements of the Asa’el- and Shemihazah-traditions mingle. It seems that the punishment of Asa’el belongs to a separate Asa’el-tradition. Asa’el is punished by the angel Rapha’el for the sin perpetrated by him: he is cast in darkness, where he will stay until ‘the great day of judgment’ (10:4-8). (On the other hand, the punishment belonging to the Shemihazah-story, is the devastation by the Flood (10:1-3, 9-22)). Based on these Dimant has suggested that the Asa’el-part has a narrative-tradition of a different origin than the Shemihazah-story, and it has nothing to do with the story of the Flood (Dimant 1974:23-72).

If, however, one considers the general meaning of the Asa’el-narrative then one will find that a common feature of Asa’el’s teachings to men is the destructive power of arms, and of those given to women is the seductive power of the cosmetics; violence and seduction are basic motifs of the Shemihazah-narrative (the motivation for the deed of the Watchers is that they desired the daughters of men, and in the latter parts the violence, and bloodshed begun by the giants becomes the reason for the punishment by the Flood).

The fact that the author of the Asa’el-story puts metallurgy, weapon- and jewelry-making into the center of the forbidden teachings may also have been caused by a homophony as well: the similarity of the Aramaic word hereš (magical method) and the Hebrew word ḫrš (‘cut in’, ‘engrave’, plough’, ‘devise’ which may have led the author of the Asa’el-story to expand the tradition of magical methods to include teachings on metallurgy. That metallurgy and smithing are very closely related to the notion of magic cannot be left out of consideration; according to the belief system of the Near-East, ironsmiths are considered to be sorcerers.

Shemihazah, Asa’el and the Enochic Collection

The two stories — the story of Shemihazah and that on the teachings of Asa’el, added later to the first one — serve as justification for the punishment of the Flood. The text of Chapters 1-5, which constitute the preface to the narrative, is considered to have been a later addition but it appears together with the narrative of 6-11 of the oldest extant manuscript tradition (Milik 1976:25). The first sentences of Enoch 1-5 are an admonition followed by teachings on the creation of the world and the precedents of the Flood. The preface of Enoch (1Enoch 1-5) mentions the fact of the creation, and talks of the ordered nature of the world. It does not narrate the process of the creation, only mentions the fact and provides a detailed description of everything being defined, and that the perpetual functioning and

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29 In Ethiopian ironsmith and magician are denoted by the same word (duban-ansa), see Leslau 1989: 181; similarly the descendants of Cain — who are ironsmiths in the Bible (Gen. 4:16-24) — in the later tradition related to them are associated with magical motifs (Syriac 'Cave of Treasures', ed. C. Bezold 1983). In the Ethiopian tradition the belief that ironsmiths have magic capabilities and knowledge is alive to this day, they are considered to be sorcerers and therefore members of other groups do not marry their daughters to them.
annual changes are directed by unchanging eternal laws (2:1-5:3). The Book of Enoch does not mention the story of the Fall, the transgression of the divine prohibition by the first human couple, Adam and Eve, similarly, it does not refer to the tradition of Gen. 4-5 either. The absence of references to this tradition of Genesis cannot be an accident; that story tells how the violation of a rule puts an end to the golden age following creation, and that this is what brings upon man the burdens of toil, giving birth and death (Gen. 2-3)\textsuperscript{30}. In 1Enoch, however, the first event after creation is the tradition also known from Gen. 6:1-4, the story of the ‘sons of God’ and the ‘daughters of men’, which in the text of Enoch appears as the story of the ‘Watchers’ and the daughters of men. This system compared to the ‘Urgeschichte’ of Genesis — which originates in different traditions, but its final form was shaped by P and P determined its theological message — carries a significantly different message. In the narratives of Genesis the origin of evil is associated with the disobedience of the first human couple, its cause is the violation of a rule. In Enoch, on the contrary, evil is of ‘historical’ origin\textsuperscript{31}, it is associated with a particular era of the history of mankind, since in the generations prior to Enoch and the mankind of the period of the Flood, in the generations preceeding the contemporaries of the giants there is no evil (although 1Enoch does not talk of the period between the creation and the deluge, it may be supposed that it imagines the ‘Urgeschichte’ of mankind similarly to the Biblical tradition, beginning with the creation).

In addition, according to the Enochic tradition the appearance of evil is not preceded by a prohibition. Shemihazah and his companions are aware that their act, the descent to the women is a sin — we do not know, however, whether the women are aware of this. In the Shemihazah-story the origin of evil is constituted by the relationship of the Watchers and the women, the giants born of this relationship, furthermore by the teachings given to the women — the receivers of evil and its earthly transmitters are exclusively the women. The Asa’el-story only relates to the teachings, complementing the Shemihazah story in such a way that it talks about two kinds of receivers of the teachings, men and women; thus here the transmitter of evil is the whole of mankind, and not just the women — the author of the Asa’el-story attempts to change the point of view according to which the origin of evil among humans would only be associated with women. The women mentioned in the Shemi-

\textsuperscript{30} This part of Genesis, or its paraphrase, incidentally, does not appear in the text tradition of the covenants, neither among the texts created within the community, nor in the apocryphal texts transmitted by them — however, the Haggadic narratives relating to Gen.6:1-4 and to the history of the events of the Flood play an emphatic role.

\textsuperscript{31} On the differing role of the story from that of Genesis see Delcor 1976. The story about ‘the origin of evil’ is the starting point of Sacchi’s apocalypse-interpretation. Sacchi considers the story to be the starting point of an apocalyptic tradition and to be the definition of apocalypse as a genre, see Sacchi 1990. Sacchi’s conclusions about the genre and about the ‘apocalyptic point of view’ may be debatable; in any case the appearance of a new viewpoint expressed in the Book of Watchers is very important from the point of view of the later Jewish tradition. In the later tradition both versions of the origin of evil appear, emphasizing different messages — Eve’s responsibility, or the role of the ‘sons of God, or the theory of two human inclinations —, see Baudry 1992.
hazah-story, and the men and women mentioned in the Asa’el-story are only receivers and transmitters, not instigators of the origin of evil; according to the Book of Enoch evil essentially springs from outside of mankind.

Sins Causing the Flood – The Meaning and Origin of the Story of the Watchers

Does the origin of the story of the Watchers lie in historical or social models? There are several suggestions according to which the background and origin of the story of the Watchers and of Asa’el constitute a criticism of the practices of the Temple and in general of the priesthood of the post-exilic period (Suter 1979), others suppose that it may have been occasioned by the reforms of Ezra, the prohibition of mixed marriages (Rubinkiewicz 1988), or possibly by the diadochoi wars (Nickelsburg 1977). Talmon raises the question in one place, that Israel’s errors mentioned in the Damascus Document ("those in which all Israel were in error", CD III.14), which began with the downfall of the Watchers, would in fact have been the use of a calendar system which was considered to be erroneous\textsuperscript{32} — thus the isolated group which created 1 Enoch and also the Damascus Document, and which used its own calendar at variance with the official one, would have tried to justify its separateness and the correctness of its calendar by tracing back the differences in calendric systems to a cosmic upheaval in the mythical past.

In the story of the Watchers, however, with regard to the message of the story and maybe even its origin the key words are provided by the sins: the \textit{tm}, ‘becoming defiled’, which resulted from the relationship of the Watchers with daughters of men\textsuperscript{33}, furthermore the sins of the giants descending from them, the cannibalism, the sins committed against the animals of the land, water and air, as well as the drinking of blood (1 En. 7:4-5) — this is why the earth “made the accusation against the wicked, concerning everything which was done upon it” (1 En. 7:6). The origin of evil then is found in the sins defiling the land. The relationship of the Watchers and the daughters of men — whether they transgressed against a specific sexual prohibition in their relationship or not — in and of itself is considered to be unclean, to be the violation of the boundaries raised between different groups\textsuperscript{34}. The relationship of the Watchers and the women, as a sin belonging to the category of trans-

\textsuperscript{32} Talmon 1958. The close connection between the collection of Enoch and the calendrical tradition is shown by a part of the collection, the Book of Luminaries, which is dated as contemporaneous with the Watchers-tradition. Milik considers the Astrological Book, found among the Aramaic fragments, also to belong to the 1 Enoch-collection, see Milik 1976:7-22. In the Qumran library it is not only 1Enoch that shows a special interest in calendars; the calendars surviving in the Temple Scroll, 4 Q MMT, and furthermore the so called Mishmarot-texts contain various calendar texts with a differing system from that of the official calendar of Jerusalem. On the calendars of Qumran see Glessmer 1993.

\textsuperscript{33} See Dimant 1974-23-72, who considers the relationship of the Watchers and the women and the story of the giants to be separate narratives.

\textsuperscript{34} According to Lev. 19:19 “You must observe my statutes. You may not allow two different kinds of animals to mate together. You are not to plant your field with two kinds of seed, nor to wear a garment woven with two kinds of yarn.”
gression against a sexual prohibition, defiles the land\footnote{Lev. 19:29, "The land is not to play the prostitute and be full of lewdness".}. According to Num. 35:33 murder defiles the land\footnote{Purification takes place when somebody is killed. If the murderer is unknown the inhabitants have to take care of purification, cf. Deut. 21:1-9; also in the case of someone who died in war, Num. 31:19.}; in several instances the Mosaic laws condemn the sin of sorcery (in one instance, Lev. 19:26, together with the consumption of blood; according to Deut. 18:9-14 the Canaanites are driven out by Yahweh before the Israelites, this is the reason why they loose their land. The sins committed against animals may mean the violation of dietary laws, that is consumption of animals of the land, water or air considered to be unclean, or the consumption of clean animals under circumstances considered to be unclean, e.g. that of fallen animal or an animal torn by beasts (cf. Lev. 11:39f, 17:15, 22:8); the consumption of meat without draining the blood (cf. Lev. 17:13-14)\footnote{The latter is an especially severe prescription, its punishment is that "whoever eats it is to be cut off", while transgressing against the former merely makes unclean.}. Prohibition against the consumption of blood appears separately and emphatically in several places, once among the Noahic laws (Gen. 9:4, Lev. 19:26 and elsewhere). In the apochryphal works known from the Qumran library — from which we know the Aramaic texts of 1 Enoch — and from elsewhere similar prescriptions played an especially significant role, special emphasis was placed on the prohibition against the consumption of blood, and the requirement of strictly observing the Sabbath and the dietary laws.

The Story of the Watchers as a Myth

The story of the Watchers is a myth written in the Persian period, an aetiology of the origin of the sin in the world. Sin is originated from the violation of certain prohibitions of the Mosaic law: 'sinners' in 1 Enoch are a group of people who do not follow the dietary laws, and engage in forbidden practices and magical practices. The elements of the story (the kinds of magical arts) come from Mesopotamian magical-scientific lore. The story is retrojected into the distant past, into the prehistory of mankind, the antedeluvian era; this behaviour is made to appear as the origin of evil and the sin which brought the punishment of the Flood onto mankind.

Thus then the Watchers-tradition also serves as self-definition, the tradition of a distinctive group. In the light of their written tradition it is clear that members of the Qumran community believed themselves to have lived in an age which was soon to be ended by divine judgment; these people saw a parallel between their own era and that of Enoch, between themselves and the elect of the antediluvian era.
REFERENCES


**ABBREVIATIONS**

*AfO* Archiv für Orientforschung

*CBQ* Catholic Biblical Quarterly

*FO* Folia Orientalia

*HUCA* Hebrew Union College Annual

*JBL* Journal of Biblical Literature

*JSJ* Journal for the Study of Judaism

*PVTG* Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece

*RB* Revue Biblique

*RE* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

*RHR* Revue d’Histoire Religieuse

*RQ* Revue de Qumrân

*RSR* Recherches de Science Religieuse
MAGICAL HEALING STATUES IN ANCIENT EGYPT

SUMMARY

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Snake bites and scorpion stings presented a grave danger in villages and cities of Ancient Egypt, as they present also to-day. One would expect, therefore, to find a lot of medical prescriptions to treat these injuries in the numerous Egyptian papyri dealing with the cure of different illnesses. Actually, this is not the case, and one finds that the medical literature of the New Kingdom almost fully ignored this subject. The researcher must go down to the Late Period to obtain real information on treatments for the venom of scorpions and snakes (Pap. in the Brooklyn Museum 47.218.48 and 85).

In general, most of the Egyptians put their trust in supernatural powers inhabiting in magical spells against noxious animals which were engraved on the so-called Horus cippi or on statues which in most cases hold a Horus cippus before them. The first healing statue dates from the reign of Ramessess III (12th cent. B.C.). Apart from this unique piece all the other examples are from the 4th cent. B.C. or are later. Also the Horus cippi make their first appearance in the New Kingdom.

The way these statues and Horus cippi were thought to transfer their power to the patient is well known. Water was poured on them and as it flowed over the inscriptions, it absorbed their power and became a potent drug against scorpions and snakes.

Most of the healing statues are unpublished so far. I prepare the edition of the statues kept in the museums in Turin, Florence and Naples.

LITERATURE
