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Faculty of Oriental Studies
University of Warsaw
00-927 Warsaw 64
e-mail: mmdziekan@interia.pl

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Volume in Honour of
Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska
and Danuta Madeyska

Edited by

Marek M. Dziekan
Paulina B. Lewicka
Katarzyna Pachniak

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باب التراجمر

ROCZNIK ORIENTALISTYCZNY, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 9–14)

Professor Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska

Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska was born in Warsaw on June 15, 1935. Having completed her high school education in Szczecin in 1952, she moved back to Warsaw, where she became a student of the Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. Her capabilities were soon appreciated – as a fourth-year student, she started to work as a deputy assistant at the Department of Turkic Studies. In 1957 she went to Cairo, where she enjoyed a status of the first Polish student to receive a scholarship in Egypt. From August 1958 until January 1959 K. Skarżyńska worked as an interpreter for the Polish Embassy in Cairo. This prolonged stay in the Egyptian capital proved very fruitful also in the socio-intellectual context – it was then that she met the most famous Egyptian writers of the time, such as Yūsuf Idrīs, Nağīb Maḥfūẓ, or Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm. Back in Warsaw, she joined a team of experienced translators who worked on Polish rendering of the collection of medieval Arab texts known in English as *Arabian Nights*. This giant and long-lasting effort, organized and supervised by prof. Tadeusz Lewicki, was crowned in 1974, when a voluminous and beautifully illustrated Polish edition of the *Nights*, *Księga tysiąca i jednej nocy*, was finally published in Warsaw.

In September 1959 r. Krystyna Skarżyńska completed her MA thesis titled *Problematyka powieści Taufīq al-Ḥakīma* ["Themes of Novels of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm"] received the MA diploma, and was immediately offered a post of assistant at the Department of Turkic Studies, University of Warsaw. In 1964 she moved to the newly established Department of Arabic Studies, which was then run by Doc. Józef Bielawski. As a senior assistant, Krystyna Skarżyńska offered courses in morphology and syntax of the Arabic language as well as classes in reading of the classical and modern Arabic texts. She also tutored MA students, worked as a students' counselor, and was responsible for administrative affairs of the new department.

Somewhat unexpectedly, 1965 brought one of the most unusual experiences in her life. In December that year she went to Egypt with Edward Ochab's (then Polish prime minister) official delegation. Her job was to accompany the prime minister's wife and to work as her personal interpreter. While in Cairo, the Polish politicians realized that during their visit in Ethiopia, which was their next destination, Edward Ochab's wife might also need an interpreter and an accompanying person. Krystyna Skarżyńska did not know any of the Ethiopian languages, but she was fluent in French. She was

kindly asked to undertake the task. As a chance to see Haile Selassie's court with one's own eyes was not given to many, Krystyna agreed without hesitation. Not surprisingly, the visit in Ethiopia proved to be an absolutely unique and unforgettable adventure.

In 1966 Krystyna Skarżyńska went to Cairo once again, this time for scholarly reasons – she planned to work on her Ph.D. thesis. Once again she was offered a proposal that could not be rejected. The Cairene Center of Egyptian Folklore invited her to participate in a huge ethnographic project which aimed at documenting the local folk culture in those areas of Nubia that were soon to be flooded as a result of the Aswān High Dam construction. The work in Nubia inspired Krystyna to promote a new direction in Arabic studies. Back in Warsaw, she initiated a course in ethnography of the Arab world and encouraged students to make researches in this field. Her effort proved successful and resulted in numerous excellent MA theses – many of them based on field research – dealing with the Arab folk culture and ethnography.

In the late 1960s Krystyna married (from that moment on she has been using the name Skarżyńska-Bocheńska) and soon had two sons (in 1967 and 1969). Despite the new duties resulting from the requirements of the family life, in 1970 she managed to defend her Ph.D. The thesis, written under supervision of Józef Bielawski, was titled *Poglądy Al-Ǧāḥiẓa na retorykę i stylistykę* ["Al-Ǧāḥiẓ's Views on Rhetoric and Stylistics"]. She defended it on January, 1970. Reviewers were Prof. Tadeusz Lewicki (Jagiellonian University) and Prof. Ananiasz Zajączkowski (University of Warsaw).

Throughout the 1970s Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska taught classical Arab literature as well as modern Arab literature. In the mid-1970s she started, together with Prof. Bielawski and Dr. Jolanta Jasińska (later Kozłowska), a complex and challenging project aimed at compiling a volume which would present the state of the art of modern Arab literature. The collective effort resulted in a comprehensive work titled *Nowa i współczesna literatura arabska 19 i 20 w. Literatura arabskiego Wschodu* ["Modern and Contemporary Arab Literature. The Literature of the Arab East"] (1978) which covered literary production of the eastern part of the Arab world (i.e. Egypt, Sudan, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Kuwait).

The work on the volume aroused her interest in modern Arab literature. In the late 1970s K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska went to Tunisia in order to make a research on the literary production of the young generation of Tunisian writers. Her stay and work in Tunis resulted in *Habilitationsschrift* titled *Tradycja i nowatorstwo we współczesnej poezji tunezyjskiej* [„Tradition and Novelty in Contemporary Tunisian Poetry"] (1980). The *Habilitation* exam took place on June, 17. 1980. Reviewers were Prof. Józef Bielawski, Prof. Karel Petraček (Charles University, Prague) and Prof. Stefan Żółkiewski (Polish Academy of Sciences). Subsequently, K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska was offered a post of assistant professor (docent).

In the mid-1980s, Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, Józef Bielawski and Jolanta Kozłowska met once again in order to realize a common project in literature. The effort of the team, which this time was joined by Dr. Ewa Machut-Mendecka, resulted in another volume on modern and contemporary Arab literature:

their *Nowa i współczesna literatura arabska 19 i 20 w. Literatura arabskiego Maghrebu* ["Modern and Contemporary Arab Literature. The Literature of the Arab Maghreb"] was published in Warsaw in 1989.

In recognition of her academic achievements, in 1992 Prof. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska was honored with a title of Professor of Humanities. The beginning of the 1990s was also a time when she became charmed by works of a Syrian poet known to his readers as Adūnīs (ʻAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd). The fascination resulted in a number of studies and translations of his works, such as a collection of Adonis's poems *Rycerz dziwnych słów* ["A Knight of Strange Words"] (1994), or a monograph titled *Adonis, obrazy, myśli, uczucia* ["Adonis: Images, Thoughts, Feelings"] (1995).

Her academic career notwithstanding, Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska was also active in making the Arab literature available on more popular level. Having this objective in mind, she compiled *Pieśni gniewu i miłości* ["Songs of Anger and Love"] (1983), a comprehensive anthology of modern Arabic poetry which she translated. In 1990 a revised and expanded edition of this collection was published.

From the very beginning of her academic career, Prof. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska has actively participated in conferences and academic meetings/debates, both in Poland and abroad. As an active member of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, she attended this organization's international congresses on regular basis (such as those held in Salamanca, Budapest, Sassari or Neapol, for example). Invited by her colleagues from various universities, she also travelled a lot across Europe to give lectures in Arab poetry and literature. The memories of her visit to Ruprecht-Karl-Universität in Heidelberg (1989), to Moscow State University (1990) or to Instituto Orientale in Napoli (1990) are particularly important to her. In the years 1980–1981 and 1993–1994 K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska was a head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies. For her academic achievements, she was awarded with a medal of Komisja Edukacji Narodowej in 2004.

In the late 1990s prof. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska became involved in social and political activities. In 1997 she participated in election campaign of AWS party and in the years 1998–2002 she acted as this party's representative to the Warsaw City Council.

The new millenium has brought new challenges. In 2006 she published in Kraków *Klasyczna literatura arabska* ["Arab Classical Literature"], as a chapter of book which was edited as volume XII of the major series titled *Historia literatury światowej* ["History of World Literatures"]. In recent years she returned to the "roots" of her academic activity. Pressed by her friends, colleagues and students, she decided to make Al-Ǧāḥiẓ more widely known in Poland. In 2009 she published a monograph *Pochwała sztuki słowa: Al-Ǧāḥiẓ i jego teoria komunikacji*. It was dedicated to the memory of Prof. Bielawski. In the following year the book was partly translated into English and French, revised and published as *Al-Ǧāḥiẓ and His Theory of Social Communication* (2010).

Profesor K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska is a member of Polish Oriental Society and Committee for Oriental Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. Under her supervision over thirty MA theses and one Ph.D. thesis were written.

Always extremely enthusiastic in all she has been doing, Prof. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska loves to share her thoughts and reflections with colleagues and students. Her passionate approach is sometimes contagious – she can attract people not only to Al-Ǧāḥiẓ or Adūnīs but also to rowing, yachting and swimming, which she practiced for many years and of which she still is very fond.

Barbara Wrona

K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska (standing in the middle) during her field research in Nubia

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 15–22)

A Bibliography of the Works of Professor Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska

1960

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1962

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1963

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1964

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1966

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1969

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1970

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1972

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1973

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1974

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Prepared by Marek M. Dziekan

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 23–26)

Professor Danuta Madeyska

Professor Danuta M a d e y s k a, nee B o b r o w i c z, was born in Vilnius, on January 8, 1936. Having passed her high school finals in Lidzbark Warmiński in 1953 r., she moved to Sopot, where started to study economics. In 1959 r. she graduated from the Sopot School of Economics (Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomiczna w Sopocie), but this did not satiate her hunger for knowledge. She moved to Warsaw, where she became a student of the Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. Her MA thesis on ʿ A n t a r a I b n Š a d d ā d marked a beginning of Danuta M a d e y s k a's interest in the literary genre known as *sīra*. Following her graduation in 1965, she became a teaching assistant at the Department of Arabic Studies. The 1960s was a time when her tutor, Prof. Józef B i e l a w s k i, was working on a book which would provide Polish readers with basic data regarding the history and culture of the Arab Middle East. Danuta M a d e y s k a, then a young and promising scholar, naturally became one of the co-authors of this pioneer work (*Mały słownik kultury świata arabskiego* / "The Concise Dictionnary of Arabic Culture", Warszawa 1971).

In 1969 Danuta M a d e y s k a went on a scholarship to Cairo. Back in Poland, in 1972 she received a post of assistant at the Department of Arabic Studies, where she taught Arabic. In 1974 she again went to Cairo, where she spent a year working on her Ph.D. thesis. The thesis, dealing with Arab folk literature and written under supervision of Professor B i e l a w s k i, was titled *Ideał kobiety arabskiej w świetle eposu Sirat Dat al-Himma a rzeczywistość historyczna* ("Ideal Women in Sīrat Ḏāt al-Himma and Historical Reality"). She defended it on June, 22. 1978. Reviewers were Prof. Maria K o w a l s k a (Jagiellonian University) and Prof. Edward S z y m a ń s k i (Polish Academy of Sciences).

Studies in folk literature, to which Danuta M a d e y s k a has been faithful throughout her academic career, led to her interest in history. First her fascination focused on broadly understood Middle Ages, as it had been in this period that the *sīra* genre had flourished. With time the interest in history grew broader and broader and history became as important to her as medieval folk literature, and Danuta M a d e y s k a started to teach history. She started with a lecture in the history of the Arab lands under the Ottoman rule and then, in the late 1970s, she became responsible for the entire three-year course in the history of the Arabs, from pre-Islamic times up to her own days. Since 1971, for many years she acted as a students' counselor.

As a lecturer in history, and as a tutor of students interested in history, she was quite demanding, both towards students and herself. Considering the scarcity of books on the history of the Arab world, students' position was particularly difficult. To make it easier for them, Danuta M a d e y s k a decided to write a handbook which would cover the history of the Arab world under the Ottoman rule. In the late 1980s she published *Historia świata arabskiego: okres osmański 1516–1920* ["History of the Arab World: The Ottoman Period"] (Warszawa 1988), a book which presented the events of the period in an exceptionally detailed manner.

With the martial law introduced in 1981, and the first free parliamentary elections held in 1989, the 1980s proved to have been a turning point in the history of Poland. In this very special decade one could hardly avoid being involved in political events. Always very sensitive about politics, and always very down-to-earth as far as Polish political arena was concerned, Danuta M a d e y s k a became an active member of the "Solidarity" trade union.

As far as her research work is concerned, she never ceased to be passionately dedicated to Arab folk literature. Therefore, the texts of medieval *sīras* became her natural choice when it came to decide the subject of her *Habilitationsschrift*. The thesis, titled *Poetyka siratu: studium o arabskim romansie rycerskim* ["Poetics of the Sirah: A Study of the Arab Chivalry Romance"], was completed in 1993. The same year she passed her examination and received her professorial degree. The English translation of Danuta M a d e y s k a's thesis, titled *Poetics of the Sīrah*, was published in 2001. The book, which was highly appreciated by many European arabists, contributed to her fame as an internationally renown specialist in the medieval Arab *sīra*. Danuta M a d e y s k a also translated some pieces of this literary genre: her Polish translation of a story of *Sīrat Az-Zīr Sālim and Abū Laylā and Al-Muhalhil* (*Opowieść o Az-Zirze Salimie Abu Lajli i Al-Muhalhilu*) was published in „Literatura arabska: dociekania i prezentacje" (Warszawa 1997). Danuta M a d e y s k a also translated modern literature. A number of Arab short stories translated by her into Polish were published in various anthologies as well as in the periodical „Przegląd Orientalistyczny".

In the late 1990s Danuta M a d e y s k a published another book on the history of the Arab world, *Historia świata arabskiego: okres klasyczny od starożytności do roku 750* ["History of the Arab World: The Classical Period from Antiquity to 750"] (Warszawa 1999), which covers events from the pre-Islamic times to the so called "Abbasid Revolution." Just four years later, in 2003, she published yet another book in history. Her *Liban* ("Lebanon", Warszawa 2003) is a mine of information about Lebanese history from 1920 to the end of the twentieth century. Danuta M a d e y s k a's latest book, titled *Historia współczesna świata arabskiego* ["Modern History of the Arab World"] (Warszawa 2008), covers events from World War I to the end of the twentieth century. Apart from publishing and lecturing on history of the Arab Word, Danuta M a d e y s k a tutored many students. Over ten of MA and Ph.D. theses were written under her supervision.

In 2007 Danuta M a d e y s k a received the title of Professor of Humanities. She is a member of Polish Oriental Society.

Barbara Wrona

D. Madeyska receives her Professor title from the President Lech Kaczyński

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باب الاب واللغة

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 35–42)

MAREK M. DZIEKAN

Šawqī Ḍayf (1910–2005). Biography, Method, Bibliography

Abstract

The Article contains a biography and full bibliography of an eminent Egyptian scholar in the field of literature and linguistics, Šawqī Ḍ a y f.

There is not a single arabist in the world, who has not heard about Šawqī Ḍ a y f, an Egyptian historian and a critic of literature. Everyone who has ever been interested in Arabic literary studies or Arabic literature at any stage of its development, has definetly came across him.

Aḥmad Šawqī ʿAbd as-Salām Ḍ a y f was born on January 13th 1905 in Awlād Ḥammām Šimālī, Dumyāṭ (Damietta) disrtict. He fell ill when being only few years old, which resulted in him being unable to see using one of his eyes for the rest of his life.

His education in primary school has begun in Dumyāṭ, and he finished it when he was 10, moving on to high school in Az-Zaqāzīq. He studied at the Arabic Language Institute of Cairo University Literature Faculty. Šawqī Ḍ a y f's master's degree thesis was entitled (1)[1] *Al-Fann wa-maḏāhibuhu fī an-naṯr al-ʿarabī* ["Artistic Movements in Arabic Prose"] (Al-Qāhira 1960). Eventually he finished his studies in 1942 with a Ph.D. degree. His Ph.D. thesis was devoted to Arabic poetry: (2) *Al-Fann wa-maḏāhibuhu fī aš-šiʿr al-ʿarabī* ["Artistic Movements in Arabic Poetry"] (Al-Qāhira 1960). His supervisor, Ṭ a h a Ḥ u s a y n[2], was highly confident about the great future awaiting his pupil. Ṭ a h a

[1] Numbers in brackets denote the publication number in the full published books bibliography of the scholar.

[2] I do not know to what extent was the bond between two scholars influenced by the fact that Ṭ a h a Ḥ u s a y n was blind. This sickness seems to occur frequently in the history of Arabic literature – it might be worth devoting

Ḥusayn was one of the most remarkable writers of the Arabic world, as well as a historian and a critic of Arabic literature. However, he was not the only authority for Šawqī Ḍayf, who wrote about his teachers in an autobiographic, two-volume book (3) *Maʿī* ["With me"], Al-Qāhira 1981.[3]

Like his Master, Ṭaha Ḥusayn, Ḍayf writes about himself in the mentioned book from third person perspective: *fatā* [boy]. In Arabic culture it is perceived as an act of modesty and propriety. With great respect he mentiones Aḥmad Amīn (1886–1954), one of the most notable Arabic intelectualists in the first half of the XX century, who introduced philosophy lectures, while himself being an ethics expert. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd ar-Rāziq (1885–1947) was another of Šawqī Ḍayf's teachers, a very broad-minded scholar who pursued to accomodate the requirements of Islam with contemporary world. Yet another of his lecturers, to whom *fatā* owed a lot, was Amīn al-Ḫūlī (1895–1966), literary historian and a lawyer. Those three scholars were extremely influential and had a crucial role in the formation of Arabic intelligentsia in the XX century, even beyond the borders of Egypt. However, Šawqī Ḍayf gave the most attention to his greatest master – Ṭaha Ḥusayn. It was him, who has shown him his way, and it was him as I already mentioned, who has forseen his great future. Šawqī Ḍayf mentiones the crowds coming to Ṭaha Ḥusayn lectures, who were listening to his characteristic, resounding voice, trained during the Koran reciting lessons, which he had taken in his childhoood. Subsequently, Šawqī mentiones his nearly friendly relations with Ṭaha Ḥusayn. Even though there was a teacher-pupil distance between them, Ṭaha Ḥusayn was always open to hear any of his students opinions. Šawqī Ḍayf shared a similiar approach to his students, described by Ǧābir al-ʿUṣfūr as "a sole model of an academic teacher who has dedicated all of his life to the university."[4]

The scholar was a language and literature professor at the University of Cairo and at the Dār al-ʿUlūm Univeristy in Cairo. Šawqī Ḍayf took many posts in Egyptian and generally Arabic academic life. In 1968 he became a member of the Egyptian Academy of The Arabic Language (*Mağmaʿ al-Luġa al-ʿArabiyya*). In 1988 he took the position of secretary-general of the Academy. He was also a member of the Egyptian Academy of Sciences (*Al-Mağmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Miṣrī*). In 1996 he was nominated as the chairman of the Union of Arabic Linguistic Scientific Academies (*Ittiḥād al-Mağāmiʿ al-Luġawiyya al-ʿIlmiyya al-ʿArabiyya*). Finally, he was also a member of the National Council of Culture, Art and Literature (*Al-Mağlis al-Qawmī li-aṯ-Ṯaqāfa wa-al-Funūn wa-al-Adab*).

Šawqī Ḍayf was a laureate of the most notable Egyptian and generally Arabic awards in the field of literature. In 1955 he was granted the national 2nd degree award

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a separate study to this physiologically-literary phenomena – Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī and Baššār Ibn Burd were also among blind poets.

[3] Rağāʾ an-Naqqāš, *Ḥaddaṯanā Šawqī Ḍayf qāla*, Al-Ahrām, March 27th, 2005. It is often hard to acquire detailed bibliographical information concerning Arabic books. In this text I'm going to try and introduce a chronological bibliography of Šawqī Ḍayf. Works which years couldn't be established will be located at the end of the list.

[4] Tahānī Ṣalāḥ (ed.), *Ḍayf… Zāhid fī miḥrāb al-ʿilm*, „Al-Ahrām", March 22, 2005; opinions on Šawqī Ḍayf of few Egyptian scholars are quoted in this text.

("encouraging, honorable", *tašǧīʿiyya*), afterwards in 1979 the Ist degree award ("in acknowledgement of contribution", *taqdīriyya*), then in 1983 Saudi Fayṣal Award in the field of literature, and finally in 2003 the Ḥusnī Mubārak Award – at that time the most important award in Egypt.[5]

The scholar died in Cairo at evening of March 13th 2005, remaining, as Raǧāʾ an-Naqqāš stated – *Al-Ġāʾib al-Ḥāḍir* – "The Eternally Present Absent One".

Šawqī Ḍayf's multipronged academic activity, which resulted in over 50 books, can be divided into few main tematic fields.

The first one is Arabic linguistics. He began his research in this area in 1947/1948 (2nd edition 1982) by publishing a critical edition of a work (4) *Ar-Radd ʿalā an-nuḥāt* by Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī (XIIth C.). In the introduction to the abovementioned edition the autor emphasizes the innovation of the Andalusian scholar, which can be seen in his work. Šawqī Ḍayf's edition drew the attention of both Eastern and Western researchers to this work, which is enormously important for Arabic grammar and critisizes primitivism and backwardness of those, who call themselves experts in Arabic language. This edition also recovered Ibn Maḍāʾ, known also as *Imām an-Naḥw* or *Imām an-Naḥwiyyīn* to the history of Arabic linguistics.[6]

The following works from this thematic area are:

(5) *Al-Madāris an-naḥwiyya* ["Gramatic Schools"], Al-Qāhira 1968;

(6) *Taǧdīd an-naḥw* ["The Reform of Grammar"], Al-Qāhira 1982;

(7) *Taysīr an-naḥw at-taʿlīmī qadīman wa-ḥadīṯan maʿ nahǧ taǧdīdihi* ["Simplifications of Grammar in Past and Contemporary Teaching with Reform Propositions"], Al-Qāhira 1986;

(8) *Taysīrāt lugawiyya* ["Facilitations in Language"], Al-Qāhira 1990;

(9) *Taḥrīfāt al-ʿāmmiyya li-al-fuṣḥā fī al-qawāʿid wa-bunya wa-al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt* ["Negative Influence of Dialect on the Literary Language in the Aspect of Consonants and Vowels Structures"], Cairo 1994;

(10) *Taǧdīd an-naḥw al-ʿarabī* ["The reform of Arabic Grammar"], Al-Qāhira 2003;[7]

(11) *Al-Fuṣḥā al-muʿāṣira* ["Contemporary *Fuṣḥā*"].

It is worth mentioning that in few of his works the author emphasizes the propositions of changes in Arabic grammar in order to make it simplier and easier for those who teach or learn literary Arabic. Languages are not something absolutely invariant and they undergo alterations with time, so we should note this aspect of them instead of staying

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[5] Šawqī Ḍayf's academic activity was depicted in many monographs, for example: Aḥmad Yūsuf ʿAlī, *Qirāʾa awwaliyya fī kitābāt Šawqī Ḍayf* [?]; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ad-Dasūqī, *Šawqī Ḍayf, rāʾid ad-dirāsa al-adabiyya wa-an-naqd al-ʿarabī* [?]; Ṭaha Wādī, *Šawqī Ḍayf. Sīra wa-taḥiyya*, Cairo 1992; *Maḥmūd Mūnāwī, Šawqī Ḍayf. Lamaḥāt wa-kalimāt*, Cairo 2007; Ḥilmī Budayr, *Ar-Ruʾyā aš-šumūliyya fī tārīḫ al-adab ʿinda Šawqī Ḍayf*, 1985.

[6] See F. de la Granja, *Ibn Maḍāʾ*, in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, CD-ROM Edition v. 1.1.*

[7] My resources do not allow me to certify if it is not the second edition of the book from 1982.

in the chains of tradition. When it comes to Arabic and its complicated culture-linguistic situation, an enourmosly important issue is the correlation between literary language and spoken language (Modern Standard Arabic), to which the scholar devoted a separate monograph. Šawqī Ḍ a y f was sure, that this form of language will become the most popular in the Arabic world. At the same time he focused on the fall of Arabic language connected (among others) with the fact, that in many disciplines, especially in sciences, western languages are commonly used.[8]

Another field, most vast and internally varied is Arabic literature – as classic as contemporary. His interest in this discipline reach the times of Šawqī Ḍ a y f's studies – both of his dissertations are devoted to aspects of past Arabic literature. Of course, the final outcome of this field is ten-volume *Tārīḫ al-adab ai-ʿarabī* ["The History of Arabic Literature"], which covers over one thousand years of history of Arabic literature. This series, often called as "Encyclopedia of Arabic literature" includes:

(12) *Al-ʿAṣr al-ǧāhilī* ["Old Arabic Period"], Al-Qāhira 1960;

(13) *Al-ʿAṣr al-islāmī* ["Islamic Period"], Al-Qāhira 1963;

(14) *Al-ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal* ["First Abbasid Period"], Cairo 1966;

(15) *Al-ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī aṯ-ṯānī* ["Second Abbasid Period"], Al-Qāhira 1973;

(16) *ʿAṣr ad-duwal wa-al-imārāt: Al-Ǧazīra al-ʿArabiyya, Al-ʿIrāq. Īrān* ["The Period of Minor Countries and Emirates: Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Iran"], Al-Qāhira 1980;

(17) *ʿAṣr ad-duwal wa-al-imārāt: Al-Andalus* ["The Period of Minor Countries and Emirates: Andalusia"], Al-Qāhira 1989;

(18) *ʿAṣr ad-duwal wa-al-imārāt: Miṣr* ["The Period of Minor Countries and Emirates: Egypt"], Al-Qāhira 1990;

(19) *ʿAṣr ad-duwal wa-al-imārāt: Libyā, Tūnis, Siqilliyya* ["The Period of Minor Countries and Emirates: Libya, Tunis, Sicily"], Al-Qāhira 1992;

(20) *ʿAṣr ad-duwal wa-al-imārāt: Al-Ǧazā'ir, Al-Maġrib al-Aqṣā, Mūritanyā, As-Sūdān* ["The Period of Minor Countries and Emirates: Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Sudan"], Al-Qāhira 1995;

It would be worthy mentioning here that the division created by Šawqī Ḍayf regarding history of Arabic classical literature is used as in homeland Arabic studies as in western, altough it doesn't mean of course, that is has been fully accepted everywhere.

Other of his works in the field of literature and literary criticism are:

(21) *Taṭawwur wa-taǧdīd fī aš-šiʿr al-umawī* ["Development and Reneval in the Umayyad Poetry"], Al-Qāhira 1952;

(22) *Šawqī: šāʿir al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīṯ* ["Šawqī: A Poet of Present"], Al-Qāhira 1953;

(23) *At-Tarǧama aš-šaḫsiyya* ["Biography"], Al-Qāhira 1956;

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[8] For extended information on this subject see: A.O. A l t w a r i j r i, *Future of the Arabic Language*, ISESCO 2004, passim.

(24) *Dirāsāt fī aš- ši'r al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir* ["Studies on Contemporary Arabic Poetry"], Al-Qāhira 1959;

(25) *Al-Adab al-mu'āṣir fī Miṣr* ["Contermporary Literature in Egypt"], Al-Qāhira 1961;

(26) *Fī an-naqd al-adabī* ["On the Literary Criticism"], Al-Qāhira 1962;

(27) *Ma' Al-'Aqqād* ["With Al-'Aqqād"], Al-Qāhira 1964;

(28) *An-Naqd* ["Literary Ciritcism"], Al-Qāhira 1964;

(29) *Maqāma*, Al-Qāhira 1964;

(30) *Al-Bārūdī: rā'id aš-ši'r al-ḥadīṯ* ["Al-Bārūdī, the Pioneer of Contermporary Poetry"], Al-Qāhira 1964;

(31) *Aš-Ši'r wa-al-ġinā' fī Al-Madīna wa-Makka li-'aṣr Banī Umayya* ["The Poetry and Singing in Mecca and Medina in the Times of Umayyads"], Al-Qāhira 1967;

(32) *Ibn Zaydūn*, Al-Qāhira 1967;

(33) *Ar-Riṯā'* ["Elegy"], Al-Qāhira 1968;

(34) *Buṭūla fī aš-ši'r al-'arabī* ["Heroism in Arabic Poetry"], Al-Qāhira 1970;

(35) *Fuṣūl fī al-adab wa-naqdihi* ["Literature and Literary Ciritcism"], Al-Qāhira 1971;

(36) *Al-Baḥṯ al-adabī: ṭabī'atuhu, manāhiğuhu, uṣūluhu, maṣādiruhu* ["Literary Research: Its Nature, Methodology, Basis, Sources"], Al-Qāhira 1972;

(37) *Al-Balāġa: taṭawwur wa-tārīḫ* ["Rhetorics: Development and History"], Al-Qāhira 1976;

(38) *Ar-Riḥla* ["Journey"], Al-Qāhira 1979;

(39) *Aš-Ši'r wa-ṭawābi'uhu aš-ša'biyya 'lā marr al-'uṣūr* ["Poetry and Its Folk Nature over the Ages"], Al-Qāhira 1984;

(40) *Al-Fukāha fī Miṣr* ["Anecdote in Egypt"], Al-Qāhira 1985;

(41) *Fī at-turāṯ wa-aš-ši'r wa-al-luġa* ["On Heritage, Poetry and Language"], Al-Qāhira 1987;

(42) *Min Al-Mašriq ilā Al-Maghrib: buḥūṯ fī al-adab* ["From East to West: Studies on Literature"], Al-Qāhira 1998;

(43) *Fī aš-ši'r wa-al-fukāha fī Miṣr* ["On Poetry and Anecdote in Egypt"], Al-Qāhira 1999;

(44) *Fī al-adab wa-an-naqd* ["On Literature and Literary Ciritcism"], Al-Qāhira 1999;

(45) *Al-Ḥubb al-'uḏrī 'inda Al-'Arab* ["'Uḏrī Poetry among Arabs"], Al-Qāhira 1999;

(46) *'Aǧā'ib wa-asāṭīr* ["Wonders and Legends"], Al-Qāhira 2004;

(47) *Balāġa* ["Rhetorics"], Al-Qāhira, [?].

Walīd Munīr stresses that the importance of Šawqī Ḍayf for our knowledge on literature lies in the fact, that "like all of the pioneers of the new Arabic culture, he stood out with his encyclopedic knowledge, which enabled him to make a panoramic

presentation of the history of literature along with the social context and the civilizational and cultural phenomena. In this way he shed light on the ages of classical literature as a heritage which covers the history of the nation in its lingual and ideological aspect, he has shown the ways of reasoning and feeling."[9]

About his research on the history of Arabic literature Šawqī Ḍ a y f writes succintly in the introductory chapter of *Tārīḫ al-adab al-ʿarabī. Al-ʿAṣr al-ǧāhilī.* I will now quote the main parts of this text, which characterizes Šawqī Ḍ a y f's research method – a method that he obeyed for his entire life.

"While researching the literature (*adab*) of some nation historian might analyse it in general sense, as history of the representants of culture, tought and literature, or in a narrow sense (*ḫāṣṣ*). The latter approach covers the history of poets and writers, literature (*adab*), its development and phenomena with regard to general historic, social and cultural introductions. Critical and analytical studies of certain characters and their artistic beliefs are also of great importance. [..]

A historian of Arabic literature can follow either the general notion or stude the literature in its narrow sense, concentrating on the poets and writers, analysing their literary personalities as well as social, economic, religious and political factors. Additionaly, trends and literary movements which were dominant in given peroid should also be presented. It should be noted, that a historian of the Arabic literature in the narrow sense also describes one of the most beautiful branch of the wider sense literature, the one which maintains artistic beauty, forms the literary taste of a reader and listener by influencing his various feelings and emotions. He is a historian of literature in the ideal sense, a researcher who does not limit himself to short references on movements and literary genres or biographic notes about all of the poets and writers [...], but he writes voluminous chapters about their artistic achievements, according to the latest methodology of literary studies.

[...] In the following chapters of this book we will try to depict the history of Arabic literature in its narrow sense, drawing from various methodologies of literary research. We will stop on the issue of sex, time and place of a given writer, as well as on his literary personality and talents, which Saint-Beuve pinpointed in his book. The theory of the development of literary genres also wont be overlooked, because without a doubt those genres evolve from age to age, some of them create new ones, which were seemingly inexistent. However, if we went deeply into research, we would realize, that they had originated from other, diffrent genres. It is visible in *maqāma* from the Abbasid period, which, as we see it, has originated from *urǧūza*. The style, vocabulary and aesthetics values of writers should also be noted, along with the comparison of subsequent stages of the deevelopment of Arabic literary tradition."[10]

He presented his methodology in detail in the book *Al-Baḥṯ al-adabī: ṭabīʿatuhu, manāhiǧuhu, uṣūluhu, maṣādiruhu* (36), which in introduction he himself treats as an

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[9] Tahānī Ṣ ā l i ḥ, op. cit.

[10] Šawqī Ḍ a y f, *Tārīḫ al-adab al-ʿarabī. Al-ʿAṣr al-ǧāhilī*, Al-Qāhira, n.d., 8th edition, pp. 11, 13–14.

academic handbook for the students of Arabic literature.[11] The title of the work itself points to it structure, since it is a direct reflection of the inner division of the handbook. The author in a systematic manner presents the method of literary studies according to his rules, a general description of which was made above. The book starts from the research material problem (*Ṭabīʿat al-baḥṯ al-adabī*, pp. 9–78) and ends at the method of creating annotations and bibliographies (*Maṣādir*, pp. 212–269). The "research material" is, of course, literature. On few pages (*Māddat al-baḥṯ al-adabī*, pp. 9–17) Šawqī Ḍ a y f presented his view on the nature of literature in as brief and unambiguous manner as he did in the case of the history of literature, which parts were quoted above. Subsequently he focuses on the issues of the research methodology. For instance, when analysing the problems concerning the choice of subject for the literary analysis (*Iḫtiyār al-baḥṯ al-adabī*, pp. 17–26) he warns young adepts of the literary studies that they should not fully rely on their professors in this issue. "They should choose their subjects by themselves and those subjects should be an outcome of a comprehensive reading. Their research should not cover a subject too extensive. It should be remembered, that the narrower the subject, the better it is for analysis, since the researcher is able to see the whole issue and fully plunge into it" – the scholar sums up in the "Ending".[12] I couldn't agree more. We can find many of such accurate and universal remarks in Šawqī Ḍ a y f's work. In the fifth chapter devoted to the methodology (*Manāhiǧ*, pp. 79–145) Šawqī Ḍ a y f stresses the connections between literary studies and other disciplines – he cites among others: nature sciences, sociology, psychology, aesthetics. The fourth chapter, "Sources" (*Al-Uṣūl*, pp. 146–211) is devoted to the issue of the critic of the sources in the studies on Arabic literature. Šawqī Ḍ a y f acutely analyses the topic of relation (*riwāya*) and record (*tadwīn*) in the Arabic literary output, as well as redaction and edition (*taḥqīq*). The last chapter stands as a set of technical tips.

It should be stressed, that *Al-Baḥṯ al-adabī* is a book outright extraordinarily firm and systematic, what is not always a feature of Arabic works which are ment to represent the methodology of research in the humanities. Those usually seem more similiar to the medieval *adab* works (and more in the style of A l - Ǧ ā ḥ i ẓ than I b n Q u t a y b a), than contemporary systematic science lectures.

Contemporary Egyptian and Arabic literarure critics often state, that Šawqī Ḍ a y f was adverse to all of the methodological news and his works were a typical example of the old, classic school of studies. Aḥmād M u ǧ ā h i d, an Egyptian literature critic answers those comments saying that these opinions are not fully justified since they should be seen in the context of their time of creation. Additionally it seems that this old classic school has not really lost any of its actuality. Ḍ a y f's *Al-Baḥṯ al-adabī* can without a hitch serve today as an introduction to the literary studies, which later on can be continued on one's own from a solid ground.

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[11] Šawqī Ḍ a y f, *Al-Baḥṯ al-adabī: ṭabīʿatuhu, manāhiǧuhu, uṣūluhu, maṣādiruhu*, Al-Qāhira 1979, 4th edition, p. 5.

[12] Ibid.

For the present scholars who undertake literary analysis in the modern spirit, classic works of Šawqī Ḍ a y f can serve as an ideal starting point – they don't have to worry about collecting proper materials.[13] And that seems to be very true.

The third field of Šawqī Ḍ a y f's studies and publications were works devoted to muslim topics. They were created in the last phase of the Scholars life. His last work is the monograph on the Prophet Muhammad. The works from this field:

(48) *Sūrat Ar-Raḥmān wa-suwar qiṣār* ["The Sūra *Most Gracious* and "Short Sūras". Presentation and Analysis"], 2nd edition, Al-Qāhira 1980;

(49) *ʿĀlamiyyat al-islām*, Al-Qāhira 1996 / English transl.: *The Universality of Islam*, by A. El-Affendi, Marroco ISESCI 1998 / French transl. *L'Universalite de l'islam*, trans. A. Dhimene, n.d. ["The Universality of Islam"];

(50) *Al-Ḥaḍāra al-islāmiyya min Al-Qurān wa-as-sunna* ["Islamic Civilisation from Koran and Sunna"], Al-Qāhira 1997;

(51) *Muḥammad Ḫatam an-Nabiyyīn* ["Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets"], Al-Qāhira 2000;

(52) *Muʿğizat Al-Qurān* ["Miracle of Koran"], Al-Qāhira 2002;

(53) *Muʿğam muṣtalaḥ al-ḥadṯ an-nabawī* ["The Prophet's Tradition Dictionary"] [?].

Fully outside mentioned fields stays the (54) *Muʿğam al-qānūn* ["The Dictionary of Law"], Al-Qāhira 1999.

Editor's activity of Šawqī Ḍ a y f is also very important. Beside abovementioned treatise of Ibn Maḍa' the scholar published three more editions of other classical works of the Arabic literature and works of the contemporary clasics:

(55) Abū al-Qāsim Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbbād Ṣāḥib at-Talqānī, *Rasā'il* ["Letters"], Al-Qāhira 1947;

(56) ʿAlī Ibn Mūsā Ibn Saʿīd a l - M a ḡ r i b ī, *Kitāb al-muğrib fī ḥulā Al-Maḡrib* ["The Book of the One who Admires the Fine Features of the Maghreb Residents"], Al-Qāhira 1953 (with Z.M. Ḥasan);

(57) Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā I b n M u ğ ā h i d, *Kitāb as-sabʿa fī qirā'āt* ["The Book of Seven on the Recitations of Koran), Al-Qāhira 1972;

(58) Ǧurğī Z a y d ā n, *Tārīḫ ādāb al-luğa al-ʿarabiyya* ["The History of the Literature in Arabic Language"], Al-Qāhira 1981.

In the end I shall repeat few statements, which were already, directly or indirectly mentioned. Šawqī Ḍ a y f's output in the field of Arabic philology is impressive – today it is hard to imagine an arabist – whether it be a literature specialist or a linguist, who could ignore the works of this Scholar. This irremovable footprint makes it a fact, that he will stay for many decades – again – *Al-Ḡā'ib al-Ḥāḍir* – "The Eternally Present Absent One", no matter if we agree with him, or decide to argue.

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[13] Tahānī Ṣ ā l i ḥ, op. cit.

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MARCIN GRODZKI

The Grammatical Treatise *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan‘at al-i‘rāb* of Abū al-Qāsim az-Zamaḫšarī (Died 1144 A.D.) – a Masterpiece of Arab Grammar

Abstract

Abū al-Qāsim a z - Z a m a ḫ š a r ī's (1075–1144) grammatical treatise *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan‘at al-i‘rāb* is one of the main and most acknowledged philological masterpieces of the classical Arabic. The aim of this article is to shed some light on its origin, cultural and philological background, main goals and assumptions of the author, its position in the history of studies on Arabic grammar, hitherto prevailing research output of European orientalist dealing with *Al-Mufaṣṣal*. It also comprises a short presentation of the figure of A z - Z a m a ḫ š a r ī himself. The article quotes references to Arabic, English, German, Russian and Polish source literature.

The renowned Persian-Arab philologist and polyhistor Abū al-Qāsim a z - Z a m a ḫ š a r ī (1075–1144 A.D.) is the author of 10 philological works on the classical Arabic language. The most valuable and best known of these is without doubt the grammatical treatise *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan‘at al-i‘rāb* (short form: *Al-Mufaṣṣal*), recognized as one of the best linguistic works of the Arab world. It was written in the years 1119–1120 (in one year and four months) in the spirit of the Baghdad grammatical school (which the Russian Orientalist N.K. E f e n d i y e v a described as eclectic and rationalist-philological[1]). Before setting out to present the book itself, I would first like to briefly outline the figure of its author.

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[1] Н.К. Эфендиева, *Исследование некоторых трудов аз-Замахшари* „Язык и литература” 2001, No. 3-4 (32).

Abū al-Qāsim az-Zamaḫšarī is one of the most outstanding representatives of the Arab-Islamic human sciences of the 12th century. His creative output and achievements outperform many famous Arab scholars. Az-Zamaḫšarī wrote in the Persian, Arabic and Turkish (Turkmen) languages. His preserved literary legacy includes 20 works, most of which have already been published (in Arabic). In addition, some biographical dictionaries and other sources mention 30 more of his writings that have been lost. Az-Zamaḫšarī's output is dominated by works on grammar, lexicography and moralizing theology[2]. He was a philologist, commentator of the *Qur'an* in the spirit of Shīʿīte theology, and a poet. While in the Arab world he is very well known and appreciated, the name of Az-Zamaḫšarī is almost completely unknown in the West.

The Russian Arabist Ignatiy Kračkowskiy (1883–1951) summarized the literary merits of Az-Zamaḫšarī stating that "he is remembered as an eminent exegete (philologist, author of commentaries of the Holy Scripts – in this case – of the *Qur'an*) in the spirit of the Mu'tazili, as well as a grammarian, lexicographer and author of several fine works of literature"[3].

We can risk to say that all books of Az-Zamaḫšarī, even those classified in the field of theology, are connected to a greater or lesser extent with studies on the Arabic language. The Muslim scholar regarded the Arabic language as an indispensable primary tool for exploring dogmas of the Muslim faith. As a philologist, he considered it the queen of all languages, although his native tongue was Persian.

Abū al-Qāsim az-Zamaḫšarī was born on March 8th 1075 A.D. (17 rağab 467 H.)[4] in the village of Zamaḫšar, the land of Khwarizm. Today, the town said to be associated with Zamaḫšar is located in the Daşoguz Province in northern Turkmenistan, near the Uzbeki border. This version of his birthdate is mentioned by old Arabic biographical dictionaries: *Nuzhat al-alibbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-udabā'* ["Wise men's stroll through generations of renown scholars"] by Abū al-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbarī (d.577 H./1181 A.D.), *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān* ["Lifes of Eminent men"] by Ibn Ḫallikān (d.681/1282) and *Iršād al-arīb ilà maʿrifat al-adīb* ["Guidebook to knowledge"] by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d.626/1228), as well as Ǧamāl ad-Dīn al-Qifṭī (d.646/1248) in his biographical dictionary *Inbāh ar-ruwāt ʿalà anbāh an-nuḥāt* ["Informing writers of news about grammarians"] referring to Az-Zamaḫšarī's nephew – 'Umar 'Āmir ibn al-Ḥasan as-Samsārī who in turn relied on the work of Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥāmid[5].

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[2] В.М. Мяммядялийев, *Яряб дилчилийи*, "Маариф" Баку 1985.

[3] "Он оставил важный след как крупный экзегет (филолог, занимающийся толкованием и объяснением библейских текстов, в данном случае – коранических) му'тазилитского толка, как грамматик, лексикограф и автор ряда произведений высокого стиля в художественной прозе" (И.Ю. Крачковский, *Избранные сочинения. Йусуф ал-Магриби и его словарь* 1957 vol. 1 p. 313).

[4] See: *Enzyklopädie des Islām*, Leiden 1913–1934 pp. 1305–1307. The encyclopedia appears to contain a typographical error stating the birth date to be 27.7.467 instead of 17.7.467, but already the conversion to the Gregorian calendar is correct -08. 03. 1075.

[5] Ḥ. al-Ḥaffāf (ed.), *Risālat fī iʿğāz sūrat al-Kawṯar li-az-Zamaḫšarī*, www.rafed.net/turathona/13/13-7.html.

In some sources, with less frequency though, one can find Az-Zamaḫšarī's the birth to be the year 1074 or even 1070. They may result from erroneous calculations between the Muslim and the Gregorian calendar.

Az-Zamaḫšarī died on January 13th 1144 (9 ḏū al-ḥiğğa 538 H.)[6] in the town of Al-Ğurğaniyya – the medieval capital of Khwarizm[7]. The ruins of what was then Al-Ğurğaniyya, situated at the crossroads of caravan routes and demolished by successive Mongol invasions in the 13th and 14th centuries, are located in the south of the city Konye-Urgench in today's Turkmenistan.

Az-Zamaḫšarī's flagship grammatical work – *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan'at al-i'rāb* – is an outstanding achievement of the Arab compilatory grammatical movement which was developing in the Middle East from the 11th century. It was committed primarily to didactic purposes: teaching of the Arabic grammar (and not, as in the case of the so-called Al-Baṣra philological school, teaching the proper use of correct grammar norms imposed on the language)[8]. The compilation movement did not create new scientific theories describing the structure of the language, nor did it set any new norms for it, but it took up organizing and systemizing the formerly composed Arab philological writings for educational purposes.

Hence, *Al-Mufaṣṣal* has been written with a didactic target, next to other well-known dissertations on Arabic grammar, such as *Al-Alfiyya* ["The book of thousand verses"] by Ibn Mālik (d. 673/1274), *Šuḏūr aḏ-ḏahab fī ma'rifat kalām al-'Arab* ["Gold particles or the knowledge on Arab's speech"] by Ibn Ḥišām (d. 761/1359), the monography on Arabic morphology (*Aš-Šāfiyya*) and syntax (*Al-Kāfiyya*) by Ibn al-Ḥāǧib (d. 646/1248) commented on by Astarābāḏī (d. 688/1289). The compilatory movement in the history of the Arabic grammar is crowned by the Egyptian polymath As-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) with at least a dozen writings devoted to grammar. All of these books, including the *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan'at al-i'rāb,* can be regarded as an attempt to put together all preceding contemporary grammatical achievements.

There are many possible translations of the book's title according to different meanings of the Arabic word *mufaṣṣal*: *A detailed dissertation on inflexions* or *Book in chapters on inflexions*. The Arabic word *mufaṣṣal* may also mean 'refined in detail, elaborate, systematic, tailored to suit something'. It seems that only together, all these terms appear to give the full meaning of the Arabic title meant by the author, taking into account the circumstances and character of the book. It may be assumed that the author (as a distinguished scholar of the Arabic language) gave an ambiguous title for his book intentionally, since playing word-games in books' titles was a widely practiced habit by then.

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[6] Some modern sources claim here the year 1143 (eg. www.1911encyclopedia.org) which may also be a matter of date conversion.

[7] According to Charles F. Horne, Az-Zamaḫšarī was born and died in Khiva (today Turkmenistan). Ch.F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East,* 1917, pp. 134–139.

[8] J. Danecki, *Gramatyka języka arabskiego,* Warszawa 2001, vol. II, p. 88.

Quite often bibliographic lists mention Az-Zamaḫšarī's treatise also under two other titles: *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī an-naḥw*[9] ["The book on grammar"], *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī 'ilm al-arabiyya* ["The book on knowledge of the Arabic language"], or simply *Al-Mufaṣṣal*. The abbreviated title appears e.g. on the manuscript from 1739 held in the Yusuf Ağa Library in Konya, Turkey.

On the one hand, Az-Zamaḫšarī's grammatical dissertation reveals many similarities to the monumental grammatical treatise *Al-Kitāb* ["The Book"] of Sībawayhi (d. 180/796) which is regarded as the cornerstone of Arab philology. On the other hand, as claims the Russian Arabist B.Z. Khalidov (and also W. Diem of the University of Cologne), the grammatical material in *Al-Mufaṣṣal* is presented in a more systematic and consistent manner which makes the treatise more accessible to its readers[10].

The high esteem in which *Al-Mufaṣṣal* is held among Arab philologists is comparable to that enjoyed among Qur'anic exegetes by Az-Zamaḫšarī's best known work – his commentary of the *Qur'an*: *Al-Kaššāf*. This importance of *Al-Mufaṣṣal* is underlined by the Turkish historiographer Ḥāğğī Ḫalīfa (d. 1067/1656) in his book *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn* ["Discernment of knowledge on types of books and other arts"] in the section devoted to *Al-Mufaṣṣal*[11]. For many centuries Az-Zamaḫšarī's masterpiece has served in the Arab world as a standard university textbook, as well as a research base for working on new manuals. This important role of *Al-Mufaṣṣal* has not been lost by it to a great extent till today – Arabic is taught by simplified and modified rules once drawn up in the philological centers of Al-Baṣra, Al-Kūfa and Baghdad. The modern Arabic grammar sticks to the old patterns[12].

Al-Mufaṣṣal is therefore one of the last large-format writings of grammar, combining the wealth of interpretations concerning the classical Arabic language accumulated over centuries by scholars from Al-'Irāq, and seen through the eyes of the great linguists – Az-Zamaḫšarī. *Al-Mufaṣṣal*'s author is happy to make frequent, if somewhat critical, references to the opinions of his philological predecessors. He does not limit himself to sheer compiling of the accumulated knowledge, but also responds to it leaning toward the views of different grammarians from the Al-Baṣra and Al-Kūfa schools or criticising them. He would as well suggest his own individual understanding of the issues under discussion. Hence, some researchers do not consider Az-Zamaḫšarī to represent the compilatory movement, but more likely the late Baghdad philological period[13]. His grammatical treatise is a good starting point to acquaint oneself with the rules of the classical Arabic grammar from the perspective of various philologists. It

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[9] This title is e.g. given by Джирджи Зейдан in: *Тарих адаб ал-луга ал-арабиййа (на арабском языке)*, Бейрут 1967, vol. II, p. 47.

[10] Б.З. Халидов, А.Б. Халидов, *Биография аз-Замахшари, составленная его современником ал-Андарасбан*, "Письменные памятники Востока" 1973, p. 556.

[11] Ḥ. Ḫalīfa, *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn,* www.almeshkat.net, vol. 2, pp. 956–958.

[12] J. Danecki, op. cit. vol. II, p. 90.

[13] Ahmed El-Amir, *Sharh Abiat El – Mofasal By El-Sharif El-Georgany, A study and Verification* – M. A. Dissertation, EL-Menia University, Egypt 1418/1998.

is therefore a suitable (and equally typical) material for undertaking, e.g. an analytical--comparative research on differences in perception of the Arabic grammatical structures seen through the eyes of Arabs and European Orientalists. It seems that chronologically after Az-Zamaḫšarī's dissertation there was no other integrated grammar book more suitable (except of As-Suyūṭī's philological treatises) for this goal.

It is also worth noting that *Al-Mufaṣṣal* was written for a special linguistic purpose. In order to understand it, we must take a brief look at the contemporary linguistic situation in the Arab-Muslim world of the 12th century. At its time, *Al-Mufaṣṣal* was an extremely urgent and up-to-date work from the perspective of the would-be fate of the Arabic language. The political disintegration of the Arab caliphate in the 10th century led to a fragmentation of culture, including the language. The result was a decline of the Arab culture, including a gradual disappearance of the command of the classical language among people. In various provinces of the disintegrated caliphate local cultural traditions became more important than the Arab one. In the east of the Arab-Muslim world, in Az-Zamaḫšarī's native province of Khwarizm, ground was gradually won by the Persian language and Persian-Tadjik literature represented by great Persian poets such as Rūdakī (860?–941?) Firdawsī (between 932 and 942–1020 or 1025) and ʿOmar Ḫayyām (1048–1131). The 12th century also witnessed the literary output of the great Azerbaijani poet Neẓāmī (1141–1209), writing in Persian. At the same time, the milieu of high-ranking Persian dignitaries gave birth to a new intellectual and social movement called *šuʿūbiyya*[14] which was directed against the political and social domination of the Arabs in the multiethnic society of the Arab-Muslim caliphate. This trend spread to ordinary people in whose veins flowed the Persian blood. For their purposes, usually political ones, they would invoke the Sunni belief that people should be differentiated only in terms of religion, and not origin.

All of these tendencies limited the scope for the use of the classical Arabic language, not only in Khwarizm, but also in other areas of the non-Arab Muslim world. Nevertheless, scholars and theologians, non-Arabs, did not cease to use the Arabic as the sole language of science and religion – Islam. The classical Arabic language also enjoyed wide application in poetry.

The emergence of a new multifunctional compendium of the Arab grammatical thought in the form of *Al-Mufaṣṣal* was in its author's intention designed to contribute to and support the functioning of the Arabic language and renew people's interest in it. Even though there already existed a large number of grammatical treatises at that time, apparently there was still a need for an enhanced compilation of philological achievements, a need to develop a systemized and easily accessible grammar manual that would serve as an aid for adepts studying the classical Arabic language. The scientific community of that

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[14] The *šuʿūbiyya* movement had a significant impact on the development of Arabic literature (in such a way that supporters of increasing the role of non-Arab nations such as Abū Nuwās were squaring off in written discussions and literary disputes, often in a rough manner, against proponents of the Bedouin movement such as Ibn Qutayba (M.M. Dziekan, ed., *Arabowie, Słownik encyklopedyczny*, Warszawa 2001 p. 341).

times asked their foremost philological authority – Az-Zamaḫšarī (although not an Arab, but an expert in the Arabic language) to create such a unique grammar manual.

The author writes in *Al-Mufaṣṣal* foreword: "I was asked to create a universal and orderly manual on i'rāb covering all the chapters, a book which the Muslims lack to learn Arabic. And since my brothers – the servants of literature – are close to my heart, I wrote such a book giving it the title *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan'at al-i'rāb*". Then the Muslim scholar thanks God for keeping him away from "deviations from the right path of admirers of this language, and joining the ranks of preachers of the disastrous *šu'ūbiyya* movement. God saved me from their biased ideas that are nothing but curses and undermining the truth"[15]. The whole treatise is thus an attempt to respond to the contemporary socio-cultural situation of the eastern borderlands of the caliphate[16].

In the foreword Az-Zamaḫšarī also indirectly indicates the importance of his work: "*Al-I'rāb* is a ladder leading to the explanation of reality, thus giving the opportunity to explore the mysteries of the *Qur'an*. It guarantees that you will be able to mind its (the *Qur'an*'s) beautiful countenances and to reach its most precious gifts. Anyone condemning al-i'rāb is like a man who denies others going the right ways, not wishing them luck." It is clear that in Az-Zamaḫšarī's understanding, getting to know the principles governing the Arabic grammar is a necessary starting point for studying the *Qur'an* and understanding it properly.

Next, the author presents the methodology guiding him in the course of his work on the grammatical material: "I divided it (the book) into four chapters. The first deals with nouns, the second with verbs, the third with particles (*ḥurūf*), and the fourth one joins them altogether (*al-muštarak*)". It is a typical division into grammatical categories as used by other Arab philologists. The fourth chapter is devoted to phonetic issues. It includes such phonetic categories as *al-imāla* (imala), *al-waqf* (pause), *al-qasam* (oath), *taḫfīf al-hamza* (losing the *hamza*), *iltiqā' as-sākinayn* (meeting of two *sukūns*), *ḥukm awā'il al-kalam* (the principle of beginning the speech), *ziyādat al-ḥurūf* (adding particles), *ibdāl al-ḥurūf* (exchanging particles), *al-i'tilāl* (weak consonants), *al-idġām* (strong consonants). The author is one of the first philologists who noticed that sounds are a linguistic phenomenon requiring separate detailed studies[17]. Famous European scholars of the Arabic – H. Fleisch, J. Cantineau, M. Bravmann, C. Brockelmann and D. Grünert paid great attention in their works to the phonetic concepts presented in *Al-Mufaṣṣal*. As explained by the Russian Orientalist N.K. Efendiyeva, it is a proof of the philologists' unremitting interest in the grammatical concepts put forward by the 12th-century Persian linguist, and proof of the constant topicality and timeliness of his linguistic ideas.

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[15] See: M. Grodzki, *Kategoria przypadka w dziele gramatycznym Al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan'at al-i'rāb Abū al-Qāsima az-Zamaḫšarīego (zm.1144)*, Ibidem, Łódź 2009.

[16] Az-Zamaḫšarī's treatise was once valued so highly that the ruler of the Ayyubid dynasty 'Īsà al-Ayyūbī (13th century) has appointed a prize from his own vault worth 100 dinars plus an expensive robe for anyone who owned a copy of *Al-Mufaṣṣal*.

[17] Н.К. Эфендиева, op. cit.

The original Arabic text contains no division into chapters or sections. *Al-Mufaṣṣal* is written at one stretch and counts several hundred pages in today's Arabic editions of this book. The first several dozen pages of the treatise, together with my own translation into the Polish language and a grammatical commentary were published in 2009.

The *Al-Mufaṣṣal's* text contains numerous quotations from Arabic poetry, often referred to by the author. The poetic *bayts* of Az-Zamaḫšarī's book and their extensive commentary are the main subjects of the broad dissertation by Muḥammad Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī al-Ḥalabī under the title *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī šarḥ abyāt Al-Mufaṣṣal*[18].

Al-Mufaṣṣal must have enjoyed a success shortly after its release by the author, because later in his life Az-Zamaḫšarī wrote a summary of *Al-Mufaṣṣal* calling it *Al-Unmūḏaǧ* ("The book of reference"), which is mentioned by Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa (d. 1067/1656)[19]. *Al-Unmūḏaǧ* is a kind of a specific compendium of grammatical knowledge for beginners – a handy help in acquainting the rules of grammar. It was printed in Constantinople in 1880 and Egypt in 1872.

Among Az-Zamaḫšarī's unpreserved writings closely connected with *Al-Mufaṣṣal* was *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* ["Commentary on *Al-Mufaṣṣal*"] and *Ḥāšiya 'alà Al-Mufaṣṣal* ["References to *Al-Mufaṣṣal*"]. Both are mentioned in *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn*[20].

The characteristic feature of *al-Mufaṣṣal* as well as of other grammatical and lexicographical writings of his author, is certainly the maximised substantial brevity and condensation of the discussed material, dense with terse descriptions. This allows the reader to get acquainted with many pieces of valuable information on what is roughly equivalent to a few pages. However it equally hinders proper assimilation of the read text and renders the author's ideas difficult to grasp, e.g. when translating the Arabic text into a foreign language[21].

Besides Sībawayhi's *Al-Kitāb, Al-Mufaṣṣal* is the most commented on classical work of grammar[22] among the Arabs. There are hundreds of commentaries to *Al-Mufaṣṣal,* written by different authors (C. Brockelmann estimates there are 291[23] of them). Already in the 17th century Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa listed in his bibliographical dictionary *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn*[24] a few dozen such works. Most Arabic commentaries of *Al-Mufaṣṣal* appeared in the first three centuries after Az-Zamaḫšarī's death. Their great number indicates the degree of interest attracted by his book among Arab philologists. The most widespread

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[18] Muḥammad Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī šarḥ abyāt Al-Mufaṣṣal* Dār al-Ǧīl, Bajrūt (no date – reprint of the Alexandrian edition of 1874).

[19] Ḥ. Ḫalīfa, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 270 and vol. 2, p. 956.

[20] A. El-Amir, op. cit., p. 21.

[21] In turn, Az-Zamaḫšarī wrote his other pieces of fine literature in the spirit of that time – intricate style, rhymed prose, embellished language and stylistic means of expression upon the templates of Arabic poetry, skillfully weaving in a number of synonyms and rare linguistic phrases.

[22] El-Amir writes that the most often commented classical grammar works of Arab authors are: Sībawayhi's *Al-Kitāb*, Az-Zaǧǧaǧī's *Al-Ǧumal,* Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's *Al-Īḍāḥ*, Az-Zamaḫšarī's *Al-Mufaṣṣal*, Ibn al-Ḥāǧib's *Al-Kāfiya,* Ibn Mālik's *Al-Alfiyya* and Ibn Ḥišām's *Al-Mugannī*. A. El-Amir, op. cit.

[23] C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur,* Erster Supplementband, Leiden 1937, p. 1305.

[24] Ḥ. Ḫalīfa, op. cit. vol. 2. pp. 956–958.

Arabic commentary is Ibn Ya'īš's (d. 643/1245) *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* ["Explaining *Al-Mufaṣṣal*"]. Over centuries Arab scholars have managed to explore comprehensively the secrets of *Al-Mufaṣṣal*, not only in terms of linguistics and historiography of Arab philology, but also from the point of view of studies on literature and research on the history of culture. It is worth mentioning here a commentary of poetical verses (Arab. *šawāhid*) quoted in *Al-Mufaṣṣal* under the title *Al-Mufaḍḍal fī šarḥ abyāt Al-Mufaṣṣal* by Muḥammad Badr ad-Dīn Abū Fīrās an-Nas'ānī al-Ḥalabī, published in 1323/1905 in Cairo. The *Al-Mufaṣṣal* itself (and its most known commentaries) reappeared repeatedly in the Arab countries where it is treated as basic linguistic literature. Nowadays one can find commentaries of commentaries of *Al-Mufaṣṣal,* sometimes issued as books, such as a recent M.A. thesis from the Faculty of the Arabic Language at the University of El-Menia in Egypt written by an Arab student, Ahmed El-Amir, under the title: *Šarḥ abyāt al-Mufaṣṣal li-aš-šarīf al-Ǧurǧānī. A study and Verification* from year 1998.

Several centuries later, *Al-Mufaṣṣal*'s role started to be appreciated by Arabists from Europe and other continents. In Europe, it was first printed in Arabic alphabet only in 1859 (and again in 1879) in Christiania (now Oslo), by J.P. Broch's effort. With glosses and footnotes by Mawlawi Muḥammad Ya'qūb Rāsbūrī it was also published in Delhi in 1891. In 1882, F.H.G. Jahn printed in Leipzig in two volumes the most famous *Al-Mufaṣṣal's* commentary of Ibn Ya'īš's (d. 643/1245) – *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*[25], based on the texts of the Arabic manuscripts from Leipzig, Oxford, Constantinople and Cairo.

Al-Mufaṣṣal was repeatedly the point of bibliographical reference for the famous British Orientalist W. Wright (1830–1889) in his English masterpiece *Grammar of the Arabic Language*. First published in 1859–1862, it is still considered the best English grammar edition of the classical Arabic language. In the preface to the second edition (1874), Wright mentions *Al-Mufaṣṣal* among three Old Arabic grammar writings on which he depended when reviewing the first edition of his *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (the other two are books of Ibn Mālik: *Al-Alfiyya* and *Lāmiyat al-af'āl*)[26].

An equally interesting innovative elaboration was put forward by a German Protestant theologian and Orientalist E. Trumpp (1828–1885). Between 1878 and 1884 he published in Munich *Beitrag zur Übersetzung und Erklärung des Mufassal*. According to my knowledge, this publication has never been renewed, and the few available copies can be found in library resources of e.g. Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic studies at the University of Bergen.

A big contribution to the research on *Al-Mufaṣṣal* must also be attributed to the 20th-century Russian/Soviet Orientalists. Especially two of them came to the forefront of

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[25] Earlier, in 1873 Jahn published in Halle a part of this commentary concerning the grammatical category of *ḥāl: Abul-Bakâ ibn Ja`îš Commentar zu dem Abschnitt über das [حال] aus Zamachsarî's Mufassal nach der Leipziger und Oxforder Handschrift* printed by Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.

[26] W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* 1874. It is worth adding here that Wright's grammar is an English translation of the original German version of the Lutheran theologist and Orientalist of Jewish origin Karl Paul Caspari (1814–1892) who published his book in Latin in 1848 with the title: *Grammatica Arabica*, and later – in 1859 – in German. However Caspari's versions of grammar have been consigned to oblivion.

these studies: B.Z. Khalidov (1905–1968) and his son A.B. Khalidov (1929–2001) who were primarily interested in Az-Zamaḫšarī's life and writings. Their case studies contain valuable information on *Al-Mufaṣṣal* and its importance for the development of Arabic linguistics, but they cannot be treated in any way as philological monographies. Similar scientific works have been written contemporarily by two Russian Orientalists N.K. Efiendiyeva (2001) and S.M. Prozorova (1999) who investigated one of the manuscripts related to Az-Zamaḫšarī's life (currently in the collection of the Russian Academy of Science).

Another inspiring contribution to the studies on *Al-Mufaṣṣal* were lectures given in the 90's by W. Diem at the University of Cologne. The linguistic seminar called *Das grammatische System von az-Zamakhshari*[27] was an introduction into the mysteries of the traditional description of Arabic grammar, based on the example of *Al-Mufaṣṣal*. As the German scholar explains, he has chosen Az-Zamaḫšarī's book and not Sībawayhi's *Al-Kitāb* for the seminar because *Al-Mufaṣṣal* is (in contrast to *Al-Kitāb*) *a very orderly and concise work, which – because of its high intellectual level – poses at the same time particular difficulties for interpretation*. The seminar included inter alia a presentation of *Al-Mufaṣṣal's* preface and the middle chapters, their commentary and explanation. The reference book for Diem is the above mentioned commentary of Ibn Ya'īš entitled *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*.

The fact remains that *Al-Mufaṣṣal* as a valuable historical source of early Arabic grammatical studies has so far been used by European Orientalist in a very small extent. According to my knowledge, in Poland there have been no books or dissertations devoted to Az-Zamaḫšarī and his *Al-Mufaṣṣal*, except the above mentioned doctoral thesis (2007). Scientific publications occasionally mention the great Persian scholar in the context of his contribution to the development of the descriptive theory of the Arabic grammar, but they are usually short notes., e.g. an article of J. Danecki *The notion of taṣarruf in Arabic grammatical theory* published in "Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne" 1, 1993 (Warsaw).

[27] www.uni-koeln.de.

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 52–59)

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Muḥammad ʿAwfī and the Persian *maqāma*

Abstract

The influence of Arabic *maqāmas* on Hebrew literature has received some attention, but their influence on Persian literature has been less intensively studied. However, *maqāmas* were eagerly received and imitated in 12th-century Persia. A Persian author, Muḥammad ʿAwfī (d. after 628/1230–1) deserves attention when assessing the early Persian *maqāma*. In his *Ǧawāmiʿ*, he gives the translation of one Ḥarīrian *maqāma* and relates two or three stories which would easily qualify as *maqāmas*. They also show that the influence of the *maqāma* on Persian literature is stronger than is usually suggested. Persians may not always have labelled their texts *maqāmas*, which, after all, remained a foreign genre for them, but at the same time *maqāmas* did influence Persian prose literature more deeply than is usually recognized.

The influence of Arabic *maqāmas* on Hebrew literature has received some attention, but their influence on Persian literature has been less intensively studied. The *maqāmas* of very few Persian authors, except for Ḥamīdaddīn Balḫī (d. 560/1164), are even mentioned by Western scholars. Most of the few studies on the Persian *maqāma* have been written in Persian and published in Iran and are hard to access in the West.[1]

The reception of Arabic prose in Persian literature has been briefly studied by Marzolph (1992) I: 89–133, who mainly focuses on the anecdotes and mentions *maqāmas* only in passing. However, *maqāmas* were eagerly received and imitated in 12th-century Persia. Ḥamīdaddīn's *maqāmas* were an instantaneous success as may be seen in his early canonization in Niẓāmī-ye ʿArūḍī's (d. after 552/1157) *Čahār*

[1] E.g. Ḥarīrī (1383 A.H.Sh.).

maqāla (p. 22 = Browne 1921: 25), where he is mentioned on a par with the great Arabic maestros, Al-Hamaḏānī and Al-Ḥarīrī.[2]

Another Persian author, Muḥammad ʿAwfī (d. after 628/1230–1)[3] deserves our attention when assessing the early Persian *maqāma*. In his *Ǧawāmiʿ*, he gives the translation of one Ḥarīrian *maqāma* (III/1: 136–139: no. 49 *As-Sāsāniyya*) and relates two or three stories which would easily qualify as *maqāmas*, though they are not explicitly labelled as such (III/1: 139–148;[4] 150–152; 153–155).

Before discussing these stories, it should be added that ʿAwfī translated the *Kitāb al-faraǧ baʿd aš-šidda* by At-Tanūḫī[5] and also included many of these stories in his *Ǧawāmiʿ*, so that several maqāmaesque stories found their way into the collection, especially in the fourth volume. The narrative context of ʿAwfī was very receptive of *maqāmas*.

Let us first study the translation of the Ḥarīrian *maqāma*. As ʿAwfī's text does not seem to have been previously translated, I will first give the text in translation.[6]

Translation

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī has told in his *maqāmas*:

> When death approached Abū Zayd Sarūǧī and it was time for him to release the soul back to the Creator of souls, he called for his son and said to him:
>
> Oh son, know that for a long time I have spent the cash of my labours trying to catch the fugitives (of daily bread) and used the decoy bird tied to the net of deception to hunt down the birds of the heart. Today it is time for the bird of my soul to fly upwards into the celestial air. I will now make my testament to you. Know that your earthly prosperity will depend on this testament.

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[2] Cf. also a poem on him by Anwarī, translated in Browne (1906) II: 347. For a recent study on Ḥamīdaddīn, see Behmardi (2006). See also Browne (1906) II: 346–349.

[3] For a short biography of ʿAwfī, see Matīnī (1989). Marzolph (1992, I: 101–103) also briefly studies ʿAwfī but restricts himself exclusively to anecdotes and uses only the brief selection of his stories by Nizámu'd-dín (1929).

[4] The protagonist of this story, Šayḫ ʿAbbās, is also mentioned in the following story, III/1: 148–150.

[5] This translation has been lost, but the somewhat later one by Ḥusayn Ibn Asʿad Dahistānī is preserved and has been edited by I. Ḥākimī (3 vol.s, Tihrān 1363–1364 A.H.Sh. / 1984–1985).

[6] Whether ʿAwfī translated this *maqāma* or found it already translated is not clear. In the latter case, there remains the further question whether he abbreviated the piece or not. As long as we cannot locate the source for this translation of Al-Ḥarīrī the question will remain open, but it should be noted that there is nothing in the style of the translation that would exclude ʿAwfī himself from being the translator.

Certainly, men are four classes. First are the kings, secondly the viziers and the governors, thirdly the merchants and fourthly the market-men (*bāzāriyān*) and artisans (*arbāb-e ḥirfat*).[7]

There cannot be any doubt, but that kingship is the place of a thousand calamities and a cause for many fears. A sage has said that a king sitting on his throne is like a man above whose head there is a sharp sword attached by a single hair. Every moment he is waiting for that hair to snap and the sword to fall upon his head and kill him.

Being a vizier, an emir or a *dihqān* is also connected with various difficulties and different afflictions. In his proximity to the king, the vizier will be afflicted with great labours and he will have many eminent enemies. There will always be arrows pointed at him. Often they hit their mark and their heads find their way to pierce him. For a *dihqān* the tasks of cultivation involve baseness and meanness because the paying of *ḫarāǧ* taxes is very hard for a noble man. And how it is with owners of cattle[8] is well known.

Being a merchant is all pain and toil. He must put his life and property at stake: "the traveller and his property are in danger." After bearing all the troubles and gulping down the goblet of treacheries, he either makes a ten-percent profit – or does not. Gaining a profit in this way cannot be free of toil.

The earnings and the profession of a market-man are also associated with toil and trouble. His living comes to him day by day and if on one day sickness overcomes him, he will lose (the profits of) that day.

So, my son, beware all these professions and tasks and know for sure that the dominion without headache and the occupation without trouble and the trade without merchandise and the profession without tools is beggary. Its capital is asking and its adornment is liberality. That merchandise sells in every market and that harvest[9] is saleable in every town.

Where there is a city, there is our estate,
whether we go to Iran or Turan.

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[7] Others would, presumably, have fallen into the class of riffraff, not worthy of the name of people. In the end we learn that beggary actually wins the day against all these four classes.

[8] This seems to be the meaning of the perhaps garbled Arabic sentence intervening into the text (*wa-maṯal al-laḏī fī arbāb al-baqar mašhūr-ast*). The editor admits that he does not understand this passage and emends *la-baqar* to *al-nafar* ("leaders of troops"?).

[9] I read *ḫirman*.

*

Even at first glance, the differences between ʿAwfī's text and its original are conspicuous. Not only does the text lack the *isnād* and the narrator, so basic to Arabic *maqāmas*,[10] but it also uses in the original Persian a rather straightforward language with only occasional use of rhymed sentences, far removed from the artistic prose of al-Ḥarīrī.[11] This shows that the style of the *maqāma* was, after all, less important for ʿAwfī than its witty content.

When one compares the Persian text with its source, one soon realizes that the two are only loosely connected.[12] The Persian text is a very free paraphrase of al-Ḥarīrī's, taking the basic idea and the name of the protagonist from al-Ḥarīrī, but otherwise freely retelling the story, even dropping the mention of Abū Zayd's position as the leader of Sāsānians, a term that is not even used in the Persian version, whereas in the Arabic version it is a pivotal term.[13] The Persian version condenses the Arabic original, and the latter half of the *maqāma* has been omitted.

What is remarkable is that the original has left few influences on a lexical level. One might expect to see at least unconscious borrowings from the Arabic text, but the lexical similarities are so few that they may be taken as natural similarities between Arabic and the Arabicized Persian of the period: saying the same thing in these two languages often involves the same lexemes even in unrelated texts. Even when the translation is, in the few cases, rather faithful, the Arabic lexicon of the original has scarcely left any traces to the Persian text. The Persian text even uses Arabic, non-Persianized lexemes and expressions, which are not found in al-Ḥarīrī's original. Hence, e.g., it uses the expression *iṣṭiyād-e šawārid* (p. 137) where al-Ḥarīrī says: *innī ǧarrabtu ḥaqā'iq al-umūr wa-balawtu taṣārīf ad-duhūr*. However, *šawārid* (sg. *šārid*) does not belong to the standard Persian loans from Arabic (not attested, e.g., in Steingass 1892), though it must have been familiar to an educated author. One might expect to see some phrase like *taǧrīb-e ḥaqāyiq-e umūr* in its stead, but our author freely uses his Arabic words without consideration of the original.

Content wise, one might take as an example the four categories of people in al-Ḥarīrī and the Persian text. For al-Ḥarīrī, the four categories are *imāra*, *tiǧāra*, *zirāʿa* and *ṣināʿa*, but the Persian text divides the first category into two (kings and viziers) and drops *zirāʿa* altogether, for no obvious reason.[14] Husbandry and cultivation were important categories for the ancient Persian culture which could easily have received

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[10] It should be noted, though, that in this particular *maqāma*, the narrator's role is unusually superficial.

[11] Ḥamīdaddīn's *maqāmas* use a much more ornamented language.

[12] Ḥamīdaddīn shares this free attitude towards Arabic sources. Cf., e.g., Behmardi (2006).

[13] For Sāsānian beggars, see Bosworth (1976).

[14] Later, in discussing the first category, the Persian text adds the subcategory of *dihqān* which resembles al-Ḥarīrī's category of *zirāʿa*, but it is given as a subcategory of kingship or dominion.

the original division into four by Al-Ḥarīrī, so there was no compelling reason for the change.[15]

The changes in the content concern the relation between these two specific texts of ʿAwfī and Al-Ḥarīrī. More important for the whole genre are the changes in the structure. Generally, the use of highly polished artistic prose and the narrative device of a pseudo-*isnād* and a fictitious narrator are considered the most basic features of the *maqāma*.[16] ʿAwfī does without them in both the "translation" from Al-Ḥarīrī, explicitly labelled as a *maqāma*, and in the other texts, to be discussed below. When it comes to *isnād*, Ḥamīdaddīn's *maqāmas* fall midway, using an anonymous narrator (*ḥikāyat kard marā dūstī ke...*), which makes the narrator's position less acute and depersonalizes him by leaving him in the shadows of anonymity.

This is a healthy reminder against reading too much into the use of a fictitious narrator. For contemporary audience, and the immediately following times, the key to reading *maqāmas* was not, e.g., an unreliable narrator, and it seems unwarranted to read them in a highly complicated manner and in the light of modern literary theories. For ʿAwfī, at least, the frame of the *maqāma* is disposable and the gist lies in the sermon of Abū Zayd. The *maqāma* is, appropriately, put in the chapter *Dar laṭāyif-e kalimāt-e gadāyān o-ḥikāyat-e* (sic, not *ḥikāyāt-e*) *īšān*, thus underlining the mendicant content of the *waṣiyya*.

Against this background, the next story about Šayḫ ʿAbbās, may easily be discussed as a *maqāma*, in an ʿAwfian sense. The term *maqāma* is found in the middle of the text (p. 143, l. 1), not designating the whole, but only the core episode of the performance by Šayḫ ʿAbbās, the hero of the piece. Yet, its use shows that in writing this piece the author[17] had *maqāmas* in mind and would, presumably, have called it a *maqāma*.

Space does not allow us to translate the whole story, but a brief outline may be given. Instead of a fictitious *isnād*, the story begins with the neutral standard formula *āvurde-and* "it has been told". As in most *maqāmas* (but not in Al-Ḥarīrī's *As-Sāsāniyya*), the action is geographically located, this time in the city of Nishapur, and the hero is a merchant, who is spoken of in the 3rd person – the *maqāma* narrator would tell the story in the first person, but lacking a fictitious narrator, the text uses the 3rd person.[18] A beggar girl in rags and tatters appears to a company of merchants, her beautiful body shining through the patches, "like the sun from behind the clouds." The girl tells her sad story – she is of better origin, but has fallen into poverty – and all the gentlemen give her ample alms.

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[15] One is tempted to think that the Persian paraphrase is based on a half-remembered story, but Al-Ḥarīrī's early fame makes such a suggestion problematic.

[16] Cf., e.g., Hämeen-Anttila (2002): 39–40.

[17] I have been unable to locate this text in earlier literature, Arabic or Persian. The Persian setting might favour a Persian origin for the piece.

[18] This also shows that there never was a fictitious narrator to this text. Had the text been abbreviated by ʿAwfī and had the original contained an *isnād*, the first-person singular would, presumably, have been retained by the technical addition of *rāwī mī gūyad*, cf. below.

Enchanted by her beauty the merchant proposes to her, but the girl tells him to ask for her hand from her father. The father turns out to be a wealthy man, and after dining with him the merchant finally asks for and receives an explanation: his future father-in-law's wealth derives from beggary. He invites the merchant to witness his stratagem the next day in the mosque. There he and his wife make their appearance, the old man claiming to be a poor man who has found a purse full of valuables. Because of his piety he does not want to keep it and calls for the purse's owner. The crowd rewards his honesty by giving him alms which amount to the substantial sum of ten dinars.

After this, the old woman arrives and cries for having lost her mistress's purse and is now afraid of being accused of stealing it. She is asked its description and the purse, of course, turns out to be the one "found" by the old man and is duly returned to her. She swears to give up her profession as a *maššāṭa* "hairdresser; bride-dresser" after this close shave and the crowd gives her some alms, too, as compensation for her giving up her profession.

After showing him their tricks, the old man tells the merchant that he may marry his daughter, but only if he gives the dowry from money earned by beggary. Then he proceeds to tell the merchant how the trick is done, and the merchant leaves his earlier profession, becomes a beggar, earns his dowry and gets the girl. The story is appropriately put after the Persian version of Al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāma* and in its way it illustrates the teaching of Abū Zayd: beggary is the supreme profession, better than commerce and, by implication, any other profession.

The story could easily be changed into a regular *maqāma* by adding a fictitious *isnād*, the concomitant first-person narration, and the scene of recognizing the old man as the recurring *maqāma* hero, and by using more ornate language. The recognition scene, though, is in a certain sense present: only after showing his tricks is the old man given a name. Almost at the end, where the recognition usually occurs, he is for the first time spoken of by his name, Šayḫ ʿAbbās (p. 146), but the difference is that the name does not seem to say anything to the merchant – Šayḫ ʿAbbās is not an old friend of his. Likewise, the travel theme is present, as the person who takes the role the narrator would have in a proper *maqāma* is a merchant and hence, by definition, itinerant.

Also the third story of this chapter (pp. 148–150) shows some resemblance to *maqāmas*, but it is especially the fourth that is again very close to *maqāmas*. Its provenance is an otherwise little-known book, *Miftāḥ an-naǧāḥ* by, or about, Qāḍī-ye Ūš.[19] This story tells how the Qāḍī of Ūš decided to fleece the Sistanians, proverbial for their avarice. He came to Sistan, acting the role of a dumb man. In order to atone for his sins, he went around giving water to people and asking them – by signs – to pray that he would regain his ability to speak. When he had become famous, one night he came to the local *qāḍī* and told him about a miracle. He had seen the Prophet in his dream and had been cured of his dumbness. The next day he tells this miracle in the mosque and receives ample alms, one thousand dinars, before leaving the city.

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[19] See the Preface to *Ǧawāmiʿ* III/1: 49, sub no. 86.

What makes this story interesting is its finale. After returning to Ferghana, the Qāḍī of Ūš sends a poem to the gullible inhabitants of Sistan, explaining his trick:

> May the nobles of Sistan live long
> and may they drink the draught of quiet and ease!
> Those nobles fell prey to my subtle pranks,
> despite all their wisdom and sense.
> I was no dumb vendor of water, but
> the world of wisdom himself, the Qāḍī of Ūš!

This written envoi, *ruqʿa*, is exactly what one rather regularly meets in *maqāmas* since Al-Ḥarīrī but only rarely in anecdotes.[20]

The final piece to be discussed is the fifth story (pp. 153–155). In contrast to the others, this story is written in rhymed, although not too complicated, prose. It begins with "I have heard" and tells of a sharper of Rayy who went to a city in Iraq, acted as a pious man and gained some fame for his piety. Once, a stranger comes to accuse him of having killed his father. The furious crowd is ready to lynch the stranger who accuses the pious man, but the latter bursts into tears and admits the deed which he had committed in the folly of youth. The crowd insists on the young man contenting himself with blood money and sparing the life of the pious man and they collect one thousand dinars for him. At the end of the story, a narrator suddenly appears with the formula "*rāwī mī gūyad*", which is not rare in all kinds of narratives (also in Arabic: *qāla ar-rāwī*), but here it has more significance. The anonymous narrator takes the role of the fictitious narrator of the *maqāma* and tells how he later, in Nishapur, meets with both men who carouse in a tavern. They laugh and tell him that they are drinking off what they gained from their plunder and when the money runs out they will do another trick.

The main character is not named and there is no *isnād*, but with a couple of rather mechanical additions the text would pass as a regular *maqāma*.

These anecdotes show how close *maqāmas* remained to beggar and *makāyid* anecdotes in the early Persian tradition. The Arabic tradition made a clearer distinction between the two genres, but the distinction is based on rather mechanical devices. To make a regular *maqāma* out of an anecdote, one often needs no more than a fictitious *isnād* and a few additions of a technical character.

The stories also show that the influence of the *maqāma* on Persian literature is stronger than is usually suggested. Persians may not always have labelled their texts *maqāmas*, which, after all, remained a foreign genre for them, but at the same time *maqāmas* did influence Persian prose literature more deeply than is usually recognized.

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[20] See Hämeen-Anttila (2002): 152–153.

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HILARY KILPATRICK

The Inter-communal Poetry of Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iġ (1692–1756)*

Abstract

After discussing the background to the emergence of several noted Christian writers in Aleppo around 1700, this article presents the life and work of one of them, Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iġ (1692–1756), a Greek Catholic monk who was mainly responsible for establishing the Shuwayrite Basilian Order in his Church. While most of his poetry is religious, a few poems are dedicated to secular and non-Christian personalities, most of them political notables on whose support the Order depended. The article examines in detail a panegyric of members of the Druze Abī al-Lam' family and a poem in reply to one of Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ's friends, a Šī'ī religious dignitary, showing how Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ works within the conventions of Arabic poetry of his time. It is noteworthy that he refers to the religious and historical heritage of the addressees of his poems, while at the same time reminding them that he himself is a Christian monk.

A noteworthy feature of 17th and 18th century Arabic literature is the increasing production by writers from the Christian communities in Greater Syria of texts composed in established literary genres and capable of appealing to the literate public as a whole. This development has been seen as a forerunner of the cultural revival (*nahḍa*) of the 19th

* It is an honour and a pleasure to contribute this short paper to the Festschrift for my friend Professor Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, distinguished scholar of classical and modern Arabic poetry and literature and steadfast defender of academic standards. I would like to thank Dr. Carsten Walbiner (Bonn) for indicating to me essential references and providing me with some copies of Arabic material. I am also grateful to Prof. Geert Jan van Gelder (Oxford) for information about the development of Arabic poetry.

century in the Arab world[1] and traditionally explained by contact between Arab Christians and Western European missionaries.[2] Undeniably such contacts played a part, at least for the Maronites, yet this literature repays study in its own right as a significant expression of Arab intellectual and cultural life of the period apart from European influence.

To explain the cultural revival among Christians at the end of the 17th and early 18th centuries as simply due to the efforts of the Catholic missionaries ignores existing evidence that far earlier some Christians were able to hold their own in contact with well-educated Muslims. The rulers of Tripoli in the 16th and early 17th centuries had Christian secretaries,[3] and had these men not had a sufficient command of the literary conventions of the time to communicate appropriately with Muslim counterparts, they would not have been given such important positions. Moreover, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox and later also Maronite hierarchs in the major cities of Syria were in frequent contact with the Ottoman authorities and needed secretaries who could put forward their opinions and defend their interests eloquently and effectively.

A certain tradition of Arabic literary culture among at least some Christians can be inferred from these elements. It needs to be borne in mind, together with other factors, such as Aleppo's economic importance and trade with the rest of Syria, Iran, Anatolia and European Turkey, and also its role as a flourishing centre of the book trade,[4] as the background to the further development of literary activity among Christians in the early 18th century. Nor should the efforts at cultural revival undertaken by three remarkable (Arab) Greek Orthodox hierarchs during the 17th century be ignored in this context. These factors all contributed to the emergence of several memorable Arab Christian writers around the turn of the 18th century.[5]

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[1] The title of Mārūn ʿ A b b ū d's *Ruwwād an-nahḍa al-ḥadīṯa*, Beirut 1952, which discusses several writers of the 18th century, clearly expresses this view. See also for instance Salma Khadra J a y y u s i, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, Leiden 1977, pp. 13–14.

[2] Some older studies of literature by Arab Christians in this period are discussed in Hilary K i l p a t r i c k, *Brockelmann, Kaḥḥāla & Co: Reference works on the Arabic literature of Early Ottoman Syria*, "Middle Eastern Literatures" 7 (2004), pp. 36–42, with further bibliographical references.

[3] K.A. P a n c h e n k o, *Tripolisskoe gnezdo. Pravoslavnaya obshchina g. Tripoli v kulturno-politicheskoi zhizni Antiochiiskogo patriarkhata XVI – pervoi poloviny XVII veka* (The 'nest' of Tripoli. The Orthodox community in the cultural and political life of the Patriarchate of Antioch in the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries), "Vestnik Pravoslavnogo Svyato-Tikhonskogo Gumanitarnogo Universiteta" III:1 (15), (2009), pp. 43–45.

[4] See Hilary K i l p a t r i c k, *Arabic private correspondence from 17th century Syria: the letters to Edward Pococke*, "Bodleian Library Record" XXIII (2010), pp. 20–40 and especially pp. 21–23, 27–28 and 39–40 for information on this.

[5] These hierarchs are Milātiyūs Karma, Archbishop of Aleppo 1612–34 and Patriarch of Antioch 1634–5, Makāriyūs Ibn az-Zaʿīm, Archbishop of Aleppo 1634–47 and Patriarch of Antioch 1647–72, and Aṯanāsiyūs al-Dabbās, Archbishop of Aleppo 1694–1720 and Patriarch of Antioch.1685–94 and 1720–24. See Georg G r a f, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (henceforth *GCAL*). Vol. III: *Die Schriftsteller von der Mitte des 15. bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Melchiten, Maroniten*, Vatican City 1949, pp. 91–4, 94–110 and 127–34 respectively; and Joseph N a s r a l l a h, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle* (henceforth *HMLEM*) Vol. IV(1): *Période ottomane. 1516–1724*, Louvain 1979, pp. 70–86, 87–127 and 132–146 respectively. More recent overviews of the cultural situation of Christians in Aleppo in the 17th and early 18th centuries are given in Kristen B r u s t a d, *Jirmānūs Jibrīl Farḥāt* and Hilary K i l p a t r i c k, *Makāriyūs ibn al-*

One such writer is Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'ig̱, regarded as the most gifted Christian poet in Arabic of the early 18th century. Most of his poetry treats religious themes, and this comes as no surprise, given his life history.[6] He was born in Aleppo in 1692 into an Orthodox family of goldsmiths, that is, élite craftsmen, and he studied with both Christian and Muslim teachers; those mentioned in accounts of his life are the Orthodox deacon Mīḫā'īl Baǧa', the Maronite priest Buṭrus at-Tūlawī and the Muslim shaykh known in writings on Christian culture of the period as Sulaymān an-Naḥwī.[7] It is likely, however, that among his acquaintances there was a greater familiarity with Arabic literary culture than is often assumed, when the facts mentioned above are taken into account.

Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'ig̱ was of a spiritual bent, and like the Maronites Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt and 'Abd Allāh Qarā'alī a generation earlier, he felt drawn to monastic life; the death of his brother in 1716 strengthened his sense of vocation. He set out for Lebanon that same year and joined the small community of the newly founded Dayr Mār Yuḥannā at Aš-Šuwayr. He was ordained priest in 1719, elected assistant to the superior the next year and in 1723 became superior of the monastery. He also spent some time in other monasteries which the Šuwayrite Basilian Order was establishing. Four years later he was chosen as Superior General of the Order, continuing in this position until his death in 1756 except for an interruption of two years. He was an extremely capable administrator, a pastor and a man of conciliatory disposition, and he left a considerable oeuvre in prose: sermons, devotional works, letters and rules for his Order. But he became famous because of his poetry, the popularity of which is attested to by the many manuscripts and printed edition of his *Dīwān*.[8]

Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'ig̱ collected his poetry at the end of his life, although the published *Dīwān* also contains a few poems which he had not included but which were added later. The *Dīwān* is arranged in alphabetical order of rhyme, traditionally one of the systems for ordering Arabic poetry. Introducing many poems is an indication of their subject or the occasion which gave rise to them, which is also traditional, but unusually this indication often includes a date and sometimes a place of composition. For instance: "He [composed this poem], may Almighty God have mercy on him, mentioning the fall of the morning star and praising the Virgin Mary and her Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he was in the Monastery of Mār Ilyās an-Nabī in the village of Al-Muḥaydiṯa in

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Za'īm and Būlus ibn al-Za'īm in: Joseph E. Lowry and Devin J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 242–251 and 262–273 respectively.

[6] The basic references are : *GCAL* III, 201–207; *HMLEM* IV(2): *Epoque ottomane 1724–1800* (Louvain 1989), pp. 109–111, 268–270. The first 600 pages of Aṯanāsiyūs Ḥāǧǧ's extensively documented history, *Al-Ruhbānīya al-Bāsilīya aš-Šuwayriyya (al-ḥalabiyya – al-baladiyya) fī ta'rīḫ al-kanīsa wa-al-bilād. Al-Ǧuz' al-awwal: 1710–1833*, [Juniyeh] 1973/74 are a mine of information about Aṣ-Ṣā'ig̱'s life as a monk, his contribution to the establishment of his Order and the context in which he worked. His life is outlined pp. 585–591.

[7] Mīkhā'īl Baja': *HMLEM* IV(1), 249–52; Buṭrus al-Tūlawī: *GCAL* III, 394–400. The shaikh was Sulaymān Ibn Ṣālid Ibn 'Abd al-Qādir (d. 1141/1728) (Usāma 'Ānūtī, *Al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya fī Bilād aš-Šām ḫilāl al-qarn aṯ-ṯāmin 'ašar*, Beirut 1970, p. 116).

[8] Over 40 manuscripts of it are listed in *GCAL* III, 204; *HMLEM* IV(2) mentions seven printed editions between 1859 and 1910.

1730"; or: "He [composed this poem], may Almighty God have mercy on him, portraying the Church of Constantinople which had split from the Church of Rome and describing its leaders (*ayimmatiha* [sic]) in 1725"; or: "He [composed this poem], when one of his brethren had suggested it to him in 1737".[9] These introductions, without a copyist's added *raḥimahu llāh*, must go back to Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ himself. The manuscript of the *Dīwān* dated 1764,[10] that is, 8 years after his death, which I was able to consult already has them.

The main genres of Arabic poetry, *madīḥ* (panegyric), *hiğā'* (satire), *riṯā'* (elegy), *ġazal* (love poetry), *ḥikma* (gnomic verse), *zuhdiyyāt* (ascetic verse) are represented in the *Dīwān*. But they are mainly used to explore specifically Christian subjects. For instance, several *qaṣīdas* praise the Virgin Mary,[11] others the apostles and St. Joseph. The "schismatic" Church of Constantinople and its leaders are the object of satire. The Maronite archbishop of Aleppo Ğirmānūs Farḥāt and Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ's first cousin, the polemicist, printer and painter 'Abd Allāh Zāḫir, have elegies devoted to them. Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ's *ġazal*, in the mystical tradition, is addressed to God. His gnomic and ascetic poems are less specifically Christian, for wisdom literature and renunciation of the world have a long tradition in Arabic literature and Christian and Muslim thinking on these subjects has much in common; Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī is frequently quoted by a contemporary and friend of Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ, the Armenian Catholic Mikirdīch al-Kasīḥ in his *adab* anthology, *Rayḥānat al-arwāḥ wa-sullam al-adab wa-aṣ-ṣalāḥ* ["The soul's fragrant flower and the ladder of right conduct and culture"].[12] Among other minor genres represented are *tahāni'* (congratulations), for instance addressed to Kīrillus Ṭānās on the Pope's confirmation of his election as Melkite Patriarch in 1730, and *ta'qīd*, versification of a passage from a prose text such as those taken from the *Imitation of Christ*.

Another form very much of his time which Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ practised is the chronogram or *ta'rīḫ*. This is a short poem commemorating an important event which ends with the mention of the date, using the numerical values of the Arabic alphabet; less weighty than a *qaṣīda*, it may be seen as a parallel to a modern-day card of congratulations or condolence. [13]

Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iġ worked within the poetic conventions of his time, and this is nowhere better exemplified than in his *badī'iyya*. A *badī'iyya* is a poem praising the Prophet Muḥammad and at the same time integrating at least one rhetorical figure in each line; the genre goes back to the early 8th/14th century poet Ṣafī ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī. A *badī'īya* demonstrates its author's extraordinary command of Arabic and his philological

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[9] Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iġ, *Dīwān* [ed. Ibrāhīm al-Yāzi ğī], Al-Maṭba'a al-Kāṯūlīkiyya, Beirut 1890, pp. 176, 163, 90.

[10] British Library MS Or. 3627, copied by Anṭūn Ibn Būlus in Aleppo.

[11] These have been published by Ğūzīf Ilyās Kaḥḥāla, *Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iġ wa-aš'āruhu fī madḥ Maryam al-'Aḏrā'*, Aleppo 2008. I thank Dr. Carsten Walbiner for making this book available to me.

[12] For this work see Hilary Kilpatrick, *From* Literatur *to* Adab*: the literary renaissance in Aleppo around 1700*, "Journal of Eastern Christian Studies" 58 (2006), pp. 210–212.

[13] Introduced into Arabic literature from Turkish during the Ottoman period, it is discussed by Thomas Bauer, *Vom Sinn der Zeit. Aus der Geschichte des arabischen Chronogramms*, "Arabica" L (2003), pp. 501–531.

knowledge. It also draws on other domains of Islamic culture, knowledge of the literary tradition expressed in inter-textuality and familiarity with historical events to which it makes allusions. Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ was the first Christian poet to attempt this extremely demanding genre, while adapting it to Christian beliefs.[14]

Among Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ's poems, however, are some addressed to rulers and notables of other communities in Lebanon, Sunnis, Šī'īs, Druze and Maronites, and it is to these that I now turn my attention. In order to understand the context in which he composed these poems, it is necessary to look more closely at the ecclesiastical history of the period.

Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iġ's life spans the turbulent period in which, as a result of Roman Catholic missionary activity, the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch was split, with some of the faithful recognising Papal supremacy and claims to universal jurisdiction while others continued loyal to the Orthodox Patriarch and tradition. The death of Patriarch Aṯanāsiyūs al-Dabbās in 1724 brought matters to a head. Bishops, clergy and notables in Damascus favourable to Rome elected Kīrillus Ṭānās, the nephew of the long-standing champion of union with Rome, Iftīmiyūs aṣ-Ṣayfī, whose election was confirmed by Rome in 1730. Meanwhile, Aṯanāsiyūs had recommended that his successor should be Silfistrus, a Cypriot by origin who had worked with him in Syria but was then on Mount Athos. After being elected by a synod in Constantinople also in 1724, Silfistrus went to Syria, where he enlisted the help of the Ottoman authorities against the Catholics of Antioch or Melkites, as they became known. Beatings, imprisonments, banishment and confiscation of their property were their lot if they did not recognise Orthodox beliefs. As a result many took refuge in Lebanon, but there, too, the Orthodox and the Ottoman authorities pursued them. Moreover, as was their custom, non-Christian governors and notables exploited conflicts among the Christians to their own advantage, promising support to first one side and then the other in return for money.

As the superior of a monastery and later of an Order, Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iġ had direct dealings with Lebanese notables, on whose goodwill and protection his community depended.[15] Dayr Mār Yuḥannā at Aš-Šuwayr, the first foundation, lay in the territory of the Druze Abī al-Lam' family of *muqāta'ğīs* (tax farmers), as did Dayr Mār Ša'ya in Broumana and Dayr Mār Ilyās at Al-Muḥaydiṯa. Zūq Mīkā'īl, in the territory of the Maronite Mūsā al-Ḫāzin and his descendants, [16] was the site of the women's monastery. The overlords of all these *muqāta'ğīs* were emirs of the Sunnī Šihāb family, Ḥaydar, after his death in 1730 his son Milḥim and from 1754 Milḥim's brother Manṣūr. Dayr as-Sayyida at Ra's Ba'labakk fell under the authority of the Šī'ī Ismā'īl Ḥarfūš, whose overlord was the governor of Damascus. The establishment and maintenance of Melkite

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[14] This *badī'īya* is discussed in Kilpatrick, *From* Literatur *to* Adab, pp. 214–218.

[15] For this section see Ḥāğğ, *Al-Ruhbānīya al-Bāsilīya aš-Šuwayriyya*, passim.

[16] The Ḫāzin šayḫs had their economic base in the prosperous district of Kisrawān. With their authority confirmed by the Maronite clergy, they had legitimacy to represent Maronites in contacts with external actors, and they thus achieved considerable prestige within the *muqāṭa'a* structure (Richard van Leeuwen, *Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon. The Khāzin Sheikhs and the Maronite Church (1736–1840)*, Leiden 1994, 240.

communities in these places was threatened by the opposition of the Orthodox and the cupidity of some notables, as the following two examples show.

When in 1722 Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iğ went to Ra's Ba'labakk to take over Dayr as-Sayyida, the previous superior complained to Patriarch Aṯanāsiyūs al-Dabbās's representative in Damascus. Aṣ-Ṣā'iğ succeeded in appeasing him, but after the schism the local Orthodox bishop enlisted Ismā'īl Ḥarfūš's support against the Melkites, and they were forced to leave Dayr as-Sayyida. Shortly afterwards, however, Ismā'īl Ḥarfūš was in difficulties with the governor of Damascus and retreated to Mount Lebanon. There his son and daughter-in-law fell ill and were cured by a Melkite monk from Dayr as-Sayyida, whereupon he promised to protect the Melkite community after his return to Ba'labakk. He kept his promise and had the Orthodox bishop removed, and Niqūlāwus was restored as superior of the monastery in 1725.

The next year complaints about the behaviour of Buṭrus, the superior of the monastery of Dayr Mār Ilyās at Al-Muḥaydiṯa were made to the local notable, Naǧm al-Lam'ī, but Buṭrus avoided any sanctions by offering him a bribe. He suspected that Niqūlāwus and his community were the source of the rumours and complained of them to Naǧm, who tried to extort money from both sides, allotting the monastery first to one, then to the other. Niqūlāwus appealed to the Ḫāzins, but finally he and his monks had to leave their monastery of Dayr Mār Yuḥannā. Naǧm accused them to Ḥaydar Šihāb of leaving the monastery without permission and stealing its contents, but the Ḫāzin shaykh pointed out that the Šuwayrite monks had built up the monastery. Disobeying Ḥaydar's orders, Naǧm refused to leave the monks in peace, so Niqūlāwus appealed directly to *al-amīr al-akbar*, as Ḥaydar was known, in Dayr al-Qamar, after which the monastery was returned to the community on his authority, and at a price, in 1728. Intrigues and unrest continued, however, until 'Assāf al-Lam'ī, who unlike his brother Naǧm was well-disposed towards the community, offered them a safer monastery.

Eleven poems in the *Dīwān* are introduced as being addressed to members of non-Melkite communities,[17] and they are the subject of the following remarks.[18] (It is noteworthy that in the British Library manuscript of the *Dīwān* which I consulted none of them appear; the copyist in Aleppo apparently did not find them interesting or see them as conforming to his image of the poet Aṣ-Ṣā'iğ) They fall into two main groups, seven composed between 1725 and 1732, and four composed between 1743 and 1756.[19] In the first group are panegyrics of the emirs of the Abī al-Lam' family (1725), Ḥaydar Šihāb and a judge in the Druze country named 'Abd al-Laṭīf (both 1727), a reply to a poem addressed to Niqūlāwus by a Šī'ī shaykh (also 1727), a poem commissioned by an emir in difficulties with Ḥaydar (1730) and two poems addressed to 'Assāf al-Lam'ī when

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[17] Strictly speaking, the polemical poems against the Orthodox could also be included. But since they are addressed to *frères ennemis* and concentrate on dogmatic controversies they belong to a theological world remote from the inter-communal sphere of the poems here under discussion.

[18] At least one other poem falls into this category, a *madīḥ* of which only the date, 1737, is mentioned in the introduction. As the text makes clear, the addressee is Aḥmad aš-Šihābī.

[19] See the accompanying list for the details of the poems.

he had quarrelled with his brother Ḥusayn (1732). The second group includes a poem commissioned to congratulate Milḥim Šihāb on his reconciliation with the Abī al-Lam‘ family (1743), an appeal to an emir’s magnanimity (1749), an elegy of Abū Širwān Mūsā al-Ḫāzin, who as *muqāta‘ǧī* of the area around Zūq Mīḫā’īl had consistently supported the Šuwayrite monks (1751), and a panegyric of a ruler, apparently Manṣūr Šihāb, who succeeded his brother Milḥim in 1754 (1756).[20] Besides these long poems are several chronograms, six commemorating the deaths of the Maronite Patriarch Yūsuf al-Ḫāzin and other less prominent members of the Ḫāzin family, two congratulating Ismā‘īl Ḥarfūš on the completion of his palace at Ba‘labakk, three commemorating public buildings, a fountain in Beirut and a khān endowed by Milḥim Šihāb and a *qayṣarīya* endowed by Manṣūr, and one on the building of the walls of Acre.

To study the oeuvre of any Arab poet of the early Ottoman period is difficult for several reasons. The view is still widely held that the period in general is one of decadence and decline and thus not worth studying.[21] And because poets made extensive use of figures of speech, word play and other rhetorical devices, their poetry is assumed to be artificial and far removed from the concerns of the “real world”.[22] Furthermore, the amount of research done on poets of the Mamluk and especially the Ottoman period palls into insignificance beside the books and articles on the first six centuries of Arabic poetry. It is thus difficult to assess to what extent Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā’iġ, or any other poet of the period, is working within the conventions of his time, and where he is introducing changes.

Against this background, here is a short presentation of two poems, noting some of their salient points. The first is Aṣ-Ṣā’iġ’s earliest panegyric of the Abī al-Lam‘ emirs,[23] composed after ‘Assāf al-Lam‘ī had prevented the Orthodox bishop of Beirut from expelling the Šuwayrite community from one of its monasteries. According to the introduction in the Dīwān, it was composed at the request of the then Superior General of the Order.[24]

> ***al-‘adlu yabnī wa-l-amānu yushayyidu wa-l-jūru yufnī wa-l-hawānu yubaddidū***
> (“Justice is a constructs and security builds up; tyranny deals destruction and humiliation tears down”)

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[20] This last is not found in the original *dīwān* which Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā’iġ himself collected and the introductory note does not name the addressee although it gives the date, perhaps as a *terminus ante quem*. But “Manṣūr” is mentioned prominently in the poem.

[21] Recently, however, scholars have begun to criticise the traditional view and address the period seriously. See Lowry’s and Stewart’s *Introduction* to *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography* (as in note 5), 1–8, and Thomas Bauer’s review of Roger Allen and D.S. Richards (eds.), *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, Cambridge 2006, in “Mamlūk Studies Review” 11 (2007), pp. 137–167.

[22] This view also to some extent reflects the views of 19th Arab writers justifying their own innovations.

[23] *Dīwān*, pp. 84–88. Metre *kāmil*.

[24] The texts of this and the following poem are given in the Appendix.

Introduction, ll. 1-13
- ll. 1-8: the importance of justice and firm government
- ll. 9-13: the present is a time of misfortune where envious men and tyranny hold sway

Transition (*riḥla*), ll. 14-20
- ll. 14-17: the poet has abandoned his friends to go to a monastery but enemies still surround him
- ll. 18-20: during a night journey the poet proclaims the caravan's destination, the Abī al-Lam' emirs

Panegyric (*madīḥ*), ll. 21-65
- ll. 21-32: general praise of the Banī al-Lam', their origins, numbers, qualities, achievements
- ll. 33-49: evocation of the battle of 'Ayn Dāra, where the Banī al-Lam' fought on the side of the victorious Ḥaydar Šihāb[25]
  - ll. 33-37: the ravages of the bloodthirsty sword
  - ll. 38-40: the crushing of the Yamanīs
  - ll. 41-49: the Banī al-Lam''s heroic qualities
- ll. 50-53: the Banī al-Lam''s superlative virtues and inborn ability to govern
- ll. 54-58: celebration of re-established harmony among the Banī al-Lam'
- ll. 59-65: the Banī al-Lam' as leaders of Qays and a refuge for all

Conclusion ll. 66-70
- ll. 66-67: the poet presents his poem as a virgin bride to its addressees, requesting its price
- ll. 68-70: he wishes six named members of the Banī al-Lam' a long life

This poem conforms to the conventions of the *madīḥ* (panegyric) in its post-'Abbāsid form. Not surprisingly for a monk, Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ does not attempt the *nasīb* (evocation of a lost beloved) at the beginning of the poem, preferring a more impersonal tone. He begins with maxims (*ḥikam*) about good governance, focussing in l.1 on justice (*'adl*) and security (*amān*), contrasted with tyranny (*ǧūr*) and humiliation (*hawān*). In l. 2, sincerity (*ṣidq*) is paired with truth (*ḥaqq*), in l. 3 decisiveness (*al-ḥazmu fī l-aḥkām*) means verdicts which end conflicts (*ḥukmun fayṣal*). *Fayṣal* often designates a sword by metonymy, and ll. 4 and 5 pick up this idea: power is a sword (*sayf*) in the hands of those who exercise it; only sharp swords (*suyūf*) can ward off the hands of those who desire power in this age (*dahr*). The next three lines emphasise the importance of sound judgement and discernment in the ruler, before the poet turns to speak (l. 9) of the chronic tyranny of his own times (*zamanin zamīnin ǧā'ir*), this last word recalling the *ǧūr* of

[25] At the battle of 'Ayn Dāra in 1711, Ḥaydar Šihāb at the head of the Qaysī faction crushed the Yamanī faction led by the Druze 'Alam ad-Dīn family. The Banī al-Lam' belonged to the Qaysī faction (*EI* [2], art. *Ḳays 'Aylān: Ḳays and Yaman in the Ottoman period* (G. Baer and M. Hoexter)).

l. 1. He was first tormented (*ankadat*)[26] by a terrible passion, but when he disavowed it, worse was to come: misfortunes, afflictions caused by the envious and threats from oppressors – and all these frequently (*fī kulli yawm*, *bi-kulli waqt, bi-kulli ayn, bi-kulli ān*) (ll. 12, 13). Worst of all, he was now far from his friends and relatives, but his base and envious enemies had not been left behind. The reference to leaving his family allows the poet to elaborate (l. 15): "We have left this world (*al-ʿālamīn*)[27] to find favour in the world of the Kingdom (*ʿālami l-malakūt*),[28] the goal we have set ourselves."

This is the occasion for Aṣ-Ṣāʾiġ in l. 16 to allude to the *diyār*, the abode of the beloved, one of the standard opening motifs of the *madīḥ*, with a neat play on words: "We have abandoned our abode (*diyār*), its stronghold (*ḥimā*; i.e. the citadel of Aleppo) and its dear people for the sanctuary (*ḥimā*) of the monastery (*diyāra*), whose protection (*ḥimā*) gives greatest succour". Yet he is not safe there: "The evil men's (*al-ašrār*) wickedness (*šarruhum*) has flared up, giving off sparks (*šararan*) and a fire which I think will never die" (l. 17; a nice example of paronomasia).

The transition from here to the panegyric by means of the journey (*raḥīl*) seems abrupt; the poet first begs the night-travellers to stop so that he can take a last look at his loved ones, and then asks who they mean to visit, answering for them himself that they are on their way to the Banī al-Lamʿ. In the panegyric, however, he is on firmer ground. He starts with the youngest generation, born from parents "both of unsullied origin; they have natures made perfect by God's grace even before[29] they are born" (l. 22). The adults "both beardless youths and grey-haired men" (*amradan wa-ašyaban* [sic!]) have always attained heights of glory, both when Time was young and now when it is old ("beardless or grey-haired") (*ašyabu amradu*) (l. 25). Their generosity is indicated with an ingenious word-play: "It is not easy to comprehend "when" (*iḥāṭatu ʿinda*) when they bestow gifts (*ʿinda nawālihim*)" (l. 26) – a generosity which no rational being (*nāṭiq*)[30] may deny (l. 28). True to their word, clement, when they grant pardon it is out of nobleness of heart, for however many people they slaughtered, they would not pay the blood price. (ll. 29-31).

These and the following line bring the Banī al-Lamʿ's enemies on to the scene; they thus serve as an introduction to the passage on the battle of ʿAyn Dāra. Here the bloodthirsty sword is personified running amok, drinking blood, consuming entrails and livers, passing on (*māḍin*) while the taste of blood is still present (*ḥāḍir*) in it (33-35). Aṣ-Ṣāʾiġ paints the carnage of the battle scene in vivid, even gruesome detail

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[26] The dictionaries give the 2nd form of *n-k-d* with this meaning. One of the criticisms levelled at Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣāʾiġ was his resorting to verb forms not attested in the lexicographical tradition.

[27] A Qur'anic term which occurs in the *Fātiḥa* and 71 other times. There it is taken to mean "all creatures" (*Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān,* Leiden 2001–2006, s.v. "World" (Binyamin Abrahamov)).

[28] *Malakūt* is both a Christian and a Muslim term; it is understood in the Qur'ān as "God's dominion".

[29] "*qablan*" for "*qabla an*": poetic license to fit the metre.

[30] Aṣ-Ṣāʾigh may also have in mind the specific sense of *naṭaqa* among the Druze, "to speak of one's former incarnation" (see, e.g. the short story "Al-ʿĀʾid" by the Lebanese Druze author Saʿīd Taqī ad-Dīn). Since Druze individuals believe themselves to be reincarnations of deceased members of the community, a *nāṭiq* would designate a Druze.

reminiscent of some Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid poetry,[31] concluding with "They left the Yemenis felled and bowed down, their hearts sheathes for the swords of Qays" (*tarakū Banī Yamanin ṣarā'ā fa-nṯanū / wa-qulūbuhum li-suyūfi Qaysin aǧmudū*) (l. 38). L. 40: "If they growl as they stab, you imagine they are lions brawling to the sound of thunderbolts" (*In yan'amū waqta ṭ-ṭi'āni taḥāluhum / usudan tu'arbidu wa-ṣ-ṣawā'iqu tur'idū)* provides a transition to a series of comparisons of the Banī al-Lam' in which they surpass the object or quality of comparisons, the first of which is: "like edges of swords – except that they are never blunted; like arrows – but they never miss their mark" (l. 41). To begin with the Banī al-Lam' are compared to the warrior's equipment (arrows, coats of mail), but after striking an almost existential note ("[They are] death, but not hated; life, but never burdensome"; *Wa-l-mawtu illā annahum lam yukrahū / wa-l-'ayšu illā annahum lam yankadū*) (l. 44), Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ modifies the tone, introducing objects from nature (wind, fire, shooting stars) as terms of comparison. The section concludes more elaborately, exploiting a familiar antithesis: "Sources of warriors when called on for help, sources of bounty when approached for support" (*Wa-maṣādiru l-fursān immā stundiğū / wa-mawāridu l-iḥsāni immā stūridū*) (l. 49), and rising to a climax in l. 50 with a series of superlatives: "The most generous, most illustrious, the best and most perfect, most noble and glorious" (*al-akramūna l-amğadūna l-afḍalū / na l-akmalūna l-ašrafūna l-muğğadū*).

This introduces praise of the Banī al-Lam' as rulers to whom the rank of emir has come docilely and submissively as though on a leading rein (*Atati l-imāratu naḥwahum munqādatan / fa-ka'an li-ṭā'atihim 'alayhā miqwadū*) (l. 52), without them needing to use force. The subsequent lines celebrate re-established harmony in the clan (… *qad ta'allafa šamluka l-mutabaddidū*[32] (l. 54))[33] and voice *Schadenfreude* towards those envious of the Banī al-Lam' who have been thrown into turmoil (*amsaw wa-'indahumu l-muqīmu l-muq'idū*) (l. 58). Finally the Banī al-Lam' are the support of mankind (*sanadu l-anāmi*), but the word *sanad* gives rise to another, grammatical, image: "as though they [i.e. mankind] are the verb of speech while you are the noun subject" (*ka'annahum / fi'lu l-kalāmi wa-antumu smun musnadū*) (l. 60). But after this fulsome praise, Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ seizes the opportunity to remind the Banī al-Lam' discretely of their responsibilities in a series of rhetorical questions (ll. 62-64), beginning: "Can your shadow provide a refuge, while we are living in fear? Can your abode be a sanctuary when we face expulsion?" (*A-yakūnu ẓillukumu l-'iyāḍa wa-naḥsā / wa-yakūnu raḥbukumu l-liwāḍa wa-nuṭradū*) (l. 62) – a reference to the precariousness of the monks' position in the face of Orthodox hostility. Indeed, Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ and his community find no-one but the Banī al-Lam' worthy

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[31] A similar epic treatment of battlefield scenes with the accompanying praise of the victorious warlord can be found in the poetry which Aṣ-Ṣā'igh's contemporary Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārīṣī al-'Āmilī (d. 1183/1766) dedicated to Šī'ī chieftains defending the Ǧabal 'Āmil against the ruler of Galilee Ẓāhir al-'Umar (Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'lām aš-Šī'a*. 3rd ed., Beirut, n.d., vol. v, pp. 89–106).

[32] An echo of *yubaddidū* in the opening line.

[33] What precise occasion Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ is referring to here is not clear, but there were frequent conflicts within the clans of *muqāṭa'ğīs* in Lebanon (Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, London 2007, p. 4).

of a visit (*iḏ kulluhum min dūnikum lā yuqṣadū*) (l. 65). Here in fact is an indirect appeal for the virtues of the just ruler set out in general terms at the beginning of the poem to be applied in a specific case – an appeal based on an important principle of Ottoman society.[34] *Yuqṣadū*, however, also evokes the *qaṣīda* (poem) and so provides a transition to the penultimate motif of this text, that of the poem, the first-fruits of the poet's talent (*bikra l-qarīḥati*) as a lovely maiden. Her bride-price must be paid by those to whom the poem is addressed; part of it (*ṣidāq*) is true protection (*ṣidqu ḏ-ḏimāmi*) while the rest (*mahr*) is "your satisfying us – I would rather not speak of gold" (*irḍā'ukum kaylā aqūla l-'asǧadū*) (l. 67). This bridal motif, while not part of the original repertory of the *qaṣīda*, commonly occurs as a conclusion of post-'Abbāsid panegyrics.[35] Finally Aṣ-Ṣā'iḡ wishes a long life to the members of the Banī al-Lam' clan for whom the poem is intended, Ḥusayn, Naǧm, Aḥmad, 'Assāf, Fāris and Ḥasan (ll. 69-70).

This poem shows Aṣ-Ṣā'iḡ standing firmly in the tradition of Arabic panegyric, the diction,[36] elaborate style and conventions of which he masters. Some passages have an epic force, notably the description of the battle of 'Ayn Dāra and the subsequent series of comparisons to the Banī al-Lam''s advantage, which is at the heart of the poem (ll. 41-49). While following the succession of themes he expresses his own preoccupation, his community's need for protection. Thus in praising the Druze emirs he reminds them obliquely that to deserve such laudatory epithets they need to act appropriately.

Except for the reference to leaving the world for a monastery (ll. 15-16) nothing in this poem indicates unequivocally that the author is Christian, let alone a monk. Indeed the bloody details of the battle, which Aṣ-Ṣā'iḡ may well have heard about from participants or eye-witnesses, and the celebration of the Banī al-Lam''s warlike prowess are hardly fitting themes for one who seeks the Kingdom of God and lives a life of humility. But Aṣ-Ṣā'iḡ's concern here was to secure protection for his community, and he chose the most effective way he knew to speak to the hearts of the Druze emirs.

The second poem is addressed to a Šī'ī shaykh. The introductory note explains that this was a reply to a poem the shaykh sent to Aṣ-Ṣā'iḡ; unfortunately the initial poem seems not to have survived.[37]

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[34] The expectation of justice – in the Ottoman case distributed by the state – was widespread in society (Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, New York 2008, p. 101). In virtually autonomous Mount Lebanon ensuring it fell to the local notables.

[35] Beatrice Gruendler, *The Motif of Marriage in Select Abbasid Panegyrics*, in: Angelika Neuwirth, Birgit Embaló, Sebastian Günther, Maher Jarrar (eds.), *Myths, historical archetypes and symbolic figures in Arabic literature. Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, Beirut 1999, pp. 120–122; 'Umar Mūsā Bāšā, *Quṭb al-'aṣr 'Umar al-Yāfī*, 2nd ed., Damascus 1416/1996, p. 120.

[36] Occasionally forms are used which do not occur in the dictionaries, or not with the meaning they are intended to convey in the context, e.g. *ankadat* (l. 11), *istaḥkamat* (l. 26).

[37] *Dīwān*, pp. 285–287. Metre *wāfir*.

a-lā yā dhā l-humāmu l-almaʿīyū wa-yā hādhā l-imāmu l-lawdhaʿīyū

(Oh hero endowed with a keen mind, oh imam, and brilliant speaker)

ll. 1-3: The poet asks the shaykh to be tolerant towards his humble self
ll. 4-9: the only true friend is God, the Almighty, source of all good
ll. 10-13: the poet thanks the shaykh for his poem, which he describes as a lovely girl
ll. 14-21: he disclaims any right to praise, being a humble monk
ll. 22-28: praise of true intelligence, good manners and virtue in general
ll. 29-31: praise of the shaykh's goodness and excellence

This is not a conventional panegyric. It belongs to a much less codified category of Mamluk and Ottoman poems, those addressed to officials, judges or people with whom the poet is on a friendly footing. Such poems may often reflect a personal approach and attitudes.[38] In this case it is impossible to know how far Aṣ-Ṣā'iğ is simply replying to the shaykh's earlier verses when ordering and developing the themes; in other words, how far is the personal approach here that of Aṣ-Ṣā'iğ and how far that of his friend the shaykh which he has adopted. At all events, the rhyme and metre correspond to those of the shaykh's poem.

The first three lines immediately establish a contrast between the poet and his friend which runs through the whole poem: the shaykh, who is also an imam, is brilliant and eloquent, while Aṣ-Ṣā'iğ is mere dust (*turbu arḍin*) (l. 2), condemned to a lowly existence. Who is he to be noticed by the shaykh, a man of note and of generous disposition? Rather, the shaykh should turn to God, the only true and faithful Friend (*al-ḫill al-wafī*) (l. 4). The following lines exhort the shaykh to follow the guidance of God, who is exalted above all mankind, the source of all goodness, gifts and favours. They contain a number of expressions and echoes of the *Qur'ān*: the shaykh should allow himself to be guided by the beacon of God's guidance (*sanā hudāhu*), for he who does not do so is misguided (*ğawiyyū*) (l. 5). No-one except God is exalted – or bears His name (both senses of *samiyyū*) (l. 6). The powerful are merely dust (*habā'in*), while the Creator alone is truly generous, a stream [of gifts] (both senses of *sariyyū*) (l. 7)[39]; indeed His bounty prevails in every ravine (*bi-kulli faǧǧin*) (l. 9). It is conceivable that this passage intends to console the shaykh for some disappointment caused by a notable or ruler.

The poet then turns abruptly to speak of the verses the shaykh exchanges with him, using an eloquent image. The shaykh deserves poetry like surging waves, whose themes

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[38] Yūsuf Aḥmad Ismāʿīl, *Binā' al-qaṣīda al-ʿarabīya fī al-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī: al-binya al-tarkībiyya*, Kuwait 2007, p. 91.

[39] *Samī*, *sarī* and also *ḥafī* (l. 8) all occur in *Sūrat Maryam* as rhyme words (*samiyyan*, *sariyyan, ḥafiyyan*. In alluding to this *sūra*, Aṣ-Ṣā'iğ hints at one of the features shared between Islam and Christianity, at least in its Orthodox and Catholic traditions, the veneration of the Virgin Mary.

are vast as the ocean (*luǧǧatihi*; another Qur'ānic term) and whose shore is its rhyme. Picking up the motif of the poem as a maiden, already familiar from his panegyric of the Banī al-Lam' and probably used by the shaykh too, Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ describes the shaykh's own poem as a lovable virgin endowed with the beauty of Zaynab (*ḥusnun zaynabiyyū*: a reference to Zaynab bint 'Alī, the Prophet's granddaughter), a girl (*fatātun*) adorned with a sparkling intelligence, who has decorously brought him the shaykh's greetings (ll. 12-13).

At this point Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ abandons convention, asking his friend to blame him because he is a man (*fatan*, echoing *fatātun* in the previous line) lacking any laudable qualities. In praising him the shaykh resembles someone calling to the desert, with only the echo to answer him. For monks censure is good and humility a central virtue. And Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ judges himself to be a mirage; his friend should not be taken in with his person, for those who seek a mirage will remain thirsty (*Anā ka-l-āli lā yaghrurka ālī / li'anna l-āla qāṣiduhu ẓamiyyu*) (l. 17). He goes on to describe himself with a series of images expressing disappointment: the lightning in a waterless cloud (*barqin ǧahāmin*) (l. 19), dew (*aṭ-ṭallu*) set against a downpour (*wablun*) (l. 20), the stars paling (*taḍ'alu*) when the full moon shines (*ḍā'a*) (l. 21). What he says is to be taken seriously. Hearsay is very different from the experience of an eye-witness (*Mā ḫabarun ka-ḫubrin 'an 'iyānin*);[40] what are illusions when truth is manifest (l. 22)? He goes on: "How many a Dimna has outwitted a lion, though stupid wits were his cunning" (*kam min Dimnatin adhat*[41] *bi-sārin / wa-kāna dahā'ahu l-'aqlu l-ġabīyu*) (l. 23) – an allusion to the famous fable of Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, in which the jackal tricks the lion for his own short-sighted ends, while the lion believes what the jackal tells him without verifying the information himself.[42]

The subsequent lines affirm that penetrating intelligence (*fahmun ḏakiyyun*) is a prerequisite for virtuous actions (*fi'lun zakiyyun*); they are the noblest qualities anyone can wish for, together with good manners (*al-ādābu wa-l-waǧh al-ḥayiyyu*) (ll. 25-6). A man's best adornments are the badge of virtue and unsullied honour, in contrast to the ugly traits of those deceived by this world, dishonourable deeds and evil thoughts (ll. 27-28). This passage of general reflections leads into the conclusion, where these virtues are attributed to Aṣ-Ṣā'iġ's friend the shaykh. In a splendid flourish, the final two verses play on the meaning of names: first the shaykh's name, Muḥammad, literally "praised, praiseworthy": "Oh, what a Muḥammad in name (noun) and in deeds (verb)" (*Fa-yā li-Muḥammadin fī smin wa-fi'lin*) and then the central figure of Šī'ism, 'Alī , literally "exalted": "you have attained a high position and great prestige, and the

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[40] This is a rephrasing of the proverb *Laysa l-ḫabaru ka-l-'iyān* (cf. e.g. Az-Zamaḫšarī, *Al-Mustaqṣā fī amṯāl al-'arab*, no. 1074).

[41] The form attested in the dictionaries is *dahat*.

[42] 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. c. 139/756), a secretary and prose writer on political issues, translated important Middle Persian texts into Arabic, the best known being the collection of fables of Sanscrit origin known as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, after the names of the two jackals in the first section.

foundation on which your lofty rank is built is 'Alī (raised high)" (*'alawta makānatan wa-samawta qadran / wa-ussu binā'i rif'atikum 'Aliyyu*) (ll. 30-31).

These two poems show Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iğ working within the conventions of Arabic poetry of the early Ottoman period, so far as it is known at the moment. He employs the elaborate rhetorical figures of *badī'* style and alludes to the literary heritage with his references to the fables of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and to proverbial expressions. The religious heritage of the shaykh, the Qur'an,[43] and the secular history of the Banī al-Lam', their participation in the battle of 'Ayn Dāra, are also present. A study of further poems he addressed to notables of communities other than his own, especially the non-Christians, would no doubt bring out further aspects of his familiarity with the Arabic cultural and literary heritage.

How far back one would have to go to find a similarly eloquent Christian addressing non-Christian rulers and prominent personalities I do not know (here again the absence of extensive research on Mamluk literature in particular makes such a question impossible to answer). But in Ottoman times Aṣ-Ṣā'iğ represents a new type of poet, a Melkite ecclesiastic (an identity to which he refers discretely in his poems) addressing notables of other Christian and non-Christian communities according to the conventions of elite Arabic poetry, mostly on matters of fundamental interest to his Order. As will have become clear from the discussion of these two poems, however, there is no direct reflection of European influence in his verses addressed to secular notables, and to seek for glimmerings of the dawn of the *nahḍa* in them is unrewarding. Rather, they are deeply rooted in the realities of 18th century Mount Lebanon. In fact thanks to the information available about the poet's life and his habit of stating where and when he composed these poems,[44] they can be placed in a more precise historical and social context than much other pre-19th century Arabic poetry. They illustrate well how elite poetry functioned at the time. Poets could display their familiarity with the Arabic literary tradition, their mastery of the language and their skill in the use of rhetorical figures, while at the same time using poetry to further their own interests or those of their community and to communicate with other men of letters. As the two poems discussed here show, the *qaṣīda*, as it had developed over the centuries, allowed the Melkite monk Niqūlāwus aṣ-Ṣā'iğ to express praise but also veiled criticism of Druze notables on whose support he depended and to engage in a friendly exchange with a prominent religious dignitary of the Šī'ī community.[45]

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[43] Perhaps, too, the use of the term *nāṭiq* should be taken as a reference to the Druze religious heritage of the Banī al-Lam' (see note 27 above).

[44] By contrast the poems in the *Dīwān* on religious subjects (apart from controversies) are often introduced merely by the traditional *wa-qāla*.

[45] Study of his other panegyrics and elegies, addressed to Sunnī Muslim, Druze and Maronite notables, would undoubtedly provide more insight into the functioning of poetry in this period.

وقال ايضًا رحمهُ الله تعالى يمدح امرآء بيت ابي اللمع ويهنيهم بالصلح والاتفاق
وقد امرهُ بها الرئيس العامُّ زمن الاضطهاد طالبًا لحمايتهم وذمامهم
وهو في دير ماري اشعيآء النبي سنة ١٧٢٥ مسيحية

العدلُ يبني والامانُ يشيِّدُ والجورُ يُفني والهوانُ يُبدَّدُ
والصدقُ اعظمُ ما يُرامُ ويُبتغى والحقُّ الزمُ ما يُراد ويُقصَدُ
والحزمُ في الأحكام حُكمٌ فيصلٌ تشقى بهِ ناسٌ وناسٌ تسعَدُ
والحكمُ سيفٌ في يمينِ وُلاتهِ قد يُنتضى طورًا وطورًا يُغمَدُ
لولا السيوف البائراتُ لكان هذا الدهرُ لم تُكفَفْ لباغيهِ يدُ
ان الحصافةَ في العقولِ مزيَّةٌ لم يُؤتَها الَّا الرشيدُ الارشدُ
حسن السياسةِ في الرئاسة حِكمةٌ ما نالها الَّا فتًى متأيِّدُ
وكذا الفراسةُ في الامارة فطنةٌ يسمو بها الفَطِنُ الاريبُ ويمجدُ
إنَّا لَفي زمنٍ زمينٍ جائرٍ قعدَ الصحيحُ بهِ وقامَ المُقعَدُ
كم من رَعاعٍ مهتطينَ جنائبًا وسَراةِ قومٍ للرجا لم يَفقُدوا
قد انكدت لي العيشَ رائعةُ الصِبَى انكرتها فلَقيتُ ما هو انكدُ
في كل يومٍ نكبةٌ أُصمَى بها وبكل وقتٍ بلوةٌ تتجدَّدُ
وبكلِّ أينٍ محنةٌ من حاسدٍ وبكل آنٍ ظالمٌ يتوعدُ
بِنَّا عن الأصحاب والقُربَى وَلم تَبِنِ الاراذلُ والعُداةُ الحُسَّدُ
ولقد تركنا العالمينَ لنحتظي في عالم الملكوت وَهْوَ المَقصِدُ
عِفنا الديارَ مع الحِمَى وأُهَيلهِ لحمى الديارة اذ حِماها الانجدُ
لكنما الاشرارُ اضرمَ شرُّهم شَرَرًا ونارًا خِلتُها لا تهمدُ
ثم انسَ ما طال المَدَى يومًا بهِ أَسرَى الركابُ وظلَّ قلبي يَنشُدُ
كُفُّوا عن الإسآد حتى انني ممن أُحِبُّ بنظرةٍ اتزوَّدُ

فلِمَن نحوتم بالسُرَى فاجابني عنهم فؤادي والجوارح تشهدُ
نسل الاماجدِ بيت ذي اللمع الذي هو بالمآثرِ والفخار مشيَّدُ
من كل زاكي النبعتينِ مكمَّلٍ طبعًا بفضل الله قبلًا يولدُ
لهمُ وهم في المهدِ اطفالٌ نُهَى ال اشياخ خُلقًا والحِجَى والسُودَدُ
طابت مواليدُ النِساءِ لهنَّ لو ساغت كما قد ساغ منهم مولِدُ
حازوا المعالي امردًا او اشيبًا طولَ المدى والدهرُ اشيبُ امردُ
ما غالبتهم صبوةٌ وهواهمُ ما استحكمتهُ غادةٌ او اغيدُ
ضاقت إحاطةُ عِنْدَ عِندَ نوالهم ماذا الفضاءُ إزاءَهُ والفدفدُ
ما ساغ جحدُ نَداهمُ من ناطق كلا وهل فيض الغمائمِ يُجحَدُ
ان عاهدوا حَفِظوا وان وعدوا وَفَوا قبل الوعود كانهم لم يوعدوا
او حاكموا حَلِموا وان حكموا عَفَوا كرمًا وان نَقِموا العدى لم يعتدوا
قد يصفحونَ تكرُّمًا مع انهم ان يقتلوا جمع البريَّة لم يَدُوا
رَعَوُا الانامَ بناظرٍ وبآخَرٍ راعُوا العِدَى وكِلاهما لا يرقُدُ
شهِدَت لهم في عين دارةَ وقعةٌ سَكِرَ الحُسامُ بها فظلَّ يعربدُ
لن يتقي مسكًا فمشربهُ الدِما ابدًا ومأكلهُ الحَشَى والأكبدُ
ماضٍ وطَعْمُ الموت فيهِ حاضرٌ ناهٍ لهُ الامر المُطاعُ الاوكدُ
مُهَجٌ تسيلُ على فِرِنْدِ غِراره ماقُ العِدَى حينًا تراهُ يجمدُ
رَيَّانُ متنِ الصفحتينِ يكادُ ان يخضلَّ قائمهُ لِمَا يتورَّدُ
تركوا بني يَمَنٍ صراعَى فانثنوا وقلوبهم لسيوف قيسٍ أغمدُ
أمُّوا بهم وغَداةَ صلَّ حُسامهم في الهام جاءتهُ الجماجمُ تسجُدُ
ان ينأموا وقت الطِعانِ تخالُهم أُسُدًا تعربد والصواعق تُرعِدُ
فَهُمُ الظُبَى لكنهم لم يَكهَموا والنبلُ الا انهم لم يَصرَدوا

والأُسـدُ الا انهم لم يُسأَموا والزَندُ الا انهم لم يصلدوا
والسهمُ الا انهم لم يُحطَموا والزَغْفُ الا انهم لم يُسرَدوا
والموتُ الا انهم لم يُكرَهوا والعيشُ الا انهم لم يَنكَدوا
والريحُ الا انهم لم يُعطِبوا والنارُ الا انهم لم يَخمَدوا
والشُهبُ الا انهم لم يأفلوا والغيثُ الا انهم لم يُفسِدوا
والطَودُ الا انهم لم يُوطَأوا والبحرُ الا انهم لم يُزبِدوا
والروس الا انهم لم يُصدَعوا واللحظُ الا انهم لم يهجدوا
ومصادرُ الفُرسان إمَّا ٱستُنجِدوا وموارِدُ الاحسان إمَّا استُوردوا
الأكرمونَ الامجدونَ الافضلو نَ الاكملونَ الاشرفونَ المُجَّدُ
ما ساغَ يومًا حَلٌّ ما الا حلَّلوا كلا ولا عَقدُ الذي لم يَعقِدوا
اتت الإمارةُ نحوهم مُنقادةً فكأَنْ لطاعتهم عليها مِقوَدُ
قد حازها بعضٌ بعُنفٍ جاهدًا لكن هُمُ فيها حَظُوا لم يَجهَدوا
بُشراكَ يا بيتَ المفاخرِ والجَدَى اذ قد تألَّف شَملُك المتبدِّدُ
جُمِعَت قلوبَ بنيك فيك على الوَلا فتفرَّقت عنك العُداة الشُرَّدُ
مُذ أَنَّهم وردوا موارِدَ وَفْقِهم كَرِعَ المنيَّةَ مُفسِدٌ ومُفنِّدُ
فٱحسِنْ بها من فُرحةٍ وٱعظِم بهِ يومًا هو اليومُ الاعزُّ الاسعدُ
وارحمتاهُ لحُسَّدٍ من حرّهم أَمسَوا وعندهمُ المُقيمُ المُقعِدُ
يافخرَ قيسٍ يا أُولي العَلياءِ مَن دُونَ اعتلائهمِ السُهى والفرقدُ
انتم هُمُ سَنَدُ الأَنامِ كانهم فعلُ الكلام وانتمُ ٱسمٌ مُسنَدُ
يا ايها الامراءُ يامَن امرهم ابدًا يُطاعُ من القلوب ويُحمَدُ
ايكونُ ظِلُّكمُ العِياذَ ونخشي ويكونُ رَحْبُكمُ اللِواذَ ونُطرَدُ

ويكونُ سيفُكمُ الطويلَ نِجادُهُ ويَروعَنا فَدْمٌ غدا يتهدَّدُ
ويكونُ كلٌّ منكمُ قَرْنَ الضُحَى ويُضُمَّنا ليلُ الهُمومِ الأَسوَدُ
نشكو من الايام بل من اهلها اذ كلُّهم من دونكم لا يُقصَدُ
نُهدِيكمُ بِكرَ القريحةِ غادةً من دونها الغِيدُ الحِسانُ الخُرَّدُ
فصِداقُها صِدقُ الذِمامِ ومَهرُها إِرضاؤُكم كيلا اقولَ المسجدُ
دُمْ ياحُسَينُ ابا المكارمِ في عَلا شرفٍ ويانجمَ السُعودِ واحمدُ
وكذاك يا عسَّافُ انتَ وفارسُ ال هيجا ويا حَسَنُ المهابُ الأَمجدُ
ما ردَّدَت في الروضِ هاتفةُ الضُحَى الحانها وبدا الهَزارُ يغرِّدُ

وقال رحمهُ الله تعالى وقد بعث بها الى احد ائمة شيعة المتاولة جوابًا لقصيدةٍ اهداها له وهو في قرية الفرزل سنة ١٧٢٧ مسيحية

أَلَا يا ذا الهُمـام الأَلمَعيُّ ... ويا هٰذا الإمامُ اللوذعيُّ
تَرفَّقْ بي لاني تُربُ ارضٍ ... وهل يسمو الثَرَى وهو الدنيُّ
فمَن انا في الورى حتى تراني ... وانتَ هُوَ الخطيرُ الأَرْيَحيُّ
فغيرُ اللهِ ليسَ اخا وِدادٍ ... هو المودودُ والحِلُّ الوفيُّ
فكُن مسترشدًا بسَنَى هُداهُ ... فمن لم يرتشد منهُ غويُّ
هو العالي على كل البرايا ... سِواهُ فلا سنيٌّ ولا سميُّ
وما القومُ السَراةُ سِوَى هَبَاءٍ ... فهل من دُونِ بارينا سَرِيُّ
لهُ الافضال عمَّت كلَّ قُطرٍ ... لهُ السِنَحات والبِرُّ الحفيُّ
لهُ الجودُ العميمُ بكل فَجٍّ ... لهُ الانعامُ واللطفُ الخفيُّ
تُطارِحُني القريضَ وانت اهلٌ ... لهُ حقًّا وانتَ بهِ حريُّ
قريضٌ كالعُباب لهُ المعاني ... كلجَّتِهِ وساحِلُهُ الرويُّ
اتتني منكَ بِكرٌ مُستحبٌّ ... لها غَيَدٌ وحُسنٌ زينبيُّ
فأَهدتني سَلامك بالحِشام ... فتاةٌ زانَها الفِكرُ الوريُّ
رعاكَ اللهُ فاذمُمْني لأَنِّي ... فتًى من كُلِّ مَحْمَدةٍ عريُّ
فانك في امتداحي كالمُنادِي ... يَبابًا فالجوابُ لهُ الدَوِيُّ
فاني راهبٌ والذمُّ يحلو ... لمثلي وَهْوَ لي ابدًا حُلِيُّ
انا كالآل لا يَغرُرْكَ آلي ... لان الآل قاصدهُ ظميُّ
وان الشَينَ ان امعنت فكرًا ... ضعيفٌ قد يبارزهُ قويُّ

فلا تغترَّ في برقٍ جَهامٍ فآمِلُهُ وشائمُهُ صديُّ
فماذا الطَلُّ إمَّا قيل وبلٌّ وما الوَسْميُّ ان قيلَ الوَليُّ
وتَضأَلُ أنجُمٌ ان ضاءَ بدرٌ ويمحو الظُلمةَ الصُبحُ الضويُّ
فما خَبَرٌ كخُبرٍ عن عِيانٍ واينَ الوهمُ والحقُّ الجليُّ
فكم من دِمْنةٍ ادهت بسارٍ وكانَ دَهاءُهُ العقل الغبيُّ
اذا ما لم يكن للمَرْءِ فَهمٌ ذكيٌّ ما لهُ فِعلٌ زكيُّ
فأَشرَفُ ما يُرامُ لكل مَرْءٍ ذَكاءُ العقل والذِكرُ الذكيُّ
وافضلُ ما يُرَى في كل نوعٍ هو الآدابُ والوجه الحيُّ
وخيرُ حِلَى الأَنامِ بلا ارتِياءٍ شِعارُ الفضلِ والعِرضُ النقيُّ
واقبحُ ما يكونُ بذي غُرورٍ شَنارُ الفعلِ والظَنُّ الرديُّ
وعقلك ايها الشيخُ المفدَّى عِصاميٌّ وفعلك عَبْقَريُّ
فيا لمحمَّدٍ في اسمٍ وفعلٍ فبينهما اشتِقاقٌ مَعْنويُّ
علوتَ مكانةً وسَمَوْتَ قَدْرًا وأُسُّ بِناءِ رِفْعتكم عليُّ

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 80–90)

EWA MACHUT-MENDECKA

The Ways of Expression of Cultural Norms in the Egyptian Dialect

Abstract

In this paper I am going to present the ways in which the Egyptian dialect renders social norms, which will be illustrated by the examples of expressions regarding human-to-human interaction. This provides an outline of the existent system of values with special emphasis laid upon the values of collectivism and individualism (perceived in the categories of cross-cultural psychology) and related phenomena. The basis for cultural norms reflected in the language will be the two different systems of values, that is to say collectivism and individualism. The clash between the two systems is especially significant in the period of growing transformation of the Arab world in the direction of modernity and globalization. The criteria for the two values have been taken from the work by David Yau-Fai Ho and Chiu Chi-Yue *Component Ideas of Individualism Collectivism and Social Organization. An Application in the Study of Chinese Culture* which will be quoted below. Their source are Egyptian TV series and theatrical scripts and analyses.

In my analysis the focus will be on the following issues: From the Perspective of Collectivism: 1. Expressions used in everyday tribal and family life: owing to mutual relationships, including the issues that are characteristic of Arabic culture, such as endogamic marriages or expressions going beyond the sense of kinship relationships; 2. The ways of expression of the various types of the sense of identity. From the Perspective of Individualism: 1. The expressions that are important in the relations between individuals: owing to close relationships, positive and hostile feelings, the need to be accepted. 2. Description of one's own condition. 3. Expressions stemming from the need to have one's own expression: exclamations, cries, proverbs, idioms and religious phrases and expressions.

From the Perspective of Collectivism

Within the framework of collectivism the expressions are shaped in the field of tribal and family life which are the source of the most popular behavioral patterns in Arabic culture. Tribe was the basic form of a collective in the past; today it is being replaced by the kinship system and the multigenerational family emerging from it. It is precisely to this type of family that one of the basic principles of collectivism is referred. *The supremacy of the group or collective, the principle that the value of survival of the collective takes precedence over that of the individual.*[1]

The concern for the community as a source of identity and survival gave rise to the famous Arabic ethos of solidarity and loyalty towards tribal groups, the elders and the fellow tribesmen. At the same time, the sense of solidarity was not uniform; if the need arose, it applied to the whole tribe or to some of its minor groups. This complex strategy is illustrated by the language in the form of the popular proverb:

Ana w-aḫūy, ʻalā-bn-i ʻammi, w-ana wi-bn-i ʻammi ʻala-l-ḡarīb. – I and brother (stand) against my cousin, and I and my cousin (stand) against a stranger.[2]

On the one hand, the tribal system is the source of the sense of honor, which is so important in Arabic culture; on the other hand, it has been the source of the fundamental norms of family life up to the present day. Nowadays, the superior importance of honor in the life of an Arabic patriarchal family seems to be demonstrated rather by the two symbolical and customary expressions

W-Allāh-il-ʻaẓīm bi-t-talāta – I swear by my three-times divorce

and

ʻAlayya ṭalāq – may I get divorced!

This famous oath of which the guarantee indicating the honorable conduct is one's own marriage, is an echo of the collectivism of tribal relationships. People still swear by their honor, either by their own honor or by the honor of the members of their family. There exists a popular exclamation:

Wi-šarafi – by my honor!

and another example of such phrase is:

Wi-šaraf abūyya – by the honor of my father![3]

The echoes of tribal customs can be found in the contemporary Egyptian dialect. The custom of tribal revenge can be encountered in the saying:

Ḥaqqu dammak – he/she has the right to your blood[4]

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[1] David Yau-Fai Ho, Chiu Chi-Yue, *Component Ideas of Individualism, Collectivism and Social Organisation: An Application in the Study of Chinese Culture,* in: U. Kim, H.C. Triandis, Ç. Kâğitçibaşi, S. Choi, G. Yoon (ed.) *Individualism and Collectivism. Theory, Method, and Applications,* SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi 1994, p. 139.

[2] F.M. Mahgoub, *A Linguistic Study of Cairene Proverbs*, *Indiana University*, Bloomington, Mounton & Co., The Hague 1968, p. 79.

[3] N. ʻĀšūr, *Masraḥ Nuʻmān ʻĀšūr,* Al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ʻĀmma li-al-Kitāb, Al-Qāhira 1974, p. 20.

[4] *Ad-Dunya rīša fi hawa* ["World is like a feather in the wind"], TV Egypt 2007, director Maḥmūd Bakrī.

Nevertheless, expressions and phrases used in the language reflect, in the first place, the ethos of family life, which is still present, to a greater or smaller extent, in our times, thus emphasizing the importance of descent, marriage, offspring, bonds and relationships between children and parents with special reference to parental rights towards their children. There have been popular forms of address stemming from the system of values which was binding over the centuries.

Ancestry

The genealogy of the *nasab* has been an important background of social relationships over the centuries, in the period of poorly marked history, and after the emergence of Islam parallel to this history, it reflected the course of the community life. The traces of this genealogy can be seen in the Egyptian dialect, its example being the expression

Ya bu nasab – the exclamation meaning no less than "oh, you being of good descent" or "oh, you descending from a good family."[5]

By and large, the importance of the descent of the given individual is illustrated by such sayings as: *huwwa min aṣl-i ṭayyib* – he is of good descent.

And this importance can hardly be overestimated since in the colloquial Egyptian one may encounter the following piece of advice:

Ḫūd i-l-aṣīla, wi-nām ʻala-l-ḥasīra – Marry a woman of noble origin, and sleep on a mat (for then you will be happier).[6]

As well as a slightly ambiguous statement applies, however, to the same issue: ʻ*Umr-i damm-i ma yibqāš mayya* – blood never changes to water.[7]

The virtues of the daughter as a candidate for wife may be illustrated by her relationship with the family, and her mother argues that *Hiyya mitrabbiyya niʻmat it-tarbiyya* – she has been brought up in the best possible way.[8]

Marriage and Offspring

The importance of marriage and offspring in the Arabic tradition is especially bound up with such an important condition for the collectivist system of values as: *Collective development and actualization*. To confirm this rule one may quote the following Egyptian proverb:

Iz-zawāg nuṣṣ id-dīn – Marriage is half the religion.[9]

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[5] Ibid.

[6] F.M. Mahgoub, op. cit., p. 86.

[7] Ibid., p. 100.

[8] *Ad-Dunyā rīša fi hawā.*

[9] F.M. Mahgoub, op. cit., p. 65.

Language reflects the bonds linking parents with their children, which can be seen in their conversations. Mother will emphasize her concern for her daughter by the use of the following expression:

Ya binti baṭni – (lit.) the daughter of my abdomen (implicitly: "my child").

Father, on the other hand, demands obedience from his daughter. According to his will she should agree to marry an elderly unwanted man; he will remind the young girl of her obligations towards her father in the following words:

Ma tuḫrugīš min bāb i-ṭ-ṭā'a – the rule of obedience should be observed.[10]

Children are the pride of their parents and families and they are their hope for the future, which is reflected in the Egyptian proverb:

Ḫūdu fa'lkum, min 'iyālkum – Take you good omen from your youngsters.[11]

The guarantee of this pride is a severe upbringing which allows one to inculcate impeccable moral principles and knowledge in their offspring. This will be expressed by the father in the TV series entitled *Šams tušriq dā'iman* ["The Sun always shines"] in his conversation with the people surrounding him:

Ma 'ašān ibni lāzim ašidd-i 'alay. Ḫaftaḫir bīh. W-ana 'āyiz ēh aktar?[12] – It's because he is my son I will be severe with him. I will be proud of him. What else do I need?

The offspring is an indispensable theme of the most popular greetings, such as:

Iz-zayy ḥaḍritak w-iz-zayy-awlād – how are you and how are your children[13] and the way of introducing oneself, for example: '*Andina arba' wilad wi-ḫamas banāt* – at us four boys and five girls.[14]

In conversations and texts the recurring theme is the concern for the children which is expressed in the sentences such as:

Allāh yiṭawwil 'umrik w-y(i)ḫallik ibnik – May God lengthen your life and leave your son.[15]

Allāh ma yiḫrimnīš minnak abadan – God will not take you away from me;

A common expression is the phrase: *ya danāya* – my child.

Children, just like fathers, are the most precious value to the speaker, which enables us, by referring to their importance, to confirm the dimensions of the oath taken.

Wi-ḥ(i)yāt ibni!/*abūyya*! – by the life of my son/my father![16]

The attachment to one's own family is corroborated by the following proverb which can often be heard in the Egyptian TV series:

Qāl mīn a'azz-i mi-l-wild, qāl wild il-wild – He asked "what is dearer than a child?" "A grandchild", he said.[17]

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[10] *Ad-Dunyā rīša fi hawā.*

[11] F.M. Mahgoub, op. cit. o. 87.

[12] *Šams tušriq dā'iman*, TV Libya 2007, director Šaraf ad-Dīn.

[13] T.F. Mitchell, *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1978, p. 132.

[14] D. Berberi, *Arabic in a Nutshell*, Institute for Language Study, Funk & Wagnalls, New York 1976, p. 236.

[15] T.F. Mitchell, *An Introduction*, p. 149.

[16] D. Berberi, op. cit. p. 223.

[17] F.M. Mahgoub, op. cit., p. 103.

The language expresses tradition according to which fathers have the right even to their grown up children and they authoritatively decide upon the marriages of their daughters. Their will is sacred in this respect, and any interference is considered to be against the established customs. The proverb says as follows:

Abūha rāḍi, w-ana rāḍi, w-inta malak wi-malna ya qaḍi – Her father approves (lit. 'is satisfied), I approve, so what have you to do, o judge?[18]

Forms of Address

In the Egyptian dialect there are popular forms of address stemming from the conditioning of the family life and the kinship system. By and large, their source is collectivism, and yet since they typically express personal relationships of the speaker with his/her interlocutor, they are heading towards individualism. As the language demonstrates, in the intergenerational relationships the collectivist attitude and the individualistic attitude struggle for the victor's palm. In the Egyptian TV series from which the material for this paper has been partly taken, children, small and adult alike, address their parents alternately by using the official phrases such as: when addressing their father they say *ḥaḍritak* (mister, sir), *abi* (father) and *bāba* – (dad) and when addressing their mother they use the expression *ḥaḍritik* (mrs, madam), *ummi* (mother) and *māma* (mum).

The dialect shows that the tension in the relationships between children and parents, which stems from the struggle between the need to express emotions and the sense of duty to social requirements, is a cultural norm in this case. Maybe there is nothing strange about it since, contrary to the conditioning of the collectivism, young people do strive for independence and self-realization, which is illustrated by an expressive (though perhaps too strong) proverb:

Iksar li-bint-i ḍi'l, yiṭla'laha-tnēn – Break your daughter's rib, and two ribs will grow (instead).[19]

Ibn-i 'amm, ibn-i ḫāl – male cousin*; bint-i 'amm, bint-i ḫāl* – female cousin used within the framework of endogamy serve to strengthen the kinship and family system regardless of the feelings of an individual.

The tradition of the family life gives rise to the forms of address that are popular in the Egyptian society. Some common forms include:

Ya aḫi – brother (!) or *ya ḫūyya* – little brother (!), *ya 'ammi* – paternal uncle (!), *ya ḫāl* – uncle (!) or their feminine equivalents: *ya uḫti-* sister (!), *ya 'ammiti* – aunt (!) – (from one's father's side), *ya ḫalti* – aunt! (from one's mother's side). They emphasize the function of the members of a collective and community as a source of identity in the life of an individual. The popularity of those linguistic forms corresponds also to the successive characteristics of the collectivism described by the above-mentioned

[18] Ibid., p. 57.

[19] Ibid., p. 62.

psychologists: *To be found the groups's solidarity and integirity*[20] and *to prefer the company of others*.[21]

The interlocutors, who address themselves using the aforesaid terms, express group solidarity, and a certain dose of emotion accompanying each of the exclamations indicates that they strive to be together and that they keep searching for their own company.

The exclamations *ya aḫi, ya 'ammi, ya ḫāli,* etc. going far beyond the kinship relationships constitute symbolical forms of address on the social scale intended to seek closer relations with people, which is a kind of promotion of collective attitudes.

Similar functions are performed by the following popular form of address: *ya šayḫ*, in the feminine version *ya šayḫa*, within the framework of which the nouns used create a vast semantic field. After all, etymologically, *šayḫ* and *šayḫa* mean "an old man" and "an old woman", and, at the same time, those are the terms denoting chiefs of tribes and various authorities, including religious, spiritual and moral authorities. Nowadays, those expressions may be addressed to any elderly persons whose importance is to be emphasized by the speaker.

In the Muslim era the terms *ḥāgg* (in the masculine gender) and *ḥāgga* (in the feminine gender) took shape meaning "pilgrim", which denotes a person who went on a pilgrimage to Mecca; it has been adopted as a form of address which is popular in the Muslim community, including the Egyptian society. Today, the term, which is commonly used in accordance with its meaning, has come to be a polite expression in Egypt too. It has been used not only to denote men and women who can boast a pilgrimage to Mecca, but also to address elderly persons who have never gone on a pilgrimage or when the interlocutor does not know anything about this fact; however, the speaker wants to show respect to those persons by assuming that, potentially, they are pilgrims (they will make a pilgrimage some day in the future).

The popular and commonly used forms of address which appraise a given individual in a positive way, such as:

Ibn in-nās – son of the people (implicitly: "son of good (noble) people, of good ancestry")

and

Bint in-nās – daughter of the people (implicitly: "daughter of good (noble) people, of good descent")[22]

They are based on family relationships. After all, those expressions indicate that good ancestry obliges one to scrupulously observe social norms.

Popular are the forms addressed to the group as a whole, for example:

Ya 'ālam (lit.) oh, the world!, oh, the people![23]

Ya nās – oh, the people![24]

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[20] D. Yau-Fai Ho, Chi Yue-Chiu, op. cit., p. 141.

[21] Ibid.

[22] *'Ā'iš fī al-ġaybūba* ["A'esh unaware"], TV Egypt 2007, director Muḥammad Ṣubḥī.

[23] N. 'Āšūr, op. cit., p. 30.

[24] Ibid., p. 30.

The reflection of the collectivist consciousness seems to be the popular expression *ya gamā'a,* which literally means "group", although it may be addressed even to a small number of people: three or even two persons, hence it can hardly be translated into foreign languages; it can be replaced by the expressions describing addresses such as: colleagues, friends, or it may even mean "my dear ones".

Sense of identity

Within the framework of collectivism develop various types of the expressing of identity which are reflected in the above-mentioned forms of address. This is of particular importance as in the opinion of Reykowski: "Individuation and identification are the two opposing processes. Individuation leads to the development of an image of a (social) world as consisting of a number of separate objects (individuals). If applied to oneself, it contributes to the growing differentiation of 'I/they'. The process of identification, on the other hand, blurs the boundaries between 'I' and 'they' and fosters a conception of the self as similar or identical of others."[25]

In this approach, *collectivism* is a value indispensable for the emergence of any group consciousness and it strictly determines the sense of identity.

Ho and Chiu emphasize its importance for collectivism: *collective identity, defined by group membership* and *uniformity, conformity to an ideal, and model emulation*.[26]

The expression of thus conceived identity of the entire groups are phrases such as:

Iḥna l-'Arab – We are the Arabs,

Iḥna ṣ(u)ḥāb – We are friends,

Iḥna nās ġalāba – We are poor people.

The Egyptian dialect, however, encompasses the forms defining the degree of uniformity of the speaker with his/her interlocutor, as well as its reflection in human consciousness. The expressions adopted allow one to describe the type of that uniformity: from the feeling of a communion through the search for mutual approval to the need for a simple communication in the issues of mutual interest.

An extreme form of this state of affairs is the feeling of a complete identification of the two speakers. The Egyptian dialect has at its disposal the expressions which simply point to the obliteration of boundaries between the individuals, their feeling of complete communion or striving for this communion. *Do things together. Collective efforts are superior*,[27] say the authors of the quoted work when they describe collectivism.

This rule can be seen in particular in the two Egyptian sayings:

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[25] J. Reykowski, *Collectivism and Induvidualism as Dimensions of Social Change,* in: U. Kim et al., op. cit., p. 279.

[26] D. Yau-Fai Ho, Chi Yue-Chiu, op. cit., p. 139.

[27] Ibid., p. 140.

Mafīš farq – there is no difference between us
and
Iḥna wāḥid – we are the one.[28]

These sentences tend to abolish the sphere of privacy. They are the sign of a material and psychic community of the two individuals. They are also used when, for example, people talk about financial issues and they need to share costs, suggesting that it is unimportant which of the two persons will bear them. The situation *mafīš farq* also means that the persons taking part in a conversation may know everything about one another and that they may tell themselves everything, even the most intimate details, which, in different conditions, would remain secret. Today the meaning of those expressions may be close to their literal sense, however more often their meaning becomes symbolical and polite in character. Significantly, each of those sayings weakens an individualized dimension of the speaker for the benefit of his feeling of group affiliation.

Next, the language expresses the situations in which individuals constitute clearly separate beings, but the keeping of group uniformity demands a continuing search for mutual approval[29] and the tightening of bonds. Therefore, of particular popularity are the requests:

‘*Ašān ḫaṭri-* for the sake of my importance,
I‘mil il-ma‘rūf – do a good deed to me
and
the incantation: *wi-ḥ(i)yātak* – by your life.

A similar implication is encountered in the offering of the owned property made spontaneously for the benefit of the interlocutor:

Bēt bitak – my house is yours,
Maḥall-i maḥallak- my shop is yours[30]
and
in the following declarations: *Inti ḥayāti* – you are my life
Ta‘bak rāḥa – your tiring is my pleasure
Inta-bni ḥalāl – you are the child of righteousness.[31]

The emphasis placed on the relation with the speaker is illustrated by the following expressions:

W-ana fi ḫidmitak – I and I am at your service,
Ya baḫtak- Oh luck-your!, How lucky you are![32]
Waḥaštūna – I missed you.

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[28] Compare E. Machut-Mendecka, *Współcześni Arabowie: próba analizy psychologicznej* [“The Contemporary Arabs. An Attempt at a Psychological Analysis”] in: A. Borowiak, P. Szarota (ed.), *Tolerancja i wielokulturowość* [“Multi-cultural Aspects of Toleration”], Warszawa 2004, p. 101.

[29] S. Hamady, *Temperament and Character of the Arabs*, Twayne Publishers, New York 1960, p. 28.

[30] T.F. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 148.

[31] Ibid., p. 135.

[32] D. Berberi, op. cit., p. 222.

Ašūf wiššak bi-ḫēr – Let me see your face in good condition (implicitly: "let me see you in good condition").[33]

This group comprises the expressions praising a certain feature of the interlocutor, for example: *Dammak ḫafīf* – (lit.) you have light blood (implicitly: "you are pleasant"). The emphasis in mutual relations, by enhancing the importance of the speaker, is introduced by religiously marked expressions, even though the frequent use of the particular sayings, such as: *inšā'a-Llhāh* – God willing makes some of them sound like routine or stereotyped phrases, thus impoverishing their semantic quality. Here are some examples of such sentences:

Inšā'a Llāh tišarrafi marra tanya – I hope you will come (lit. "honor")*.*[34]

Ṣabāḥ il-ḫēr. Allāh yiṣabbaḥak bi-l-ḫēr (Good morning. Good morning).[35]

Language also expresses the emphasis in mutual relations by the use of the expressions containing threats and other meanings of the state of hostility, for example:

Ana w-inta w-iz-zaman iṭ-ṭawīl – I and you and the long time (literally: "I have a lot of time to get even with you").

Ya bint il-ḥarām – you slut, you daughter of sin.[36]

Bēni wi-binak il-ḥikāya – between me and you there is still something to get even.[37]

Bēni wi-binak ḥadd-i Llāh – What judges between us is law of God.[38]

Ah ya nāri minnak – I feel fire because of you (I suffer because of you).[39]

Rigli 'ala riglukum – I am walking in step with you (I won't leave you alone).[40]

Rūḥ dahya la tirga'ak – go, and may no misfortune bring you back.[41]

Warrāh nuǧūm iḍ-ḍuhr – He made him see (lit. showed him) the stars at noon i.e. he tortured him.[42]

This category of expressions encompasses the opposite of the above-mentioned *dammak ḫafīf*, taking the form of *dammak tiqīl* – (lit.) you have heavy blood (implicitly: "you are unpleasant").

Obviously, the ways of expressing the collectivist and individualistic values vary according to the source. The works of Nu'mān 'Ašūr, the nestor of Arabic dramaturgy, which are written in the Egyptian dialect, depict social transformation in Egypt in the Nasser period; therefore, under the influence of the striving for modernity collective attitudes disappear; this is also caused by realism which is present in dramas and which introduces a protagonist as a unique and individualized human being. Those attitudes are

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[33] *'Ala-nār hādi'a* ["Below boiling"], TV Egypt 2006, director 'Abd al-'Azīz as-Sukkarī.

[34] T.F. Mitchell, p. 138.

[35] Ibid., p. 148.

[36] S. Hamady, p. 51.

[37] N. 'Āšūr, p. 142.

[38] F.M. Mahgoub, op. cit., p. 83.

[39] N. 'Āšūr, op. cit., p. 163.

[40] Ibid., 529.

[41] Ibid., p. 501.

[42] F.M. Mahgoub, op. cit., p. 119.

reflected in a very clear manner, obviously with an exaggeration which is characteristic of Ašūr's comedies, in a sentence taken from his theatrical play:

Ma fīš ḥadd-i qalbu 'ala ḥadd- in-nahārda – Nobody shows kindness to the other person (implicitly: "Nobody worries about others", "Everybody lives to oneself").[43]

From the Perspective of Individualism

The conditioning of the collectivism leads to the emergence of an individual, and the expressions in the Egyptian dialect suggest the individualistic attitudes based on the principle of opposition formulated by Reykowski and defined by Ho and Chiu as individuality-uniformity.The language illustrates what those two authors call *individuation, individuality and uniqueness of the individual*.[44] The speaker proves that he/she can define himself/herself as an independent individual with no point of reference, such as the society or the other person.

Self-concept

The speaker is of course capable to describe his/her own state. The examples are following expressions:

Ana farḥān – I am content.

Ana mabsūṭ arba'a w-i'šrīn qirāṭ – I am happy (lit. "I am happy twenty-four *qerat*).[45]

Ana miš sa'īd – am unhappy.

Ana ġalbān – I am poor.

Ana rāgil ġalbān/ana sitt-i ġalbāna – I am a poor man / I am a poor woman.[46]

Il-wiḥda ḫayrun min galīs is-sūq – Better be alone than in ill company.[47]

The speaker is capable of experiencing a deeper expression of his/her own without referring to the other individual which is invisible in the field of vision. He/she is free to assert:

*Bi-šaraf*i! – by my honor![48]

Iṣ-Ṣabr ṭayyib – patience is good.

He expresses astonishment, admiration, awe, etc., and he even uses exclamations eg. *ya salām, ya ḫ(u)sāra,* – oh peace!, oh loss!

Mumtāz – fine! excellent, outstanding.[49]

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[43] N. 'Āšūr, op. cit., p. 135.

[44] D. Yau-Fai Ho, Chi Yue-Chiu, op. cit., p. 139.

[45] F.M. Mahgoub, op. cit., p. 113.

[46] Ibid., p. 111.

[47] Ibid., p. 78.

[48] D. Berberi, op. cit., p. 223.

[49] Ibid., p. 222.

Since those utterances are spontaneous, they escape the mechanism of social control. The speaker allows his/her emotions to be disclosed, thus realizing his/her own needs and revealing, even for a short while, his/her nature regardless of the consequences.

Religious expressions

In the Arabic language, just as in the Egyptian dialect, there are many religious expressions, so it is worth drawing attention to what system of values they are related. Thus, the authors quoted above prove that within the framework of individualism: "Religious beliefs and salvation are highly personal; the individual needs no intermediaries. Emphasis is on the individual's personal relationship with the divine." Whereas the collectivism is characterised by "participation in group worship. Personal salvation linked to the salvation of others. Membership in a religion institution is essentia."[50]

Exclamations with religious contents do not belong to the practices required by Islam but they stem from the speaker's own inner need, so that they testify to the individualistic attitudes. Here are the examples of such popular expressions:

Allāh subḥān Allāh! Wallāh, w-Allāhi, *subḥān-Allāh* – God, Praise God!, Good Lord, really, By my-God, by heavens![51]

W-n-nābi! – by my Prophet-my!, By heavens![52]

Wi-ḥ(i)āt Rabbina! – by life of our God!, please![53]

This group may also comprise the expressions referring to more implicit religious meanings, such as the belief in destiny and its comforting character for man.

The expression *il-qisma w-in-nasīb* (fortune and destiny),[54] means that by emphasizing the fatalistic character of his situation, man releases himself from remorses and makes it easier for himself to resign and accept the situation, and – in the case of traumatic experiences – to return to life.

On the border of collectivism and individualism there are various types of everyday talks, which may contain fewer expressions and idioms, and which serve the need for mutual communication. They encompass conversations and phrases expressing the striving to maintain balance between the speaker and his/her interlocutor and to keep distance between them.

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[50] D. Yau-Fai Ho, Chi Yue-Chiu, op. cit., p. 141.

[51] D. Berberi, op. cit., p. 223.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] N. ʿĀšūr, op. cit., p. 26.

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 91–97)

TADEUSZ MAJDA

Stereotypical Expressions in Early Ottoman Literature. Sunrise and Sunset

Abstract

The classical Ottoman epic poetry disposed of a great variety of stereotype expressions which caused that the poetic style was extremely ornate and sublime. This paper deals with two expressions used to describe the sunrise and sunset, which were very popular in Turkish poetry, not only in Anatolia but also in Central Asia. The main reason the use stereotypical expressions and clichés was to evoke unusual images or associations with colorful and wonderful creatures of nature. Most of these stereotype expressions were borrowed from Persian poetry, but they underwent often a transformation leading to their simplification and to make them more appropriated to the Turkish literary tradition. Examples chosen from well known literary works to illustrate the expression of sunrise and sunset testify a richness of stylistic means like similes and metaphors.

Most of the works devoted to Turkish (Ottoman) epic poetry tend to concentrate first and foremost upon analysis of their language and their literary themes. In the case of rhymed works, meanwhile, the academic literature usually dwells on issues of prosody. To date, the Ottoman epic canon has not been the subject of any comprehensive study focused on its style and typology. The odd critical edition of an epic text may, apart from offering a general overview of the work, set out some comments concerning the style or rhetorical figures employed, but a fuller synthetic elaboration of these matters will become possible only once we have at our disposal a larger number of critical editions based on manuscripts. Yet we can, for the moment being, endeavour a treatment of the early Ottoman period basing on the works published to date,

essaying some general and more detailed conclusions and describing the defining traits of the style[1].

Analysis of the stylistic devices used in epic works of the early Ottoman epoch should enable us to identify all the original Turkish stylistic traits which hereto went unmentioned in literary works or in editions of individual epic texts. The poetic idiom of the early epic works – belonging to the divan canon, shaped as it was under the strong influence of Persian literature – was not marked by the same stylistic elements as were characteristic of Turkish folk stories or of popular literature. The epic works designed to popularise Sufi ideas and to cultivate the *gazawat* spirit were written in simple poetic or prosaic forms, and their authors made use of a style rooted in the folk literary tradition – they were raconteurs as well as writers, so they strove to reach their listeners via traditional stylistic means.

The romantic stories of chivalry, love, and adventure displayed a somewhat different set of characteristics, albeit they also drew upon folk tradition. The style of these works derived significantly from the Persian originals providing the basis for the Turkish translations or, more accurately, adaptations. Despite this derivative relationship of the Turkish renditions to the Persian originals of the epic works, the Turkish adaptations ended up differing considerably from their literary predecessors, the key difference lying in simplification of the Persian rhetoric and in use of a poetic idiom appropriate for the Turkish literary tradition.

My comments concerning the style of Turkish epic poetry of the pre-Ottoman and early Ottoman periods are drawn from analysis of selected poetic and prosaic editions such as *Battalname*[2], *Danişmendname* by Arif Ali[3], *Düstur-i Enveri*[4], *Varka ve Gülşah* by Yusuf-i Meddah[5], *Işkname* by Mehmed[6], *Hüsrev ü Şirin* by Şeyhi[7], or *Hurşidname* by Şeyhoğlu[8].

I have considered the poetic language of these works from the perspective of the use of stylistic devices. A comparison of the styles used in the individual works has enabled identification of a distinct artistic style which emerged in Anatolia and remained prevalent between the 13th and the 15th centuries. The stylistic devices under discussion

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[1] Stylistic aspects of Old Ottoman literature are discussed at length in articles prepared by me for a number of conferences: Tadeusz Majda, *Characteristics of the Early Anatolian Turkish Epic Poetry*, in; *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures*, ed. by M. Galik, Bratislava 1983, pp. 347–355; Tadeusz Majda, *Characteristics of Early Turkish Style (13th–1st half of 15th Centuries)*, in: *Problemy Języków Azji i Afryki. Materiały II Międzynarodowego Sympozjum. Warsaw–Kraków, 10–15 November 1980*, ed. by St. Piłaszewicz, J. Tulisow, PWN, Warsaw 1987, pp. 223–231.

[2] *Battalname*, ed. by Yorgos Dedes, Harvard University 1996.

[3] I. Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Dānişmend. Étude critique du Dānişmend-nāme*, vol. I-I, Paris 1960.

[4] *Düsturname-i Enveri*, Istanbul 1929.

[5] Yūsuf-i Meddāh, *Varqa ve Gülşāh*, ed. by Grace Martin Smith, E.J. Brill, Leiden 1976.

[6] S. Yüksel, *Işk-name*, İnceleme-Metin, Ankara 1965.

[7] *Poemat irański Ḫuserv-u-Šīrīn w wersji osmańsko-tureckiej Šeyḫī*, ed. by A. Zajączkowski, Warsaw 1963.

[8] Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, *Hurşîd-Nâme (Hurşîd ü Ferahşâd)*, Hzl. Hüseyin Ayan, Erzurum 1979.

occur in most of the epic works under discussion and extend to all levels of the language – lexical, syntactic, rhythmic, euphonic, and intonational. Use of a given stylistic device was dictated by the artistic requirements and standards of the work, but also by the work's intended aesthetic and ideological function. Consideration of the selected works indicates that, apart from their ideological concept, the principal functions of early Turkish epics lay in their expressive and impressive functions, and – seeing as the majority of epic works were propagated and passed on orally, be it by way of storytelling, reading, or melorecitation – the language employed was of a kind suited to such a medium.

Certain repeated formulae, stereotypical and idiomatic expressions, tropes, and rhetorical figures all played important roles in Turkish epic poetry.

I would like to take this opportunity to briefly discuss a number of selected stereotypical expressions and clichés which, for all the frequency of their occurrence, yet have to be collected, classified, and clarified.

For these purposes, stereotypical expressions are commonly used figures denoting a situation or a subject. They fill an important function in the stylistic convention referring to an entire series of works produced in a given time. Recurrence of the same stylistic devices and of established literary norms across a larger body of works testifies to the existence of a literary convention. With a view to illustrating the significance of stereotypical expressions and clichés in early Ottoman epics, I cite examples of such expressions which occur most frequently in verse works, in love poems: descriptions of sunrise and of sunset as well as of the various times of day.

As regards stereotypes describing sunrise and sunset – the coming of the day, the falling of night – their role in literary works approximates that of motifs and images, particularly of what are known as free and static motifs not associated with the narrative strand, with the cause-and-effect structure of the story. They occur most typically at the beginning of the chapter (*meclis*)[9], and their intended function is that of an interlude or of a device easing the transition to another theme of the narrative. Such a pause may also serve to specify the time of day in which the events about to be described are unfolding, thus setting the scene for the listeners and helping them to follow the tale.

Poetic descriptions of sunrise and sunset often refer to a standard stock of metaphors and similes, with numerous variations of certain typical elements. And thus, the night and darkness are often likened to birds of dark plumage, such as ravens and crows (*zağ*, *karga*), and daybreak – to a dove (*güvercin*) or a peacock (*tavus*). Descriptions of the sun also draw upon this ornithological stock, regularly referring to a bird with golden wings (*altun kanatlu kuş*).

[9] *Meclis* – a literary session, a chapter of a poetic work.

Hüsrev ü Şirin

2839 *felek tâvûsu çün terk itdi bâğı*
maslahat eyledı gülzâra zâğı
"When the peacock of the heavens (horizon, sun) left the (terrestrial) garden, the raven attacked the rose garden (day)"

2840 *bu zâğuñ kıldı perri 'âlemi pür*
büridi bir yumurda açdı biñ dür
"And the raven's feathers filled the world (with darkness)
the egg cracked and thousands of pearls (stars) spilled out"

2841 *budur hôd âşiyân-ı dehrüñ işi*
ki geh tâvûs geh zâğ olur işi
"It is the work of the very nest of the world (time) that one time it is the work of the peacock (day), and another of the raven (night)"

2842 *pes ol tâvûslar cevelân yirinden*
yuvaya tutdılar yüz birinden
"Then these peacocks (having risen) from their places (the world) circled and took their nests one after the other (end of the day)"

2843 *çü almışlar idi eyyâmdan kâm*
gice yirlü yirinden kıldı ârâm
"When (finally) they had enjoyed the day to their contentment, the night came, took its place and (all) grew quiet"

Gülşehri, Şeyh-i Sin'an

ol karañu gece hayli çün geçer
gerü güneş su yüzine od saçar
yine gir altun kanatlu kuş erer
daneleri dam üstinden derer
"When the dark night passed entirely,
the sun again scatters fire on the waters
and the golden-winged bird draws near again
and gathers the grain (pearls) from the roof (heavens)"

Hurşidname

2020 *çü girü tonını degşürdi 'âlem*
'abîr ü müşke gark oldıydı âdem
"When the world changed its robes again,
people (humanity, the world) sank into scents and musk"

2021 *gügercin kaçdı karga per bırakıldı*
hevâ kâfurına ʻanber bırakdı
"The dove (day) flew away, the raven left its feather (night)
on the camphor air (white, day) ambergris (dark, night) fell"

The coming of the twilight and of night is often compared to the attack of a hostile army of Negroes (*zengi*) or of ravens. The examples cited here are not from Ottoman poetry, but from that of the Golden Horde, from *Hüsrev ü Şirin* by Qutb[10].

51v *nitäk kim çıktı ersä sub(i)h şâhı*
ajundın kaçtı zängilär sipâhi
"When the shah of the morning appeared (sun),
the cavalry of the Negroes fled this world (night)"

35 r *nitäk kim subh sü yergä tuzdı*
karankuluk çärigni urdı bozdı
"When the army of morning marched into the world,
the soldiers of the dark were defeated and scattered"

Another oft-recurring image describing the coming of night and of day relies on a personification of the night, with the world changing its clothes, drawing a curtain or veil, or pitching a tent.

Hurşidname

1592 *birazdan çün ki bu nûrânî gündüz*
kıya dutdı çevürdi düneden yüz
"When the luminous day drew near
and turned its face from the world"

1593 *zemânuñ varlığını yoğa saydı*
zemîn ol matem içün kara geydi
"Nothing thought he of the creatures of this world (life)
the earth put on dark garments for mourning"

Hüsrev ü Şirin

952 *çü gice irdi gerdi perdesini*
ki bîperde kıla perverdesini
"When the night came and drew the veil
she left her child (lit. nursed, reared)
uncovered"

[10] A. Z a j ą c z k o w s k i, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Ḫusräv u Šīrīn Qutba*, Part I. Text, Warsaw 1958.

953 *çıkardı perdeden bin perdebâzı*
ki kılur her biri çenberde bâzî
"From beyond the curtain there appeared a thousand musicians (actors)
and each dances in a circle"

4214 *çü gök göz yumdı gösterdi kara kaş*
çıkardı çarh-ı çiniden kamer baş
"When the night closed its eyes (went to sleep) and showed
(only) its dark brows (night)
the moon reared its head from beyond the Chinese horizon"

4215 *duhânî çâder örtindi zamâne*
tumân göñlek geyürdi âsumâne
"The smoke-coloured tent was spread over the spheres of time
and the sky donned a shirt and sherryvallies"

5373 *bürinmiş yir yüzi çetr-i siyâhî*
yahu damında kalmış mürg-i mâhî
"The earth was covered by a black tent
By God! A moon bird stands upon the roof"

Gülşehri, Şeyh-i San'an
kara kemhayı çıkarur ruzigâr
kim kızıl atlâs geye gevhernigâr
"The wind takes the black brocade (night)
the jeweller dons the red satin (sun)"

Another literary device often used in Turkish epic poetry to describe nightfall and daybreak refers to precious stones, jewels, and pearls – most typically to their colours, such as gold, blue, white, black, or red.

Hurşidname
1303 *saçıldı hurde-i mînâ çemende*
düzildi lü'lü-i la'lâ semende
"He spilled the red wine upon the meadow
and arranged ruby pearls upon jasmine"

1304 *felek geydi kâba-yı lâjverdi*
cihân urdı başına tâc-ı zerdi
"The sky donned an azure cape (sky)
and the world (earth) placed upon its head a golden crown (sun)"

Hüsrev ü Şirin

1553 *koyup gevherlerini hâzin-i Çin*
zümürrüd dürce urdı kufl-ı zerrin
"The treasurer of China hid the jewels
in an emerald box and closed it with a golden key (sunset)"

5542 *çü gündüz 'ışkına dün çıkdı cândan*
güneş yâkûtı peydâ oldı kândan
"When the night gave its life for love of day
from the (jewel) mine the ruby sun emerged"

Stereotypical expressions of the sort described above may occur within a chain of images, or one basic image may be elaborated upon.

Hüsrev ü Şirin

6386 *meger bir subh kim 'alem gelini*
boyar yüz reng ü al ile elini
"The morn whose hands the bride of this world
paints in a hundred colours and scarlet (henna)"

The examples of metaphorical images of nightfall and daybreak cited above derive largely from Persian literature, although much skill has been invested in their apt transposition into Turkish poetry. The image, while borrowed from Persian literature, was usually phrased in a "Turkish way", and the more sensory images were adjusted to what might be seen in Anatolia. This, in fact, was one of the most common treatments applied in domesticating Persian literature for the benefit of Turkish listeners and readers. Various stylistic and linguistic ministrations enabled translators to – within certain limits – rework the Persian source text, adapting it to the linguistic and stylistic custom of the Turkish sphere and to its habitat. The end result was not so much a translation as an adaptation of the Persian originals.

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BARBARA MICHALAK-PIKULSKA

Reality, Dream and Hallucination in the Literary Works of Muhammad al-Qurmuti

Abstract

Muhammad al-Qurmuti is one of the most eminent of Omani writers. He was born in al-Buraymi in 1955. He is the author of a single volume of short stories, entitled *Sa'at ar-rahil al-multahiba,* which was published in Muscat in 1988. The unequivocally innovative and surrealist short stories that are contained in the volume are filled with the spirit of decadence and catastrophism. And here also the echoes of the philosophy of Schopenhauer, Bergson and Nietzsche are strong. This collection is an excellent example of how well western philosophy, thought and art has acclimatized to the Arab world. Muhammad al-Qurmuti presents the reader with an 'exciting hour of travel' to the land of dreams, desires, illusions, and hallucinations, to a world in which the possible will within a second cease to exist.

Problems of an existential nature enjoyed a sizeable degree of popularity in Omani literature of the 1990s; these concerned questions of living and the purpose of man's existence in the contemporary world. One can mention among the artists that went in this particular direction: Muhammad al-Qurmuti, Muhammad al-Balushi, Yunis al-Akhzami, as well as Ali al-Ma'mari and Yahya al-Mundhari. The work of these writers is often difficult to analyze. They aim to influence the reader's imagination through unusual associations; often on the border of reality and dream or even hallucination. The real world, as it were, dovetails with the spiritual, life with death. The authors often reject chronological narrative, reaching for new means of expression, using retrospection, streams of consciousness with interior monologue; within the narration there is used both direct and indirect speech.

These writers intended to create a new literary reality through the liberation of the writer from the rules of logical thought via the intuitive and spontaneous expression of thoughts and internal experience. They often intentionally distorted the image of the world which was, in their opinion, the terrain for the struggle of the spirit with materiality, or good with evil.

The creative process for them is the recording of the flow of human thoughts and associations which result from the sub consciousness of the creator. Their work, freed from traditional ties of the logic of cause and effect, becomes a set of incidental pictures, a game of associations from the very borderland of dream and reality. Thus, the fictional statement supposes that the source of the reader's knowledge is not reason, but soul; and not acquired knowledge, but an inspired vision. Therefore the perception of a work cannot result from a mechanical analysis of its content, but through the deciphering of the author's thoughts thanks to a spiritual receptivity.

Muhammad al-Qurmuti, despite his modest output, is one of the most eminent of Omani writers. He was born in al-Buraymi in 1955, and went to school and studied in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt. He is the author of a single volume of short stories, entitled *Sa'at ar-rahil al-multahiba* ("The Exciting Hour of Travel"), which was published in Muscat in 1988. The unequivocally innovative and surrealist short stories that are contained in the volume are filled with the spirit of decadence and catastrophism. All of these currents and trends were quite popular in the 20th Century within western cultural circles. And here also the echoes of the philosophy of Schopenhauer, Bergson and Nietzsche are strong. This collection is an excellent example of how well western philosophy, thought and art has acclimatized to the Arab world. Al-Qurmuti's short stories probably play a similar role in contemporary Omani literature to the works of Schulz, Gombrowicz or Witkacy in Polish literature.

Muhammad al-Qurmuti presents the reader with an 'exciting hour of travel' to the land of dreams, desires, illusions, and hallucinations, to a world in which the possible will within a second cease to exist. We are not afraid however to go aboard his plane, and to fasten the seatbelts of oblivion. Our guide will be the narrator and the main hero at the same time, an unknown and undefined "I". A man condemned by fate to eternal wandering and loss somewhere on the border of reality and dream, yet imprisoned in his body by cruel civilization. The world in which he lives is a prison. Tortured he dreams of death. He confides in us: "A black cloud covered my eyes. It took away from me all my senses. It left me only hallucinations which attack my mind and they horrifically torment it"[1]. "I tried with great doggedness to drive out those alien, stubborn and obsessive thoughts"[2].

"Although I was aware of the fact that the world was soon to cease existing, I felt a great sense of relief. There remained only those spectres which constantly flit before

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[1] Muhammad al-Qurmuti, *A ma zilta ta'ihan, ayyuha al-musafir in: Sa'at ar-rahil al-multahiba*, Muscat 1988, p. 78.

[2] Idem, *Hajar walid bi-ittijah*, op. cit., p. 22.

me like mad things. I quickly started to assemble and order my thoughts, so that I could stand face to face with my fate"[3] or: "I travel here and there, but even so I am alone, far from my memory and weakness. I set out between the open towns and the moment which extends the desire for a mysterious departure. A departure to where I would be able to differentiate night and day. Everything became one moment between hunger and desire. It became a certain death. For death is but a moment, and I do not know what this loss is still for"[4].

The pain of existence is for the narrator a torment that cannot be tolerated. He yearns for posthumous peace and freedom. He wants to be a liberated man. He knows that this is possible because he has experienced this in his dreams where he has travelled beyond the gate to the world. We do not expect that a journey with such a guide will be an easy matter. It will be undoubtedly a journey full of impressions, and we will have to bring ourselves to make a great intellectual effort in order not to get lost. For the guide is not going to tell us everything clearly, in fact he will hardly say anything clearly. He is going to confuse us in his utterances, in the utterances of others; he has spoken of extremely varied strange things.

Ecriture automatique ("automatic recording")[5], the uncontrolled stream of associations and interior monologue, is the way in which the narrative is presented in all of Muhammad al-Qurmuti's short stories. This type of narrative which requires from the reader great patience, vigilance and self-abnegation, is very easy to lose oneself in, and to give up on. *Ecriture automatique* is "sport for the intellect". The narrative border between reality and dream, between truth and fairy tale, between reality and nightmare, between sobriety and intoxication is very flexible and enigmatic.

"Tomorrow I will go to school as every day. I can't stand it. We the pupils will meet the teacher there. We will have six classes with him from the very beginning to the end of the day. He always sits in his seat and doesn't get up even for a moment. He repeats the lesson exactly like a tape recorder; he doesn't even alter a single word, not even a letter. I thought of him how he stands in the middle of the class and tells us about the endless power and might of God. At such a moment I can genuinely pray to the Allmighty God, like a real believer. My curiosity was stronger than I was and I asked him in all my naivety: And who created God? On hearing the question the teacher almost fainted and slumped to the floor. I checked his body to make sure he was still alive. My how he lost his temper that blood rushed to his head. He had flushed cheeks like an old donkey carrying a great weight upon his back. One could see in his eyes that he wanted me to strike him in the face, but I crouched so much that I was almost invisible. I knew that I had made a mistake and had sinned. The teacher shouted: You have no right to ask such a question, you are a heathen. Now God will be bad for us and you, he will

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[3] Idem, *Shabab al-hisab*, op. cit., p. 48.

[4] Idem, *A ma zilta ta'ihan, ayyuha al-musafir*, op. cit., pp. 78–79.

[5] *Słownik terminów literackich* ["A Dictionary of Literary Terms"] ed. by J. Sławiński, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1998, p. 119.

punish us, destroy our school. At that moment I felt unbelievably pleased with myself. I felt as if I had overcome the whole of the animosity."[6]

"Night came and immediately a half moon appeared, it distorted its neck as if it were dancing in a country circus. And the sky is going to be all full of waves of the cries of thunder which will finish at dawn with the light of the lightning of Cinderella dreaming at the bottom of the pigsty. Sleepy people filled their tired skulls with pieces of dream and not one of them knew whether to awake or not. Cinderella decided to play with fate therefore she escaped into the world of dreams where the prince is organizing a great ball; he chooses a servant and Cinderella. The prince falls in love with her even though he had never seen her before. Maybe it happened because of her slippers, and maybe he fell in love with the slippers. Cinderella dreamed of a rest, maybe about resting forever. At a certain moment of the night silence restores his joy. The joy awoke the princess running straight to the heart of the beloved prince. And so night changed itself into one great big conspiracy. And so night starts to destroy the prince's and his subjects' kingdom until the moon burns out. Then my daughter comes to me; her face was young and fresh. She laid her head on my breast. We were silent for a long time"[7].

Sometimes, however, the narrator helps the reader by giving him certain pointers. This usually happens when "I" starts to dream, or has some new hallucination or other. He then says: "I suddenly saw myself, as if in a dreamy vision"[8], "Suddenly I glimpsed myself at the end of some road or other"[9], "I saw how I fell into a deep hole, the sort left by earthquakes"[10], "I saw myself at the edge of illusionary graves"[11]. With the help of just such a means of narration the guide leads us around a world of the absurd and paranoiac. Around a world where time does not exist and the places which are to be found there and which we visit are somewhere but one does not know where. They do not fit anywhere on Earth, they do not even have names: "He asked about the name of the place, he was interested whether it was a town, a tribe or a school. They answered him that life is here a green sky. Does that mean that here a tribe has no leader, and a school no headmaster? No. Is there no one here who collects contributions and payments? No. And no one picks up lovers? No... No... Stop talking rubbish"[12]. One can not specify the time and the place of action in such a case. For a thing happens now and never, everywhere and nowhere. The title hour that appears in many places is rather a contractual hour. No one really knows how long it lasts for. It is not even known if it is a measure of time or something totally different. For in a surrealist world things perform a new, imagined function.

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6 Idem, *Masa' al-jum'a*, op. cit., pp. 61–62.

7 Idem, *Al-Qarar*, op. cit., pp. 26–27.

8 Idem, *Sa'at ar-rahil al-multahiba*, op. cit., p. 87.

9 Idem, *Shabah al-hisab*, op. cit., p. 49.

10 Ibid., p. 50.

11 Muhammad al-Qurmuti, *A ma zilta ta'ihan, ayyuha al-musafir*, op. cit., p. 77.

12 Idem, *Masa' al-jum'a*, op. cit., pp. 65–66.

In Al-Qurmuti's short stories time passes differently. As if in a dream, the seconds, minutes, hours and years can change in an instant, time is deprived of linearity and chronology. It is subordinated to the psyche, imagination, flow of thoughts and loose associations of the hero. Events do not have to occur one after another, they do not have to form a chain of cause and effect. The time planes crisscross each other and overlap. The poetics of the sleepy dream disregard logic and likelihood. The dimensions and contours of space in this world are blurred. The laws of physics are replaced by liberated visions which are ruled by desires, dreams and nightmares, and that constitute opposition to the former. As everything takes place in the hero's imagination this world is one with extremely fragile bases for existence. One can say that it would disappear if the said "I" was to stop dreaming.

In each short story, which we can consider to be one adventure, in fact we 'experience' several of them. The short story is composed of several smaller fragments. They are characterized by a lack of any logic whatsoever, which results from the author's use of collage. Absurdity rules within the content and structure of the short story. It provokes, shocks, it often arouses disgust. We are confronted with something that we are simply unable to comprehend: "He ripped off a piece of his liver and placed it in a glass full of red wine.."[13], or "Along the side of the boat there lay coffins. I have no idea where they came from or how they got there. Coffins without dates, names, and addresses. I saw how a child broke away from her mother's grasp, opened up one of them, ripped off a piece of the corpse and dipping it periodically in salt devoured it"[14]. The identity of people and things is doubtful and ambiguous in the world of sleep and dream. People and objects undergo shocking changes: "I looked around. I looked around and I saw worms that were starting to eat my body, and within an instant I was a skeleton. After a while the worms disappeared. There remained only two. They sat next to my head – one to the right, the other to the left. They transformed themselves into policemen with many horns, eyes, tongues and lips"[15]. In certain short stories the narrative "I" calls forth in his monologues images from childhood. They create the myth of happy childhood. A child's happiness, according to him, depends on the child living a full life that is authentic and open. An adult brings with him limitation through convention and social norms. A young man, who is full of cognitive passion and curiosity about the world, gets to know it through intuition, and not intellect. One can see here the influence of Bergson who claimed that real knowledge is not a matter of intellect but of intuition. For intuition allows one to comprehend reality without disfigurement. It seems therefore that for Al-Qurmuti the chief tool in the process of recognition is intuition. Cognition is here a magical act, the discovery of mysteries and the ability to convey this only to the chosen. The chosen one is "I", but the master of magic and the greatest sorceress is equally the mysterious lover: "You should wear a talisman on

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[13] Idem, *Shabah al-hisab*, op. cit., p. 49.

[14] Idem, *A ma zilta ta'ihan, ayyuha al-musafir*, op. cit., p. 83.

[15] Idem, *Shabah al-hisab*, op. cit., p. 50.

your breast. You are very susceptible to magic. You fall in love unaware that you are wandering through the desert of chastity. If you were my lover where are the traces of your sins? I looked in wonder straight into her eyes. The talisman I desire is a jewel hidden inside of me. I will have it one moonlit night, we will be unconsciously drunk. We have got lost somewhere on the road"[16].

One often encounters on the adventurous journey one takes through Muhammad a l - Q u r m u t i's short stories legendary or fabulous characters. Here there is Cinderella, the bird Rukhkh, and even Solomon. A catastrophic mood prevails however. Everything points to the fact that the world will shortly cease to exist: "I heard the last of the early morning news on the radio. It spoke about the approach of the end of the world: some scientist had discovered after many years of research and study into the history of peoples that the world was one day to end. He explained how the world like man has within itself self destructive forces"[17]. If we were to rely only upon visual impressions we would be unable to recreate the images presented. A l - Q u r m u t i has combined elements of movement, sound, colours, the range of light, shade and smell, in other words all those elements which act upon the various human senses. There arise in this way syncretic images which are composed of various elements. He makes use of the method of synesthesia or the transpositionality of some sensations to another[18]. This allows for aural and optical impressions to be combined together with those generated by smell and touch. It helps to create an impressionistic image evoking various subjective impressions in the reader. "Sitting in the hall that led onto the apron which was swarming with aircraft and waiting for the flight was extremely boring. Besides which it stank there of vomit and crude. Alluring announcements and adverts littered the walls the sort that it is sinful to seek"[19]. There dominates in the whole aesthetic tone of the short stories from the collection *Sa'at ar-rahil al-multahiba* abhorrence and disgust. Elements are here displayed which bring sensations of unpleasantness, disgust, sadness, nostalgia and the sense of life's absurdity. The texts of the short stories are filled with words and impressions connected with pain, suffering, deep depression and torment. The momentary inclusion of contrast is designed to increase the negative sensation within the reader, which comes about from the juxtaposition of two opposite things or concepts. It leads to confrontation between things that are important and noble and those that are trivial and comical. The inseparable accomplice of this grotesqueness is the presence, almost at every step, of distortion: "I saw in the court the judge, who looked as if he was the remnants of some species of dinosaur. Scorpions slithered into the chamber. The judge sat at a great bench, and his bushy eyebrows fell straight on her. He hit the octopus-shaped hammer making it clear that the case had started. After a moment the court crier calls the defence lawyer, an anonymous accused and absent witness. Quickly the

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[16] Idem, *Aza al-liqa' al-awwal*, op. cit., p. 12.

[17] Idem, *Shabah al-hisab*, op. cit., p. 47.

[18] *Słownik terminów literackich*, op. cit., p. 551.

[19] Idem, *Sa'at ar-rahil al-multahiba*, op. cit., p. 87.

judge passes sentence: "As a result of the absence of the interested parties in this case I bequeath the proceedings to the Higher Chamber and to fate"[20].

Silence plays an extremely important role in the world of sleep, dreams, illusions and hallucinations. For man can see the most easily into his own soul when there is silence. To see where anxiety lurks. During silence man is seized by sorrow and yearning. The motif of wandering is derived from the yearning for something unknown. This is a motif that is typical for those creators in search of the aim and purpose of life. The wandering and the wanderer recall the passing of life, and such elements as dusk, empty expanses, fog, smoke, running water, a cemetery, a grave, an abyss, the moon or the wind are characteristic for their work. And finally, a detailed look at the Arab stem *r-h-l* says that besides a journey it also means a departure, a passing[21].

The language of Muhammad al-Qurmuti's short stories is close to poetic language. Epic elements are reduced; there is discontinuity in the storyline. Poetic description dominates in the narrative which is enriched by numerous metaphors which aim to surprise, strike or enchant the reader. To constitute for him a demanding solution for the problem, to praise the unknown rationales as well as to create new notions the most common stylistic phenomenon amongst them being animism, as for example: "The planes liked to count the hours, but I can't stand it and the sea as well"[22] or "I caught sight of a drop of water in the corner of the glass's lips. It was like a tear begging for forgiveness"[23]. The language of Muhammad al-Qurmuti's short stories is sensual, vibrant with inner life and personal dynamism. In the short stories there often appear long sentences of complicated syntax, full of diverse figures of speech. All the techniques for artistic expression that are employed by the author, the stylistic means and figures of speech are designed to instil a sense of melancholy, sorrow and despondency within the reader, though also to awaken the reader to reach into the depths of his own being. They express the idea that human life is full of suffering and devoid of meaning. Philosophical monologues appear in the short stories e.g. those involving water, coffee, and a cigarette. Water is the personification of life. Coffee and the cigarette are things that give pleasure and help man in difficult moments. They tempt, presenting the evil world in which man has come to live in a rosy light.

Muhammad al-Qurmuti's pen works with precision extracting from the chaos of thoughts the most important elements of reality and laying them out with great care one next to the other. But the reader is not able to decode the sense of the text outright, although he is able to decipher each of the symbols separately. This is possible when he manages to cast off the controlling mechanism of understanding, break the barrier of being conditioned to everyday reality in order to enter into the realm of liberated imagination. Muhammad al-Qurmuti's ideal is a liberated man. He summons up the principles of human freedom through the help of specific means of expression. This

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[20] Ibid., p. 89.

[21] C.f. Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, New York 1976, 3rd edition, p. 331.

[22] Muhammad al-Qurmuti, *A ma zilta ta'ihan, ayyuha al-musafir*, op. cit., p. 80.

[23] Idem, *Aza al-liqa' al-awwal*, op. cit., p. 6.

allows him to make a choice between good and evil, between order and chaos. He strives for something shocking and unusual. His short stories remind one to a certain degree of Salvadore Dali's pictures. Both are fascinated – revealing the most intimate "I" – with the phenomenon of paranoia, as well as an exhibitionist exploration of their own dreams, desires and obsessions. Their works can arouse not only admiration but also controversy. One thing is certain one cannot accuse them of not creating images which are deeply suggestive and which ingrain themselves in one's memory.

The most characteristic element in Al-Qurmuti's writing is the dazzling elevation in style. He shows in all his short stories superb linguistic versatility, unrestrained energy, poetic sensibility and a subtle choice in wording. His work ushered in a new order – or rather creative chaos heading in a new direction.

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ANNA NAWOLSKA

The Fate as a Literary Hero in the Historical Novel *Abath al-Aqdar* by Najib Mahfuz

Abstract

The Mockery of the Fates is the first novel written by Najib Mahfuz (1911–2006), the Egyptian writer who until the present-day is the only one Arabian Nobel Prize Winner for literature. Since the author became famous rather for his later magnum opus called *The Cairo Trilogy* than previous works, my aim was to remind a little-known quasi-historical novel which was published in his youth. Due to a very interesting composition of the fable with build-up of suspense and its mature literary style, the work might have served for a perfect film screenplay. Despite the book was addressed mainly to teenagers, it still provokes the adult readers to reflect on the question of free will and destiny. The novel based on Mycenaean myths and old Egyptian legends indicates intermingling of ancient cultures and continuity of diverse traditions till these days.

1. Introduction

In the nineteen thirties, during his philosophy studies at the Egyptian University (now Cairo University), Najib Mahfuz began to write short stories and essays on different subjects which were not published until he met Salama Musa (d. 1958). Musa, an Egyptian writer and intellectual of Coptic origin, agreed to publish Mahfuz's historical novels. A characteristic conversation was held between Mahfuz and Musa which illustrates the beginning of their mutual cooperation.

On an occassion whilst visiting the office of the magazine "Al-Majalla al-Jadida", Musa asked Mahfuz if there was a chance that the Egyptian novel would have succeeded in Egypt because most native writers were under European influence and on this basis it would be very difficult to create an original Egyptian literary work. Mahfuz

answered him saying that the Egyptian novel was a new literary genre that was in its initial phase of growth and that he had made his first literary attempts to write some short novels. Taken aback by this response, Musa asked him if they were published. Mahfuz was unsure of the value of his literary output, so he made no reply. However, on a future visit, he presented Musa with the three novels – among them the *Ahlam al-Qarya* ["The rural dreams"][1].

In spite of the fact that Musa admitted that Mahfuz's novels were not suitable for publishing, he still encouraged him not to stop writing. The subject of Mahfuz's first novel was the ancient history of Egypt which he intended to reconstruct in the form of literary fiction similar to what Sir Wiliam Scott did with the history of his country[2]. From the forty topics that he earlier prepared and intended to serve as the setting of the historical novel, Mahfuz used only three.

When Musa delivered the manuscript of his first historical novel, titled *Hikmat Khufu* ["Khufu's Wisdom"], to the editor's office of the "Al-Majalla al-Jadida" magazine, it was suggested that the title would not appeal to contemporary readers. So, it was changed to *Abath al-Aqdar* ["The Mockery of The Fates"] and it was published in a separate, specialist magazine which was issued in September 1939. Thereafter, Mahfuz's two other historical novels were published: *Radobis* in 1943 and *Kifah Tibah* ["The Struggle of Thebes"] in 1944.

Some Egyptian writers have emphasized the profound role of Mahfuz's early historical novels, claiming that his novel *Abath al-Aqdar* serves as the beginning of the national historical Egyptian novel, which explores the glorious past of the Pharaohs and the sense of feudal dignity particular to the Egyptian people. Despite the fact that Mahfuz's novel *Abath al-Aqdar* was not a harbinger of the Egyptian novel itself, the author still deserves to take a prominent place among writers describing the historical era of Pharaohs.

It is well known that there were two predecessors of Mahfuz. The Lebanese writers portrayed the significant events from the history of the Arabs and Islam, one of them, Salim al-Bustani (d. 1884) was the author of the first historical novel *Zenobia* (1871) which referred to Arab history and the other one was Jurji Zaydan (d. 1914). Over twenty three years, Jurji Zaydan wrote twenty-one novels on the history of Islam since the period of the Prophet until the Ottoman coup d'etat in 1908. He popularized the history of the Arabic-Muslim civilization like nobody before him.

The younger generation of writers such as Muhammad Awad Muhmmad, Adil Kamil, Jamal ash-Shayyal, Ibrahim Jalal and Najib Mahfuz (who in their majority graduated from the Cairo University and were under the influence of western historical novels as well as the works of the former Arabic writers) have concentrated mainly on presenting the cultural grounds of the urban and rural environments as well

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[1] M. Moosa, *The early novels of Naguib Mahfouz: images of modern Egypt*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville 1994, p. 22.

[2] Ibid., p. 22.

as the diverse problems of their contemporaries[3]. The fact that they could perceive the similarities between events in the ancient and modern Egypt enabled them to set the historical novel on new national connotations. Najib Mahfuz, the main proponent of the fictionalized historical novel (containing a deep analysis of the various aspects of personality as well as the twists and turns of human nature), had an opportunity to inculcate the moral principles and didactic directions for the Egyptian society. In the thirties, however, on the rising wave of nationalism caused by the political and cultural British domination, interest in the great history of ancient Egypt increased more than ever and became one of the primary subjects of the Egyptian output.

Mahfuz created a psychoanalytic image of his characters which served him in that it presented and described the historical events of contemporary times. He paved the way for future generations of writers who concentrated, to a larger extent than their predecessors, on the behaviors and feelings of their protagonists in the context of past historical accounts. The behavioral analysis of the characters in the Egyptian historical novels came to a climax in the works of Mohammad Farid Abou Hadid (d. 1968), Ibrahim Ramzi, Ali al-Jarim, Mohammad Sayyid al-Uryan and Ahmad Bakathir[4].

Despite the fact that most critics classify Mahfuz's work *Abath al-Aqdar* as the first historical novel based on an ancient Egyptian legend, Mahfuz (in one interview) pointed out "that only one of his three works, *Kifah Tibah*, was strictly a historical novel and the two others: *Abath al-Aqdar* and *Radobis* were fictional novels inspired predominantly by folk epics"[5].

As suggested by the title, the fates, which freely manipulate the characters, play the principal role in the novel representing the fight between the strong will of the Pharaoh and the all-powerful, uncontrollable action of destiny which in the end conquers a "defiant" ruler.

2. The fable of the novel

Khufu (Kheops, 2609–2584 b.c.) was the king of Egypt during the period of domination of the Old Kingdom, the forth dynasty, and the builder of a great pyramid in Gizah. A prophetic prediction given by a sorcerer tells that Khufu's own offspring will not inherit Egypt's throne after him but that it will fall instead to the newborn son of the Priest of Ra. Disconcerted by this prediction, Khufu decided to lead a unit of his palace guard in order to urge the Priest to kill his own son thereby giving Khufu an opportunity to prove his loyalty to the Pharaoh and the Egyptian Kingdom. However, Khufu could not pander to his own whims because the Priest, who learnt of the same prediction, had arranged the escape of the newborn baby, his wife and her faithful maid shortly after

[3] Ibid., p. 23.

[4] Ibid., p. 24.

[5] M.N. Mikhail, *Studies in the short fiction of Mahfuz and Idris*, New York University Press, New York 1992, p. 11.

the arrival of the Pharaoh to the temple – he then committed suicide. In the meantime, Khufu mistakenly killed another newborn baby and mother in the temple, thinking them to be the persons mentioned in the prediction. Khufu then returned to the capital of his Kingdom, Memphis, satisfied that he had saved the throne for his descendants and so prevailed over the prophecy. Later, the mother of Djedef (the son of the Priest) and her maid, Zaya, lost their way and wandered through the desert. Zaya (being the barren herself) then kidnapped Djedef leaving his mother alone in despair. Soon the maid and the baby were captured by Beduins who took them to Sinai, where the soldiers of the Pharaoh carried them back to Memphis. Whilst claiming that Djedef was her son, Zaya began to search for her husband, after being informed that she would find him among the workers building the great tomb. Reaching the tomb, Zaya learnt that her husband was no longer alive and after some time she was assured by Khufu (who was feeling pity for her) that he had issued an order that she and her son would remain on state maintenance. Zaya then married a general supervisor for the construction of the great pyramid and together, with the baby, they moved to the palace where Djedef grew up among the Pharaoh's courtiers. As an adult, Djedef graduated from the Military Academy where he gained the Pharaoh's and Crown Prince's respect because of his top quality diploma and military talents. In the meantime, he fell in love with a beautiful girl from the village who afterwards turned out to be a daughter of the Pharaoh. After saving the Crown Prince's life, Djedef was rewarded with the Supreme Command and during his military expedition to Sinai he unknowingly took his mother into captivity. When the Crown Prince unexpectedly began to conspire against the king to replace his father, Djedef killed him and was afterwards appointed heir to the throne. The novel ends with the Pharaoh's statement on his deathbed noting that despite the fact that he declared war on destiny and opposed the gods, he was eventually defeated by them.

3. The influence of folk epic, myths and legends

Abath al-Aqdar is evidently an abridged version of the legend, mentioned in the James Baikie's book *Hordjedef's Tale*, created from a series of stories called *Khufu and the Magicians*[6]. These were preserved on the Papyrus Westcar in Berlin which were later translated by Najib Mahfuz into the Arabic languge under the title *Misr al-qadima*[7]. Baikie's book describes the daily life in ancient Egypt and, among others, the royal trip by ship on the Nile to Thebes. Similarities can be noted between this and Mahfuz's novel *Abath al-Aqdar* which contains the same Egyptian names and descriptions of the royal family. In order to overdramatize the story, Mahfuz changed the plot of the ancient prophecy concerning the heir to the throne of the Crown Prince. In the Baikie's

[6] M. Moosa, op. cit., p. 22.

[7] Naguib Mahfouz, *Khufu's Wisdom*, transl. by Rymond Stock, The American University in Cairo Press, 2006, p. vi

book, after Khufu's died, the Crown Prince and subsequently Khufu's youngest son inherited the throne. Only later did the royal power fall to the three sons of the Priest of Ra. Moreover, the legend told by Baikie does not raise the question as to whether the Pharaoh, Khufu, tried to get rid of the Priest's sons. In turn, the folk story quoted by Baikie resembles the story cited by Egyptologist James Henry Breasted[8] which was based on the original papyrus manuscript describing the day that the Pharaoh was bored and asked his sons to entertain him. One of his sons, Harzazef, told him that in his Kingdom lived a sorcerer who was able to work miracles even bigger than the protagonists of old stories would have experienced.

The sorcerer was admitted into Pharaoh's presence and after showing his miraculous abilities was asked by the Pharaoh what he knew about his future. The sorcerer answered that the three sons who were thought to be born to the Priest of Ra were in fact begot by the God Ra himself, who appointed them the kings of Egypt. After hearing such a prediction Khufu became sad but the sorcerer explained to him that there was no cause for a concern. He expained that first his son will inherit Egypt's throne after him and thereafter his grandson and only later would the children of the Priest take over royal power .

Therefore, as it can be noted that Mahfuz changed the story told by James Baikie and concentrated mainly on the conflict between man and destiny – a mysterious, relentless and external power – which not only controlls all man's action but also opposes his will and transforms him into a listless puppet.

Yet, the above mentioned ancient Egyptian story is similar to the Greek folk tale about Edyp where Layus, convinced about the death of his son, acts exactly in the same way as Khufu did in *Abath al-Aqdar*[9]. This story is also similar to the biblical myths and in particular the story about Moses being saved from death (which is mentioned also in *Quran*). Moreover, the coincidence of these legends recalls the historical facts which confirm that in the Mycenean times there were many sailors who travelled to Egypt and after they returned they spread stories about wonderful marvels, huge ediffices and sculptures all over Hellada and Crete[10].

By referring to the diverse ancient stories, we notice that Mahfuz was conscious of a mutual intercrossing of myths and various cultures within the centuries. He was anxious to show his compatriots the link between Egypt and the European civilisation in order to convince them that their pasts were worthy of praise and made a great contribution to other cultures. This was important for the Egyptians given that in those times they were under British occupation and needed to be raise their morale when they doubted their own strength.

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[8] M. Moosa, op. cit., p. 26.

[9] M.H. Abdallah, *Al-Islamiya wa-ar-ruhiya fi adab Najib Mahfuz*, Al-Kahira, p. 3.

[10] A. Krawczuk, *Siedmiu przeciw Tebom*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1982, p. 74.

4. The conflict between the man and fate

In the novel *Abath al-Aqdar*, fate plays a superior role in the life of the protagonists. It seems that the author, as a young man, was interested in a discussion on the theory of fatalism which is contradictory to the philosophy of determinism (which is a cause-and-effect relationship). First, Khufu, convinced of his divine omnipotence, tried to fight fate in order to subjugate it to his own will. Then, the Pharaoh discovered the mysterious power of fate in the moment when all that he was going to undertake was thwarted by a chain of events and circumstances which he could not logically explain and after being in opposition to them was doomed to fail.

When, for the first time, the Pharaoh heard the sorcerer's prediction telling that his son would not inherit Egypt's throne after him, he began to consider the relationship between man and his fate. He asked his minister, Hemiunu, if it was possibile to avoid destiny after man had done his best to protect himself against it. Hemiunu answered that he did not have any illusions about this because according to the ancient Egyptian wisdom, the protective measures taken by the man to prevent misfortune do not help to overcome his fate.

Because this sounded very pessimistic, Khufu who was still unconvinced asked the same question of his son, the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince only stared severly at his father in response as he wanted to say that he also did not believe that man could preserve himself from a destiny planned for him in advance regardless of the various applied precautions.

Then Khufu smiled and said that if such was true then they would be agreeing that the creation of the world and life itself (not to mention the rising to eminence) would have made no sense because there would be no difference between labor and laziness, strength and weakness, rebellion and obedience[11]. So Khufu convinced his listeners that fate is nothing more than a false belief which should not be taken into consideration by powerful and sovereign men such as himself. However, the chain of events showed that Khufu was indeed wrong and despite his enormous power he could not defend himself against destiny which determined his life in its entirety. In the end, on his deathbed, Khufu admitted the futility of his efforts to change the course of events.

When recalling the past, Khufu confessed that, more than twenty years previous, he was leading his unit in order to kill a nursing child whom he was convinced was to inherit Egypt's throne after him. However, another child was killed in error and as a result of an ironic twist of fate, the baby who was to be murdered grew up to be the man that he allowed his daughter to marry and to become his successor. Earlier he thought that he had overcome his destiny and secured his son's futures but in the end he was humiliated before Gods who he said "battered my pride"[12]. Khufu's final statement is meaningful

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[11] N. M a h f o u z, *Khufu's Wisdom*, op. cit., p. 17.

[12] Ibid., p. 188.

because his destiny amounted to ordinary coincidence and pure chance, supported by the determined command of divine power, which acts beyond the reach of human will.

Since M a h f u z was brought up in a religious family it could be expected that fate here has Islamic connotations. According to Muslims, fatalism assumes that every event in history is determined by God and is independent of the human being's will – this deprives man of all hope. When exploring the meaning of fatalism, there is a customary phrase, taken by the Muslims from the *Quran*: *In sha allah* which means "If God would wish".

The above-mentioned opinions were diffused by Muslim scholars who claimed that: "Everything that was created by God is good and everything that was not created by Him is evil". Through acceptance of this interpretation, fatalism became an integral part of traditional and folk Islam since its beginnings and this brought about the following consequences:

– people are deprived of hope in wordly life because all their deeds are determined by God.
– lack of individual responsibility for sins, creating the tendency to remain in a state of defeatism or to tyrannize the others; eventually the fatalism which denies the freedom of free choice leads to anarchy or to repressive rules.
– God is burdened with the direct responsibility for all evil and this excludes him absolute welfare and gives the evil (because the eternal God is the cause of evil) its justification in that it makes the God is not a dear father but rather an impersonal power, untouched by the suffering of people.

For example, one of *hadiths* reports that when A'isha, the Mother of Believers, announced that the child has passed away, it was said to her: "It is a good fortune for this child which now is a bird among the other birds living in a paradise", because God said: "do you not know that Allah created paradise and hell as well as those who will inhabit paradise and those who will become the residents of hell?".

As it is well known, the mutazili's doctrine (which originated in the eight century) raised a discourse concerning the difference between man's free will and fate. The mutazili scholars referred among others to the verse of the *Quran* stating that: "The person who does good is doing it for the sake of himself and the person who does evil is doing it against himself"[13]. This verse is in opposition to the *Quranic* divine *mashiya* which means that everything that we are doing is consistent with the "divine's deep desire" and is written down in a heavenly register and should be perceived by believers; the mutazili explain that *mashiya* is not an act of divine will *(irada)* or moral dictate (*amr*)[14] imposed on the human but rather an eternal intention and the genius of God's creation which as a metaphysical being does not contradicts the free will of a human being.

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[13] Ibid., p. 631.

[14] H. C o r b i n, *Historia filozofii muzułmańskiej*, transl. by K. P a c h n i a k, Dialog, Warszawa 2005, p. 103.

Therefore, according to mutazili's teachings, Islam does not justify the ruler's wicked deeds and also does not allow them exemption from their responsibilities or to get away scot-free. Hence, it seems that Mahfuz's wish was to change the mentality of the Eyptian people and incline them to fight against fatalism which has formed an inseparable part of their folk tradition for many centuries.

Finally, after Djedef's killing of the Pharaoh's son (who schemed against his father), the Pharaoh's will coincides with destiny which means that the author of the *Abath al- Aqdar* equipped Khufu with reasonable and logical thought which allowed him to solve his problems in an identical way as it was planned by fate. Yet, levelling the Pharaoh's will with the fate determined by God, Mahfuz aimed to underline that a rational comprehension of phenomenons and their cause-and-effect perception plays an important role in a man's life.

Moreover, Mahfuz's novel like mostly *adab* literature seems to be a kind of a didactic manual not only for rulers but also for ordinary people who when taking decision should be guided by common sense and thereby make use of their free choice and will.

5. The imaginary Pharaoh

Mahfuz uses Islamic terminology through the preislamic meaning of words – for example, he prefers the word *sahaba*[15] (companions) to *hashiya* to desribe Khufu's royal military guard and the Quranic's designation *hawari* (apostle)[16] to describe the commander of his army. It seems that this kind of terminology (taken directly from the Islamic vocabulary) introduces the reader to a contemporary Islamic atmosphere in order to illustrate the ruler's attitude to his people. The Greek toponymy as Thebes and Memphis as well as the Coptic name "On" for the Greek designation of the Heliopolis city or it's ancient Egyptian equivalent (Junu) presents Egypt as a country which was famous for its cultural diversity.

Mahfuz, being overwhelmingly influenced by Greek philosophy and accounts of Herodot and Strabon, gave the places Greek names and adopted Plato's conception of the king-philosopher in his creation of Khufu's character. Already at the start of the novel, the Pharaoh appears as a completely shaped figure with clear features. The detailed descriptions, dialogues and (in particular) the accounts concerning the meetings of the Pharaoh's family members as well as the depictions of the royal library, pompous receptions (celebrating the hunting) and the educational system in Egypt are a reflection of ideas and imagination of the author[17].

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[15] M. Moosa, op. cit., p. 28.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

The excessive abundance of descriptions might occasionally seem superfluous but M a h f u z's intention was to present nothing but the authenticy of events without an in-depth analysis or reconstruction of the ancient history of Egypt. Therefore, he met some difficulties when placing the characters in appropriate perspective.

Because in ancient Egyptian legend, transmitted since the time of the Khufu's reign, there was not much information on the Pharaoh's daily life, his thoughts and conversations with others, M a h f u z was compelled to use the specific form of narration including a variety of characters and events covered only by a thin layer of the historical facts.

The novel *Abath al-Aqdar* begins by presenting the Pharaoh's attributes on two extremes. In the first, Khufu (son of Khnum) appears as a Possessor of Divine Grandeur, an absolute ruler who usurps the divine origin and deprives his subjects of the opportunity to criticize the government and his divine representatives. In the other, Khufu suddenly evolved into his own subject which is depicted in one of the family gatherings: "In them he became a companionable father and affectionate friend, as he and those closest to him took refuge in gossip and casual conversation. They discussed subjects both trivial and important, trading humorous stories, settling sundry affairs, and determining people's destinies"[18].

Therefore, the Khufu created by M a h f u z is not only a divine ruler of Egypt to whom nobody can oppose but also a sensitive, compassionate man who loves his family and takes care of his friends. This unexpected conversion seems to be not only bizarre but also totally unpredictable and prompts us to ask why... Does a transformation of God equaling with sun, wielding power and deriding a trivialism of humankind, not mean that He descended from heaven to earth to the material world?

The duality of nature used by M a h f u z humanizes the image of a new ruler who becomes an imaginary idea of the ancient Pharaoh. In a dialogue between Khufu and his architect, Mirabu, concerning the construction of the greatest tomb-pyramid, Maribu emphasizes the extraordinary efforts of millions workers who over ten years, have accomplished things that giants and devils could not have done"[19]. and their hard labor is a "splendid religious obligation, a duty to the deity to whom they pray, and a form of obedience owed to the title of him who sits upon the throne"[20].

Because the people forced into submission are mere tools in an absolute ruler's hands and their unquestioning obedience is part of their religious duty, M a h f u z's Pharaoh equates himself with God and equates divine and earthly submission in a common system brought into existence without force. The Pharaoh therefore becomes a ruler shaped in modern fashion, who rather like a Muslim caliph or a French king is asking: "Was it right for so many worthy souls to be expended for the sake of his personal exaltation? Was it proper for him to rule over so noble a people, who had only one goal – his own happiness?"[21]

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[18] N. M a h f o u z, *Khufu's Wisdom*, op. cit., p. 4.

[19] Ibid., p. 5.

[20] Ibid., p. 8.

[21] Ibid.

All of a sudden, this inner whispering of the Pharaoh is changed into the question put to his friends: "Who should give up their life for the benefit of the other: the people for Pharaoh or Pharaoh for the people?"[22]

How it could be possible for a sovereign ruler to pose such a question – a ruler who forced people to abandon their rural abodes and coerced them into backbreaking work in the construction of his tomb which lasted twenty years? It seems that it is only possibile in the author's imagination, the author who when presenting the fictional Pharaoh possessing human attributes is searching for a harmony between the extremities: dictatorship – democracy, God – humankind, heaven – earth and independence – slavery.

For the Pharaoh, the dictator would not be troubled by human existence except as it relates to his own divinity. When the Pharaoh was filled with serious misgivings, Arbu, the commander of his army called out: "All of us together – people, commanders and priests – would give our lives for Pharaoh"[23].

These words reflect a victory of the Pharaoh's comprehensive divinity over his material and human figure. Hemiunu, the Pharaoh's minister added: "My lord, Your Divine Majesty! Why differentiate your lofty self from the people of Egypt, as one would the head from the heart or the soul from the body?"[24]

Hemiunu's statement attempts to dissolve the dissonance which evoked the dissatisfation of the Prince Khafra, heir to the throne, who demanded that human components not be combined with the divine rule of his father, and said to him: "You rule according to the wish of the gods, not by the will of men. It is up to you to govern the people as you desire, not to ask yourself what you should do when they ask you"[25].

Khufu treated Khafra's speech as one directed toward the omnipotent Pharaoh of Egypt who could not reject tyranny (which was a primary component of an absolute regime since the dawn of time) and when attempting to institutionalize the dictate, he justified himself with these words: "And what is Egypt but a great work that would not have been undertaken if not for the sacrificies of individuals? And of what value is the life of an individual? It equals not a single dry tear to one who looks to the far future and grand plan. For this I would be cruel without any qualms"[26].

There was a conversation between Khufu and his chief architect, Mirabu, in which the Pharaoh states that divinity is nothing more than rule and power. Next, Mirabu answers Khufu that divinity means also a compassion and love.

It seems that Mahfuz, when presenting the Pharaoh as a person who sacrificed his subjects in order to build the great nation, thought about him as a symbol of the Egyptian latter-day king who (regardless of the difficult situation in which Egypt was involved) put a lot of effort into transforming the country from one that was backward to one that was considered advanced.

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[22] Ibid., p. 9.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., pp. 9–10.

6. The clash of fictional and historical facts

There are some depictions in *Abath al-Aqdar* showing that M a h f u z preferred literary effects to period accuracy. For example, the horses and wheeled vehicles or chariots were not known in the Old Kingdom until the 1788 b.c. when the Hyksos conquered Egypt and brought the horses there[27]. There is also no evidence that studios were hired out by painters in those times; that the advertisements of their artistic creations were placed in public places or that the miniature portraits were carried under one's clothes.

Although the mention of people possessing gold and silver money differs from the historical truth (because of a barter exchange in the Old Kingdom) there were some transactions involving golden and copper rings, at fixed weights, which were in circulation as currency[28]. The depiction of the educational system during Khufu's rule seems to be identical to the contemporary Egyptian education of M a h f u z's youth, including the higher education institutions (examples are The Ptah University and The Institute of Fine Arts) that, on behalf of Khufu or The Military Academy, Djedef, the coming Pharaoh, was a graduate. The description of the supervisor's study which is located on the construction site of the pyramid reminds us of the interior of the office of a public institution in modern Cairo or in another contemporary city. It is beyond all doubt that the historical Khufu who believed that he was the highest God ruling over his state and people could debate his royal divinity or try to define it in any way. The "Good God" was one of his titles in the Old Kingdom, adored by his people. So, the image of Khufu reminds us rather the Islamic ruler, Plato`s or French king rather than the divine Pharaoh.

7. Summary

In summary, it should be said that M a h f u z, when presenting the conflict between man and fate, praised the wisdom of a king who regardless of the predictions given to him by the sorcerer, made the right decision in the end. The author showed contempt for fatalism and superstitions which were (and still are) the main axis of the religious mentality of the Muslim majority. He felt that such diverted them from logical thinking with the result that they could not break free from their cultural and economic backwardness. The building of the gorgeous pyramid that reached toward heaven was a symbol of the indestructible power of Egypt which will last into the future, only thanks to the great efforts of the Egyptian people and their wise rulers. Some descriptions referring to the contemporary world mixed with its ancient counterparts, the Greek and Coptic toponymy as well as the tale itself (based on the old Egyptian legends which were transmitted to the Mycenaes) suggest that Egypt was not only the primary source of cultural and historical heritage in Europe but also a continuation of ancient European thought. The aim of the

[27] M. M o o s a, op. cit., p. 32.
[28] Ibid.

author was to lift the spirit of the modern Egyptians (being at the time under British occupation) and to convince them that Egypt's wonderful past could be restored, but only when they built a new future based on their own marvelous "pyramid" for the glory of the entire nation. Some elements of the surroundings such as the educational system; the modern appearance of the offices on a building site and the horses and carriages do recall the country from the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century rather than the era of the Old Kingdom. However, because the novel brings the readers closer to a very realistic world and despite the fact that the M a h f u z's first published book was meant for teenagers rather than adults, it still contains a very mature message for contemporary readers.

باب التاريخ

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EVA-MARIA VON KEMNITZ

The Centenary of the Republic and the Republic of Letters: Arabic Studies in Portugal 1910–2010

Abstract

The present essay deals with a specific phase in which Arabic language has been introduced as a new discipline in the university curriculum in Portugal. From 1914 until 1974 it was taught practically in only one university, after 1974 new universities were created and some of them have included this discipline in their curricula mainly as an optional subject or a free course model. We shall analyse the conditions in which its study has been carried out and the principal factors that contributed to the advancement of this discipline. This essay is based on the bibliography listed below that covers a significant part of the chronology considered and is complemented by recollection of information from scattered sources of differentiated reliability, pamphlets issued by universities and other institutions and in some cases on oral basis only. Therefore certain gaps or inaccuracy of dates may involuntarily occur.

The proclamation of the Portuguese Republic on October 5th 1910 influenced the country's evolution in multiple ways. Among others it had a deep impact on culture and education. The latter underwent many structural changes and one of them was the creation of the Lisbon University (*Universidade de Lisboa*, 1911)[1] that evolved from a former body of the *Curso Superior de Letras* putting thus an end to Coimbra's monopoly in the academic landscape of Portugal and introducing new disciplines taught at university level. This applied also to Arabic language as a chair of it was established at the Lisbon University in 1914.

[1] Decree published at the *Diário do Governo*, nº 109, May 11th 1911.

This decision changed completely the hitherto practice followed in Portugal as far as teaching of Arabic was concerned. Compared to other European countries Portugal was a new comer in this field despite its longstanding contacts with Arab-Islamic realities first in its own territory as far as today's Portugal made part of the al-Andalus (714/716–1249) and where a part of Muslim population remained after the end of the reconquest formally until 1521. Furthermore in the wake of the Portuguese overseas expansion (Ceuta, 1415) new contacts with Arabs and Muslims in Africa and Asia arose in which Arabic was widely used as a language of diplomacy and trade.

The first chair of Arabic language was instituted in 1772 and functioned during five years only to be restored in 1794[2]. Portugal offers a unique case in the European context in which Arabic language was taught exclusively in the framework of an ecclesiastical institution namely within the Franciscan order at the Convent of the *Nossa Senhora de Jesus* at Lisbon. The teachers and principal Arabists were friars. The interest in Arabic language and its teaching at that time derived from a very specific political conjuncture of a new diplomatic relationship with the Barbary states and it required people skilled not only in Arabic language but also knowledgeable in political, religious and economic matters of this region[3]. The chair of Arabic functioned with much success up to the 30ties of the 19th century and afterwards with some ups and downs and two reorganizations until 1869 when it became formally abolished because considered of no direct interest for the Portuguese diplomacy focussed at that time on the Sub-Saharan Africa[4].

Despite this abrupt shift that occurred in the orientation of Portugal's policies towards the Maghreb, it was the diplomatic sector that still showed interest in Arabic studies in the wake of monarchic diplomats like the Colaço family[5]. At the beginning of the 20th century José de Esaguy[6] continued this erudite tradition researching history of Portuguese-Moroccan relations[7], promoted archaeological excavations at the Wadi al-Makhazin (1938–1939) and prepared practical manuals for learning Arabic[8].

The institution of the chair of Arabic language at the Faculty of Letters in 1914 brought this subject for the first time at the university forum in Portugal[9]. David

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[2] J. Figanier (1949), passim; A. Sidarus (1986).

[3] E.-M. von Kemnitz (2010), passim.

[4] The two reorganizations occurred in: 1836 and 1844. The Decree that abolished the course of Arabic was issued on December 18th 1869, published in the *Diário do Governo* of December 23rd 1869. Cf.: L.F. Thomaz (1996), p. 391; E.-M. von Kemnitz (2010), pp. 371–378 and 511–516.

[5] J. Forjaz (2004), passim; E.-M. von Kemnitz (2010), pp. 308–315; 535–536.

[6] José de Esaguy (1899–1944), graduated from the Political Sciences Department at the Toulouse University, appointed chancellor of the Portuguese consulate at Tanger in 1934. Member of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* and of the *Instituto de Coimbra*. Cf: *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. IX, pp. 981–982; L.J. da Costa (1938), p. 6.

[7] *Marrocos (Marrocos Misterioso, Historico e Monumental* (1933); *Relato Inédito sobre o Dezembarque d'El Rei D. Sebastião em Tânger* (1935); Cartas *do Diplomata Jorge Pedro Colaço* (1937).

[8] *Vocabulário Português-Arabe* (1936) and *Elementos de Gramática Árabe* (1936).

[9] To be exact we have to mention the appointment of Paulo Hodar as professor of Hebrew and Arabic at the University of Coimbra in 1773. In fact he never taught Arabic for the lack of students interested in the subject. Cf.: M.A. Rodrigues (1971), p. XXXIII; M.A. Rodrigues (1985), p. 5.

Lopes[10] was the professor appointed[11] and given the above mentioned circumstances his academic preparation in this field was naturally obtained abroad. He took his degree in Arabic at the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris and pursued his studies at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* (1889–1892)[12]. His stay in Paris made him acquainted with new methodologies of linguistic and historical research. Already for the 10th Congress of the Orientalists convened at Lisbon in 1892[13] he prepared his first study published by the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa – Extractos da Conquista do Yaman pelos Othomanos. Contribuições para a História do Estabelecimento dos Portugueses na Índia* (1892). His principal interests and research were centred on philology and history of the Portuguese presence in Morocco and in the Orient mainly in the 16th century. In this field David Lopes published a lot. Here we shall mention only his most relevant publications[14]: *História dos Portugueses no Malabar* (1898); *Textos em Ajamia Portuguesa* (1897 and 2nd revised and updated version in 1940); *Anais de Arzila de Bernardo Rodrigues* (1920); *História de Arzila durante o Domínio Portugues* (1925); *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* (1939); *Cousas Luso-Marroquinas* (1942).

His close contacts with other scholars and scientific bodies projected his writings for an enlarged international audience and his regular participation in international congresses made his name known and his work appreciated abroad. The early recognition of his merit led to a honourable invitation to participate in a large-scale project on sources for the history of Morocco present in foreign archives developed by his colleagues Pierre de Cenival and Robert Ricard in France. David Lopes was also a member of important national and foreign scholarly bodies like the *Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa* (1906), the *Academia de Historia de Madrid* and the *Académie Arabe de Damas*[15].

His activity as professor of Arabic at the Faculty of Letters, post that he held until 1937, contributed largely to stirring up interest in Arabic and in Arab culture and history among his students. His successor Joaquim Figanier originated from this group. Some other among David Lopes' students enriched the country's scholarly stage with many valuable contributions concerning the history of the Portugal's Islamic period and in the field of philological studies[16].

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[10] David de Melo Lopes (1867–1842), usually referred to as David Lopes. After his return to Portugal he obtained his degree in Romanic Philology in 1895 and worked initially as professor of French language and literature until 1914. Cf.: R. Ricard (1945), p. 8. provides a list of principal publications of David Lopes.

[11] Decree of August 17th 1914 published in the *Diário do Governo*, nº 205, 2nd Series of September 2nd 1914.

[12] R. Ricard (1945), p. 7; *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura*, s/d, vol. XII, p. 494.

[13] Short before the date established for the opening the Lisbon Congress was cancelled. The so called "anti-10th Congress" took place in London in the same year. Cf.: J.D. Ramos (1996), p. 135; E.-M. von Kemnitz (2010), pp. 507–509.

[14] For the complete list of David Lopes' publications see: J.P. Machado (1967), pp. 125–129; J.A. Freiras Gonçalves (2007), pp. 70–71.

[15] J. Figanier (1945), p. 135; R. Ricard (1945), pp. 12–13.

[16] Let us mention: Luis Filipe Lindley Cintra, José Pedro Machado, José D. Garcia Domingues, Francisco José Veloso.

The premature death of Abílio Roseira in 1935[17], made David Lopes indicate another of his students to pursue the specialization in this field. It was Joaquim Figanier[18] who was granted a two years scholarship that enabled him to study at the *Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines* in Rabat. Upon his return to Portugal he taught at the Lisbon University in 1938–1939, again in 1941–1942 having obtained his appointment as professor in 1943[19]. In 1946 the chair of Arabic was transferred to the *Instituto de Linguas Africanas e Orientais* that emerged as result of the reorganization of the *Escola Superior Colonial* preparing overseas officers staff substituted by the *Instituto de Ciencias Sociais e Política Ultramarina* in which Professor Figanier taught Arabic with some interruptions until 1959[20]. His teaching at an irregular basis at the university had naturally a corollary in the difficulty of developing a regular university career that had impact on the output of his scholarly production. Despite this not comfortable situation Joaquim Figanier published extensively on Arabic studies in Portugal producing a general encompassing essay on the subject (1945)[21] and another monographic study dedicated to the pioneer of Arab studies Friar João de Sousa and his epoch (1949)[22]. Like his master and predecessor he paid much attention to the Portuguese expansion in North Africa having produced a historical study on Agadir (1945)[23]. Furthermore he was author of a comprehensive numismatic study (1952)[24].

After his retirement the teaching of Arabic followed an irregular pattern. From 1968 on António Dias Farinha continued it for a short period of time at the same institution.

In the meantime the chair of Arabic was restored at the University of Lisbon[25] but in reality the course began only in 1965 with Pedro Cunha Serra[26]. This scholar studied in Madrid having obtained his Ph.D. degree in 1961 at the Faculty of Philosophy

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[17] Abílio Manuel Roseira (1898–1935) took his degree in Arabic at the *Escuela de Estudios Arabes in Madrid*. Cf.: J.P. Machado (1964), p. 30; J.P. Machado (1973), pp. 470–475; A. Dias Farinha (1978), pp. 302–303.

[18] Joaquim Fernando Abreu Figanier (1898–1962). Cf.: R. Ricard (1962); See a short bibliographic note by Dias Farinha in *Catálogo da Biblioteca Joaquim Figanier* (1972), pp. IX–XI.

[19] J. Figanier (1945), p. 138.

[20] These interruptions were due to the accumulations of other functions at the secondary school level that did not permit him fully develop his research. Robert Ricard, a French scholar, transmitted this testimony: *Il* [Figanier] *laisse le souvenir d'un parfait honnête homme que des circonstances défavorables empêchèrent de remplir tout son mérite et à qui nous devons une estime et une gratitude particulières pour l'effort scientifique qu'il ne relâcha jamais dans des conditions parfois ingrates et difficiles*. Cf.: R. Ricard (1962), p. 468.

[21] *Contribuição para o estudo da cultura arábica em Portugal*.

[22] *Frei João de Sousa, Mestre e Interprete da Língua Arábica*.

[23] *História de Santa Cruz de Cabo de Gué (Agadir)*.

[24] *Les Monnaies de Quatorze Dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique du Nord*.

[25] In 1957.

[26] Pedro Cunha Serra (1919–2002). Graduated from the Department of Classical Philology at the University of Lisbon (1943). Cf: A. Sidarus (2005), *Necrologicas – Pedro Maria da Rocha Cunha Serra (1919–2002)*, "Aljamia", nº 17, Universidad de Oviedo, pp. 49–55. This brief obituary notice comprises also a listing of his principal publications.

and Letters with his dissertation on: *Contribuição topo-antroponímica para o estudo do povoamento do noroeste peninsular*, published in 1967[27]. His specialization was centred on philological studies and mainly on toponymy that contributed to a better exploitation of Arabic and Latin sources concerning early settlements during the Islamic period[28]. Pedro Cunha Serra held his position until his retirement in 1988.

It was António Dias Farinha[29] who followed into his footsteps. In order to ensure the continuity of the Arabic chair at the University of Lisbon (*Universidade de Lisboa*) he resigned from his post at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*. Historian, physician and Arabist Dias Farinha also studied Arabic abroad at the *Ecole Nationale des Langues Vivantes* in Paris 1964–1967[30]. His research regards mainly the overseas expansion in Morocco: *História de Mazagão durante o domínio Filipino* (1970), *Os xarifes de Marrocos-Notas sobre a Expansão portuguesa no Norte de Africa* (1983); *Portugal e Marrocos no século XV* (1990) and *Os Portugueses em Marrocos* (1999)[31]. Apart from his university activities Dias Farinha served as Secretary General of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon and for his academic achievements was awarded a Golden Medal for Culture by the ALECSO (2006)[32]. Many of his students carry out research in the field of history with much success but none of them is an Arabist properly said. Dias Farinha's retirement from the University in 2010 leaves the issue of his succession open and raises again the question of the future of the Arabic chair[33] at the *Universidade de Lisboa*.

The prospect does not seem very bright as the impossibility or incapacity to develop an enlarged curriculum over the past years including diversified subjects like Arabic history, literature, sociology, arts, Islam and contemporary issues of the Arab-Islamic world is in fact a regrettable failure. The University that accepted the challenge by instituting the chair of Arabic in 1914 apparently did not know how to cope with it as Arabic has always been an optional subject integrated in the Department of History and History of Overseas Expansion but never a subject on his own capable of encouraging and implementing an independent development. The most blatant issue is the chronic lack of human resources produced by the university to run teaching and promote research in this field.

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[27] A letter by Pedro Cunha Serra addressed to the author of this paper, dated May 12th 1986.

[28] Among his most relevant publications we should single out: *Alguns Topónimos Peninsulares de Origem Arábica* (1967, 1981); *Sobre a intercultura entre Mouros e cristãos* (1973); *A Influência Árabe na Península Ibérica: Aspectos da sua Dimensão e Profundidade* (1986).

[29] António Dias Farinha (born 1940, Lisbon).

[30] E.-M. von Kemnitz (1987), p. 33.

[31] Dias Farinha edited and prefaced an important 17th century chronicle *Crónica de Almansor, Sultão de Marrocos (1578–1603) by António Saldanha* (1997) and published also works of philological nature: *Contribuição para o estudo das palavras portuguesas derivadas do árabe hispânico* (1974) and *A civilização árabe na obra de Alexandre Herculano* (1977).

[32] The ceremony took place at the Academy of Sciences on June 5th 2006. Cf.: The invitation issued by the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*. In 1834 this institution inherited the building and the library of the former Convent of the *Nossa Senhora de Jesus* – the first institution in Portugal that offered classes of Arabic.

[33] In the meantime renamed the *Instituto de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos David Lopes* but offers practically no more than Arabic classes and some elements of history related to the *Al-Andalus* and the Portuguese overseas expansion.

This brief evocation of the history of the Arabic chair at the University of Lisbon does not cover however the whole panorama of Arabic studies in the country. In 1965 the teaching of Arabic was restored at the University of Coimbra the classes being given according to existing and very variable demand by Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, a Hebraist and Arabist.

1964 can be viewed as a turning mark in the overall process as it marks the beginning of institutionalised dissemination of Arab Islamic issues outside the structure of the university. The first centre of this kind was the Section of Luso-Arabic Studies established in the framework of the venerable *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*[34] that has pursued lectures and conferences with differentiated regularity. At the same time surfaced another body the *Circulo David Lopes* named after the aforementioned Arabist that promoted activities related to Arab culture and edited publications focussing on Arab heritage of the country[35].

In this context the organization of the 4th Congress of Arab and Islamic Studies in Lisbon and Coimbra in 1968 was an event of some importance. It provided occasion for renewed proposals of the urging necessity of fostering Arabic studies in Portugal and further enhance the knowledge of its Arab-Islamic legacy[36].

The institution of the *Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa* in 1968 representing the Sunni community constituted another important moment with far reaching effects as far as among its objectives the teaching of Arabic and the dissemination of knowledge of Islam as religion and culture were included. Its founder Suleyman Valy Mamede[37] was a lawyer and a tireless defender of the Muslim cause in the Portuguese press. He edited the first magazine devoted to issues of Islam and Arab culture in Portuguese 1968–1994 and founded the *Centro Português de Estudos Islâmicos* in 1988. The presence and the growth of this Muslim community constituted by Portuguese Muslims from the overseas territories that chose to settle in continental Portugal after 1974 had some impact on the visibility of issues related to Islam either in the national context or at a later stage as related to international perception of Islam.

A decisive change occurred in 1974 with the *Carnations Revolution* that on one hand led to the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Arab countries followed by economic and cultural exchange and on the other hand like the previous revolution of 1910 it influenced the reorganization of university structures. Subsequently the so

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[34] This institution founded in 1875 to foster the scientific exploration of Africa and specially that of the Portuguese African Colonies was the institution that convened the 1oth International Congress of Orientalists to Lisbon in 1892 and supported Oriental studies through publication of many works in this field. Cf.: J.D. Ramos (1996), p. 135; E.-M. von Kemnitz (2010), 507–509.

[35] Created due to the initiative of José Pedro Machado it had unfortunately a short lived existence 1964–1970 as many other cultural institutions in Portugal.

[36] See the intervention of Manuel Augusto Rodrigues at the closing session. Cf.: *ACTAS do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos* (1971), pp. XXXIV–XXXV.

[37] Suleyman Valy Mamede (1937–1995) of Indian extraction was born in Mozambique and came as student to Lisbon in 1960.

called "new universities" were created with the objective of fostering regional centres of university education.

Among them, the University Institute of Évora, later renamed the University of Évora, created a two-years Free Course of Arab Language and Culture in 1978 offering thus not only the classes of Arabic but included also the classes of Arab history, literature and history of art. This innovative approach was due to initiative of Adel Yussef Sidarus[38], an Egyptian naturalized Portuguese who assumed the direction of the course. The launch of the course was meant as a first step towards developing a future centre of Arabic studies in a university located in the Alentejo region rich in monuments of Arab-Islamic past. This promising experience was unfortunately short-lived due to manifold difficulties some of bureaucratic nature.

In 1981 the Second Session of Experts dealing with the Arab cultural legacy in Europe organized by UNESCO took place in Lisbon what may be regarded as another attempt to vivify the national interest in this field. "The Arab literature in Europe"[39] was the theme of this meeting that had the participation of Adel Yussef Sidarus, António Dias Farinha, Roberto Gulbenkian and Suleyman Valy Mamede.

As part of the dynamics created in the meantime, Portugal hosted the 11th Congress of the UAEI which sessions took place in Évora, Faro and Silves in 1982. All of these towns played an important political and cultural role in the *Gharb al-Andalus* as the today's territory of Portugal is referred to in general terms during the Islamic dominion. The organization of this scientific event arose anew a debate on the necessity of fostering Arabic studies in Portugal[40] linked to the question of research focussing different aspects of Arab-Islamic culture both in the national and international framework. A few important contributions on the development of Arabic studies in Portugal in the past were presented on this occasion[41].

Another Free Course of Arabic and Arab Culture was instituted at the Algarve University in Faro in 1983 and was run by José D. Garcia Domingues until 1988. José Garcia Domingues[42], philosopher and Arabist having been denied a university

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[38] Adel Yussef Sidarus (1941, Cairo), obtained his Ph.D. degree from the Munich University in 1973. Arabist and an internationally renowned specialist of Coptic studies. Professor of Arabic and Islamic studies at the University of Évora 1977–2008, retired 2009. Currently visiting professor and research fellow at the *Instituto de Estudos Orientais* at the Portuguese Catholic University of Lisbon.

[39] In the context of this essay we are happy to recall that Poland was represented by Professor Dr. Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska who presented an encompassing paper on reception and translations of Arab literature in Eastern Europe [original title: *La literature arabe en l'Europe de l'Est*] including the situation in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Soviet Union.

[40] See the opening address of the Portuguese Minister of Culture and Scientific Coordination at the Congress: F. Lucas Pires (1971), *ACTAS* … pp. 29–32. It was echoed by the Portuguese press: *Cultura árabe em Portugal – uma história a recomeçar*, "Expresso", October 9th, 1982, pp. 25–27; *Árabe em Portugal: língua morta?*, "Expresso", October 16th, 1982, p. 29.

[41] A. Sidarus (1986), pp. 37–54 and 55–73; J.P. Gomes (1986), pp. 147–154.

[42] José Domingos Garcia Domingues (1910–1989). Student of David Lopes (1931–1932) at the University of Lisbon and of Fernando Figanier (1952) he pursued his studies at the Universidade Complutense de Madrid and at the University of Cordova. Cf.: E.-M. von Kemnitz (1987), pp. 35 and 37; E.-M. von Kemnitz

career in the field of philosophy by the former regime he switched to Arabic studies and devoted much of his work to historical[43] and philosophical issues in the context of the Islamic past of Portugal having produced several essays on Arab poets and scholars[44] and on Arabic heritage of the Algarve region[45]. His doctoral dissertation on the mystic and religious and political leader Ibn Qasī, has remained regrettably unaccomplished. His long time commitment to Arab culture much influenced by his Silves' origins materialized in creating the *Instituto de Estudos Árabes do Algarve* (1982)[46] with the formal seat in Silves but factually carrying out its principal activities in Lisbon. This non-lucrative private institution of cultural and scientific character was devoted to promoting teaching of Arabic and disseminating the knowledge of Arab culture through lectures, exhibitions, research, editing studies and translations from Arabic. The creation of a museum of Arab Art in Silves was also envisaged although not fulfilled.

Like many of his Portuguese colleagues Garcia Domingues represented a scholar who could not devote his work exclusively to his specialization having been compelled to exercise profession of a secondary school teacher for existential reasons. This precarious situation has affected the lives of José Pedro Machado and António Losa.

José Pedro Machado[47] focussed his interests on philological issues and also on some aspects of Arabic culture in Portugal[48]. His fundamental work on the influence of Arabic in the Portuguese language was the *Influência Arábica no Vocabulário Português* (1958–1961). Furthermore he was author of an annotated Portuguese translation of the *Qu'rān* in 1979[49].

António Losa[50] taught Arabic at the Centre of Humanistic Studies of the Oporto University and later at Braga where he was responsible for a Free Course of Arabic and Arab Culture (1976–1983). He was an assiduous participant in international congresses and wrote on diverse topics ranging from cultural history to numismatics and architecture[51].

(1997), *In memoriam José D. Garcia Domingues* in: J. Garcia Domingues, *Portugal e o al-Andalus,* Lisboa, HUGIN Editores, pp. 35–47. On his complete bibliography see: A. Sidarus (1997), *Bibliografia Arabistica de J.D. Garcia Domingues* in: J. Garcia Domingues, *Portugal...*, pp. 17–33.

[43] *História Luso-Arabe*, first published in 1945 and reedited in 2010 on the occasion of centenary of his birth.

[44] *O mistico louletano Al-Oriani* (1954); *O pensamento filosófico de alfaqui e asceta Abu Imrane de Mértola* (1955)

[45] *Património Arabico-Algarvio* (1956); *Silves* (1989). Most of the essays and minor writings by Garcia Domingues were edited in one volume posthumously. Cf.: J. Garcia Domingues (1997).

[46] The Institute ceased its activities about 1988.

[47] José Pedro Machado (1914–2005), Romanist and Arabist, a current contributor to the *Grande Enciclopedia Luso-Brasileira* and to the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. Member of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon. Cf.: E.-M. von Kemnitz (1987), pp. 31–32; *Guia da Cidade de Lisboa* of September 2005.

[48] See the bibliography annexed.

[49] Published by the Junta Científica de Investigações Ultramarinas and reprinted in 1980.

[50] António Gonçalves Losa (1914–2000), Romanist and Arabist. Studied Arabic in Lisbon and benefited from a traineeship at the University of Madrid (1958). Cf.: A curriculum of António Losa, dated October 2nd, 1984.

[51] Including the Congresses of the UEAI in 1962, 1964, 1982, 1984, 1986.

In this global panorama we have to mention also Martin Velho[52] without doubt the best prepared of all the Portuguese Arabists but who opted for the exclusivity of independent research work not holding any position either within university or outside. He obtained his degree in Arabic from the *Institut des Lettres Orientales* in Beyrouth and in Islamic Sociology from the Saint Joseph University. He studied also Persian at the American University of Beyrouth. Based on throughout knowledge of Arabic Maghribi chronicles he published various studies dealing with the Portuguese medieval history[53].

Fernando Amaro Monteiro[54] represents a scholar who combined academic career with the service in overseas administration in Africa. This interrelation of theory and practice proved fruitful regarding the teaching and research specializing in Islam in the Portuguese Africa from which stemmed his principal publications: *A Guerra em Moçambique e na Guiné* (1989); *O Islão, o Poder e a Guerra (Moçambique 1964–1974)* published in 1993. He lectured on Islam, politics and strategy in Lourenço Marques [Mozambique] and at the *Universidade Livre* (1981–1982) and at the *Universidade Internacional* [both in Lisbon] and at the Portucalense University of Oporto (1987–2000).

Portugal's adhesion to the European Community (1986) and the actual membership in the European Union has had a positive impact insofar as the country became involved in common policies regarding North Africa and Middle East and this circumstance has stimulated interest in languages, culture, economy and politics of these regions creating a new demand in this specific knowledge. Current communitarian policies of multiculturalism and multilinguism have further contributed among others to a greater and more diversified offer of publications available on these subjects mainly translations as well as translations of works of authors from the Arab-Islamic world.

Although Arabic studies did not experience much advancement in terms of regular university curriculum they were nonetheless pursued in terms of research. Adel Y. Sidarus carried out individually the cataloguing of Arab manuscripts in Portuguese libraries[55] and another important project of establishing a critical bibliography of Arab

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[52] Martim Velho de Alcoforado de Barbosa e Sotomayor (1921–1989), graduated from Law Department of the University of Coimbra (1948). After having given up his lawyer's career he pursued his studies in Beirut 1964–1971. Cf.: E.-M. von Kemnitz (1987), p. 32 based on a *curriculum vitae* of Martim Velho, dated, July 1977. Neither indication of the exact date of his passing away nor of the whereabouts of his literary spoils are available at present.

[53] *Um texto árabe de Ibn Bassam de Santarém* (1964); *Varões Árabes Ilustres do Andaluz Ocidental* (1968); *A Magnum Bellum de 1139* (1979); *Estudos Críticos sobre a batalha de Ourique; Incursão de Tashifin ibn 'Ali a Fahs al-Sahab ou o fossado da Ladeia*. Furthermore he translated the *One Thousand and One Nights* into Portuguese (1972) … from French.

[54] Fernando Amaro Monteiro (1935, Lisbon), graduated from the University of Lisbon, obtained his Ph.D. degree from the University Aix-Marseille in 1968. Participated in intelligence missions among Muslim populations in Mozambique and the Portuguese Guinea (1970–1973). Cf.: Curricula of Amaro Monteiro of 1989 and 1997.

[55] *Manuscripts arabes du Portugal* (1978) in: *ACTES du 8ème Congrès de l'UEAI, Aix-en-Provence. La Signification du Bas Moyen-Age dans l'Histoire et la culture du Monde Musulman,* Aix-en-Provence, EDISUD, pp. 283–288; a two-volume catalogue of the Library of the Sciences of Lisbon: *Catálogo de Manuscritos, Série Vermelha,* vol. I (1978) and vol. II (1986); *Manuscritos Árabes em Portugal* (1991) in: *Estudos Orientais,* Lisboa,

Islamic Studies in Portugal[56]. Furthermore Adel Y. Sidarus was responsible for implementing a large-scale research project on the "*Sudeste Peninsular na época árabo-islâmica*" encompassing the study of sources concerning Arab history, literature and Islam (1998–2000) in the South-Western Iberian Peninsula. This project supported by the *Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical* (IICT)[57] enabled to form an international team of scholars who produced three important volumes of studies[58]. Another research project that had a relevant collaboration of Adel Y. Sidarus dealt with the globalizing context of production of knowledge on the Orient in the Portuguese-speaking world (16th–19th centuries) from which a few dissertations arouse but none concerning the Arab Islamic world.

In 1997 the CULTURGEST Foundation promoted a three-day International Seminar focussed on the Contemporary Arab World[59] encompassing panels on politics and society, economy and Islamic banking and on literature, arts and urbanism that brought to Lisbon such scholars as Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Baghat-Korany, Suha Özkan, Mahmud El-Helw and Janusz Danecki amongst others.

A greater global mobility of academic staff stimulated partly by bilateral cultural agreements[60] made available several native Arab speakers mainly Moroccans who have been teaching Arabic in Oporto, Coimbra, Aveiro, Lisbon, Faro and Silves for about ten years.

In a more recent panorama of Oriental scholarship in Portugal we are happy to register what may be regarded as a qualitative change and a new challenge. In 2001 the *Universidade Católica Portuguesa de Lisboa* created the *Instituto de Estudos Orientais* with Luis Filipe Thomaz[61], a well known orientalist educated abroad as its head. The Institute started its programme the following year offering a wide range of subjects

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Instituto Oriental; *Portugal* (1993) in G. Roper (general editor), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts,* London, Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, pp. 623–637.

[56] The *Bibliografia Crítica Luso-Árabe e Islâmica (BICLAI)* started in 1984 and partially published by the Universidade de Évora.

[57] This project was integrated in a wider framework of the PRAXIS XXI started in 1995 that envisaged specifically the advancement of Arab-Islamic and Oriental studies in Portugal in its mission statement.

[58] AAVV, (1999), *Fontes da História de al-Andalus*, Lisboa, IICT; AAVV, (2001), *Islão Minoritário na Península Ibérica (mudéjares, mouriscos, literatura aljamiada): novas pesquisas e perspectivas*, Lisboa, Hugin Editores; SORAVIA, Bruna and SIDARUS, Adel eds. (2005), *Literatura e Cultura no Gharb al-Andalus*, Lisboa, Hugin Editores. Apart from publications the project included also organization of round-tables and seminars.

[59] Integrated in the framework of a week of Arab culture "*Arabs among us*". Cf.: *Os Arabes Entre Nos*, Lisboa, Culturgest, 1997. The author of this paper was charged with scientific organization of this Seminar. One of the objectives was to foster a network among Portuguese and foreign scholars.

[60] With Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt.

[61] Luís Filipe Thomaz (1942), graduated in history from the University of Lisbon (1965), pursued Oriental studies at the *Ècole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (1978–1984) and at the *Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales* (INALCO) specializing in Malay-Indonesian and the cultures of South Western Asia and took a degree in Indian Classical Studies at the *Sorbonne Nouvelle*. Professor of the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa* (1984–2002). This University granted him a Doctorate *Honoris Causa* (2002). A very prolific author in the field of his specializations and a co-founder of the *Instituto de Estudos Orientais* at the *Universidade Católica Portuguesa de Lisboa*.

covering different civilization areas from Japan to the Islamic world and encompassing also ancient India and Oriental Christendom. The teaching staff is composed by Portuguese specialists and some foreigners principally language teachers. Initially a post-graduation in Oriental Studies was available and since 2008 the Institute has been offering also M.A. degrees according to the Bologna system. In 2010 first graduates submitted their M.A. dissertations. There exist agreements with foundations and other institutions in order to ensure the material and human means for pursuing these studies.

We shall conclude saying that as long as Portuguese universities will not be able to consolidate academic structures and establish adequate *curricula* capable of producing their own specialists in the field of Arab and Islamic studies and reinforce global interest going in tune with Portugal's own historical and cultural trajectory in which Arab and Islamic components had played a relevant role in shaping its identity, the advancement of this branch of knowledge will depend on individual endeavours as long as they last. This is not a new diagnostic but it deserves to be remembered[62].

Caxias, October 31st 2010

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[62] The urgency to reorganize Arab-Islamic and Oriental studies has been advocated by José Garcia Domingues, Adel Yussef Sidarus and Luís Filipe Thomaz. Cf.: A. Sidarus (1988); L.F. Thomaz (1996), pp. 406–414.

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R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 133–139)

REV. KRZYSZTOF KOŚCIELNIAK

The Churches of Damascus according to Ibn ʻAsākir (d. 1176). The Destruction of the Church of St. John the Baptist by Caliph Walīd I

Abstract

The Islamic commentators on the Damascus mosque from the eighth to the twelfth centuries demonstrated superiority of Islam to Christianity to reduce the influence of the earlier owners of the sanctuary, giving this holy place the exclusively Muslim meaning. The tradition recorded by Ibn ʻAsākir in his *Tārīḫ madīnat Dimašq* confirms this tendency. Although one can speak about some kind of tolerance in medieval Islam according to the researches of Yohannan Friedmann Muslims faced other religions from the position of a ruling power and were, therefore, able to determine the nature of that relationship in accordance with their world-views and beliefs. This phenomenon explains why from among 15 churches in the first part of the 7th century in Damascus in the 12th century there were only three churches used in the Christian cult, one was partially destroyed, seven were ruined and four were changed into mosques.

The most notable figure of the ʻAsākir family, Abū al-Qāsim ʻAlī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ʻAsākir (1106–1176), known as Ibn ʻAsākir ad-Dimašqī, started his pursuit of religious education at a very young age.[1] Ibn ʻAsākir distinguished himself with his massive *Ta'rīḫ madīnat Dimašq*, historical work helpful to our understanding of the first five centuries of the Islamic history. The hadith master Ibn an-Naǧǧār (d. 980) said about Ibn ʻAsākir, that he was "the imam of hadith scholars in his time and the chief leader in memorization, meticulous verification, thorough knowledge in the sciences of hadith,

[1] S.A. M o u r a d, *Ibn 'Asakir*, in: J.W. M e r i (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, New York–London 2006, p. 351.

trustworthiness, nobility, and excellence in writing and beautiful recitation. He is the seal of this science."[2]

From the time of their birth in Mecca in the 7th century C.E., Islam and the Islamic world rapidly expanded outward. Three years after the death of Muḥammad in 635, Damascus was captured for Islam by Ḫālid Ibn al-Walīd (592–642), the great Muslim general, being the first city to surrender after the battle of the Yarmūk (636). After the murder of ʿAlī, the fourth caliph, his successor Muʿāwiya transferred the seat of the Caliphate from Mecca to Damascus and thus commenced the dynasty of the Umayyads. In 661 AD, Damascus was made the capital of the empire that stretched from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus River basin and from south of France to west of China. Having ruled over Damascus for less than a hundred years, the Umayyad dynasty made a significant contribution to the cultural and artistic heritage of the city.[3]

Living in Damascus in the 12th century Ibn ʻAsākir taught tradition during the Umayyad period. Under Nūr ad-Dīn's patronage Ibn ʻAsākir composed several books but his *Ta'rīḫ madīnat Dimašq* is the largest work of history ever produced by medieval Muslim scholar.[4] His history shows how one Crusader-era Muslim perceived the formative centuries of his own religious and cultural community.[5] This treasure of the medieval Islamic historiography preserves substantial fragments from hundreds now-lost works written by historians and religious scholars before the time of Ibn ʻAsākir. The first two chapters of the *Ta'rīḫ madīnat Dimašq* concentrate on the sanctity of Damascus and its environments and present a list of the sites that made it holy.

a) Christian Damascus

Christianity was introduced to Damascus shortly after the death of Christ. Syria played an important role in the early period of Christianity and its spread in Asia and Europe. Firstly, the important role of Damascus came with the Apostle Paul, who arrived in Damascus around 34 AD. Secondly, soon after the establishment of Christianity Damascus became an important centre of Christianity and its bishop used to be regarded as the most important ecclesiastical figure in Syria after the Patriarch of Antioch.

With the break-up of the Roman Empire in 395 AD, Syria became one of the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Under the Constantinople rulers, Damascus maintained its economic, strategic and religious significance. To defend the Byzantine eastern border against the regular Persian attacks, the Byzantines fortified Damascus and turned it into military headquarters. The major construction in Damascus during the Roman era was the Temple of Jupiter. In the Byzantine times the great temple of Damascus was turned

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[2] F. Haddad, *Ibn 'Asakir*, at: http://www.sunnah.org/history/Scholars/ibn_asakir.htm, quoted on 14.04.2009.

[3] G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750*, London 2000; A. Miquel, *Islam et sa civlisation*, Paris 1977.

[4] S.A. Mourad, *Ibn 'Asakir*…, p. 351.

[5] J.E. Lndsay (ed.), *Ibn Asakir and early Islamic History*, Princeton 2002.

into a Christian church by Emperor Arcadius (377–408). The Christian takeover of this temple meant the abolition of polytheism. The fact that the temple was located beneath the church was very important to the Christians as a remembrance of their victory over the old religion.[6]

Byzantine Damascus remained much the same as it had been during the Roman period, except for the mass constructions of churches and the transformation of the Temple of Jupiter into a cathedral dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the fourth century. Apart from this cathedral, 16 churches were built around Damascus. At the site where the Chapel of Ananias now stands, near the Eastern Gate, the Church of Al-Muṣallaba was built. The site was chosen because it was believed to be the place where St. Paul had been cured of his blindness after his vision on the road to Damascus. Two other churches were built in this area: the Church of Al-Maqsallāt and the Church of Maryam, which was replaced by the Maryamiyya Church which still stands there today. There are descriptions of other churches, but no remains of them were found.[7] Damascus developed its own theological tradition, attracting such scholars as Sophronius (560–638), Andrew of Crete (650–740) and St. John of Damascus (676–749).[8] The supremacy of Christianity in Damascus lasted till the conquest of the city by the Muslims.

b) The demolition of the Basilica St. John the Baptist by the Umayyad caliph Al-Walīd I

In 635 the process of Damascus' transformation into a Muslim city began. At the time of the Muslim conquest of Damascus, the main holy place in this city was the monumental basilica dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The church which had formerly stood on the site of Roman Jupiter's Temple, incorporated fragments from the previous monument, including a part of the *temenos* wall, i.e. the area reserved for worship. In the crypt-chapel the most precious holy relic of Damascus: the head of the forerunner of Christ, John the Baptist, who was also revered as a great prophet by the Muslims was placed. In the Arabs' world he was well-known as Yaḥyā Ibn Zakāriyyā[9].

When Damascus was captured, it was agreed that the church would remain in the Christians' possession. According to the conditions established in the treaty of Damascus' from 635 the churches that remained in Christian hands could not later be commandeered

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[6] E. Key Fowden, *Sharing Holy Places*, "Common Knowledge" 8/1 (2002), p. 130.

[7] J. Nasrallah, *Damas et la Damascène: leur églises à l'époque byzantine*, "Proche Orient Chrétien" 35(1985), pp. 37–58; 264–276; *Damascus in history*, http://www.damascus-online.com/damascus.htm#Romans%20and%20Byzantines, quoted on 14.04.2008; A. Shboul, *Change and Continuity in Early Islamic Damascus*, ARAM 6 (1994), pp. 67–102.

[8] D. Woods, *The 60 Martyrs of Gaza and the Martyrdom of Bishop Sophronius of Jerusalem*, in: M. Bonner (ed.), *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times*, Aldershot 2005, pp. 429–450.

[9] E. Key Fowden, op. cit., p. 130.

for the Muslim use[10]. Nonetheless, from the early Islamic period in Damascus Muslims also worshipped within the *temenos* wall.[11]

In contrast to the religious policy of caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (687–705), the reign of Al-Walīd was marked by some negative episodes for Christians. First at all, the Church of St. John, over which Christians of Damascus had disputed with ʿAbd al-Malik, had been demolished at the orders of this caliph. Walid I ordered to built a new mosque on the site of the basilica.

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated many traditions concerning the way Walid confiscated the Christian Basilica of St. John the Baptist and the Christian actions to preserve this church before it was demolished.[12] This compiled information with passages of other historians is useful to understand the reason for such a severe decision of Walīd.

We can find some explanation of this phenomenon in the Ibn ʿAsākir's description of Damascus. He narrated the tradition that Muslims had not enough place to pray.[13] In addition to this information some scientists found the argument of the lack of place for praying as the inconclusive explanation because Muslims could build a mosque at the other place. It seems that the main reason for this action was to overshadow Christian culture by the Muslim mosque[14] what was attested by the Arabic writer and geographer Al-Muqaddasī (d. 988).[15] The Umayyad caliph Al-Walīd might have addressed to the Damascene populace the following words: "Inhabitants of Damascus, four things give you a marked superiority over the rest of the world: your climate, your water, your fruits, and your baths. To these I wanted to add the fifth: this mosque."

Christians and Muslims, for more than seventy years from 635 to 706, shared the courtyard of the Basilica of St. John.[16] Christians and Muslims worshipped there using the same *temenos*,[17] but the mosque was next to the church. The Medieval Arabic historians got their information from two different kinds of traditions. It is variously said that the

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[10] *[Futūh al-Buldān] Liber expugnationis regionum, auctore Imamo Ahmed ibn Jahia ibn Djdbir al-Beladsori*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum 1866, p. 121; P.K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion*, New York 1928, p. 187.

[11] F.B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus. Studies of the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*, Leiden 2001, p. 2.

[12] *La description de Damas d'ibn 'Asakir*, ed. N. Elisséeff, Damas 1959, pp. 27–38.

[13] Ibid., pp. 36; 60–61.

[14] J. Nasrallah, *De la cathédral de Damas à l'Islam*, in: *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VIIe–VIIIe siècles. Actes du Colloqe international Lyon-Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, Paris – Institut du Monde Arabe 11–15 septembre 1990*, ed. P. Canivet, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Damas 1992, pp. 139–144; K. Kościelniak, *Grecy i Arabowie*, Kraków 2004, pp. 92–93.

[15] *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm. La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces d' al-Muqaddasī*, ed. A. Miquel, Damas 1963, pp. 173–174.

[16] J. Nasrallah, *De la cathédral de Damas à l'Islam*, pp. 139–144; K. Kościelniak, op. cit., pp. 92–93; J. Nasrallah, *Damas et la Damascène: leur églises à l'époque byzantine…*, pp. 41–49; R. Dussaud, *Le temple de Jupiter Damascénien et ses transformations aux époques chrétienne et musulmane*, "Syria" 3 (1922) pp. 219–250; J. Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas*, Damas 1932, pp. 13–15; K.A.C. Krewell, *A Short account of early Muslim architecture*, New York 1958, pp. 60–61.

[17] F.B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus…*, p. 2.

church was appropriated by force or by agreement. Some sources (for example Bar Hebraeus[18]) report that Christians accepted the decision of Al-Walīd and took money or some new place as recompense. The attempt to verify the historicity of these two traditions yet hundred years ago leads to a critical conclusion. Some authors doubted that the Christians sold or changed the basilica. Some traditions reported that Al-Walīd offered money to Christians and the informaion about the place in any other location of Damascus was added by some late authors. If Christians had accepted the caliph's proposal and had received the recompense, they would not have had the right to complain to ʻUmar II about the forced capture St. John's church[19]. The majority of authors, including Ibn ʻAsākir, reported that the basilica had been demolished without the consent of Christians. The poets in the Umayyad court, such as An-Nābiġa aš-Šaybānī (d. 744) and Al-Farazdaq (641–730), celebrated the seizure of this church in their poems.[20] In addition to these historic passages some traditions say that Al-Walīd himself initiated the demolition by driving a golden spike into the church. On the foundations of the basilica of St. John was built a new mosque and its design resembled the house of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina.[21]

c) Churches of Damascus according to Ibn ʻAsākir

When Ibn ʻAsākir wrote his History in the late ʻAbbāsid period Damascus assumed a new role as a place of leisure, leading to the construction of palaces in the area. Like all the most successful city of the region Damascus was a commercial centre[22] that was much fragmented. The quarters were isolated and self-contained, each one developing its own markets, mosques and institutions for security reasons. Ibn ʻAsākir counted more than 242 mosques within the city walls in the 12th century, which was a direct effect of this fragmentation.[23] He presented 15 churches (including the basilica of St. John) in which the Caliph ʻUmar (634–644) allowed Christians to gather and worship. Ibn ʻAsakir's

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[18] *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj*, translated from the Syriac by E. Budge, vol. I, Oxford 1932, p. 106.

[19] A. Ahmedov, *The Umayyad caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects: Critical evaluation of religious policy of caliphs*, at: http://zhurnal.lib.ru/a/ahmedow_a_s/theumayyadcaliphsandtheirnon-muslimsubjectscriticalevaluation ofreligiouspolicyofcaliphs.shtml, quoted on 14.04.2009.

[20] *La description de Damas d'ibn 'Asakir*…, pp. 42–43; H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, "Journal Asiatique" 3(1894/1896), pp. 192–193;

[21] K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Islamic Architecture,* 2d ed., vol. 1, Oxford 1969, pp. 151–196; R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, Edinburgh 1994, pp. 68–72; K.A.C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Cairo 1989, pp. 46–73; F.B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*, Leiden–Boston–Köln, 2001; O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven–London 1973, pp. 104–38; B. Finster, *Die Mosaiken in der Umayyadenmoschee von Damaskus*, "Kunst des Orients" 7/2(1970–1), pp. 83–141.

[22] H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid Caliphat: a political history*, London 1981, pp. 22–23.

[23] *Damascus – description*, at: http://www.archnet.org/library/places/one-place.jsp?place_id=1599&order_by=title&showdescription=1, quoted on 14.04.2009.

work was completed more than 500 years after the Muslim conquest of Damascus, so he did not only list the churches but also *gave* the information about their conditions. The author divided the Damascene churches that were in the southern and northern parts of the city[24] and described them as active or ruined.

Among the actively used churches Ibn ʿAsākir lists firstly the Jacobite church located behind the jail, next to ʿAlī market.[25] Secondly he mentioned the Melchite Church of St. Mary, at the place where the Greek-Orthodox Cathedral of Damascus stands now.[26] The next Christian sanctuary, which was partially destroyed, was named Humayd Ibn Durra. The author of *Tarīḫ madīnat Dimašq* specifies that Humayd's mother was Christian, the daughter of Abū Hāšim who was the uncle of Muʻāwiya Ibn Abī Suyfān. In the quarter called Bāb Tūmā, Ibn ʿAsākir describes the second Jacobite church between the place of Ḫālid Ibn Usayd Ibn Abī-ʻĀṣ and Al-Ǧuhanī street.[27]

Without doubt the majority of the Damascene churches in the Ibn ʿAsākir's description are ruined. Our author lists seven destroyed churches, the ruins of which he observed in the 12th century. The following churches were demolished: the church Maqsallāṭ,[28] the church near sūq al-Fākiha,[29] the church near Zayn Ibn Abī Ḥakīm,[30] the church close to the Banū Laǧlāǧ's home,[31] the church Būlus (St. Paul),[32] the church Qalānis,[33] the church Al-Muṣallaba (St. Cross).[34]

Apart from the basilica of St. John, in the Ibn ʿAsākir's list we find three churches that were changed to mosques: the church Al-Fūrnaq named mosque Abū al-Yumn and two churches of Al-ʻUbbād, which historians have not indentified yet.

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One of the consequences of taking over the Christian holy place, the basilica of St. John, was the Islamization of its history. The Islamic commentators on the Damascus mosque from the eighth to the twelfth centuries demonstrated superiority of Islam to Christianity to reduce the influence of the earlier owners of the sanctuary, giving this holy place the exclusively Muslim meaning. For example, the tradition recorded by Ibn ʻAsākir in his *Tarīḫ madīnat Dimašq* confirms this tendency. Namely, in the first part of the eighth century the traditionist Yazīd Ibn Maysara related the tradition that in the

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[24] *La description de Damas d'ibn 'Asakir*…, p. 220.
[25] Ibid., p. 221.
[26] Ibid., p. 222.
[27] Ibid., p. 224.
[28] Ibid., p. 221.
[29] Ibid., p. 222.
[30] Ibid., p. 221.
[31] Ibid., p. 222.
[32] Ibid., p. 223.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., p. 224.

eyes of God there were four holy mountains: Jerusalem, Sinai, the mosque of Damascus, and Mecca[35].

During Ibn ʿAsākir's time the percentage of Christian in Damascus was much lower than during the times of the Umayyad dynasty. Four processes led to the Islamization of Syria in the demographic meaning: conversion to Islam, replacement of non-Muslims by Muslims through migration (especially during the Arab-Byzantine wars), some cases when Christians were persecuted and discriminated by the authorities[36] and intermarriages, which automatically gave birth to the second Muslim generation. Although one can speak about some kind of tolerance in the medieval Islam – according to the researches of Yohannan Friedmann – Muslims faced other religions from the position of a ruling power and were, therefore, able to determine the nature of that relationship in accordance with their world-views and beliefs.[37] This phenomenon explains why from among 15 churches in the first part of the 7th century in Damascus in the 12th century there were only three churches used in the Christian cult, one was partially destroyed, seven were ruined and four were changed into mosques.

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[35] Ibid., pp. 9–10; see: E. Key Fowden, *Sharing Holy Places*…, p. 131; M.J. Kister, *Sanctity Joint and Divided: On Holy Places in the Islamic Tradition*, "Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam" 20(1996), pp. 21–26.

[36] A. Ahmedov, op. cit.

[37] Y. Friedmann, *Tolerance and Coercion in Islam: interfaith relations in the Muslim Tradition*, Cambridge 2006.

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 140–149)

PAULINA B. LEWICKA

Flavorings in Context: Spices and Herbs in Medieval Near East

Abstract

Throughout history, the approach towards imported spices varied from culture to culture. In medieval and early post-medieval Europe, where spices became an exotic object of temporary desire, they were often used unskillfully and in a haphazard manner. In the Ottoman Constantinople, unlike in Europe, it was the moderate use of spices, and not overdosing them, that became a manifestation of status. As deliberate paragons of refinement, the Ottomans depreciated what they considered uncivilized ways of their Arab provincial population, heavily seasoned diet included. Indeed, to a foreign observer, the Arabic-Islamic cookery might have appeared irrationally overseasoned. But the way the medieval Arab urbanites used spices was not a result of their surrender to changeable vogue, or the need to show off.

Some decades ago, Maxime R o d i n s o n stated that the fashion for cooking with spices had been inherited from the Greco-Roman world, and suggested that the rule referred also to the Muslim culture.[1] Indeed, the Romans were the first Europeans to eat pepper on a regular basis and the first to systematically import Oriental spices to the West. Moreover, it is possible that Roman soldiers, while marching across Europe and carrying spices to the northernmost and westernmost reaches of the Roman world,

[1] Maxime R o d i n s o n, *Venice, the Spice Trade and Eastern Influences on European Cooking*, in: Maxime R o d i n s o n, A.J. A r b e r r y and Charles P e r r y, *Medieval Arab Cookery: Essays and Translations by Maxime Rodinson, A.J. Arberry and Charles Perry*, Blackawton 2001, pp. 202–204.

popularized their use on the continent.[2] But although the Romans conquered the Near East, too, apparently they were not the ones who unveiled the world of Oriental spices for Near Easterners. The Greeks did not do it, either, even though Greek medicine and dietetics contributed significantly to shaping the Arabic-Islamic medico-culinary ways. True, the Baghdadi "new wave" cuisine[3] derived some of its inspiration from the Greek world, but the taste for spicing seems to have been inherited from the Indo-Persian world rather than from Greco-Roman one.[4]

The correlation of spices with politics, economy and medicine notwithstanding, the approach towards imported spices varied from culture to culture. They could, for instance, become an exotic object of temporary desire, depending on changeable vogue. In such a case, spices were often used unskillfully and in a haphazard manner. An exemplary model of this is approach of the Europeans, among whom craze for Oriental spices lasted from at least the twelfth century till about the end of the sixteenth century. Throughout that time, spices, and particularly pepper, were considered an absolutely indispensable foodstuff, worth spending fortunes, facing the vicissitudes of traveling half-way round the world, and waging overseas wars. Using spices in Europe was a matter of prestige, ostentation and, sometimes, *raison d'état*. But when Europe finally got sated with Oriental flavors in the late Renaissance, and when blandness became a much desired feature, spices were rejected and reduced to a position of almost needless accessories, implying bad taste.[5]

The style promoted by patrons of the Ottoman cuisine was radically different. The Ottomans, apparently inspired by moderate spicing of the Byzantine cuisine,[6] made of modesty the standard. This was, by the way, one of the very few gestures made by the Ottomans towards modesty. In fact, the Ottomans never rejected exotic flavor – in Constantinople Oriental spices were considered prestigious ingredients, too. But, unlike in medieval and early post-medieval Europe, it was the moderate use of spices, and not overdosing them, that became a manifestation of status.[7] The Ottoman chefs seasoned food

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[2] For the presentation of the history of spices in antiquity see Jack Turner, *Spice: The History of a Temptation*, New York 2004, pp. 57–97.

[3] The term "new wave" cuisine refers to the cuisine which emerged in early-Abbasid Baghdad as a result of a process based on intensive borrowing from the Persian culinary traditions and interlacing them with elements derived from the Greek medical lore and the Bedouin Arab cooking ideas. The term was first used by Manuela Marín and David Waines, *The Balanced Way: Food for Pleasure and Health in Medieval Islam*, "Manuscripts of the Middle East" 4 (1989), p. 124.

[4] For discussion on spices and herbs in ancient Egypt see William J. Darby, Paul Ghalioungui and Louis Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, London–New York–San Francisco 1977, II, pp. 791–807.

[5] Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life. The Limits of the Possible*, New York 1981, pp. 220–224. For an excellent presentation of various aspects of spice use in medieval Europe see Turner, *Spice*, passim; see also Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Seasoning, Cooking, and Dietetics in the Late Middle Ages*, in: Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (eds.), *Food: A Culinary History*, New York 1999, pp. 313–327.

[6] See, for example, Andrew Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium*, Blackawton 2003, pp. 43–52, 177–179.

[7] Hedda Reindl-Kiel, *The Chickens of Paradise. Official Meals in the Mid-Seventeenth Century Ottoman Palace*, in: Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*, Würzburg 2003, p. 83. The Ottoman restraint in the use of flavoring seems to be confirmed by other scholars

lightly, just to enhance its natural flavor. This moderate use of spices became a symbolic expression of the Ottoman culinary sophistication – it distinguished the "Ottoman" from the vulgarity and lack of refinement of what "further south." Further south lay Anatolia with its southeastern part bordering on the Arab provinces[8] and, still further, the Arab provinces.

Before it was changed into the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the early sixteenth century, the Arabic-Islamic Near East gave rise to a refined culinary culture. This culture developed in two major centers of the region. One was Abbasid Baghdad, the birthplace of the so-called "new wave" cuisine,[9] a cradle of the Arabic-Islamic high cooking tradition and the first culinary capital of the Arabic-Islamic civilization. In the early medieval world no city could equal "Baghdad's capacity to satisfy the gastronomic demands of the leisure class with a ready supply of every imaginable food commodity."[10] After Baghdad was razed to the ground by the Mongol army in 1258, the honor of being a culinary capital of the region was smoothly taken over by Cairo which, having become "the largest urban conglomeration outside China,"[11] soon flourished as a continuator of the Baghdadi cooking tradition.

Apparently, what this Baghdadi-Cairene menu offered did not necessarily fit the flavor preferences of the Constantinopolitan Ottomans – even though their cosmopolitan culinary culture shared many elements with the Arabic-Islamic cuisine. The Ottomans, as deliberate paragons of refinement and continuators of the Byzantine high culture, clearly depreciated what they considered uncivilized ways of their Arab provincial population, heavily seasoned diet included.[12]

Indeed, as far as seasoning of food was concerned, the Arabic-Islamic cuisine was not modest at all.[13] In the beginning of seventeenth century a Western visitor to

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dealing with the subject of Turkish/Ottoman cookery; see for example, Sami Zubaida, *Rice in the Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, in: Sami Zubaida and Richard Tapper (eds.), *A Taste of Thyme: Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, London–New York 2000, p. 96; Richard Tapper and Sami Zubaida, *Introduction* to Zubaida an Tapper, *Taste of Thyme*, p. 8. See also Ersu Pekin and Ayse Sümer (eds.), *Timeless Tastes: Turkish Culinary Culture*, Istanbul 1999, p. 191, where the the use of fresh herbs in Turkish vegetable dishes is said to be "generally restricted to mint with courgettes and dill with broad beans in the pod".

[8] Cf. Zubaida, *Rice*, p. 96; Tapper and Zubaida, *Introduction*, p. 8.

[9] Marín, Waines, *Balanced Way*, p. 124.

[10] Waines, *Caliph's Kitchen*, p. 9.

[11] Ibid, p. 8.

[12] In this context, one can hardly avoid comparing the Ottomans' insisting on restraint in the use of flavorings with the conduct of some French aristocrats who, fed up with the pomp of Louis XIV's court, started to cherish simplicity so much as to invent the concept of "good taste"; cf. Margaret Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner: The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities and Meaning of Table Manners*, Harmondsworth 1993, p. 70.

[13] For an excellent discussion on the use of perfumes, spices and condiments in medieval Arab cooking see Françoise Aubaile-Sallenave, *Parfums, épices, et condimets dans l'alimentation arabe médiévale*, in: Manuela Marín and David Waines (eds.), *La alimentacion en las culturas islamicas. Una coleccion de estudios editados por Manuela Marín y David Waines*, Madrid 1994, pp. 217–249.

Cairo noticed that "they put spices in food without grinding them and openhandedly."[14] True, to some foreign observers the Cairene cookery might have appeared irrationally overseasoned. But the way the medieval Arab urbanites used spices was not a result of their surrender to some temporary mania, or the need to show off. For the Cairenes, like for the Europeans and the Ottomans, Oriental spices were exotic, too. While, however, the Europeans desperately tried to understand foreign ingredients and adapt them to their cookery, the Cairenes, like the Constantinopolitan Ottomans, did not have to bother about such complicated problems too much. Both the Ottomans and the Cairenes used imported spices in accordance with the culinary systems they had adopted. While the Ottomans followed the Byzantine guidelines in this respect, the Cairenes simply accepted what the Baghdadi culinary standard recommended. As such, the Ottoman and Arabic-Islamic attitudes towards Oriental seasonings were surely not as genuine as those of Indians or Chinese. But, at the same time, the Arabic-Islamic way of using these seasonings was not as mannered as the medieval European custom.

The Ottomans, however, were excessively concerned about trifles, and were very careful to be perfect in following the rules of the style they adopted. As this style obliged them to season food lightly, they could not use spices in a spontaneous or unstudied manner. The culinary culture embraced by the Near-Eastern urbanites was, on the other hand, more flexible and carefree. Naturally enough, food in medieval Near East was seasoned in an artless, generous and, in this sense, natural manner. In practical terms, this meant that the natural flavor of food did not matter so much. Moreover, with the substantial ingredients serving as flavor carriers and a pretext to use spices, herbs, fragrances, salt, sugar and souring agents, the significant part of the natural flavor of meat, fish or vegetables was efficiently suppressed. It was the composition of flavors that mattered more. What was just enough for the Cairene or Baghdadi consumers must have been definitely much too much by the Ottoman criteria.

The Greco-Islamic dietetics hardly encouraged generosity in using spices in cookery. Al-Isrā'īlī warned against excessive use of spices, and recommended "to use only as much as is needed to change the food's bad taste and its hateful smell, because overusing spices dries moisture from food, makes it tough, and disallows digestion."[15] Interestingly, neither the cookery books nor the manuals for market inspectors did insist on that rule. Instead, both the *haute cuisine* chef and the bazaar cook were supposed to "use plenty of spices."[16] Due to the relativity of terms such as "plenty" or "excessive use" in the

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[14] "(…) because they are not expensive"; Johann Wild, *Voyages en Egypte de Johann Wild, 1606–1610*, Cairo 1973, p. 183.

[15] Isḥāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī, *Kitāb al-aġdiya wa-al-adwiya*, ed. by M. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ, Bayrūt 1992, p. 164.

[16] Ibn al-Uḫuwwa, *Kitāb ma'ālim al-qurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba*, Al-Qāhira 1976, p. 174; *Kitāb waṣf al-aṭ'ima al-mu'tāda*, in: Charles Perry, *The Description of Familiar Foods* [*Kitāb Waṣf al-Aṭ'ima al-Mu'tāda*], in: Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, p. 303 (although the *haute cuisine* cook was instructed to be moderate in "*ḥawāmiḍ* dishes, that have their own broth").

present context, it is actually impossible to judge whether the medieval Near-Eastern cuisine overdosed seasonings.

The wisdom suggesting that "there should be thrown only as much of spices as necessary,"[17] as formulated by Galen, is universal. In the daily kitchen practice, the Cairene or Baghdadi chef was usually given a relatively free hand as far as quantities of seasonings were concerned. In accordance with the flexible Galenic criterion, many recipes (though not all) recommended adding to the dish "as much spices as needed with it," or "as much as necessary on it," or to throw "salt and spices as needed," or "as much as it will bear," etc. Although such instructions may seem careless, it was not the case. The city cooks knew pretty well how much spices their preparation "will bear," if only because they usually specialized in one kind of food throughout their lifetime. Sometimes, however, the spicing norm was minutely written down, as in the case of the bazaar fish fryers who for every 10 *raṭls* of fish prepared in a deep pan (*ṭāǧin*), were obligated to add a precise quantity of spices (*abzār*): "1/8 *ūqiya* of pepper, 1/8 *qadaḥ* of caraway, 1/8 *qadaḥ* of coriander, 1/3 *ūqiya* of garlic, 1/8 *ūqiya* of sumac, as well as 1/8 *raṭl* of good oil, ½ *raṭl* of *ṭaḥīna*, 1/2 *raṭl* of lemon juice, 5 bundles of parsley, and 1/2 *raṭl* of roasted Syrian walnuts, crushed."[18]

However, the same dish prepared by two different cooks according to the same guidelines could not have tasted or smelled exactly the same. The proper seasoning was a matter of the cook's class, proficiency, expertise and honesty, as he could easily cheat on spices. His flavor preferences, his mood on a given day, and the local conventions mattered, too, as did his cleverness in avoiding cunning trickeries of spice dealers. After all, neither *abzāriyyūn*, or spice and herb retailers, nor *'aṭṭārūn*, or herb, spice and perfume dealers and, at the same time, druggists and healers, were renown for their honesty.[19]

The Arabic-Islamic culinary corpus assumed the accessibility of a wide variety of seasonings. Their list would form the bulk of any guide to the Old World's aromatic plants even today. Except, probably, rosemary, lovage, oregano and savory, one can hardly find a spice or herb that is not mentioned in the Near Eastern cookery books.[20]

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[17] Al-Isrā'īlī, *Aġḍiya*, p. 167.

[18] Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib, *Nihāyat ar-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdad 1968, p. 56. In post-XII century Egypt *raṭl* equaled ca. 450 g while *ūqiya*, or 1/12 of *raṭl*, equaled ca. 37, 5 g; *qadaḥ* equaled ca. 0,94 liter (lesser *qadaḥ*) and 1,88 litter (larger *qadaḥ*); see Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden/Köln 1970, pp. 29, 35 and 48 respectively.

[19] 'Abd ar-Raḥmān aš-Šayzarī, *Kitāb nihāyat ar-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Al-Qāhira 1946, pp. 48–55 (Engl. trans. R.P. Buckley, *The Book of the Islamic Market Inspector*, Oxford 1999, pp. 65–69); Ibn al-Uḫuwwa, *Ma'ālim*, pp. 199–206; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāya*, pp. 96–104; Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ al-'Abdarī, *Al-Madḫal ilā tanmiyat al-a'māl bi-taḥsīn an-niya*, Al-Qāhira 1929, IV, pp. 71–76, 92. For references to Sūq al-'Aṭṭārīn in Cairo see André Raymond and Gaston Wiet, *Les Marchés du Caire. Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, Al-Qāhira 1979, p. 91, n. 6; for references to Sūq al-Abāzira and Sūq al-Abzāriyyīn see ibid, p. 201, n. 4; see also Dietrich, "'Aṭṭār," *EI2*, I.

[20] The Maghrebian-Andalusian cookery books were not considered in the present study. For the herbs, spices and fragrances used in medieval Maghreb see Aubaile-Sallenave, "Parfums," passim.

The mentioned species include: anise (*anīsūn*),[21] asafetida (*ḥiltīt*), basil (*rayḥān*, *ḥabaq*),[22] bay leaves (*waraq rind*), betel (*tanbūl*, *tanbul*; *Piper betle* L.), caraway (*karāwiya*), cardamom (*qāqulla*), small cardamom (*hāl*), cassia (Chinese cinnamon, *dār ṣīnī*), Ceylon cinnamon (*qirfa*), cloves (*qurunfil*, *kubbāš qurunfil*), coriander – both dry seeds and fresh leaves (*kuzbara*, *kusbara*, *kusfara*), cubeb (*kubbāba*), cumin (*kammūn*), dill (*šabaṯ*), fennel (*šamār*), fenugreek (*ḥulba*), fruit of the ash-tree (*lisān 'uṣfūr*),[23] galingale (*ḫulanǧān*, *ḥūlanǧān*),[24] ginger (*zanǧabīl*), licorice root (*'irq sūs*), mace (*bisbāsa*),[25] madder (*fuwwa*), mint (*na'na'*), mustard (*ḫardal*), white mustard (*ḫardal abyaḍ*), myrtle (*ās*, known in Egypt as *marsīn*),[26] nigella (*šūnīz*), nutmeg (*jawz aṭ-ṭīb*), parsley (*baqdūnis*), pepper (*fulful*, *dār fulful*), purslane (*riǧla, baqla ḥamqā'*), rocket (*ǧarǧīr*),[27] dried rosebuds (*zirr ward*), rue (*saḏāb*), saffron (*za'farān*), spikenard (*sunbul*),[28] sumac (*summāq*), tarragon (*ṭarḫūn*), thyme (*za'tar*, *ṣa'tar*), turmeric (*kurkum*), zedoary (*ǧidwār*).[29] To these must be added fragrant parts of some plants and fruits, such as citron leaves, bitter orange or lemon peel, rose petals, aloes-wood, camphor (*kāfūr*), mastic gum (*maṣṭikā*),[30] as well as fragrances such as rose-water (*mā' al-ward*), ambergris (*'anbar*) and musk (*misk*), the latter two being of animal origin. Sometimes, the recipes called for some very local varieties, such as Maghrebian caraway, Maghrebian thyme, Iraqi musk, Iraqi roses, Syrian rosebuds, Syrian coriander, saffron from Byzantium (Ar-Rūm), Byzantine (Rūmī) myrtle, or mustard from Acre.

But the Arabic-Islamic cookbooks may be a little bit misleading as far as the actual use of exotic spices is concerned. Compiled of recipes of a very cosmopolitan provenience, they sometimes may point to items which were not used in the Near-Eastern kitchens on daily basis. Many of them appear only in few recipes. Such is the case of anis, asafetida, cardamom, tarragon, fennel, fenugreek, madder, betel, basil, myrtle, licorice root, zedoary, or turmeric, which must have been used only occasionally. Those, however, which are referred to particularly often must have been essential in forming the smell and taste of the Baghdadi, Cairene, or Damascene cuisine: Chinese cinnamon, Ceylon cinnamon,

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[21] According to Al-Isrā'īlī, *Aġḏiya*, p. 380, *anīsūn* was identical with *ḥulba ḥulwa*.

[22] Apparently, there were many species of the plant; see Moses Maimonides, *Glossary of Drug Names*, in: *Moses Maimonides' Glossary of Drug Names: Maimonides' Medical Writings. Translated and annotated from Max Mayerhof's French edition by Fred Rosner*, Haifa 1995, pp. 38–39, nn. 47, 48.

[23] See Rosner, *Maimonides' Glossary*, pp. 74–75, n. 91; p. 166, n. 212.

[24] *Alpinia officinarum* Hance.

[25] Dried aril of nutmeg fruit, or *Myristica fragnans*.

[26] Rosner, *Maimonides' Glossary*, p. 12, n. 10; cf. Perry, *Familiar Foods*, p. 408, n. 17.

[27] *Eruca sativa*, a type of arugula, also known as rocket, garden rocket, rocket salad, rugola, rucola and roquette.

[28] Ar. *sunbul* is applied to a number of fragrant plants or, rather, their roots. It can refer to muskroot, or the root of *Ferula sumbul*, known for its musky odor and a bitter aromatic taste. Its action and uses are the same as asafetida. Both "sunbul" and "muskroot" can also refer to spikenard, *Nardostachys grandiflora* (or *Nardostachys jatamansi*), also called *nārdīn*, nard, a flowering plant of the Valerian family.

[29] *Curcuma zedoaria*.

[30] Resin of *Pistacia lentiscus* shrub.

pepper, mint, thyme, coriander, cumin, caraway, ginger, saffron, mustard, camphor, mastic and rose-water.

The medieval Arabic-Islamic cuisine generally avoided the so-called masalas, or pre-prepared, ready-to-use mixes of ground spices.[31] The cook "only ground as much spices as he used, lest they lose their strength."[32] On the Indian subcontinent such mixes were also used only occasionally, as Indian cooks realized that spices not only lose their strength if stored in their pre-ground form, but also take different lengths of time to release their flavor. When coriander, which is slow-releasing, turmeric, which is quick to impart its flavor, and cumin, which is apt to burn, are thrown into hot oil simultaneously, they tend to cook unevenly. This, in turn, brings about the risk of flavoring the dish with a slightly burnt or a slightly raw taste.[33]

For the Near-Eastern cuisine, India was not only a source of Oriental spices but presumably also an indirect source of inspiration regarding the way of using them. It is difficult to say how well the Cairene or Baghdadi cooks realized the subtleties regarding the flavor-releasing time of various spices. As far as culinary theory is concerned, herbs and spices could not be thrown into the pot haphazardly in the Arabic-Islamic cuisine. According to recipes, they could be added to the dish either in the very beginning of the cooking process,[34] or gradually during the cooking. Spices could be also mixed with the meat minced for meatballs or with the stuffing for lamb or fish. Rose-water, camphor and sometimes, cinnamon and mint, were sprinkled over the ready or nearly ready dish. Sometimes some spices (such as coriander, ginger, pepper, galangal) were tightened up in a piece of linen cloth and thrown into the pot, to be taken out after appropriate time. Sometimes certain spices were to be pounded fine, sometimes grated, while at other times some of them were thrown in an unground form, a practice which surprised one Western traveler so much.[35] Sometimes it was advisable that some seeds (such as nigella, cumin or coriander) were toasted before using, while some fresh herbs, such as mint or green coriander, could be added chopped or in bundle – although dried leaves were used, too.

Generally, different categories of food preparations required different sets of flavorings. Thus the flavorings used in sour meat stews (*ḥawāmiḍ*) usually included – apart from

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[31] In fact, apart from spices and herbs cited directly by their names, the recipes often call for enigmatic spice mixes known as *aṭrāf/aṭrāf aṭ–ṭīb* (lit. "tips of scent"; see Maxime Rodinson's explanation of the term, *Studies in Arabic Manuscripts Relating to Cookery*, in: *Medieval Arab Cookery*, p. 132, n. 5), *afwāh/afāwih aṭ–ṭīb* (lit. "mouths of scent") or for *abzār/abāzīr*, simply "spices." Sometimes also the term *ḥawā'iǧ* ("necessities") is used (cf. Charles Perry's explanation regarding *aṭrāf aṭ–ṭīb* and *afāwih aṭ-ṭīb*, *Familiar Foods*, p. 284). However, it is difficult to define whether the mixes were pre-ground or not.

[32] *Waṣf*, in: Perry, *Familiar Foods*, p. 303; *Kanz al-fawā'id fī tanwī' al-mawā'id (Medieval Arab/Islamic Culinary Art)*, ed. by Manuela Marín and David Waines, Beirut 1993, p. 5.

[33] Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors*, Oxford 2006, pp. 142–143.

[34] Which, by the way, harmonized with Galenic suggestion to throw spices in "in the beginning of cooking"; see Al-Isrā'īlī, *Aġḍiya*, p. 167.

[35] Wild, *Voyages*, p. 183.

alliums – mint, Chinese cinnamon, coriander, pepper, ginger, mastic, and saffron.[36] Very often, the ready dish was sprinkled with rose-water. Mint, saffron, ginger and rose-water, always present in sour stews, were absent from the non-sour ones (*sawāḏiğ*), which were dominated by Chinese cinnamon and coriander, often accompanied by mastic and, to a lesser degree, by cumin.[37] As for fried dishes (*qalāya*), the composition of seasonings used in them usually included Chinese cinnamon, coriander, saffron, unspecified "spices," occasionally ginger, pepper and mastic. The so-called *muṭağğanāt*, improperly but conveniently translated as "deep-pan dishes," usually required Chinese cinnamon, coriander, pepper and mastic, too; unlike in fried dishes of the *qalāya* type, in *muṭağğanāt* caraway and mint were also added. Chicken preparations were generally seasoned with Chinese cinnamon or Ceylon cinnamon, dry coriander, mastic, very often with dry or fresh mint, sometimes also with *murrī* sauce.[38] Sweet chicken stews, similarly to puddings and sweets, constituted those rare examples of preparations to which no seasoning, apart from musk, rose-water and, occasionally, saffron, was added. As for fried fish, its basic set of flavorings included pepper, caraway, coriander, sumac, and parsley. These ingredients were also fundamental in preparing fish stuffings and fish sauces, and formed a composition to which thyme, Chinese cinnamon, mint, rue, saffron, mustard seeds and ginger could also be added. Sometimes, as in the case of a sauce meant for fried and salted fish, the aromatic composition of raisins, mustard, vinegar, garlic, oil, saffron, ginger, cinnamon, pepper, mint, rue and honey was sharpened and enriched with galingale and aromatic spikenard. Fried salted fish could be simply sprinkled with coriander and cinnamon.

What is intriguing, the Oriental spices as used in various combinations in the Arabic-Islamic cookery rarely included cloves, even more rarely cardamom, almost never fenugreek and never turmeric. The absence or infrequent use of these spices, all of them essential for making most of the curry mixes, must have deprived the Near-Eastern food of the aroma so typical for the Indian cooking.[39] At the same time, combining Oriental spices

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[36] These were added to the dish after the scum was removed from the pre-boiling of meat – sometimes only a part of what was needed, at other times all of it.

[37] Unlike in sour stews, in non-sour preparations meat was often pre-cooked by stir-frying with spices, either in tail fat or in sesame oil. In some dishes, meat was first stewed, together with a part of spices and vegetables, until water evaporated and only then the rest of spices and vegetables was thrown in and covered with water.

[38] *Murrī* was a very particular relish comparable to soy sauce and to Roman *garum*. Its months-long production process consisted, generally speaking, in leaving pounded unleavened bread, mixed with rotten barley and some seasonings, in the heat of the Near Eastern summer sun. For a detailed discussion on *murrī* see David Waines, Murrī: *the Tale of a Condiment*, "Al-Qantara" 12/2 (1991), pp. 371–388; also idem, *Caliph's Kitchen*, p. 25; idem, *The Culinary Culture of al-Andalus*, in: S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden 1992, pp. 725–738; Aubaile-Sallenave, *Parfums*, pp. 217–249; Nasrallah, *Annals*, pp. 579–582.

[39] Although it should be kept in mind that cardamom and cloves, almost always together, were added to tonic beverages and electuaries. They were also ingredients of spice mixes (*aṭrāf aṭ–ṭīb*) which, used relatively rarely in food preparations, were more frequently added to tonic concoctions, too. As for turmeric (*kurkum*), it is not called for in any of the recipes included in the "Cairene" cookery books. Nevertheless, it was not unknown: the *ḥisba* manuals mention it as an ingredient used by apothecaries in a sophisticated process of adulterating saffron and as an item being itself adulterated by spice retailers with pomegranate skins. As turmeric was believed to have certain medicinal values, it must have been used almost exclusively for pharmacological purposes.

with spices and herbs of the Mediterranean, gave the local food a particular flavor for which a blend of cinnamon and mint, perfumed with rose-water, seems to have been the most distinctive.

Artless and relatively not fashion-oriented, the Near-Eastern spice consumption could not always avoid constraints imposed by various external or domestic circumstances. The flavoring habits of the Cairenes were first put to test in the fifteenth century when spice prices became considerably unstable due to the games played with the Alexandrian wholesalers by the Holy See, the Venetians, and the Mamluk state.[40] Predictably enough, the fluctuation in spice prices intensified after the Portuguese discovery of the route around the Cape in 1498, an event which made European maritime traders avoid the Red Sea-Cairo-Alexandria route.[41] But the process of abandoning the reefy Red Sea, and the transshipment in Cairo, was not as smooth and uninterrupted as it may seem to have been. In fact, the Indian spice trade via the old route experienced stages of revival before it finally declined. During some three or four decades which followed 1550, there were periods when the Red Sea ships carried no lesser quantities of spices as before 1498. All the loads were again transferred to Cairo, from where they traveled, as before, to Alexandria.[42]

Actually, the prosperity of the spice trade via the Red Sea and Cairo came to an end only after the Middle Ages were over. Europe, satiated with spices after centuries of frantic consumption, now changed its predilections. Spices became commonplace, and with time fell out of favor. What interested the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cooks was the salt-acid taste combination of classical cookery, based on oils, capers, and anchovies. Hot, spicy, and fragrant food, so appreciated in the High Middle Ages, was now condemned as overly stimulating and likely to arouse dangerous passions and lusts.[43] The spice prices fell but at the same time coffee, having charmed everybody,

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[40] By introducing the system of state monopoly for spices, the Mamluk sultans Barsbāy (in 1420-ties) and Ḫūšqadam (who followed the monopolistic policy in 1461–1467) contributed to creating significant insecurity in the international and domestic spice market. The effect of their decisions was twofold: one, the Kārimī merchants, until then chief spice wholesalers of this part of the world, could no longer prosper; and two, the price of imported spices was raised, as from now on they would only be sold and bought through the sultan. For details on spice trade in medieval Egypt, and on Kārimī merchants, see Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levantine Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1983, pp. 370 ff.; idem, *Spice Prices in the Near East in the 15th Century*, JRAS 1976, pp. 26–41; Walter J. Fischel, *Les Marchands d'epices sous les sultans mamlouks*, "Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne", 1955, vol. VII, 2, pp. 81–147; idem, *The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt*, JESHO 1958, No. 1, pp. 157–174.

[41] The route around the Cape of Good Hope was not the only one in the post-XV-century world to compete with the Red Sea-Cairo-Alexandria route. Some decades later, the transoceanic route between Mesoamerica and Asia was established, with Acapulco as its main destination station. The Oriental goods, carried via Manila from China, supplied the newly-emerged Mesoamerican market and, above all, the newly-born Spanish-Mexican cuisine. See Susana Osorio-Mrożek, *Meksyk od kuchni. Książka niekucharska*, Kraków 2004, pp. 171–172.

[42] For the vicissitudes of Levantine spice trade in XVI century see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1996, I, pp. 556, 564–568.

[43] The new cooking style chimed with new scientific theories of digestion that envisaged the process as one of fermentation rather than combustion. See Collingham, *Curry*, pp. 134–135; cf. Roy Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating*, Orlando 2003, p. 140.

became the most sought-after and fashionable consumable luxury. As both Europe and the entire Near East surrendered to the vogue willingly and totally, coffee started to prevail in the domestic and international operations of Cairo markets. With coffee trade replacing spice trade, spice merchants steadily decreased in number, making room for coffee merchants.[44] Paradoxically, now it was the Europeans who supplied Alexandria with pepper and Oriental spices, although the Cairene market itself was probably still supplied with the merchandise imported via the Red Sea and the Suez.

All the ups and downs of the post-medieval spice trade coincided with the Ottoman occupation of Cairo, the development which placed the spice-loving Cairenes between the rock and the hard place. On the one hand, the decreasing quantities and rising prices of Oriental spices discouraged them from continuing the habit of using the favorite flavorings in a liberal way. On the other hand, there were Ottoman officials who detested overdosing of spices, and whose example radiated down into the society, through Egyptian elites collaborating with them. The two factors gradually modified and transformed the Cairene cuisine which switched into moderate seasoning of food, having with time become more Turkish than mediaeval Arabic.

[44] See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Coffee and Spices: Official Ottoman Reactions to Egyptian Trade in the Later Sixteenth Century*, WZKM 1986, vol. 76, pp. 87–93; Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant*, Cairo 1998, pp. 70, 79, 81. For spice trade in later epochs see André Raymond, *Artisants et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Cairo 1999, I, pp. 69–73; 129–136; 174–179.

باب الاسلام والفلسفة

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JANUSZ DANECKI

Al-Ǧāḥiẓ and ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār on the Necessity of Imamate. A Note on the Fate of Muʻtazilite Political Ideas

Abstract

The article is devoted to some aspects of the political theory of the eminent Arab thinker Al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 869), especially in the context of his influence on later generations of religious and political thinkers, in this case on Qāḍī ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār (d. 1025).

The political ideas of Al-Ǧāḥiẓ were analysed from many different angles. In one of her very recent studies Asma Afsaruddin has pointed to the importance of these ideas for later Islamic political thought, and suggested that it might be worthwhile to ask to what extent Al-Ǧāḥiẓ's ideas influenced later generations of religious and political thinkers.[1] Being a Muʻtazilite Al-Ǧāḥiẓ is listed within the group representing the theological current in Muslim political thought, which, to some extent, is true, especially when he discusses one of the major political disputes of early Islam – the first *fitna*, i.e. the strife concerning ʻUṯmān and ʻAlī. But because of his Muʻtazilite background it could not be excluded that some of his ideas reveal Hellenistic origin.

Of utmost interest his impact on political thought. And it seems that ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār who is one of the late Muʻtazilites would be the best candidate for such an analysis since his monumental *Kitāb fī al-imāma* has not yet been studied. It might be worthwhile to check whether the ideas present in Al-Ǧāḥiẓ's works found their way to ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār. The Qāḍī ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār (d. 1025) is an unquestionable authority in the late

[1] Asma Afsaruddin, *Lessons from the Past: Piety, Leadership, and Good Governance in* the Risālat al-ʻUthmāniyya (in: *Al-Jāḥiẓ: A Muslim Humanist for our Time*, ed. By A. Heinemann, J.L. Meloy, T. Khalidi, M. Kropp, Beirut 2009, pp. 175–196) where she discusses the later fate of these ideas and terms used by him.

generation of Mu'tazili thinkers. An encyclopedic mind, a great scholar, author of numerous theological and philosophical works. His political ideas are distinctly Mu'tazili and are a continuation and development of earlier Mu'tazili political thinking. These ideas are preserved in his major work *Al-Mugnī fī abwāb al-'adl wa-at-tawḥīd* in a special volume devoted to the imamate – the *Kitāb fī al-imāma*[2] and partly also in his *Šarḥ al-uṣūl*. In later literature, however, the authority of Al-Ǧāḥiẓ seems to be forgotten. In this paper, I attempt to show the impact of Al-Ǧāḥiẓ's political ideas on Qāḍī 'Abd al-Ǧabbār and particularly his *Kitāb fī al-imāma*, classified as the 20th volume of *Al-Mugnī fī abwāb al-'adl wa-at-tawḥīd*.

Although Al-Ǧāḥiẓ is mentioned in *Al-Imāma* only a couple of times – II, 113 and II, 139 – it seems that his ideas could be traced in the whole work. It is also possible that Al-Ǧāḥiẓ influenced 'Abd al-Ǧabbār undirectly first of all through Al-Ǧubbā'ī's: Abū 'Alī – the father and Abū Hāšim – the son who are for 'Abd al-Ǧabbār unquestionable authorities.[3]

It was Charles Pellat who gave the first and most complete overview of Al-Ǧāḥiẓ's political ideas.[4] His starting point were the main political issues of that time: the succession to the Prophet Muḥammad, the murder of 'Uṯmān and succession after him, the Battle of the Camel and Ṣiffīn and lastly the Abbasid dynasty. The questions asked were manifold. How should the community establish the imam? Who are those to elect him? How should the election be conducted? Could be the ruler be overthrown?[5]

But there are also theoretical questions which, in their turn, arose from the discussion of historical events. These questions pertained to the necessity of the imamate and caliph, what are the qualities of the candidate, ways of establishing the imam, replacing or deposing the imam.

This is not yet a systematical analysis. I envisage here only to pinpoint some of the salient problems which might prove interesting in further analysis.

In the political discourse of the Muslim scholars, one of the essential questions posed was whether political power, that is the imamate, as such was necessary at all. This question was particularly interesting to the Mu'tazilites since it offered an ample ground for discussion and scholastic argumentation of all sorts. Moreover, within this group there were thinkers who openly contested the necessity of political power. The idea that an imam was essentially not necessary can be thus labeled as a Mu'tazilite invention. It was discussed by the Al-Aṣamm (816/817), An-Naẓẓām (835/845), Hišām al-Fuwaṭī (ca. 840), 'Abbād Ibn Sulaymān (ca. 870) and the so-called

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[2] Al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Ǧabbār *Mugnī fī abwāb al-'adl wa-at-tawḥīd. Fi al-imāma*, pt. I-II, ed. by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Qāsim, Al-Qāhira n.d. His edition is here referred to as *Imāma*.

[3] On them: 'Alī Fahmī Ḫušaym, *Al-Ǧubbā'iyyāni. Abū 'Alī wa-Abū Hāšim*, Ṭarābulus 1967.

[4] Ch. Pellat, *L'Imamat dans la doctrine de Ǧāḥiẓ*, "Studia Islamica"15, 1961, pp. 23–52.

[5] J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Band IV, Berlin 1997, p. 700.

Mu'tazilite ascetics (*ṣūfiyyat al-mu'tazila*).[6] They all contended that the imamate was a human convention which could be dropped if its utility was lost.[7]

The political ideas of Al-Aṣamm were reconstructed by Josef van Ess in his monumental *Theologie und Gesellschaft*.[8] For Al-Aṣamm an absolute agreement of the community was necessary to establish the imam.[9] Still, he was rather flexible in his ideas, and even argued that a number of rulers could exist in one time, just to guarantee safety.

From his theory of social consensus Al-Aṣamm drew the conclusion that human society could well do without a ruler, if it renounced any form of aggression and people would treat others with respect.[10] We know that the idea of the necessity of the imamate might have been ascribed to Greek philosophers and it appears Aristotle's letter to Alexander preserved only in Arabic version: "A number of people thought that a ruler is needed only to conduct wars. And when the wars end the ruler is not needed any more" (وقد ظن كثير من الناس أنه إنما يحتاج إلى المدبر القائم بالسنة في الحرب فإذا انقضت الحرب واستفاض الأمن والسكون استغنى عنه).[11] From such a statement it of course does not follow that the idea originated in Greece, but it is not impossible.

Similarly to Al-Aṣamm, An-Naẓẓām was certain that people can do without an imam if they keep the laws of God, which meant for him following the *Qur'ān* and Sunna. He accepted the existence of a ruler, but such a ruler should be the most pious person.[12]

In Al-Ğāḥiẓ's opinion a ruler is absolutely necessary, since without him greed and avidity would lead people to treat each other tyrannically: ويتظالم الناس فيما بينهم بالشرّه والحرص المركّب في أخلاقهم، فلذلك احتاجوا إلى الحكّام.[13] This is so because people do not discern right from wrong (Al-Ğāḥiẓ uses the Mu'tazilite terms *taǧwīr* and *ta'dīl*). Rulers are therefore needed not only to keep people apart but also to teach them proper ways of life. He points to the affinity between rulers and prophets in this regard and distinguishes three types of rulers: messengers who are prophets and rulers, prophets who are rulers and rulers proper.[14] The views of Al-Aṣamm and his followers do not bother him in the least even though An-Naẓẓām was his venerated teacher.

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[6] Followers of Bišr Ibn Mu'tamir. About them: Van Ess, *Theologie*…, vol. III, pp. 130–133, and V, p. 329. P. Crone calls them all anarchists, cf. P. Crone, *Ninth-Century Muslim Anarchists*, "Past & Present", no. 167 (May, 2000), pp. 3–28.

[7] P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh 2005, p. 66.

[8] J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin 1992, Band II, pp. 408–414.

[9] Ibid., pp. 408–409.

[10] Ibid., p. 410.

[11] J. Bielawski, M. Plezia, *Lettre d'Aristote à Alexandre sur la politique envers les cités,* Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, p. 30.

[12] J. van Ess, op. cit., vol. III, Berlin 1992, p. 416.

[13] Al-Ğāḥiẓ, *Kitmān as-sirr wa-ḥifẓ al-lisān*, in: *Rasā'il*, ed. 'A.M. Hārūn, vol. I, Al-Qāhira 1964, p. 161.

[14] Al-Ğāḥiẓ, *Maqāla az-zaydiyya wa-ar-rāfiḍa*, in: *Rasā'il*, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 321.

If we take then the writings of ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār the points of discussion on political power are in some problems discussed similar to those found in Al-Ǧāḥiẓ's work and different in other. ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār agrees that political power is indispensable for humanity. The starting point for the discussion is of course the very idea of political power and its necessity. Here, ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār turns to Al-Aṣamm's position and his idea of consensus (*iǧmāʻ*): if consensus reigned people would not need a ruler. Quoting his beloved teacher Abū ʻAlī al-Ǧubbāʼī he states: if people were just, did not treat each other tyrannically and *ḥudūd* were applied, no imam would be needed (لو أنصف الناس بعضهم بعضا وزال التظالم وما يوجب إقامة الحد، لاستغنى الناس عن الإمام *Imāma* I, 48). Unfortunately, this is not the case and people are never ready to agree with each another: والمعلوم من حال الناس خلاف ذلك (*Imāma* I, 48). Hence the ruler is necessary. In both texts the technical term *taẓālum* – reciprocal tyrannical treatment – is used.

In his argumentation, Al-Ǧāḥiẓ never touches upon yet another subject very important in later discussion namely that of the nature of power and whether it is necessitated by reason or by mind. In classical Islamic political literature this was always an important point of discussion. For ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār this is not only an important subject, but also an occasion to use all the vast Muʻtazilite concepts and terminology.

ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār discusses the problem on the basis of differences in approach to the very problem. He speaks of different attitudes towards the necessity of the existence of imam: some maintained that it is necessary by itself (*aṣlan*), and others maintained that reason (*ʻaql*) necessitates it, still other groups pointed out to revelation (*samʻ*) (*Imāma* I, 16). In a lengthy exposition (*Imāma* I, 17-40), he rejects the idea that political power is necessitated by reason. Here the Muʻtazilite concept of *taklīf* – preordained divine obligation – plays essential role. If imamate was necessary because of reason it should have some aspect of necessity because that in which there is not an aspect necessitating it from the point of view of reason can be divided only into two types (لو وجبت من جهة العقل، لوجبت أن يكون لها وجه وجوب، لأن ما لا وجه فيه يجب لأجله من جهة العقل، لا يخرج عن قسمين).[15]

If not by reason, then it is necessitated by revelation: ما يدل على أن الإمامة تجب من جهة العقل أن الإمام إنما يراد لأمور سمعية كإقامة الحدود وتنفيذ الأحكام وما شاكلها (*Imāma* I, 39). The argumentation is typical of late Muʻtazilite scholastic method. A number of detailed arguments are added. The *Qurʼān* speaks of *ḥudūd* – argues ʻAbd al-Ǧabbār – and somebody has to implement them: it is the imam (*Imāma* I, 41). Such an imam is established by God, his messenger or the people.

The imam however should be characterized by a number of traits by which he differs from the rest of mankind:

[15] In other words if something is not rationally justified it must be ordained by God (*mukallaf*).

قد اعتمد شيخانا على ما ورد به الكتاب من إقامة الحدود ... وقد ثبت أن ذلك من واجبات الإمام دون سائر الناس، فلا بد من إمام يقوم به، فإذا لم يمكن كون الإمام إلا بإقامة الله تعالى ورسوله أو بإقامتنا بعد معرفة الصفة، فلا بد من حصله ببعض هذه الوجوه، فإذا فقد النص، فليس إلا وجوب إقامتنا.

Since the implementation of *ḥudūd* is the essential reason for establishing an imam, there always must be an imam: if the ruling one is vanquished and it is impossible to rescue him (إذا كان مغلوبا لا يمكن استنقاذه), people should choose another (*Imāma* I, 45).

Qualities of the imam

The first question in the discussion over the legitimacy of power is: who is the best possible – *al-afḍal* – candidate for the office of imam/caliph?

Al-Ğāḥiẓ exposes his evaluation in the following way:

وإن قالوا: فما صفة أفضلهم قلنا: أن يكون أقوى طبائعه عقله ثم يصل قوة عقله بشدة الفحص وكثرة السماع ثم يصل شدة فحصه وكثرة سماعه بحسن العادة فإذا جمع إلى قوة عقله علمأ وإلى علمه حزمأ وإلى حزمه عزمأ فذلك لذي لا بعده.

"If we were asked: what is the description of the best? We would reply: The strongest trait of his character should be his intelligence paired with intellectual curiosity and wide erudition and intellectual curiosity and wide erudition should be associated with good habits. Then when intellect is allied to learning, and learning to energy, and energy to decisiveness, there is no need for anything else."[16]

Charles Pellat has already noted that Al-Ğāḥiẓ theoretically at least rejects the *mafḍūl* – a less meritorious candidate.[17]

In this matter, ʿAbd al-Ğabbār is very meticulous. He points out to different views: those who do not accept imamate of *al-afḍal*, those who accept *al-mafḍūl*.

His discussion concentrates on the choice of Abū Bakr. And he says: إنما عقد لأبي بكر لأنه وإن لم يكن هو الأفضل عندهم، فهو كالأفضل، وربما عقدوا له وإن رأوا أن غيره أفضل منه لعذر اقتضى العدول إلى المفضول. ولا بد عندهم من هذين الوجهين في العاقدين لأبي بكر (*Imāma* I, 216). Abū Bakr was elected imam – even though he was not the most meritorious for them, but was like the most meritorious. It often happens that an imam is established even if it is clear that somebody else is better when for some reason it is necessary to turn to a less meritorious (*al-mafḍūl*). Surely these two points of view were considered by those who established Abū Bakr.

ʿAbd al-Ğabbār uses to terms: similar to the most meritorious (or: almost the best: (*ka-al-afḍal*) and less meritorious (*al-mafḍūl*), clearly accepting that a less meritorious

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[16] Ch. Pellat, *The Life and Works of Jāḥiẓ*, p. 65; Al-Ğāḥiẓ, *Al-Ğawābāt fi al-imāma*, in: *Rasā'il*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, vol. I, Al-Qāhira 1964, p. 305.

[17] Ch. Pellat, *L'Imamat dans la doctrine de Ğāḥiẓ*, p. 43.

person might become the imam if the situation requires it. He credits with this opinion Abū ‘Abd Allāh (al-Baṣrī)[18], who regarded ‘Alī as the best.[19]

For Al-Ǧāḥiẓ such an attitude is unacceptable. He is all against the rafidites, i.e. extreme Shi‘ites who denied the lawfulness of the first three caliphs. He would rather accept the Zaydis.[20] Hence his questioning the precedence of ‘Alī over Abū Bakr.

Al-Ǧāḥiẓ’s argument must have been strong, since ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār repeats it quoting Al-Ǧāḥiẓ:

وقال شيخنا ابو عثمان الجاحظ في ذلك لا فرق بين من يخبر الر اوي بأن إسلامه كان إسلام صغيرٍ وبين الخبر بأن سنه في وقت إسلامه ما لم تجر العادة بأن الإسلام يصح معه. قال ومنى قيل: إنه يختص بكمال العقل مع صغر سنه فذلك
– إما نقض عادة كالمعجز
– وإما أمر نادر و إن لم يبلغ المعجز
وكلا الوجهين كان يجب أن ينقل ويظهر، والذي قدمناه يمنع ذلك، لأنه لوثبت أنه عليه السلام أنه قال: "علي أول من آمن بي" وجب حمله على الإيمان الصحيح، وكذلك إذا قال لفاطمة: زوجتك أقدمهم إسلاماً" والروايات في ذلك كثيرة. (*Imāma* II, 139)

Here, ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār repeats the argument of Al-Ǧāḥiẓ adding however his own commentary, and showing the incompatibility with other reports in which the Prophet is said to maintain that Fāṭima was the first to embrace Islam.

It has been noted that the most meritorious person has to possess a number of exclusive qualities. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ singled a number of them, such as: intelligence (عقله قوة), intellectual curiosity (شدة الفحص), wide erudition (كثرة السماع), good habits (حسن العادة), energy (حزم) and decisiveness (عزم).

‘Abd al-Ǧabbār marshals a number of qualities (*awṣāf*) calling them canonical – *šar‘iyya*, since imamate is founded on the law (إثبات الإمامةشرعي). He starts with the ability to perform what has been entrusted to him: متمكن من القيام بما فوض إليه مع السلامة فيما يتصل بالقدرة والتمكين وزوال الأوقات وثبات القلب يدخل في ذلك (*Imāma* I, 198). Knowledge is as well important though first of all it concerns his duties as a ruler: عالم بكيفية ما فوض إليه ليفعله على ما يجوز، في حكم العالم بذلك.

For Al-Ǧāḥiẓ knowledge and learning belong to the essential qualities of an imam. Typically for him, he states that “knowledge gained from books is better: it better reaches people (*ablaġ*) than entertaining them since meetings strengthen artificiality, improper treatment, avoidance of help and creates excessive zeal” وإعلم أن قراءة الكتب أبلغ في

[18] Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī as a Basran Mu‘tazilite, whom ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār calls his šayḫ. He was the author of *Kitāb at-tafḍīl*, therefore called *Al-Mufaḍḍil*.

[19] ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār, *Šarḥ al-uṣūl*, p. 767, cf. also ‘Alī Fahmī Ḫušaym, *Al-Ǧubbā’iyyāni. Abū ‘Alī wa-Abū Hāšim*, Ṭarābulus 1967, p. 290.

[20] J. van Ess, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 96.

إرشادهم من تلاقيهم إذكان مع التلاقي يقوى التصنع ويكثر التظالم وتقرط النصرة وتنبعث الحمية.[21] Here Al-Ğāḥiẓ repeats his eulogy of books.[22]

ʻAbd al-Ğabbār is less idealistic, he rather concentrates on the pragmatic side of the ruler's knowledge: he should know what is useful for his office: أنه لا يشترط فالذي يجب أن يختص (*Imāma* I, 208) في ذلك من العلم ما لا تعلق له بما يقوم به الإمام به العلم بالأمور التي يجب أن يقوم بها (*Imāma* I, 208). In other words, ʻAbd al-Ğabbār advocates harmony between imam's knowledge and the tasks he should perform. In this harmony he sees the idea of being the best (*al-afḍal*) of his contemporaries, as also postulated Al-Ğāḥiẓ.

However, for ʻAbd al-Ğabbār it is necessary that the imam should listen to the advice of learned men (*'ulamā'*): لا يمتنع عندنا حاجته الى العلماء (*Imāma* I, 213). But the task of the *'ulamā'* is different than that of imam: they create and interpret laws, and he applies them: فأما ما يختص به الإمام من حاجة إليه فهو غير العلم، لأنه بمنزلة سائر العلماء في هذا الوجه، وإنما يحتاج إليه في إقامة الحدود والأحكام وغيرها مما قدمنا ذكرها، فالحاجة إليه صحيحة غير متناقضة، لأن العلماء يحتاجون إليه في غير الوجه الذي يحتاج هو إليهم (*Imāma* I, 213–214).

He should be reasonable (*'āqil*), since without reason he could not perform his function and could not be better than others. This is guaranteed by reason. Moreover he must be knowledgeable about the customs, use his intelligence and knowledge (عارفا بالعادات ويرجع إلى رأي ومعرفة الأمور (*Imāma* I, 201). His knowledge of warfare is indispensable. For ʻAbd al-Ğabbār reason is also important in the way that it guides his behaviour and decisions: فأما كونه عاقلا فالعقل يقنضيه، لأنه لا يجوز أن ينصب لأمر لا يمكنه القيام به ولا يميزه عن غيره، وذلك لا يكون إلا مع العقل (*Imāma* I, 201). This reason should be supplemented by experience (*ma'rifat al-umūr*).

Discussing knowledge ʻAbd al-Ğabbār limits it to knowledge necessary to execute by the ruler his office. He is not supposed, for instance, to know all the languages and all professions: قد علمنا أنه لا يشترط في ذلك من العلم ما لا تعلق له بما يقوم به الإمام وما يكون أصلا لذلك، لأنا متى اعتبرنا ذلك، لم يكن بعض العلوم بأن يعتبر أولى من بعض، وذلك يوجب كونه عالما بسائر اللغات وسائر الحرف وغير ذلك. وقد ثبت فساد ذلك. He should, however, excel in knowledge of the law.

The ruler must be free (*Imāma* I, 201) in order to freely act in what he has been entrusted with, so that no one can stop him, the more so that the imam is more important than the a normal ruler and therefore he cannot be a slave.

Amāna – trustworthiness – in a way is linked to the imam's merits, since he can be relied on in what he is doing: يختص بالأمانة التي معها يفع السكون إلى قيامه بما فوض إليه و لا يكون كذلك إلا مع ظهور الفضل والأمانة.

Religiosity means that the imam not only must be religious (*mutadayyin*) but also a Muslim. Rulers and amīrs must be Muslims and since the position of the ruler is

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[21] Al-Ğāḥiẓ, Al-*Ğawābāt fi al-imāma*, in: *Rasā'il*, ed. ʻA.M. Hārūn, vol. I, Al-Qāhira 1964, p. 296.

[22] Contained in *Al-Ḥayawān*, vol. I, p. 50 (Hārūn's edition) and translated into English with other excerpts: Ch. Pellat, *The Life and Works…*, pp. 130–132.

higher than theirs, he must be Muslim by all means. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ does not pay much attention to the piety of the candidate, at least in this theoretical exposition. In which he differs essentially from other Mu'tazilite authors who seem to be influenced by Ḫāriǧite movement. In *Al-'Uṯmāniyya* the question of piety as one of the essential merits of Abū Bakr is widely discussed.[23] On the other hand, 'Abd al-Ǧabbār juxtaposes piety to *fusq* (moral depravity) and goes as far as to state that by general agreement such a ruler should be deposed: فقد ثبت بإجماع أن الإمام يجب أن يخلع بحدث يجري مجرى الفسق (*Imāma* I, 202).

For 'Abd al-Ǧabbār piety is he first and essential trait to be considered. A whole chapter of *Al-Imāma* is devoted to discussion of the problem whether a *fāsiq* can become an imam (فصل في أن من يصلح للإمامة لا بد من أن يكون عدلا وأن إمامة الفاسق لا تجوز – *Imāma* I, 201).

The same reasoning is applied to justice: since witnesses and rulers must be just, so the ruler or imam, occupying a higher position, cannot be impious – *fāsiq*. An impious person cannot be trusted in just application of laws. And application of laws – *ḥuqūq*, *ḥudūd* and *aḥkam* – is the essential prerogative of the ruler. Since it requires justice – *inṣāf*, the ruler must be just.

Also disputed was the Qurašī origin of the imam. It is interesting that Al-Ǧāḥiẓ does not stress that the imam should belong to the tribe of Quraysh though if there are two equal candidates a Qurayšite should be preferred.[24] This is a typical attitude of the early Mu'tazilites. One could remind the opposite view of Ḍirār Ibn 'Amr (end of 8th c.), who maintained that in such case a non-Qurayšite should be elected since it is less dangerous for the integrity of the *umma*. If he is deposed there would be no danger of civil war.[25]

'Abd al-Ǧabbār position is in this case unequivocally on the side of the Qurayši origin of the imam. He devotes a whole chapter to the question quoting at first the hadith: الأئمة من قريش "imams are from the Qurayš" and then the affair of the Saqīfa (portico) of Banū Sā'ida (*Imāma* II, 234ff.). He only agrees with Al-Ǧāḥiẓ that in case there are two equal candidates a Qurayši should be the imam (*Imāma* I, 235). Curiously, he does only cite the authority of his shaykhs, meaning generally the Mu'tazilites (not only both Al-Ǧubbā'īs). So he may well refer to Al-Ǧāḥiẓ, though a couple of times he does it explicitly. As a scholastic dialectician he proceeds to refute a plethora of arguments against this fundamental, in his view truth, problem. Such as the fact that the traditionists were of the opinion that the literal understanding of this particular hadith does not exclude a non-Qurayshi imam.

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[23] Afsaruddin, op. cit., pp. 180–181.

[24] Pellat, *L'Imamat*..., p. 43.

[25] Van Ess, op. cit., vol. III, p. 55.

Only if there would be no Qurayši suitable for the imamate, someone from other tribe can become the imam. Elsewhere (*Imāma* I, 240), he concedes, similarly to Al-Ğāḥiẓ, that if there is not a Qurayši suitable for the office, somebody else may be elected: فإذا عدم فيهم من يصلح لذلك، وقد ثبت بالكتاب وجوب نصب من يقيم الحدود ويقوم بالأحكام، فلا بد عند ذلك من نصب من يصلح لذلك. It is the history of Sālim, a pious mawlà of Abū Ḥuḏayfa, who is quoted as an example of a non-Qurayši who could have become a caliph if he was alive at the time of the caliph ʻUmar's death (لو كان سالم حيا ما تخالجني الشكوك – *Imāma* I, 235–236).[26]

In this particular question he again resorts to arguments on the difference between revelation and reason: since revelation is unequivocal, there is no discussion and the matter is settled – *faṣl al-maqāl*.

Several times ʻAbd al-Ğabbār refutes in a general way the argument about close relatives, saying that such a kinship (*qarāba*) has nothing to do with imamate (*Imāma* I, 237). Al-Ğāḥiẓ is more flexible admitting that kinship is an argument in favour of a candidate, but again his merits based on religious knowledge are essential.[27]

How many imams there should be?

For Al-Ğāḥiẓ the number of reigning imams is open. In *Ğawābāt* he says that it is reasonable that there is more than one imam, ʻAbd al-Ğabbār concedes to this idea, and postulates that according to reason there should be no obstacle to have more than one, since there were more prophets than one, there are many qāḍis. But it is the revelation – *samʻ* – which dictates only one (*Imāma* I, 243). Al-Ğāḥiẓ has however reservations and as usual he resorts to reason: when there are many rulers they might be tempted to rivalry and this leads to chaos:

ومتى كانت الدواعي أقوى كانت النفس إلى الفساد أميل والعزم أضعف وموضع الروية أشغل والشيطان فيهم أطمع وكان الخوف عليهم أشد وكانوا بموافقة المفسد أحرى وإليه أقرب.

وإذا كان ذلك كذلك فأصلح الأمور للحكام والقادة إذا كانت النفوس ودواعيها ومجرى أفعالها على ما وصفنا أن ترفع عنهم أسباب التحاسد والتغالب وإن ذلك أدعى إلى صلاح ذات البين وأمن البيضة وحفظ الأطراف.

وإذا كان الله تبارك وتعالى قد كلف الناس النظر لأنفسهم واستيفاء النعمة عليهم وترك الخطار بالهلكة والتغرير بالأمة وليس عليهم مما يمكنهم أكثر من الحيطة والتباعد من التغرير.

ولا فصل منه فلما كان ذلك كذلك علمنا أنه إذا كان القائم بأمور المسلمين بائن الأمر متفرداً بالغاية من الفضل كانت دواعي الناس إلى مسابقته ومجارانه أقل والمباهاة والمنافسة.

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[26] The story of Sālim, a mawlà of Abū Ḥuḏayfa is recorded by Aṭ-Ṭabarī (*Tārīḫ*, p. 1204) and classical political literature.

[27] Pellat, *L'Imamat*..., p. 43; Afsaruddin, op. cit., p. 177.

"The stronger they motives, the more their souls are prone to confusion; the more their strength falters, the less scope there is for mature reflection; and the more Satan lusts for dominion over them, the graver is the danger that threatens them and the closer are they to fomenters of chaos. This being so, the best thing for rulers and chieftainsmen's souls, their motives and the nature of human behaviour being as we have said-is for all scope for envy and rivalry, all desire to outshine and gain the ascendancy, to be removed, so that harmony may reign and peace be assured at the heart of the empire and in the outlying provinces. (…) If God so designed the world and its inhabitants, if he made them such that they are better off with a single imam, it is so that the latter may exist when they want him and seek him; for it is only common sense that God cannot compel human beings to set up that which does not exist or to raise up that which they do not know." [28]

ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār seems to be less shrewd in his reasoning although much more explicit in his argumentation bringing a number of arguments in favour of only one ruler. Quoting Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī that the existence of two imams could bring problems of loyalty to the people, he nevertheless cites arguments of his opponents that this is hardly acceptable (*baʿīd*) since there can be many prophets واستدل (أبو هاشم) أيضا على ذلك بأنه لو جاز كون إمامين في وقت واحد، ما كان يجب طاعة أحدهما على الناس، لجاز أن يخالفه على بعض الوجوه، وهذا بعيد، لأن إثبات إمامين لا يمنع من وجوب طاعتهما على الكل، كما كان بعثة نبيين إلى كل الخلق لا يمنع ذلك. – *Imāma* I, 244. And so on goes his argumentation with different opinions in support of the revelation.

Who is to elect the imam. The electorate: *al-ʿāqidūn*

Al-Ǧāḥiẓ sticks to his primary division of the society into the elite and the common people. It is the elite who should elect an imam because of their knowledge. The *ʿāmma* might be led astray and elect an usurper.[29]

ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār follows this argument but without opposing *ḫāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma*. The electorate should consist of pious people whose advice can be trusted: فأما صفة العاقدين فأن يكونوا من أهل الستر والدين ومن يوثق بنصيحته وسعيه في المصالح، وأن يكون عالما لحمل الدين حتى يصح أن يعرف ذلك. Moreover, they should be judicious, knowledgeable and meritorious: كانوا من أهل الرأي والفضل (*Imāma* I, 252).

Ways of establishing an imam

Al-Ǧāḥiẓ justifies the right of the community to choose the imam. Since the prophet did not nominate a successor, he deemed it best for the community to choose one

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[28] Ch. Pellat, *The Life and Works…*, p. 65; Al-Ǧāḥiẓ, Al-*Ǧawābāt fi al-imāma*, op. cit., pp. 303–304.

[29] *ʿUṯmāniyya*, p. 262; Pellat, *The Life and Works…*, p. 80.

(فإذ لم يختره فتركُ اختياره خير لهم).[30] In a typically casuistic way he proceeds to explain why should one draw the conclusion from the Prophet's abstention that he in reality wanted the community to decide. The same logic is applied to the *Qur'ān*. Should God want a definite procedure of establishing the leader, He would have laid it down and explained in a clear text. It is inconceivable that you should oblige God to establish an imam in the text فلو كان الله بيّن ذلك بالنص والتفسير دون الدلالة ووضع العلامة، كانَ الخيَرة، لأنا نعلم أن الله لا يصنع إلا ما هو خير. فلو لم يفعل ذلك ولم ينصَّ عليَه فتركهُ الأمرَ.[31]

ʻAbd al-Ğabbār accepts this view although he relates it to the people knowing who is the best (*al-afḍal*) of the caliphs: لا طريق إلى معرفة ذلك إلا من جهة السمع فما لم يرد السمع عن الله تعالى ورسوله لا يعلم ذلك. Neither the *Qur'ān* nor the Prophet ever state who is the most meritorious person for the office of imam (*Imāma* II, 117).

Al-Ğāḥiẓ postulates three ways of establishing an imam:

– overthrowing a tyrant with due expectation and *taqiyya* applied;
– the way ʻUṯmān was elected: ʻUmar designated six persons who elected him;
– the way Abū Bakr was elected: because of his merits which were obvious to the *umma*.[32]

ʻAbd al-Ğabbār presents six different ways of establishing an imam:

A person is known by his merits (*faḍl wa-sābiqa*, *Imāma* I, p. 253) and that there is no one comparable. Clearly, he alludes to the precedence of Abū Bakr.

One person nominates a caliph, usually in situations of danger or pressing necessity (*Imāma* I, 254).

An usurper takes over the power and is backed by others. It was the case of ʻUmar Ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (*Imāma* I, 255–256).

An imam is designated by text (*naṣṣ*), as in the case of Abū Hāšim. This necessitates the acceptance (*riḍā*) of the community (*Imāma* I, 256).

A caliph dies and there is a group of people fit to replace him. They should consult each other and choose the best. This was the case of Abū Bakr who was chosen with the acceptance of Abū ʻUbayda, Sālim mawlà of Ḥuḏayfa, Usayd Ibn Ḥuḍayr and Bašīr Ibn Saʻd on the advice of ʻUmar (*Imāma* I, 256).

The most meritorious and pious choose between themselves an imam: it requires an allegiance between them: five should agree to choose the sixth (*Imāma* I, 257). Here he clearly alludes to the designation of ʻUmar, which is later explicitly described in *Imāma* II, 6ff. يصير الإمام إماما بعهد الإمام إليه إذا وقع برضا الجماعة فيصير بمنزلة عقد الواحد برضا الأربعة. In other words, an actual event becomes a rule.

In both theories – that of Al-Ğāḥiẓ and ʻAbd al-Ğabbār – the historical background is of essential importance. All the problems of imamate are discussed in the context of previous caliphs and their actual qualities and actions. Yet both authors tend

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[30] ʻ*Uṯmāniyya*, p. 278; Pellat, *The Life and Works…*, p. 82.

[31] ʻ*Uṯmāniyya*, pp. 278–279; 270, Pellat, *The Life and Works…*, p. 82.

[32] ʻ*Uṯmāniyya*, p. 270; Pellat, *The Life and Works…*, pp. 81–82; Pellat, *L'Imamat…*, pp. 46–47.

to distill from this historical background their theoretical prescription for the choice of the imams.

‘Abd al-Ǧabbār’s knowledge though sometimes reflecting that of Al-Ǧāḥiẓ is yet consistent with much later theories and discussion with opponents.

R O C Z N I K O R I E N T A L I S T Y C Z N Y, T. LXIV, Z. 1, 2011, (s. 165–173)

DMITRY FROLOV

Two in One and One in Two: An Observation on the Composition of the Qur'ānic Text

Abstract

The article analyzes two opposite but related phenomena. First, when two sūras are treated as one integrated text by Muslim commentators. Second, when the text of a sūra is styled as two autonomous texts each one with its opening oath formulas and its own contents. The analyses of these facts show that: 1) all the phenomena studied belong to the early Meccan period and are concentrated in the last section of the Qur'ānic text traditionally called *Al-Mufaṣṣal*; 2) the borders between the sūras were not absolute and invulnerable as different alternative decisions were rather freely discussed by Muslim scholars, and this gives us an insight in the process of the compilation of the Qur'ānic text; 3) The compilation of the sūras and the compilation of the book were not two successive steps, as is commonly believed, but – at least in some cases – a simultaneous process where decisions were taken at the same time about the number and contents of sūras and of their place in the book.

In the course of my study of the composition of the *Qur'ān* I came across a peculiar phenomenon which I want to present and discuss here. This phenomenon is not totally unknown but all its implications for the composition of the *Qur'ān* are somehow overlooked. I call this phenomenon "two in one and one in two".

Two in one

There are cases when Muslim scholars have reasons to speak and actually speak about two adjacent sūras being in fact one structural element of the book.

The first example is *Al-Fātiḥa* ("The Opening", no. 1) and *Al-Baqara* (*The Cow*, no. 2), the first being something like the opening prayer for the second (the request and the answer).

In reciting the verses of the first sūra, the believer asks for guidance (*hudā*) to the straight path (*ṣirāṭ mustaqīm*): *ihdinā aṣ-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (1:6).

The *Qur'ān* itself provides the immediate response to this prayer in the beginning of *Al-Baqara*:

"*Alīf-lām-mīm*. That is the Book, wherein is no doubt, a **guidance** (*hudā*) to the godfearing…"

The existence of this link between the *Al-Fātiḥa* and the *Al-Baqara* is mentioned by many Muslim commentators.[1] Some go as far as to state that it actually makes them a unit containing two sūras rather than two independent texts.[2] This supposition is supported by the fact that *Al-Baqara* also has a concluding prayer (2:286) and the two prayers in fact play the role of frame elements for the text of the second sūra.[3]

The second example is *The Daybreak* (*Al-Falaq*, no. 113) and the Men (*An-Nās*, no. 114) tied together by the common occasion for delivering (the magic used against the Prophet by a Jew or his daughters which made him ill). The story told by the authorities on *asbāb an-nuzūl* – we do not discuss here its authenticity or probability – in some versions contains such a detail as a rope with eleven knots which is exactly the number of verses in the last two sūras of the *Qur'ān*. Two angels brought a revelation containing these two sūras to the Prophet. With each verse he read one knot untied and at the end Muḥammad was completely cured.[4]

The third example is *The Spoils* (*Al-Anfāl*, no. 8) and *The Repentance* (*At-Tawba*, no. 9) which the compilers of the 'Uẖmān's *Vulgata* first thought to make one sūra but then decided against it. As-Suyūṭī in his *Itqān* quotes a tradition included practically in every *ḥadīth* collection where 'Uẖmān answers a question of Ibn 'Abbās who wanted to know why sūra no. 8 which is much shorter than the next sūra was put before with no *Basmala* between the two. 'Uẖmān said that although the *The Spoils* was delivered in the beginning of the Medinan period and *The Repentance* at the end of it, "the story in both of them is the same" (*al-qiṣṣa fīhimā wāḥida*). At first he decided to make them

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[1] See Ibn al-Zubayr al-Ġarnāṭī, *Al-Burhān fī tartīb suwar al-Qur'ān*, Ar-Ribāṭ 1990, p. 190; Ğalāl al-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, Al-Qāhira 1978, vol. 2, p. 142; idem, *Tanāsuq ad-durar fī tanāsub as-suwar*, Bajrut 1986, pp. 64–65.

[2] This might be an explanation for the well-known fact that Ibn Mas'ūd seemed not to include the *Fātiḥa* in his compilation of the *Qur'ān*, judging by the information given by Ibn an-Nadīm and As-Suyūṭī, although there are evidence that he knew this prayer. It is possible that he considered it to be the opening of the *Baqara* and not an autonomous sūra and included the *Fātiḥa* into the former under its heading. As a result the name of the first sūra does not appear in the list of sūras in his compilation preserved by Ibn an-Nadīm and As-Suyūṭī.

[3] See about this in more detail: Dmitry Frolov, *The Role of Prayers in the Composition of the Qur'ān* (to appear in the Proceedings of the 24th Congress of UEAI, "Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta" in 2011).

[4] See, i.e, Ğalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb an-nuqūl fī asbāb an-nuzūl*, Al-Qāhira n.d., pp. 504–505.

one sūra but then did not dare as the Prophet never explicitly said so, so he simply put them together and did not write the *Basmala* over the second one.[5]

The fourth example are sūras 93 and 94. As-Suyūṭī quotes Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī who in his commentary relates the opinion of such prominent figures as Ṭāwūs and the Umayyad caliph 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz who considered these two sūras to be one integrated text or one sūra.

But the most interesting case is the pair of *The Elephant* (*Al-Fīl*, no. 105) and *Al-Qurayš* (no. 106). The second one begins with the preposition *(ḥarf al-ǧarr) li-*: *li-īlāfi qurayš…* "For the composing of Qurayš…" and this creates a problem which is the starting point in the discussions between the commentators. According to the rules of the Arabic grammar the function of the prepositions is to connect something preceding them with something succeeding them, mostly verbs with nouns, but in this case there is nothing preceding the preposition. More than that nothing can be postulated as hidden in mind (*muḍmar*) or implicit (*muqaddar*) in the position before this preposition unlike many other cases, among them *Basmala* in the beginning of the *Fātiḥa*.

Three alternative solutions were proposed.

One – the sūra has a "round-up" composition where the beginning of it is tied up with its end. In other words one can read – and understand – the text in a reversed order as well: "So let them serve the Lord of this House who has fed them against hunger and secured them from fear/ for the composing of *Al-Qurayš*, their composing for the winter and summer caravan!". This rather fantastic explanation, nevertheless put forward by such scholars as Az-Zamaḫšarī and As-Suyūṭī, makes the verbs "fed" (*aṭ'ama*) and "secured" *(āmana*) govern the use of the preposition. As to the meaning everything fits well, but other examples of such circular structure of the text are nowhere to be found except maybe in modern literature.

Another solution, proposed by Aṭ-Ṭabarī, is that *lām* is not a preposition, but an exclamation particle (*lām at-ta'aǧǧub*). In this case the translation of the beginning of the sūra will be something like that: "How wonderful is the composing of *Qurayš…*". This hypothesis which looks reasonable enough remained unpopular because the particle used is definitely a preposition, and that makes such reasoning pure speculation.

The third solution which interests us most of all – the second sūra is part of the preceding sūra but for some reasons the text was cut into two parts and the second part was made a separate sūra. This solution consists of two statements.

The first statement is: "These two sūras initially are one text" and it is intended to solve the linguistic problem mentioned above.

The second statement is: "The text was for some reason subsequently cut into two and made two sūras" and the search for a reason incorporates a solution to another problem, this time a historical one. The reason for such a decision proposed by some

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[5] See As-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 62. See also p. 80 where As-Suyūṭī quotes discussions about whether these two texts are one sūra or two. Such early authorities as Abū Rawq, Muǧāhid and Sufyān aṯ-Ṯawrī considered them to be one sūra.

commentators was as follows: there is a Tradition in which Muḥammad says that the Qurayš was given seven favors, one of them being a sūra devoted exclusively to them and speaking only of them. So if the text had not been cut into two, this statement of the Prophet would have turned into false one which is unthinkable. What is remarkable is that the argumentation and the reasons why one text has been cut into two look very common sense and technical.

The number of examples allows us to surmise that Muslim scholars of different ages and trends did not consider the borders of the sūras as absolutely invulnerable and were not totally against discussing these borders and putting forward different points of view in this respect. The possible implications of this fact can somewhat change our picture of the structure of the book.

One in two

The opposite phenomenon has to do with sūras modeled as two texts which look like two autonomous sūras put under one heading. Such examples are also not infrequent in the *Qur'ān*. At least six sūras are structured like this. They are nos. 56, 69, 74, 81, 84, 86.[6] In all these texts the second part is autonomous thematically and has a standard "oath" introduction so frequent in the beginning of sūras.

The oath introduction is one of the most popular in the *Qur'ān*. It occurs in 23 sūras (nos. 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 50, 51, 52, 53, 68, 75, 77, 79, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 100, 103).[7] All these texts are Meccan, more precisely – early Meccan. Most of them (nineteen sūras) fall into the section of the *Qur'ān* which is traditionally called *Al-Mufaṣṣal* or "The Partitioned", as well as all examples of the same introduction in the second part of a sūra. The overwhelming means of expression for oath is particle *wa-* (*wāw al-qasam*), but twice the verb *uqsimu* "I swear" is used instead (nos. 75 and 90), both times in combination with *lā* "no". Both oath patterns are used as introductions to the second parts of the abovementioned sūras only the distribution is different. Four times the phrase *lā uqsimu* "No, I swear" is used, and twice – the *wa-* phrase (sūras 74 and 86).[8]

If we look closely at the six passages in the Appendix, we can make at least three observations:

First, we can see that any text of this group could have been a sūra of its own, with no less right in respect to its contents and form than, say, sūras 98, 103 or 108.

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[6] The texts of the second parts of these sūras in Arberry's translation are given in the Appendix to the paper.

[7] As-Suyūṭī in *Itqān* in the chapter on the introductions of sūras (*fawātiḥ*) speaks only of 15 sūras, but his data does not include sūras which begin with a combination of letters (*ḥurūf muqaṭṭa'a*) + oath series, as well as sūras where oath is expressed not by *wāw al-qasam*, but by the verb *uqsimu*, with an accompanying word *lā* "no", see *Itqān*, vol. 2, pp. 135–136.

[8] This sūra is unique in one more aspect. Both parts of it begin with oath expressed by the same phrase *wa-as-samā'i…* "By heaven…".

Second, the contents of each one of them have very vague connection with the contents of the first part, to say the least. Still, they have a very definite function in the structure and composition of these sūras. The first parts of them speak about what can be called *ġayb* "hidden knowledge":

– sūra 56 – eschatology and creation;
– sūra 69 – history (stories of perished nations) and eschatology,
– sūra 74 – eschatology;
– sūra 81 – eschatology;
– sura 84 – eschatology;
– sūra 86 – creation and eschatology.

The key word is eschatology to which sometimes stories about creation or historical events are added. In other words the first parts give information about facts which no one can check from his own experience. A person has to believe in them, and the second parts verify this information by stressing that it is a revealed truth and whoever believes in it will be rewarded and whoever considers it a lie will be punished.

It seems that by finding this functional, not thematic, link between the two parts of these sūras we touch upon a certain compilation technique repeatedly used to form a Qur'ānic chapters which definitely have a form of sermons. We cannot exclude that originally autonomous texts delivered independently from each other, were first combined orally in the process of preaching and then were put to writing.

Third, they are very much alike in their message which concentrates round two themes very important for the whole *Qur'ān*, especially in the early Meccan stage: the truth of the Revelation and the punishment and reward. Contrariwise pictures of the Creation and of the Last Day catastrophe so frequent in the early Meccan sūras are significantly absent from them.

The first theme is additionally accentuated in them by using the recurring formulas and key words like *qur'ān karīm* (56:77), *al-qur'ān* (84:21), *kitāb maknūn* (56:78,) *qawl rasūl karīm* (69:40, 81:19), *qawl faṣl* (86:13), *naḏīr* (74:36), *taḏkira* (74:49, 54). Also the six texts taken together contain a refutation of all the three main accusations addressed to Muḥammad by it opponents: he is not a poet, nor soothsayer (*kāhin*), see sūra 69, nor possessed (*maǧnūn*), see sūra 81.

It turns out that these six texts form not only syntagmatic relations with first parts, being something like a certificate of their authenticity, but also paradigmatic relations with each other, accentuating a theme, which was very important, or even crucial, in the early stage of Muḥammad's mission.

Conclusions

Our observations can be summarized in several points:

1) All the discussed phenomena are concentrated in the last section of the *Qur'ān* called *Al-Mufaṣṣal* (sūras 50–114), where short texts revealed mostly in the early Meccan

period are gathered.[9] As-Suyūṭī quotes Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī who said that it is possible that the group of *Al-Mufaṣṣal* sūras in the process of compilation was formed before the rest of the *Qur'ān*.[10] In other words the group is a collection of Muḥammad's sermons of the early period made of a combination of different revealed passages which fitted each other to convey the message.

2) The borders between the sūras were not absolute and invulnerable as different alternative decisions were rather freely discussed by Muslim scholars, and this gives us an insight in the process of the compilation of the Qur'ānic text.
3) The compilation of the sūras and the compilation of the book were not two successive steps, as is commonly believed, but – at least in some cases – a simultaneous process where decisions were taken at the same time about the number and contents of sūras and of their place in the book. The facts we presented support this hypothesis, but as Muslims often say, "Allāh knows better".

Appendix. Texts of the autonomous second parts of the six sūras

56:75–96:
No! I swear by the fallings of the stars
(and that is indeed a mighty oath, did
you but know it)
it is surely a **noble Koran**
in a **hidden Book**
none but the purified shall touch,
a sending down from the Lord of all Being.
What, do you hold this discourse in disdain,
and do you make it your living to cry lies?
Why, but when the soul leaps to the throat of the dying
and that hour you are watching
(And We are nigher him than you, but you do not see Us)
why, if you are not at Our disposal,
do you not bring back his soul, if you speak truly?
Then, if he be of those brought nigh the Throne,
there shall be repose and ease, and a Garden of Delight;
and if he be a Companion of the Right:
'Peace be upon thee, Companion of the Right!'
But if he be of them that cried lies, and went astray,
there shall be a hospitality of boiling water

[9] The exception is the short Medinan sūras also placed at the end of the codex (sūras 57–66, 98). But all the sūras studied belong, as we stated above, to the early Meccan period.

[10] See As-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 83.

and the roasting in Hell.
Surely this is the truth of certainty.
Then magnify the Name of thy Lord, the All-mighty.

69:38–52:
No! I swear by that you see
and by that you do not see,
it is the **speech of a noble Messenger**.
It is not the speech of a **poet**
(little do you believe)
nor the speech of a **soothsayer**
(little do you remember).
A sending down from the Lord of all Being.
Had he invented against Us any sayings,
We would have seized him by the right hand,
then We would surely have cut his life-vein
and not one of you could have defended him.
Surely it is a Reminder to the godfearing;
but We know that some of you will cry lies.
Surely it is a sorrow to the unbelievers;
yet indeed it is the truth of certainty.
Then magnify the Name of thy Lord, the All-mighty.

74:32–56:
Nay! By the moon
and the night when it retreats
and the dawn when it is white,
surely it is one of the greatest things
as a **warner** to mortals.
to whoever of you desires to go forward or lag behind.
Every soul shall be pledged for what it has earned,
save the Companions of the Right;
in Gardens they will question concerning the sinners,
'What thrusted you into Sakar?'
They shall say, 'We were not of those who prayed, and
we fed not the needy,
and we plunged along with the plungers,
and we cried lies to the Day of Doom,
till the Certain came to us.'
Then the intercession of the intercessors shall not profit them.
What ails them, that they turn away from the **Reminder**,
as if they were startled asses fleeing before a lion?

Nay, every man of them desires to be given scrolls unrolled.
No indeed; but they do not fear the Hereafter.
No indeed; surely it is a **Reminder**;
so whoever wills shall remember it.
And they will not remember, except that God wills;
He is worthy to be feared, worthy to forgive.

81:15–29:
No! I swear by the slinkers,
the runners, the sinkers,
by the night swarming,
by the dawn sighing,
truly this is **the word of a noble Messenger**
having power, with the Lord of the Throne secure,
obeyed, moreover trusty.
Your companion is not **possessed**;
he truly saw him on the clear horizon;
he is not niggardly of the Unseen.
And it is not the word of an accursed Satan;
where then are you going?
It is naught but a Reminder
unto all beings,
for whosoever of you who would go straight;
but will you shall not, unless God wills,
the Lord of all Being.

84:16–25:
No! I swear by the twilight
and the night and what it envelops
and the moon when it is at the full,
you shall surely ride stage after stage.
Then what ails them, that they believe not,
and when the **Koran** is recited to them they do not bow?
Nay, but the unbelievers are crying lies,
and God knows very well what they are secreting.
So give them good tidings of a painful chastisement,
except those that believe, and do righteous deeds –

theirs shall be a wage unfailing.

86:11–17:
By heaven of the returning rain,

by earth splitting with verdure,
surely it is a **decisive word**;
it is no merriment.
They are devising guile,
and I am devising guile.
So respite the unbelievers;
delay with them awhile.

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JERZY HAUZIŃSKI

The Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs after the Fall of Alamūt. Imāmate's Dilemma

Abstract

The collapse of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs' state with its centre in Alamūt and the elimination by the Mongols of Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh, the last Ḫudāwand of their state and imām, in 655/1257, meant breaking away by the Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs with the Iranian tradition of their movement. Therefore, as professor Daftary notices: "The news of the execution of Rukn ad-Dīn in Mongolia (…) must have dealt another demoralizing blow to the confused and displaced Nizārīs who had been accustomed to having access to their imām or his local representatives." Now the imām was gone or at least nothing was known of his temporal existence. Referring to ideas from the times of Rašīd ad-Dīn Sinān, the most famous Nizārī leader in Syria, it can be assumed that in the face of collapse of Persian Nizārīs' state and Ḫuršāh's death, Raḍī ad-Dīn Abū al-Ma'ālī, the chief da'i of Syrian Nizārīs, started to aspire to obtain imām's charisma. His cooperator and then successor, Naǧm ad-Dīn Ismāʿīl acted in a similar way. There are certain reasons which support the thesis that in the face of the end of the Alamūt centre and annihilation of Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh, the imām of Alamūt, Naǧm ad-Dīn acknowledged himself as "a visible imām" of the Nizārīs. A certain suggestion indicating caliph-imām aspirations of the leaders of Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs can be found in Naǧm ad-Dīn's letter which was sent to Manfred, the king of Sicily, towards the end of 1265. This letter, published by professor H.M. Schaller in a fairly indirect Latin translation, points to caliph-oriented, which for the Ismāʿīlīs was synonymous with imām-oriented, aspirations of the issuer. The hypothesis arising from this article cannot be considered as a decisive one, since only yet unknown (or not used) medieval Arabic sources could be considered as such.

When Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh, the last imām of Alamūt surrendered to Hülegü-Khan's Mongols towards the end of the year 1256, he ordered his followers to hand over the fortresses which were remaining in their possession to the Mongolian conquerors. His order referred first of all to Nizārī centers on the territory of Iran, in the mountains close to the Caspian Sea and in the Quhistan province.[1] Ḫuršāh himself accompanied Hülegü-Khan to his camp (*ordu*), which was pitched in the region of Hamadan, as wrote the Persian historian ʿAṭā' Malik Ǧuwaynī: "[he] sent two or three trusted men to the castles in Syria together with the King [i.e. Hülegü] elchis in order to fetch the commanders, take an inventory of the treasuries and guard those castles as subjects of the King (…).[2] Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh's call was answered by governors of four castles in the Ǧabal Bahra area, including the Masyāf.[3]

With the victory over the Mongolian army in the battle of ʿAyn Ǧālūṭ, on September 3, 1260 (25 Ramaḍān 658), the direct Mongolian threat to the Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs was over, or at least obviated. After the defeat of the Mongols, the Mongolian governor left Masyāf. The Ismāʿīlī commanders of fortresses who had surrendered to the Mongols, probably ordered to do so by representatives of imām Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh, were executed. Baybars, first the comrade in arms of Quṭuz, the victor of the battle of ʿAyn Ǧālūṭ, and then his murderer and successor, restored control over Syria to Egypt and deprived Crusaders of a considerable part of Palestine.[4] Similarly to Nur ad-Dīn Zangī and Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn a century before, Baybars, acted ostentatiously as a zealous supporter of sunnism, which must have raised concern of heretical Nizārīs. Raḍī ad-Dīn and Naǧm ad-Dīn, his co-ruler and then his aged successor, tried to retain their domain's independence. Notes in Arab chronicles from the Mamlūk period, which in the most part are Sunni-oriented, prove consistent resistance against submitting to Baybars on the part of the leaders of the sect in Syria (*aṣḥāb ad-daʿwa*)[5].

Let us now return to the fate of Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh himself, the imām of all Nizārīs, also the Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, refraining from the Ismāʿīlī doctrine of the imāmate with reference to the Nizārīs.[6] As soon as most of Iranian pockets of resistance of the

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[1] F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs. Their History and Doctrines,* Cambridge 1990, pp. 427–428; B. Lewis, *The Assassins. A Radical Sect in Islam*, London 1985, pp. 93–94.

[2] 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Tar'īkh-i jahan gusha,* Eng. trans. J.A. Boyle, *The History of the World – Conqueror,* Manchester, 1958, vol. II, p. 722. The same information can be found in: Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Ǧāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ*, Baku 1957, vol. III, ed. A.A. Alizade, Persian text p. 37, Russian trans. p. 30. In modern works see Daftary, *The Ismaʿīlīs,* p. 428.

[3] Ibn Muyassar, *Tāj al-Dīn Muhammad b. Ali, Akhbār, Misr,* ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919, p. 68; in scientific historiography see Ch. Defrémery, *Nouvelles recherchés sur les Ismaéliens ou Bathiniens de Syrie,* Journal Asiatique, Janvier 1855, ser. 5, vol. V, p. 48; F. Daftary, p. 430; N.A. Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism. The Ever Living Line of the Imāmate, AD 1100–1260*, Richmond 1997, p. 55.

[4] Ch. Defrémery, p. 49; Daftary, p. 431.

[5] 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Alī b. Ibrāhim b. Shaddād, *Ta'rīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir,* ed. A. Hutayt, Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 268–269, 323; Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, Paris 1840, vol. I, part. 2, pp. 79–80, 99–100 and 112–113.

[6] For an interesting remark on this topic refer to: W. Ivanow, see his Introduction to the Kalâmi Pîr, *A treatise on Ismaili Doctrine*, also (wrongly) called Haft-Babi Shah Sayyid Nasir. Islamic Research Association

Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs were handed over to the Mongols, Rukn ad-Dīn became useless to the victors, and consequently the Mongolian leaders in Qazwīn received orders from their headquarters to kill imām's family and his household members.[7] At his request, Rukn ad-Dīn was permitted to go to the capital city of the great khan in Qara-Qorum. The khan, however, refused to receive him. "Why should he have taken such a long journey?," said the khan to all Mongols, "after all, our laws are well-known."[8] When he was on his way back to Persia, he was slain on the slope of the Khangay Mountains (Central Mongolia) by the escort which had been allotted to him. Taking under consideration the length of the route taken by him from Qazwīn to Qara-Qorum and back, to the mountain pass in the Khangay Mountains, it must have taken place still in 1257. The Mongolian administrators of Iran did not conceal information about his death, which could have reached the Nizārī enclaves in Syria as early as in 1258.[9] In effect, the dependence of the Syrian Nizārīs on the centre in Alamūt ceased to exist. There are no written sources which would provide information about the doctrinal formula adopted by the Syrian Nizārīs concerning the person of the imām. Did they content themselves with the formula of the "concealment period" (*ad-dawr as-satr*), after which the imām would reveal himself again? The contemporary interpretation of the history of nizārīsm assumes the continuity of the line of imāms derived from Rukn ad-Dīn.[10] Rukn ad-Dīn's son or nephew, Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Šams ad-Dīn Tabrizi and linked sometimes with Šams-i Tabrīzī, who was the famous teacher of Ǧalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, would be the successor of the imāmate.[11] Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammmad was working in that time as a humble craftsman (Zarduz or an embroiderer) in Azarbaijan, impersonating a teacher of Sufism.[12] It is certain that he was not known to the Syrian followers of nizārīsm.

Referring to ideas from the times of Rašīd ad-Dīn Sinān, the most famous Nizārī leader in Syria, it can be assumed that Raḍī ad-Dīn started to aspire to obtain imām's charisma, which, however, had to take a very cautious form, at least due to Sunni orthodoxy of sultan Baybars. On the part of Raḍī ad-Dīn, it would have been a propaganda-doctrinal practice *pro foro interno*. Baybars himself, who had to overcome political particularism of Syrian lands, showed certain respect to the leader of Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, though he did not acknowledge him as a spiritual leader in the Sunni or even Shi'ite- Imāmite dimension.

No. 4, Bombay, 1935 especially pp. XXXVIII–XLIV; Christian Jambet, *La Grande Résurrection d'Alamût. Les formes de la liberté dans le shî'isme ismaélien,* Lagrasse 1990 especially pp. 95–100, pp. 295–353.

[7] Juwayni, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, pp. 723–724; Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Ǧāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ,* text p. 37, translation p. 30; Daftary, p. 428.

[8] Juwayni, op. cit., p. 724.

[9] F. Daftary writes: "The news of the execution of Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh in Mongolia in 655/1257 must have dealt another demoralizing blow to the confused and displaced Nizārīs who had been accustomed to having access to their imām or his local representatives", p. *Ismāʿīlīs,* p. 444.

[10] Daftary, op. cit., pp. 437 seq., see: the letter of the Nizārī's Imām, p. 553.

[11] See a critical note: *Dějiny perské a tádžické Literatury,* ed. J. Rypka, Praha 1963, p. 203, note 69.

[12] F. Daftary, *Shams al-Dīn Muhammad,* EINE, vol. IX, Leiden 1977, p. 296; F. Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* especially pp. 444–448, 451–452.

After Raḍī ad-Dīn's death in 1262 (660), leadership over the community of Syrian Nizārīs was taken over by Naǧm ad-Dīn, who was distantly related to his predecessor, at least due to marrying his daughter off to Ṣā rim ad-Dīn Mubārak, Raḍī ad-Dīn's son.[13] Naǧm ad-Dīn was almost eighty years old in that time. His *nisba*: Aš-Šaʿrānī, derives from a place, which may point to his descent from territories of an enormous Aš-Šām region (most likely from today's Lebanon) and from one of Arab tribes settled there.[14] There are certain reasons which support the thesis that in the face of the end of the Alamūt centre and annihilation of Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh, imām of Alamūt , Naǧm ad-Dīn acknowledged himself as "a visible imām " of the Nizārīs. Posing as the imām of the Nizārīs, that is, through Nizar, the successor of the caliphate heritage of the Fatimids, he could not accept any limitations on his apparently sovereign power. Therefore, when in February 1270 (Ǧumādā II 668 H.) Baybars was going to Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, situated close to the lands of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, Naǧm ad-Dīn, as opposed to other emirs ruling the neighboring lands (between Hama and Tortosa), did not appear before the sultan to render allegiance to him. Baybars felt deeply offended by the conduct of the Nizārī leader, and in effect he decided to remove him from power, disregarding the ideas of Nizārī sectarians. When soon afterwards Naǧm ad-Dīn sent his son-in-law, Ṣārim ad-Dīn, having custody of the Al-Ullayqa fortress, to Baybars in order to negotiate reduction in the amount of tribute paid to the Mamlūks by the Nizārīs, the sultan did not show anger to the sect's envoy, but trying to set the community of Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs at variance, acted in a similar way like soon after 1261, when he acknowledged Ǧamāl ad-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn Ṯābit, the emissary of the Syrian Nizārīs, as their leader, though it was Raḍī ad-Dīn, who was the legitimate "imām."[15] Also in this case, Baybars nominated the prominent Nizārī envoy to be the leader of their community, despite the fact that in the light of the Shi'ite-Ismāʿīlī doctrine, such an action could never be accepted. The sultan made Ṣārim ad-Dīn virtually the emir of the main Nizārī fortresses in Ǧabal Bahra, with the exception of the Masyāf fortress, which he intended to give as a sort of a fief (*tablkhana*) to one of his leaders. Ṣārim ad-Dīn, who was entrusted with the task of managing the Nizārī fortresses as the plenipotentiary of Baybars, set about performing tasks granted to him at the end of February and beginning of March 1270 (Ǧumādā II – Raǧab 668). At first the elderly Naǧm ad-Dīn tried to oppose his son-in-law,[16] but he finally acquiesced, probably having been given a guarantee from Ṣārim ad-Dīn that his position of the imām will be respected.

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[13] N.A. Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism,* pp. 58, 125 note 5; Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* p. 431.

[14] Al-Maqrīzī instead of *nisba* Šaʿrānī introduces mistakenly the name-derived element: 'Shaghrāt', Maqrīzī, French trans. E. Quatrémere, vol. I, part. 2, p. 79: 'Schagrat,' which must have been the copyist's mistake.

[15] Casus Ǧamāl ad-Dīn's see Ibn Shaddād, *Ta'rīkh al-Malik az-Zāhir,* Ed. A. Hutayt, pp. 268–269; Moufazzal Ibn Abil-Fazaïl, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks. Texte arabe publié et traduit en Français par E. Blochet,* Patrologia Orientalis, vol. XII, Paris, 1919, pp. 433–434 (the name of that person is not given there), Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz ad-Durar*, ed. U. Harmann, Cairo 1971, vol. VIII, pp. 84–85.

[16] F. Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* 432.

Certain suggestion indicating caliph-imām aspirations of the leaders of Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs can be found in Nağm ad-Dīn's letter sent to Manfred, the king of Sicily and natural son of the emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen, towards the end of 1265.[17] This letter, which is included both in the Latin *Cosmography* code of the University Library in Basilea from the first half of the 15th century and in *Itinerarium Syriacum* written by Francesco Petrarca,[18] was discovered by Hans Lieb (Zurich), who made a German medievalist, professor Hans Martin Schaller, the historian researching the Hohenstaufen period, interested in the matter. The latter published the Latin text of the letter together with an extensive commentary in 1965.[19] In my opinion, the analysis of the content of the letter made by H.M. Schaller, together with the critical edition of the letter itself, is excellent and still relevant today. Therefore, I will take the liberty of referring to the basic findings of the German scholar. Due to its unique form, the letter was qualified by the librarian Carl Roth in 1910 as a work connected with mathematics and natural history and as such it was entered into the catalogue of manuscripts of the Library in Basilea with the title *De re geometria*.[20] Schaller has certain grounds to suspect that the Latin text of the letter was an indirect translation from the Arabic language through a translation into Greek. It could be proved by unique Greek name forms of the authors of the letter, i.e. Eleasar as the "Old Man of the Mountain," his son Cleopatras and Bucifalus, the younger brother of assassins' leader, mentioned in the narration. Proper names of Assassins' leaders (Syrian Nizārīs), though a bit peculiar in this form, refer to real people, as it was proved by the German scholar, e.g. to Nağm ad-Dīn, the leader of Syrian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, to his son Šams ad-Dīn and to Ṣārim ad-Dīn Mubārak, the son-in-law of the former and the brother-in-law of the latter, who was co-ruling with them.[21]

From the typically "geometrical" arenga of the letter it can be deduced that Eleasar, "the Old Man of the Mountain" and his son Cleopatras make a promise to Manfred, the king of Sicily to help him in his struggle with the pope and Charles of Anjou. H.M. Schaller assumed rightfully as *terminus post quem* of issuing the letter the date 28 June 1265, when Clemens IV granted the Kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Anjou to hold in fee, and as *terminus ante quem* early spring of 1266, or the time before the news of the battle of Benevent (26 February 1266) and of the death of king Manfred reached Syria.[22] It can be deduced from the letter that it was issued before 1 February 1266 (*infra Kalendas Februarii*).[23] Manfred was offered aid in the form of potential

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[17] For the text of this letter see: H.M. Schaller, *König Manfred und die Assassinen,* in: „Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 1965, vol. XXI, pp. 192–193.

[18] Schaller, p. 175, see U. Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteurer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago- Pilger (1320–1520)*, Tübingen 2000, pp. 166–167.

[19] Schaller, op. cit., pp. 173–193.

[20] Ibid., p. 177.

[21] Schaller, p. 179, see also F. Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* pp. 431–433.

[22] Schaller, op. cit., p. 178.

[23] Lat. text. p. 192 Schaller's commentary p. 180.

elimination by the assassins' commando unit led by Bucifalus (Ṣārim ad-Dīn?) of two major opponents of Manfred, i.e. the pope Clemens IV and Charles of Anjou, who had been designated by him as the king of Sicily.[24] It is hard to establish how serious the leader of Syrian assassins was in his declarations, but I do not intend to elaborate on this topic here. Eleasar (Naǧm ad-Dīn) wants to be perceived here as a powerful ruler (or leader), which was expressed in the Latin translation by the New Testament formula: *rex regum, et Dominus Dominantium* (the King of kings and the Lord of lords).[25] It is important to notice that in the inscription from the Masyāf fortress, dated to c. 1223 (620 H.?), Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan, the imām of Alamūt is referred to as an omnipotent lord, the king of kings, with the addition of laqab ʿAlā' ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn, and his Syrian "delegate", Al-Ḥasan Ibn Masʿūd, has a *laqab* Kamāl ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn. Dāʿī Ḥusayn is mentioned here as *ṣāḥib*, which means "master".[26] Another inscription, dated to Ramaḍān 635 H. (February 1237) mentions Muẓaffar Ibn al-Ḥusayn as the builder of a bath house. He is referred to as *mawlā* and *ṣāḥib*, with the addition of a honorary title Sirāǧ ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn, which, combined with the formula *a'azza Allāh ansārahu* ("may God reinforce his victories"), may, at first glance, indicate a leader from Syria. Furthermore, he has honorary titles *al-ʿālim* and *al-ʿādil*[27]. This record points to special respect paid to the leader of Syrian Nizārīs. When Max van Berchem was interpreting these titles, he did not attach any special significance to them, believing that they were quite common.[28] I do not share his view. Were it not for the fact that it is known that Muẓaffar Ibn al-Ḥusayn was formally delegated by the imām of Alamūt, it could be assumed that this title was attributed to him.[29]

A clear depreciation of the position of Nizārī leaders in Syria can be noticed in the inscription on the wall by the entrance to a mosque in Qadmūs, which was still legible in Van Berchem's times. This mosque was erected or rather renovated by mentioned

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[24] A little earlier the pope Urban IV (1261–1264) announced that a certain apostate monk from the Order of Saint James of Altopascio (Ordine di San Jacopo di Altopascio, Lucca, founded towards the end of 11th century as a branch of Santiago de Compostella) called Cavalcanti set off to France with two assassins, provided with five different types of poisonous substances, to kill Charles of Anjou, see J. Hauziński, *Muzułmańska sekta asasynów w europejskim piśmiennictwie wieków średnich* (in Polish, English Summary), Poznań 1978, p. 145. Al-Maqrīzī, who might have been influenced by these rumours, wrote under the month of Ǧumādā I 664 H. (8.II.1265–9.III.1265) that envoys of Manfred and king Alfonso of Castile (don Pedro or Jaime I of Aragon might be refered to here) sent to the leader of Syrian Assassins, reached Egypt, see Makrizi, *Histoire,* vol. I, part 2, p. 24, French trans. E. Quatremére. Arab. text of the work Al-Maqrīzī's, *Kitāb as-sulūk,* ed. M.M. Ziyāda, was unavailable for me.

[25] The Revelation of St John the Divine, 19,16, 1.Tim.6,15.

[26] Max van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie,* J.A., IX, série 9, 1897, p. 482 (Arab passage).

[27] Van Berchem, p. 488 (Arab passage), commentary p. 489.

[28] See ibid., p. 489.

[29] These must be elements of titles indicating power, which may derive from the Fatimid chancery, with the title of the spiritual leader: mawlana. The chancery procedures of the Fatimid government are analyzed in the fundamental study of S.M. Stern, *Fatimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fatimid Chancery.* London 1964.

here Nağm ad-Dīn himself, the leader of Syrian Nizārīs and of fortresses belonging to them for some time, together with adjoining properties. As we have seen, Baybars was gradually restricting the scope of power of that elderly man and of his son, Šams ad-Dīn, whose name is often mentioned next to the name of his father; it happened especially when pressure occurred on the part of the sultan of Egypt. They hold in the inscription considered here the titles of *mawlā* and *ṣāḥib*, given in the plural.[30] Due to the fact that the inscription is not dated, it could be assumed that it comes from the times of breaking independence of the Syrian enclave of nizārīsm by Baybars, namely from c. 1270.

Arabic sources from late Middle Ages contain basic information referring to breaking Nizārī enclaves in Syria, which involved resistance on the part of local Ismāʿīlī leaders.[31]

Already in 1264/664 H. Baybars strictly forbade the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs to take tributes and forced gifts which were sent to the Nizārīs by various Frankish rulers and by the king Yaman, the gifts which were transferred through Egypt.[32] He considered himself a seigneur of all Syrian princes, including the Nizārī leaders. Old Nağm ad-Dīn, who wanted to be perceived by his community as an imām and in a way also as a caliph, avoided showing obedience to Baybars officially.[33] When in February 1270 (Ğumādā II 668) the sultan was encamped at the foot of the Kurd's Castle belonging to the Hospitallers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Krak des Chevaliers), local feudal lords, such as prince Hama and the ruler of Saḥyūn, made a personal appearance, to pay him homage. Nağm ad-Dīn did not follow their example, but he sent a messenger, asking to reduce the tribute paid every year into sultan's treasury, in place of the one which the sect had paid before to Christian feudal lords.[34] Baybars felt offended by Nağm ad-Dīn's behavior and he decided to replace him with somebody else on the position of the leader of Syrian Nizārīs, disregarding in this point ideas of Ismāʿīlī sectarians. During negotiations regarding the amount of the tribute paid to the Mamlūks by the "men of the mission" (Nizārīs), the Sultan nominated Ṣārim ad-Dīn Mubārak, the son-in-law of the old imām, as the leader of their community.[35] Baybars recognized in Ṣārim ad-Dīn his plenipotentiary, and he

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[30] Van Berchem, op. cit., p. 495 and pp. 497–498 note 1.

[31] Ch. Defrémery, *Nouvelles recherches,* pp. 48–65; Van Berchem, op. cit., pp. 496, seq.; M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* pp. 272–275; F. Daftary, op. cit., pp. 428 seq.; P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt. Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century,* trans. P.M. Holt, London 1992, pp. 147, 176, 201–203.

[32] Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire,* vol. I, part 2, p. 24, and Badr ad-Dīn Aynī, *'Iqd al-ğumān,* extracts in RHC HO, vol. II, part 1, p. 233, see also Ch. Defrémery, *Nouvelles recherché,* pp. 50–52, F. Daftary, p. 432, Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamelukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt. Text and translation by U. and M.C. Lyons*, Cambridge, t. I–II Cambridge 1971, T. I, Arab text p. 106, trans. p. 83.

[33] Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire,* vol. I, part 2, pp. 32, 40 and 42, Ibn al-Furāt, p. 106, trans. 83.

[34] Al Maqrīzī, *Histoire*, vol. I, part 2, p. 79, see also Ch. Defrémery, p. 57.

[35] Abu al-Fida, *Al-Mukhtasar fi ta'rikh al-bashar*, in RHC HO, vol. I, Paris 1872, p. 153, Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire*, pp. 79–80, see also F. Daftary, *Isma'ilis*, p. 432, N.A. Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism*, p. 62.

entrusted to him the custody of Nizārī fortresses. The sultan demanded from the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs handing over the Masyāf fortress.

Chronology of these events, recorded only in the chronicles of Baybars's reign and in compilations of Egyptian history from late Middle Ages, is not clear enough. What is more, for the date of assuming the position of sultan's administrator of "the country of heretics" (*bilād ad-daʿwā*) by Ṣārim ad-Dīn, the sources mention the month Ǧumādā II 668 H. (26.01.–23.02.1270).[36] Nağm ad-Dīn could not accept the decision taken by an external factor. Regarding himself as a legitimate leader of Syrian assassins (Nizārīs), Ṣārim ad-Dīn, residing in the Al-Ullayqa fortress was trying to create a fast stronghold in "the country of the mission," which was to be achieved by capturing the Masyāf fortress. He stormed the fortress on his own initiative in mid-Rağab 668 (c. 10 March 1270), he killed his opponents staying in the fortress (both supporters of Nağm ad-Dīn's imāmate and advocates of compromise with Baybars) and he recognized himself as a leader independent from Baybars.[37] Baybars issued an unequivocal edict demanding handing over to him Ismāʿīlī centers (Nizārī/Assassins) in *bilād ad-daʿwā*. Ṣārim ad-Dīn did not hold out in Masyāf for long, and he left it probably in early April 1270 (27 Ǧumādā II 668), which would mean that he surrendered voluntarily. It seems more probable, however, that the imām-junior of the Nizārīs was driven from the Masyāf fortress by Ayyubid Al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the emir of Hama, and he sent him as prisoner to Cairo, where, after some time, he departed this life.[38]

After the deposition of Ṣārim ad-Dīn, Baybars restored old Nağm ad-Dīn as the "lord of the mission" in Syria and he kept by his side his son, Šams ad-Dīn, as the guarantor of imām's loyalty. In the first days of the siege of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, at the end of February and beginning of March 1271, Baybars's people captured two members of the sect, who had been sent as envoys from Ullayqa to Bohemond VI, the senior of Tripoli.[39] According to Ibn al-Furāt, the latter persuaded them to kill the sultan.[40] Šams ad-Dīn, who was staying with Baybars in the time covered by the agreement of his father with Baybars, was accused of plotting with the Franks. Nağm ad-Dīn took the blame upon himself and he admitted that he was responsible for sending those emissaries of death, but he added that they could be useful in another matter, after hearing which Baybars set them free.[41] Soon afterwards Šams ad-Dīn went to the Al-Kahf fortress to put affairs in order, reputedly to the sultan's advantage. He promised not to stay there longer than twenty days.[42] In the meantime, Šams ad-Dīn's father accompanied the sultan in his journeys. He was present when Al-Qurayn was captured, and afterwards he got to Egypt, where Šams ad-Dīn was to join him. After his return to Egypt, Baybars received letters,

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[36] See also Ch. Defrémery, *Nouvelles recherchés,* p. 58.

[37] Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire,* p. 80; Ch. Defrémery, p. 59; F. Daftary, *Isma'ilis*; N.A. Mirza, p. 62.

[38] Ch. Defrémery, op. cit., p. 60, F. Daftary, op. cit., p. 433; N.A. Mirza, op. cit., p. 63.

[39] Defrémery, p. 61; Daftary, op. cit., p. 433.

[40] Ibn al-Furat, *Ayyubids, Mamelukes and Crusaders*. vol. I Arab text p. 185, vol. II, trans. p. 146.

[41] Defrémery, op. cit., p. 61; Daftary, op. cit., p. 433.

[42] Abu al-Fida, op. cit., p. 158; Defrémery, op. cit., p. 62.

in which he was informed that his governors attacked Ar-Ruṣāfa, the castle belonging to the Ismāʿīlīs.[43]

Since Šams ad-Dīn, like his brother-in-law Ṣārim ad-Dīn Mubārak before, showed disobedience to the sultan by trying to retain command over the Ismāʿīlī fortresses, Baybars sent letters to his emirs with the order to perform military operations. On 23 May 1271 (11 Šawwāl 669), his commanders stormed and overran fortifications of the Al-Ullayqa fortress, and in less than three weeks afterwards, on c. 10 June 1271 (late Šawwāl), they captured the Ar-Ruṣāfa fortress.[44] In the same year the garrison of Al-Ḫawābī and its Nizārī inhabitants were persuaded to surrender to the Mamlūk administrators by two prominent "Assassins" (*wālī ad-daʿwā* and *nāẓir*), who had been arrested in Sarmina by Baybars's commanders.[45] Šams ad-Dīn was determined to retain Nizārī assets, but due to pressure put on him by the Mamlūk administration he appealed to his followers to surrender Al-Kahf. Despite the fact that he encountered opposition on their part, finally, on 3 August 1271 (26 Ṣafar 670), he surrendered to the sultan.[46] Maneuvering, he was faking submissiveness towards Baybars, but in fact he intended to protect his community's independence and his sect's assets. Referring to what was said above, I assume that he was that *admirallus* (also: *almirallus)* of the Saracens who established relations with prince Edward, first on his own initiative to continue later on the orders of the sultan.[47] In the latter case, he promised to send his people to kill Edward.

Submitting of Shams ad-Dīn to the sultan did not mean surrendering the Al-Kahf fortress, which put up resistance for almost twenty one months (October 1271–July 1273). In May 1273 (Ḏū al-qaʿda 671) Al-Ḫawābī, Qulayʿa, Manīqa and Qadmūs surrendered to the sultan. Finally, on 10 July 1273 (22 Ḏū al-ḥiğğa 671) the garrison of Al-Kahf, the last bridgehead of independence of the mini-state of Syrian Nizārīs, capitulated.[48] Baybars, before the final subjugation of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī lands in Syria, started to use their *fidawis* against his enemies from crusaders' camp. He followed this tactic when he decided to have Philip of Montfort, the seignior of Tyr, assassinated (17 August 1270), and when he organized the attempt on the life of prince Edward, the English heir to the throne (16 June 1272), which was mentioned above. Also, the attempt on the life of Bartholomew, the ruler of Maraclea (Marqiyya), in October 1271 proved to be unsuccessful, as he had

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[43] On capturing Al-Ullayqa see Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire,* p. 87, also in Abu al-Fida, op. cit., pp. 153–154, see also Defrémery, op. cit., p. 62.; F. Daftary, op. cit., p. 433.

[44] Ibn Abd az-Zahir, *Sirat al-Malik az-Zahir*, p. 174; see also Defrémery, op. cit., p. 62; Daftary, op. cit., p. 433.

[45] Defrémery, op. cit., p. 64; Mirza, op. cit., p. 64.

[46] Defrémery, op. cit., p. 63. However, the garrison of Al-Kahf still put up resistance, which was finally broken in July 1273 (Ḏū al-ḥiğğa 671), see Daftary, op. cit., p. 433, Defrémery, op. cit., pp. 64–65.

[47] J. Hauziński, *The Attempt on the Life of Prince Edward of England in the light of the unfinished account in Chronicon of Melrose* (in Polish; in press).

[48] Ch. Melville, '*Sometimes by the sword, sometimes by the dagger': The role of the Isma'ilis in Mamlūk-Mongol relations in the 8th/14th century*, in: *Medieval Isma'ili History and Thought*, ed. F. Daftary, Cambridge 1996, p. 247; N.A. Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism,* p. 65 notified as 9 July AD 1273; P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 201–203.

fled to the Mongols.[49] What is more, Charles Melville clarified the political context of the Ismāʿīlī assassination operation inspired by the Mamlūk sultan An-Nāṣir Muḥammad against Qarasunqūr, the Mamlūk emir, who went over to the Mongol side.[50]

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, however, did not restrict their activity to acts of terrorism in the service of early Mamlūk sultans. They were still practicing their religious beliefs, and their intellectual elite was writing theological treaties, most of which were later destroyed during conflicts with Nusayris.[51] They were allowed to stay in old centres, such as Masyāf, Qadmūs, Al-Kahf. They also formed small communities in urban areas in Central and Northern Syria.[52] They organized themselves into communities which resembled tariqas of the Sufis. It is likely that there were some people among the local leaders who claimed to be the sayyds (descendants of Al-Ḥusayn Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib), aspiring to the rank of imāms, reputedly by Alids descent.

One can raise a question whether it is possible in the case of Nizārī šayẖs (*duʿā'*) of Ǧabal Bahra to make the rank of local Ismāʿīlī leader equal with the concept of imām? It is a well-known fact that in Fatimid Ismāʿīlīsm the imāmate doctrine came second to cosmological considerations and to philosophy of existence, while in Iranian Ismāʿīlīsm (Nizārīsm) this doctrine, based on the ta'lim paradigm, reached its full form.[53] However, the past of Ismāʿīlīsm in its general historical aspect proves that the concept of imām was subject to various transformations and modifications.[54] Already at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, clear divisions occurred in the outlook on imāmate in the Ismāʿīlī community of the Middle East. In the times of the Fatimids further fluctuations and controversies arouse which resulted in the creation of the Druze movement, whose initial assumptions remain vague.[55] Next, after a split into mustalis and Nizārīs (1094/95), after 1130, further division within mustalis Ismāʿīlīsm occurs into branches of Ḥāfiẓiyya and Ṭayybiyya. The latter referred to traditional thought of the early Fatimid period and to Iranian philosophers from that period, especially to Al-Kirmānī.[56]

I will restrict my considerations here to the general outlook on the evolution of the imāmate doctrine in the Nizārī community. In 1164/558 H., Ḥasan II Ibn Muḥammad (1162–1166), the current *ḥuǧǧat* of the imām and the leader of all Nizārīs, proclaimed the beginning of Mahdi era and he informed his followers that due to the order of

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[49] See Melville, op. cit., pp. 247–248.

[50] Ibid., pp. 248–259.

[51] Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* p. 532.

[52] N.N. Lewis, *The Ismāʿīlīs of Syria today*, "Royal Central Asian Society Journal" 1952, XXXIX, pp. 69–77.

[53] Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* pp. 349–350, 368–370, 389–395 (in the *qiyāma*).

[54] *The Fatimids and their Traditions of learning*, I.B. Tauris Publishers, London–New York 1997, esp. pp. 1–2; W. Madelung, *Imāma*, EINE, t. III, H-IRAM, 1986, pp. 1167–1169.

[55] Ph.K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion*, AMS PRESS, New York 1966 (first ed. 1928), pp. 11–20; M.G.S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī and Hamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion,* "JAOS" 1962, LXXXII, pp. 5–20.

[56] Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* p. 291; idem, *A Short History of the Ismailis. Traditions of a Muslim Community*, Edinburgh 1998, p. 113.

Imām-Mahdi, opening a new era, shari'a ceased to be valid.[57] It was expressed symbolically by the faithful by turning back to Mekka during *ḫuṭba*. Ḥasan II, who at first refrained from pointing at himself as Imām-Mahdi, finally "revealed himself," which could be the reason of his elimination. However, his son and successor, Muḥammad II (1166–1210) sustained Ḥasan II's revelations, claiming that his father was indeed Imām-Qā'im and that he (Muḥammad) is also somebody like that. During his reign philosophical writing in the spirit of qiyama and in the doctrine of Nizārī imāmate proliferated.[58] It was particularly important there to emphasize the unique role of the current imām, who exceeded his predecessors, as he was the epiphany (*al-maẓhar*) of the word of God.

During the reign of Ḥasan III (1210–1221), Muḥammad II's son and successor, the *Qiyāma* doctrine was concealed – the "era of concealment" (*dawr as-satr*) followed and return to orthodoxy (virtually to shari'a) was officially proclaimed. ʿAlā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad III Ibn Ḥasan, who went next in the line of Nizārī imāms, after reaching maturity interpreted the attitude of his father as a matter of *taqiyya*, hiding one's views to avoid persecution, and he openly returned to the theory of Imām-Qā'im, personified by himself.[59]

Imāmate was inherited from his murdered father by Rukn ad-Dīn Ḫuršāh (December 1255), but being overthrown by the Mongol incursion, he did not manage to develop any theoretical assumptions. However, both him and his supporters had no doubts concerning inalienability of his imāmate. It was also accepted that from the Fatimid Nizār and his descendants, and next by Ḥasan II, *ʿalā ḏikrihi as-salām* Ḫuršāh is a legitimate heir to imāmate on a *nass* basis. This rule was not applied, however, after his elimination and after the fall of the state of Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt in the case of Syrian Nizārīs.

Wilferd Madelung elucidates the fate of sources concerning the history of Syrian Nizārīsm after their independence was broken by the Mamlūks: "Syrian Nizārī literature, written in Arabic, developed independently of the Persian literature, even during the Alamūt period. Persian works were not translated in Arabic or vice-versa. The Syrian community preserved a substantial selection of Fatimid religious literature, partially different from those preserved by the Ṭayyibis. Even though the Qiyāma was proclaimed apparently with some delay, in Syria, the Qiyāma doctrine had practically no impact there. The scholarly doctrine continued mostly in the Fatimid tradition. Syrian doctrinal works, while concentrating on the traditional cosmology and cyclical history, virtually ignored the current imām , the central figure in the Persian Alamūt and post-Alamūt doctrine. In religious literature of a popular type Rašīd ad-Dīn Sinan is extolled as a saintly hero and his cosmic rank is described in terms appropriate to the imām. Much of the Syrian Ismāʿīlī literature was destroyed later during the feuds with neighboring communities."[60]

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[57] Ala ad-Din Ata Malik Juvaini, *Ta'rīkh-i jahān-gushāy,* English trans. John A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror.* Cambridge, Mass., vol. II, 1858, p. 696; Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs,* pp. 389–391, 395.

[58] Daftary, op. cit., pp. 393–394; W. Madelung, *Ismāʿīliyya,* EINE, vol. IV, EI, Leiden 1978, p. 205; Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* p. 160; Lewis, *Assassins,* p. 75.

[59] Madelung, *Ismā'īliyya,* p. 205.

[60] Ibid., p. 206.

It must have been reflected also in religious ideas of the community of Syrian Nizārīs, which survived through next centuries. Syrian theoreticians of nizārīsm referred to the doctrinal heritage of Rašīd ad-Dīn Sinān, which has not survived to the present day. However, some writings in legendary tone glorificating Sinān are known.[61] In that tradition, which was partially transmitted orally, he is presented as imām, sayyid Muḥammad Ibn Ḥusayn.[62] After Al-Kahf was captured (1273) by troops of Baybars, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs continued to maintain their identity and the foundations of their *daʿwā*, in spite of coming under the rule of the Sunni Mamlūks. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through Syria in 1326/726, he reported that the Ismāʿīlīs controlled several fortresses, which they were allowed to keep by Mamlūk authorities.[63] Historical sources, however, are silent about religious leaders of the Syrian branch of Ismāʿīlīs. It could be assumed that another cycle of concealment began for them. During the later part of the Ottoman rule in Syria "intense rivalries between the two ruling Nizārī families centred at Masyāf and Qadmūs further weakened the Nizārī community of Syria."[64]

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[61] Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* pp. 196, 199; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature. A Bibliography of Sources and Studies*, London–New York 2004, p. 57.

[62] ʿArif Tāmir, *Al-Imāma fī'l-Islām*, Dār al-Kātib al-ʿArabī, Bayrūt 1964, pp. 197–198.

[63] Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismaili*, pp. 168–169.

[64] Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs*, p. 531.

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HASSAN A. JAMSHEER

The Validity of Ibn Rušd's Idea for Contemporary Political Thought: Faith, Rationalism, Ethical Values

Abstract

The question of succession of governmental systems in the Arab-Islamic world was singled out by the Maghrebian scholar Muḥammad ʻĀbid al-Jābirī as a cardinal one, regarding Ibn Rušd as the very philosopher, whose thought can resolve the problem (with Ibn Ḫaldūn being the second). All other names in Arab-Islamic thought, who devoted their works to royal-sultanate advices had reduced the question of governance in the Arab-Islamic world to the acknowledgement of its the ideal nature at the times of Caliphate and the coup carried out by Mu'awiya – without describing what was the meaning of such a despotism, which covered the entire history of Islam. The paper is an attempt to sum up Ibn Rušd 's political thought, which is based upon faith, rationalism and human values. It is – in my opinion – an elaborate answer to radical Islamic thought and the so-called fundamentalism. The research is carried out on the basis of sources, and attempts to sum up the attainments of academic works published within the framework of activities of the 800th anniversary, in 1998, of the philosophers death.

Background

Ibn Rušd (1126–1198) was born in Cordoba in a family of outstanding judicial tradition; his grandfather Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad (died in 1126) was *qāḍī al-qḍāt* of Cordoba during the reign of Almorawids[1]. The same should be said of his father, who held

[1] For Ibn Rušd's life and thought, see e.g.: ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʻAqqād, *Ibn Rušd,* Dar al-Ma'arif, 6th ed., Al-Qāhira 1992; Ǧamīl Ṣalība, *Tārīḫ al-falsafa al-ʻarabiyya*, Aš-Šarika al-ʻĀlamiyya li-al-Kitāb, 3rd ed., Bayrūt 1995; Ibn Rušd, *Faṣl al-maqāl fī-mā bayna aš-šharīʿa wa-al-ḥikma min-al-ittiṣāl, aw wuǧūb an-naẓar al-ʿaqlī wa-ḥudūd at-ta'wil (ad-dīn wa-al-muǧtamaʿ),* edited, preface and analytical introduction by: Muḥammad

that post until the ascendance to power in Cordoba by Almohads in 1146. The education of Abū al-Walīd Ibn Rušd followed the traditional mode of Qur'ānic studies, shari'a and theology. He continued throughout his life his interest in philosophy, metaphysics and attributes (*ṣifāt*) of God. In 1160, Ibn Rušd became *qāḍī* of Seville and later held many court appointments in Cordoba and Morocco. During his later life, when Almohads took over Al-Andalus, he was persecuted and banished due to his rational thought.

It was a period of persecution against intellectuals in the Arab East and Spain, symbolised by the ideas of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 1111), author of *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* ("The Incoherence of Philosophers")[2]. On the one hand the dispute resembled a rejection of philosophy, on the other – the whole issue was politicised. In Baghdad, Abbasid rulers wavered, but at the end, seeking an ideological and social basis for their power chose the established tradition (the 'sacred' text) as the source of Islamic law, to the rejection of the intellectual (philosophical) interpretation of written tradition. The long history of the dispute could be briefly presented as follows.

The main theses of *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* were the rejection: of world's eternity, of the eternity of the *Qur'ān*, the allegation of God's lack of knowledge of details, and the resurrection of only human souls (without bodies)[3]. The results of Al-Ġazālī's deliberations covered by his mentioned work involved not only accusations directed to philosophers and people within their range of influence, but above all religious verdicts (*fatwās*). Hence, advocates of philosophy (i.e., rationalism) were actually condemned, while others were not allowed to use philosphers' arguments and works. In conclusion, Al-Ġazālī introduced: firstly – prohibition of reading ancient works (*kutub al-qudamā'*) – above all, from the fields of philosophy and logic; secondly – condemnation (*takfīr*) of Muslim philosophers in connection with their violation of the principle of unanimity (*iǧmā'*) in the process of interpretation (*ta'wīl*).

The latter two issues were undertook by Ibn Rušd as the head of Cordoba's jurists. He decided upon a *fatwā* to the effect of the abrogation of Al-Ġazālī's *fatwā* upon the first of the mentioned issues, thereby declaring that "investigating ancient works is a duty in the light of shari'a (*an-naẓar fī kutub al-qudamā' wāǧib bi-aš-šar'*)" and that what had been said about the incompatibility of philosophy (*ḥikma*) and shari'a was a baseless call (*da'wa bāṭila*), „because we, members of the Islamic community, know that rational justification does not lead to contradiction with the shari'a, since truth does

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'Ābid al-Ǧābirī, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiyya, 3rd ed., Bayrūt 2002 (1st ed., 1997); *Aḍ-Ḍarūrī fī as-siyāsa. Muḫtaṣar kitāb as-siyāsa li-Aflāṭūn*, transl. from Hebrew by Aḥmad Šaʿlān, foreword, analytical introduction and commentary by Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Ǧābirī, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiyya, Bayrūt 1998; Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Ǧābirī, *Al-Muṭaqqafūn fī al-ḥaḍāra al-'arabiyya: Miḥnat Ibn Ḥanbal wa-nakbat Ibn Rušd*, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda, 1st edition, Bayrūt 1995.

[2] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, commentary and explanations: 'Alī Bū Malham, Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, Bayrūt 1994. A Comprehensive study of Al-Ghazali's political thought, see: Katarzyna Pachniak, *Filozofia polityki muzułmańskiej na podstawie dzieł Abū Ḥāmida al-Gazalego* ["The Philosophy of Islamic Politics on the Basis of Abū Hamid al-Gazali's Works"], Dialog, Warszawa 2001, (esp. chapter entitled "Al-Ġazālī as a Philosopher", pp. 26–29).

[3] Al-Ġazālī, *Tahāfut…*, pp. 10–26.

not stand against truth, but supports and proves it". Hence, "*ḥikma* is the companion of *shari'a* and its sister by milk". Moreover, the verbal aspect of shari'a should be subjected to interpretation (the verbal meaning has to lead to the figurative meaning), which is in conformity with Arabic linguistic tradition. As to the accusation about the violation of unanimity in the process of interpretation as unwarranted (*bāṭil*), because "unanimity is not obligatory in the case of theoretical questions (rational sciences, issues of conviction) as in the case of practical questions (*'amaliyyāt*, i.e. theological)". Muslims were in agreement that there is no need to treat shari'a texts verbally, nor is there the need to ignore their verbal meaning. The dispute is about, "which of them should be understood verbally (*ẓāhiriyyan*) and which should be interpreted"[4].

To sum up, the arguments of Ibn Rušd against Al-Ġazālī's were: 1) the latter often misleads readers by writing that he did not support any creed, while he clearly supports *Aš'arism*, 2) lack of knowledge about ancient philosophy; his knowledge was derived from Ibn Sīnā, 3) he did not understand the issue of God's traits according to Aristotle's advocates, attributing to them their negation, while they did not negate Divine traits, but only the similarity between them and those of people's[5]. Above all, Al-Ġazālī contradicts himself in the matter of applied methodology. In his *Al-Munqiḏ min aḍ-ḍalāl* Al-Ġazālī is convinced about the inadequacy of reason on the path of reaching to conviction, while in *Tahāfut at-tahāfut* he expresses unshakable conviction that he overturns philosophers' arguments by means of rational proof. "In other words, he attempted to prove to philosophers that the rational (philosophical) argument was baseless, but in essence he himself had to reach to that [conclusion] by means of philosophical proof"[6].

Ibn Rušd undertook the intellectual challenge by defending philosophy and rationalising religion in a series of well-established arguments as presented above. However, the damage was already done – intellectuals (above all philosophers) could not avoid political persecution. Nowadays, in the new search for rationalising faith, and keeping radical Islam at a secure distance from power, there appears the need for the conceptions and arguments of Ibn Rušd, who was a great authority on Islamic law and whose works are quite relevant for contemporary discussions.

Theses

- Arab-Islamic nations seem to be tradition-oriented;
- The search for democratic models during the last waves of democracy was not tradition-oriented (it was envisaging the European model or models)[7];

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[4] Ibn Rušd, *Faṣl al-maqāl*..., op. cit., pp. 12, 85-ff.

[5] Ibn Rušd, *Tahāfut at-tahāfut*, introduction by Aḥmad Šams ad-Dīn, Dar al-Kutub al-'Imiyya, Bayrūt 2001, p. 14.

[6] Ibid., p. 15.

[7] *Al-Mulḥaq raqam 1: Mašrū' dirāsat ad-dīmuqrāṭiyya wa-našaṭātuhu*, in: 'Alī Ḫalīfa al-Kuwārī (ed.), *Al-Istibdād fī nuẓum al-ḥukm al-'arabiyya al-mu'āṣira*, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiyya, Bayrūt 2005, pp. 545–556.

- So the apparent failure in the Arab-Islamic world of the European model (of nation state and representation) enhanced the call on the part of radical Islamists for return to the past (tradition) – ultimately treating the early Islamic state model as a goal, regarding categories attached to the West as irrelevant[8];
- In the aftermath of few decades of Islamic revivalism (in Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, etc.), we note the presence on the scene of Islamic-oriented political forces and ideologies;
- The question is how to isolate and reduce the impact of radicals, reorient the moderates, and construct a tradition-oriented model – in order to help the public understand other interpretations of tradition;
- Such was the project of the late Moroccan thinker Muḥammad ʻĀbid al-Ǧābirī (in general and specifically in relation to reviving the heritage of Ibn Rušd)[9];
- Preparations in the Arab world for the 800th Anniversary (in 1998) of Ibn Rušd's death was treated as an occasion for new editions of the works of the great thinker, and a new (contemporary) reading of his thought;
- The following works of Ibn Rušd were published in preparation for, and in connection with, the mentioned Anniversary:
  - *Faṣl al-maqāl*. Edited, preface and analytical introduction by Muhammad ʻĀbid al-Ǧābirī, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʻArabiyya, 1st edition, Bayrūt 1997, 3rd ed., 2002.
  - *Aḍ-Ḍarūrī fī as-siyāsa. Muḫtaṣar kitāb as-siyāsa li-Aflāṭūn*, transl. from Hebrew by Aḥmad Šaʻlān, foreword, analytical introduction and commentary by Muḥammad ʻĀbid al-Ǧābirī, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʻArabiyya, Bayrūt 1998;
  - *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʻArabiyya, Beirut 1998; *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, introduction and commentary Aḥmad Šams ad-Dīn, Dar al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyya, Bayrūt 2001.
  - *Bidāyat al-muǧtahid wa-nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʻArabiyya, Bayrūt 1998.

Contemporary context and applications

The question of succession of governmental systems in the Arab-Islamic world was singled out by Al-Ǧābirī as a cardinal one, regarding Ibn Rušd as the very philosopher, whose thought can resolve the problem (with Ibn Ḫaldūn being the second). All other names in Arab-Islamic socio-political thought, who devoted their works to royal-sultanate advices had reduced the question of governance in the Arab-Islamic world to the acknowledgement of its the ideal nature at the times of Caliphate and the

[8] See: Jerzy Zdanowski, *Współczesna muzułmańska myśl społeczno-polityczna: Nurt Braci Muzułmańskich* ["Contemporary Islamic Socio-Political Thought: Muslim Brothers' Orientation"], Askon, Warszawa 2009.

[9] That was not in line with Latin Averroisme – see: Ernest Renan, *Averroes et l'averroisme: Essai historique*, Biblioteque de l'ecole de chartes, 1re ed., Paris 1852.

coup d'etat carried out by Muʿāwiya – without describing what was the meaning of the despotism, which covered the entire history of Islam.

In his work *Aḍ-Ḍarūrī fī as-siyāsa*[10] – commenting Aristotle's *Rhetorics* – Ibn Rušd drew attention to the consideration that governmental systems mentioned by the latter (being in conformity with Plato's classification) emerge in a pure form only at the analytical level. However, in the real world, they emerge in a complex form, while at the times of Ibn Rušd the dominant system of government in the Maghreb was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, timocracy, democracy and others. Ibn Rušd conceived the question of system complexity and the resultant issue of the scientific (rational) pattern, or rational inspiration. From where are we advancing to democracy? Earlier and now we find the answer in the concept of the "complex state" (*ad-dawla al-murakkaba*). Hence, there are the timocratic, oligarchic, democratic and despotic forms of government. Each time Ibn Rušd brings into mind the Andalusian and Arab-Islamic realities. The behaviour of the people of the timocratic state (i.e., people who long for glory and honour, and who sometimes join that with the desire for riches and slaves) could sometimes and occasions be compared with the behaviour of repressive masters. In Ibn Rušd's opinion, this pattern is more close than others to the ideal state, because its inhabitants seek virtues in the first place, while their deeds are in the first place praiseworthy deeds. Such a society is based upon dignity and honour[11].

Ibn Rušd reaches to the mentioned moment or argument, when he proceeds to the explanation of how the common (democratic) state (town, *madīna*) transformed into a suppressive and submissive state (of his times). He writes that most societies (communities) headed by Muslim monarchs were kingdoms established upon the leadership of dynasties (families), i.e. Almohads, Fatimids and others. They do not follow laws other than natural customs (*aʿaraf*). Obviously all properties in such countries (*buldān*) are owned by the appropriate ruling families. This leads to the division of people into two categories: one called the public (*ğumhūr*), the other – masters (*sāda*)[12]. After explaining Plato's concept about the way the ideal state transformed into a timocracy (state of honour), Ibn Rušd comments that an analogical transformation took place in Islamic history, when the ideal state of early Islam became timocratic one at the time of Muʿāwiya – and the same was observed by him in Al-Andalus[13]. The pattern of timocracy is hopeful, when it encourages the attainment of honour and dignity, but it could also produce hedonism as the object of life. The latter states are doomed to extinction, in favour of systems based upon shari'a[14].

The present article is intended – as it was mentioned – to focus upon the main contemporarily relevant ideas of Ibn Rušd's political thought. The depth of Ibn

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[10] Ibn Rušd, *Ğawāmiʿ Siyāsat Aflāṭūn*, transl, by Franz Rosenthal, Cambridge 1969, p. 120; Al-Ğābirī, *Al-Muṭaqqafūn…*, op. cit., pp. 140–141.

[11] Ibn Rušd, *Ğawāmiʿ*, op. cit., pp. 210–211.

[12] Ibid., p. 214.

[13] Ibid., p. 223.

[14] Ibid., p. 227.

Ruš d's thought was derived from his long-standing legal practice, as well as his wide knowledge of Arab-Islamic sciences as he wrote among others in the mentioned *Bidāyat al-muǧtahid* about jurisprudence and *fiqh* of the four sunni creeds. His defence of philosophy and Greek sciences (i.e. of rationalism and logic) differed from that of Al-Kindī and Al-Fārābī or Ibn Sīnā in the sense that it constitutes a defence of philosophy (rationalism) by means of the instrument of shari'a. Hence his opposition to Al-Ġazālī, who condemned philosophy and philosophers, was based on the *shari'a*. The same applied to *Ashʿarites*, who used Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīṯ* to condemn philosophers and their advocates. Ibn Ruš d emphasised the methodological and genetic distinction (separation) of religion and philosophy, simultaneously acknowledging their conformity with the endeavour towards truth and virtue (*faḍīla*). It should be added that he concentrated his attention on the relationships between religion and the society. He insisted upon differentiating between the "public" (*'āmma*) and intellectuals (*'ulamā'*) – with the public understanding the apparent (verbal, *ẓāhir*) meaning of the exegeses (*ta'wīl*), while not the complex interpretation. This comprises an important component of Ibn Ruš d's socio-political thought.

Shari'a obligates to the application of rational criterion in numerous Qur'ānic verses, among them: *Al-Ḥašr*: 2 (*Fa-a'atabirū yā ūlī al-abṣār*), *Āl ʿImran*: 191–192 (*Wa-yatafakkarūna fī ḫalq as-samawāti wa-al-arḍ*). The idea is to deduct the unknown from the known. Criteria postulated by *shari'a* are the same as proof (*burhān*). Shari'a had pointed out to the need of knowing God and all existence by means of proofs. Hence, it is not acceptable to regard shari'a-accepted rules as *bidʿa* (i.e. unwarranted innovations)[15].

To achieve that goal (application of proof criteria, *al-qiyās al-'aqlī*, and investigation of existence), it becomes worthwhile to return to ancient philosophers' (*qudamā'*) writings, make use of their efforts, attain truth – acknowledging that truth does not negate truth. Interpretation (*ta'wīl*) means extracting meaning of the word from the real notion to the figurative notion, which is done by *faqīh* on many occasions of *shari'a* rules/verdicts (*aḥkām*). The latter cannot be discretional, they must be based upon indisputable (*yaqīnī*) criteria of knowledgeable people (*ar-rāsiḫūna fī al-'ilm*, *Āl ʿImran*). However, as to the consensus concept, there cannot be *iǧmā'* (unanimity) in theoretical questions requiring interpretation (*ta'wīl*).

Ibn Ruš d's *Kitāb al-kašf 'an manāhiǧ al-adilla* ("Book on elaborating proof methodologies") in turn was a critical assessment of *ašʿarite* school arguments, proposing instead other proofs to be introduced to the public. In this field, he worked out *Bidāyat al-muǧtahid wa-nihāyat al-muqtaṣid* as a textbook of the Māliki creed, understood in the comparative context of other sunni schools of Islamic law. The Māliki treatise dealing with shari'a and *fiqh* was the outcome of Ibn Ruš d's function as a *qāḍī*. In effect, *Bidāyat al-muǧtahid* covered *fatwās* on a variety of issues – a work which had been influencing *shari'a* authorities since his times up to present days. Hence, he himself

[15] Ibn Ruš d, *Faṣl al-maqāl*..., op. cit, p. 86.

advocated that according to Islam women were equal to men in every respect and possessed equal capacities to participate in times of peace and war. Moreover, he brought about opinions and *fatwās* of previous judges and other authorities about the status of women. Examples were: consensus about the participation of women in financial transactions; (in compliance with Abū Ḥanīfa) acceptance of their testimony in bodily affairs like divorce, marriage, slave emancipation and restitution of conjugal rights; and (in compliance with Māliki creed) introduction of will-testaments not related to wealth.

The most known and important of Ibn Rušd's works is *Tahāfut at-tahāfut* ("The Incoherence of Incoherence"), which is an original defence of Aristotelian philosophy written in opposition to Al-Ġazālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*. In Al-Ġazālī's opinion Aristotelian thought, above all as presented by Avicenna's works, was self-contradictory and stands in contradiction to Islamic belief. Ibn Rušd argued that Al-Ġazālī's arguments were falsely based, while the Ibn Sīnā presentation of Aristotle was not genuine, because of being an unwarranted attempt to reconcile Plato's thought with that of Aristotle[16].

Ibn Rušd argued that the allegation of a conflict between philosophy and religion is false – we can surely say that there are two different ways of reaching to the same truth. The first being the truth of religion based on faith – i.e. it could not be the subject of verification, nor of any contemplation leading to understanding. The other kind of knowledge of truth is acquired through philosophy, which was only attainable for a small minority with an intellectual capacity to understand philosophical search.

Faṣl al-maqāl – in turn – argued for the soundness of philosophical search for truth and its compatibility with the truth of faith. Basically, in this work Ibn Rušd does not attempt to reconcile philosophy (then closely related to politics and rulers in the form of ideology) with religion, but declares with conviction the compatibility of shari'a with philosophy (intelligence, *ḥikma*), and the absence of contradiction between them. In fact, illusionary contradiction between philosophy and the verbal meaning of shari'a are merely biased interpretations of *Mutakallimūn* (*Salafiyyūn*, fundamentalists), who have "led to misunderstanding, hatred and wars, to the disruption of *shari'a* and antagonising of people"[17]. According to him, philosophy and *shari'a* are derived from the same source – source of truth (*al-ḥaqq*). Naturally, truth cannot stand opposite to truth, but only in conformity with it, as well as its affirmation. Moreover, both philosophy and *shari'a* are directed towards the attainment of virtue.

Not having access to Aristotle's *The Republic*, Ibn Rušd commented Plato's *Politics*, regarding the presented ideal state and legitimised it as similar to the early Medina Islamic state and to the Almohad state. For him, a sage philosopher at the head of the Islamic state should be installed as the commander and head of the nation.

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[16] Muhsin S. Mahdi, *Al-Farabi and the Foundation of Islamic Political Philosophy*, with a foreword by Charles E. Butterworth, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago–London 2001.

[17] Ibn Rušd, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, op. cit., pp. 121–123.

Ibn Ruśd then classifies Plato's systems of government that end with the worst (tyranny) as follows: 1) Aristocracy, being the best type of government, representing the ideal minority, and it is directly oriented towards the attainment of virtue – thereby a just system of government; 2) Timocracy, which is dominated by ambitions of people fond of honour or endeavouring for dignity (glory) – hence their orientation was to achieve objectives of progress, domination and the sublime; 3) Oligarchy, which is the rule of minority, whereas wealth would have a high position; 4) Democracy, being the rule of the nation, while freedom is highly evaluated; 5) Tyranny, which is the rule of the unjust individual, or the oppressive ruler, where complete injustice prevails without the feeling of shame[18]. For Plato, extreme forms of politics were represented by the Persian monarchy and Athenian democracy – with the first resembling excessive power, and the second excessive freedom[19].

Conclusion

The question of the relationship between religion and philosophy is a core issue, representing through the centuries (and contemporary Arab thought) the connection between what is original (indigenous) and what is contemporaneous. In the past the subject matter was the relationship between philosophy, "ancient sciences" (*'ulūm al-qudamā'*) called "rational sciences" (*'ulūm 'aqliyya*). It arises the issue of attitude towards "Western" thought and "modernity". Ibn Ruśd was unique in his position. In other words, in his treatment of the relationship between religion and philosophy, he concentrated upon the relationship between religion and society. In this framework, he insisted upon differentiating the "public" (*'āmma*, *ğumhūr*) from the people of knowledge (*'ulamā'*). Ibn Ruśd insisted that the public should necessarily be offered the apparent (*ẓāhir*) meaning of texts and should be saved the dissemination of interpretation (*ta'wīl*). The contradicting interpretations of *mutakallimūn* had led to conflicts, hatred and wars – to the disunity of people. In essence philosophy and *shari'a* are sisters born of what is right (*ḥaqq*, true), and what is true cannot contradict truth, but supports it and becomes its testimony, while both endeavour towards one object – i.e., virtue (*faḍīla*)[20].

In answering the question of Islam's compatibility with modernity (democracy, liberalism – to follow) Ibn Ruśd's understanding of philosophy and logic seemed to be derived from the angle of shari'a. Shari'a had obligated to view existence through reason. Hence, rationalism is an obligation according to religious law. Then, there is no doubt about Islam's compatibility with contemporary requirements. Looking at contemporary consequences of our philosopher's thought, it is furthermore the question of national

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[18] 'Abd al-Ğalīl Kāẓim al-Wālī, *Al-Ğuḍūr al-fikriyya li-al-istibdād*, in: 'Alī Ḫalīfa al-Kuwārī (ed.), *Al-Istibdād...*, op. cit., p. 307.

[19] 'Abd al-Ğalīl Kāẓim al-Wālī, op. cit.; Cf.: Dawlat Ḫiḍr Ḫanāfīr, *Fī aṭ-ṭuğyān wa-al-istibdād wa-al-diktātūriyya: Baḥṯ falsafī fī mas'alat as-sulṭa al-kulliyya*, Dār al-Muntaḫab al-'Arabī, Bayrūt 1995, p. 58.

[20] Al-Ğābirī, foreword and analytical introduction, in: Ibn Ruśd, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, op. cit., p. 50.

Arab-Islamic cultural identity as a backbone of its participation in human civilization, which secures it immunity in the process of openness to other cultures[21].

The contemporary project – presented briefly above – attempts to restore to Ibn Rušd's rationalism its strength and force influence, which could have been its share, if not for the decline of the Islamic world (also due to the one-sided and superficial interpretation of tradition given by Al-Ġazālī). We can say that today we have to deal with a similar phenomenon and background, while our efforts are doomed to failure, or at best as a dream (*ḥulm*) – as described by Muḥammad al-Miṣbāḥī[22]. None the less, political thought is motivated by its own rules and when an idea becomes ripe an imperative arises to formulate it. Hence, the project connected with Anniversary celebrations of Ibn Rušd (and surely not only the anniversary) bore fruit in the shape of numerous academic papers devoted to the thinker, but above all – scholarly editions of his work, that altogether stimulate future discussions on such cardinal matters.

[21] Al-Ǧābirī, *Al-Mašrūʿ al-nahḍawī al-ʿarabī. Murāǧaʿa naqdiyya*, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, 2nd ed., Bayrūt 2000, pp. 176–177.

[22] Muḥammad al-Miṣbāḥī, *Al-Ǧābirī wa-al-ḥulm al-muzdawaǧ bi-al-ʿaqlāniyya*, in: *Al-Turāṯ wa-an-nahḍa. Qirāʾa fī aʿamāl Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Ǧābirī*, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, Bayrūt 2004, p. 214.

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MIKOŁAJ OLSZEWSKI

Giles's of Rome Criticism of Avicenna's Conception of the Unity of Agent Intellect

Abstract

The discussion with Islamic philosophy is one of the most important topics in the history of medieval philosophy. Furthermore, the criticism of the unity of intellect formulated by Christian medieval thinkers against Islamic interpreters of Aristotle, mostly against Averroes, is one of its most interesting elements. This element is well known and abundantly analyzed by medievalists. But a particular version of the theory of unity of intellect was formulated also by Avicenna who claimed that agent intellect, being the mover of the last celestial sphere, is one for all men. His conception, although not so popular in the Middle Ages as that of Averroes, was criticized by Giles of Rome, an eminent 13th century thinker, in his *Commentary to Aristotle's On the Soul*. The reconstruction of Giles's polemic against Avicenna shows that Islamic thinkers, although criticized by Christian thinkers, were read carefully by them and treated seriously as interpreters of Aristotle's thought.

1. Introduction

The question on the unity of intellect was one of the most lively discussed topics in medieval philosophy. The debate on the unity of intellect was bound to different subfields of medieval thought. On the one hand, it involved the question of the individual reward in the future life because Christian theologians pointed out that the unity of the intellect undermined the essential element of the religious vision of the future life, namely the individual rewards for merits and respectively individual punishments for sins. Wanting to sharpen the whole question, they said that if the intellect were one for all men, the soul of Judas would be identical with the soul of St John and every other saint. On the other hand, the question of the unity or plurality of the intellect was also crucial for the

right interpretation of Aristotle's conception of the soul and cognition, as exposed in his *On the soul*[1]. Thus, the unity of the intellect was in the very centre of the theoretical interests of medieval theologians and philosophers. Moreover, Christian medieval thinkers thought that the thesis of the unity of the intellect was maintained by Islamic thinkers, and especially by Averroes. That is why monopsychism, the conception favouring the unity of intellect, was perceived by them as one element from the set of dangerous concepts coming from Islamic philosophy that questioned the Christian vision of God, world and man.

The best known and most often studied element of this controversy was the rejection of the thesis claiming that possible intellect (*intellectus possibilis*) is one for all human beings – the thesis ascribed to Averroes's *Great Commentary to Aristotle's On the Soul*[2]. The denial of Averroes's interpretation of Aristotle's theory of the soul engaged the most 13th century eminent thinkers, as Albert the Great, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and Giles of Rome[3].

The question of the unity of agent intellect, by contrast, was not so often dealt with by the medieval scholars, and consequently was not so often presented by the historians of medieval thought. Most of medieval Christian thinkers said that the unity of agent intellect should be disproved the analogical way that the unity of possible intellect[4]. But there was a thinker who paid more attention to the question of the unity of agent intellect, namely aforementioned Giles of Rome[5]. In his *Commentary to Aristotle's On the Soul*[6],

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[1] See e.g. Aristotle, *On the Soul*, III, 5, 430a 11ff.

[2] Averrois Cordubensis *Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelis de anima libros*, rec. F.S. Crawford, (Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem, VI, 1) Cambridge, Mass. 1953, III, comm. 5, pp. 387, 9-409, 653. Cf. H.B. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect*, Oxford 1992; about the adequacy of the Christian reading of Averroes cf. O. Leaman, *Is Averroes an Averroist*, in: *Averroismus. Im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, ed. F. Niewöhner, L. Sturlese, Zürich 1994, pp. 9–22.

[3] See e.g. Albertus Magnus, *Libellus de unitate intellectus contra Averroistas*, ed. A. Hufnagel, Aschendorff 1975 (*Opera omnia*, t. XVII/1, pp. 1–29); Bonaventura, *In secundum librum Sententiarum*, dist. 18, qu. 2, art. 1, corp., Ad Claras Aquas 1886ff., (*Opera omnia*, t. II, pp. 446a–447a), *Collationes de decem praeceptis*, II, 25 (t. V, p. 514b); Thomas de Aquino, *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas*, ed. Leonina, Roma 1976 (*Opera omnia*, t. XLIII, pp. 289–314); Aegidius Romanus, *De plurificatione possibilis intellectus*, ed. M. Olszewski, in: Siger z Brabancji, Tomasz z Akwinu, Idzi Rzymianin, *Spór o jedność intelektu*, Kęty 2008 (Ad fontes, t. IX), pp. 298–374. Literature concerning this theme is abondant, see. e.g. G. Verbecke, *L'unité de l'homme: Saint Thomas contre Averroès*, „Revue philosophique de Louvain" 58 (1960), pp. 220–249; E.-H. Webér, *Personne humain au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1991 and a commentary to a French translation of Aquinas's *De unitate*: Thomas d'Aquin, *Contre Averroès*, trad. A. de Libera, Paris 1997.

[4] See e.g. Thomas de Aquino, *Summa contra gentiles*, II, cap. 76–77.

[5] Giles (OESA, †1316) belongs to the generation of the disciples of Thomas Aquinas. He was the most significant thinker of the Augustinian Order, engaged in all the crucial intellectual discussions of the period, from the issue of the difference between essence and existence to the extention of the secular power of the pope. General information about Giles and a small bibliography can be found in V. Lambertini, *Giles of Rome*, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/giles.

[6] Aegidius Romanus, *Expositio super libros De anima*, Venetiis 1496–1497. The *Commentary* came into existence probably in 1277–1278, see S. Donati, *Studi per una cronologia delle opere di Egidio Romano. I:*

Giles argues that agent intellect[7] is multiple and proper to each human being and, moreover, he identifies Avicenna, another Islamic thinker important for Christian scholars, as the author of it.

2. Avicenna's error

Giles's analysis of the problem of the unity vs. multiplicity of agent intellect assumes some fundamental theses characteristic of his interpretation of Aristotle's conception of soul. They were formulated in the passages previous to the criticism of Avicenna. Firstly, Giles accepts Aristotle's definition of soul as the first act of organic body[8]. Then, he asserts that soul and body constitute unity[9], that the proper activity of the whole composite being is determined by the form, i.e. by soul, and that intellectual cognition is man's proper activity[10]. Further, he confirms that intellect is immaterial[11] and that it relates to its proper objects in the same way that senses relate to theirs, although it is not a corporeal virtue[12].

Secondly, Giles puts forward two more specific statements: 1) Intellect has to be immanent in man if man is going to be a subject of cognition (i.e. a cognizer) and not its object[13]. This thesis is a reminiscence of the main Thomas Aquinas's objection

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Le opere prima del 1285 – I commenti aristotelici, "Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale" 1 (1990), pp. 1–111; see pp. 48–55.

[7] In his *Commentary to On the Soul*, Giles speaks about the problem of the unity of possible intellect only once and very briefly. He mentions it while wondering whether intellectual cognition is an action of the whole man or merely an action of the soul. In a solution to this question, Giles asserts that all man's actions result from the collaboration of body and soul. He adds subsequently that this thesis could serve as a critical base against Averroes' monopsychism. It is because it states that intellectual soul is a substantial form of man: „Hanc autem veritatem specialiter debent exprimere et confiteri catholici tractatores, videlicet quod secundum proprietatem locutionis non dicamus, quod anima intelligat, sed homo per animam. Quo posito oportet concedere animam intellectivam esse formam corporis et multiplicari secundum multitudinem corporum, immo cum ipse idem Averroes hoc concedat, quod anima non addiscat nec distinguat, sed homo hoc faciat per animam, ab ipsa veritate coactus, oportet dicere animam intellectivam esse formam corporis et non esse unum intellectum in omnibus, sed plurificari secundum plurificationem animarum intellectivarum; huiusmodi autem animam secundum hoc plurificari oportet secundum plurificationem corporum", Ibid., I, f. 18ra. Apart from that, however, *Expositio* lacks any more elaborate discussion of the theory of the unity of intellect. It is probably due to the fact that Giles must have decided not to repeat his argumentation from earlier *De plurificatione*: „Esset autem ulterius dubitandum, cum sit intellectus immixtus, impassibilis et ab organo separatus, utrum oporteat ipsum multiplicari secundum multiplicationem corporum vel sit in omnibus unus. Sed quia de hoc specialem tractatum fecimus et hanc quaestionem diffuse discussimus, ideo de hoc volumus silentio pertransire". Ibid., III, f. 68va.

[8] Ibid., II, f. 24ra. Cf. Aristotle, *On the Soul*, II, 1, 412a 30–32.

[9] Aegidius Romanus, *Expositio in libros De anima*, II, f. 24va.

[10] Ibid., II, f. 28va.

[11] Ibid., III, f. 66ra.

[12] Ibid., III, f. 65vb.

[13] „Notandum etiam, quod sicut formaliter actus calefaciendi non potest competere nisi ei, quod habet calorem in actu, sic actus intelligendi non potest competere nisi ei, cui inest intellectus in actu. Et species intelligibilis

directed against Averroes[14]. 2) Intellect is a form of man which is intermediary between separated forms and material forms[15]. The acceptance of soul as something intermediary between material and immaterial forms is related to the assertion that the essence of soul is subject – understood here as *substratum* – of intellect.

This set of contentions is the most general frame – or the most fundamental premise – of Giles's noetics, i.e. a theory of intellect. Giles bases his understanding of intellect, on the one hand, on immateriality, and on the other, on the thesis claiming that intellect is a substantial form of man or otherwise it could not be a separated substance common to many individuals.

Giles begins with the argumentation which justifies the necessity of agent intellect. He maintains, namely, that such necessity does not exist in Plato's system where ideas are the proper object of cognition which is intelligible by itself. But in Aristotle's epistemology, it is sensual data that are the proper object of cognition which is intelligible only *in potentia*. Hence, there must be something in intellect that makes what is intelligible *in potentia* intelligible *in actu* - and this is agent intellect[16].

Besides, agent intellect has another important function in human cognition: it is an organ of man's self-knowledge. The question of man's cognition of himself is the most important application of Giles's conception of agent intellect. He claims that intellect is something which exists between material and immaterial forms. Its self-knowledge is a feature common to agent intellect and other separated substances. The process of acquiring knowledge of itself is different in both cases. Separated substances know themselves directly (*per se*). Cognition of such a kind is not possible for human intellect because it has different nature, close to the nature of material things. Agent intellect knows itself due to the act of cognition of extramental things; next, it comprehends its own act of cognition and, consequently, itself as a subject of this act[17]. Hence, it is now evident that Giles's thesis which asserts that intellect is something intermediary between material and immaterial forms refers to both kinds of intellect.

Besides, agent intellect enables knowledge to become identical with its object, which is also a characteristic of separated substances. However, the mechanism of accomplishing this process is different in both cases. This identity is given to separated substances *per se*, but agent intellect has to use cognitive species in order to accomplish it[18].

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est in intellectu nostro et non in obiecto materiali, ideo intellectus noster poterit intelligere, non autem materiale obiectum". Ibid., III, f. 70va.

[14] Thomas Aquinas, *De unitate intellectus*, cap. 3, pp. 301–304.

[15] „Cum anima sit media inter formas simpliciter immateriales, ut inter intellectivas, et formas simpliciter materiales, ut inter has formas sensibiles, participat aliquid de condicione utroque ita, quod habet aliquas virtutes materiales et organicas, ut potentias sensitivas, aliquas vero habet immateriales, ut intellectivas. Virtutes ergo materiales ut in subiecto fundatur in organis, ut visus fundatur in organo, scilicet in oculo. Intellectus vero in subiecto fundatur in ipsa essentia animae ita, quod eodem modo comparatur quodammodo anima ad intellectum, sicut oculus comparatur ad sensum visus". Aegidius Romanus, *Expositio in libros De anima*, III, f. 67rb.

[16] Ibid., f. 71ra.

[17] Ibid., III, f. 69rb.

[18] Ibid., III, f. 70rb-70va.

Moreover, Giles asserts that some other theses – usually claimed of possible intellect – pertain to agent intellect, as well. Here I mean, above all, Aristotle's statement that intellect is *species specierum*. Giles comments on this assertion extensively[19].

He starts with explanation of relations between both intellects comparing them with two properties of a cat's eye, namely reflecting of the light and shining. When reflecting the light, cat's eye accepts colours and, simultaneously, by shining, it enlightens the medium in which they are accepted. The final result of these operations is a real act of vision. The following theses constitute the core of this metaphor. 1) It is possible for one and the same thing to have two different properties that accomplish two different functions in the same operation. 2) Execution of such operation is possible only if these properties have their fundament in one and the same substance[20].

Drawing an analogy between examples quoted above and functioning of human intellect, Giles states that they differ because of their roles played in the process of cognition. Soul accepts all species by means of possible intellect and agent intellect makes them really intelligible. What they have in common is that they are virtues of one substance and that thanks to them soul can reach its perfection. This identity of the subject in which they are rooted and the unity of an operation that is accomplished by them allows us to ascribe the aforementioned sentence of Aristotle – intellect is *species specierum* – to both kinds of intellect.

The strong connections between the intellects and their common subject form the basis for another reasoning. Giles rejects possibility of knowing anything without sensual data. It may seem – as he asserts – that it is enough to perceive any object once and to form its concept in possible intellect and, subsequently, to keep it in intellect. A single act of cognition should be sufficient for intellect to know the whole class of things. Giles claims that such theory of cognition was formulated by Avicenna. According to the Augustinian Master, this theory is wrong, since it implies that having

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[19] Ibid., III, f. 76rb.

[20] „Intellectus ergo agens, qui se habet quasi lux et est movens intellectum possibilem propter perfectionem cognitionis intellectivae, erit eadem substantia cum ipso intellectu possibili. Lucem ergo corporalem, quae est motiva oculi, esse separata ab oculo, tamen radicari in eodem subiecto cum oculo non est inconveniens, quia cognitio sensitiva est imperfecta respectu cognitionis intellectivae. Dicere ergo intellectum agentem esse separatum, vel dicere intellectum possibilem non habere proprium movens, quod sit sui generis et quod radicetur in eadem substantia cum ipso, est omnino inconveniens, cum videamus in rebus corporalibus, quod perfectiora moventur ex se et in ipsis proprium movens est coniunctum proprio moto et proprium agens proprio passivo. Sic ergo imaginabimur intellectum agentem et intellectum possibilem, sicut videmus, quod in oculo cati radicatur duplex passio et duplex proprietas, ut diaphanitas et luminositas. Sunt enim oculi catorum non solum diaphani, sed etiam lucidi, ut apparet, quia, cum sunt in obscuro, eorum oculi scintillant quasi stellae. Oculus ergo cati per diaphanitatem suscipit colorum species, sed per illuminositatem illuminat medium et facit colores actu visibiles, quare oculus cati per diaphanitatem est omnes species colorum fieri, sed per luminositatem est omnes species tales facere. Sic in eadem substantia animae radicantur intellectus possibiles et intellectus agentes ita, quod per intellectum possibilem anima suscipit omnes species intelligibiles et est omnes species tales fieri, sed per intellectum agentem irradiat super phantasmata et est omnes tales species facere. Uterque intellectus est quodammodo omnes species aliter tamen et aliter, quia possibilis, ut patet, est omnes species fieri, agens vero est omnes facere". Ibid., III, f. 76va-vb.

known any species once we will have it forever[21]. But, according to Giles, men are able to know one and the same thing or species many times. Hence, he rises two points against Avicenna's opinion. Firstly, sensual things become proper objects of cognition as general. Man has, however, to perceive them as singular and particular before they become abstracted in his mind. So, man must begin any of his acts of cognition with sensible things. Secondly, a form, after having been known, remains in intellect not in a perfect and accomplished act but *in actu semipleno et incompleto*. Therefore, in order to know species repeatedly man needs sensual data[22].

Thus, it is evident that Giles consequently defends the emporicist interpretation of Aristotle's *On the Soul* against Neoplatonic version of Aristotelianism put forward by Avicenna. The epistemological conflict is followed by differences in noetics. Giles connects empiricism with individuality of intellect because intellect operates with sensual data stored in individual imagination. On the contrary, Avicenna's theory admits possibility of a cognition without sensual objects. According to Avicenna, intellect can be seen as the last of the series of separated substances common to all mankind which allows people a direct cognition of intelligibles. Giles criticises openly the ontological part of Avicenna's theory, i.e. the thesis that agent intellect is the last of celestial spheres and is one for all men[23].

Giles begins his criticism with the exposition of the question which introduces Themistius as its author[24]. Next comes Avicenna's standpoint which is the proper target of his attacks[25]. Subsequently, Giles points out that Avicenna's theory includes two false theses. The first one is the Avicennian conception of felicity understood as conjunction with agent intellect[26]. Giles' critique, however, does not concern the unity of

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[21] Ibid., III, f. 76vb.

[22] Ibid., III, f. 77ra.

[23] The general thread of Giles' criticism of Avicenna's thesis claiming that agent intellect is one for all men is modelled on Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles*, II, cap. 76–77, however, formulations employed by Giles are relatively independent and original.

[24] „Alterius forte dubitaret aliquis, ut dubitaret Themistius, utrum intellectus agens sit sic separabilis, quod non sit pars animae nec sit potentia animae, sed sit quaedam substantia separata, et videtur, quod sic per verba Philosophi dicentis, quod est actu ens". Aegidius Romanus, *Expositio in libros De anima*, III, f. 71rb.

[25] „Quosdam fuisse huius opinionis, quod intellectus agens esset unus numero in omnibus et esset una aliqua substantia separata. Ut sicut unus sol totum universum illuminat, per cuius illuminationem possunt omnes oculi videre, sic est una aliqua substantia separata irradians super phantasmata omnium hominum, per cuius irradiationem possunt omnes homines intelligere. Cuius opinionis videtur fuisse Avicenna ponens decimam intelligentiam, quae praeerat decimae spherae. Videtur spherae activorum et passivorum esse intelligentiam illam, a qua dependebat nostra felicitas ita, quod tota felicitas nostra secundum ipsum est in coniunctione intellectus nostri ad intelligentiam illam. Itaque intelligentiam illam posuit intellectum agentem per cuius irradiationem phantasmata singulorum hominum movebant sigulos intellectos possibiles". Ibid., III, f. 71rb-va.

[26] „Hanc atque positionem duas falsitates continere dicimus. Quarum prima est, quod finalis felicitas nostra consistit in coniunctione intellectus nostri ad decimam intelligentiam, quod impossibile est, quia finale bonum nostrum consistit in coniunctione intellectus nostri ad aliquod bonum causatum. Nam, cum naturale sit, quod nunquam quiescat intellectus cognito effectu, nisi cognoscat causam, oportet nos quietari in bono illo, quod ita sit causa, quod nullomodo causatum sit. Nam ex cognitione effectus et ex ignorantia causae non est quies, sed admiratio, ut potest haberi ex primo *Metaphysicae*. Hoc modo enim ex admirari ceperunt philosophari, ut dicitur ibidem, quia

its object, thus being of less interest for us. The Augustinian Master says that the ultimate felicity requires cognition of the highest possible object, i.e. God. The second one is just a recognition of agent intellect as a separated substance common to all men[27].

Giles rises two points against this thesis. The first one is based on the government of will over intellect: it can be experienced by anybody since one knows when one wants to know. Such a power of will over intellect is possible only when agent intellect depends on will. If it were a separated substance, it would be independent of man. Therefore, it cannot be a separated substance[28]. He asserts that act of cognition has to be subordinated to man's will and that the opposite situation – in which intellect dominates over will and connects with man when it wants – must be excluded, since, otherwise, the animation of the dead would have to be possible. Thus, it is evident that the main premise of both arguments is the same, i.e., that intellect depends on will.

The second contends that agent intellect cannot be a separated substance, since, like possible intellect, it is a perfection and virtue of soul. Consequently, they share the same ontological status and their ontological unity can be inferred from their collaboration in the process of acquiring by man perfection of his cognition[29]. This fragment ends with rejection of a possible difficulty against the thesis claiming that intellect is a virtue of soul: if it is a substance existing in an act, it cannot be a virtue of another substance. Giles explains that the term 'substance' is ambiguous and using it to designate intellect does not exclude that it is a virtue of soul[30].

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videntes effectus mirabiles, ut puta eclipses solares, lunares et coniunctiones siderum admirati non quiescebant, donec investigare etiam causas. In cognitione ergo effectus non potest esse quies, nec felicitas. Illud ergo, a quo dependet nostra felicitas, oportet, quod, sit causa non causata, scilicet Deus ipse". Ibid., III, f. 71va.

[27] „Secunda autem falsitas est, quia ponit intellectum agentem esse quamdam substantiam separatam. Quod autem non sit hoc de intentione Aristotelis, plane patet per lecturam, ubi dicitur, quod in anima necesse est ponere has duas differentias et hos duos intellectus, quorum unus sit omnia fieri, alter omnia facere. Non ergo intellectus agens est aliquid separatum ab anima. Quod etiam hoc non solum non esset de intentione Aristotelis, sed etiam sit falsum, duplici via investigare possumus". Ibid., III, f. 71va.

[28] „Quorum una est Themistii, nam in potestate nostra est intelligere, cum volumus, postquam habuimus species intelligibiles, ut quilibet in seipso experitur. Cum ergo quantumcumque habuerimus apud nos species intelligibiles, non possumus actu intelligere, nisi speculemur iterum phantasmata et nisi super ipsa phantasmata fiat irradiatio luminis intellectus agentis. Sed si huiusmodi lumen esset a nobis separatum, non esset in potestate nostra, quod talis irradiatio fieret, quare habentes apud nos species intelligibiles non esset in potestate nostra, quod possemus intelligere, cum vellemus, sicut praesentibus visibilibus, eo quod lumen solis sit a nobis separatum, non est in potentia nostra videre, cum volumus, quia non est in potestate nostra semper habere praesentiam luminis, eo quod lumen corporale, per quod actu videmus, non est in nobis, sed est aliquid separatum". Ibid., III, f. 71va.

[29] „Secunda via ad investigandum hoc idem sumitur ex perfectione cognitionis intellectivae, sed de hoc infra dicemus, ubi plenius declarabitur, quod intellectus agens est quaedam perfectio et quaedam virtus animae et non est substantia separata". Ibid., III, f. 71va. Giles probably means here the fragment describing diversity in functions and substantial unity of both intellects quoted in note 22.

[30] „Quod vero dicebatur, quod intellectus agens est substantia actu ens, ergo non est perfectio et potentia animae, sed est substantia quaedam, oportet dicere, quod, ut declarari habet quinto *Metaphysicae*, substantia sumi potest multipliciter. Uno enim modo, ut ibi dicitur, substantia potest dicere quamlibet essentiam vel quamlibet rem cuiuslibet praedicamenti. Intellectus itaque agens, quia est aliqua perfectio et aliqua virtus animae, est aliqua essentia

3. Concluding remarks

Giles argumentation against Avicenna's conception of agent intellect fits very well the commonly shared by 13th century Christian thinkers opinion about the unity of intellect. The most fundamental premise for combating monopsychism is the immanent character of human intellect. Thus, Giles – as his famous forerunners, Albert the Great, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas[31] – fights against opinion that attributes separate status to intellect and struggles for maximal individualisation of it. This thesis, present also in Giles's crucial anti-Averroistic text, namely in his *De plurificatione intellectus possibilis*[32], constitutes indeed a very core of the whole polemics of the Christian scholastics with the interpretation of Aristotle's noetics proposed by Islamic philosophers, namely by Avicenna and Averroes. In Avicenna's and Averroes's commentaries to Aristotle's *On the Soul*, in spite of the obvious differences between their standpoints, everyone can easily notice that they are akin to interpret the Stagirite's treatise as an ontological text. They perceive various kinds of intellects about which Aristotle speaks as entities that are different and distinct form each other as well form human beings. Therefore, their noetics takes form of ontology, whereas the noetics put forward by the Christian philosophers is first of all epistemology. Giles, as Aquinas and Albert the Great before, reads *On the Soul* as if it were a treatise devoted to epistemology. Hence, according to him, intellects are not self-standing beings, but only correlates of the cognitive operations performed by soul of every individual man.

From the point of view of the history of ideas, apart from the content of the analysed doctrine, the form in which discussion was carried on is of a special interest. As it has been already mentioned, the theory of the unity of intellect seemed to question some essential teachings of Christianity. Therefore, it is not surprising that refutations of monopsychism were often very emotional and a polemic fervour sometimes dominated over objectivity and adequacy of the presentation of the rejected conceptions. Giles's *Expositio*, however, is an example of the opposite. His presentation of Avicenna's position seems quite fair, although brief, and the tone of his argumentation is objective and very matter-of-fact. He treats Avicenna as important and relevant thinker, who obviously made a mistake, but who must be taken into consideration and who deserves attention when the interpretation of Aristotle's *On the Soul* is to be undertaken.

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et aliqua res praedicamenti, est enim in secunda specie qualitatis, quia est quaedam naturalis potentia animae et quia est quaedam essentia et quaedam res praedicamenti, quaedam substantia dici potest". Ibid., III, f. 71va.

[31] Thomas de Aquino, *De unitate intellectus*, cap. 3, pp. 301–303.

[32] Cf. B. Nardi, *Egidio Romano e l'averroismo*, „Rivista di storia della filosofia" 3 (1948), pp. 2–29; M. Olszewski, *De plurificatione intellectus possibilis of Giles of Rome. Two Historical Questions*, „Studia Mediewistyczne" 32 (1997), pp. 123–135; B.F. Conolly, *Averroes, Thomas Aquinas and Giles of Rome on How This Man Understands*, „Vivarium" 45 (2007), pp. 69–92.

This fact[33] can throw some light on the question of relation between Islamic and Christian thought in the Middle Ages. On the one hand, one can often hear that medieval Christian philosophy, or even science in general, was borrowed from the Arabs, and on the other, that Islamic philosophy, especially Averroistic interpretation of Aristotle, was perceived by the 13th century Christian thinkers as the greatest menace to Christianity. Thus, we face seemingly irreconcilable contradiction. But I hope that this contradiction can be till some degree explained by means of the careful reading of Giles's discussion with Avicenna. It is obvious that, according to Giles, Avicenna is an intellectual authority, especially when the right interpretation of Aristotle's heritage is needed – when Giles wants to understand Aristotle's *On the soul*, he refers to Avicenna. But Giles is simultaneously aware that Avicenna offers a particular reading of Aristotle, sometimes misleading and consequently deserving corrections. Thus, it is manifest that medieval Christian philosophy is in a way inconceivable without Islamic one, but at the same time it is clear that the former cannot be reduced to the reception of the latter. Islamic thinkers were intellectual partners of the Christians, sometimes accepted, sometimes rejected and criticised, but always read with attention.

[33] It worth to be noted here that the same can be said about Giles's attitude toward Averroes presented in *De plurificatione possibilis intellectus*. This shows that features characteristic of Giles's *Expositio* are not accidental.

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KATARZYNA PACHNIAK

The Doctrine of muḫammisa according to Muslim Heresiography

Abstract

The article presents the doctrine of muḫammisa according to Muslim heresiography. The muḫammisa is one of *ġulāt* groups. This term is applied to groups accused of exaggeration (*ġuluww*) in religion and has covered a lot of groups from the early Šī‘ī circle. Muḫammisa is a current without a specific leader, it seems to have been a group of partisans having propagated a very particular idea: the divinity of five persons from *ahl al-kisā'*: Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Al-Ḥasan, Al-Ḥusayn and Fāṭima. The article focuses on their doctrines as presented by the heresiographers and their relation to another group, *‘alyā'iyya*, who recognised ‘Alī as God and Muḥammad as his servant.

The name muḫammisa is applied to a doctrinal current among the Šī‘ī extremist *ġulāt*. However, this group and other *ġulāt* sects differ widely in their form of organisation: muḫammisa are presented rather as a loose group of people professing the same doctrine than a faction like the other *ġulāt* groups, with one leader and with a definite political view. Generally, the pejorative term *ġulāt* is applied to groups accused of exaggeration (*ġuluww*) in religion. This term has covered a lot of groups from the early Šī‘ī circle, but in the interpretation of Muslim heresiographers it applies, above all, to those sects or groups whose members exaggerated in their adoration of the imams and whose doctrines were later rejected by the official Iṯna‘ašarī orthodoxy. But it should be remembered that Iṯna‘ašarī doctrine took final shape in the middle of the 10th century, and perhaps even later, and by then it had assimilated some of the *ġulāt* concepts. Although the *ġulāt* movement began to decline towards the end of the 8th century, some of its ideas survived and continued to inspire and influence the later movement of Šī‘ī political inspiration. The *ġulāt* ideas could also be noticed in later Sunnī thought and Islamic mysticism as well as in numerous apocalyptic and syncretic movements in which various concepts of

the *ġulāt* were used. The best example of surviving *ġulāt* ideas in modern time are the Nuṣayriyya, the Druzes, the ‘Alī-Ilāhī and Ahl al-ḥaqq. In these movements, the *ġulāt*’s adoration for the person of ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was transformed into a divine cult: they saw ‘Alī as God.

Generally, it may be said that the term *ġulāt* is applied to a heterogeneous but interconnected group of Šī‘ī orientation, which was active above all in Al-Kūfa in the late 7th and 8th centuries.[1] It seems that the first generation of the *ġulāt* had been mostly of religious inspiration and they introduced a lot of new concepts into the embryonic Šī‘ī doctrine, but in the next generation part of them started a different form of independent political activity. Some details of the *ġulāt* thought may reflect pre-Islamic tribal Arabian tradition and conceptions, since many of the early leaders and followers seem to have been tribal Arabs.[2] But in the next generation the core of the group was made up of Muslims of non-Arab origin. They were *mawālī* of various backgrounds: Christian, Gnostic and old-Persian.

Among the most important conceptions of this milieu the following should be listed: denying ‘Alī’s death, the notion of the absence of the imām, who is in concealment, and the notion of the *mahdī*, or Messiah (‘Alī’ himself, another imām or the leader of the group), whose return would establish justice and the reign of the true form of religion. The *ġulāt* believed in incarnation of the soul of the deceased imām in the body of the next imām (*ḥulūl*). Various forms of belief in reincarnation (*tanāsuḫ*) were also attributed to them, which could be noticed in the later syncretic groups, like the Nuṣayriyya or the Druzes. Many of the early and later *ġulāt* seem to have adopted the principle of the condemnation of the first three caliphs (Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uṯmān) as usurpers of ‘Alī’s right to the imāmate. As far as the imāmate and the position and nature of the imām are concerned, the *ġulāt* speculated that the imām could be the *waṣī* (representative) of the Prophet or the prophecy could be continued in his own person. These circles also exaggerated in the deification of ‘Alī, the successive *imams* and from time to time the leaders themselves.

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[1] The ideas and activity of the *ġulāt* are discussed in: H. Halm, *Die Islamische Gnosis, Die Extreme Schia und die ‘Alawiten*, Artemis, Zürich, München 1982; Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites. The Ghulat Sects*, Syracuse University Press, New York 1988. Furthermore, particular aspects of their thought are elaborated in articles. The primary Arabic sources for the examination of the *ġulāt* are the heresiographical treatises. The most important: Aš-Šahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa-an-niḥal*, ed. M. Kīlānī, Bayrūt 1986, vol. I, p. 173–191; Al-Aš‘arī, *Kitāb maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn,* ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, vol. I, p. 1–16; Al-Baġdādī, *Al-Farq bayn al-firaq*; the treatises of the Šī‘ī heresiographers: An-Nawbaḫtī, *Kitāb firaq aš-šī‘a*, ed. M. al-Ḥifnī, Bayrūt 1984; Al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa-ăl-firāq*, ed. M. Maškūr, Tehrān 1963. The *ġulāt* views are also presented in the treatises of *‘ilm ar-riğāl*, the science devoted to the study of the persons figuring in *isnāds*, for example in the Šī‘ī work of Muḥammad al-Kaššī, *Aḫbār ar-riğāl*, ed. H. al-Muṣṭawafī, Mašhad 1969; Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Aḫbār ar-riğāl*, ed. M. al-Kutubī, An-Naǧaf 1961. Some information can also be found in historical chronicles.

[2] M.G.S. Hodgson, *Ḡulāt*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2, CD-Rom Edition, underlines old-Arabian origin of the divination of the imams and the *ġulāt* leaders, and of the conception of *raǧ‘a*, return of the deceased imam or leader.

The *ġulāt* circles were often accused by the heresiographers of rejecting the Divine law.

In fact, some of them seem to have given up the preservation of religious obligations, moreover they abandoned the rules of legal and conventional morality. The *ġulāt* in a broad sense, for example the ẖurramiyya,[3] seem to have applied this *ibāḥa*, nevertheless it should be remembered that a part of the accusations, i.e. the accusations of incest or debauchery, could be groundless as a product of the adversary heresiographers' imagination.

Many of the *ġulāt* thinkers were active in the Šī'ī imāms' circle, notably the fifth imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, and the sixth, Ǧa'far aṣ-Ṣādik, were surrounded by the *ġulāt*, such as Abū Manṣūr al-'Iǧlī, Al-Muġīra Ibn Sa'īd or Abū al-Ḫaṭṭāb, who were accused of having subscribed to their imāms' extremist doctrine, mainly to having elevated their. As far as the attitude of the imāms towards the claims about their divinity is concerned, the opinions are ambiguous, but generally the scholars agree that they strongly rejected such a claim.[4] Moreover, among the *ġulāt* circles there developed systems of symbolic interpretation of the Sacred Texts, which were carried on in the later Muslim *ḥaraka bāṭiniyya*. In groups such as the Ismā'īliyya, particular emphasis was placed on the necessity of esoteric Qur'ānic interpretation and explanation.

It should be remembered, however, that the *ġulāt* were not a coherent group, but differed in terms of the supreme idea they put forward and the person they exalted. A special doctrine is attached to the faction called muẖammisa, or pentadist.[5] Muẖammisa is a current without a specific leader, it seems to have been a group of partisans having propagated a very particular idea: the divinity of five persons from *ahl al-kisā'*: Muḥammad, 'Alī, Al-Ḥasan, Al-Ḥusayn and Fāṭima.[6] This paper will focus on their doctrines as presented by the heresiographers and their relation to another group, 'alyā'iyya,[7] who recognised

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[3] The term ẖurramiyya or ẖuramdīniyya refers to the religious movement founded by Mazdak. Then this term covered a wide variety of the groups and sects, above all Iranian and anti-Arabic in their character, which were strongly influenced by the extremist *ġulāt* ideas. The distinction between the *ġulāt* and the ẖurramiyya is sometimes rather indefinable. See W. Madelung, *Khurramiyya or khuramdīniyya*, EI_2, where further sources are listed.

[4] For example Aš-Šahrastānī states that after having announced Ǧa'far aṣ-Ṣādiq's divinity in Al-Kufa, Abū al-Ḫaṭṭāb was expelled from the city (*la'anahu*). Aš-Šahrastānī, *Milal*, p. 179; Al-Bağdādī, *Farq*, p. 145, An-Nawbaẖtī, *Firaq*, p. 37.

[5] H. Halm, *Die Islamische Gnosis*, op. cit., pp. 218–229; W. Madelung, *Mukhammisa*, EI_2; Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., pp. 56–60; Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, *Kitāb az-zīna*, in: A. as-Sāmarrā'ī, *Al-ġuluww wa-ăl-firaq al-ġāliyya wa-ăl-ḥaḍāra al-islāmiyya*, p. 307.

[6] *Ahla al-kisā'* (people of the cloak) is a term applied to these five persons. They are also referred to as *āl al-'abā'*. It is one of the fundamental notions for the Shī'ī conception of the imāmate since it serves to justify the Shī'ī claim to power: the rule is succeeded by the descendants of 'Alī and Muḥammad's daughter, Fāṭima, who all have the special spiritual leadership. The origins of this belief could be found in the hadīṯ called *hadīṯ al-kisā'*: at the time of the visit of the delegation from Nağrān in 631, the Prophet gathered 'Alī, Al-Ḥasan, Al-Ḥusayn and Fāṭima under his cloak and quoted to them from the Qur'ān: "God only desireth to put away filthiness from you as his household and with cleansing to cleanse you" (Q 33:32).

[7] H. Halm, *Die islamische*, op. cit., pp. 233–240; B. Lewis, *Bashshar al-Sha'īrī*, EI_2.

‘Alī as God and Muḥammad as his servant. I will not discuss the *Umm al-kitāb*[8], a rather enigmatic treatise had originated in this circle, as convincingly demonstrated by Halm, who identified the authors of this esoteric treatise with the *ġulāt* from southern Iraq, since it should be the subject of a separate study.[9]

But the information transmitted by the heresiographers differs in details and depends on their primary sources and the period they were active in. The doctrine of the muḫammisa was described thoroughly by the Šī‘ī heresiographer, Al-Qummī. His description is of great value, since as a Šī‘ī he had a better understanding of the doctrinal nuances. His presentation, however, is from a later period and it seems to have reflected the doctrine from the beginning of the 9th century.[10] At the beginning of his description, the author mentions that the muḫammisa are the partisans of Abū al-Ḫaṭṭāb, d. 755 (*hum-aṣḥāb Abī al-Ḫaṭṭāb*),[11] the leader of another *ġulāt* group, the *ḫaṭṭābiyya*. But the core of the doctrine ascribed to the ḫaṭṭābiyya is different, most importantly, they did not deify the five members of *ahl al-bayt*.[12] Generally, it should be remembered that the relations among the muḫammisa, the ḫaṭṭābiyya, and another group, the ‘alyā’iyya,[13] who recognised ‘Alī as God and Muḥammad as his servant, are rather obscure and tangled.

In Al-Qummī’s opinion, the muḫammisa believed that Muḥammad is a godhead, and that he appeared in this world in five different shapes and forms (*ḫamsa ašbāḥ wa-ḫamis ṣūra muḫtalifa*): they were the five members of *ahl al-kisā‘* cited above. But the real divinity is incarnated in Muḥammad, he is called *ma‘nā*,[14] since he was the first

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[8] The edition of Persian text: *Ummu’l Kitab*, W. Ivanow (ed.), „Der Islam” 1936, XXIII, pp. 1–132. The meaning of the treatise was analysed by him in: *Notes sur l’ummu’l-kitāb*, „Revue des Études Islamiques” 1932, p. 419–482. The Italian translation: P. Filippani-Ronconi, *Ummu’l-Kitāb*, Napoli 1966. See also the critical review of this edition: W. Madelung, *Ummu’l-Kitāb*, „Oriens” 1976, 25, pp. 352–358. The text of *Umm al-kitāb* was studied in detail by H. Halm, *Die Islamische Gnosis*, op. cit., pp. 113–198; idem, *Kosmologie und Heilislehre der frühen Ismā‘īlīya*, DMG, Wiesbaden 1978, op. cit., pp. 142–168.

[9] H. Halm, *Die islamische*, op. cit., pp. 113–199; idem, *Das Buch der Schatten. Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der Ġulāt und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairiertums*, „Der Islam” 1978, 55, pp. 219–266, 58, 1981, pp. 15–86.

[10] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., pp. 56–60.

[11] Ibid., p. 56.

[12] About this group, see, for example, H. Halm, *Die islamische*, op. cit., pp. 199–218; W. Madelung, *Khaṭṭābiyya*, EI_2, where the sources are listed. The heresiographical treatises about Abū al-Ḫaṭṭāb and the groups connected to him: An-Nawbaḫtī, *Firaq*, pp. 79–80; Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 50–54, 63–64, 81–82; Al-Aš‘arī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 10–13, Al-Bagdādī, *Farq*, pp. 145, 147, 154–155; Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. IV, p. 184; Aš-Šahrastānī, *Al-Milal*, pp. 179–181.

[13] H. Halm, *Die islamische*, op. cit., pp. 233–240; B. Lewis, *Bashshar al-Shaʿīrī*, EI_2.

[14] The term *ma‘nā* has different meanings depending on the discipline it is used in: grammar, poetry or philosophy. In philosophy it is commonly used as a synonym of *ma‘qūl*, concept or idea. The philosopher and mystic Al-Ġazālī understands this term as meaning, while As-Sulamī, one of the Mu‘tazilī thinkers, discussed the term *ma‘nā* as the core of his metaphysical system. In his interpretation *ma‘nā* is an entity brought on by another entity, and this process continues ad infinitum. Therefore, a whole chain of subsequent *ma‘nā* comes into being, and God is its Prime Cause. S. Horovitz identifies *ma‘nā* with Platonic ideas. S. Horovitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau 1908, pp. 44–48. See also R. Frank, *Ma‘na: some reflections on the technical meanings of the term in the Kalām and its use in the physics of Mu‘ammar*, „Journal of the American Oriental Society” 1967, 87, pp. 248–259; O. Leaman, *Ma‘nā*, EI_2.

man who appeared on the earth and the first speaker-prophet who spoke the message (*awwal šaḫṣ ẓahara wa-awwal nāṭiq naṭaqa*).[15] But in Al-Qummī's interpretation, the five members of *ahl al-kisā'* were not the only manifestations of God, i.e. Muḥammad. This divine pentad is the most important manifestation in the cycle (*dawr*) of Islam, aside from this, however, Muḥammad had appeared to mankind in other forms (*ṣuwar šattā*). According to Al-Qummī, the muḫammisa believed that Muḥammad had also manifested himself in the forms of the prophets: Adam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, and 'Isā. Moreover, he had appeared among Arabs and non-Arabs (*fī al-'Arab wa-al-'Aǧam*), but in different forms to each group: to the second one his manifestations were the chosroes (*akāsira*) and the kings. Muḥammad's manifestations appeared on earth in all cycles and times (*fī kullī adwār wa-duhūr*).[16] But in the beginning, mankind had rejected Muḥammad's divinity. He had appeared to them in his luminous form and summoned to his unity, but people refused to acknowledge him (*ankarū*), as well as his subsequent manifestation: the form of prophecy (*bāb an-nubuwwa-wa-risāla*). Mankind accepted no one but his last manifestation: the form of the imāmate.[17]

It should be noticed that the echo of this version could be found in the cosmological myth of the Nuṣayriyya, who in their cosmic pre-existence had also rejected the diverse manifestations of the supreme divinity: 'Alī. In this instance, however, as suggested in the old esoteric Nuṣayri treatise, *Kitāb al-haft wa-al-aẓilla*, the negligence of the Nuṣayri souls, which did not recognise 'Ali in his manifestations, was the cause of their fall to the earth and their earthly existence. The imāmate is therefore, in the muḫammisa belief, the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) aspect of God, whereas the inner, esoteric aspect (*bāṭin*) is Muḥammad. But not all mankind is able to recognise his higher, luminous form: it is reserved only for the elected ones, the others perceive him in his human carnal form (*bašrāniyya laḥmāniyya*). These forms are: all imams, prophets, chosroes and kings from Adam to the appearance of Muḥammad in his bodily form. They all are *maqām* (place, representation) of the divine form of Muḥammad. The similarity of these beliefs to the Nuṣayrī doctrine should be underlined once more, which points to the fact that this doctrine was rooted in the same circles.

Al-Qummī emphasizes the position of Fāṭima, having been conscious that in the Muslim society it was not common to assign such a rank to a woman. He states that the muḫammisa ascribed to her a form of unity (*ṣūra at-tawḥīd*) having quoted the passage from the *Qur'ān* (112:1): *qul huwa Allāhu aḥad*.[18] Moreover, Al-Qummī suggests the muḫammisa belief in the manifestation of the divinity in other noble women: the Prophet's wives Ḫadīǧa and Umm Salama. On earth, Muḥammad's divinity is accompanied by the ranks of imāms and gates (*bāb*), and the names of these ranks are listed, among

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[15] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., p. 56.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., p. 57.

them some names of *ġālīs* active at the time of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ǧa'far aṣ-Ṣādiq could be noticed: for example Al-Muġīra[19] and Muḥammad al-Bašīr.

This supplementary hierarchy has its *ma'nā*, Salmān al-Fārisī.[20] The muḥammisa recognizes him as the gate (*bāb*) of the messenger, who appears with Muḥammad in all conditions (*bāb ar-rasūl yaẓharu ma'a Muḥammad fī kulli ḥāl*).[21] Muḥammad has his gates or other ranks in all time, among Arabs and non-Arabs. The lower ranks are: *aytām* (orphan), *nuǧabā'*, *nuqabā'*, *muṣṭafawn*, *muḫtaṣṣūn*, *mumtaḥanūn*, *mu'minūn*. These ranks also have their *ma'nā*: for example for *yatīm* they are Al-Miqdād (*yatīm kabīr*) and Abū Ḏarr (*yatīm ṣaġīr*), the Companions of the Prophet. Once again, resemblance to the Nuṣayrī conceptions should be noted: the Nuṣayrī treatise *Kitāb al-maǧmū'* says that Salmān had created five orphans: the first one is Al-Miqdād, who is the master of lightning and earthquakes, and Abū Ḏarr is the one to whom all planets belong.[22] In Al-Qummī's suggestion the muḥammisa claims that all who recognize these ranks and *ma'nā* are true believers, and are not obligated, therefore, to obey the divine orders and are also released from observing the pillars of Islam and the prohibition as to unlawful intercourse (*zinā*), drinking wine, usury and theft.[23] The accusation of the *ibāḥa*, or antinomian tendencies, was rather common in the heresiographical treatises in relation to the extremist Šī'ī groups, particularly the *ġulāt* ones.[24] Today we are not in the position to verify the authenticity of these accusations. They could be, undoubtedly, deliberately exaggerated, on the other hand, however, it seems that the underlying reason of this antinomian tendency was a conviction that the return of the Messiah, *Mahdī*, signified the abrogation of law. Moreover, among these groups the most important religious obligation was a knowledge of the imām, which overshadowed the other religious prescriptions.

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[19] Al-Muġīra Ibn Sa'īd al-Baǧalī was a leader of the *ġulāt* group – the muġīriyya in 8th century. He was a māwla of the governor of Iraq and belonged to the circle of the fifth Šī'ī imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, though it seems that the latter did not accept Al-Muġīra's statements about the imām's person. He seemed to have ascribed the extremist doctrine to Muḥammad, having called him the Mahdī. After his death, Al-Muġīra moved his claims to the person of the Ḥasanid An-Nafs al-Zakiyya. In 737 he organized an anti-Umayyad revolt in Al-Kūfa. In his doctrine, as described by the heresiographers, many gnostic elements could be perceived. W. Tucker, *Rebels and Gnostics: Al-Muġīra Ibn Sa'īd and the muġīriyya*, "Arabica" 1975, XXII, p. 34; idem, *Mahdis and Millenarians, Shī'ite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, pp. 52–71.

[20] This semi-legendary companion of the Prophet is recognized to have been the first person of Persian origin converted to Islam. His life and his way to Islam were very adventurous, and he is renowned in Muslim history as the person who suggested to Muḥammad the idea to dig a moat in the Battle of the Trench. Salmān has a very particular position in some of the *ġulāt* movements and in the Nuṣayriyya, where he has the rank of the *bāb*, the gate to the imām. In this doctrine the Persian influences in this early Šī'ī movement are reflected.

[21] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., p. 57.

[22] *Kitāb al-maǧmū'*, in: S. al-Aḏanī, *Kitāb al-bākūra as-sulaymāniyya*, Bayrūt 1988, p. 22.

[23] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., p. 57.

[24] The exact meaning of the term *ibāḥa*, 'permission', comes from heresiographers' accusation that *ibāḥa al-maḥārim* (allowing of the forbidden) was a common practice among the members of these circles. Moreover, the practice of *ibāḥa* served as one of the criteria of admission to the *ġulāt* groups. Almost all groups from the circles of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ǧa'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, and the sects of ḫurramiyya were accused of rejecting the orders of shari'a.

Al-Qummī mentions that to acquire full membership in the community and the knowledge of the esoteric doctrines an earlier examination (*imtiḥān*) was necessary. The initiation of this kind, involving drinking wine and sharing of women, was also a part of the ceremony in the Nuṣayrī circles in the 19th century, as described by Al-Aḏanī in his *Kitāb al-bākūra*.[25]

The *muḫammisa* believed in metempsychosis (*tanāsuḫ*) – as Al-Qummī states – in contrast to the other *ġulāt* groups (*'alā ḫilāf ġayrihim*). They claimed that the spirits of persons who denied their belief would be transferred to animals. According to the rank of disbelief, it would be an animal of higher or lower species, stars (*kawākib*), or even rocks, mud and iron. Their souls imprisoned in such shapes would be tortured forever.[26] But it should be mentioned that belief in reincarnation of this kind was also prevalent among the partisans of another *ġulāt* group, called *ǧanāḥiyya* or *ṭayyāriyya*. This name is applied to the group of partisans of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mu'āwiya, who took the leadership of the Šī'ī revolt against the Umayyads in 744. They ascribed to him the position of the imām who knew the unseen, but it seems that he did not share this opinion. It is said that one of their leaders, Al-Ḥāriṯ, and his followers believed in metempsychosis of the same kind as the muḫammisa. Al-Ǧīlānī mentions that according to ǧanāḥiyya, after a man's death his soul would be transferred in subsequent cycles (*adwār*) until the last one (*dawr al-uḏra*) to various states. It is suggested that they believed in the transferring of the soul to a camel, and furthermore, to ever lower creation. A sinner's soul transfers to pottery, iron and clay after his death, and it would be tortured by melting or bending.[27] Aš-Šahrastānī's version is not so precise, but similar in details. He maintains that the *ǧanāḥiyya* believed in the transfer of a soul after death, which, depending on the deceased person's merits or errors, was incarnated either into another human or an animal.[28] It could be concluded, therefore, that the muḫammisa inherited this *tanāsuḫ* conception, obviously influenced by Indian though, from the *ǧanāḥiyya*.

But the spirits of believers (*al-mu'min al-'ārif minhum*) would be transferred into seven human shapes, called skirts (*aqmisa*), in seven periods (*adwar*) lasting 10 000 years. In the last period they would acquire the esoteric knowledge, and would be able to perceive the concealed one: Muḥammad in his luminous (*nūrāniyya*), divine form, not in the bodily one (*bašriyya laḥmāniyya*).[29]

The above-mentioned description is the most detailed and precise out of all that are known. Al-Qummī is a Šī'ī heresiographer, his information could be therefore more reliable and the context better understood. Except for his version, laconic mentions about the muḫammisa can be found in Ar-Rāzī's and Aš-Šahrastānī's works. Ar-Rāzī in his *Kitāb al-zīna* discusses the muḫammisa along with the 'albā'iyya, the 'ayniyya and the mīmiyya. But in his version one fundamental difference should

[25] Al-Aḏanī, *Kitāb al-bākūra*, op. cit., pp. 8–18.

[26] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., p. 59.

[27] Al-Ǧīlānī, *Al-Ġunya lī-ṭālibī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq*, Kair 1304 h., p. 99.

[28] Aḫ-Šahrastānī, *Al-Milal*, p. 151.

[29] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., p. 59.

be noted: he states that the group believed that Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn, all of them were one and the same thing (*ḫamsuhum šay’ wāḥid*) and that one divine spirit was embodied in them all. He adds, however, one detail which was lacking in Al-Qummī’s account: the muḫammisa believed Fāṭima not to have been a woman, and they called her by the masculine name Fāṭim. This information is also repeated by Aš-Šahrastānī.[30] Once again this position could be found in the Nuṣayrī doctrine, as presented in the above-mentioned treatise *Kitāb al-bākūra* (but the form of the name is Fāṭir).[31]

A brief mention about the muḫammisa, although their name is omitted, is also included in Aš-Šahrastānī’s treatise. He mentions them as a group which comes from the *‘albā’iyya*, the adherents of a doctrine about the superiority of ‘Alī’s divinity over the divinity of Muḥammad. But the core of the information is taken from Ar-Rāzī’s version: the five members of the pentad (*ahl al-kisā’*) are equal in rank (*qālū ḫamsatuhum šay’ wāḥid*).[32]

But it should be mentioned that in the later sources the position of the muḫammisa is described differently. This name is linked with a certain Abū al-Qāsim al-Kūfī, who claimed to be a descendant of Mūsā al-Kāẓim. It seems that he was an adherent of the imāmī doctrine, who in the later period of his life began to preach an extremist idea. Al-Ḥillī in his *Riǧāl* suggests that his followers, whose identity is uncertain, however, considered the pentad of Salmān, Al-Miqdād, ‘Ammār, Abū Ḏarr and ‘Amr aḍ-Ḍamrī to be the *muwakkalūn bi-maṣāliḥ al-‘ālam* (those who are looking after the causes of the world). Their relation to the pentad of *ahl al-kisā’* is unknown.[33]

As I have mentioned above, the muḫammisa are from time to time opposed to the *‘alyā’iyya* (or *ulā’iyya*, *‘albā’iyya*)[34], the followers of the doctrine of ‘Alī’s superiority over Muḥammad. They recognized ‘Alī’ as a godhead and Muḥammad as his servant and messenger. The leader of this group was a certain Baššār aš-Šarī‘ī (or Aš-Šā’irī). His nickname, Šarī‘ī, suggests that he was a seller of barley. He lived in Al-Kūfa, where he preached his doctrine, but we have no more detailed information about it. It is said that previously Baššār was connected with the ḫāṭṭabiyya, and Al-Kaššī mentions that he was condemned, among other “heretics”, by the sixth imām Ǧa‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq who chased him out of Al-Kūfa.[35]

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[30] Ar-Rāzī, *Kitāb az-zīna*, p. 307; Aš-Šahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal*, p. 176.

[31] Al-Aḏanī, *Kitāb al-bākūra as-sulaymāniyya*, op. cit. p. 16.

[32] Aš-Šahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal*, pp. 175–176.

[33] Al-Ḥillī, *Riǧāl*, ed. M. Ṣādiq, An-Naǧaf 1961, p. 233; W. Madelung, *Muḫammisa*, EI$_2$.

[34] The origin of this name is uncertain, it is sometimes suggested that they were called the ulā’iyya, since the leader of the group, Baššār, was changed into a sea-bird (*‘ulyā*). B. Lewis, *Bashshār al-Sha‘īrī*, EI$_2$. The version of Al-Qummī is very similar: he states that after having propagated his doctrines, Baššār transformed (*masaḫa*) into the form of a sea-bird called *‘albā*. Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., p. 60. About the group, see also H. Halm, *The Islamische gnosis*, op. cit., pp. 225–230.

[35] Al-Kaššī, *Riǧāl*, ed. Ḥ. al-Muṣṭafawī, Mašad 1969, pp. 398–400.

According to the heresiographers, the details of the doctrine of his followers are contradictory in some points. Al-Qummī called the group the 'albā'iyya.[36] He describes them as the followers of Baššār aš-Šarī'ī, cursed by God, who claim that 'Alī is the master of creation (*rabb al-ḫāliq*), and Muḥammad is his deputy, servant and prophet. They agreed with the muḫammisa on the position of Fāṭima, Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn, but they elevated the position of 'Alī, since it was him who designated the others to the imāmat. They denied the position of Muḥammad, having accorded him the same rank as the muḫammisa accorded to Salmān. They also propagated the *ibāḥa*, the doctrine of the *ta'ṭīl* (divesting God of his attributes) and metempsychosis. The author also adds that no other group arose among them, since they denied the imāmat of Abū al-Ḥasan ar-Riḍā, the prophecy of Abū al-Ḫaṭṭāb and other *ġulāt*.[37]

In his *Maqālāt* Al-Aš'arī states that 'the twelfth group among the extremists (*ġāliyya*)' claimed 'Alī to have been God, and vilified Muḥammad, but the author does not mention the name of this group. As a subsequent group he lists the followers of Aš-Šarī'ī, who believed in God's incarnation (*Allāh ḥalla*) in five members of *ahl al-kisā'*. But, he adds, they did not offend the Prophet, as the previous group did. They are said to have claimed that each of the five divine epiphanies had his adversary (*aḍdād*), and they were: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṯmān, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ. But they disagreed as to their position: a part of them recognized these adversaries as praiseworthy (*maḥmūda*), since thanks to them the virtue of the five *ahl al-kisā'* could be acknowledged, but another group claimed the adversaries to have been damned (*maḏmūma*) and not to have acquired dignity in the subsequent forms. According to Al-Aš'arī, Aš-Šarī'ī had claimed divinity for himself.[38]

In his *Milal*, Aš-Šahrastānī calls this group 'albā'iyya ('ilbā'iyya), and derives its origins from the followers of Al-'Albā' Ibn Dirā' ad-Dawsī called Al-Asad. They recognized God in 'Alī, and condemned Muḥammad since he had deprived 'Alī of his adherents. This group was called *ḏamīma* (these who condemn). Then Aš-Šahrastānī lists the division of this group into several subgroups. He mentions 'ayniyya, those who recognised the divinity in 'Alī and Muḥammad, but agreed on the superiority of the former. The subsequent group, mīmiyya, on the contrary, recognized the superiority of the Prophet. The third group consists of the followers of the doctrine that the divinity is incarnated in the five members of *ahl al-kisā'* equally (*rūḥ ḥāla fīhim bi-as-sawiyya*), and that they form one entity (*šay' wāḥid*).[39] It could be concluded that in Aš-Šahrastānī's interpretation the latter group could be identified as the muḫammisa, the author does not, however, mention this name and discusses it as part of the 'albā'iyya (the 'alyā'iyya). This shows the complications and uncertainty involved in all modern attempts at classification.

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[36] Al-Qummī, *Maqālāt*, op. cit., pp. 59–60.

[37] Ibid., p. 63.

[38] Al-Aš'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, pp. 14–15.

[39] Aš-Šahrastānī, *Al-Milal wa-an-niḥal*, Bayrūt 1986, p. 175.

Lista Autorów

Prof. Janusz Danecki, Ph.D., Chair of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Warsaw

Prof. Marek M. Dziekan, Ph.D., Department of Middle East and North Africa, University of Łódź

Prof. Dmitry Frolov, Ph.D., Department of Arabic Philology, Moscow State University

Marcin Grodzki, Ph.D., Chair of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Warsaw

Prof. Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Ph.D., Institute for Asian and African Studies University of Helsinki

Prof. Jerzy Hauziński, Ph.D., Institute of History and Politology, Pomeranian University, Słupsk

Prof. Hassan Jamsheer, Ph.D., University of Łódź

Eva-Maria von Kemnitz, Ph.D., Instituto de Estudos Orientas, UCP, Lisboa

Prof. Hilary Kilpatrick, Dphil, Lausanne

Rev. Prof. Krzysztof Kościelniak, Ph.D., Institute of Middle and Far East, The Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Paulina B. Lewicka, Ph.D., Chair of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Warsaw

Prof. Ewa Machut-Mendecka, Ph.D., Chair of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Warsaw

Prof. Tadeusz Majda, Ph.D., Section of Inner Asian Peoples, University of Warsaw

Prof. Barbara Michalak-Pikulska, Ph.D., The Oriental Institute, The Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Anna Nawolska, Ph.D., Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies, University of Wrocław

Prof. Mikołaj Olszewski, Ph.D., Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Prof. Katarzyna Pachniak, Ph.D., Chair of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Warsaw

Barbara Wrona, M.A., Chair of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Warsaw