ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES
IN HONOR OF
HAMILTON A.R. GIBB

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EDITED BY

GEORGE MAKDISI

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EDITOR'S NOTE

For the sake of uniformity, all foreign words and phrases found in Webster's Third New International Dictionary are not italicized. Their spelling as well as that of all the texts written in English is standardized according to this dictionary. Some familiar proper nouns are written without diacritics. Abbreviations have been avoided as much as possible in the body of the texts. Although uniformity was aimed at throughout in the matter of transliteration, deviation was allowed where it served the needs of certain studies, as in the case of linguistics, Ottoman Turkish, Indian Islam and Modern Persian. Arabic texts did not all receive the same kind of editorial attention. Articles written in Arabic were, like those written in Western languages, susceptible of editorial modification; on the other hand, a few modifications of a conventional nature only were brought to those Arabic texts which were offered by the authors as critical editions.

The Editor wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his special thanks to Messrs. Thomas J. Wilson, Director of the Harvard University Press and Derwood W. Lockard, Associate Director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, and Miss Elizabeth Randolph, Administrative Secretary of the Center, for their assistance in matters regarding the publication of this Volume; to Misses Carol Cross and Brenda Sens, Secretaries of the Center, who typed all the texts and assisted in the proof-reading, in spite of an already heavy work schedule; and of course, to the authors themselves, colleagues and students of Sir Hamilton Gibb, for their enthusiastic response and ready cooperation, making possible this Presentation Volume of Arabic and Islamic studies.

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LETTER OF DEDICATION

Dear Sir Hamilton,

The few words which I have been asked to set forth as an introduction to the traditional Festschrift which is offered to you on the occasion of your seventieth birthday are justified only by the fact that I have attained that fatal goal several years ahead of you. I believe myself to be the oldest, or one of the oldest, among your fellow-students, a seniority which, although it makes me sad on account of the thought of having spent a long life with no sizable profit to the advance of scholarship, I must now consider as a happy one, since it gives me the opportunity to bear witness to the dawn of your brilliant career, at a time when you were still "the young Professor Gibb".

With mixed feelings of pleasure and melancholy I keep in my mind the recollection of our first meeting and of the long talk which I had with you and the late Arent Jan Wensinck at the latter's home in Leiden, Netherlands, in September, 1931. You had just been appointed, in spite of your young age, as a successor to Sir Thomas Arnold on the editorial board of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: a task, incidentally, which you took up and carried on with your customary thoroughness to the advantage of that great enterprise. Although you were by far the youngest of us—Wensinck was fifteen years older than you, and I was nine—your experience of the Islamic world, past and present, appeared to be more extensive and more intimate than ours. Ever since your early years you had traveled wide parts of it, both as an alert tourist and a seriously engaged student, and had fully realized the impossibility of attaining adequate understanding of the ancient civilization of Islam without a deep insight into the contemporary Moslem society, and, reciprocally, the necessity, in order to grasp an exact picture of its present, to become intimately acquainted with its nature during its remote past.

In the long course of your life as a scholar and a teacher you have lived up punctiliously to this all-embracing concept of the study of Islam, as is evinced by an imposing number of items in your bibliography. But already in the earliest products of your pen the manifoldness of your learned curiosity shows up in full light. To be sure, your

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first important achievement, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, of 1923, is a monograph on a well defined subject, which is treated according to the strictest standards of erudite research; however, the historico-geographical environment out of which the events retraced in your book have developed aroused your interest in certain delicate problems concerning the correlations between heterogeneous national groups and the concordance, or discordance, of the historical data which proceed from such different quarters as Arab and Chinese sources. This kind of research proved excellent training and supplied you with the ability to identify and evaluate the various components of Islamic civilization.

Within a few years from the appearance of *The Arab Conquests* you produced a number of significant items which, although they dealt apparently with totally different subjects, actually were instrumental in clarifying and corroborating the distinctive character of your scholarly work. The small sized *Arabic Literature* claims to be a book of vulgarization: actually, each of its pages reveals direct knowledge of and independent judgment on the immense amount of documents upon which it is based. With the completion of that standard work, *Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, whose first instalment appeared in 1928, you ranked incontestably, together with Kratchkowsky and Kampffmeyer, with the few Western Arabists who had become aware, at an early date, of the role which the new literary trends were to play in the tremendous upheavel of the Arab and Islamic world in the twentieth century. Only one year later, you surprised your fellow-students by bringing forth another important achievement of an entirely different line: the masterful presentation of a series of selected passages translated from the Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, where the loving care with which you accompany the fourteenth-century Moroccan globe-trotter in his wanders reveals the longing of the twentieth-century European student for the attainment of intimate acquaintance with the Islamic world not only through the medium of books but also through immediate and unbiased experience. May I add that the general desire for an unabridged translation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's report, with such an annotation as only you were in a position to add to it, began to be fulfilled almost thirty years later, and has not yet reached its end. It is the warmest wish of us all that you may be given vigor and leisure enough to give the last touch to that glorious work.

It lies outside of my aim to follow the further steps of your career.

I only wanted to call attention to the fact that since the very beginning of your activity you have clearly marked the paths upon which you would tread during your further advance. If some change, formal rather than substantial, took place in your attitude towards the study of Islam, it seems to consist of a keener interest in the major problems concerning politics, sociology and religion rather than in literature and art. You have succeeded, better perhaps than any other student of Islam, in singling out its specific attitude towards religion, which is the more difficult to grasp in its essential signification inasmuch as it looks simple and unequivocal in its formulation; and you have recognized how much this attitude has been jeopardized by the radical shift which the Islamic society has taken as a consequence of the impact of the West and the awakening of certain latent energies which had been dormant for many centuries. The modern and modernistic trends which have shown up in the present century have been carefully identified and analyzed by you not only in their religious, but also in their social and political bearing. Whilst many so-called experts on Middle Eastern affairs are at a loss to support their contentions with sound information about their historical background, your unsurpassed familiarity with the events of the past and with ancient political theories and efforts, from the very beginning of the Caliphate until a later age, has allowed you to understand the present correctly and also, up to a certain point, to foresee the future.

If I am not totally mistaken, the originality of your work, which makes you rank with the most prominent Islamic scholars of all ages, resides in the perfect balance which you kept between the study of ancient and contemporary Islam, and in your firm and continuous consciousness of the fundamental unity of Islamic civilization. Balance and measure are indeed the most conspicuous features in your personality. But you have also succeeded in joining the qualities of a teacher, an organizer and an adviser with those of an accomplished scholar. The hundreds of young men and women who were initiated by you to the study of Arabic and Islam, the many students, young and less young, whom you have generously advised and helped in the preparation of articles and books, and finally the sundry scholarly enterprises which you have suggested, patronized and fostered in Great Britain and the rest of Europe, in the United States and in the Middle East, all bear witness to your lofty concept of the role assigned to scholarship in our age: far from seeing in it a selfish exercise of the individual mind, carried over in solitary aloofness, you consider and

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practise it as a cooperative service aiming at the progress of mankind.

This sketchy and utterly inadequate draft of your personality would be even more incomplete than it actually is if I did not close it, my dear Gibb (if I may be allowed to shift to the familiar salutation which I have been using with you over so many years), by reminding those who know, and informing those who do not, that the man in you equals the scholar, and that if the immense learning of the former has found international recognition, the wide human understanding, the unflinching benevolence and the faithful friendship of the latter have secured you everlasting esteem and deep affection from all those who have had the good fortune of approaching you. This collection of papers presented to you by your disciples, colleagues and friends from various parts of the world is intended as an acknowledgment of the eminence of your scholarship as well as a token of deep friendship and a most sincere wish for the continuance of your activity in the future as a leader and an inspirer in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies.

G. Levi Della Vida

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

Sir Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb was born in Alexandria, Egypt, January 2, 1895. His father, Alexander Crawford Gibb, a son of John Gibb of Gladstone, Renfrenshire, Scotland, was at the time farm manager for the Aboukir Land Reclamation Company. After his father's death in 1897, his mother, Jane Ann Gardner, from Greenock, Scotland, moved into Alexandria and took a teaching post in the Church of Scotland Girl's School. Hamilton, at the age of five, was sent back to Scotland for his formal education. He had four years of private teaching, after which he entered the Edinburgh Royal High School, in 1904, where he remained until 1912. During this period he twice spent a summer vacation in Egypt. His education was on the classical side, but he received also a good education in French, German, and the physical sciences, and finished as Dux of the Royal High School. In 1912, he entered Edinburgh University, and in his first year there joined the newly created honors program in Semitic Languages, with Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic. The Professor of Hebrew, A. R. S. Kennedy, was for him an effective teacher, but he found Arabic, taught by a young lecturer, Edward Robertson (afterwards Professor of Semitic Languages at Manchester, and still active), a more exciting subject. His mother died in 1913 while he was in his second year at Edinburgh.

Edinburgh University had at the time, like all British Universities, a section of the Officers' Training Corps, of which the Battery was its chief pride. He applied and was accepted for the Battery, and his keen interest was evident in his assiduous attendance at drills and camps. At the outbreak of war in 1914, the Battery volunteered for service as a unit, but the offer was refused and almost all its personnel were commissioned in artillery regiments. Now 19 years of age, young Hamilton was commissioned in the Battery itself, which was turned into an Artillery Officers' Training Unit, and remained with it as an instructor until he was transferred at his own request to the South Midland Brigade, which went out to France in February 1917. His war service continued in France, with some months in Italy, until after the Armistice of 1918.

In the summer of 1919 he applied for a war degree from Edinburgh University and entered the London School of Oriental Studies in the

graduate (M.A.) program in Arabic, receiving the degree in the spring of 1922. He had already been appointed as lecturer in the fall of 1921 and continued thereafter as assistant to Professor (Sir) Thomas Arnold. In 1922 (July 12) he married the former Helen Jessie Stark, whom he had first met when he was sent to Scotland at the age of five. They have two children, Ian (b. 1923) and Dorothy (b. 1926, now Mrs. J. Greenslade). In 1926-27 he made his first lengthy visit to the Middle East and took the opportunity to begin the study of contemporary Arabic literature; he had previously spent two vacations in North Africa. In 1929 he was appointed Reader in Arabic History and Literature, and in 1930, on the death of Professor (Sir) Thomas Arnold, he was appointed to the Chair of Arabic. He also replaced Sir Thomas as English editor of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, serving as such until 1955 and meanwhile becoming one of the original editors of the completely revised edition.

He was Professor of Arabic at the University of London from 1930 to 1937, and Laudian Professor of Arabic at St. John's College, Oxford University from 1937 to 1955. In 1955 he joined the Harvard faculty as University Professor and James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic, and two years later assumed the directorship of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. In 1964 he retired from the teaching faculty at Harvard as University Professor, Emeritus, and James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic, Emeritus. He continues his leadership of the Center he has directed since 1957, dividing his time between Cambridge, Massachusetts and his home in Oxford, England.

His principal publications in chronological order are as follows: *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London, 1923); *Arabic Literature* (London, 1926; Revised edition, Oxford, 1963); *Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa* (London, 1929); *Damascus Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1932); *Modern Trends in Islam* (The Haskell Lectures in Comparative Religion delivered at the University of Chicago in 1945; Chicago, 1947); *Mohammedanism* (London, 1949; Second edition, 1962); *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I (Part 1, London, 1950; Part 2, London, 1957) with H. Bowen; *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge, Vol. I, 1958, Vol. II, 1961); *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (edd. S. J. Shaw and W. R. Polk, Boston, 1962). At the time of this writing, he is working on the last two chapters of Vol. III of *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*.

Sir Hamilton was created Knight Bachelor (United Kingdom in 1954); Commander of Orange-Nassau (Netherlands); Legion of

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Honor (France). He is Fellow of the British Academy, the Danish Academy, the American Philosophical Society, and Honorary Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Mediaeval Academy of America. He is Member of The Academy of Arabic Language, Cairo, Associate Member of the Institut d'Egypte, and Honorary Member of the Arabic Academy, Damascus, and of the Arabic Academy of Iraq.

GEORGE MAKDISI

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STANFORD J. SHAW

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1963 "Louis Massignon, 1882-1962" (*JRAS* [1963]. 119-21).

Abbreviations

BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
EB	Encyclopaedia Britannica
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam
EI²	Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition
GJ	Geographical Journal
IA	International Affairs
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCAS	Journal of the Central Asian Society
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
MEJ	Middle East Journal
MW	Muslim World
Studies	Studies on the Civilization of Islam by H. A. R. Gibb (Boston and London, 1962)

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A NEW PAPYRUS AND A REVIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF 'UBAID ALLĀH B. AL-ḤABḤĀB

BY

NABIA ABBOTT

The following communication from Dr. Smith is self-explanatory:

The papyrus was found in 1959 in the Khan Khalil of Cairo by Dr. Myron Bement Smith, who borrowed it from the dealer to show to his friend, Dr. Muhammad Mostafa, Director of the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, who immediately recognized it as a rare and early document, an opinion corroborated by Mr. Ahmad M. Hamdy, Curator of Arabic books and MSS in the Museum. Learning that the Museum would like the papyrus for its collections, Dr. Smith then proposed to purchase it for that purpose, but asked that he first have the privilege to offer it for publication to has former teacher (the present writer), a request to which Dr. Mostafa graciously acceded. The papyrus has since been forwarded to the American Embassy in Cairo for presentation to the U.A.R. Government on behalf of the American Research Center in Egypt, of which Dr. Smith is a Trustee.

The date of the papyrus, 23 Rabi' I 106/19 August 724, definitely places it in the administration of 'Ubaid Allah b. al-Ḥabḥāb (105-16/724-34). His name and that of one or more of his subordinate officers doubtless appeared in the now lost upper section of the document. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown. It probably comes from either the Fayyum or from Aphrodito, the modern Kum Ishqaw, in Upper Egypt, from which two places have come most of the Arabic papyri.

Description. This is a fine quality, medium brown papyrus that measures 38.6 × 20.6 cm. The upper part, about one third of the originally complete document, and a narrow strip of from three to four cms. at the left are lost. The upper section of the papyrus is considerably damaged with loss of text.

Script. The script of the papyrus, like its size and format, is very similar to that of several of the Qurra papyri which are dated fifteen and sixteen years earlier. Since the script of these earlier documents has been fully discussed elsewhere by the writer, [2] it will suffice here

[1] *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, n° 15 [Chicago, 1930], 33-39, especially 36. Hereafter cited

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to draw attention only to the few peculiarities of the penmanship of Khālid, the scribe of the papyrus. The hand is almost elegant and is, for the most part, readily legible. Nevertheless, it has marked irregularities in the size and form of many of the letters, especially *alif*, *ṣād*, *kāf*, and *nūn*. It fails to distinguish adequately between similar letters that occur successively in a word, especially *bā'* and its siters along with medial *nūn* and *yā'*. Another of Khālid's practices is his writing the initial letter or two of a word over the loop of a separate of final *lām* or *nūn* of the preceding word, yet with only an occasional overcrowding, as at the beginning of line 11. The practice, nevertheless, does give a certain imbalance to the script with its many extensions of the several letters already mentioned above. The poor execution of the first *sīn* in line 14 seems to be a momentary lapse into carelessness.

This is the third early scribe named Khālid to come to the writer's attention. The first who was active in 61-62/680-82 need not detain us. The second Khālid, one of a dozen known scribes of Qurra b. Sharīk, was most probably the copyist of a document dated 91/710. Unfortunately only a part of the central strip of the text of this document has survived, and though published the document is not reproduced. [1] This document and the present papyrus may have come, despite the fifteen years that separate them, from the hand of one and the same Khālid. It must be noted, on the other hand, that Khālid is a fairly common name.

1 الى القر[ـر]ى

2 والجباي[ه] اليـ[ـا]

3 عنهم ما قد علم[ت]

4 وقد بلغنى ان لبعضهم ص[. .]حا ورزق ح[ ]

5 ه[م] فارقوها واشخصوا عنها ص[لحاً]

6 [ما] دخلت عليهم فى ذلك مثبت[لك]

7 فاخر من كان له قلك منهم زرع [حنى]

8 يفرغوا من حصادهم ورفع عليهم [فارفعه]

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as *KPA*. For additional documents of this group see Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library* (hereafter, *APEL*), III (Cairo, 1938), nos 146-159.

[1] *APEL*, III, 41-43, no 159, lines 17 f. The spacing of these two lines calls for a more probable reconstruction to read "Written by So-and-so and copied by Khālid," a not uncommon practice as seen in, for example, *op. cit.*, nos 154-155 and *KPA*, n° III.

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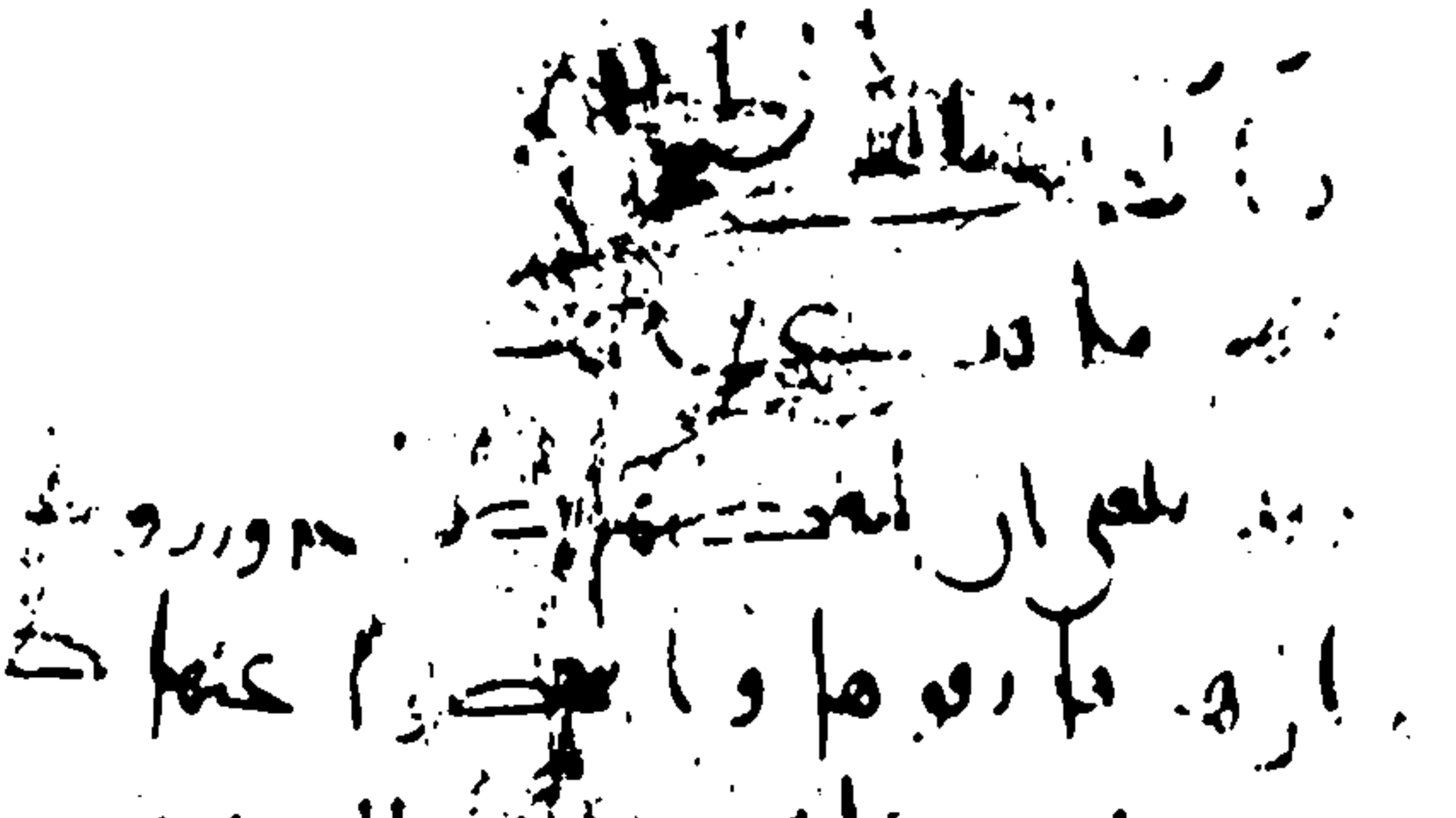

Seal 1 : 2

Original is in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art ('Ubaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb)

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9 الينا مع رسول من قبلك واكا[تب]

10 بتسميتهم وابنياتهم وعدده[م]

11 ومن لم يكن له قبلك منهم زرع فاشخا[صه]

12 الينا ولا توخره ان شا الله والـ[لم]

13 عليك ورحمة الله وكتا[ب]

14 خلد يوم السبت لسبع ليا[ل بقين]

15 من شهر ربيع الاول سنة ـ[ت]

16 ومايه

1 [ ] to the villag[es
2 and the taxes to us [
3 about them what you (already) know [
4 I have been informed that some of them (the workmen) have been given [one or two words] and maintenance allowance [one word]
5 should they separate themselves from it (land or village) and depart from it peacefully.
6 Whatever you spend on them on that account is assured to you.
7 Detain those of them who are with you who have grainland [until]
8 they are through with their harvesting and (with the delivery of) their tax assessment. Transmit it (the tax)
9 to us with your emissary. Write down
10 their (the workmen's) names and their buildings and their number.
11 And he, among those who are with you, who has no grainland have him sent
12 to us and do not detain him, God willing. And peace be
13 upon you and the grace of God. Written by
14 Khālid, saturday seven nigh[ts remaining]
15 of the month of Rabi' the First, year s[ix]
16 and (one) hundred

Comments.—Lines 1-3. The size, style and content of the document are of the type usually used at that time by either the Governor or the Director of Finances of Egypt in addressing the financial administrators of a district with its many villages. The Qurra papyri already cited furnish ample illustrations of this type of high level correspondence.

Lines 4—6. Requisitions of farmers and laborers, for local or distant service were frequent and extensive. The service though compulsory was not, as a rule, free. Payment consisted of regular wages and food rations (see for example, Carl H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* . . . I [Heidelberg, 1906], n° III, lines 14, 29, 39, and n° VIII, line 7). For a summary of such practices see for example British Museum, *Greek Papyri* . . . IV, *The Aphrodito Papyri*, ed. H. I. Bell (London, 1910) pp. xxxi-iv; Daniel C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, Harvard Historical Monographs XXII (Cambridge, 1950), chap. 5.

Independent workers who changed residence needed a passport indicating the payment of their poll tax and permission to work in the new locality. Such a permit, dated 112/731, was issued by one of 'Ubaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb's officials (see B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography* [Cairo, 1905] Pl. 106, and *APEL*, III, n° 175, where the correct reading for line 8 is "the year thirteen" [not sixteen]; compare also Dennett, 81ff.).

Lines 6-9. Farmers were seldom taken off the land before harvest time. The collection of the taxes, much of which was payment in kind, waited on the harvest (compare for example, *KPA*, nos II, IV).

Lines 9-10. Local officers were required to keep a register of the male population and of their dwellings and land holdings. This information was drawn on by the central administration for the periodic general census and land survey (see H. I. Bell "Translation of the Greek Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum," *Der Islam*, II [1911], 273-275; Dennett, 94, 96 ff., 104).

Lines 11-12. Artisans and unskilled laborers were requested as needed (see comment on lines 4-6).

Lines 12-13. Note the use of the open final *tā'* in *raḥmat*. This form of greeting was addressed to fellow Muslims. That used for non-Muslims was "And peace be on those who follow the right guidance" (see for example *KPA*, n° III).

Lines 13-16. The reconstruction in line 14 does not unduly crowd the end of that line, since the *bā'* and *qāf* of the last word fit well into the loop of the final *lām* of *liyāl*. For this peculiarity of Khālid's hand and for Khālid himself see the comment above on the script of the papyrus.

Such precise and complete dating by day, month, and year is comparatively rare. Documents issued in the second half of a month were dated by the number of days or nights still remaining in the

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month (see for example Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb* [Baghdad, 1922], 180-183. For other sources and papyri so dated see for example *APEL*, II, 192, 197).

The Political Career of 'Ubaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb

The opportunity to publish the present papyrus has led the writer to re-examine the pertinent sources that bear on 'Ubaid Allāh's long and varied political career, in an effort to gain an integrated view of its three phases--the Syrian, the Egyptian, and the North African. The man and his administrations are repeatedly met with in the primary sources both early and late. Western scholars have picked up his trail from time to time largely with the aid of the material remains from his Egyptian administration. These consist of many glass stamps for weights and measures [1] and of a few though more significant papyri. [2] The few who have been interested in his North African career usually ignore or barely mention his earlier activities. Furthermore, such basic points as the initial or terminal dates of his appointments, the limits of his authority, and the character of his administrations have remained uncertain and subject to controversy. Our attention will center, therefore, on his chronology, on the complex forces that first raised him to power, on those that sustained him and influenced his politics, and on those that finally brought about his political downfall and personal tragedy.

Little is known of 'Ubaid Allāh's family backgrounds beyond that which is indicated in his identification as 'Ubaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb b. al-Ḥārith al-Mauṣilī, client of the Banū Salūl of the tribe of Qais. [3] His grandfather had been manumitted by a little-known Salūlī named Ḥajjāj. Nothing is known of his father whose very

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[1] George C. Miles, Early *Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, nº III [New York, 1948], 75-80; Aimée Launois, "Deux estampilles et un gros poids omeyyades en verre," *JA*, CCXLVI (1958), 287-297. Supplementary materials on Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb in subsequent publications of both these authors add nothing of importance to our present purpose.

[2] Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Wien, 1894), nº 85. Hereafter, *PERF*. Corpus papyrorum Raineri... III. Series Arabica, Bd. I, Teil 1. *Allgemeine Einführung in die Arabischen Papyri*, ed. by Adolf Grohmann, Bd. I, Teil 2. Protokolle (Wien, 1924), 95-98. Hereafter *CPR*. *APEL*, III, nºs 174 f. and 80, where nº 174 is however erroneously assigned to Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, who is considered, in Grohmann's reconstruction, as *amir* as early as 103/722 (see pp. 7 f. below).

[3] Ibn al-'Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. by G.S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1948), 51.

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name, Ḥabḥāb, [1] lacks fixity in the sources. 'Ubaid Allāh himself first comes into view as a full-fledged imperial secretary, in the service of the caliph Hishām and with a reputation for marked kindness towards the Christians. Perhaps his family had a Christian background (see below). It would seem safe to conclude that 'Ubaid Allāh was a self-made man with no political connections or over-riding loyalties that could either speed or hinder a political career of his own choice. Unlike many clients of the period who sought to climb to positions of power on the ladder of religious scholarship, 'Ubaid Allāh, like many others, sought a career in the Imperial Secretariat at Damascus. The early stages of his secretarial career are not recorded. But, with his humble backgrounds, he must have had to go through them patiently and brilliantly, relying on his own qualities of mind and personality to raise him to such a high and coveted position.

The Islamic sources are not clear as to just when and by whom 'Ubaid Allāh was first appointed as Financial Director of Egypt. Becker [2] and Grohmann [3] favored an appointment by Yazīd (101-105/720-24) as early as 102/720. Their argument rests partly on the assumption that he succeeded 'Usāma b. Zāid and partly on the fact that when the Umayyad al-Ḥurr b. Yūsuf, Hishām's governor of Egypt (3 Dhū al-Ḥijja 105-Dhū al-Ḥijja 108/2nd May 724-April 727) reached Fusṭāṭ, 'Ubaid Allāh was already in charge of Egypt's finances. The question here is: Did Hishām in the three and a half month's interval between his own accession on the 11th Sha'bān 105/14th January 724 and al-Ḥurr's arrival in Egypt on the 3rd Dhū al-Ḥijja 105/2nd May 724, merely confirm or actually initiate 'Ubaid Allāh's appointment? There are several factors in favor of the second alternative. There is no reference in the sources to 'Ubaid Allāh's presence in Egypt prior to 105/724. There is also a total absence of any material remains of his activities in Egypt prior to that same year. This is in sharp contrast to the profusion of both these types of evidence for the years that follow. Finally, there is the following clear-cut statement by Severus:

> There was at his (Hishām's) court a Muslim who greatly loved the orthodox churches. He was named 'Ubaid Allāh. When king (*malik*)

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[1] The name has been misspelled in a dozen or more ways. Each of its consonants has been subjected to all of the diacritical points it could possibly take.

[2] Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*..., II (Strassburg, 1902-03), 107-110.

[3] *APEL*, III nos 174-175, especially p. 122 and references cited; especially A. Grohmann "Aperçu de papyrologie arabe," *Études de papyrologie*, I (Cairo 1932), 54-56.

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Hishām saw him act so, he rejoiced greatly and made him (financial) governor of Egypt, and commanded him to act with kindness towards all baptised Christians.[1]

Again, we note that al-Ḥurr was the second governor of Egypt to be appointed by Hishām. The first governor was Hishām's own brother, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik, whose appointment began on the 14th Shawwāl 105/106th March 724, and who resigned about a month later over a difference of policy with Hishām.[2] Taking all these sundry facts together, a logical conclusion is that ʿUbaid Allāh either accompanied Hishām's brother to Egypt or joined him soon after, and hence he was already in Egypt when al-Ḥurr arrived as a replacement for Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik. All in all, it seems that late 105/spring 724 is the earliest date we can assign for the initial appointment of ʿUbaid Allāh as financial director of Egypt to succeed, in all probability, Ḥayyān b. Shuraiḥ in that office.[3]

Hishām (105-25/724-43) was constantly faced with the power struggle between the North Arab or Qais and the South Arab Yemenite or Kalb tribal factions. A balance of power was particularly needed in the early years of his reign as a check on the Kalbite excesses of the preceding reign of Yazīd. His other major concern was the steady enrichment of his treasury. To accomplish both ends in Egypt, Hishām needed a man whom he could trust, and one who could allay the religious apprehensions of the tax-paying Copts, who were still resentful of the tax extensions of the Yemenite Usāma b. Zaid,[4] and the iconoclastic excesses of Yazīd.[5] ʿUbaid Allāh, with his

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[1] Severus, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*... Arabic text edited and translated by B. Evetts. *Patrologia Orientalis*, V, 74 f. Hereafter, *PO*. See also Eutychius, *Annales* (Beirut, 1909), 45.

[2] Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāh wa kitāb al-qudāh* (Governors and Judges of Egypt), ed. by R. Guest ("Gibb Memorial Series"), XIX (London, 1912), 72 f. Hereafter, Kindī.

[3] Scholars have tended to follow Becker and Grohmann's conjectural dating of the appointment in Yazīd's reign, though not without some uncertainty on the part of some who yet made no attempt at an alternate solution; see, for example, Francesco Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hishām* (Alexandrie, 1935), 125; Miles, *op.cit.*, 73-75, 79; Daniel C. Dennett, *op.cit.*, 87.; Launois, *op. cit.*, 288 and her *Catalogue des Étalons Monétaires... de la Collection Jean Maspéro* (Paris, 1960), 13, 54.

[4] See for example *PO*, V, 67f.; Maqrīzī *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭat wa 'l-āthār*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1270-1854), I, 79; II, 492. Hereafter, *Khiṭat*. Also Wiet's edition, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français du Caire*, XXX, 316; Dennett, *op. cit.*, 79-81.

[5] See for example, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-ẓāhira*, ed. T.G.J. Juynboll and B.F. Matthes, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum, 1855-56), I, 278, and Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1901), 27.

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humble background and Qaisite affiliation, his proven talent for administration, and his happy experience with the Christians of Syria, was an obvious choice for the financial directorship of the rich and predominantly Christian province of Egypt.

'Ubaid Allāh initiated a new land survey and general census soon after his arrival in Egypt. [1] The present papyrus, dated at most some five months later, and the earliest so far definitely known to come from his administration, testifies to some of the initial steps in his plans (lines 7-10). Doubtless it was on the strength of the evidence being gathered that 'Ubaid Allāh proposed a tax raise which Hishām readily approved. This is believed to have been the main reason for the general Coptic revolt that soon followed in 107/725-26. [2] The rapidity and finality of 'Ubaid Allāh's actions were possible because he, like several other financial directors before and after him, was responsible only to the Caliph at Damascus. Furthermore, 'Ubaid Allāh was, in a sense, Hishām's own man. He could count on the royal support because he did have Hishām's interest at heart.

It is in the light of this complex situation that one must view 'Ubaid Allāh's next major moves, namely, the removal of al-Ḥurr, late in 108/early 727, and of his supporter and successor, Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥaḍramī, who lasted but two weeks. [3] Since no reason is stated for the growing rift between 'Ubaid Allāh and al-Ḥurr, both of whom were North Arabs, one can only assume that there was either a clash of personalities or a difference of opinion as to policy, or both. Hishām now left the choice of the next governor to 'Ubaid Allāh himself. He named a former governor of Egypt, the Qaisite 'Abd al-Malik b. Rifā'ah, whose appointment dated from the 1st of Muḥarram 109/28th April 727, but who did not arrive in Egypt until the 18th of that month, during which interval his brother, Walid b. Rifā'ah, was Acting Governor. This arrangement was doubtless made with the approval of 'Ubaid Allāh. For when, for reasons of health, 'Abd al Malik's appointment lasted but two months, it was Walid who succeeded him to a long tenure of the governorship (109-117/727-35). [4]

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[1] *PO*, V, 74f. and n. 4 below.

[2] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 73 f.; Maqrīzi, *op. cit.*, I, 79; II, 492(= Wiet, XXX, 332 f.; LIII, 89). These sources report a raise of one *qīrāṭ* per dinar which at 24 *qirāṭs* to the dinar is 4.167 percent. *PO*, V, 86 reports the rate as 12.5 percent and *ibid.*, 75 states that 'Ubaid Allāh doubled the revenues.

[3] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 75.

[4] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 75-79.

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Two major events are credited to Walīd's administration. The first was a thoroughgoing land survey and population census, in which both he and 'Ubaid Allāh participated personally [1] but which, as seen above, had already been initiated by 'Ubaid Allāh. The second event, which took place in 109/727-728, was the settlement of a Qaisite colony in Egypt; and we find that here, too, the initiative came from 'Ubaid Allāh, who, with his finger on the economic pulse of Egypt, reached the conclusion that sections of Lower Egypt could be developed to support a new settlement. He won Hishām's approval for the project by pointing out the political advantage of a Qaisite colony, by transferring the registry of these Qaisites from the *dīwān* of Syria to that of Egypt, and by assuming all of the colony's initial expenses. Himself a Qaisite client, a relationship he was not inclined to overlook, 'Ubaid Allāh took a personal interest in the colony and helped it in every way to establish itself as a remarkably successful agricultural community centered in Bulbais and the surrounding districts, the first such Muslim community in Egypt. [2]

Our next questions are the time and the circumstances under which 'Ubaid Allāh became the Deputy Governor-General of Egypt. These are points on which the sources are silent, in contrast to the papyri which refer to him as *amīr*, governor, as against *'āmil*, financial director, in the years 112-13/731-32. [3] Zambaur, misreading a passage in Ibn al-Athīr, V, 117 (= Ṭabarī, II, 1526) lists al-Ḥakam b. Qais b. Makhrimah as governor of Egypt in 111 H. and 'Ubaid Allāh as his deputy governor. [4] What the passage in its full context actually states is that Hishām appointed al-Ḥakam to the command of the Egyptian and Syrian forces in the campaigns of the year 111/April 729-March 730. Grohmann, misled by Zambaur, accepted the year and the circumstance of 'Ubaid Allāh's deputy governorship. [5] This, along with the fact that there is no reference whatsoever to a removal and a reappointment of a Walīd as governor in these years, leaves us with the only possible conclusion that 'Ubaid Allāh was

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[1] *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 99 — Wiet, *op. cit.*, XXXIII, 60 f.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1299 H.) I, 87.

[2] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 76 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. by C. C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 143; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 80 = Wiet, *op. cit.*, XXX, 335 f.

[3] *APEL*, III, nos 175, 180.

[4] E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), 26. It would be strange, indeed, for Hishām to appoint a governor over the joint provinces of Egypt and his own imperial province of Syria.

[5] See p. 26 n. 2.

deputy for none other than Walīd himself. The two had been working together smoothly since 109/724. With their major program already accomplished by late 111/early 730, the following years could be expected to be comparatively uneventful –a situation that readily lends itself to absenteeism and deputy rule in high offices. [1] The logical choice of a deputy, under the particular personal relationships of Hishām, 'Ubaid Allāh, and Walīd, would be 'Ubaid Allāh himself. His tenure as deputy governor lasted at least through 113/March 731-32, the date of the latest papyrus known in which he is referred to as *amir* (*APEL*, III, n° 180).

We do not definitely know, but the great probability is, that 'Ubaid Allāh's sons, Qāsim and Ismā'īl, were drawn into his administration from the start. [2] We read more about their activities in Severus than in the Muslim records. We find them holding key financial positions during their father's deputyship, the one (which one is not stated) in Upper and the other in Lower Egypt [3]

Again, it is most probably during this period of complete family control of the internal administration of Egypt that 'Ubaid Allāh himself turned his attention to Nubia. The few Islamic references to the relationship between Egypt and Christian Nubia of this time are for the most part brief and more often than not confused. Some border clashes and the question of Egyptian refugees in Nubia seem to have led to negotiations and a treaty settlement. [4]

Finally, one should not be surprised to find that during this period of *de jure* and *de facto* control of Egypt, there was some turnover in the administrative ranks of the second and lower levels. It is probable that, in keeping with the trend well afoot under 'Umar II, Arabs and Egyptian converts replaced Christian Copts. [5] Indeed, we find that this very issue of removals from office is said to have induced Walīd,

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[1] Deputy rule was an accepted practice under the Umayyads. As frequently as not, the deputy was someone who already held high office in the provinces, thus combining two offices. Such a deputy as well as a newly appointed one stood a good chance of becoming the next governor.

[2] Family rule, where father and sons, uncle and nephew, or brothers, held high offices simultaneously in the same province, was a widespread practice from Iraq and Khurasan to North Africa and Spain.

[3] *PO*, V, 75 f.

[4] Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *op. cit.*, 189. The comparatively neglected theme of Egyptian-Nubian relationships under the Umayyads needs study and clarification.

[5] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 69 and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, I (Leipzig, 1924), 734; cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, V, 167 for a similar situation in other eastern provinces.

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after his resumption of the governorship, to bring about the transfer of 'Ubaid Allāh to the governorship of North Africa and the West.[1]

The years 114 and 116 H. are both given as the terminal date of 'Ubaid Allāh's Egyptian appointment. But a dinar weight dated 115/733, which bears his name but without the title *amir*,[2] together with the fact that the earliest papyrus from the financial administration of Qāsim, 'Ubaid Allāh's son and successor, is dated Rabi' II 116/10 May 734 the very date given by some of the sources as the start of 'Ubaid Allāh's North African appointment[3] definitely resolve this contradiction. It is nonetheless instructive to seek the probable cause of this confusion of dates. The governir of North Africa, 'Ubaida b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān left for Syria in 114 H. and there resigned his office, which was filled for some time by a deputy or acting governor.[4] Many of the sources bypass this period but mention 'Ubaid Allāh's governorship as following that of 'Ubaida's, presumably in 114/732. Once this error was recorded, it is easy to see how it kept reappearing,[5] though the correct date 116/734 was also being recorded by others.[6] A second source of confusion for the terminal date stems from the activities of a third son of 'Ubaid Allāh, named Muḥammad, who was appointed by 'Ubaida b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān to Spain in 113 H. and who raided the Basque and French borders in 114-15/732-34.[7]

Whatever Walid may or may not have done towards the transfer of 'Ubaid Allāh, the transfer itself did not disturb the cordial relations between 'Ubaid Allāh and Hishām, despite Serverus' account to the contrary with the assumption of 'Ubaid Allāh's disgrace and punish-

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[1] Ibn Tahribirdi I, 288, 293 f., 296. This is the only Muslim source to make this point; cf. *PO*, V, 86: "A group of Muslim leaders complained to Hishām about him."

[2] Miles, *op. cit.*, 79 f., nº 10a.

[3] *PERF*, nº 601; A. Grohmann, *Die Arabischen Papyri aus der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek* (Giessen, 1960), 33; Miles, *op. cit.*, 88 and references cited; see also notes 5 f. below.

[4] For example, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 382; Ibm al-'Idhārī, I, 57; Ibn al-Athir, V, 132.

[5] Among those who repeat it are al-Bakri, Yāqūt, Qalgashandi, Ibn Taghribirdi, and Ibn Khaldūn.

[6] For example, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Ibn al-'Idhāri, I, 51; Ibn al-Athir, V, 130, 137.

[7] As far as I have been able to discover, Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh is mentioned only by Ibn Khaldūn, quoting Wāqidi, who gives a very uncomplimentary account of Muḥammad as an oppressor; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rikh*, IV (Būlāq, 1284), 119 = IV (Beirut, 1958), 258.

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ment. [1] In the first place, 'Ubaid Allāh had the satisfaction of leaving as his successor in Egypt (116-24/734-42), his son Qāsim, who, as Severus himself points out, continued his father's policies, even to the making of many new high-ranking appointments. [2] Next, 'Ubaid Allāh himself moved up the administrative ladder, at least outwardly, to the governor-generalship of the vast territory of North Africa and Muslim Spain. Finally, he had a free hand in the choice of his ranking assistants and so proceeded to appoint his son Ismā'īl to Sūs and Tangier and 'Uqba b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Salūlī (see p. 9) to Spain. [3] The anonymous *Akhbār majmū'a* gives a dramatic account of 'Uqba's appointment, which, apart from its flourishes, brings out 'Ubaid Allāh's sense of loyalty to 'Uqba and Hishām, his confidence in his own judgment as against that of his haughty sons, and his own sense of power and security. [4] All of which would indicate that when Hishām transferred 'Ubaid Allāh from the comparatively peaceful Egypt to the turbulent West with its religious instability and its tribal and racial strife, he did so because he knew him to be an experienced, able, and loyal administrator.

Comparatively little is known of the details of 'Ubaid Allāh's financial measures in his new territory. His military campaigns, generally successful in the earlier years of his governorship, loom larger. Accounts of these activities have found their way into the works of Amari and Dozy and their successors and need not detain us here. We do, however, need to note first their continuity, for there is hardly a year without its one or more campaigns, and secondly, the wide territory they covered. This included most of far western North Africa, the Sudan, the islands of the western Mediterranean,

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[1] *PO*, V, 86 f.

[2] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 216; *PO*, V, 92-104, especially 94 and 104, a very antagonistic account of Qāsim's personality and of his administration. Again, it is Ibn Taghrībirdī alone who reports (I, 296) that when 'Ubaid Allāh left for North Africa, Hishām had Walīd take over his function, but soon separated the two offices, while all the rest of the sources indicate direct succession from 'Ubaid Allāh to Qāsim. Muslim sources have very little to say of Qāsim's long administration, but material remains, like those of his father, are copious, though not many are dated; see for example, *CPR*, III, 98 f.; *APEL*, I, nos 31 f; Miles, *op. cit.*, 83-89; Launois, 296 f. and p. 31, n. 4.

[3] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Ibn al-'Idhārī, I, 51; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 141.

[4] Colección de obras arabigas, I, *Ajbâr Máchmua*, ed. and tr. by Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid, 1867), 25-28; cf. R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (Leyde, 1932), 144-146. Ibn al-I'dhārī I, 52 f. gives a briefer and less dramatic account of this episode.

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especially Sardinia and Sicily, and the Spanish borders, where the zealous 'Uqba b. al-Ḥajjāj led the annual campaigns. [1]

'Ubaid Allāh seemingly kept in close personal touch with the internal affairs of Qairawān and Tunis, but had to rely on his subordinates for the effective execution of his tax policy in the far western districts. No adequate account exists of the ups and downs of Muslim taxation in North Africa where Berber resistance to taxation was endemic. [2] 'Ubaid Allāh doubtless sought to increase the total revenue of the province as he had done so successfully in Egypt. He did not, however, take adequate precautions against the Berber's greater instability and fighting spirit as compared to the Copts. He made the mistake of overextending his military forces, particularly in the major campaign of 122/740-41 against Sicily, and so gave the restless Khārijites of the Far West an opportunity for successful revolt. Their grievances centered around general oppression and particularly on the *khums*, or the state's claim to one-fifth of the booty and captives of war. The Berber Khārijite prisoners were treated as non-Muslims and enslaved in large numbers. [3] The sources are divided on who was primarily responsible, at the time, for this application of the *khums*. They shift between Ismā'īl and his associate, 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh al-Murādī, who was in Tangier at the time of the revolt. Ibn al-'Idhārī concerned himself with this question more than the others. He puts the blame squarely on 'Umar for the general oppression of Muslims and non-Muslims alike and specifically for the *khums*, and fails to mention Ismā'īl in this connection. But he holds 'Ubaid Allāh nonetheless responsible ultimately for the behavior of his subordinates, and in the final analysis extends the blame to the excessive demands of the Caliphs back East for revenue, gift articles, and slaves. [4] The fact that the rebels struck first at 'Umar in Tangier rather than at Ismā'īl in Sūs would seem to indicate 'Umar as the immediate culprit; but with victory adding fervor to their zeal, the rebels moved quickly against Ismā'īl also. The revolt mushroomed so fast that all the

[1] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Ibn al-'Idhārī, I, 51; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 137, 141; Ibn Taghribirdī, I, 296, 306-309, 314, 319; Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 110.

[2] The province, in this respect, comes closer to the situation in Khurasan (see Dennett, *op. cit.*, chap. vi) than to that in the heartlands of the Umayyad Empire.

[3] For example, Ibn al-'Idhārī, I, 51 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 141 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-duwal al-Islāmīya bi 'l-Maghrib* (*Histoire des Berbères* I, [Alger, 1847] 137 — I, [Alger, 1852], 216 and also the citation from Nuwairi on p. 359). A parallel situation existed in Khurasan but wiser council against the application of the *khums* prevailed; see for example, Ibn al-Athīr, V, 102.

[4] Ibn al-'Idhārī, *loc. cit.*

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forces 'Ubaid Allāh could muster by recalling the troops from Sicily and by calling on 'Uqba b. al-Ḥajjāj to come to his aid with troops from Spain proved to be too late and too little. For the net results were the catastrophic defeat in the Battle of the Nobles, *ghazwat al-ashrāf* (123/741), which cost the lives of a large number of the Arab nobility, and revolt in Spain where 'Uqba returned to defeat and death in the struggle for power between the North and South Arab tribes. [1]

Accounts of the political events that followed are quite confused. 'Ubaid Allāh is credited with a futile effort to pacify Spain by confirming the South Arab rebel leader, the aged 'Abd al-Malik b. Qaṭan, in office. [2] In North Africa itself, while Berber military successes continued, Arab political factionalism ended in the local deposition of 'Ubaid Allāh and so forced his recall by Hishām (Jumādā I 123/March-April 741). [3] Grief for the fate of Ismā'īl and his family, military defeat, and political disaster proved too much for the aged 'Ubaid Allāh, whose death followed in that same year. His son Qāsim continued as Financial Director of Egypt until Sha'bān 124/June 742 when that office was once more merged with that of the Governor-General, who was at the time, ironically enough, Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd (see p. 8). [4] The Muslim sources are silent on the last days of 'Ubaid Allāh and the removal of Qāsim, which is in sharp contrast with Severus who associates both situations with Hushām's great displeasure. [5] Hishām himself dies some eight months later (Rabī' II/February 743).

The above view of the three phases of 'Ubaid Allāh's political career, each in its local as well as in its imperial setting, yields a broad basis for an estimate of the character of the man and the nature of his administration. He first comes into view as a full-fledged secretary with the rich liberal education and exacting professoinal experience of his class, the ideal of which was being delineated, even then, by

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[1] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217f.; Ibn al-'Idhārī, I, 52; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 142, 188 f. cf. also Dozy, *op. cit.*, 151; Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, 113 f.

[2] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217, alone makes this point.

[3] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 218; Ibn al- 'Idhārī, I, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 142 f; cf. Dozy, 152.

[4] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 82.

[5] *PO*, V, 92-94. There is no reference to any other blood members of 'Ubaid Allāh's family. Qāsim and his descendants settled in Egypt and seem to have fared well, to judge by the tombstone of Qāsim's great-granddaughter, who died in Rajab 256/January 870. There is also a reference to a client of 'Ubaid Allāh, Sa'īd b. Sābiq al-Rashīdī, a traditionist who transmitted from Ibn Lahī'a and to al-Tirmidhī among others; see Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 177, and Yāqūt (*Geog.*), II, 781.

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the top-ranking state secretaries 'Abd al-Ḥamid and Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Ibn al-'Idhāri pays tribute to 'Ubaid Allāh's personal and intellectual qualities in glowing terms: "He was a brilliant leader and a great ruler, excelling in eloquence and oratory, and with a memory well-stocked with the classical poetry of the battle days of *Ayām al-'Arab*."[1] His energetic and methodical administration of Egypt compares well with that of Qurra b. Sharik.[2] He had the will to power and this he achieved partly by surrounding himself with able men of his own choosing. Nevertheless, his remarkable achievements were due mostly to his personal attention to the needs and possibilities of Egypt as a whole and to the interests of his patron, the caliph Hishām. He served both well; for he doubled the revenue of Egypt, not so much by new taxes on Muslims or Copts, nor yet by the modest tax increase (see p. 8), but by efficient administration and aggressive land development. The Qaisite colony and land development project apart from its financial and political implications was a bold venture in large-scale rural interracial relationship and is believed to have speeded up conversion among the Coptic peasantry. His transfer to the governorship of North Africa, regardless of rival intrigue, was a grateful caliph's tribute to proven ability and loyalty, from which Hishām continued to profit for the first six of the seven years of 'Ubaid Allāh's rule of North Africa and Spain. True, he alone was responsible for the overextension of his forces in so restless a land, and also ultimately responsible for the excesses of his subordinates. Yet, generals and statesmen have fallen into similar errors without such dire consequences as were heaped on 'Ubaid Allāh.

The North African crisis, which grew even worse in the years that followed, must be viewed in the wider background of Hishām's reign and the end of the Umayyads. Territorial over-expansion and setbacks in Spain as in Khurasan, increasing racial and tribal strife throughout the empire, and an insatiable imperial demand for revenues characterized the period. Seen in this setting, the North African revolt was as much, if indeed not more, an imperial crisis as it was a regional one; and the end of 'Ubaid Allāh's political career was more a part of the general tragedy than a personal administrative failure.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 51; cf. Dozy, 144; Gabrieli, 94.
[2] See *KPA*, 57-69.

UN TRAITÉ DES NOMS DIVINS DE FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ, LE

Lawāmiʿ al-baiyināt fī 'l-asmā' wa 'l-ṣifāt

PAR

GEORGES C. ANAWATI, O.P.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (m. 606/1209),[1] est sans conteste, un des plus grands théologiens sunnites de l'Islam. Son grand commentaire du Coran, *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib*, contient, pour la première fois dans l'Islam, un traitement systématique et philosophique des données coraniques, où sont groupés, sous formes de *Quaestiones* (*masā'il*), les différents points que soulève l'examen du texte sacré. D'autres ouvrages, imprimés, en particulier *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqīya*, permettent de se rendre compte de l'immense science religieuse de cet auteur, ainsi que de son esprit d'organisation.

Nous avons eu l'occasion dernièrement d'étudier de près un de ses ouvrages consacré spécialement aux attributs et noms divins: *Kitāb lawāmiʿ al-baiyināt fī 'l-asmā' wa 'l-ṣifāt.*[2] L'esprit clair, posé,

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[1] Si étrange que cela puisse paraitre, l'ancienne édition de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* ne contenait pas de notice sur Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. L'omission, certainement involontaire, a été réparée dans le *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1953), 470 (éd. Gibb et Kramers), puis dans la nouvelle édition (article de l'auteur de ces lignes). Nous avons, par ailleurs, donné une biographie assez détaillée de Rāzī dans un article des *Melanges Henri Massé* (sous presse), et, dans un autre des *Mélanges Taha Hussein*, parus, une recension détaillée de ses œuvres (Le Caire: Imp. Dār al-Maʿārif, 1962), 193-234. Pour la bibliographie concernant Rāzī, on voudra bien se reporter à ce dernier et à celui de *EI²* (sous presse).

[2] Edité au Caire, Imp. al-Sharqīya, 1333/1914, 266 pages. La bibliographie sur les noms divins et les attributs est considérable. En voici les éléments essentiels. Tout d'abord, Rāzī a traité ailleurs cette question; par exemple, dans le *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn* (Le Caire, s.d.), 106-140; *K. al-arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Hyderabad, 1353/1934), 92-226; *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqīya*, II (Hyderabad, 1343/1924), 448-500; *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, I (Le Caire, 1308/1890), 55-91; IV, 331-334.

Tous les grands commentateurs du Coran traitent cette question aux lieux classiques: 7, 179 (arabe 180); 17, 110 (arabe 110); 20, 7 (arabe 8); 59, 24 (arabe 24) où il est parlé d'*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā.* Pour les passages du Coran et les traductions concernant les attributs et les noms, cf. Abū Bakr al-Baihaqī, *K. al-asmā' wa 'l-ṣifāt* (Le Caire: al-Kurdī, 1358/1939), 512 (sic) pages. Les ouvrages de *kalām* ou d'hérésiologie en traitent régulièrement; cf. par exemple (les auteurs sont classés par ordre chronologique): Ashʿarī (m. 324/935), *K. al-Lumaʿ*, éd. McCarthy, (Beyrouth, 1953), texte arabe, 6-36; tr. 6-52; *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn*, éd.

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précis de Rāzi s'y retrouve avec son remarquable sens religieux qui, au-delà des exposés techniques, laisse transparaître un réel souci d'approcher Dieu d'une façon savoureuse.

Aussi nous a-t-il semblé utile de donner une analyse schématique de cet ouvrage qui mériterait d'être entièrement traduit. Rāzi utilise

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Ritter (Istanbul, 1929), I, 36-39, 70-71, et surtout les positions des mu'tazilites' 155-224; mis à profit par O. Pretzl, *Die Fortbildung der Gottesbeweise* (1940); Ibn Ḥazm (m. 384/994) rejette l'emploi du mot *ṣifāt* appliqué à Dieu, parce que non coranique, cf. *Fiṣal*, II (Le Caire 1320/1902), 120; il accepte par contre les "Noms divins," *ibid.*, 161.; Baghdādi (m. 429/1037) *Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul, 1346/1928), 5e *aṣl*, 114-129; Juwaini (m. 478/1085), *al-Irshād*, texte et tr. de Luciani (Paris, 1938), chaps. 6-17; Abū 'l-Barakāt m. 547/1152), *Kitāb al-mu'tabar*, III (Hyderabad, 1357/1938), 128.; Shahrastani (m. 548/1153), *Nihāyat al-aqdām*, éd. Guillaume (London, 1934), texte arabe, 90-356; Maimonide (m. 601/1204, *Guide for the Perplexed*, tr. angl. de Friedlander (London, 1904), chaps. 51-61; al-Iṣfahānī (m. 749/1348), *Sharḥ maṭāli' al-anẓār 'alā maṭāli' al-anwār* de Baidāwī (m. 685/1286); Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (m. 791/1389), *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam* (on the Creed of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī), transl.. . by E. E. Elder (New York, 1950), chaps. 5-8 (il s'agit de Abū Ḥafs 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī m. 537/1142]); Jurjānī (m. 816/1413), *Sharḥ al-mawāqif*, III (Le Caire, 1311/1893) 5e *mawqif*, 4-172; Ibn al-Murtaḍā al-Yamānī (m. 840/1436), *Ithār al-ḥaqq 'alā 'l-khalq* (Le Caire, 1318), 168-193; Sanūsī (m. 895/1490), *Les prolégomènes théologiques*, texte et traduction (Alger, 1908), 162-216; al-Baiyāḍī XIe s. H.), *Ishārāt al-marām* (Le Caire, 1368/1949), 107 s.; al-Zawāhiri (contemporain), *al-Taḥqīq al-tām fī 'ilm al-kalām* (Le Caire, 1358/1939), 58-106.

Sur une élaboration gnostique des attributs et des noms, cf. al-Baṭalyausi (m. 521/1127), *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq fī 'l-maṭālib al-'āliya al-falsafiya al-'anīsa*, éd. Kauthari (Le Caire, 1365/1946). 42-40 (expose et réfute). Pour Ibn 'Arabī voir le livre de 'Afifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dīn Ibnul 'Arabi*, à l'index II: attributes, essence, names. (Cambridge, 1939) (c'est la thèse de doctorat de l'auteur préparée sous la direction de Nicholson); Jīlānī (- Jīlī, m. 832/1428), *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (Le Caire: Imp. Subaih, s. C.), cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921), chap. 2, 77-148.

Sur l'utilisation des noms divins dans la magie, voir le *Shams al-Ma'ārif* d'al-Būnī (nombreuses éditions au Caire), et les *Shumūs al-anwār* d'Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Tilimsānī, cf. E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), 199-219.

Comme travaux occidentaux également par ordre chronologique: J. W. Redhouse, "The Most Comely Names," *JRAS*, XII (1880), 1-69 (a recueilli 552 noms divins, mais en comptant les expressions composées; critique de la méthode dans l'ouvrage de Rahbar cité plus loin); Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1885), s.v. "God," 141-148; Zwemer, *The Moslem Doctrine of God* (New York, 1905), un peu dépréciatif; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932), v. index, s.v. "attributes;" il donne la traduction de *Umm al-Barāhin* de Sanūsī, 275-276; J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, Part 1, I (London, 1942), 17-22 et la liste des noms, 215-216; Part 1, II (1947), 11-47; K. Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret* (New York, 1956), 40-44, 62, 112; Moubarac, "Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran," (*Le Muséon*, LXVIII (1955); J. Jomier, "Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran," dans *Mélanges Massignon* (Beyrouth, 1957), 361-381; D. Masson, *Le Coran et la révélation judéo-chrétienne* (Paris, 1958), chaps. 1, "Les attributs de Dieu," 15-82.

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évidemment ses prédécesseurs, [1] en particulier Ghazālī, qui a consacré au même sujet le *Kitāb al-maqṣad al-asnā, sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*. Mais le traité de Rāzī est plus développé et il contient, en particulier dans la première partie, d'intéressantes dissertations que l'on ne trouve pas chez Ghazālī (du moins pas dans le *Maqṣad al-asnā*).

Dans une très courte préface, où il dédie son ouvrage à Abū 'l-Mu'aiyad Sām b. 'Umar b. Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥusain Zain Allāh, Rāzī exprime son désir de mettre au point les questions se rapportant aux attributs divins et aux noms. Selon son habitude, il indique clairement son plan. L'ouvrage comprendra trois parties (*aqsām*): la première traite des principes et des prolégomènes (*fī 'l-mabādi' wa 'l-muqaddimāt*); la deuxième étudie les attributs et les noms divins proprement dits (*fī 'l-maqāṣid wa 'l-ghāyāt*). Enfin, une troisième partie apportera quelques compléments aux deux précédentes (*fī 'l-lawāḥiq wa 'l-mutammimāt*). Voyons d'un peu près chacune de ces parties.

Première partie: Principes et prolégomènes (pp. 3-73)

Cette première partie comporte dix chapitres qui vont permettre à Rāzī d'examiner en détail un certain nombre de problèmes que soulève l'affirmation des noms divins.

Chapitre premier: Le nom, le nommé et la nomination

Tout d'abord, le chapitre premier va préciser ce qu'est le nom (*ism*), le nommé (*al-musammā*) et la nomination ou l'appelation (*al-tasmiya*).

Les deux articles de L. Gardet dans *EI*² ("Allāh" et "al-Asmā'al-ḥusnā") sont à la fois érudits et d'une parfaite tenue théologique. Enfin un des derniers travaux en date, fait par un musulman qui a travaillé au Centre d'Etudes islamiques de McGill (Montréal) est celui de Daud Rahbar, *God of Justice: A Study in the Ethical Doctrine of the Qur'an* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) surtout le premier chapitre, 3-27.

[1] Voici certains noms cités: Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī, 8; Abū Zaid al-Balkhī, 11, 49, 56, 79; Les mu'tazilites, les *falāsifa*, *passim*; Abū Ishāq al-Naẓẓām, 17; Abū 'l-Hudhail, 17; al-Qāḍī [al-Bāqillānī], 18; Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Raghab, dans son livre *Kitāb al-Dharī'a*, 19; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qais, 38; Abū Khalaf Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Sula'ī al-Ṭabarī; Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal], al-Baihaqī, Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī, 54; Abū Sulaimān al-Khaṭṭābī, 58, 158, 220; Sa'īd b. Jubair, 70; Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Qushairī, 70; Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī qu'il appelle "al-ḥakīm al-kabīr" en citant un long passage de *Kitāb al-Mu'tabar*, 72; Yahyā b. Ma'ādh, 86; Shaqīq al-Balkhī, 86; al-Khalīl, 8, 91; al-Zajjāj, 91, 152; Sibawaihi, 91; al-Farrā', 91; al-Shiblī, 92; Abū Sa'īd al-Jazzār, 92; Ibn Dīnār, 103; Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, 105; Abū 'l-'Āliya al-Rimāḥī, 109, Tha'lab, 114; Abū Bakr al-W'arrāq, 130; Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Tirmidhī, 130; al-Muḥāsibī, 130, 205; Ghazālī, 148, 151; Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī, 150; Ibn Duraid, 158; Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī, 173; Abū 'Ubaida, 197; al-Manṣūr al-Maghribī, 233; al-Junaid, 205; al-mashāyikh, 170, 173, 178, 179, etc.

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S'écartant des Mu'tazilites, Rāzī se rallie à la thèse de Ghazālī qui distingue les trois choses et qui affirme deux points:

A. Que le nom est autre que le nommé.

B. Que la nomination est distincte du nom.

Cinq arguments sont avancés en faveur de A: 1) Les noms divins sont nombreux, le nommé ne l'est pas. 2) On emploie certains noms: *ma'dūm*, *manfī*, *salb* pour désigner des choses non-existantes. 3) Les grammairiens distinguent le nom du verbe et de la particule. Le nom est un mot que l'on prononce, le nommé représente l'essence de la chose désignée, sa nature. Or le nom et la chose signifiée reçoivent des qualifications différentes: le nom (en tant que mot) est un son, composé de syllabes, c'est un accident, il est arabe, hébraïque, etc., tandis que le signifié est une substance. 4) Dieu a ordonné qu'on l'invoque au moyen des beaux noms. 5) On dit: un tel a donné tel nom à telle chose, ce qui n'aurait pas de sens si le nom et la chose nommée étaient identiques.

Quant à la seconde thèse (B: la nomination est distincte du nom), ce qui en montre la vérité, c'est que nommer consiste à faire qu'un mot donné définisse, fasse connaitre l'essence de la chose nommée. Or imposer le nom est autre que la chose elle-même, de la même façon que la mise en mouvement (*al-taḥrīk*) est autre chose que le mouvement lui-même (*al-ḥaraka*).

Fidèle à sa méthode, Rāzī présente des objections (six arguments de la position adverse) (pp. 5-6), et y répond (pp. 6-10).

Chapitre deuxième: Différences entre les noms et les attributs

Le mot *ism* dérive soit d'*al-sumūw*, c'est-à-dire l'élévation (grammairiens de Baṣra) soit d'*al-sima* (racine w *sm*), c'est-à-dire le sign (grammairiens de Kūfa). Dans le premier cas, tout mot significatif est un „*ism*", car il „conduit", il fait monter au significat; dans le second cas, tout mot significatif est une „*sima*", un signe, par rapport au signifié. Aussi le terme s'appliquera-t-il également à tout mot, qu'il soit verbe, nom ou particule.

Les grammairiens ont approprié le sens de „*ism*" à une certaine catégorie de mots significatifs, les distinguant du *fi'l* (verbe) et du *ḥarf* (particule).

Les théologiens (*mutakallimūn*), à leur tour, parmi les noms définis par les grammairiens, ont encore effectué une distinction et une restriction basées sur la considération suivante: on peut considérer

une essence soit en elle-même, en tant que telle (*min ḥaithu hiya hiya*): on a alors affaire au nom; soit en tant qu'elle est qualifiée par un qualificatif (par exemple, le Créateur, le long, le large): on a alors affaire à l'attribut.

Ensuite, Rāzī institue une comparaison entre les attributs et les noms. On peut, selon les points de vue envisagés, tantôt donner la priorité et la plus grande dignité aux attributs, tantôt l'inverse (p. 11).

Chapitre troisième: *Positions doctrinales diverses concernant les attributs et les noms*

Il y a trois positions principales:

A. Certains nient l'existence des noms en Dieu et n'admettent que les attributs, soutenant que Dieu est inconnaissable.

B. D'autres font l'inverse: ils admettent l'existence des noms, mais rejettent celle des attributs. C'est le cas, dit Rāzī, de certains anciens philosophes et des Sabéens.

C. Enfin, il y a ceux qui admettent à la fois les noms et les attributs.

Première position: *Négation des noms, affirmation des attributs.* - - C'est l'opinion de tous ceux qui disent: a) que l'essence (*ḥaqiqa*) de Dieu n'est pas connue des hommes; b) qu'on ne peut donc pas lui appliquer de nom. Preuve de la première proposition: ce qu'on connait de Dieu, c'est l'existence, les négations (*al-sulūb*) et les relations (*al-iḍāfāt*). Pour l'être: savoir que Dieu existe ne renseigne pas sur son essence; car l'existence connue c'est celle qui s'oppose au non-être. Or c'est là un concept général qui se vérifie de tout être. En second lieu, en appliquant à Dieu des négations (en disant qu'il n'est pas substance, qu'il n'est pas accident, etc.), on ne fait que nier ces réalités. Or la réalité de Dieu est autre que les négations. Enfin, dire de Dieu qu'il est savant, qu'il est puissant, c'est dire qu'il a des attributs tels qu'ils produisent des effets permettant d'appliquer ces attributions à titre de possibilité, non de nécessité (*'alā sabīl al-ṣiḥḥa lā 'alā sabīl al-wujūb*).

Argument en faveur de la deuxième proposition: L'imposition du nom a pour but de désigner ce dont on parle à un interlocuteur. Cela suppose que l'un, au moins, de ceux qui parlent connaît le „nommé". Si cette réalité nommée n'est connue que de Dieu seul, il est vain de lui imposer un nom.

Réponse: Dieu peut livrer le secret de son essence, et alors nous pouvons lui appliquer légitimement des noms.

Deuxième position: *Affirmation des noms, négation des attributs.* —

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Premier argument: Si nous appliquons des attributs à Dieu, ou bien ils s'appliquent vraiment à lui, ou non. S'ils ne s'appliquent pas, nous serons des ignorants ou des menteurs. S'ils s'appliquent, ils sont ou bien l'essence elle-même, ou non. Il est impossible qu'ils soient l'essence, car tous ces attributs seraient des synonymes désignant l'essence; ils ne seraient plus des attributs, mais des noms. S'ils ne sont pas l'essence elle-même, ils seront ou nécessaires per se, ou possibles per se. Dans les deux cas cela n'est pas possible.

Deuxième argument: Il y aurait composition en Dieu.

Troisième argument: L'essence de Dieu est parfaite, elle n'a pas besoin d'attributs.

Quatrième argument: L'affirmation de l'unicité de Dieu est exigée par toutes les religions (*jami' al-adyān wa 'l-milal*). Or le Coran dit que les chrétiens encourent le reproche de *kufr* parce qu'ils affirment que Dieu est trois. Or on sait que les chrétiens ne disent pas qu'il y a trois essences en Dieu, mais une seule à laquelle ils attribuent des *aqānīm*. Ils entendent par là les attributs. C'est donc à cause de l'affirmation des attributs que Dieu parle de leur *kufr*.

Rāzī répond à ces divers arguments (p. 15), puis il fait une remarque générale. Les difficultés au sujet des attributs proviennent d'une double cause: 1) On considère l'unité divine comme une perfection, et la multiplicité comme une déficience, d'où exagération dans le sens de l'unité, et négation des attributs. 2) On considère que l'être doué de toute-puissance, d'omniscience, de vie, est plus parfait que celui qui n'en est point doué. Or ces attributs sont essentiellement distincts, d'où la nécessité d'affirmer leur multiplicité. De telle sorte que c'est le souci de sauvegarder la perfection de Dieu qui conduit les uns et les autres aux exagérations.

Pour concilier ces deux exigences, quatre solutions ont été proposées:

1) La méthode des philosophes (*tarīqat al-ilāhīyīn min al-falāsifa*). Ils distinguent deux sortes d'attributs: les négatifs désignés dans le Coran par *al-jalāl*, les relatifs (*al-iḍāfīya*) désigné par *al-ikrām*. La multiplicité des négations ne porte pas atteinte à l'unicité de l'essence, ni à celle des attributs relatifs.

2) La méthode des Mu'tazilites. Ils admettent que Dieu est savant, voulant, etc.: a) avec un significat négatif (c'est-à-dire savant = non ignorant): Abū Isḥāq al-Naẓẓām; b) avec un significat positif qui est son essence (*'ain dhātihi*: Abū 'l-Hudhail).

3) La méthode d'Abū Hāshim. L'attribut n'est ni existant ni inexistant; ni connu ni inconnu.

4) L'attribut est quelque chose de positif, connu, ajouté à l'essence.

Chapitre quatrième: *Les noms divins sont-ils déterminés par la révélation* (tauqīfiya) *ou déduites par la raison* (qiyāsīya)?

Pous nos amis (*aṣḥābunā*), dit Rāzī, ils sont déterminés par la révélation.

Pour les Mu'tazilites et les Karrāmīya, si la raison montre qu'un terme peut s'appliquer à Dieu, on peut le lui appliquer, qu'il y ait révélation sur ce point ou non. C'est aussi la position de Bāqillānī, „de nos amis" (*min aṣḥābinā*).

Pour Ghazālī, les noms divins sont déterminés par la révélation avec la permission (*mauqūfa 'alā idhn*), mais pas les attributs. C'est la position qu'adopte Rāzī (*wa-hādhā huwa 'l-mukhtār*).

Argument des *aṣḥāb*. Si le critère n'était pas le *tauqīf 'alā 'l-idhn*, on devrait pouvoir dire de Dieu qu'il est: *'ārif*, *faqīh*, *dārī*, *fahīm*, *mūqin*, *fāṭin*, *ṭabīb*, *labīb*, de la même façon qu'on dit qu'il est *'alīm*. En effet, ces qualificatifs sont synonymes de *'ālim*, du point de vue linguistique. Or on ne peut pas le faire. Donc l'attribution des noms *mauqūf 'alā 'l-samā' wa 'l-idhn* est déterminée par la tradition et la permission.

Réponse de Bāqillānī qui explique que chacun de ces qualificatifs comporte une signification qui empêche de l'appliquer.

Instance: il semble que certains qualificatifs comme *al-kabīr*, *al-khidā'*, *al-kaid*, *al-istihzā'*, la raison indique qu'ils ne sont pas applicables à Dieu. Or permission est donnée de le faire.

Réponse à l'instance: Les attributs son de trois sortes:

1) ceux qui signifient quelque chose d'applicable absolument à Dieu (*thābita fī ḥaqq Allāh qaṭ'an*):

a) les uns peuvent être employés seuls ou en annexion. Exemple: existant (*maujūd*), chose (*shai'*), préétternel (*azalī*), éternel (*qadīm*).

b) d'autres peuvent être employés seuls, mais non en annexion. On peut dire, Ô créateur, mais non: Ô créateur des singes et des porcs, alors qu'on peut et doit dire, Ô créateur des cieux et de la terre.

c) d'autres, enfin, ne peuvent être employés qu'en adjonction. Par exemple, on ne peut pas dire à Dieu: *yā munshi'* (Ô toi, qui fais croître), *yā munzil* (Ô toi, qui fais descendre), *yā rāmī* (Ô toi, qui jette); et pourtant il est dit dans le Coran: *a'antum ansha'tum shajaratahā am naḥnu 'l-munshi'ūn?* (Cor. 56, 71), *a'antum anzaltumūhu min al-munzi am naḥnu al-munzilūn?* (56, 68), et: *mā ramaita idh ramaita wa-lākin*

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Allāh ramā (8, 17). De même, on ne peut pas dire: *yā muharrik*, *yā musakkin*, mais: *yā muharrik al-samāwāt* (Ô toi qui mets en mouvement les cieux), *yā musakkin al-arḍ* (Ô toi, qui mets la terre au repos).

En bref, dans l'emploi de ces attributs, il faut tenir compte de la bienséance et du respect qu'on doit à Dieu, *ri'āyat al-adab wa 'l-ta'ẓīm*.

2) des attributs qui ne peuvent d'aucune façon être appliqués à Dieu. Si la tradition emploie certains de ces attributs, il faut les entendre dans un sens métaphorique (*ta'wīl*), comme la descente (*al-nuzūl*), l'image (*al-ṣūra*), la venue (*al-maji'*).

3) des attributs composés d'une partie applicable à Dieu et d'une modalité qui empêche de les lui appliquer. Si la tradition emploie certains d'entre eux, il faut les employer eux seuls, tels quels, et non leurs dérivés. On dira: *wa-makarū wa-makara Allāh* (ils machinèrent et Dieu machina, Cor. 3,47), *yastahzi' bihim* (Dieu se raillera d'eux, Cor, 2, 14), mais non: *yā khādi'*, *yā mustahzi'*.

Preuve de la position adoptée: on ne peut appliquer au Prophète que les attributs que Dieu, ou lui-même, a employés. A plus forte raison en ce qui concerne Dieu.

Objection: Les Persans emploient „Khudāy" pour désigner Dieu, les Turcs „Tengri". Or il n'y a pas de détermination scripturaire à ce sujet.

Réponse: c'est l'*ijmā'* qui légitime cet emploi.

Chapitre cinquième: Division des noms

Les noms sont:

A. Ou des noms de l'essence (*asmā' li 'l-dhāt*)

1) pour une personne déterminée: c'est le nom propre (*ism al-'alam*)

2) pour une essence universellement: c'est le nom générique (*ism al-jins*)

B. Ou des noms d'une partie de l'essence

C. Ou des noms d'une chose en dehors de l'essence.

Ce sont les attributs.

Il faut examiner chacune de ces catégories de noms pour voir s'ils peuvent s'appliquer à Dieu.

Au sujet des noms propres personnels, les opinions sont divergentes. Beaucoup d'auteurs disent qu'on ne peut pas les appliquer à Dieu. Premièrement, parce que les noms propres de personnes jouent le rôle de signe, d'indication (*ishāra*). Or on ne peut pas désigner Dieu. Deuxièmement, ils supposent une communauté de personnes dans le genre ou l'espèce. Enfin, troisièmement, tous les attributs en Dieu sont „universels".

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Il faut cependant dire que certaines personnes peuvent recevoir une communication spéciale de Dieu leur révélant son essence propre (*dhātuhu 'l-makhṣūṣa*). Dans ce cas on peut appliquer à Dieu le nom propre de personne.

Pour les noms désignant une partie de l'essence, il est impossible de les appliquer à Dieu, car il est simple.

Enfin, les noms désignant les attributs peuvent être:

1) positifs réels (*thubūtīya ḥaqīqīya*); par exemple: existant (*maujūd*), chose (*shai'*), vivant (*ḥaiy*).
2) positifs relatifs (*thubūtīya iḍāfīya*); par exemple: adoré (*ma'būd*), connu (*ma'lūm*), remercié (*mashkūr*).
3) négatifs (*salbīya*); par exemple: saint (*quddūs*), paix (*salām*), riche (*ghanī*), un (*wāḥid*).
4) réels et relatifs (*al-ḥaqīqīya ma'a 'l-iḍāfīya*); par exemple: savant (*'ālim*), puissant (*qādir*), voulant (*murīd*).
5) réels et négatifs (*al-ḥaqīqīya ma'a 'l-salb*); par exemple: éternel (*qadīm*), prééternel (*azalī*).
6) relatifs et négatifs (*al-iḍāfīya ma'a 'l-salbīya*); par exemple: premier (*awwal*) (c'est-à-dire antérieur à autrui: relation; non précédé par un autre: négation).
7) réels, négatifs et relatifs (*ḥaqīqīya ma'a 'l-iḍāfīya wa 'l-salb*); par exemple: le roi (*al-malik*); c'est-à-dire qui existe (attribut réel); dont d'autres ont besoin (attribut relatif); qui n'a pas besoin des autres (attribut négatif).

Etant donné que les négations et les relations sont sans limites, les noms divins sont également en nombre infini.

Les *aṣḥāb* divisent les attributs en trois catégories:

1) attributs essentiels (*ṣifāt dhātīya*); par exemple: *al-maujūd*, *al-shai'*, et quelquefois les attributs négatifs comme: un, riche, saint.
2) attributs de qualification (*ṣifāt ma'nawīya*) qui indiquent des significations se trouvant dans l'essence; par exemple: *'ālim*, *qādir*, *ḥaiy*.
3) attributs opératifs (*ṣifāt fi'līya*) qui indiquent un effet émanant de la puissance divine.

Exposé de la théorie des „modes" (*aḥwāl*) de Abū Hāshim (sans que celui-ci soit nommé) (p. 25): intermédiaires entre l'existant et l'inexistant. D'après cette théorie, les attributs seraient des modes, selon le schéma suivant: Ce qui assure la réalité de ces modes, c'est 1) ou bien l'essence divine (initialement, *ibtidā'an*, ou par l'intermédiaire

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d'autres modes): on a alors affaire aux attributs essentiels; 2) ou bien des *ma'ānī* qui se trouvent dans l'essence divine: on a alors affaire aux attributs de qualification (*al-ṣifāt al-ma'nawiya*). Quant aux attributs opératifs, ils ne constituent pas un mode réel (*ḥāla thābita*) de l'essence divine, ni des *ma'ānī*, mais ils sont constitués par la pure émanation des effets à partir d'elle.

Discussion sur la création et son éternité. Les Falāsifa affirment que la création découle nécessairement de Dieu; Dieu ne serait plus un agent libre. Les Falāsifa en arrivent là (*dhālika ṣarīḥ kalām al-falāsifa*). Ce qui est une destruction de l'Islam (*wa-huwa hadm al-islām*).

Certains théologiens divisent les attributs en:

1) attributs nécessaires (*ṣifāt wājiba*), soit essentiels, (*dhātiya*) soit de qualification (*ma'nawiya*).
2) attributs impossibles (*ṣifāt mumtani'a*); par exemple: corporel.
3) attributs possibles (*ṣifāt jā'iza*); par exemple: visible.

Chapitre sixième. Mérites du dhikr *au moyen des noms divins et des attributs*

Preuves tirées du Coran (4 passages classiques: 7, 179; 17, 110; 20,7; 59,24); des informations (*akhbār*), p. 35; de la raison, p. 40.

Chapitre septième: Mérites respectifs du dhikr *et de la réflexion* (fikr). [1]

La réflexion (ou: le raisonnement , la considération, *al-fikr*) est la base (*aṣl*). Et le *dhikr* est le fruit qu'elle donne. On peut, selon le point de vue envisagé, donner successivement plus de mérite à l'une ou l'autre forme de piété.

Chapitre huitième: Discussion sur le mérite qu'accorde la tradition au 99 *noms divins.*

Le *ḥadīth* suivant, remontant à Abū Huraira est rapporté dans le *Ṣaḥīḥ*: „A Dieu appartiennent 99 noms. Celui qui les dénombrera (*man aḥṣāhā*) entrera au Paradis". Une autre tradition, remontant également à Abū Huraira, donne une variante: „A Dieu appartiennent 99 noms, cent moins un, celui qui les dénombrera entrera au Paradis." Six questions sont posées et discutées au sujet de ce *ḥadīth*:

1) La question de son authenticité, contestée par Abū Yazīd al-Balkhī (p. 48).
2) S'agit-il d'une limitation du nombre des noms divins? Réponse: non. Rāzī donne d'autres exemples de déterminations numériques dans les prescriptions cultuelles.

[1] Sur le *dhikr*, cf. L. Gardet, "La mention du nom divin en mystique musulmane," dans *Revue Thomiste* (1952), 642-679; (1953), 197-216.

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3) Il est difficile de croire que le nombre quatre-vingt-dix-neuf soit tel qu'on ne puisse trouver un centième nom.
4) Raisons pour lesquelles le Prophète a ajouté au nombre 99: „cent moins un" (seconde version du *ḥadīth*) (p. 53).
5) Discussion sur l'ordre des noms, sur lequel il n'y a pas unanimité (p. 54).
6) Que signifie, dans le *ḥadīth* rapporté, le terme „*aḥṣā*"? (p. 56).

Chapitre neuvième: *Nature de la prière de demande* (du'ā')

La prière de demande consiste à implorer de Dieu sa sollicitude (*al-'ināya*), à lui demander le secours (*al-ma'ūna*). Elle a pour but de montrer à l'homme son besoin de Dieu, de l'amener à confesser qu'il n'y a pas d'autre puissance que celle de Dieu. C'est là le propre de la créature, humiliée devant Dieu. Cette confession est une manière de louer Dieu: on reconnait sa générosité et sa munificence.

Rāzi rapporte les diverses objections de ceux qui prétendent que la prière de demande est inutile.

Première objection. Si l'on sait que l'objet de la prière va arriver, il n'y a pas besoin de le demander.

Deuxième objection. Si Dieu veut ce qui est demandé, il le donnera sans qu'on le demande. Si l'objet demandé n'a pas été préfixé dans l'éternité, il est inutile de le demander.

Troisième objection. Dieu connait nos besoins, et le fond de nos cœurs.

Quatrième objection. Si ce qui est demandé est pour le bien de celui qui prie, Dieu le lui donnera de toute façon. Si ce qui est demandé n'est pas pour son bien, Dieu le lui refusera, toujours sans prière, car Dieu est sage.

Cinquième objection. Un *ḥadīth* assurant que Dieu a fixé de toutes éternités les événements.

Sixième objection. Les hommes avancés en sainteté arrivent au *riḍā*, agréant tout ce que Dieu leur envoie. Ils ne doivent plus s'occuper d'eux-même, mais uniquement de Dieu.

Septième objection. La prière de demande ressemble à la commanderie du bien et à l'interdiction du mal: on semble donner une leçon à Dieu en lui rappellant ce qu'il a à faire.

Huitième objection. Un *ḥadīth* dit: „Celui qui s'occupe de moi en pensant à moi, au lieu de me demander quelque chose, je lui donnerai plus que je ne donne à ceux qui demandent."

Après avoir exposé ces objections, Rāzi, donne cinq arguments

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démontrant que la prière de demande est le plus haut degré du culte, puis il réfute les objections précédentes.

Chapitre dixième: Le Nom suprême (al-ism al-a'ẓam)

Les opinions sont divergentes à ce sujet. Rāzī les expose et les discute. Nous ne mentionnons que la formulation des thèses en présence.

A. Il n'y a pas de nom suprême déterminé.

B. Il y a un Nom suprême déterminé:

1) ce nom est connu des hommes:

a) c'est „Lui" (*huwa*); b) c'est Allāh; c) c'est le vivant subsistant (*al-ḥaiy al-qaiyūm*); d) c'est „*dhū 'l-jalāl wa 'l-ikrām*"; e) il est mentionné dans les lettres mystérieuses qui se trouvent au début de certaines sourates; f) certains noms hébreux, ou syriaques.

2) ce Nom suprême est inconnu des hommes.

Rāzī rapporte l'opinion d'Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī qu'il appelle *al-ḥakīm al-kabīr*, texte pris du *Kitāb al-mu'tabar* (III, 121), et à la conclusion duquel il se rallie complètement (*wa-huwa ghāyat al-taḥqīq fī hādhā 'l-bāb*). Voici cette conclusion: Dieu connait son essence d'une connaissance vraie, essentielle. Il peut communiquer, par illumination intérieure, à l'un de ses fidèles cette connaissance, et il n'est pas impossible qu'il lui fasse également connaitre le nom de cette réalité spéciale.

Deuxième partie: Etude détaillée des noms divins

Rāzī intitule cette étude *al-maqāṣid wa 'l-ghāyāt*. C'est le corps même de l'ouvrage. Il passe en revue chacun des noms divins, après avoir, au préalable, étudié les deux termes: *Huwa* (pp. 73-79) et *Allāh* (pp. 79-114). Il serait trop long de donner même un résumé de ces pages. Nous allons nous contenter de donner la liste des noms divins, dans l'ordre de leur succession chez Rāzī, en indiquant la page où le nom est étudié. Pour faciliter la recherche, nous avons établi également un ordre alphabétique de ces noms, avec renvoi au numéro d'ordre de la première liste.

	Pages
Huwa (Lui)	73- 79
Allāh	79-114
1. *al-Raḥmān* (le Bienfaiteur)	114-130
2. *al-Raḥīm* (le Miséricordieux)	114-130

3. *al-Malik* (le Roi) 130-140
4. *al-Quddūs* (le Saint). 140-141
5. *al-Salām* (la Paix) 141-143
6. *al-Mu'min* (le Fidèle) 143-145
7. *al-Muhaimin* (le Tutélaire). 145-147
8. *al-'Azīz* (le Puissant) 147-149
9. *al-Jabbār* (Celui qui contraint) 149-151
10. *al-Mutakabbir* (l'Altier) 151-153
11. *al-Khāliq* (le Créateur) 153-157
12. *al-Bāri'* (le Créateur) 157-158
13. *al-Muṣauwir* (Celui qui façonne) 158-160
14. *al-Ghaffār* (Celui qui pardonne) 160-167
15. *al-Qahhār* (le Dominateur) 167-169
16. *al-Wahhāb* (le Dispensateur) 169-171
17. *al-Razzāq* (le Pourvoyeur) 171-172
18. *al-Fattāḥ* (Celui qui ouvre) 172-173
19. *al-'Alīm* (l'Omniscient). 173-176
20. *al-Qābiḍ* (Celui qui retient les grâces et les bienfaits) . 176-177
21. *al-Bāsiṭ* (le Munificent) 176-177
22. *al-Khāfiḍ* (Celui qui abaisse). 177-178
23. *al-Rāfi'* (Celui qui élève) 177-178
24. *al-Mu'izz* (Celui qui exalte) 178-179
25. *al-Mudhill* (Celui qui humilie) 178-179
26. *al-Samī'* (Celui qui entend) 179
27. *al-Baṣīr* (Celui qui voit) 180
28. *al-Ḥakam* (le Juge) 180-183
29. *al-'Adl* (le Juste) 184
30. *al-Laṭīf* (le Bienveillant) 185-186
31. *al-Khabīr* (le Sagace) 186-187
32. *al-Ḥalīm* (le Longanime) 187-189
33. *al-'Azīm* (l'Inaccessible) 189-191
34. *al-Ghafūr* (Celui qui remet les péchés) 191
35. *al-Shakūr* (Celui qui reconnait les bienfaits) 191-195
36. *al-'Alī* (le Très-Haut) 195-196
37. *al-Kabīr* (le Grand) 196-198
38. *al-Ḥafīẓ* (le Gardien vigilant) 198-200
39. *al-Muqīt* (Celui qui nourrit) 200
40. *al-Ḥasīb* (le Suffisant; Celui qui demande des comptes) 201-202
41. *al-Jalīl* (le Majestueux) 203
42. *al-Karīm* (le Généreux; le Noble) 203-205

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43. *al-Raqib* (le Vigilant; Celui qui contrôle) 205-207
44. *al-Mujib* (Celui qui exauce les vœux) 207
45. *al-Wāsi'* (le Libéral) 207-209
46. *al-Ḥakīm* (le Sage) 209-211
47. *al-Wadūd* (l'Aimant) 211-212
48. *al-Majīd* (le Glorieux) 212
49. *al-Bā'ith* (Celui qui ressuscite les morts) 213
50. *al-Shadīd* (le Témoin) 214-215
51. *al-Ḥaqq* (la Vérité) 216-218
52. *al-Wakīl* (Celui qui gère les intérêts) 218-219
53. *al-Qawī* (le Fort) 219-221
54. *al-Matīn* (l'Inébranlable) 219-221
55. *al-Walī* (l'Ami) 221-223
56. *al-Ḥamīd* (Laudabilis) 223
57. *al-Muḥṣī* (le Comptable) 223
58. *al-Mubdi'* (l'Initiateur) 224
59. *al-Mu'īd* (le Restaurateur) 224
60. *al-Muḥyī* (Celui qui fait naître) 224-225
61. *al-Mumīt* (le Maître de la mort) 224-225
62. *al-Ḥaiy* (le Vivant) 225
63. *al-Qaiyūm* (le Subsistant) 226-228
64. *al-Wājid* (Celui qui trouve) 228
65. *al-Mājid* (l'Excellent) (non mentionné) 229-234
66. *al-Aḥad* (l'Un) 229-234
67. *al-Ṣamad* (l'Immuable) 234-236
68. *al-Qādir* (le Puissant) 236-237
69. *al-Muqtadir* (l'Omnipotent) 236-237
70. *al-Muqaddim* (Celui qui fait avancer) 237-239
71. *al-Mu'akhkhir* (Celui qui fait reculer) 237-239
72. *al-Awwal* (le Premier, l'Ancien des jours) 240-246
73. *al-Ākhir* (le Dernier) 240-246
74. *al-Ẓāhir* (le Visible) 240-246
75. *al-Bāṭin* (l'Invisible) 240-246
76. *al-Wālī* (le Protecteur) 246
77. *al-Muta'ālī* (le Très-Haut) 246
78. *al-Barr* (le Bienfaisant) 247
79. *al-Tawwāb* (Celui qui ramène à lui pécheur) 248
80. *al-Muntaqim* (Celui qui tire vengeance) 249
81. *al-'Afw* (l'Indulgent) 249-250
82. *al-Ra'ūf* (le Compatissant) 251

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83. *Mālik al-mulk* (le Maître du Royaume) 252
84. *Dhū'l-jalāl wa 'l-ikrām* (le possesseur de la majesté et de l'honneur) 252
85. *al-Muqsiṭ* (l'Equitable) 252
86. *al-Jāmi'* (Celui qui rassemblera les humains au jour du jugement) 252
87. *al-Ghanī* (le Riche) 253
88. *al-Mughnī* (Celui qui enrichit) 253
89. *al-Mu'ṭī* (Celui qui comble) 253
90. *al-Māni'* (Celui qui refuse) 253
91. *al-Ḍārr* (Celui qui nuit) 253-254
92. *al-Nāfi'* (Celui qui est utile) 253-254
93. *al-Nūr* (la Lumière) 254-256
94. *al-Hādī* (le Guide) 256
95. *al-Badī'* (l'Incomparable; l'Innovateur) 257
96. *al-Bāqī* (Celui qui demeure; l'Eternel) 257
97. *al-Wārith* (l'Héritier) 257-258
98. *al-Rashīd* (Celui qui dirige) 258
99. *al-Ṣabūr* (le Patient) 258-259

Comme on peut le voir par la pagination, les noms divins sont traités par Rāzī d'une façon plus ou moins longue, et cela selon l'importance des problèmes qu'ils posent. Ordinairement, Rāzī cite d'abord les versets coraniques qui les mentionnent, [1] puis examine, sous forme de „questions" posées (*masā'il*), les points doctrinaux que tel ou tel nom soulève, signale des „points délicats" (*laṭā'if*) et, en conclusion, ne manque que rarement de signaler au croyant pieux l'enseignement qu'il peut tirer, pour sa propre vie, de la méditation du nom divin examiné.

Liste des 99 noms divins classés d'après l'ordre alphabétique (le chiffre, placé après le nom, renvoie à la place du nom dans la première liste)

al-'Adl (29)
al-'Afw (81)
al-Aḥad (66)
al-Ākhir (73)
al-'Alīm (19)
al-'Alī (36)
al-Auwal (72)
al-'Aẓīm (33)

[1] On sait qu'un certain nombre des noms divins ne se trouvent pas dans le Coran; par exemple: *al-Wali*, *al-wājid*, *al-rashīd*, *al-ṣabūr*, *al-muqaddim*, *al-mu'akhkhir*, *al-muqsiṭ*, *al-ḍārr*, *al-nāfi'*.

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al-'Azīz (8)
al-Badi' (95)
al-Bā'ith (49)
al-Bāqī (96)
al-Bārī (12)
al-Barr (78)
al-Baṣīr (27)
al-Bāsiṭ (21)
al-Bāṭin (75)
al-Ḍārr (91)
Dhū 'l-jalāl wa 'l-ikrām (84)
al-Fattāḥ (18)
al-Ghaffār (14)
al-Ghafūr (34)
al-Ghanī (87)
al-Hādī (94)
al-Ḥafīẓ (38)
al-Ḥakam (28)
al-Ḥakīm (46)
al-Ḥalīm (32)
al-Ḥamīd (56)
al-Ḥaqq (51)
al-Ḥasīb (40)
al-Ḥayy (62)
al-Jabbār (9)
al-Jalīl (42)
al-Jāmi' (86)
al-Kabīr (37)
al-Karīm (42)
al-Khabīr (31)
al-Khāfiḍ (22)
al-Khāliq (11)
al-Laṭīf (30)
al-Majīd (48)
al-Mājid (65)
al-Malik (3)
Mālik al-mulk (83)
al-Māni' (90)
al-Matīn (54)
al-Mu'akhkhir (71)
al-Mubdi' (58)
al-Mudhill (25)
al-Mughnī (88)
al-Muhaimin (7)
al-Muḥṣī (57)
al-Muḥyī (60)
al-Mu'īd (59)
al-Mu'izz (24)
al-Mujīb (44)
al-Mu'min (6)
al-Mumīt (61)
al-Muntaqim (80)
al-Muqaddim (70)
al-Muqīt (39)
al-Muqsiṭ (85)
al-Muqtadir (69)
al-Muṣawwir (13)
al-Muta'ālī (77)
al-Mutakabbir (10)
al-Mu'ṭī (89)
al-Nāfi' (92)
al-Nūr (93)
al-Qābiḍ (20)
al-Qādir (68)
al-Qahhār (15)
al-Qawī (53)
al-Qaiyūm (63)
al-Quddūs (4)
al-Rāfi' (23)
al-Raḥīm (2)
al-Raḥmān (1)
al-Raqīb (43)
al-Rashīd (98)
al-Ra'ūf (82)
al-Razzāq (17)
al-Ṣabūr (99)
al-Salām (5)
al-Ṣamad (67)
al-Samī' (26)
al-Shahīd (50)

al-Shakūr (35)
al-Tawwāb (79)
al-Wadūd (47)
al-Wahhāb (16)
al-Wājid (64)
al-Wakīl (52)
al-Walī (55)
al-Wālī (76)
al-Wārith (97)
al-Wāsi' (45)
al-Ẓāhir (74)

TROISIÈME PARTIE. APPENDICES ET COMPLÉMENTS

Beaucoup de noms divins se trouvent dans le Coran, la Tradition, les informations qui n'ont pas été retenus dans la liste des 99 noms. Rāzī en cite un certain nombre.

Noms de l'essence: 1) *al-Shai'*; 2) *al-Qadīm*; 3) *al-Azalī*; 4) *Wājib al-wujūd li-dhātihi*; 5) *al-Dā'im*; 6) *al-Jism*: admis par les Karrāmiya, mais rejeté par Rāzī (et les Ash'arites); 7) *al-Jauhar* (substance): admis par les chrétiens, mais rejeté par les musulmans, „parce que le *jauhar* est un nom de l'essence à laquelle peuvent advenir forme et figure; ce qui est impossible en ce qui concerne Dieu" (p. 261).

Noms des attributs de qualification (asmā' al-ṣifāt al-ma'nawīya): 1) *al-Muḥīṭ* (Celui qui enveloppe); 2) *al-Qarīb* (le Proche); 3) *al-Mudabbir* (le Provident), auquel se rattachent: *al-Qādir*, *al-Murīd*, *al-qaṣd* (non coranique), *al-mashī'a*, *al-ikhtiyār*; 4) *al-maḥabba* (l'amour); 5) *al-riḍā* (la satisfaction); 6) *al-sakhṭ* (la malédiction); 7) *al-ghaḍab* (la colère); 8) *al-muwālā* (l'amitié; l'assistance); 9) al-Mu'ādā (l'inimitié); 10) *al-karāha* (l'aversion).

Rāzī mentionne également un certain nombre de noms qu'il ne convient pas d'appliquer à Dieu: *al-tamannī* (le souhait), *al-shahwa* (le désir), *al-'azm* (la résolution, la décision).

Le Caire, janvier 1963

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A RECENT DECISION OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Riziki binti Abdulla and Another

v.

Sharifa binti Mohamed bin Hemed and Others. [1]

BY

J. N. D. ANDERSON

On 17 December, 1962, judgment was delivered by their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in this appeal from a decision of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa dated 10 December, 1959. This, in its turn, had dismissed an appeal against a judgment of the Supreme Court of Kenya declaring ineffective a written instrument by which a woman sought to create a waqf in favor of two adopted daughters and certain other beneficiaries. Unhappily, there can be little doubt that the Muslims of East Africa will regard this latest waqf case as yet another unsatisfactory link in a rather dismal chain of mistaken decisions and somewhat inept attempts to remedy the situation by legislation—partly frustrated, in turn, by the rigid and restrictive interpretation put on that legislation by the courts. It may well be that, in all the circumstances, this last judgment was almost inevitable, and it is certain that only legislation can now put matters right; but some four points in this judgment are, perhaps, worth further discussion.

1. *The general attitude of the courts as to what constitutes a valid waqf.*

This is, of course, the starting point of all the trouble. The basic misconception on this subject dates back to a series of Indian decisions in the nineteenth century, culminating in the judgment of their Lordships of the Privy Council in *Abul Fata* v. *Russomoy* [2] in which waqfs were declared to be invalid if they did not include a substantial gift for charitable purposes according to the English not the Islamic —interpretation of the term "charitable." If, therefore, a waqf primarily consisted in a family perpetuity, but with a provision that the income should be devoted to the poor if and when the family

[1] Privy Council Appeal No. 63 of 1960 ([1963], 2W. L. R. 475).
[2] 22 I. A. 76.

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should become extinct, this "charitable element" in the waqf was, naturally enough, regarded as "so remote as to be illusory." The fact that Ameer Ali had proved, [1] with a wealth of scholarship, that this was not the Islamic doctrine at all—and that the final gift to the poor was regarded as essential by *some* jurists only (such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī), and then not to provide a charitable element which would otherwise be lacking, but merely to ensure a beneficiary who could never fail —was quietly and firmly disregarded, on the grounds that "Their Lordships have endeavoured to the best of their ability to ascertain and apply the Mahomedan law, as known and administered in India; [2] but they cannot find that it is in accordance with the absolute, and as it seems to them extravagant, application of abstract precepts taken from the mouth of the Prophet. Those precepts may be excellent in their proper application. They may, for aught their Lordships know, have had their effect in moulding the law and practice of wakf . . . But it would be doing wrong to the great law-giver to suppose that he is thereby commanding gifts for which the donor exercises no self-denial; in which he takes back with one hand what he appears to put away with the other; which are to form the centre of attraction for accumulations of income and further accessions of family property . . ." [3]

There can, indeed, be no doubt that Ameer Ali greatly weakened his argument in *Bikani Mia's Case*, at least insofar as their Lordships were concerned, by his references to the Koran, the traditions and the basic tenets of Islam. This is obvious from the quotation from Lord Hobhouse's judgment given above, and from his assertion that Ameer Ali's opinion was "founded . . . upon texts of an abstract

[1] In *Bikani Mia's Case* (1892), Ind. L.R. 20 Cal. 116.

[2] For Lord Hobhouse expressly stated that "Clearly the Mahomedan law ought to govern a purely Mahomedan disposition of property." Great emphasis must, however, be put on the phrase "in India" in this dictum, for their Lordships' researches seem to have been limited to judicial decisions, not the classical texts. This is understandable, if regrettable; but makes the extension of this judgment to Africa—as in *Fatuma's Case*—the more indefensible.

[3] But it is certainly a pity that their Lordships allowed themselves to reason in this "abstract" way (on subjects about which they knew next to nothing) and to speculate as to what the Prophet of Islam might, or might not, have said and intended, instead of consulting the standard textbooks of Islamic law, according to all its different schools. Tyabji's observation is significant in this context: "In this decision their Lordships seemed to refer for the law not to the recognized texts of Muhammadan law but to what must have been in the mind of the Prophet-apparently in disregard of principles on which decisions are usually given. (*Muhammadan Law*, 538, n. 18.).

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character, and upon precedents very imperfectly stated." He would certainly have been wiser to have confined his argument to quotations from the recognized textbooks of the schools. But, with respect, their Lordships were somewhat disingenuous in disregarding the wealth of evidence from these textbooks which he did in fact adduce to the effect that waqfs primarily designed for the support of a family —whether that of the founder or of any other person were regarded as perfectly valid by *all* Muslim lawyers, and that many of the leading jurists did not even insist on any mention whatever of the poor, as ultimate beneficiary.[1] Indeed, the Hanafi Abū Yūsuf regarded the mere use of the word waqf as implying that, on the extinction of named beneficiaries, the income should be so devoted; the Shafi'is discuss at length how the income of a waqf should be disposed of after the failure of any specified beneficiaries;[2] and the Malikis - of whom, admittedly, there are very few representatives in India explicitly allow a waqf which is actually to terminate after any named beneficiary or beneficiaries (for example, the family of the founder) become extinct.

Their Lordships also betrayed their ignorance of Islamic law as a whole when they asked "how it comes about that by the general law of Islam, at least as known in India, simple gifts by a private person to remote unborn generations of descendants, successions that is of inalienable life-interests, are forbidden; and whether it is to be taken that the very same dispositions, which are illegal when made by ordinary words of gift, become legal if only the settlor says that they are made as *wakf*, in the name of God, or for the sake of the poor. To those questions no answer was given or attempted, nor can their Lordships see any." But to this question the obvious answer

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[1] Ameer Ali in fact argued—with a wealth of quotations from the classical texts in support—that "From the promulgation of Islam (sic) up to the present day, there has been an absolute consensus of opinion regarding the validity of *wakfs* on one's children, kindred and neighbours. Practical lawyers, experienced judges, high officers of every sect and school under Mussulman sovereigns are all in unison on this point. There are minor differences, viz. whether a *wakf* can be created for one's self, whether the unfailing object should be designated. . . ; but so far as the validity of a *wakf* constituting one's family or children the recipients of the benefaction, in whole or in part, is concerned, there is absolutely no difference. A *wakf* is a permanent benefaction for the good of God's creatures: the *wākif* may bestow the usufruct, but not the property, upon whomsoever he chooses and in whatever way he chooses. . ." This is an accurate statement of the Islamic law.

[2] Cf. my article on "Waqfs in East Africa," *Journal of African Law*, III, 3 (1959), 154, n. 1.

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would have been that a clear-cut distinction is regularly made, in Islamic law, between dispositions which concern the corpus (*'ain*) of some piece of property, on the one hand, and dispositions which concern its usus or fructus (*manāfi'*), on the other. "Ordinary words of gift" concern the corpus; and a donor who makes a gift of the corpus (namely, a *hiba*) cannot exercise any control whatever over its future disposition. But the very nature of a waqf is that the *'ain* should be immobilized, and only the *manāfi'* distributed to the beneficiaries; and in such circumstances wholly different principles obtain. [1] When, moreover, their Lordships imply that a mere change of words could scarcely effect so radical a transformation of law, the answer must be two-fold: first, that this is in fact much more than a mere change of words; and, secondly, that it is a characteristic feature of Islamic law that what may not be done in one way may, not infrequently, be perfectly validly effected in another. [2]

It is perfectly true that there are a number of valid objections—on social and economic grounds—to those family perpetuities which the different schools of Islamic law all permit. These objections have, indeed, led to the introduction of legislation in a number of countries in recent years either totally forbidding the creation of waqfs in favor of individuals or limiting the period of time, or the series of beneficiaries, to which such waqfs may be extended. [3] It may well be, moreover, that similar legislation should be introduced in other countries too, for the antipathy felt by the courts for such perpetuities, as evidenced by the decisions to which reference has already been made, is certainly not without reason. But it is surely preferable to effect a reform of this sort by direct and explicit legislation rather than by a series of judicial misinterpretations of the

[1] Cf. Tyabji, *Muhammadan Law*, 380 ff. This distinction between *'ain* and *manāfi'* was very fully and clearly recognized by the Judicial Committee itself in *Sardar Nawazish Ali Khan's Case* (75 I. A. 62). "What Muslim law does recognize and insist upon, is the distinction between the corpus of the property itself (ayn) and the usufruct of the property (manafi). Over the corpus of property the law recognizes only absolute dominion... and where a gift of the corpus seeks to impose a condition inconsistent with such absolute dominion the condition is rejected as repugnant; but interests limited in point of time can be created in the usufruct of the property and the dominion over the corpus takes effect subject to any such limited interests... Muslim law admits only ownership unlimited in duration, but recognizes interests of limited duration in the use of property."

[2] See "Waqfs in East Africa," 152 f.

[3] See my article "Recent Developments in the Shari'a Law IX," *The Muslim World*, (October, 1952).

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ancient texts. Unhappily, however, their Lordships in the case under discussion repeat yet again that "In the creation of a wakf a substantial gift for charitable purposes, for instance a gift to the poor, is a material element." But this statement rests on a complete misapprehension. The essence of a waqf is not "charity" in the English sense, but an "approach to God" (*qurba*); [1] and this is regarded as inherent in the creation of a waqf as such, and the consequent immobilization of the corpus, even where the whole usufruct is retained (in the Hanafi law) for the founder himself, or (in all schools) for a long series of named beneficiaries, whoever they may be.

2. *The Mussalman Wakf Validating Act*

The attitude of the courts in India (culminating in *Abul Fata's Case*) as to the essentials of a valid waqf was so alien to the convictions of the Muslim communities in the sub-continent that an attempt was made to remedy the situation in 1913 by the promulgation of the Mussalman Wakf Validating Act.

This is officially described as "An Act to declare the rights of Mussalmans to make settlements of property by way of 'wakf' in favour of their families, children and descendants," and proceeds:— "Whereas doubts have arisen regarding the validity of wakfs created by persons professing the Mussalman faith in favour of themselves, their families, children and descendants and ultimately for the benefit of the poor . . . and whereas it is expedient to remove such doubts . . ." The text of the Act follows, and concerns itself exclusively with the major grievance of the Muslim community, when it provides:

> It shall be lawful for any person professing the Mussalman faith to create a wakf which in all other respects is in accordance with the provisions of Mussalman law, for the following among other purposes: —
>
> a) for the maintenance and support wholly or partially of his family, children or descendants, and
>
> b) where the person creating a wakf is a Hanafi Mussalman, also for his own maintenance and support during his lifetime or for the payment of his debts out of the rents and profits of the property dedicated:
>
> Provided that the ultimate benefit is in such cases expressly or impliedly reserved for the poor or for any other purpose recognised by the Mussalman law as a religious, pious or charitable purpose of a permanent character.
>
> No such wakf shall be deemed to be invalid merely because the be-

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[1] See my article "The Religious Elements in Waqf Endowments," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (July, 1951).

> nefit reserved therein for the poor... is postponed until after the extinction of the family, children or descendants of the person creating the wakf.
>
> Nothing in this Act shall affect any custom or usage whether local or prevalent among Mussalmans of any particular class or sect.

Certain points in this Act have, however, given rise to much doubt and debate. In the first place, controversy has raged around the proper interpretation of the founder's "family, children or descendants," in complete disregard of the fact that a Muslim may, under the Islamic law of *all* the schools, equally well make a waqf in favor of a non-relative and *his* family, or a series of non-relatives. It is perfectly true that the Act does not make any mention of this fact: but it does (a) expressly state that its basic purpose was to resolve the doubts which had "arisen regarding wakfs made by persons . . . in favour of *themselves and their families*";[1] (b) make explicit mention of the "provisions of Mussalman law"; (c) state that a waqf may be made for the specified persons "among other purposes"; and (d) explicitly add that "Nothing in this Act shall affect any custom or usage whether local or prevalent among Mussalmans of any particular class or sect." It is arguable, therefore, that the reason why the family and descendants of the founder were singled out for special mention was purely because British courts had taken the view that a perpetuity in favor of the founder's own family could not be regarded as a charitable endowment—an argument which would apply with much less force where the beneficiaries were unrelated to him, or were only remotely so related.

Again, much dispute has centered on the meaning of the phrase "maintenance and support." An attempt has been made on occasions, indeed, to give these words the most severely restricted interpretation, quite regardless of the fact that any such limitation has no relevance whatever to the Islamic law of *all* the schools. It is, moreover, somewhat of a mystery where these words came from and how they found their way into the Act. It may be that they represent an echo of English law;[2] or, conceivably, that they reflect a misapplication of the Arabic phrase "eat of the waqf." But, however that may be, even in the case under discussion their Lordships held that there was a wide difference between "an absolute gift of income," on the one hand, and one for "maintenance and support," on the other; and they proceeded (somewhat laboriously) to illustrate their view by asserting that "upon the

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[1] The italics are mine.

[2] Although there is nothing to indicate this in the debate on the Act (*Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, I [April 1912-March 1913]).

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widest interpretation of those words which could in the context be possibly urged, their Lordships are of the view that it could not be urged that they cover gambling." It should be observed, however, that the Indian Act uses exactly the same phrase about "maintenance and support" in reference to the founder himself, if a Hanafi, and then immediately adds "or for the payment of his debts out of the rents and profits of the property dedicated." Would their Lordships therefore suggest that such debts are to be limited to those properly incurred in respect of "maintenance and support" in the narrow sense? There is no such suggestion in the Act, and it is submitted that this addition provides at least some evidence that the phrase "maintenance and support" was intended to cover expenditure of any nature. In any case it is beyond dispute that the Islamic jurists, while sometimes severely restrictive in what they allowed the founder of a waqf to reserve for his own benefit, had no such inhibitions in what they allowed him to provide for his family or any other beneficiaries; and it would be strange indeed if the Act is to be construed in the exactly contrary sense.

3. *Fatuma's Case*

The judgment under discussion also refers, at some length, to the decision of the Judicial Committee in the case of *Fatuma binti Mohamed bin Salim Bakhshuwen* v. *Mohamed bin Salim Bakshuwen*,[1] in an appeal from a decision of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa dismissing an appeal from the Supreme Court of Kenya. But this has always seemed to me, with deep respect, one of the most unsatisfactory judgments ever enunciated by that august body.[2] The points which disturb me are chiefly these:

(a) Their Lordships did "not doubt that the learned Judge was correct in saying that the rights of the parties were governed by Mohammedan law,"[3] but added that "it would not appear that this, now at least, rests in any way upon the Native Courts Regulations" of 1897. It would, however, be exceedingly interesting to know on what foundation, in their Lordships' opinion, the applicability of Islamic law did rest, for it is precisely to these Regulations, and to no other source, that I have myself been able to trace it.

(b) Commenting on cases such as *Abul Fata's Case* and *Bikani*

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[1] [1952] A. C. 1.
[2] See my *Islamic Law in Africa* (London, 1954), 340-342.
[3] P. 14.

Mia's Case, their Lordships remarked that "whatever views might have been entertained in the eighteenth and earlier centuries, by the end of the nineteenth the trend of judicial opinion was firmly set in favour of the view that such wakfs were invalid, and . . . the conclusions to which the High Court of Calcutta and this Board came were inevitable." Now this, no doubt, was substantially true of the trend of decisions in what has aptly been termed "Anglo-Muhammadan" law as it was applied in India, but has no relevance whatever to the pure doctrine of the Islamic texts.

(c) But in spite of this fact, their Lordships continued: "Nor does it avail the appellant that in parts of the world outside India where Mohammedan law obtains, whether in Africa or in Asia, such wakfs as these are considered to be valid. Their Lordships are not satisfied of the general truth of this proposition; but, even if it were so, that would not be such fresh light as would justify the Board in reversing its previous decision." One wonders, however, first what would satisfy their Lordships of a fact which is perfectly obvious to anyone who consults the authoritative texts, and, secondly, what "fresh light" would be necessary to justify them in reversing a previous decision recognized as erroneous by all competent scholars.

(d) But they need not, in point of fact, have "reversed" their previous decision; all they needed to do was to distinguish it. And this would have been perfectly simple, on one or both of two different grounds:

(i) On the ground that their previous decision was in a case governed by Hanafi law, while *Fatuma's Case* was governed by Shafi'i law. And while the waqf in question would have been valid under either system, there is (as we have seen) a debate in the Hanafi school as to whether there must be an *ultimate* dedication to the poor, whereas the Shafi'is do not insist on any such requirement.

(ii) On the grounds that their former decision was within the sphere of "Anglo-Muhammadan law" rather than the Islamic law of the texts. This was clearly recognized by Hamilton J. in the Kenya case of *Talibu bin Mwijaka* v. *Executors of Siwa Haji*, [1] where he remarked that "the law of wakf as originally understood by the Commentators and Mohammedan jurists has in India . . . been profoundly modified by the decisions of the Privy Council. A study of the question shows that while the Mohammedan law, uninfluenced from outside sources,

[1] 2 E.A.L.R. 33.

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permitted perpetuities and the erection of wakfs for family aggrandizement solely, the influence of English Judges and of the Privy Council has gradually encroached on this position." Just so; but their Lordships would have none of this. Instead, they remarked that "it has not been suggested that, apart from the Shafi'i, Hanafi and other sects . . ., Mohammedan law is not the same in East Africa as in India. The appellants have themselves relied on its universality and invoke the text of the Koran and the writings of learned commentators who expounded the law not of East Africa or any part of it but of the whole Muslim world."

Precisely. But the commentators to whom they appealed are, one and all, radically opposed to the view adopted by their Lordships. And the judicial decisions on which their Lordships in reality relied had absolutely nothing to do with the Shafi'i law as it should be applied in East Africa, but found their sole justification in the sphere of the "Anglo-Muhammadan" law which obtains in the Indian sub-continent.

4. *The Kenya Ordinance of* 1951

The decision of the Judicial Committee in *Fatuma's Case* prompted legislation in Kenya designed to undo the harm that had been done - just as has happened, successively, in India, Zanzibar and Aden. This took the form of the Wakf Commissioners Ordinance, 1951. It is obvious, moreover, that a sincere—though not very successful —attempt was made, when this Ordinance was in draft, to improve on the Indian model in at least two respects:

(a) The clause regarding the family of the founder was changed from the phraseology employed in the Indian and Zanzibar equivalents (which had duly appeared in the original Bill published in the Official Gazette of 30 January 1951), [1] so as to comprise the words "*any person including* [2] the family, children, descendants or kindred of the maker."

These words have, not altogether surprisingly, caused the courts the utmost difficulty to construe. The courts in Kenya have interpreted the words as "apt to cover any living person or persons though not belonging to the class of the maker's family, children, descendants or kindred," but *not* any deceased person outside that class. And their

[1] Cf. the discussion of this point by Sir Newnham Worley, V. P., in *Amina binti Abdulla's Case* (1954) 21 E. A. C. A. 12.

[2] The italics are mine.

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Lordships, with great respect, have made equally heavy weather of the formula.

There can, however, be little doubt as to what the legal draftsman intended, however inexpert he was in putting his intention into execution. It seems inescapable that he was trying to cover the point —mentioned above, and reiterated at that very time in Kenya—that the classical texts make no distinction in this context between a waqf in favor of the founder's own family or of "any other person" (and, indeed, *his* family). But it is certainly a pity that he did not express his intention by saying "of any person or persons including the family, children, descendants or kindred of the maker or of anyone else"; or "of the family, children, descendants or kindred of any person including the maker"; or, indeed, "of the family (etc.) of the maker or of any other person." As for the alleged "tautology" of adding any reference to the family of the founder after the phrase "any person," this is, I think, adequately explained by the historical circumstance that it was perpetuities in favor of the founder's own family which had been expressly invalidated by the courts.

(b) An express proviso was inserted, which reads: "Provided that the absense of any reservation of the ultimate benefit in property the subject of a wakf for the poor or any other purpose recognised by Muslim law as a religious, pious or charitable purpose of a permanent character shall not invalidate the wakf if the personal law of the maker of the wakf does not require any such reservation." And there cannot, surely, be any doubt that this proviso was added to cover the fact that whereas, in the Hanafi law, the necessity for some such dedication is a matter of dispute between Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī and Abū Yūsuf, in the Shafi'i law it is crystal clear that the income of a waqf may be devoted to named beneficiaries without any mention whatever of an ultimate beneficiary which cannot fail. Unhappily, however, this proviso seems to have been completely ignored by the courts.

Equally unfortunately, moreover, the phrase "maintenance and support"— which had not, up till that time, given rise to any significant controversy [1]— was taken over from the Indian Act, as was also

[1] See, for example, Tyabji's *Muhammadan Law*, where the question is not discussed at all. The first Indian case in which this matter was discussed, so far as I know, was *Abdul Karim Adenwalla* v. *Rahimbai and Others* (A.I.R. 1946 Bom. 342); Cf. also *Faqir Mohammad* v. *Abda Khattoon and Others* (A.I.R. 1957 All. 94); *Rashidunissa* v. *Ata Rasool* (A.I.R. 1958 All. 67); etc.

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the proviso that: "No wakf to which subsection (i) of this section applies shall be invalid merely because the benefit in the property reserved by such wakf for the poor or any religious, pious or charitable purpose is not to take effect until after the extinction of the family, children, descendants or kindred of the maker of the wakf." The insertion of these words is, again, explicable only in the historical context of those cases which had invalidated waqfs in which the "charitable purpose" (in the English, not the Islamic sense of that term) was so postponed; but it was certainly a lapse by the legal draftsman that the reference to "any person" did not also reappear in this sub-section.

It is evident, then, that the draftsmanship of this Ordinance left much to be desired. All the same, it is regrettable that their Lordships, in construing it, did not have more regard to the apposite dictum of Sir John Colville in a different context many years previously, when he said that their Lordships "are of opinion that in construing this remedial statute they ought to give to it the widest operation which its language will permit. They have only to see that the particular case is within the mischief to be remedied . . ." [1] Instead, it would appear that the courts have consistently acted on the principle that the "mischief to be remedied"—that is, their initial misconception of the essential nature of a waqf—must be jealously maintained in every case which is not explicitly covered by some remedial statute, construed in the most restrictive way.

[1] *Sayad Mir Ujmudin Khan* v. *Ziaret-Nissa and Others* (L.R. 6 Ind. App. 137 at pp. 143-144).

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THE *SĪRA* IN VERSE

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Arabic versifications of grammar, jurisprudence, the sciences of the Koran and Traditions, medicine, mathematics and other branches of knowledge abounded in the Middle Ages. It has been fairly said that these compositions were more remarkable as easy aids to learning than for any poetic merit. [1] Credit for being the first to apply this technique to the biography of the Prophet Muhammad is assigned to Abū Naṣr Fatḥ b. Mūsā al-Khaḍrāwī al-Qaṣrī al-Maghribī (d. 663/1264); [2] his original poem appears to have perished, but an anonymous abstract has survived. [3] This example was followed by the mystic and polymath 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Dīrīnī (d. 697/1297); though several specimens of his versemaking have been preserved, [4] this particular work seems to be lost. A few other scholars attempted the same task, [5] but the fruits of their labors have long since vanished. Forgotten with them has been what was surely the most ambitious and, so far as one can judge, the most meritorious of all, a work which forms the subject of the present paper.

In the stormy history of Syria and Egypt under the Mamluks, "the last fifty years of the eighth/fourteenth century were indeed lamentable"; [6] tossed on the fluctuating sea of those sanguinary events was a man who in quieter times might have made a great contribution to learning and literature, and whose name it is now possible to rescue from total oblivion. Fatḥ al-Dīn Abū Bakr (Abū 'l-Fatḥ) Muḥammad b. 'Imād al-Dīn Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'l-Karam al-Shāfi'ī al-Nābulusī al-Dimashqī, known as Ibn al-Shahīd, was born in 728/1328. Of his early years nothing is recorded, but evidently he benefited from a good general education, to the extent that in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 764 (August 1362) he was promoted to high rank in the Secretariat at

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[1] See F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 157-163.
[2] *Ibid.*, 326; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, III, 635.
[3] Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supplement, I, 206.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 452; Suppl., I, 811.
[5] Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 326; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, III, 635.
[6] G. Wiet, in *EI*², I, 1051.

Damascus and also appointed *Shaikh al-shuyūkh*. After holding these two offices for three and a half years he was dismissed, but was reinstated some months later; with intervals of disfavor he occupied the two posts for some fifteen years in all, and also taught in the Nāṣiriya and Ẓāhirīya Madrasas. The powerful and ambitious Mamluk officer Minṭāsh appointed him preacher, and he became renowned for the eloquence of his addresses. Presently, however, he incurred the displeasure of the amir Saif al-Din, governor of Syria, who dismissed him and confiscated his estates. Going into hiding, Ibn al-Shahid consoled himself by composing a metrical life of the Prophet. When Barqūq became Sultan he ordered him to be arrested on the charge of being implicated in Minṭāsh's conspiracy; he was brought to Cairo and committed to the prison of common criminals. Finally Barqūq commanded him to be executed; he was beheaded near the Citadel on the last day of Sha'bān 793 (1 August 1391). [1]

Ibn al-Shahīd's epic, entitled *al-Fatḥ al-qarīb fī sīrat al-Ḥabīb*, was known to Ḥājjī Khalīfa [2] and al-Sakhāwī; the latter included it in his list *al-I'lān bi 'l-tanbīkh li-man dhamma ahl al-ta'rīkh*, describing it as containing "some ten thousand verses with additions which show his great scholarly qualifications" [3] -a phrase copied word for word from Ibn Ḥajar. [4] Ibn Taghrībirdī says that the poem was in 50,000 verses. [5] Ibn al-'Imād in his description estimates the length at 25,000 verses and also mentions *al-Rauḍ*, [6] that is *al-Rauḍ al-unuf al-bāsim* of al-Suhailī (d. 581/1185), [7] as one of the sources used by the poet; the work is elsewhere stated to have been based on the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām. [8] We also learn from Ibn al-'Imād that the poem was studied by Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413) [9] who lectured on it in Cairo and composed a twelve-volume commentary on one third of the epic. All authors mentioning Ibn al-Shahīd praise his learning and literary gifts in extravagant terms, and Ibn al-Furāt quotes an elegy on his death composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad

[1] Ibn al-Furāt, ed. C. K. Zurayk, IX, 286-287; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. W. Popper, V, 609; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, III, 296-297; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, VI, 329-330.

[2] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, IV, 375, n° 8875.

[3] Rosenthal, *op.cit.*, 326.

[4] *al-Durar*, III, 296.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] *Shadharāt*, VI, 330.

[7] *GAL*, I, 413; Suppl. I, 734.

[8] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, IV, 375.

[9] *GAL*, II, 50; Suppl. II, 50.

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al-Dunaisirī called Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, who died one year after Ibn al-Shahid. [1]

Whatever fame and popularity this metrical biography of the Prophet may have enjoyed at one time, it had long since vanished; and neither it nor Ibn Ḥijjī's commentary was known to Brockelmann. Now, however, a copy has turned up in the Chester Beatty Library, not indeed of the whole work, but of its second and third volumes; the interest of the discovery is enhanced by the fact that the third volume, though unsigned, is very evidently the original draft of the author and has been extensively annotated by him. A description of these two volumes follows.

Description of Manuscript

5116(1). Folios 291, measuring 27.2 × 18.4 cms., 17 lines to the page, containing approximately 9,800 verses. The transcription, in an excellent scholar's Naskhi hand, is on the whole very accurate; here and there some omitted verses have been added on the margin by a more cursive writer. The copy may have been compiled during the author's lifetime and was in any case completed before 809/1407, when it was deposited in a library in Cairo. The paper is of fine quality, thick and polished, and is in an excellent state of preservation.

5116(2). Folios 244, measuring 27 × 18.4 cms., 17 lines to the page, containing approximately 8,200 verses. Transcribed in a clear, bold scholar's Naskhi, not so calligraphic as 5116(1), with many marginal annotations in a more cursive and much smaller hand. The paper is not quite as thick as that of 5116(1) but is of good quality, polished and well-preserved.

Appended to 5116(2) are three reading certificates, apparently in the author's autograph. The first of these is dated Sunday, 4 Rajab 789 (21 July 1387) and is in favor of Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Abī 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥabatī. [2] The second is dated Jumādā II 789 (June-July 1387) and is in favor of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Murshidī al-Makkī al-Shāfi'ī. [3] (It is interesting to observe that al-Sakhāwī confirms that Shihāb al-Dīn al-Murshidī studied the poem with Ibn al-Shahīd at Cairo.) The third is dated Thursday, 13 Shauwāl 790 (15 October 1388) and is in favor of

[1] *GAL*, II, 15.
[2] Born 745/1346, died 814/1411; see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'* VII, 107.
[3] Born 763/1362, died 832/1429; see *al-Ḍau'*, I, 191, *Shadharāt*, VII, 198.

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Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ṣafī al-Dīn Abī 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Kāzarūnī al-Shāfi'ī al-Madanī.[1]

This volume, like the preceding, was deposited in 809/1407 in a Cairo library.

Contents of Poem

It is evident that the lost first volume took the narrative of the Prophet's life from his birth down to and including the battle of Badr.

The first rubric in 5116(1) relates to the events immediately following the battle of Badr "according to Ibn Sa'd, and regarding this there is some difference of opinion":

ذكر ما كان بعد غزوة بدر من بقيّة العام الثاني من الهجرة النبويّة على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة والسلام فمن ذلك سريّة عمير بن عدي الأنصاري لقتل عصماء بنت مروان وسريّة سالم بن عمير لقتل أبي عفك اليهودي وقد أورد ابن سعد هذا هنا في هذا العام وفيه نظر

ذكر أمور بعد مرجع الرسول من بدر في ذا العام يأتي في فصول

This opening section is immediately followed by a short account of the expedition against the Banū Sulaim at al-Kudr which is based directly on Ibn Hishām.

وبعد مقدم النبي من بدر أقام سبعاً من ليال عشر
ثم أتى ماء بني سليم يريد غزواً في رحال القوم
قرقرة الكدر يسمى الماء طير هناك أرضها ملساء
فلم يقم غير ثلاث ورجع لم يلق كيداً اذ جلوا من الجزع
وبن أم مكتوم أو بن عرفطه سباع عامل له فلتضبطه

The corresponding passage in Ibn Hishām reads:[2]

قال ابن اسحاق : فلمّا قدم [رسول الله صلّعم] لم يقم بها إلاّ سبع ليال [حتّى] غزا بنفسه يريد بني سليم . قال ابن هشام : واستعمل على المدينة سباع بن عرفطة الغفاري ، أو ابن أم مكتوم . قال ابن اسحاق : فبلغ ماءً من مياههم يقال له الكدر فأقام عليه ثلاث ليال ثم رجع الى المدينة ولم يلق كيداً .

This is a fair specimen of the manner in which Ibn al-Shahīd paraphrases his original. The affair of Khaibar is given extended

[1] Born 757/1356, died 843/1440; see *al-Ḍaw'*, VII, 96-97, *Shadharāt*, VII, 247.
[2] (Cairo, 1355/1936), III, 46.

treatment; the following extract from the beginning of the narrative is quoted as an example of the poet's style.

للقول فى الغنيمة المعجّله ... بشارةً بأختها المؤجّله
وهى التّي خُصص بالقرآن ... بها أنامى بيعة الرضوان
بعد ثلاث من غزاة قرد ... سار رسول اللّه فى ذا العدد
فى أخريات العام فى المحرّم ... لخيبر لغزو كلّ مجرم
وقيل سار فى جمادى الأولى ... سنة سبع فاقتفى المنقولا
واستخلف الليثى نُميلةً على ... طيبة لمّا بالجيوش رحلا
وقيل بل سباعاً بن عرفطه ... رواه أحمد كذا أو ضبطه
ولأبى طلحة قال آلتمس ... لي خادماً فجاءه بأنس
فكان فى المسير والقفول ... يخدمه من لدن النزول
وحمل اللواء أبيضاً على ... ونقل ذا عن آبن اسحق جلى
وسيجيء أنّه تخلّفا ... لرمد وللحاق آستأنفا
قالوا وكانت معه أمّ سلمة ... قلت لمعنى خصّها ومكرمه
فانّ من خرج فى ذي الكرّة ... هم الذين خرجوا للعمره
وخرجت أيضاً نساء مسلمات ... يأتي بذكر بعضهنّ كلمات
منهنّ من غفار زوج جندب ... فى نسوة خرجن عن إذن النبي
فجاء بالعسكر عصراً فبنى ... فى يومه ذلك مسجد الهنا
وعن سويد وهو آبن نعمان ... نزل فى الصهبا بتلك الأعيان
صلّى بها العصر وثُرّى السويق ... فاكلت مع النبي تلك الفريق
قال ومضمضنا وصلّى الغربا ... لم يتوضّأ ثم أمّوا الطلبا
وغطفان يوم ذا لخيبر ... حلف على النبي وهم فى زمر
فسار بالعسكر حتّى نزلا ... وادى الرجيع منزلاً دون الملا
فخرجوا مظاهرين للعدى ... حتّى اذ اما جاوزوا بعض المدى
ردّوا يظنّون النبيّ قصداً ... اليهم فلم يسدّوا مددا
ما ردّهم إلاّ سماع زجل ... فى أهلهم فانفتلوا للوجل
فكان هذا أوّل الأعلام ... فى خيبر لنصرة الإسلام

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The concluding section in 5116(1) is headed: *dhikru man 'amila li 'l-nabiyi ṣallā 'llāhu 'alaihi wa-sallama wa-māta 'alaihi 'l-salāmu wa-hum 'alā a'mālihim.* This section is a versification of the section *khurūju 'l-umarā'i wa'l-'ummāli 'alā 'l-ṣadaqāti* in Ibn Hishām.[1] The colophon of 5116(1) reads: *tamma 'l-juz'u 'l-thānī bi-ḥamdi 'llāhi wa-'aunihi wa-ḥusni taufīqihi yatlūhu in shā'a 'llāhu ta'ālā dhikru ḥajjati 'l-wadā'i sanata 'ashrin wa-yuqālu ḥajjatu 'l-islāmi.*

This promise is duly kept, for 5116(2) begins:

dhikru ḥajjati 'l-wadā'i sanata 'ashrin wa-yuqālu ḥajjatu 'l-islāmi
wa-ba'da mā 'tma'anna khāṭiru 'l-nabi
an lā yaḥujja mushrikun fi 'l-'arabī

This section, based (the author declares) upon Ibn Ḥazm's *Lubāb*,[2] is followed by an account of the last expedition of the Prophet's life, that of Usāma b. Zaid to Syria.[3] This concludes:

fa-qabla dhikrinā 'l-wafāta nanzamu
dhikra muhimmātin lahā 'l-taqaddumu
wa-hya fuṣūlun yā akhā 'l-najāba
fa-hāka fī 'l-aulādi wa 'l-qarāba

There ensue lists of the children of the Prophet, his uncles and aunts with their families, and his wives,[4] the women to whom he proposed but did not marry, his concubines, freedmen, serving-women, male servants and guards, the "Ten" and the *Ahl al-Ṣuffa.* A catalogue follows of the Prophet's personal possessions, his swords, bows, arrows, lances, armor, helmets, banners, horses, mules, camels, clothes, bedding and utensils.

A long section recounts the miracles of the Prophet, pride of first place naturally being assigned to the Koran:

a'ẓamuhā mā lam yakun li-aḥadi
mina 'l-nabiyīna siwā Muḥammadi
wa-hwa 'l-Qur'ānu 'l-munzalu 'l-munazzamu
min kalimāti 'llāhi 'azza 'l-muḥkamu
anzalahu 'llāhu bi-'ilmihi 'alaih
wa-Jibra'īluhu muballighun ilaih

Predictions of events which took place after the Prophet's death end with the foretelling of the advent of the Antichrist. Then comes an enumeration of the Prophet's triumphs over evil spirits and the Devil, leading to an exposition of his physical and moral excellences, his acts and sayings.

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1 *Ibid.*, IV, 246-247.
2 No work by Ibn Ḥazm with this title has been traced.
3 Ibn Hishām, IV, 291.
4 Only the wives are listed in Ibn Hishām, IV, 293-298.

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al-qaulu fī shamā'ili 'l-Rasūli
ḥasba 'lladhī fī kutubi 'l-uṣūli
kullu nabīyin ba'atha 'llāhu ḥasan
wajhan wa-ṣautan kāmilun khalqa 'l-badan

(The author has annotated this verse on the margin: *hādhā ḥadīthu 'l-Tirmidhī 'an Qutāda: Mā ba'atha 'llāhu nabīyan illā ḥasana 'l-wajhi ḥasana 'l-ṣauti wa-kāna nabīyukum ṣallā 'llāhu 'alaihi wa-sallama aḥsanahum wajhan wa-aḥsanahum ṣautan.* This volume indeed is liberally provided with such annotations, and it is permissible to conjecture that in his original draft Ibn al-Shahīd annotated the whole poem in similar fashion.)

This sequence is very extensive, covering more than fifty folios. It is followed by a summary account of the events of each of the first ten years of the Hijra; then at last comes the final section of the biography on the mortal sickness and death of the Prophet.

ذكر وفاة النبي صلّعم وفى ذلك فصول من أوّل استشعاره الوفاة ومرضه ووصيّته وما كان فى مدّة مرضه الى أن توفّاه الله واجتماع المسلمين يوم وفاته على بيعة أبن بكر رضه

وَٱلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ فى عرفه أُنْزِل حجّ النبي فلتعرفه
وسورة النصر تلتها بالنزول فى أوسط التشريق من حجّ الرسول
فاستشعر النبيّ بالوحيين قرب الوفاة وحلول الحين

The scene of the Prophet's death is painted in sober and dignified colors with a remarkable fidelity to the historical sources.

ومن تمام هذه الروايه ما قد تأكّدت به العنايه
أنّ رسول الله لمّا انصرفا دعا أسامةً أمير الحنفا
وظهره مستند لنحره فعزم الأمر له فى نفره
قالوا وكانت آخر الصلاة هذي فما صلّى الي الممات
قُبض قبل أن تحلّ الظهر وكان بين الحالتين أمر
خرج بالعسكر بعد الفجر أسامة للجرف حسب الأمر
وذهب الصدّيق بعد الصبح ونفسه طيّبة للسنح
وكلّ من رأى النبيّ فرحا وعاد نحو أهله منشرحا
واجتمعت الى النبي أزواجه يرين أن قد انقضى انزعاجه
فأخلف الظنّ وعاد الكرب وذهب السهل وجاء الصعب

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ثم أتى أسامة فودّعه ... فرفع النبيّ يدعو إصبعه
وكان قد أصمت لم يرجع اليه ... حرفًا فولّى وهو خائف عليه
وبعثت فاطمة الى علي ... وعائش الى أبيها أقبل
وحفصة لعمر أن أسبق ... ولأسامة آمّ أيمن ألحق
ثم خرجن يتوكّفن الرجال ... أن يدركوا شمس الضحى قبل الزوال
وأخذته عائش لصدرها ... فمات بين سحرها ونحرها
وكان قد شخص للسماء ... فيما لعائش من الأنباء
وهو يقول للرفيق الأعلى ... ثم أحسّت منه بعد ثقلا
ومال رأسه عليها ونقط ... من فيه ماء بارد ثم هبط
قالت فقفّ شعرى وقلت ما ... أشدّ غشيه الذي قد زحما
ولم أكن عالجت قبل ميّتا ... فقلت بالغشى الشديد أصمتا
وكان قد دعا بطست ليبول ... فحال دون بوله هذا الذبول
قالت فسجّيت النبيّ ثوبا ... وصار أمره عليّ غيبا

The poem ends with a sequence in monorhyme in the form of a colophon.

فالحمد لله على التمام ... والحمد مسك البدء والختام
يشفع بالصلاة والسلام ... على النبيّ سيدّ الأنام
وآله وصحبه الكرام ... ما مسح الصبح أثمد الظلام
ورضي الله عن الأعلام ... التابعين معقل الإسلام
وسلف الأمّة من إمام ... رفعه الله على الطغام
بحفظه قواعد الأحكام ... والعلم بالحلال والحرام
والمتبتّلين للقيام ... بسبحة الصلاة والصيام
المهتدين سبل السلام ... أهل المكاشفات والإلهام
فهم من العرفان فى مقام ... أعلى وفى الذروة والسنام
نعم ومثل الملح فى الطعام ... لنا ومثل الشمس للأيّام
وليس دون الشمس من غمام ... فنورها هاد على الدوام
ليس بكاسف ولا كهام ... ولا بغارب ولا لمام

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نور النبيّ عَلَم الأعلام فإنه مدد ذي الأقوام
ومعدن الإحسان والإنعام صلّى عليه الله ذو الإكرام
ما نُقشت معاقد النظام في ورق بإبر الأقلام
وقادت القلوبَ بالزمام من السطور عُقَدُ الكلام
وأخرجت زهراً من الأكمام لواقحُ الفكر والأفهام

Let it be admitted that Ibn al-Shahid here wrote no great poetry; nevertheless he was capable of composing pleasant and competent verse. It may be conceded, on the brief evidence herein presented, that he has deserved to be rescued from oblivion.

Ibn al-Shahid used many sources in putting together his epic. Ibn Hishām is basic, and frequently—as the short specimens given above demonstrate—his very words are skilfully reproduced and rearranged to meet the requirements of meter and rhyme. But numerous other authorities are freely invoked, especially in the concluding volume and in the marginal annotations there abounding. A detailed study of these references would make an intricate and rewarding academic exercise, presenting a useful picture of the state of learning in the eighth/fourteenth century, and establishing the author as a scholar of wide attainments. This essay may perhaps stimulate some other researcher to undertake a more thorough investigation; here let it suffice, in conclusion, to list some of the authors cited.

List of Sources

Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, al-Nasā'ī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Muslim, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Māja, al-Wāqidī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Bukhārī, al-Suhailī, al-Shāfi'ī, al-Balādhurī, al-Dāraquṭnī, al-Baihaqī, Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Qudāma, Abū Dāwud, al-Dimyāṭī, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 'Iyāḍ, Mughlaṭā'ī, Ibn Manda, Abū Ya'lā, al-Baghawī, al-Shāshī al-Qaffāl, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Nawawī, al-Jauharī, al-Dārimī, al-Māwardī, Mālik b. Anas.

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ST. JOHN DAMASCENE:

Survey of the Unpublished Arabic Versions of his Works in Sinai

BY

AZIZ S. ATIYA

Introduction

The biography of St. John Damascene [1] is beyond the limitations of this essay which is chiefly intended to introduce students of divinity and philosophy to the hitherto unknown Arabic versions of some of his works still in manuscript. Nevertheless, some data of the saint's life are inevitable background for the comprehension and appraisal of the descriptive material of the codices in the following pages which are extracted from the detailed Catalogue Raisonné of the Sinai Arabic Collection. [2]

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[1] On the life and work of St. John, the following book selection is useful. F. A. Perrier, *Jean Damascène, Sa vie et ses écrits* (Strasbourg, 1863); J. D. Grundlehner, *Joannes Damascenus* (Utrecht, 1876); J. Langen, *Johannes von Damaskus* (Gotha, 1879); J. H. Lupton, *St. John of Damascus* (in *The Fathers for English Readers*, [London 1883]); C. Bertani, *Vita di San Giovanni Damasceno* (Monza, 1899); K. J. Diobuniotes, *John of Damascus* (in Greek) (Athens, 1903); V. Ermoni, *Saint Jean Damascène* (in *La Pensée Chrétienne* [Paris, 1904]); D. Ainslee, *John of Damascus* (London, 1906); J. Nasrallah, *Saint Jean de Damas* (Harissa, 1950); K. Bornhäuser, *Die Vergottungslehre des Athanasius und des Johannes Damascenus* (Gutersloh, 1903); J. Bitz, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus* (Paderborn, 1909); V. A. Mitchell, *The Mariology of St. John Damascene* (Kirkwood,, 1930); C. Chevalier, *La mariologie de saint Jean Damascène* (Rome, 1936); A. Laily, *L'influence liturgique et musicale de saint Jean de Damas* (Harissa, 1950); J. Meany, *The Image of God in Man according to the Doctrine of Saint John Damascene* (Manila, 1954); B. Studer, *Die theologische Arbeitsweise des Johannes von Damaskus* (Ettal, 1956); Asad J. Rustum, *The Church of the City of God Great Antioch* (3 vols. [Beirut, 1958], in Arabic), II, 63-78. Further references and special articles may be found in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2nd edn., Munich, 1897), 674-76; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Freiburg 1913-32), V, 51-65; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1944-53), I, 377-379; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957), cf. Index; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1903 ff.), cf. article by M. Jugie, VIII, 693-751; H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 476-87; B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (1950 edn.), 474-78.

[2] The complete Catalogue Raisonné of the Arabic Sinai Manuscripts is still to be published, though I have collated its substance from several visits to the Monastery of St. Catherine. In the meantime, I have published a hand-list of the

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though this must really have come from the life of Buddha in India through Pahlevi texts. The citation is made by Ibn al-Nadīm in "Kitāb al-Fihrist" of "Kitāb al-Budd" (i.e Buddha) and "Kitāb Būdāsaf."

John's greatest contribution, however, is represented by his immense composition of systematic theology entitled "Fount of Knowledge" [1] in which for the first time he applied the Aristotelian categories to matters of Christian dogma and doctrine. The outcome was an imposing encyclopedic trilogy in which he organized all the theological learning of his time on a philosophical basis. The first tome of his trilogy was the "Heads of Philosophy," the Greek "Kephalaia Philosophika," and the Latin "Dialectica," where he sought support from Aristotle to prove his thesis. The second was a "Compendium of Heresies" where he quoted the older work of Epiphaneus on the subject and added Islam and Iconoclasm. The third was "An Accurate Summary of the Orthodox Faith," destined to become the accepted definition of Christian Orthodoxy by subsequent generations. In 1150, Pope Eugenius commissioned John Burgundio of Pisa [2] to translate into Latin so authoritative a work; and it was through this channel that St. John Damascene must have influenced medieval scholastic thought. Both Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas appear to have fallen under his spell, and St. John is sometimes described as the "Father of Scholasticism."

The thesis is sometimes promoted that, in his own lifetime, he left his mark also on Islamic thought through his forceful and apologetic debating at the Caliph's court. Whether the assumption that his logic was instrumental in the development of the "Qadarīya sect" or school of thought in Islam is a subject open to further scrutiny in the light of the source material here revealed. But it is not unlikely that the swing of the pendulum from early Islamic predestinarianism to the liberalism of Mu'tazilite free thought must have opened the minds to the acceptance of some of St. John's arguments

[1] Complete first edition of the Damascene's works by M. Lequien in Paris 1717, then in Venice 1748, later reproduced by Migne in *Patr. Graeca*, XCIV-XCVI (Paris, 1864), with supplement derived from Andrea Gallandi (*Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Graecorum*, 14 vols., 1765-81), and other patrologists such as Angelo Mai (1782-1854) who became a Jesuit, published several collections from the classics and Church Fathers, and was a noted reader of palimpsests. For the English translation of his works, see S. D. F. Salmond in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Church Fathers*, 2nd series, IX (1899).

[2] E. M. Buytaert, ed., *St. John Damascene, "De fide orthodoxa" versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus* (Louvain, 1955); cf. Beck, *op. cit.*, 480.

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that God's directive power in all things could not eliminate man's power over his actions for which he bore his own responsibility. This is apparently the Qadarite [1] view which doubtlessly was in existence and became accepted in St. John's age.

It is hoped that the discovery and further study of St. John's Arabic versions may help to elucidate this Qadarite theory and other facets of Islamic thought where his philosophy was not unknown. Of course, it is easy to exaggerate the issue and one must therefore approach these obscure and difficult subjects with reservation. The most striking fact is that recent studies do not reveal any acquaintance with the manuscripts whose catalogue we propose to outline in the following pages. Georg Graf's [2] monumental compilation of Christian Arabic authors and their writings comprises a chapter on John of Damascus where useful references are made to many details of his work, but his accounts are completely tacit on the Sinaitic manuscripts which are definitely the most important and oldest of his remains in Arabic.

The earliest translation on record of both the "Dialectica" and the "De Fide Orthodoxa" was presumably executed in the tenth century by Antonius [3] Abbot of St. Simeon's Monastery in the neighborhood of Antioch. The other interpreter of John's *Opera* in Arabic was Archbishop 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd Allāh [4] with whose work

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[1] A. S. Tritton suspects that the whole "Qadari" discussion began in Syria toward the end of the 7th century; *Muslim Theology* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1947), 54 ff. On the subject of the Qadariya Sect, see al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif* (Būlāq, 1849-50), p. 620; Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1846), I, 54; C. A. Nallino, *Sul nome di Qadariti*, in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, VII, 461 ff. Cf. article "Kadarīya" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, and *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

[2] *Op. cit.*, I, 378-379. Cf. L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam* (in Arabic [Beirut, 1924]), 217; *Al-Machriq: Revue catholique orientale bimensuelle* (Université de St. Joseph, Beirut, 1898 ff.), XXII (1924), 766-768; XXIX (1931), 481-485, under "Lammens."

[3] He died in 379 A. H./989-90 A. D. He translated a number of works from the Greek Fathers such as John Chrysostom and notably John of Damascus whose *Kephalaia* and *De fide orthodoxa* he rendered under the title *Kitāb al-Iḍāḥ al-ṣarīḥ fī 'l-madhhab al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Graf, *op. cit.*, 41-45.

[4] His full name is Abū 'l-Fatḥ 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl al-Muṭrān al-Anṭākī, He was an Arabic speaking Melkite Archbishop of Antioch with a profound knowledge of Greek from which he made his prolific translations of numerous works of the Fathers including John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus and Isaac the Syrian. His dates are known through his translation of St. Basil's Hexaemeron or commentary on the narrative of the creation in six days from Genesis which he completed in the year 6560 from Adam, or the equivalent of 1052 A. D. Accor-

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we are concerned in the Sinaitic collection. All the manuscripts under review are probably of the same provenance and approximately the same dates, since all belong to the thirteenth century. Codex 317 dated 1223 appears to be the most explicit on the questions of provenance and authorship. It is probably the source from which other copyists produced other codices, although the matter of comparative textual study must be left for other occasions and to other scholars whose competence can reach the Greek originals of those Arabic versions. The first step is the critical study, collation and publication of the Arabic authorized version of the materials extant, and it is for this purpose that the following excerpts from our Catalogue Raisonné [1] are brought to the light of day. In presenting this material, no attempt has been made to organize the Arabic titles of those tracts within the recognized framework of the Greek originals, but rather re-interpret the Arabic independently and literally without regard to the context of St. John's classification.

SINAI ARABIC NO. 317

Description

Large quarto codex in excellent condition. Dimensions 24.5 × 16.5 cm. Writing dimensions 18.5 × 9.5 cm.

Material: paper, 460 folios, averaging 17 lines to the page.

Binding: wooden boards dressed in brown leather and studded in corners.

Handwriting: Old Naskh. Date: 1223 A.D.

Dedication to St. Catherine's Monastery by Apa Germanus the Bishop (f° 1a) with reading note by Joachim Archbishop of Bethlehem signed in Greek (f° 460a).

Complete codex comprising Arabic translation of Greek philosophical works of John of Damascus by Archbishop 'Abd Allāh b.

dingly the productive part of his life must have been around the middle of the eleventh century. Graf, *op. cit.*, II, 52-64.

[1] As will be seen the selection here treated comprises nos. 317, 318, 319, and 599. No. 579 is cited in the conclusion though it does not bear the Damascene's name. It should, however, be noted that some excerpts of St. John's work in Arabic appear in other Sinai codices including nos. 352 (Mimars and Lives of Saints), 448 (Mimars and Lives of Saints), 451 (Theology, Prayers etc.), 455 (Mimars, Lives of Saints and Old Testament), 482 (Mimars and Lives of Saints), and 535 (Hagiographica et Varia). Cf. Atiya, *Arabic MSS of Mt. Sinai*, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24. All these manuscripts may be safely dated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

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al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd Allāh (fos 449a-450a). Copy executed by a monastic scribe named Bimin بيمين السيقي at the Church of Our Lady بكنيسة السيدة بالمجيبة in Damascus during the episcopate of its Metropolitan Archbishop Apa Yūḥanna and the Patriarchate of Apa Simʿān.

Copy accomplished on 21 Ḥazirān (July) in the year 6731 from Adam or the last decade العشرة الأخيرة of the Muslim month of Jumādā I of the year 620 after the Hijra, falling in the year 1223 A.D. (f° 437a).

Contents

The manuscript contains five different texts of which the first, second and fifth are rendered into Arabic from the works of St. John Damascene.

1) Treatise on Logic (fos 10a-93b) preceded by a detailed index of chapters (fos 1b-8a), and addressed to his companion in the Lord Cosmas Bishop of Maiuma (i.e. Ghazza). Title: رسالة لأبيت القديس يوحنا الدمشقي القسيس إلى قزما أسقف مدينة مايوما / رفيقه المكرّم عند الله (f° 10a).
2) One Hundred Theological Discourses on the Orthodox Faith, including his discussion of Nestorianism, Iconoclasm and the Jacobite sect as well as the Epistle to Cosmas etc. (fos 93b-437a). Treaties has no definite title, but it begins thus: بسم الآب الخ مقالة أولى لأبينا البار المعظم يوحنا الدمشقي القسيس (f° 93b).
3) A Life of St. John Damascene (438b-448b) entitled: وصف سيرة أبينا النبيل فى الأبرار والمشهور / فى القديسين الأخيار أبا يوحنا القسيس الدمشقي / المكنى بمجرى الذهب مما سهل جمعه من شواهد أخباره (f° 438b).
4) Abridged Patristica on the Faith for Orthodox Believers (449a-450a), collected from the works of the Holy Fathers by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd Allāh the Archbishop under the following title: أمانة مختصرة جدا تصلح لمن لا دربة له بالعلم من الأرثذكسين (f° 449a).
5) Constitution of the Orthodox Faith by St. John Damascene (450a-459b) and communicated by "Hellia Bishop of Ayabrodhon" to Peter Metropolitan of Damascus, entitled: دستور فى الأمانة المستقيمة صنفه أبونا البار يوحنا الدمشقي دفعه هليا أسقف أيابروذون القديس إلى بطرس مطران دمشق (f° 449a).

Incipit (f° 1b)

بسم الآب والابن والروح القدس / شرح ما فى هذا الكتاب / المكنى بالدمشقي وفهرسته / المنسوب إلى المنطق / العلمى / الباب الأول من المنطق فى الوجود / فى الجوهر والعرض .

Explicit (459b)

الذي لامبدآ له وروحي (sic) الكلي القدس / والمحيى الآن وألى آباد الدهور التي لا تتناهى آمين .

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Colophon (459b)

نجزت الأمانة بعون الله تعالى وكتب الخاطي / المسكين بيمين السيقي وهو ما ترجمه عبدالله ابن الفضل بن عبدالله المعلران من اللغة اليونانية / إلى اللغة العربية . . . . وكتب بكنيسة دمشق القاثوليكي بالمجيبة .

Sinai Arabic No. 318

Description

Complete codex with edges gnawed by vermin.

Material: paper, 412 folios, averaging 12 lines to the page.

Binding: wooden boards with brown leather.

Dimensions: 15.5 × 13 cm. Writing 12.5 × 8.5 cm.

Handwriting: regular old Naskh with rubrications.

Date: Thursday, end of the month of Ṣafar, 623 H., coinciding with the year 1226 A.D.

Scribe ʿAfia son of Isḥāq (عافية بن اسحق).

Dedication to monastery by Germanus the Bishop (1a) and reading note (414b) by Nicodemus the monk, son of Yūḥanna b. Yūḥanna, with date in epact gnawed by mice.

Probably true copy of parts of *Sinai Arabic No.* 317.

Contents

1) Logic by St. John Damascene (1a-100b).

2) St. John's Hundred Discourses (100a-412a).

Incipit (1a)

بسم الآب والابن والروح القدس / المسيح اله قوتي ومعيني . رسالة يوحنا القديس / الدمشقي القسيس إلى قزما أسقف مدينة ما(يوما) رفيقه المكرم .

Explicit (411b-412a)

والذين عملوا الصالحات يشرقون كإشراق الشمس مع الملايكة فى حياة دهرية بايسوع المسيح ربنا ناظرين إليه وهو ناظر إليهم مقتطعين منه السرور القادم أن يكون منتهياً لأن له / المجد والعزّ مع الأب والابن الروح القدس الآن ودايماً وإلى آباد الدهور كلها . آمين آمين آمين .

Colophon (412a)

برسم خزانة المول (sic) الأجل الأعز المحترم / رشيد الدين والملوك والسلاطين اسحق بن ابراهيم .

Sinai Arabic No. 319

Description

Imperfect codex. Binding together with beginning and end folios lost.

Material: paper, 359 folios, dimensions 22.5 × 15.5 cm. and writing 15.5 × 11 cm. averaging 15 lines to the page.

Handwriting: regular old Naskh with rubrications.

Undated manuscript, but approximately 13th Century.

Contents

Same as previous nos. 317 and 318. St. John Damascene's works reversed in order as follows:

1) Hundred Theological Treatises (1a-301b), beginning toward the end of the 21st discourse and ending with six additional discourses which include those against the Iconoclasts, the Nestorians and an epistle addressed to Dionysius قضى مجلس العلما .
2) St. John's Logic (301a-395b), ending somewhere after the beginning of Chapter 47.

Incipit (1a)

السنبلة شرق عطارد ، الميزان شرق زحل ، / الجدى شرق المريخ ، الحوت شرق الزهرة ، / وأشكال القمر من عادته فى الدرجة التي توجد الشمس فيها .

Explicit (359b)

إذ كان قد ينعكس لأنه ما يدلّ على شيٍ أكثر من أن الرجل / يحوي امراة او المراة لها رجل لان ليس الواحد . . .

SINAI ARABIC NO. 599

Description

Incomplete codex. Original binding with wooden boards and slightly embossed brown leather. Right board with beginning folios lost. Left board loose and end folios also lost. Last folios damped and stained.

Material: paper, 360 folios. Dimensions 17.5 × 13 cm. and writing 12 × 9 cm. with average 14 lines to the page.

Handwriting: regular old Naskh with rubrications.

Undated manuscript, but approximately 13th century.

Contents

Several philosophical and theological discourses and epistles by St. John Damascene and St. Dionysius to Demophilus. The last two numbers constitute the bulk of the manuscript.

1) St. John Damascene against the Nestorians (9b-54b).

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2) St. Dionysius' (قاضى مجلس الملك) Epistle to his servant Demophilus on ecclesiastical observance (54b-66a).
3) St. John Damascene's Epistle to Cosmas Bishop of Maiuma (66a-68a).
4) The Fifty-three Chapters from the Philosophy of John Damascene (68a-134a).
5) The Hundred Discourses on the Orthodox Faith by John Damascene (134a-360b) with incomplete ending in the 98th discourse.

Incipit (1a)

ولا متنقلاً الى مجد ما كان له لكنّه تجلّى مظهراً . . .

Explicit (360b)

ولما عبرّهم يشوع بن نون الأردن ختنوا وحدثت للختنة شريعة ثانية لان فى زمان . . .

Conclusion

All the aforementioned manuscripts are identified as Arabic versions of some of the most significant works written by John of Damascus in Greek. They can be dated without hesitation in the thirteenth century. This is the century of the advent of the marauding Mongol hordes in the Middle East which culminated in the downfall of Baghdad in 1258. The Mongols left behind them a trail of terror and the population, both Muslim and Christian alike, took to flight from the face of a merciless enemy to the nearest inaccessible mountain tops or wilderness. We must assume, therefore, that many Arabic-speaking Christians sought safety within the Sinaitic fold and espoused monasticism at St. Catherine's Monastery. This fact alone explains the sudden jolt in the number of Arabic manuscripts in the Sinai collection during that period. The Damascene material belongs to that age. In addition to our selection, we may also find numerous other manuscripts which comprise excerpts from St. John's work; but since these are mainly homiletic in character, it has been our feeling that their real importance lies elsewhere and we have decided to limit this essay to those codices with the most pertinent contents.

Nevertheless, it may be fitting in this conclusion to allude to another manuscript of a philosophical character which does not explicitly bear St. John's name, but may well have been the product of his interest in logic and his great popularity in Sinai. The Damascene is pre-eminently known to the Arabs as a logician, and the manuscript in question is a treatise on logic. This is *Sinai Codex* 579, of which the following is a brief account.

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Description

Incomplete codex with left cover and end folios lost. Right cover in paper cardboard padding made of ancient Kufic folios from other codices. Material: paper, 179 folios, dimensions 23.5 × 16.5 cm. and writing 18.5 × 12.5 cm., averaging 17 lines to the page. Handwriting: regular old Naskh, approximately twelfth century, possibly thirteenth. Folios 161-165 torn in half, and folios 166-169 torn almost completely.

Incipit (1b):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم / المقالة الأولى من الفن الرابع / من الجمله الاولى وهو المنطق / الفصل الأول في صورة القياس المطلق .

Explicit (179b):

بعد أن يجعل بدل المتحرك والمنفصل لا / . . . ساكناً ضروب ذلك والمنفصلة متتالية دايماً .

The critical study and identification of this interesting codex is a matter for further special enquiry. But it must be noted that the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai is probably the richest repository of the Arabic versions of St. John Damascene's works. In point of dating, they are all medieval. Of course Codex 317, which was accomplished in the year 1223 A.D., is beyond doubt the completest and most important, perhaps also the oldest source to be utilized by other Sinaitic later copyists. It is a notable fact that all these manuscripts have remained unheeded for centuries, and it is our privilege in the present survey to draw the attention of orientalists, students of philosophy and theologians to their existence and availability. All were microfilmed by the Mount Sinai Expedition of 1950 for the Library of Congress [1] where the negatives are deposited in its Photoduplication Service. All or any can be reproduced and acquired at a nominal cost for purposes of collation and publication without the need of undertaking the exhorbitant and hardy journey to the wilderness of Sinai.

[1] This was a joint expedition with the University of Alexandria of which the writer was the academic and official representative and the editor of the Arabic collection and the firmans.

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A NINETEENTH-CENTURY MUSLIM REFORM MOVEMENT IN INDIA

BY

M. A. BARI

Opinions during the last one hundred and thirty years have sharply been divided on the nature of the nineteenth century Muslim reform movement in India, popularly but erroneously supposed to be an offshoot of the Arabian Wahhabis, [1] and the role it had played in the subsequent history of the subcontinent. Contemporary travellers in the Yusufzai country referred to Sayyid Aḥmad and his wars against the Sikhs, [2] but it was essentially in the context of the history of the independent tribes of Swat and Bunair that the early reformist activities were examined. Both Murray [3] and Cunningham [4] briefly described the events leading to the occupation of Peshawar by the Sayyid, and his ultimate defeat and death at Balākōt, but the greater significance of his teachings was largely lost on them. Ranjit Singh (d. 1839), it seems, was conscious of the political and military potentialities of the movement, were it allowed to gather momentum, and his actions against it were accordingly prompt and resolute. Some of his ablest generals were sent against the Sayyid and the news of the Sikh victory at Saidu was, under his command, celebrated throughout the kingdom with festivity and illumination. [5] Nonetheless the Sikh leader failed to appreciate the motive why the Khalifa Sahib [6] should indulge in activities unbecoming of a holy man of his eminence. [7]

[1] On this question, see my article, "The Politics of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi," *Islamic Culture*, XXXI, 156-164.

[2] C. Masson, *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab* (London, 1842); A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, etc. (London, 1834); Mohan Lal, *Travels in the Punjab, Afghanistan*, etc. (London, 1846); Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and the Afghans* (London, 1847).

[3] *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* etc., ed. H. T. Prinsep (Calcutta, 1834).

[4] *A History of the Sikhs* etc. (London, 1849).

[5] See Diwān Amar Nath, *Ẓafar Nāma-i Ranjit Singh*, ed. S. R. Kohli (Lahore, 1928), 181; Lala Sohan Lal, *'Umdat al-tawārīkh*, II (Lahore, 1885), 340-341.

[6] This is how the Sikhs referred to the Sayyid. See Amar Nath, *op.cit*, 180-181; Sohan Lal, *op.cit.*, II, 350.

[7] Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 144, observes: "Ranjit Singh had a very great dread of him; and I have heard it remarked that he would readily give a large sum if he would take himself off; and it is also asserted that the Maha Raja cannot exactly penetrate the mystery with which the holy Saiyad enshrouds himself."

After the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849, Lord Dalhousie was evidently concerned with the military aspect of the movement, if and to what extent it constituted a threat to the British possessions in India. He was satisfied that it did not, and in a Minute, dated 11 November, 1852, on the Report of the Board of Administration on "the treasonable correspondence . . . between the fanatics at Sitana and the Wahabees at Patna and elsewhere," he firmly rejected the proposal for an attack on the Reformist positions in the Frontier.[1] The Sepoy Rising of 1857 and the role the Muslims played in it generally,[2] brought about a sharp reorientation in the official attitude to the movement. The official historian of the British military expeditions against the frontier tribes was of the opinion that "the Hindustani fanatics have been a constant source of trouble and a thorn in the side of the British Government since the annexation of the Punjab."[3] The State trials of the eighteen-sixties[4] and renewed Reformist activities beyond the Indus hardened this attitude and compelled a fuller look at the movement and its possibilities. Hunter complained: "The disorders which we had connived at, or at least viewed with indifference, upon the Sikh frontier, now descended as a bitter inheritance to ourselves."[5] He was convinced that a network of conspiracy had spread itself "over our provinces," and that the bleak mountains which rise beyond the Punjab were "united by an unbroken chain of treason-depots with the tropical swamps through which the Ganges merges into the sea."[6] The murder, at this time, of Mr. Justice Norman further exacerbated the feelings of the rulers and the question was openly asked: "Are the Indian Muslims bound by their religion to rebel against the Queen?"[7] Letters alleging Muslim disloyalty to English rule in India were published in the London Times, and the leading newspapers of Bengal filled their columns with discussions regarding the duty of

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[1] See *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons XLIV (1872), paper 161.

[2] For a resumé of the Muslim role in the Rising, see R. C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of* 1857 (Calcutta, 1957), 227-229.

[3] A. H. Mason in the *Journal of the United Service Association* XIX (London), 182.

[4] At Ambala, Patna, Malda, Rajmahal and Patna respectively.

[5] W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, Reprint (Calcutta, 1945), 13.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1.

[7] See W. Nassau Lees, *Indian Musulmans* etc., India Office Tract 633. Apparently to answer this question Hunter wrote his book *The Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the queen?*.

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the Muslims to wage war against a non-Muslim ruler. [1] Echoing the sentiments of the majority community, the Hindoo Patriot of Calcutta, in its issue of 2 August, 1870, openly questioned the wisdom of the government policy toward the Muslims. It declared:

> The Wahhabis are a far more dangerous sect as one copresent with Muhammadanism, while the Ferazis are a local one. The movement, sprung at the fountain-head of Islam in Arabia, has spread throughout the Muhammadan world. Its missionaries are as numerous and as zealous as those of Christianity, its teachings as inimical to the authority of infidel States as that of the Jesuits, and with Jesuitical reserve might be quite as dangerous. The Wahhabis though deemed heterodox, are respected for their austerity by the orthodox who in presence of Wahhabi recklessness seem to be ashamed of their faint-heartedness in keeping in abeyance some of the distinctive tenets of their faith.

The Muslim leaders were at pains to impress their loyalty upon the Government, [2] but they did it in two different ways. 'Abd al-Laṭīf, the founder of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, chose to denigrate the character of the Reformists, and questioned the bona fides of their motives. "As for the wretched Wahabees," he declared in a speech to the Society, [3] "they may indeed be said to have no regard for their own religion and conscience; but, being urged by selfish motives, they have spread their nets of violence and wickedness; and, under the cloak of religion, hope to gain worldly advantages. What concern can such men have with Islam or Infidelity?" But, unlike the loyal Muslim Civil Servant [4] who sought to play down the significance of the movement and contemptuously dismissed its leader as an imposter, 'Abd al-Laṭīf was aware of its influence among the Muslim masses. Consequently, he adopted a more subtle and effective weapon to combat the "wretched Wahabees." On his invitation, Karāmat 'Alī (d. 1873), a former disciple of the Sayyid, addressed the Literary Society on 23 November, 1870 and unequivocally declared himself against jihad, calling British occupied India

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[1] *Ibid.*, see also *Calcutta Review*, L, 73; Hunter, *op. cit.*, 1-2.

[2] This drew out from W. W. Hunter (*op. cit.*, 3) the mocking remark: "...the Muhammadan masses eagerly drinking in the poisoned teachings of the Apostles of Insurrection, and a small minority anxiously seeking to get rid of the duty to rebel by ingenious interpretations of their Sacred Law."

[3] *Abstract Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta at a meeting held... on Wednesday, the 23rd November*, 1870 (Calcutta, 1871), 17.

[4] S. M. Latif in the *History of the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1891), 448. An extra-Judicial Assistant Commissioner, his motto in life was (see p. XVI), "Fear God, love mankind and honour the Empress."

a *dār al-Islām.*[1] *Fatwās* to this effect were received from other Indian scholars and the muftis of the holy city.[2] Later events would prove that the efforts of the Society, and specially of Karamat 'Ali, succeeded to a great extent in alienating the sympathy of the Muslim public from the Reformists and isolating them, at least, in Bengal, as a terrible sect, dreaded even by their former associates.

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the father of the Aligarh movement, was too great an admirer of both Sayyid Aḥmad and Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl to call them "impostors." He was, moreover, in deep sympathy with their basic religious and social teachings.[3] A noble and courageous man, he deliberately set upon the difficult task of freeing the honor of the Reformist leaders and, at the same time, to bring about a rapprochement between the Christian rulers and their Muslim subjects. "A Wahabi, as far as Mahomedan religion is concerned," he wrote, "means nothing more than one who has the most firm and implicit belief in the unity of God, and who has no faith in the supernatural powers of saints, nor in the superstitions which derive no support from true Mahomedanism, but have, somehow or other, obtained credence among different sects. In point of fact a Wahabi is the faithful observer of the injunctions of the Koran and the precepts of the Prophet, and his religious opinions are anything but irrational. I cannot help believing that patient inquiry would show that more than half of the Mahomedan population of India belong to that sect, and yet they are as loyal subjects as it is possible for a foreigner to be."[4] In his *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans*, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān sought laboriously to establish that the early leaders of the movement were on friendly terms with the East India Company which gave them tacit encouragement and moral support in their fight against the Sikhs. "I think I have proved," he claimed, "that the Indian Wahabi jihad --represented by our author to have been one against the British was intended solely for the conquest of the

[1] See *Abstract Proceedings of the meeting* referred to above.

[2] *Ibid.*; see also Hunter, *op. cit.*, Appendices, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musulmans* (Benares, 1872), Appendices I and II.

[3] In his *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* he wrote the biographies of both the Sayyid and the Shah. He often called himself a "thrice bitter Wahhābī" (see A. H. Albiruni, *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India* [Lahore, 1950], 53; S. M. Ikram, *Mauj Kauthar* [Lahore, 1940], 47) and mentioned in his *Review on Dr. Hunter* etc., *op. cit.*, 14. "Moulavi Ismail was the man whose preaching worked marvels on the feelings of Mahomedans."

[4] Letter to the Times (London, November 1871), as reproduced in *Review on Dr. Hunter etc.*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

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Sikhs, and that, even although the band of mutineers at Mulka and Sittana may have given trouble to Government after 1857, the frontier colony, composed as it was, of Hindus as well as Mohamedans, was scarcely one which could be designated as a *jihādī* community. [1]"

Muḥammad Ja'far Thānisarī (d. 1905), a man of a different mettle, but far more attached to the movement and its leaders, tried to show in a devious way, what Sayyid Aḥmad Khān partially succeeded in establishing in a fair and open argumentation, that the Reformists had no quarrel with the English and that their jihad was exclusively directed against the Sikh. [2] In so doing, he often quoted, from the leaders, remarks completely out of their contexts, thus suggesting meanings totally uncalled for, and, what is worse, substituted the word "Sikh" for "English" whenever any such carefully selected quotations appeared to be even remotely critical of the British rule. [3] The success of British arms and diplomacy in the frontier, [4] the Ambala Campaign (1863) and its consequences on the Reformists, and a discernible shift in the Government policy in relation to the Muslims made all such exercises of loyalty no longer necessary. Above all, the movement itself became divided and weak.

In the wake of the rise of nationalistic movements in the subcontinent, Muslim scholars in the thirties and forties of the present century once again turned their attention to the "first Islamic movement in Hindustan." [5] Most of the scholars, however, failed to rise above sectarian prejudices and showed an unseemly eagerness to claim, for their respective factions, exclusive legacy of the "freedom fighters." [6] Since Independence, scholars both in Pakistan and in India are busy rewriting the history of the "Freedom Movement," [7] and it is only

[1] *Review on Dr. Hunter* etc., *op. cit.*, 21.

[2] *Sawānih-i Aḥmadī*, Sufi Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., (Lahore, n.d.), 70-71.

[3] Compare the Sayyid's letters as in the British Museum MS Or. 6635 f°s 27 and 30 with printed versions of these at pp. 175 and 189-190 of *Sawānih-i Aḥmadī*.

[4] For a review of the British policy in the frontier, see the Punjab Government publication, *Report showing the relations of the British Government with tribes in the North-West Frontier of the Punjab from annexation in 1849 to August 1864* (Lahore, 1865). For later policy, see C.C. Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier* (Cambridge, 1932).

[5] This is the title of a book first published in 1946, in which the author, Mas'ūd 'Ālam Nadvī, briefly described the rise and fall of the movement.

[6] For an example of these attempts, see 'Ubaid Allāh Sindhī, *Shāh Wali Allāh aur unkī siyāsī taḥrīk* (Lahore, 1945), 86-142.

[7] The Pakistan Historical Society has already published three volumes of *A History of the Freedom Movement*, and the first volume of the *History of the Freedom*

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natural that the "Wahhabi rebels" will receive their share of attention. A new significance is now being attached to the movement insofar as it is being regarded as "the precursor of the Aligarh movement, the *Khilāfat* movement, the Pan-Islamic movement, and the Pakistan movement which rocked Indian Moslems." [1] "The Sepoy Mutiny," it is being argued, "could not have gathered volume and strength, if the soil was not fertilised by the Indian Wahabis for anti British sentiments and activities." [2] What was then the true character of the movement, which, long before the Rising of 1857, remarkably succeeded in rousing to enthusiastic action a fairly large section of the Muslims, irrespective of any ethnic groupings or geographical locations, all over the country, ready to sacrifice everything, including their lives, to achieve an ideal? What was the secret of the Sayyid's power which, in the words of Masson, "contrived to induce confidence in his mission [even] after the reverses he had met with?" And, finally, how to explain his mysterious mastery, however short-lived, over the aggressively individualistic Yusufzais [3] who defied, with equal disdain, the mighty arms of the Moguls and their British successors? It is not always easy to find, from the mass of interested literature, satisfactory answers to the above questions.

Almost immediately after the incident of Balākōt, effective steps were taken, mainly through the efforts of the ruling prince of Tonk, Nauwāb Wazir al-Daula, to prepare a detailed biography of the Sayyid and a connected account of his activities among the Pathans. As a result of this initiative, some of the disciples and companions-at-arms of the Sayyid recorded the early history of the movement in which they themselves were active participants. [4] Understandably suffering from the defects generally associated with biographies of this nature, these still unpublished works present an uninhibited and faithful account of the movement and its early leaders, and are, in the best of the Reformist traditions, refreshingly free from any

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Movement in India was published in 1961 under the auspices of the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information, Government of India.

[1] S. Sen, *The Birth of Pakistan* (Calcutta, 1955), 32. Similar views were expressed by A. H. Mohiyuddin in a paper entitled, "Is Pakistan a consequence of Wahabism?" read at the 1954 session of the Pakistan History Conference.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] For an account of the topography, history, government and customs of the tribe, see H. W. Bellew, *A General Report on the Yusufzais* (Lahore, 1864).

[4] The more important of these works are *Tārikh-i Aḥmadīya* (Punjab University MS) by Sayyid Ja'far 'Alī Nadwī and *Makhzan-i Aḥmadī* (British Museum MS Or. 6650) by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī.

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partisan spirit. Together with the writings of the leaders themselves, they should therefore constitute the primary source for any objective study of the reforms.

It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that the remarkable combination of three distinct and diverse types of character into one united leadership, with the consequential working of checks and balances, lay at the root of the early success of the movement. By far the most fiery and brilliant exponent of the reform was Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl (1193/1779-1246/1831), of whom an impartial observer wrote in 1853: "During the present century, India has not produced another man similarly enterprising and able." [1] A nephew of Shah 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1824) and a product of his madrasa, even before he had any chance of meeting the Sayyid, Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl, by his forceful and often aggressive attack on the superstitious practices among fellow Muslims, set in motion at Delhi a great religious and social upheaval, as a result of which his public lectures were, at the intervention of the English Resident at Delhi, suspended for forty consecutive days; he was summoned to appear before the Emperor to explain his conduct; attempts were made on his life; and a section of the Muslims of Delhi called him a *kāfir*. [2] In ways more than one, this gifted orator and skillful writer [3] with almost all the principal tracts of the Reformists to his credit was chiefly responsible for the explanation and propagation of the reform. Yet, with all his intellectual excellences, he was not the proper person to command the confidence of both the non-conformist *Ahl-i ḥadīth* and the overwhelming Hanafi masses of Muslim India. While, with allegedly irreligious pronouncements, he turned a good many Muslims into his sworn enemies, who allegedly celebrated the news of his death by distributing sweets in the streets of Delhi, [4] his mystic and visionary leader and pir, Sayyid Aḥmad (1201/1786-1246/1831), [5] with no great claim to scholarship, [6] won,

[1] *JRAS* (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*), XIII, 315.

[2] See Ghulām Rasūl, *Tuḥfa rasūlīya wa-hadīya rasūlīya* (Lahore, 1848), 2; Mirza Hairat *Ḥayāt ṭaiyiba* (Delhi, 1312 H.), 42-80; Sayyid Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Nadvī *Sīrat Saiyid Aḥmad Shahīd* (Lucknow, 1939), 409.

[3] For a short biography of the Shah, see *Athār al-Ṣanādīd*, IV, 56-58; *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 143-147. Mirza Hairat's *Ḥayāt Ṭaiyiba* is a detailed but often inaccurate account of the life and time of Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl.

[4] *Ḥayāt Ṭaiyiba*, 75-76; *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 146.

[5] Sayyid Aḥmad Khān writes his biography in the section on *mashā'ikh-i ṭarīqa* of Delhi (see *Athār al-ṣanādīd*, IV, 26-28).

[6] The disciples took pride in calling the Sayyid an *ummī* (see *Ṣawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 19; 'Alī Nadvī, *op. cit.*, 8).

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if not their complete acceptance, the profound respect and sympathy of the Indian Muslims.[1] A member of a celebrated mystic and ghazi family of Northern India and a disciple of Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz and the latter's brother, Shah 'Abd al-Qādir, the first translator of the Koran into Urdu, Sayyid Ahmad, in spite of his remarkable personality and great piety, might well have ended his life by adding, in the ordinary way, yet another name to the already long list of distinguished pirs in the family, had he not the good fortune to enroll, early in life, two scholars of the eminence of Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaiy (d. 1243 1828).[2] In the same way, the happy and harmonious integration of the restless scholasticism of the Shah, and the visionary mysticism of the Sayyid, might not have been a reality but for the moderating influence exercised on both by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaiy, a disciple and son-in-law of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz. So long as these leaders lived, the Reformists displayed a remarkable cohesion and unity of purpose. Eschewing all sectarian loyalties, they strove unitedly, and with moderation and care, to reform and revitalize the contemporary Indian Muslim society. The ideals they set before them were mainly three: a) the renovation of tauhid and sunna and, therefore, elimination of *shirk* and *bid'a*; b) fostering a true love for God and a corresponding avoidance of too much involvement in worldly affairs; and c) the establishment of an Islamic state.

In a country "predominated by an allegorical and idolatrous religion, addressing itself to the senses and the imagination, rather than to the understanding and the heart,"[3] the Reformist interpretation of tauhid and sunna must have appeared unfamiliar to the Muslim masses who, in living side by side with their Hindu neighbors, borrowed from them, through the long years of action and reaction of two diverse faiths and cultures, much that was at variance with the strict monotheism of Islam.[4] Similarly, their insistence[5] that,

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[1] *Tanbīh al-muḍillīn*, India Office MS, U.I. fos 3-5.

[2] Compare *JRAS*, XIII, 311-312; *JASB* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*) I, 481; *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 19. For a brief like sketch of M. 'Abd al-Ḥaiy, see Ghulām Miḥr, *Jamā'at Mujāhidīn* (Lahore), 118-122.

[3] *JA* (*Journal Asiatique*), 1831, 87-88.

[4] Some of these beliefs and customs were discussed by G. de Tassy in his paper, referred to above, in the *Journal Asiatique*, an abridged translation of which appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*, new series, vols. VI and VII under the title, "On certain peculiarities in the Mahommedanism of India."

[5] Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl, *Taqwiyat al-īmān* (Lahore, Ahmadi Press, n.d.), 17, 31-41; Khurram 'Alī, *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn* (Calcutta, 1269 H.), 43-45.

not only in matters of faith but also in every walk of life, a Muslim should faithfully conform to the precepts of his religion was too harsh an injunction for one who, in the words of Iqbāl, "outhindoued the Hindu himself" in his rigid adherence to forms and practices peculiarly Indian. Yet the reforms were deliberately addressed to a Muslim like him. The Reformists rejected the popular assumption that a high proficiency was required to understand the Koran and the Traditions. To suggest that only the scholars could understand the sayings of the prophet, or that only a selected few could follow in his path, was to deny the whole purpose behind the prophetic mission. It was ridiculous to think, they argued, that a sick man was too weak to use medicine, and that only the strong and stout should consult a physician. [1]

Academic discussions on theological questions were, as far as they went, necessary, but the imperative need of the day was to reform and reorganize the Muslim society. [2] Even in the dark hours of political decline and disintegration, the Muslims did not fail to produce men of ability, intelligence and energy. What they lacked was a moral purpose in life. [3] To remedy this malaise was not an easy task, but the Reformists were not ready to be daunted by the magnitude of the problem. They ignored popular prejudices against the printing of religious books, and made full use of the press and platform to propagate their ideas as extensively as possible. [4] Short and incisive pamphlets in simple Hindustani and Persian were produced, and the leaders undertook long and arduous lecture tours to convey the message of the reforms directly to the people Everywhere, they received a warm welcome, and the meetings they addressed were well attended. The saintly personality of the Sayyid made a deep impact on those who came in contact with him, and the forceful and passionate exhortations of Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl profoundly disturbed the conscience of a community, currently passing through a series of crises. Within a short period, a group of people, drawn from different sections of the society, were disciplined and trained, ready to perform a hijra to a comparatively unknown region and join a jihad the future of which was anything but certain. [5] For a people whose political

[1] *Taqwiyat*, 1-2; *Naṣīḥat*, 49-50.

[2] See Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl's letter to Mīr Shāh 'Alī, British Museum MS, Or. 6635, fos 80-83.

[3] T.G.P. Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls* (Cambridge, 1951), 11.

[4] *JA* (1838), 333-334.

[5] For the details of these tours, see Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *Saiyid Aḥmad Shahīd* (Lahore, 1954), 113-223.

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leaders were so long unashamedly engaged in the sickening struggle for naked power-grabbing, the road to Balākōt was an uphill effort and could not have held any prospect of an immediate gain. That it was at all reached was no mean achievement indeed.

One of the main attractions of the reforms was the character of the leader himself, who by temperament and training was primarily a Sufi. In spite of his pronounced attachment to the *ẓāhir* of the shar', the Sayyid's was not an unqualified rejection of the contemporary Sufi beliefs and practices. As in the case of the four schools of jurisprudence, so also in that of the four principal Sufi orders of the subcontinent his approach was one of compromise and conciliation. He claimed *nisba* to all the four orders and actually established a new discipline, the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiya*, the basic principle of which was to emphasize the superiority of the shari'a over *ma'rifa*. [1]

At times embarrassingly impractical and impulsive, Aḥmad, a Sayyid and a Sufi, was yet ideally suited to the leadership of the Reformists—the credulous Afghans came to expect supernatural feats from him, [2] and the Hindustani disciples, soon developed into a compact brotherhood, led in the frontier an austere and dedicated life, believing all the time implicitly in the ultimate success of the "divinely inspired" leader. [3] The Sayyid was, at the same time, a man of action for whom jihad occupied a vitally important place in the organism of the shari'a. "In the affairs of the shari'a," he declared, "the compulsoriness of the jihad and its obligatoriness, till the day of judgement, on the faithful takes [as essential] a place [as] the falling of rains and running of rivers in the affairs of the world." [4]

So long as the appearance of the sovereignty of the Mogul Emperor was kept up and the Governor-General of the East India Company

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[1] Sayyid Aḥmad, *Ṣirāt-i Mustaqīm* (Calcutta, 1823), 8-13, 16-20, 123-32.

[2] Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 132-134. For the Afghan attitude to saints and sayyids, see Bellew, *op. cit.*, 184-190; Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī* (Lahore, 1867), 194-200.

[3] The Sayyid often claimed that he had received divine commission to wage the jihad, the successful termination of which he had been assured of:

اینجانب از پردهٔ غیب وممکن لا ریب باشارات اقامت جهاد وازالهٔ کفر وفساد مامور است وبه بشارات فتح وظفر مبشر چنانچه بکرّات ومرّات بکلام روحانی والهام ربانی بلطف رحمانی برین مطلع گردیده که هرگز شبهه ووسوسه شیطانی وشائبه هوای نفسانی بآن مخلوط نشده .

See British Museum MS, Or. 6635, fos 20, 21, 66.

[4] *Ṣirāt-i mustaqīm*, 323.

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described himself as the servant of the Emperor, the people of the subcontinent did not generally realize that the Company was gradually becoming the real ruler of the land. The Reformist leaders, however, correctly interpreted the events that were soon to alter radically the character of the political map of India. They were undoubtedly influenced by the *fatwā* [1] of their teacher and preceptor, Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz who had already declared British-occupied India a *dār al-ḥarb*. They too had concluded as early as 1233/1817 that India was no longer a land of Islam and publicly expressed their views in the *Sirāṭ-i mustaqīm*. [2] Later, in a communication to the ruler of Bokhara, Sayyid Aḥmad made the statement:

> During the last couple of years, through the dispensation of the almighty, the condition of Hindustan has so degenerated as to raise to power the accursed Christians and the mischievous polytheists over the greater part of the sub-continent, right from the banks of the Indus to the shores of the Bay of Bengal - a distance of about six months' journey. [3]

Elaborating his theme further, the Sayyid asserted that India was not basically a *dār al-ḥarb*, "but the alien Franks and the Indian infidels have usurped power in the country. It is, therefore, the duty of the Muslims in general and the chiefs and governors in particular, to liberate the country from their domination." [4]

"The leaders of our time," the Sayyid wrote to the Kamālzai Chief Aḥmad Khān, "although they profess allegiance to Islam, have accepted the overlordship of the vile infidels, and because of this wicked deed of theirs the land of the Muslims has turned into a *dār al-ḥarb*." [5] He felt convinced that the only honorable way open to him now was to "leave the dear motherland" and "strive hard for its liberation." [6] In pursuance of this decision, he left his home on 7 Jumada II, 1241/17 January, 1826, and led a party of between five and six hundred followers on a long march through some of the wildest deserts of Rajputana, Sind and Baluchistan and the difficult terrains of the Sulaiman mountain range. [7] Following a circuitous route through Gwalior, Tonk, Ajmir, Hyderabad, Pirkot, Shikarpur,

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[1] Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, *Fatāwī 'Azīziya*, I (Lucknow, 1322 H.), 16-17.
[2] See pp. 317-323.
[3] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f° 27b.
[4] *Ibid.*, f° 30b.
[5] *Ibid.*, f°s 54-55.
[6] *Ibid.*, f° 65a.
[7] For the route, see Mihr, *op. cit.*, 282-329.

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Khangarh, Dhadar, Quetta, Quandahar, Ghaznin, Kabul and Peshawar which enabled him to meet the people and the leaders of this region,[1] still free from the control of either the English or the Sikhs, he reached Charsadda in the district of Hashtnagar early in December, 1826. The arduous journey, covering a distance of about three thousand miles, lasted for nearly a year. All this time, the Sayyid tried hard to enlist the active support of the Muslim Chiefs of the area. He was visibly disappointed by the poor response he received from them. The rulers, while generally appreciating his sincerity, were not quite convinced of the success of the jihad. In the case of Afghanistan, traditionally a zealous upholder of orthodox Islam and "always the resource of all the disaffected in India,"[2] the Sayyid had, in all probability, expected a good deal more than hollow words of sympathy from the warring sirdars of Kabul and Ghaznin and the vain promises of the already disgraced Maḥmūd Shāh of Herat. Unfortunately for the Reformist leader, the internal feuds between the Barakzais and the Sadozais were not yet resolved and, worse still, as a result of the rivalries amongst the Barakzai brothers themselves, the vast Abdali kingdom was fast disintegrating before the ever increasing encroachments of the Persians and the Sikhs. The popular response among the Afghans was, however, more encouraging. It was just the time to raise the spirits of the Yusufzais and other Pathans of the Peshawar border, who had recently experienced a humiliating defeat at the hands of Ranjit Singh at Nawshera.[3] In the Yusufzai country he was received with perfect cordiality and the enthusiastic population was eager to take up arms in the cause of religion as well as to free itself from the growing menace of Sikh aggressions. Pleased with his success among the tribesmen, the Sayyid now decided to launch the jihad at once. He was confident that victory would be his.[4]

The Sikhs were chosen as the first target of the holy war. An

[1] Prominent among them were the rulers of Sind, the Governor of Baluchistan, the Barakzai brothers of Qandahar, Ghaznin, Kabul and Peshawar and the founder of the *Hurr* movement, Shah Ṣibghat Allāh. Letters were sent to the ruler of Bahawalpur, Maḥmūd Shāh of Herat, ex-king Shāh Zamān, Naṣr Allāh Khān of Bokhara, Sulaimān Shāh of Chitral, the Ghilzai Chiefs and almost all important Chiefs of the area.

[2] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul* etc., I (London, 1839), 56. It is significant that Shah Walī Allāh himself expected much from the Rohillas (see K. A. Nizami, *Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt* [Aligarh, 1950], 67).

[3] The battle was fought in 1823 between the Afghans under Sirdar Muhammad 'Azīm Khān Barakzai and the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh.

[4] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, fos 80-83.

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ultimatum was sent to Lahore, and the Sayyid got ready to make a night attack on the Sikh post at Akora, where General Budh Singh was stationed with an army of between seven to ten thousand. The assault was successfully carried out in the early hours of 21 December, 1826. In spite of their small number the *mujādihun* established themselves as good fighters against the Sikhs who now withdrew from Akora. The Pathans were favorably impressed. The influential chiefs of Hund, Zaida and Panjtar, all requested the Sayyid to make their respective towns the headquarters of the jihad. [1] The Barakzai sirdars of Peshawar, feeling the influence of the movement, offered their support, and "so innumerable were the hosts with the Sayyid that his triumph, if uncertain, did not appear improbable." [2]

The Sayyid knew no more of the character and peculiar habits of the Afghans than an average Indian of his time. Like many of them, he too had preconceived notions about their valor and intense religiosity. Possibly as a result of his association with the Pindari chief Amīr Khān, [3] he was so disposed towards them as to ignore the fact that the selfish, arrogant and querulous Pathans were never easily amenable to discipline and organization. The undisciplined and irresponsible behavior of those, therefore, who took part in the fightings at Akora and a little later at Hadrow came as a shock to the Sayyid and posed a serious organizational problem to the Reformists. For the successful prosecution of the jihad, it was felt necessary that a supreme authority should be created which would transcend all tribal organizations, at the same time commanding general acceptance of the Pathans, and which would coordinate the activities of the Hindustanis as well as the Pathans. In a characteristic way, the problem was solved by electing the Sayyid as the Imam. [4] The news

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[1] Mihr, *op. cit.*, 346-363.

[2] Masson, *op. cit.*, II, 76.

[3] The Sayyid was a *sawār* in the cavalry of Amīr Khān, Nauwāb of Tonk, who later became his disciple. Both the Khan and his son, Wazīr al-Daula, were loyal supporters of the movement.

[4] The election took place at Hund on 12 Jumada II, 1242 H./11 January 1827 at a gathering attended by *sādāt kirām wa-'ulamā a'lām wa-quḍāt dhawī 'l-iḥtirām wa-mashā'ikh 'ālī maqām wa-khawānīn dhawī 'l-iḥtishām wa-jamāhir wa-'awāmm az ahl īmān wa-islām.* The *bai'a* which followed the election was said to be for the limited purpose of jihad (see British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f°s 19, 20, 21, 28, 63, 65, 118) and was different from a second *bai'a*, this time at Panjtar on 15 Sha'ban, 1244 H./20 February, 1829 which the Sayyid received. The second *bai'a* (see British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f°s 75-78) gave the Sayyid sweeping powers and enabled him to take action against the recalcitrant chiefs. For the Reformist views on the

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of this election and the consequent *bai'a* of the people at the hand of the Sayyid was despatched to India; neighboring chiefs were informed; and in a general proclamation everyone was asked to assist in the jihad as best as he could.

For a time it looked as though the scheme could succeed. The Sayyid continued to make good progress among the tribesmen. His defeat at Saidu (March, 1827) through the bad faith of the Peshawar sirdars [1] did not make any appreciable difference in the esteem in which he was commonly held. Parties of recruits bringing with them much needed money and equipment reached the frontier from India. The headquarters of the movement was now transferred to Panjtar, where the loyal support of the Khudū Khel Chief Fath Khān further consolidated the strength of the movement. The Sayyid extensively toured the territories of Swat, Bunair and Chamla. The people were deeply impressed by the evident sincerity of the leader and enthusiastically took the *bai'a*. [2] Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl achieved equal success among the Hazaras. [3] Sulaimān Shāh, the Wali of Chitral promised to join the jihad in person, [4] and favorable contacts were made with the Chiefs of Muzaffarabad, Agror and Amb. The time was propitious for a determined and united action, never to take place, against the enemy.

Not all the Afghan Chiefs could resist the old claim of *pakhtunwali'* [5] on them. The newfound unity of the Pathans was threatened even before it was consolidated. The traditional clannish rivalries and personal jealousies skillfully fanned by the Sikhs and their ally, Yār Muḥammad Khān, the Barakzai sirdar of Peshawar, and, ironically enough, assisted through some singularly insensitive activities of the Reformist leaders themselves, created a rift which was too wide to be repaired. In his effort to achieve the impossible, the Sayyid got

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imāma, see Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl, *Manṣab-i imāmat* (Calcutta, n.d.) and *Ṣirāt-i mustaqīm*.

[1] Both Sikh and Reformist sources mention (see Sohan Lal, *op. cit.*, II, 341; Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, 180; British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f° 22; see also Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 134) that Yār Muḥammad's defection at a critical time brought defeat to the Sayyid who was also poisoned by the Khan.

[2] British Museum Ms, Or. 6635, f°s 20-22, 51, 60, 65, 69, 78, 81, 98-100.

[3] *Ibid.*, f°s 95-115.

[4] *Ibid.*, f° 124.

[5] For Afghan life and character, see Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, *Ḥayāt-i Afghāni*; D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* (Lahore, 1916). *The Literature of the North-West Frontier of India* by R. North (Peshawar, 1945) is an admirable select bibliography of works on the Afghans.

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himself involved in internal conflicts which, although they eventually placed the whole of Yusufzai and Peshawar under his control, did also rob him of the possibility of ever presenting a united front against the Sikhs. The Khan of Hund, at one time a close ally, paid dearly for his refractoriness. Yār Muḥammad's impetuous advance was cut short at Zaida with a terrible defeat which ultimately led to his death. Amb was occupied, and the veteran Tanawal Chief Painda Khān fled the country. Finally, Peshawar itself fell to the *mujāhidūn* in 1830.

The concentration of unprecedented powers in the hands of the Sayyid, and the gradual elimination of the powerful chiefs who dared disobey his directives, made others apprehensive of their future. The Sayyid, it is true, made it abundantly clear that he had no designs on the frontier. His real object was "to liberate Hindustan and not to make Khorasan a permanent home." [1] But it would hardly have escaped the notice of the Khans that, barring the few minor skirmishes in the Tanawal country, only a solitary battle took place after Saidu between the *mujāhidūn* and the Sikhs in which the initiative came from the former. [2] They also viewed with suspicion and alarm the increasing interferences of the sayyids and the theologians in what traditionally was their domain of influence, the governments of the tribes. Not only the khans but also a section of the Afghan ulama had genuine reservations about certain theological attitudes of the Reformists, while a second section was directly affected by the fiscal "innovations" which threatened their living. [3]

The political opposition of the khans crumbled down comparatively easily and with surprising rapidity, but the social resistance of the masses persisted obstinately. The peculiar pattern of the tribal society, fashioned basically on clannish descent, could offer to the Hindustanis no better status than that of the numerous hamsāyas who, through

[1] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f°s 15, 21, 22, 23, 30, 52, 53, 64. In one of his letters (see f° 21a), the Sayyid said: "After cleaning the region from the impurity of the infidels and the atrocity of the hypocrites, we intend to restore it to its rightful owners capable of running the administration efficiently, on condition that they shall always be thankful to the Lord for the favor, they shall keep up jihad in all conditions, they shall, in administering justice and settling disputes, strictly follow the shari'a and they shall, without fail, abstain from tyranny and oppression."

[2] The battle of Phulra took place in April, 1830, the Sikh army under Ranjit Singh's French general, Ventura, had the previous year advanced almost up to Panjtar but was repulsed by the Sayyid.

[3] See *ibid.*, f°s 128-133; Mihr, *op.cit.*, II, 63-64, 78-79, 90-93, 280-282.

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generations of domicile, failed to acquire membership of the clan *ulūses*. A harmonious integration of the two groups, the first prerequisite for a successful completion of the Reformist program, was never achieved. Unaccustomed as they were to lead a strictly moral and religious life, or to make compulsory payments to any organized government, the easy going and proud tribesmen could not reconcile themselves to the rod of the *muhtasibs* or the "exactions" of the *'ushr* and zakat collectors. The Afghan code of honor obliged them to shelter and protect even the worst criminal who entered their threshold and sought asylum, and they felt compelled to take revenge (*badal*) for the slightest injury suffered. Zealous of their personal freedom and individual liberty, they were not prepared to give up such obviously un-Islamic practices as dividing the widows among the surviving brothers of the deceased, depriving women from any share in the property or of taking money on the betrothal of the daughters.

The leaders, it seems, were completely ignorant of the depth and intensity of these dissatisfactions. The Pathans' respect for the person of the Sayyid *Bādshāh* [1] was generally mistaken as their unqualified acceptance of the Reformist program in its entirety. The Sayyid accordingly made it a principle, as far as possible, not to interfere in the local administrations. Whenever possible, and often against strong opposition from some of his closest advisers, he would allow the old rulers or their next of kin to continue at their respective posts. The most he would agree to do was to associate a handful of faithful followers with these rulers to act as qadis, *muhtasibs* and tax collectors. These half measures defeated their purpose and only encouraged the discredited chiefs, intent upon *badal*, and the exasperated commoners, impatient of the "new order," to rise in a general insurrection against the scattered Hindustanis who were caught unawares and were butchered mercilessly. [2] The Sayyid, with the main body of the Hindustanis, escaped the general massacre; but the tragic incident so utterly shook his confidence that he forever left Panjtar and the Yusufzai country, and made Raj Duwari his headquarters. Early in

[1] The Pathans referred to him as such. See J. Darmesteter, *Chants Populaires des Afghans* (Paris, 1888-90), 5-6 and *Poshtu text*, 4. Even the Barakzai sirdars, in their letters, addressed him as Sayyid Bādshāh, see British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f°s 21, 32, 56, 124.

[2] W. H. Paget, *A Record of the Expeditions undertaken against the North-West Frontier tribes* (Calcutta, 1874), 82; Shahamat Ali, *op. cit.*, 273-274; Mihr, *op. cit.*, II, 290-313.

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1831, two indecisive skirmishes took place between his followers and the Sikhs at Bhogarmang and Muzaffarabad, and the Sayyid was planning to lead a major attack against the Sikhs in Kashmir, [1] now with the help of the people of Hazara and the neighboring districts. But before he had time to settle down in the new country, he was surprised at Balākōt in early May, 1831, by an army under the Sikh general Sher Singh. "In spite of the disparity of numbers and the warnings of his friends, he determined to fight. Three times did his small band of Hindustanis beat back the Sikh regiments. At last, overpowered by numbers, they were defeated and destroyed." The Sayyid and the Shah were killed, and with them ended the first phase of the movement. [2]

The founding fathers were dead, but the movement survived. It soon became evident, however, that the successors failed to formulate an agreed policy, or elect a leader acceptable to all. The first split took place, in all probability, when apparently without the concurrence of Shah Muḥammad Isḥāq (d. 1846), Wilāyat 'Alī (d. 1852) assumed the leadership of the movement, and with him Patna, rather than Delhi, became the center of the Reformist activities. So long as the leaders lived, Delhi remained the main organizational center of the movement in Hindustan and Shah Muḥammad Isḥāq was responsible for the supervision and coordination of its activities, collection and remittance of funds, recruitment and despatch of volunteers, and all such actions as might be deemed necessary to counter any anti-jihad or anti-Reformist propaganda in the mainland. [3] With the new leadership, however, there was an evident lack of cooperation between Delhi and the new center at Patna.

During the early years of the movement, taqlid was one of the few controversial issues [4] on which the Reformists differed from the general body of Indian Muslims. It then never assumed any such importance as it was to do soon after the death of the leaders, perhaps as a direct result of the departure of Shah Muḥammad Isḥāq for Mahka, where he now settled, thus taking away with him his personal influence which had so long prevented a complete showdown

[1] Kashmir was conquered by the Sikhs in 1818-1819.

[2] Paget, *op. cit.*, 82; Sohan Lal, *op. cit.*, III, 32; Mihr, *op. cit.*, II, 394-414.

[3] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f°s 83, 91-93, 94-96, 119-121, *Sawānih-i Aḥmadī*, 108, 235; 'Ubaid Allāh Sindhī, *op. cit.*, 120-122.

[4] For the other points of difference, see *Hadīyat Rasūliyat*, 2; *Āsās al-wahhābīyin*, India Office MS, U 45, f° 41.

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between the Reformists and others, and also between the two sections of the Reformists themselves.

The first group, which faithfully followed the teachings of the early leaders, kept up the missionary and political activities of the movement, bore the brunt of public, as well as Government, pressure and persecution, and faced five successive State trials in different parts of the country, was led by Wilāyat 'Ali. A section in this group, including the leader himself and the sādiqpūr family, showed definite personal attachments to the Sayyid and concentrated more on the political aspect of the movement. Guided by an unbounded veneration for the leader and an implicit faith in all his sayings, they even claimed that the leader did not actually die at Balākōt, but that he disappeared and would join his followers again at an opportune moment.[1] A second section in the group were evidently attracted by the teachings of Shah Muḥammad Ismā'il, following whose example they refused to attach themselves exclusively to any of the four *madhāhib*. Calling themselves variously as *Muḥammadis* and *Ahl-i ḥadīth*, they tended to put greater emphasis on the theological aspect of the reforms, and soon developed into a party of "purists" intensely hated by their opponents.[2]

Taqlid and "legal" status of British-occupied India were the two major issues on which the "traditionalist" leaders, like Karāmat 'Ali and others, differed from the first group. On the first of these questions they rejected the "liberal" attitude of the early leaders and maintained: "whoever rejects the taqlid of a definite person, denies that the Koran is the Book of God."[3] On the latter issue, Karāmat 'Ali performed, as we have already seen, a complete volte-face and declared that British India was as good as *dār al-Islām*, and as such, there could not be any jihad against the English. Accordingly, the group dissociated itself completely from all activities aimed at furthering the cause of jihad in the frontier. Instead, it devoted its energy to the social and religious upliftment of fellow Muslims.

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[1] See *Sawānih-i Aḥmadi*, 2-3, 12-15, 75; 'Ali Nadvī, *op. cit.*, 200-203; Mas'ūd 'Alam Nadvī, *Hindustān ki pahli Islāmi taḥrik* (Rawalpindi, 1368 H.), 48-50; *Calcutta Review*, I., 95-103.

[2] Faḍl Ḥusain, *Al-ḥayāt ba'd al-mamāt* (Muzaffarpur [?], 1908 [?]), 319; Abū 'l-Wafā' Thanā' Allāh, *Ahl-i ḥadīth kā madhhab*, 7th printing (Amritsar, 1918), 76-77; S. Nadhir Ḥusain Dihlawī, *Mi'yār al-ḥaqq* (Delhi, 1297 H.).

[3] Karāmat 'Ali, *Nasīm al-ḥaramain al-sharīfain*, I (Jawnpur, n.d.), 93; see also pp. 6-12, 47-49, 89-106, and his *Mukāshafat-i raḥmat* (n.d.), 30-31; *Ḥujjat-i qāti'at* (*Calcutta*, 1282 H.), 28-40.

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It was largely an "Indian" India which the Sayyid had left in 1826. Within a few years of his death, however, the whole politico-socio-cultural complexion of the country underwent a radical transformation. [1] It was natural that the followers would respond to this changing pattern of the society in different ways. But "traditionalists" or "purists," pro- or anti-jihad, they continued the work of the leader, not infrequently applying a methodology altogether different from his. All later developments among the Muslims of the sub-continent were directly or indirectly influenced by this remarkable movement which has, with justification, been called the first Islamic movement in the country. [2]

[1] For the first time, in 1835, the Company struck coins in which the Emperor's name was left out; and the same year also saw the decision to replace Persian by English as the language of the Court. Sind was conquered in 1843, the Punjab was annexed in 1848-49, Avadh was taken under direct British administration in 1856, and the fiction of the Mogul sovereignty was gone with the Sepoy Rising.

[2] See *supra*, p. 88.

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ITEMS OF ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

BY

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1. The price paid for Joseph, according to Koran 12, 20, was *darāhimu ma'dūdatun* "numbered dirhems." The consensus of the commentators is that this implies "few." The explanation is given (in Ṭabari, etc.) that it was the practice to weigh large amounts, and to count the coins only when a smaller sum (of less than an *ūqiya*, that is, forty dirhems) was involved.

It is a fact worthy of remark that the expression "numbered dirhems" has a precise linguistic parallel in the technical term of Byzantine commercial practice, ἀρίθμια νομισμάτια "numbered coins," common in the Greek papyri of Egypt. But the implication of this Greek expression is "good coin": that is to say, freshly minted coins which could be accepted at face value and hence counted out. Old and worn coins, termed ἐγόμενα νομισμάτια "coins reckoned by content," were weighed to ascertain their actual specie content and valued only according to that, not according to their number.

Since the Quraish merchants were certainly acquainted with Byzantine commercial practice, it might be suggested that *darāhimu ma'dūdatun* was a current expression of Meccan trade modelled on the Greek phrase. If this be the case, the smallness of the price paid for Joseph will have found expression in the Koranic text only in the adjective *bakhs* attached to the word "price," and by the fact of the price being measured in dirhems rather than in dinars, and not in the adjective *ma'dūdatun* which would then be a purely cliché adjective evoked by the word *darāhimu*.

2. In two places of Ibn Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-'arab*, [1] the author alludes to a Persian practice of eating with knife and باليارحين. The learned editor, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, in a footnote to the first passage, confesses that the word is unknown to him: "I have not found it in any of the books available to me." But since in the second passage, the author contrasts this Persian custom with the Arab habit of eating with the bare hand, it seems probable that this word should be pointed with *jīm* and not with *ḥā'*, and that it is the dual of the

[1] *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*, 4th edn. 1374/1954, 363, 370.

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Persian word *yārah/yāraj*.[1] The commonest sense of this is "bracelet," but the *Farhang-i Nafīsī* cites also the sense "glove" (*dastka*).

It might be suggested that the Persian custom alluded to was one of wearing large gauntlet gloves for eating, with the principal purpose of preventing the sleeves of the eater's garment from getting grease-spotted.[2]

3. The *Lisān* attributes three meanings to the word *yaraqān* (for which the *Qāmūs* cites also the alternative vocalization *yarqān*), namely: 1. jaundice, 2. a blight which affects cereal crops, 3. a kind of weevil (*dūd*) which also attacks crops. But there is a passage in Ibn Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-'arab*[3] where *yarqān* (certified in this vocalization by the meter) and *yarq* are used with reference to young locusts. It is related that a man was offered by a bedouin host a dish of locusts (*jarād*), but recoiled from it in disgust, and spoke four verses, of which one is: atānī bi-yarqāni 'l-dabā fī inā'ihi * wa-lam yaku fī yarq al-dabā liya maṭ'amu,
"he brought me in his vessel *yarqān* of young locusts, but I have no relish for these."

Locusts have two life-phases. The mature ones in the swarming stage are winged and of a deep blackish brown color; earlier, in the crawling stage, they have no wings (being then called *dabā*) and vary in color, often being a pale greenish-yellow. In the light of the etymology[4] it may be surmised that the terms *yarqān* and *yarq* allude to the pale coloration of these young wingless locusts.

4. Jāḥiẓ in two places, in the *Manāqib al-turk*[5] and in the *K. al-bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*,[6] gives a list of military engines (such as the *dabbāba*, "movable siege-tower," *manjanīq*, "catapult," *'arrāda*, "a smaller variety of catapult," etc.), which includes the hitherto unexplained term الرتيلة (so in the *Bayān*), plural الرتيلات (so in the *Manāqib al-turk*). Van Vloten's edition vocalizes the latter form as *al-rutailāt*.

The Arabic dictionaries cite *rutailā* (both *mamdūd* and *maqṣūr*) in the sense of "tarantula spider." This insect is in Greek φαλάγγιον. But φαλάγγια also means "rollers placed under ships in order to

[1] Cited in the Arabic dictionaries in the form *yāraq* (see *Lisān*).

[2] Cf. the story of the grease-spots on the sleeves of the *jubba* of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, cited in the *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 174.

[3] Edition cited, p. 366.

[4] *Yar(a)qān* — "jaundice," Hebrew *yereq* "herbage, greenstuffs," and the etymologically cognate Arabic *waraq*.

[5] *Majmū'at rasā'il* (Cairo, 1324 H.), 42.

[6] Ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, II (Cairo, 1368/1939), 17.

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move them on land." It seems a possible guess that the word we find in Jāḥiẓ is a by-form of the attested *rutailā*, coined in order to express something of the same kind as is meant by φαλάγγια in its technical sense: that is, some mechanism in the form of roller-wheels designed for moving the heavier items of siege equipment such as the *dabbāba* and the *manjaniq*.

5. The *Lisān*, under the root *qwr*, cites a bedouin proverb *qad anṣafa 'l-qārata man rāmāhā*, with no explanation beyond the statement that the Qāra were a clan of the Kināna tribe, and were renowned for their skill in archery. The proverb is included in Maidānī's collection,[1] and Freytag's note on it cites two stories. The first is that a man of the Qāra met a man of another tribe, and challenged him to a contest at eiher wrestling, running or archery; the man chose archery, whereupon the Qāra man exclaimed *qad anṣafta 'l-qārata*, meaning, according to Freytag "iuste egisti erga me." The second is that a battle took place between Quraish and Kināna, in which the Qāra fought on the Quraish side; "with these, who were archers, the opposing side fought in archery, and the Arabs were accustomed to say *anṣafahum hā'ulā'i*, meaning "These people dealt justly with them" in cases where the former were a match for the latter in some skill that they employed" ("hi iuste egerunt erga eos si opere et arte, quam tractabant, illis pares erant"). This second tale is given on the authority of Ibn Wāfid.

A third tale is given in chapter 7 of Tanūkhī's *Faraj*, on the authority of al-Aṣma'ī.[2] According to this, the Qāra archers, "whose arrows never missed the mark," formed a corps d'élite in the service of the kings of Yemen; one day, a strange horseman appeared, and cried out, "Where are those who hit the mark?" (that is, he issued a challenge to them); whereupon the Arabs said, *anṣafa 'l-qārata man rāmāhā*.

The first of these stories looks like a simple etiological fable invented to explain the proverb on the basis of the commonest meaning of *anṣafa*, "deal equitably with someone." The second has in itself some measure of verisimilitude; for if it is true that *anṣafa* did

[1] G. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, chap. 21, nº 38 (II, 257).

[1] Edition of Baghdad, 1375/1955, 239. This edition contains a number of misprints. The tribal name is presented as "al-Fāra," and the verb *rāmā* is throughout the story misprinted as *ramā*— this in spite of the fact that the story contains an explicit lexicographical comment that the verb has the same reciprocal sense as the III form of *'aṭā* and implies "he shot at me and I shot at him," just as *mu'āṭāh* implies "he gave me and I gave him."

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have a meaning "be a match for someone," it would not be unnatural for the Kināna, when they found a group of warriors willing to stand up against the redoubtable Qāra archers, to exclaim with satisfaction, "Those who have entered into a shooting match with Qāra have proved a match for them." But al-Aṣma'ī's story is somewhat puzzling, and it is not easy to discern the relevance of the proverb (interpreted in the above sense) in the setting in which it is placed. It is clear, moreover, that some readers did appreciate this difficulty: for in Dihistānī's Persian translation of the *Faraj*, [1] the proverb is quoted in an inverted form, *anṣafati 'l-qāratu man rāmāhā.* This perversion of the proverb is evidently due to someone who felt it unsuitable in the context to say, "The person who enters into a shooting competition with the Qāra is a match for them," and that it would be more natural to say, "Qāra are a match for anyone who enters into a shooting competition with them."

A crucial piece of evidence, however, is furnished by the Umayyad poet Ibn al-Dumaina. He, having become involved in a quarrel with the Salūl, said: [2] qālū hajatka salūlu l-lu'mi mukhfiyatan * fa 'l-yauma ahjū salūlan lā ukhāfīhā: qālū hajāka salūliyun fa-qultu lahum * qad anṣafa l-ṣakhrata l-ṣammā'a rāmīhā "They say, the wretched Salūl have satirized you in secret; but now I will satirize Salūl and make no concealment about it. They say, a Salūlī has satirized you; but I say to them, The man who shoots an arrow at the hard rock *anṣafa* it."

Two points are clear in this. First, that the second line is an allusion to the well-known proverb which we have been discussing. Secondly, that Ibn al-Dumaina certainly cannot have understood *anṣafa* in the sense "be a match for," since this would convey precisely the opposite meaning to what he must have intended. The obvious implication of the line is, "The slanders of my detractors are as unavailing against me as an arrow shot at the hard rock"; the poet can therefore only have understood *anṣafa* in the sense "be unavailing against," for either of the senses "do justice to" or "be a match for" would make sheer nonsense of the line.

If we now apply to the three stories the sense of *anṣafa* which Ibn al-Dumaina clearly had in mind, we find that it gives easy and natural sense in all of them. The man who rashly elected to contend with a Qāri in the very weapon in which the Qāra were most expert

[1] Tehran, undated (but approximately 1954), 302.
[2] Ed. Aḥmad Rātib al-Naffākh (Cairo, 1959), 8.

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was told, "You are no match for the Qāra (in that)"; and the warriors who faced up to the Qāra in battle, as well as the solitary challenger in Yemen, were warned, "No man who ever contended with Qāra in shooting has proved a match for them." In other words, the gloss to *anṣafa* given in the second story (the only one which explicitly glosses the word) has probably lost a negative at some stage in its transmission, and the gloss to *anṣafahum hā'ulā'i* should originally have read "these people were *not* a match for them."

The upshot is that we probably have to recognize that, in addition to the well-known sense of *anṣafa* plus accusative, "deal justly with" (based on the idea of dealing out equal halves to two claimants), early Arabic also used it in the sense of "not to be a match for; be unavailing against" (based on the idea of being only "half as good" as the other).

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TROIS STADES DE L'ÉCONOMIE PROCHE-ORIENTALE

PAR

JACQUES BERQUE

> On préfère le rêve à la veille, l'intuition confuse à la vue nette de l'esprit, le vague ressentiment du passé à la connaissance et à l'expérience historique, le concret obscur d'un homme à l'énergie distincte d'une nation, le miracle fortuit de l'illumination individuelle d'en haut au miracle naturel de la végétation d'en bas, de la sève montante. L'action, l'action, l'action! [1]

Cette apostrophe, dont J. Michelet soufflétait une Europe encore engoncée dans les attitudes d'autrefois, que de réformateurs orientaux l'auront, implicitement, reprise à leur compte! Encore à présent, de graves économistes, cherchant à déterminer les „freins" qui limitent le développement, les trouvent, comme de juste, dans des attitudes communément imputées à l'Islam. Et pourtant, la réflexion de Michelet montre bien que ces „freins" liés à telle ou telle attitude, ne sont le privilège d'aucun dogme. Reste à savoir si tel ou tel système, dès lors qu'on le considère non dans l'absolu métaphysique, mais dans l'histoire, hérite encore de ce genre de responsabilités.

Certes, ainsi posé, le débat est trop vaste pour le sociologue. Celui-ci peut se borner à faire ressortir s'il existe ou non des connexions entre les diverses catégories de la vie dans une société déterminée. Par exemple, si des rapports précis peuvent être dégagés entre un comportement, une croyance et les situations concrètes. Il faudrait, en ce cas, définir ces rapports et même les délimiter. Il faudrait aussi, le cas échéant, découvrir que les discontinuités, les ruptures, dans des ensembles dont les liaisons offrent, à coup sûr, n'ont rien d'automatique. Une société est plus ou moins intégrée, plus ou moins lâche ou serrée. Les faits ne s'y présentent pas tous de niveau. Non seulement on n'y trouve jamais d'enchaînement automatique entre les phénomènes, mais souvent se constatent entre eux ce que j'appellerai des „ruptures de charge sociale." Il se peut d'ailleurs que, pour le sociologue et pour l'historien, ces dénivellations, ces irrégularités ne soient pas moins intéressantes que leur contraire. Enfin, c'est une

[1] J. Michelet, *Journal*.

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grave question que de repérer, dans un ensemble ainsi plus ou moins structuré, ce qui est fonction et ce qui est symbole, les déterminations et les styles. Et nulle part peut-être, la force des signes n'est aussi décisive que dans un système aussi conscient de sa propre originalité que l'Islam.

Considérons d'abord un stade, que nous pouvons qualifier d'archaïque, du monde arabe. Par exemple, au moment où, sur toute la face sud de la Méditerranée, il subit l'impact du capitalisme d'entreprise et de l'économie d'expansion, au moment où il subit, beaucoup plus qu'il n'y participe, la typologie caractéristique de l'époque. Le percement du Canal de Suez (1869) est aux yeux de tous une grande aventure financière à instrumentation technique et incidences politiques. Nul ne s'y trompe. Pas plus le khédive d'Égypte que les diplomaties rivales qui se disputent son bon vouloir. Mais, en dehors de cette auguste participation, l'Égypte est surtout représentée dans l'Isthme par des travailleurs réquisitionnés. Cela cause un scandale international, un arbitrage impérial et des avenants contractuels qui obèrent définitivement le destin du pays. Mais enfin, l'initiateur, entrepreneur, ou innovateur — comme on dit aujourd'hui — reste occidental. Devant lui, l'Orient méditerranéen demeure dans une passivité évocatrice de tout un contexte historique et géographique.

Ces pays, tout ou partie, appartiennent au domaine méditerranéen aride ou sub-aride. Cela n'est pas sans rapport avec un certain régime de production et de propriété. Sur un fond de vieille civilisation agro-pastorale, jaillissent de nobles cités: Damas, Bagdad, Alep, Le Caire, Tripoli. Il règne, entre le citadin et le bédouin qui l'assiège, des discordances et des correspondances spécifiques: économiques, mais aussi sociales, morales, culturelles. Or ce monde est en régression ou en stagnation par rapport à ses propres phases d'innovation, qui remontent à un passé déjà lointain. Il n'en sera que plus vulnérable à l'agression technique et commerciale. Ses mœurs se définissent par le traditionalisme en matière de croyances et d'habitudes mentales, par une structure hiérarchisée ou oligarchique de la société, par une orientation idéaliste, spiritualiste et même, à certains égards, mythique. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'établir une liaison logique entre tous ces aspects, qu'il nous suffit de pouvoir tour à tour dissocier et regrouper. Mais on observe, empiriquement, que l'action extérieure agit globalement sur l'ensemble l'orsqu'elle agit assez fort sur l'une des parties. M. de Lesseps quémande les complaisances du dynaste local pour obtenir

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son privilège, entamer ses travaux. Réciproquement, les dépenses occasionnées par les indemnisations auxquelles est contrainte l'Égypte obèrent le pays et sont, à terme, responsables de l'intervention d'un contrôle financier bipartite, puis d'une occupation étrangère. L'écologie du coton et de la canne à sucre ont déjà commencé à modifier le paysage rural, le rhytme de l'année agricole, la condition et la psychologie sociale du fellah. En moins d'un siècle, à partir du percement du Canal jusqu'à sa nationalisation, l'histoire égyptienne aura offert une série de variations expérimentales de ces équilibres internes. Il est vrai que c'est là un cas privilégié, celui-là même où, selon la juste observation de Milner, le jeu des facteurs économiques s'opère avec le plus de netteté. De l'arpentage au Nilomètre, des effets de l'irrigation pérenne dans le Delta à ceux de la planification, ce pays de terres grasses, ce pays pour physiocrate, aura été aussi un pays pour économètre.

En tout cela, on le voit, la religion ne joue pas un rôle déterminant. En sera-t-il de même dans des régions de moindre priorité rurale, si l'on ose dire, ou de plus forte bourgeoisie?

Représentons-nous Damas,[1] au temps de son gouverneur réformiste Midḥat Pacha. Figurons-nous ce que pouvait être l'enchevêtrement des souks dans la vieille ville. La topographie du négoce était tellement entrée dans les mœurs, tellement invétérée, que lorsque Midḥat parla d'élargir une rue, les marchands s'y opposèrent. Le réformiste n'eut de ressource que l'incendie. A quoi tenaient donc ces bourgeois? Au cadre à la fois physique et institutionnel de leur vie, à ce régime commercial basé sur les khans. Ce sont de grands édifices à cour interne, sur laquelle s'ouvrent les logettes des commerçants. La boutique n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement un siège de relations économiques, mais encore, et je dirai même surtout, de relations sociales. On ménage en façade une petite estrade, où sont disposées des chaises de jonc, soigneusement hiérarchisées par la hauteur. Là siège le négociant. Autour de lui, ses invités: des clients, des voisins, des notabilités de passage. Un peu plus loin, des hommes de peine cordent les ballots de marchandises qui circuleront sur toute l'étendue

[1] Je m'appuie surtout, pour cette description, sur les "Souvenirs" *Mudhakkirāt* de Fakhrī al-Bārūdī, et sur les deux récents volumes de Ẓāfir al-Qāsimi, *Maktab 'Anbar* et *Fuṣūl fi 'l-lugha*.

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de l'empire ottoman, voire même beaucoup plus loin, vers l'Iran et jusqu'en Afghanistan.

Ces négociants, bien que de mine vénérable, sont, en ce temps-là, presque tous illettrés. Savoir écrire est une profession, presque initiatique. Le négociant participe d'autres mystères, que signalent ses propos, ses gestes, et jusqu'à son costume. Il porte traditionnellement le bonnet entortillé d'une étoffe de soie, le vêtement appelé *sakū*, et d'autres insignes vestimentaires qui ont disparu plus ou moins depuis, mais qui sont alors tellement liés au type et aux devoirs sociaux du bourgeois que, lorsqu'il s'avise d'en changer, le pacha le convoque et les lui fait arborer à nouveau. Chacun doit rester fidèle à son groupe et à sa figure. Lorsqu'il y aura le chemin de fer, ces personnages cossus voyageront modestement en troisième classe. Lorsqu'ils ont des déplacements à faire (beaucoup possèdent des jardins dans les environs), ils louent une monture, qui sera plus fréquemment un âne qu'une mule ou qu'un cheval. Ou bien, ils montent dans une voiture de location, mais non sans manifester une gêne de bon aloi. On dit à l'époque que le commerçant, surpris sur une voiture de location, se voile le visage quand il craint d'être reconnu par un confrère.

Que dire des pratiques économiques? Elles se fondent non sur l'écrit, mais sur la parole. Presque jamais il n'est question de contrats entre gens de cette sorte. Une fidélité paradoxale rassure les uns sur les autres ces âpres compétiteurs. L'avarice aidant, ils ne s'adressent jamais de lettres, mais chargent l'un des leurs, qui se déplace de ville en ville, d'emporter une épaisse liasse de messages pour les distribuer à son arrivée. La confiance qu'impliquent de telles transactions va si loin que, très souvent, des sommes importantes sont transmises par ces voies qui, pourtant, nous paraîtraient bien chanceuses. Vers 1875, l'un de ces commerçants, voyageant de Damas à Alep, fut chargé de porter une somme au correspondant de son ami dans cette dernière ville. Lorsqu'il arrive, il remet les deux cents livres ottomanes à leur destinataire. Celui-ci ouvre la lettre et s'exclame: „Mais il est ici question de trois cents livres!" Ce sont-là, notons-le, sommes considérables pour l'époque. „Qu'à cela ne tienne," dit le messager, „j'ai effectivement dépensé, à mon propre usage, les cent livres supplémentaires: les voici." Il paye, rentre chez lui, et se tient coi. Six mois passent. L'expéditeur s'aperçoit alors de l'erreur, convoque le messager, le rembourse, avec mille excuses, et lui demande: „Comment se fait-il que vous ne m'ayez rien dit?" „Si

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j'avais contesté quoi que ce fût, dit l'autre, mon renom sur la place aurait été gâté. Or il vaut bien plus de cent livres!"

Tel est donc le négociant, fleur de civilisation citadine, que trouve devant lui le capitalisme de monopole, lorsqu'il commence à investir le Proche-Orient. „Commencer" n'est pas le mot, car il faudrait fairere monter le récit très haut. Mais tenons-nous-en seulement à cette fin du dix-neuvième siècle. Les soyeux de Lyon investissent la montagne libanaise, et, de proche en proche, s'en vont quérir la soie dans tout l'arrière-pays. Citons encore les entreprises concurrentes des Anglais et des Français pour évacuer, de Damas vers la mer, les blés du Ḥaurān, car Damas est, en même temps qu'une grande ville d'artisanat, un entrepôt agricole, fleurant bon alentour l'huile et les abricots de la Ghauṭā'. Lorsque le découpage des Mandats du premier après-guerre lui fait perdre de surcroît une bonne part de ces activités de transit, ce sera, pour l'économie citadine, un coup décisif.

Du Maroc à l'Iraq, les cinquante dernières années voient s'aggraver, par paliers, cet effondrement. L'amertume qui en résulte n'est pas étrangère au surgissement des premiers partis nationalistes.

De ces types décadents, désuets ou compromis, passons à d'autres types déjà mieux adaptés au combat économique moderne. Années 20: des pouvoirs étrangers dominent le monde islamo-méditerranéen d'un bout à l'autre. Mais déjà des mouvements d'émancipation nationale se font jour. Nous ne nous intéresserons ici qu'à leur incidence économique.

Revenons à Damas. L'Académie donne une réception à l'Égyptien Ṭal'at Ḥarb. Il s'agit du dynamique personnage qui, à l'époque, essaye dans son pays de coaliser un capitalisme purement national et de le lancer vers des réalisations techniques. Or, le jour de cette réception, après qu'on ait entendu le discours de l'invité, et la réponse de Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār, autre digne représentant de la bourgeoisie locale, il est donné lecture d'une longue épître de Shauqī, le poète à la mode. Dans cette épître règne le plus capiteux mélange de virtuosité linguistique, de dévotion, d'allégeance aux vieilles mœurs, d'espérance patriotique, et en même temps, de sens des affaires. Dieu, la citadinité, l'entreprise et la baraka, tout cela est célébré simultanément dans ce document d'histoire sociale privilégié.

La banque Miṣr, puisqu'il faut l'appeler par son nom, fonde une vingtaine d'établissements plus ou moins importants dans une période qui s'échelonne entre 1924 (Société pour l'exportation des

cotonnades) et 1946 (Société pour la soie artificielle), en passant par des sociétés de mines, de carrières, de filatures, de tourisme, d'assurances. D'assurances, c'est-à-dire spéculant sur le calcul des probabilités et sur l'intérêt de l'argent, toutes choses qui vont directement à l'inverse d'une vieille position dogmatique! Or Ṭal'at Ḥarb[1] est un musulman dévot, personnellement hostile aux intérêts bancaires, au point, dit-on, de ne jamais percevoir lui-même les intérêts des capitaux qu'il place. On raconte que, se trouvant en France vers 1930, il voit dans le journal que l'un de ses commanditaires a gagné une course de chevaux. Scandaleux recours à l'aléa! Il télégraphie au coupable d'avoir, soit à se défaire de son écurie, soit à renoncer à ses participations. Mais voici qui complète le type. Ce grand manager est en même temps un grand lettré. Il unit une dévotion scrupuleuse à l'aventure économique. Certes, ses entreprises n'ont pas toujours marché très bien. Elles ont eu besoin d'être renflouées en plusieurs circonstances. Mais enfin, elles conquièrent en Orient un prestige considérable.

En 1930, une seconde phase s'amorce.[2] Elle tend à assurer la protection d'initiatives nationales encore balbutiantes. Étatisme national contre monopole étranger: personne n'y songe trop encore. Mais le type économique oriental a déjà évolué. Non sans déceptions, voire non sans réactions des mœurs. Il suffit de feuilleter les rapports de ces établissements, par exemple, ceux de la banque Miṣr, ou de la National Bank d'Égypte, ou de toutes ces autres banques qui se développent peu à peu dans le monde arabe, pour voir comment toute marche en avant est compromise par les timidités du capital local, ou même certaines répugnances invétérées.

Voici, au hasard des documents, des extraits de ces rapports bancaires. Celui-ci se plaint de l'insouciance manifestée par la classe dominante à l'égard des problèmes de l'industrie. Il reproche au pays (c'est en 1951) de manquer de politique d'ensemble. Cet autre signale un abstentionnisme dans les investissements (c'est en 1953). L'homme qui parle est un grand personnage de l'époque, et fort caractéristique. Il déplore une torpeur qui lui semble provenir, à la fois, des interventions spasmodiques de l'état et d'une récession économique accrue. On est découragé, dit-il, par le foisonnement

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[1] Cf. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh et 'Alī 'Abd al-'Azīm, *Tidhkār Muḥammad Ṭal'at Ḥarb*, 1945.

[2] La modification de la réglementation douanière égyptienne, dans un sens protectionniste, ouvre pour tout l'Orient une nouvelle phase.

des réglements et des lois. Concurremment, d'autres milieux, plus émotifs, craignent les excès de l'égalitarisme dans la redistribution des revenus: ce sont là craintes classiques des porteurs de capitaux. Ce qu'il y a de plus local, peut-être, c'est que l'investissement, du moins celui qui provient de cette couche de la société, se porte plus volontiers vers un certain type de placements, par exemple, vers l'achat d'immeubles urbains ou de latifundia. Voilà encore, datant de 1950, d'autres plaintes. Comme par le passé, le croit des revenus agricoles continue surtout à s'investir soit en achat de terres ou en constructions immobilières, soit en importation de produits de luxe. D'autre part, s'exprime un sentiment d'insécurité lié au mauvais fonctionnement de l'état, à une fiscalité défectueuse, à la prévarication.

Ce qui se dégage de ces documents, qu'on pourrait multiplier, c'est l'attachement des acteurs de l'économie, en ce temps, à des traits encore bourgeois, voire seigneuriaux, et à un libéralisme individualiste, volontiers anarchisant. Plusieurs des grands noms de ce monde économique, pour l'époque, et dont certains se sont maintenus jusqu'aujourd'hui, s'intéressent encore plutôt à la spéculation qu'à l'investissement productif. On pourrait même dire qu'à l'égard d'un investissement étranger encore privilégié, le capitalisme local, dans la mesure où il se dégage, poursuit plutôt une sorte de revanche mercantile, voire même une profitable redistribution du privilège. Les circonstances où sont nées les premières tentatives d'industrialisation en Egypte, et le rôle non négligeable qu'y ont joué des personnalités européennes, [1] conduit donc, à nuancer sur ce point, une imagerie trop simpliste.

Le type humain qui ressort de ces entreprises, et qui met assez de temps à s'aligner sur son partenaire occidental, du point de vue de l'innovation ou de la véritable mise en œuvre technique, n'en a pas moins progressé dès Ṭal'at Ḥarb jusqu'à 'Abbūd. Il peut, encore aujourd'hui, malgré l'invasion du dirigisme dans presque tous les pays du Tiers-Monde, alléguer des succès concrets au Liban, par exemple. Et il compte partout des tenants irréductibles, que la planification doit concilier ou briser. Cependant, la phase dite libérale de l'économie avait correspondu, sur le plan politique, avec la phase coloniale qu'ont traversée ces pays. De là vient que ses principes, ou plutôt ses pratiques, et ses hommes subissent aujourd'hui un tel discrédit de la

[1] Notamment Naus bey, des Sucreries. Cela est parfaitement noté par Ḥāfiẓ 'Afīfī.

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part des citoyens les plus dynamiques, et d'une opinion somme toute majoritaire.

Nous en venons ici à un troisième moment historique. Il commence à peine, mais s'autorise déjà dans certaines nations arabes, l'Égypte surtout, de réalisations que nous n'avons pas ici à évaluer, encore qu'elles soient considérables. Elles nous intéressent seulement par la sorte de démenti typologique qu'elles infligent à un passé encore tout proche.

C'est ainsi qu'en 1960, le gouvernement de la R.A.U. nationalise la banque Miṣr. Cette mesure, d'une importance considérable, s'escorte d'une mesure non moins grave, la nationalisation de la National Bank. L'exposé des motifs est extrêmement instructif. Il allègue que la part de la banque Misr dans le bilan unifié des banques d'affaires en Égypte se monte à 38%. Une seule personne y possède 14% du capital social. La référence à ces notables de la période d'entre-deux-guerres qui ont eu leur part de création économique, de portée sociale, mais qui maintenant semblent rentrer dans l'ombre, est évidente. Dix actionnaires à eux seuls détiennent 20%; cinquante, 42% du capital social de l'Égypte! Et d'autre part, le rédacteur rappelle que le renflouement de la banque Miṣr, en 1941, avait engagé tellement de crédits de l'État, et qu'il s'ensuivait, du point de vue de l'orthodoxie financière, une telle faiblesse de cette banque que c'est un véritable effondrement de toute l'économie qu'il fallût craindre, au cas où elle subirait de nouveaux échecs. En dehors de cette explication conjoncturelle, la raison vraie de pareilles mesures, c'est la tendance à l'étatisation, le législateur dit à la „socialisation." Le gouvernement cherche à grouper autour de la *Mu'assasa*, ou Organisme économique, les sociétés jouant le rôle le plus décisif. [1]

Ainsi donc se pourraient opposer, dans un raccourci à vrai dire bien sommaire, trois moments économiques, trois types de société, trois types d'hommes: 1° le marchand damasquin pré-capitaliste; 2° le bourgeois proche-oriental, s'efforçant à l'entreprise moderne pour concurrencer le monopole européen, surtout entre les deux guerres; et 3° aujourd'hui, le manager étatique, travaillant à l'exécution du plan. Il y a, dans plusieurs de ces pays, réaction violente contre le libéralisme de la phase ancienne. L'antithèse des types humains principaux n'est plus celle du commerçant local s'opposant à l'entrepreneur étranger. C'est celle du manager étatique s'opposant

[1] *Economie et Finances de la Syrie et des pays arabes*, n° de février 1960.

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à la fois au capital étranger et au capital national. D'où des conflits aussi typiques que celui de Suez (1956) ou que la scission qui, en 1961, oppose au socialisme nassérien un néo-libéralisme syrien.[1] Toutefois, dans la plupart de ces pays, l'économie devient de plus en plus centraliste, de plus en plus concertée.

De même que la phase d'entre-deux-guerres gardait beaucoup de traits d'un négoce à la Sindbad, l'on peut se demander s'il n'y a pas, dans les modernes planifications, résurgence du vieux fondamentalisme, de ce recours aux *uṣūl* qu'autrefois proclamaient inlassablement les juristes, et dont, peut-être aujourd'hui, procède le législateur moderne, à sa façon, lorsqu'il regroupe les énergies du peuple en organismes monolithiques. Ce serait, dans ce cas, transposition économique modernisante de vieux idéaux sociaux, de vieilles tendances, d'une vieille conception du monde qu'à vrai dire nous avons toujours trouvée présente, dans ces trois phases, sous des formes extrêmement différentes, mais qui aujourd'hui s'exprimerait par le passage direct à la planification socialiste et l'insertion voulue dans le circuit économique mondial.

J'arrête là cette revue de moments historiques et de types sociaux que l'on pourrait prolonger indéfiniment en l'étendant dans la durée et dans l'espace. L'exposé qui précède est certes trop sommaire pour autoriser des conclusions théoriques. Si l'on voulait bien toutefois créditer l'auteur de recherches plus amples auxquelles il ne peut ici se référer en détail, on accepterait comme thème de discussion les idées suivantes:

1° Il y a eu retard historique dans l'accès des pays arabes à la civilisation industrielle.

2° Ce retard se comble à une vitesse accélérée, non tellement par passage au capitalisme d'entreprise, que par voie de planification étatique. Celle-ci s'avère aujourd'hui de beaucoup la forme la plus efficace.

3° Un rapport se manifeste, à tous les stades de ce développement, entre la capacité technique et économique de ces sociétés d'une part, et, d'autre part, les autres traits de leur personnalité, et notamment leur *Weltanschauung*, leur attitude à l'égard du monde, leur complexion générale.

[1] Cf. le conflit encore plus caractéristique qui oppose les négociants de la Ḥamidiya, à Damas, et les ulémas qui les soutiennent, aux nationalisations du Ba'th (janv. 1965).

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4° Mais, pas plus pour les Arabes que pour toutes autres sociétés, la sociologie n'est en état, à son degré actuel d'avancement, de définir dans le détail la nature et le degré de ce rapport. Ce n'est pas là simplement un aveu d'impuissance, car cela peut conduire à une vision plus positive. L'histoire sociale des pays arabes, depuis un demi-siècle, fournit une documentation quasi expérimentale dont nous pouvons essayer de tirer quelques conclusions plus precises.

5 Dans le stade le plus archaïque, ces sociétés sont dominées par des attitudes culturelles qu'elles-mêmes rapportent au traditionalisme religieux. Mais ce dernier en est plutôt le signe que la cause.

6° De plus en plus, elles évoluent vers des attitudes qui s'interprètent en fonction de la construction nationale, donc de visées d'efficacité et d'intégration au circuit de la civilisation industrielle mondiale. Dans une certaine mesure, elles annoncent déjà un dépassement du stade national.

7° Le débat n'est donc plus celui du théologique s'opposant au positif, d'un archaïsme spiritualiste s'opposant à un certain matérialisme innovateur. Or c'est ainsi que toute une génération d'entre-deux-guerres avait conçu l'opposition Orient-Occident: Orient de l'esprit, Occident de la matière! Mais le débat n'est plus celui-là. Il est celui d'un effort collectif cherchant à échapper au „sous-développement," pour s'aligner sur les ambitions du monde moderne.

8° Nous constatons, dans un laps de temps arbitrairement réduit à un demi-siècle, un changement caractéristique de signes. L'exemple des pays arabes apporte à la théorie générale cette contribution non négligeable, de montrer que la recherche des déterminations sociales, qui aboutit à d'inextricables difficultés quand nous nous en tenons au seul problème de prétendus rapports de causalité entre un certain credo et le statut général d'un groupe, s'éclaire, si nous la complétons par une recherche sémantique.

S'il y a donc un enseignement général à tirer de ces pays, pour cette période, c'est que, dans une enquête de ce genre, nous devons considérer non seulement les déterminations des faits les uns par les autres, mais aussi les significations de certains de ces faits les uns par rapport aux autres. Dans l'espace d'un demi-siècle, le monde arabe, dans son combat pour l'histoire, a renouvelé, ou tend à renouveler, non seulement ses choses mais ses signes, et leur rapport mutuel.

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THE PROOFS OF ISLAM: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN IRAN [1]

BY

LEONARD BINDER

I have always been fascinated by the suggestion that Middle Eastern politics had to be different from Western politics because of the factor of Islam. In its simplest form, the assertion is made that church and state were never distinguished in Islam as they were in Western Christianity, hence it follows that Middle Eastern politics cannot be understood without first understanding Islam. This dictum seems not unreasonable, though its antithesis, that is, that one may study Western politics without understanding Christianity may not be as reasonable. There are, however, a number of practical difficulties that have arisen from the attempt to attribute specific political acts to a theological ideal, without concern for intervening variables. Once we have indicated that we have not the wherewithal to solve the normative controversy, we must further admit that no adduction of instances of good or bad political behavior can prove that the revelation on which Islam is based is either true or false. The Political Scientist is not properly interested in that question at all.

But still the fascination is there; how can Islam and politics be meaningfully studied? The answer to this question involves some refinement of the naive notions with which we began. Once we stop looking for the Islamic essence, it dawns on us that there are many views about the nature of Islam. Which one shall we pursue? This multiplicity of views was not always so severe nor did earlier differences of interpretation take the shape which they now have. If we examine theological and legal thought in Islam as it came down to the present day, we find that, despite some opposition, there has been one central tendency which has maintained itself to this time. This traditional Islam is the mainstream of Islam in history and in politics. It may be, as the Modernists and Fundamentalists hold, that that tradition is a distortion of the true Islam, but the fact remains that traditional Islam has been dominant in the Middle East and even

[1] This paper was originally presented as a lecture at The University of Chicago under the auspices of the Harris Foundation.

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now divergent views are distinguished by their opposition to tradition.

Traditional Islam, while not as singular as the Islam of the Koran, was much the same in all Muslim lands. There were different schools of law, different customary accretions to Islamic beliefs and different religious practices throughout the wide territory where Islam held sway; and all these might be called traditional. There was also a sharp difference of view on the nature of the legitimate political order between the Sunnis and the Shi'ites. Consequently, the degree of unity which has been maintained, even the survival of older interpretations to the point of their forthright restatement in these times, bears explanation. There can be little doubt that this explanation is to be found in the organization and tradition of the ulama. These people, the learned men of Islam, have managed to this day to preserve their status as the proprietors of the symbols of Islam. Their exclusive right to interpret Islam has only recently come into dispute. They also have managed to preserve the medieval statement of Islam in all its essentials. Insofar as one can speak of the interests of an institution as formless as this one, the interests of the ulama are inevitably bound up with the fate of traditional Islam.

Traditional Islam, then, is the Islam of the ulama, and the study of the political role of the ulama comes close to being a study of the relation between traditional Islam and politics. This is an approximation, for one cannot exclude from the total picture those traditionally pious Muslims who are influenced by and who in turn influence the ulama. It is, however, clear that no group or collection of people is as closely identified with traditional Islam as are the ulama.

In thus limiting our problem, we have made it more manageable, or so it seems. We have now to deal with the political role of a considerable group of individuals who are identified by their membership in a loosely framed institution. The most obvious approach for dealing with this kind of social phenomenon would seem to be some application of what is loosely known as group theory in Political Science.

This is not the place to go into a lengthy critique of group theory; besides the major points only have recently been made by Professor S. Rothman. [1] In his article, Professor Rothman holds that the most general statement of group theory falls short in neglecting to distinguish between primary and secondary groups and in the failure to

[1] S. Rothman, "Systematic Political Theory," *APSR* LVI, n° 1 (March, 1960).

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make adequate and consistent use of the "dual concept of status-roles." To balance these two criticisms we might say that the first regards primary groups and the second regards institutional groups.

The methodological significance of these objections in the study of the ulama is crucial. While it is clear that concepts related to primary groups and those related to institutional groups interpenetrate one another in the real world, as say, Professors March and Simon have so ably shown; [1] there is no necessary empirical or logical connection between these and secondary interest or associational groups. Were we discussing a political system in which such secondary groups played a salient role, as in the United States, it might be theoretically possible to find a way of conjoining all three. In Iran, however, secondary or interest groups play no such role.

All the reasons why interest groups are less effective in Iran than in the United States cannot be given here, but the main point is that, given the existing political system, American style pressure politics are dysfunctional. The government tends to suppress or control interest groups. Consequently, it is far more efficient for an individual to exploit his personal contacts, that is his primary affiliations, rather than to join a secondary association, when he seeks some benefit.

In the study of politics in Iran, interest group activity cannot serve as the central core of analysis. This is somewhat unfortunate, for the interest group model has the virtue of greatly simplifying political conflict. It is at the interest group level that interests are most clearly articulated and opposed to competing demands. The articulation of interests through primary and institutional groups is at best diffuse and at worst contradictory. While such diffuseness and contradictoriness cannot be resolved at the level of primary groups, it does seem possible to relieve the burden of analysis at the institutional level. Since the concepts relevant to both types of group do interpenetrate one another, it might be sensible to attribute some of the diffuseness and all of the contradictory character of their demands to primary group activity. The institutional group can be otherwise analyzed in terms of status-roles. To quote from Professor Rothman: "(status-role) is, first of all, on a different analytic level than the concept of group, for it represents an abstraction from action rather than a type of actor; and, secondly, its traditional definition calls for . . . its use as a variable which is at least as important if not more

[1] J. G. March and H. A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York, 1958).

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important than group membership for explaining individual attitudes."[1]

Our problem now resolves itself into two issues. The first of these is the political role of the ulama as an institution; and the second is the effect on the performance of this role which is produced by primary group activity. In point of fact it is only the first issue which we have set before us at this time; the second issue really comprising but a small part of the much wider topic of the role of primary groups in general in Iran. Nevertheless, it seems both artificial and impractical to avoid any discussion of primary group factors while insisting only on the elaboration of the ideal role of the ulama. It seems artificial because the collection of status-roles which constitutes the ulama has relevance only to an ideal political system. It is impractical because these status-roles are, as we shall see, but imperfectly articulated in the ideal, so that we can in no wise get a comprehensive picture of the ulama as an institution without reference to the non-legitimate practices and roles which have become institutionalized through primary group activity.

Having laid down these methodological preliminaries, the time has come to posit some more specific hypotheses and to indicate the manner in which the argument will proceed. Our first hypothesis is that Shi'ite Islam grants greater religious authority to the ulama than does Sunni Islam. Secondly, chance historical events and other situational factors have determined that the Shi'ite clergy are not so strongly challenged in their authority as are the Sunni ulama in neighboring countries. Thirdly, the ulama of Iran are more centrally organized in terms of formal institutional status-roles than are the Sunni ulama. Fourthly, they have been far more effective at the level of primary group activity in maintaining the solidarity of their organization and their independence of government control, in eliminating or weakening competitors, and in satisfying their own demands as individuals. After providing some support for these contentions, I would like to relate traditional Islam to the political system of Iran in the most general terms, then describe the types of functionally political activity which the ulama are able to perform, and finally to indicate which are the pressures for changing the existing state of affairs.

Shi'ite Islam differs from Sunni Islam on the matter of the succes-

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[1] Rothman, *op. cit.*, 19.

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sion to the early Caliphate after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. The doctrinal points and proofs have been presented in detail in the work of Dwight Donaldson [1] and more concisely in a modern restatement for Western readers by Professor Mahmud Shahabi. [2] The essence of the Shi'ite position is that the Prophet designated his son-in-law, 'Ali, as his successor, but that others, less well qualified, managed to usurp the office of Caliph. The third Caliph was so incapable of restraining his corrupt relatives that his incompetence brought about a violent protest in which the Caliph was killed. 'Ali is generally acknowledged to have been the fourth Caliph, but his Caliphate was contested throughout his short tenure. After 'Ali's assassination, the Umayyad Caliphate became firmly established, and those who sought to reassert the rights of 'Ali were suppressed. The most celebrated of these efforts was that of 'Ali's second son, Husain, who was martyred with his small band of supporters at Kerbela in what is now Southern Iraq. According to the Shi'ites, the Umayyad Caliphate and its successor, the Abbasid, were never legitimate; the only legitimate authority of the Islamic Community being that of the Imams. All of the Imams were direct descendants of 'Ali and of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima. There were twelve Imams including 'Ali. The twelfth Imam has hidden himself from this world, to return at the appointed time. After his disappearance there began the period of the lesser occultation in which the Imam was represented by a series of four deputies. This period is also known as that of the specific agency; that is the specific agency of these deputies of the Imam. After the death of the fourth deputy there began the great occultation and the general agency; that is the agency of all of the learned men or ulama for the hidden Imam. This agency is further sustained by a tradition attributed to the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq who said that all those who might act as judges over the Muslims and interpret the law had their appointment ex ante from him. Since the Imam Ja'far is looked upon as the founder of Shi'ite jurisprudence and the twelve-Imam Shi'ism of Iran is also referred to as Ja'farī Shi'ism, this tradition is doubly significant in establishing the authority of the ulama.

The Shi'ite ulama, acting as the general agency until the hidden Imam reveals himself, performs the function of the Imam. The Imam is not a prophet, for the Shi'ites too, adhere strictly to the doctrine

[1] D. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion* (London, 1933).
[2] M. Shahabi, in K. Morgan, ed., *Islam, The Straight Path* (New York, 1958).

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that Muhammad was the last of the Prophets and that his revelation perfected all earlier ones. The function of the Imam is to interpret the law of the Koran and to apply it, even develop it, as new situations arise. Since the Imamate passed, with one exception, by heredity through the eldest male offspring in the line of 'Ali, it follows that a certain charismatic quality is attached to that office. This quality was further enhanced by the assertions made against the Sunni apologists of the Abbasid Caliphate that the Shi'ite Imam was not only eligible under the Sunni rules of the Caliphate, but that he was the best of those qualified and impeccable besides. The infallibility of the Imam is as firmly asserted and, in practice, unequivocally adhered to. The ulama who act in the name of the Imam do not share all of this charisma by any means, but some of it does accrue to them. They are not considered infallible nor impeccable, and the most careful ulama may sign themselves as criminal and wrong-doer in the humble recognition that they may have judged incorrectly.

The Sunni ulama enjoy no similar charismatic quality. Neither the Umayyad nor the Abbasid Caliphs claimed the legal authority of the Shi'ite Imams. The early Abbasid era knew a moderate form of inquisition, still a courtier's very early suggestion that the Abbasid Caliphs assume the right to settle doctrinal disputes never came to anything. Only a little later we find Sunni apologists asserting that the Caliph need not be the best of those qualified for the job, nor even the most learned. Al-Bāqillāni was of the opinion that the consensus of the learned should guide the Caliph and even depose him if he stubbornly refused to follow the law. Al-Ghazāli merely asserted that the Caliph could legitimize his position by taking the advice of the ulama.

Under these circumstances we find that the Shi'ite ulama derive their legitimacy largely from the Imam, while the Sunni ulama can lend a measure of legitimacy to the Caliph. For centuries, now, we have had neither an Imam nor a Caliph; and in practical terms both bodies of ulama have had to contend with political authorities who established themselves without benefit of religious procedure. Both have tried to play the role assigned to the ulama by al-Ghazāli. Consequently, a single tradition of the formal relations of the ulama and the Sultan or Shah has come to prevail. On the other hand, there is no question but what the doctrinal authority of the Shi'ite ulama is both more concrete and more prestigeful than that of the Sunni ulama. The Sunni ulama do not perform the function of the Caliph,

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but rather assist the Muslim Community to do that which is incumbent upon all. There is no religious office in connection with the function of the Sunni ulama.

The superior authority which inheres in the Shi'ite ulama as a consequence of their relationship to the Imam was further codified as Shi'ite legal theory developed. All Muslims believe that the good is that which God wills and the evil that which God forbids. Man's whole duty is to comply with the will of God, for which reason God revealed his will to man through the prophets. After the last revelation, the Sunnis hold that man can be rightly guided if he follows the explicit commands of the Koran, if he follows the traditions reporting the sayings and doings of the Prophet himself, if he follows the consensus of the Community which by the higher authority of tradition will never be in error, or if he deduces new applications by strict analogy to known rules. The Shi'ite ulama believe that more is necessary if man is to be rightly guided. Man must needs have some immediate inspired exponent of the law, else he will inevitably go astray. The Imams are meant by God for this purpose. In the absence of the hidden Imam, the ulama must provide for the divine guidance of the Community. The Shi'ite ulama, however, claim no charismatic quality or inspiration for themselves. In fact they claim no more than the long years of study which is the qualification of the Sunni ulama. This failing is accounted for by the differences in the *uṣūl* or science of the roots of the law of the Shi'ites.

Evidently, Shi'ite *uṣūl* were slow in developing. Professor Shahabi explains this late development as the result of the fact that such a science was unnecessary until after the lesser occultation.[1] Before this, either the Imams or their deputies interpreted the law. The period of the lesser occultation lasted from 869 to 940 A.D. Donaldson points out that the Sunni collections of traditions or hadith were compiled about one generation before those of the Shi'ites. The Shi'ite collections were made during the domination of the Caliphate by the Shi'ite Buwaiyhids—which period coincides with the beginning of the great occultation. It is these collections of hadith to which Professor Shahabi refers as the first works on jurisprudence, but in point of fact it would seem that the first major works devoted to the science of jurisprudence were those of 'Allāma Ḥilli who died in 1325 A.D. Shahabi admits that Ḥillī went beyond his illustrious

[1] M. Shahabi, *Taqrirat-i Usul* (Tehran, 1335 H.), p. xxxviii.

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grandfather, Shaikh Ṭūsi, in admitting ijtihād or independent judgment. However the study of *uṣūl* may have developed in this period, it was not yet accorded the importance of the study of hadith at the end of the Safavid period when the second Majlisi who died in 1699 A.D., was the outstanding theologian. Furthermore, Shahabi indicates that the *uṣūlis* overcame the opposition of the *akhbārīs*, or those who preferred hadith, in Kerbela as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century; and we can guess that the *uṣūlis* did not establish themselves and their views until the latter part of the century. Burujirdi, the late leader of the Shi'ite ulama of Iran, was reputed to have followed a jurisprudential method akin to that of Shaikh Ṭūsi, so that he was by no means a convinced and thorough *uṣūli*.

What conclusions can we draw from this controversy between those who preferred to rely on the traditions reporting the judgments of the infallible Imams and those who preferred to supply the ulama with a jurisprudential theory that would permit them to make new interpretations as might the living but hidden Imam? This entire subject has not been sufficiently studied, but I believe it tenable that even today many of the Shi'ite ulama fear losing the authority of the Imams should they venture far beyond their explicitly recorded statements. The *uṣūlis*, on the other hand, are far more aware of the pressures of recent social and political change and fear worse the relegation of Islamic law to a relatively minor position. At the present time no influential alim rejects the *uṣūli* position in its entirety; but there are not many religious revolutionaries among the Shi'ite ulama. The *akhbāri* position assures the ulama of the infallible authority of the Imams while the *uṣūli* position affords the ulama a method of approximating that authority while adapting Islamic law to new situations.

The four sources of Sunni law are the Koran, the hadith, the consensus of the Community and analogical deduction. In this system, there is no room for independent judgment or *ijtihād*, and reason is to be used within the narrow confines of strict analogy. Independent judgment according to the spirit of the explicit law was the prerogative of the early founders of the four orthodox schools alone. The ulama of subsequent ages must accept their authority according to their choice of school. Acceptance of such authority is known as taqlid and its corollary is the closure of the gate of *ijtihād*. The four sources of Shi'ite law are the Koran, hadith of the Prophet and the Imams, consensus of the Imams, rather than of the Community, and

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reason. Reason is not the equivalent of *ijtihād* for certain judgments will be found to be logically necessary. For the rest, however, *ijtihād* in one form or another is the expression of this principle. Once again we find the Shi'ite ulama enjoying authority superior to that of the Sunni ulama in that they are either speaking with the infallibility of the Imams or rendering judgments with an authenticity parallel to that of the founders of the Sunni schools.

Historical circumstances as well as both doctrine and jurisprudential theory have served to enhance the position of the Shi'ite ulama. Prior to the establishment of the Safavid empire in 1500 A.D., there was no extensive or long lasting twelver-Shi'ite sovereignty established anywhere in Islam. The other branches of Shi'ism, such as the Zaidis in Yemen, the Isma'ilis, or the Fatimid Caliphate of medieval Egypt, all enjoyed the immediate presence of a living Imam which reduced the status of the ulama. The early Safavids also claimed the Imamate according to Professors Minorsky and Lambton, but the former has presented some evidence to show that this view was accepted only by an elite tribal formation.[1] Professor Lambton offers a good deal of evidence to show that under the late Safavids and throughout the Qajar period, the twelver ulama predominated and were able to suppress to some extent the sufi or mystic tendencies which made such extreme claims by the early Safavids possible.[2] In any event, it is obvious that the Shi'ite ulama were well established and identified with the Imam long before there was a political leader who needed to justify his office by reference to Shi'ite doctrines. For the Sunni ulama the opposite was the case.

The Shi'ite ulama of Iran were then built up into an effective organization with the help of the Safavids as part of the latter's campaign to convert the whole of Iran to Shi'ism. To some extent this organization was recognized and authorized by royal appointment of the qadis and of the *ṣadr* or leading alim. The breakdown of central authority toward the end of the Safavid period, and the invasion of the Sunni Afghans which followed, the chaotic conditions under the short lived Afshar and Zand dynasties, and the foreign wars of the early Qajars all tended to enhance the position of the ulama. During those times, the ulama served as a stabilizing influence in the provincial towns, sometimes even negotiating with attacking warlords, and they were essential to the mobilization of the Iranian military forces.

[1] V. Minorsky, ed., *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* (London, 1943).
[2] A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodes," *Studia Islamica*, V, VI (1956).

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On the latter point, de Gobineau as opposed to Sir William Jones, thinks that they were not very effective, but he was not an eye-witness.[1] Their degree of success does not appear to be as crucial as the fact that they were charged with the task and some religious leaders of the time discussed the conditions under which the ulama might legitimately help the government in this way.

The early Qajars generally met the requirements for religious support, but the later ones had their difficulties as they encouraged Western innovations. The influence of the ulama in more recent times is, therefore, best evidenced by their opposition to the ruling power. Such influence can be attested by an examination of the Tobacco Régie incident of 1891, the Constitutional Movement of 1906, the role of Mudarris and others in the Majlis up to the late 1920's, Reza Shah's failure to establish a republic in 1924, the role of the ulama in the drawing up of the civil code of Iran under Reza Shah, Ayatullah Kashani's activity during the Musaddiq period, the Baha'i affair of 1955, and even the 1963 outbreaks against the Shah's reform program.

What is the more remarkable about this continued position of influence is the fact that the Shi'ite ulama have not been challenged in their religious authority in any manner approximating that in which the Sunni ulama of neighboring countries have been. The crisis in modern Islamic thought has found its classic statement in Sir Hamilton Gibb's lectures afterwards published under the title, *Modern Trends in Islam*.[2] For that work he drew upon the writings of C. C. Adams on Egypt and W. C. Smith on India and Pakistan. This material is much too extensive to be reviewed here, but it may be useful to state that nearly all modernist movements are critical of the Sunni ulama and their traditional Islam. Nearly all of them reject taqlid and would alter the application of the doctrine of consensus. Above all, they would take from the ulama the exclusive right to interpret Islamic law, and incidentally usurp their proprietorship over the symbols of Islam. Nationalist and secularist movements have joined with the chorus of modernists, apologists, fundamentalists and romantics in denouncing the pretensions of the ulama. "The doctrine of Taqlid," they assert, "has stultified science and the arts in the East." "There is no priesthood in Islam," they remind the ulama. "The distorted interpretations of the ulama have withheld from

[1] Comte de Gobineau, *Trois Ans en Asie*, II (Paris, 1922), 15 ff.
[2] Chicago, 1947.

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Muslim women the equality which is justly theirs," and so on. In more practical terms the influence of the ulama has declined, their educational functions have been restricted, and their judicial functions have been all but eliminated. Ulama control over, and income from, pious endowments have been reduced and their prestige has fallen among the urban classes. They have become increasingly dependent upon the government of the day.

This development has not been nearly so severe in Iran. One inconclusive illustration is a brief article by Professor Shahabi which is contained in Kenneth Morgan's book, *Islam, The Straight Path.* If I remember correctly, that is the only article which was not written by a modernist. Why was it that when Professor Morgan turned up in Tehran he was sent to Mr. Shahabi instead of to some modernist who might present a view of Islam which is more amenable to Western readers? The answer is probably that there are no outstanding and articulate Shi'ite modernists. Many of the pressures under which the Sunni ulama presently labor are prevalent in Iran. There is secularism, communism, and nationalism. Nor do the ulama any longer dominate the educational and legal systems. Pious endowments are also under loose government control. Nevertheless, it is significant that no powerful opposition movements have risen against the ulama. Insofar as religious movements exist they are essentially traditional.

The Fidayan-i Islam were a very small group and they were not completely dissociated from the ulama. The Baha'i movement does not seem to pose a serious threat, though its adherents are a tightly knit and vigorous community. The Shaikhi movement is localized in Kerman and does not seem to be growing. The sufi brotherhoods pose no challenge for most do not appear to be serious religious movements anymore. The late Professor Sangalaji's group would seem never to have had real vitality; and even Kasravi's religious reform movement has petered out, though his writings are still published and they are still the most violent statement of religious opposition to traditional Shi'ism. [1]

The lack of a more articulate opposition is a greater paradox for the fact that the Shi'ite ulama were so badly treated under the previous regime of Reza Shah. How are we to explain this? One of the expla-

[1] There are still many followers of Kasravi to be found in Iran, but only a few are organized. Kasravi's most outspoken attack on traditional Shi'ism is to be found in his *Shiagari*, published also in an Arabic translation.

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nations most frequently met with is that Iran is more backward than other Middle Eastern countries, hence secularism is not as far advanced. This argument has all the earmarks of circularity, so we shall leave it there. Some other possibilities do present themselves, however. One is the fact that the major religious shrines of Shi'ite Islam are at Najaf and Kerbela in Southern Iraq. During Reza Shah's reign the leading ulama removed themselves thence and the traditional schools or madrasas of Iraq quite overshadowed those of Qumm and Mashhad at that time. Another reason may be that modernism was expressed in Sunni terms which were inapplicable to the ulama of Iran. Especially important in these expressions were the reinterpretation of the doctrine of consensus, the insistence upon reopening the gate of *ijtihād*, and the glorification of the early Caliphate. None of these apply to Shi'ite Islam --a factor which helps to account for the curious Sunni orientation of the key modernist writer, Saiyid Amir Ali, who was a Shi'ite. Modernist thought was also communicated in languages which were not widely read even by the intelligentsia in Iran. Another reason may be that anti-Sunni expressions of nationalism are not appropriate to Iran where Shi'ism itself is as important to the nationalist differentia as is the Persian language. The fact that Iran did not undergo a colonial experience nor even a prolonged occupation has also militated against the more rapid creation of anti-traditional groups. Further reasons are to be found in the government's desire for religious legitimacy and its support of the ulama against the threat of Communism; which, it must be admitted, was more severe in Iran than elsewhere in the Middle East.

We come now to the formal institutional organization of the ulama of Iran. As pointed out earlier, the problem of describing the formal status-roles of the ulama is a most difficult one for there is, in theory, no formal organization. We should rather speak of institutionalized, but informal, organizational characteristics as opposed to non-institutionalized practices or behavior frequently found among the ulama. This distinction is not an easy one to make. Over 150 years ago, Sir John Malcolm correctly assessed the situation:

> It is not easy to describe persons who fill no office. receive no appointment, who have no specific duties, but who are called, from their superior learning, piety, and virtue, by the silent but unanimous suffrage of the inhabitants of the country in which they live, to be their guides in religion, and their protectors against the violence and oppression of their rulers, and who receive from those by whose feeling they are

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> elevated a respect and duty which lead the proudest of kings to join the popular voice, and to pretend, if they do not feel, a veneration for man who has attained this sacred rank. [1]

Malcolm's statement seems somewhat idealistic in these times when the ulama have lost much prestige, but it is further idealistic because it accepts the relative invisibility of the power relations among the ulama as the equivalent of the non-existence thereof.

As we have seen, it is illegitimate to apply the basic concepts of group theory to institutional groups in an undifferentiated manner. In the institutional group, dynamic structures of power relations interpenetrate with a system of status-roles that are either rationally or ideologically determined. Regardless of whether these two, that is rational and ideological determinations can be distinguished, their effect is not to control behavior absolutely, but to establish norms against which the behavior of the individuals can be judged. To the extent that any member of the institutional group behaves in accordance with these norms, we may say that he has internalized certain institutional values. Since institutional membership comprises neither the whole of an individual's experience nor the total weight of the normative expectations others may have of him, we can further assume some conflict between the institutional ethos and individual behavior. The individuals who are subject to these conflicting pressures will resolve their dilemma in diverse ways; and, presumably, careful study of any institutional group will reveal certain patterns of behavior which can be categorized as permissible or expected deviations, including stereotyped rationalizations.

In applying this simple scheme to the ulama, we run into some complicated problems. In the first place, the goals of the organization are of a very different nature from those ordinarily considered in organization theory. Usually, one can derive certain logical organizational consequences from any constellation of institutional goals, or one may with less validity accept the notion that there are certain absolute principles of organization which must be observed regardless of general goals. In this situation we must accept the fact that the institutional norms of the ulama expressly deny any organization whatsoever. Furthermore, these goals are not adjusted to what it may be instrumentally possible to achieve through an organization. This is especially the case with Shi'ite Islam which has not completely overcome the effects of long centuries in opposition.

[1] Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, II, 443 (London, 1815).

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Our second problem is, then, how to discover the actual institutional norms of this organization. It is by now obvious that the ulama must be carefully distinguished from the two other important institutional groups in the Middle East, the military and the bureaucracy. These groups are not only limited by explicit rules, but their systems of rules are comprehensive in the Middle East at times more than comprehensive. The ulama have neither explicit nor comprehensive rules. The rules which do appear to be acknowledged arise out of Shi'ite theology and legal theory, that is to say they may be logically derived from these two sources. These rules can be discovered by an examination of expressed attitudes toward observable patterns of ulama organization. The method pursued was simply to list a variety of possible organizational categories and to discuss these with key informants. The results seemed to fall into three major categories: 1) approved organizational patterns; 2) patterns which seemed to receive neutral and factual comment; and 3) patterns which aroused embarrassment, ridicule, or hostility toward the interviewer or toward all or part of the ulama.

None of these three categories are bodies of official rules, but the first does contain patterns which are essential to the maintenance of the doctrinal unity of the ulama and the maintenance of traditional learning. The second contains the equivalent of those patterns that might be considered essential to the maintenance of any organization. Far from any rational concern with efficiency, these patterns are informal and implicit. They are important indicators of the independence of the ulama and the degree of organizational efficiency with which they can pursue specific goals. The limited evidence at hand indicates, contrary to what might be expected, that there is little displacement of interest from the general institutional goals upon these instrumental goals. The third category of deviations can be further subdivided into those which are condoned and those which are not. Those which are condoned, even with some embarrassment, are actually based upon the haphazard effect of primary group affiliations within the institution. These affiliations should not be confused either with the organizational patterns which are of neutral effect nor with primary group affiliations which cut across institutional boundaries. The latter are not condoned when they have any political activities, especially of an opportunistic sort. Somewhere between the two, that is, moderately condemned, might be the acceptance of official positions of religious relevance from the government.

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Time will not permit a generous fleshing out of this skeleton, so I shall elaborate on some of the more important details and simply list others. As to the general goals of the institution, these include maintenance of the unity of the Shi'ite community, providing both individuals and the political authorities with religious guidance to the end that all may achieve the maximum benefit both in this world and in the next. Welfare in this world, while important, is definitely secondary to salvation in the next.

Acknowledged patterns of organizations are few. The most significant relates to the position of the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā. This position is held by the one who is considered to be the most learned of the age and whose piety is also above question. In strict accordance with the generally accepted definition of religious roles, the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā is the equivalent of any mujtahid, that is any one whose learning has reached the stage where he is capable of making independent judgments. Any Muslim seeking guidance will usually attach himself to a mujtahid from whom he will regularly receive religious advice. A mujtahid with such a following is known as *marji' taqlīd.* A follower is known as a *muqallid.* To have a wider following, a mujtahid must publish a book expounding his method and views so that they can be accessible to people in other cities. It is through the mujtahids, referred to in the constitution of Iran as the "proofs of Islam," that the general agency of the Imam is carried out. While any mujtahid may give guidance on religious problems, it is acknowledged that they differ in learning if not in piety. In accordance with the Shi'ite insistence that the Caliphate must go to the one who is best qualified rather than to any one of those sufficiently qualified, there is much prejudice in favor of following the one mujtahid who is acknowledged as the most learned. Until his recent death, Āyatullāh Burujirdī was acknowledged to be the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā. This acknowledgment was not universal, and some tended to recognize him merely as the head of the ulama in an organizational sense. The key question in this regard is whether the mujtahid interviewed believes that the general agency is carried out by all the ulama or by the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā. Burujirdi's supporters came close to representing him as the sole spokesman for the hidden Imam.

While not the apex of a hierarchy, this leadership position does rest on a foundation of subordinate positions. As might be expected from the fact that learning is the key to this office, the supporting framework of roles is based on the traditional educational system

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to some extent. Ulama tend to be classified in accordance with the stages of learning they have attained, but not in accordance with the number of years they have spent at a madrasa. Other offices coincide with the roles of teaching, preaching, reciting stories of the Imams, serving as *pishnamaz* or in other capacities at mosques, and ministering to the religious needs of villagers.

In the category of neutral organizational prerequisites, we find elaborate, if informal patterns of finance, communication, recruitment, succession to leadership and household administration of the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā. While all of these present interesting problems, the most significant for our purposes are the financing of the institution and the succession to leadership. The ulama are supported by contributions from the faithful. These contributions are given the names of the canonical payments of *khums* or *zakāt*, that is, the share of the Imam or alms. Actually these sums are to be used for general religious purposes including charitable payments to the indigent. In this way, the ulama are the agents for the disposition of these funds, most of which go to support educational institutions, students, teachers, and ulama of all sorts. The local mujtahid, *pishnamaz*, or village mulla are supported by their local adherents for the most part. A *va'ez* or *rozah khwan* [1] is often paid by the job. Another source of income is from waqfs or pious endowments in the profit from land and buildings. These endowments are usually set aside for religious purposes including education, hospitals, charity, and assistance to travellers; but some of these funds are used to help *ṭullāb* (or students), teachers, and other ulama. Each waqf is managed by a mutawalli who is often a mulla. The mutawalli receives a share of the income for his own expenses. Often when the mutawalli is not a mulla, a nazir or supervisor is appointed who is a mulla. Beyond these sources of income ulama may engage in any economic pursuit quite apart from their calling. There are, however, relatively few in the bazaar, even at Qumm; but many more have considerable landholdings acquired by inheritance, marriage, or even the usurpation of waqfs.

The most important basis of organizational finance is still the *khums* and *zakat*. Its importance is directly related to the fact that its payment is based upon acknowledgment of the role of the mujtahids; that is, the believers pay their religious dues to the mujtahid

[1] The *va'ez* or *rozah khwan* usually preaches and specializes in reciting the history of the martyrdom of the imams.

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whom they follow or to his representative. Of course, many individuals may give funds to more than one mujtahid; but the important thing is that quite substantial sums of money were paid to representatives of Burujirdi. Some of this money is sent to Qumm to support that city's scholars and the rest may be spent in the city where it was collected. Even though many ranks of the ulama receive their incomes independently of this *khums-zakat* system, many will make an occasional trip to Qumm where they may pay their respects to the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā, possibly receiving some subvention if they are in need. Smaller replicas of the same system are built about other important or locally influential mujtahids, and many village mullas are dependent upon the important mujtahid of the nearest town for financial assistance. The waqf system is no longer an organizational basis of finance, though it is the claim of the ulama that the most learned or *a'lam* ought to have the right to appoint the mutawalli whenever there is no specific agent appointed in the *waqfnameh*.

Succession to leadership depends on many factors, but the most important of them all is learning. Still, other qualities are taken into consideration. According to one source, the following are important: *taqwā* (piety), *mardumdāri* (knowing how to deal with people), *mudīr būdan* (administrative ability), *ustād* (be a teacher), *risāla* (have written a book), he must be an older man, he must be of Fars and not an Arab or a Turk, in addition to having great erudition. There is no formal method of choosing the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā, but it would seem that a relatively small group of some thirty or forty persons, most of whom reside at Qumm, perform the function of the College of Cardinals by acknowledging the leadership of someone. To the insiders, these are known as *ra'īs tarash* (sculptors of the head) or marji' dorostkun (creators of the following).[1] This group is partially comprised of *Ayatullahzadegan* or the descendants of once famous and learned mujtahids and partially of the leading teachers at Qumm. Certain merchants are important, as is the influential Ayatullah Behbahani in Tehran, and a small group of *muballighīn* or propagandists who are not mujtahids but preachers.

Our third category dealt with deviations which are condoned, moderately condemned, and vigorously condemned. Those that are condoned arise out of organizationally based primary group affiliations. These affiliations depend upon the madrasa at which, and the

[1] These titles were given with some embarrassment and caused no little mirth among some of those listening in during the interview.

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teachers with whom, the alim studied. They may be based on his theological or legal tendency. The most important of these are the *uṣūli* and *akhbāri*, but there are the neat heresy of Shaikhism, varieties of mystic tendencies, attachments to special interpretative techniques, or to specific interpretations, and even subject matter leanings such as the opposition between teachers of divine philosophy and teachers of traditions. Other bases of primary group affiliation depend upon geographical region of origin, linguistic differences, kinship among the ulama, informal cliques, and the sub-institutional independence of certain mosques and schools. The most significant of these differences, approaching the magnitude of a dichotomizing distinction, is the combined geographical, linguistic, and school cleavage between Turk and Fars, that is, between Azeri and Persian speaking ulama. Azerbaijanis often make their *khums* and zakat payments through Saiyid Qazem Shariat al-Madar of Tabriz.

There are many, many more interesting details to relate concerning these groupings, but we shall have to be satisfied here with just one further perspective of the problem which is typically Persian and indicative of the ethos of this institution. One intelligent informant suggested the following list of factors bearing upon whether an alim might enjoy exceptional prestige both within and without the ulama: participation of himself or an ancestor in the constitutional movement; family connection with a learned or famous mujtahid; knowledge, especially of the sort that permits him to answer questions quickly by the technique of *istinbāṭ*; the writing of a *risāla*; teaching at a madrasa; having a large number of students; having a large number of followers; having great wealth; having a position at an important mosque; being eloquent; and so on.

Moderately condemned are associations which tend to divide the ulama; those which depend upon financial, social, or kinship relations with non-ulama, or those which depend upon government appointments. Government appointments are often looked upon as part of a wide conspiracy to supercede the long tradition which is sustained by less rational forms of organization and to subvert the independence which sometimes permits the ulama to set limits to government action. Government appointments further deny the thesis that it is the ulama who must guide the government and determine its legitimacy.

In general, we may say that certain types of political involvement are condemned. It is not so much the mere relations with non-ulama

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which is so embarrassing, but rather the exploitation of the relationships in order to influence some government decision which has no relevance to the general goals of the religious institution. It is not surprising that the ulama, as we have done in our analysis, tend to equate the interests of their institution with the interests of what they consider to be the true Islam. It is, therefore, difficult to distinguish between political activity which is aimed at benefitting ulama and that which is directed at achieving their institutional goals. Even the ulama are not precise in this. Instead of specifying the kind of acts which are to be deplored, they tend to classify persons. There are two kinds of ulama, they say, the religious ulama and the political.

The religious are usually low born, first or second generation mujtahids of great learning and piety who consider the government to be impious and who prefer to have as little to do with it as possible. The political ulama are usually of famous name and family, of little learning but of great reputation, they have considerable access to wealth and they tend to equate political recognition of themselves with the establishment of Shi'ite Islam in Iran. These are the ones who accept government appointments, who visit the Shah on holidays, and who send him congratulatory telegrams or who turn up to welcome him when he visits the provinces. These will also exploit their positions as landowners, as mutawallis of waqfs, as relatives of noble families, and as members of influential cliques to get special favors from the government. The less influential political ulama may even become associated with political parties, while the least savory of them, Ayatullah Kashani, exploited his influence over certain devout bazaar groups and his position as leader in the *'Id-i Qurbān* ceremonies to enhance his political position. This attitude is somewhat paradoxical since the ulama are, by their own doctrine, committed to political participation. Indeed, this doctrine is the justification used by the political ulama. If not for them, who would keep the government from reverting to the religious policies of Reza Shah and who would forestall Communism and secularism? Nevertheless, there are only a few exceptions to this condemnation of political activity.

Certain popular causes have become the specific justification of particular political acts. Those who themselves or whose parents were involved on the side of the constitutional movement are praised, as are some of those who sided with Musaddiq against the Shah. On the other hand, the well known mulla who became a fellow-traveller

is regarded with some incredulity as a crack-pot; while those once associated with the Fidayan-i-Islam may be thought of as dangerous innovators. One may not go too far, then, except perhaps in agitating against the Baha'is. Areas of approved political activity of a low level of intensity are exemplified by the successful effort of the ulama to prevent a government sponsored demonstration marking the so-called emancipation of Persian women, or the continued demands for more influence in matters of education and in the administration of waqfs.

To be a government appointee is not in every case as bad as being a political alim. The group most condemned are those elected to the Majlis in recent years, the Imam-Jum'eh, and some who were elected to serve on certain city councils. There is a tension rather than hostility between the religious ulama and those who teach religious subjects at the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Philosophy and Theology, and the Sepah-Sālār Mosque. The reason for this moderate attitude is due to the fact that the government has not withdrawn its recognition of the Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā, hence the government employed religious teachers must be accommodative in their attitudes. The new institute for training preachers is, however, thoroughly condemned and even thought by some to be an American creation. The graduates of the first named schools usually find jobs with the Ministry of Education as teachers, the Ministry of Justice as judges, or the Ministry of War as chaplains. Their course of study is well defined, standards seem to be lower, but security and prestige seem to be higher for their graduates than for graduates of the schools at Qumm.

This summary treatment of the organization of the ulama points out some of their strengths. They enjoy much greater financial independence than do the ulama of any other Middle Eastern country. They have higher prestige derived from this financial basis as well as from their association with the influential aristocracy. They are united in theory, and no one will overtly challenge this theory. Despite their loose organization, institutional norms remain a powerful restraint upon gross deviations. Above all, they have managed by past association with popular causes and by present withholding of positive support for the government, to establish their independence of that government. They have also, on occasion, shown themselves capable of acting as an effective pressure group for institutional ends. The ulama of no other Middle Eastern country can say the same; not even that of Pakistan.

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But this strength of the ulama is not what it was in Malcolm's day. The organization of the ulama is traditional and incapable of adjusting to the challenge of changed times without incurring a loss of influence of some detriment to their general goals. The pressure for rationalization is both internal and external. Younger ulama and *ṭullāb* realize that they are no longer on a par with the Westernized intelligentsia. Their learning is belittled, their behavior is ridiculed, their clothing is mocked, and all the best government jobs are closed to them. Their incomes are bound to be small unless they are related to the landed aristocracy. The ulama, both old and young are on the defensive. The younger ones seek internal reorganization: a set curriculum, formal examinations, formal degrees, and advancement through merit on the basis of fixed rules and requirements.

The government and Westernized intellectuals in the ministries are ashamed of the ulama, but the regime believes that it needs them to assure the loyalty of the masses. The government is, therefore, making tentative efforts to modernize the institution and to rationalize it while subordinating it to the administration. This is the pattern of treatment being meted out to all groups and especially traditionally oriented ones. But where the government has been unable to actually take over and manage these groups, it has established parallel ones. The products of the Faculty of Theology, of Sepah-Sālār and of the institute for training preachers is a beginning in this direction. The rationalization of other groups such as the guilds and the bazaar, though not far along, is bound to have a bad effect on the ulama for here are major sources of their financial support. Should a revolutionary reform encompass real land redistribution and complete government administration of waqfs, the ulama will be compelled to surrender their organization to the government and greatly to restrict their sphere of interest.

The handwriting is on the wall, but how long will it take? One alim told me, not denying our thesis, that "this head will wear a turban for 300 years yet." It was clearly a pessimistic statement. For the time being, however, the general opinion is that the ulama have actually gained in influence since Reza Shah's abdication and again after Musaddiq's deposition. The explanation of this paradox lies in the difficulty of the present regime. While it would be a reforming and rationalizing regime, it has been so threatened by revolutionary forces, both nationalist and Communist that it dare not abandon its traditional support. Even the goal of rationalization, whether as an

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end in itself or as a means of achieving reform and development is dangerous. The Shah has no place in a rationalized system as Turkey, Egypt, and Iraq have shown. Out of this ambivalence arises the paradox of the coexistence of tradition and of political and administrative rationalism. From the extreme rationalizing point of view, the ulama can have no political role other than some minor tasks of propaganda that may be assigned to them by the government. Traditionally, however, their political role is great. It is the persistence of traditional aspects of the political system of Iran that lays the basis of the contemporary political role of the ulama as something more than a pressure group.

As a pressure group they seek those things that we have mentioned: control of education; of waqfs; of the judicial system; and they seek to prevent the trend to modernism and irreligion; to close the movie houses; to censor radio programs; to encourage attendance at mosques; to perpetuate the overlong list of religious holidays; to prevent the breaking of purdah; and to suppress heresy.

As the controllers of the symbols of Islam their role is much larger. They legitimize the regime, some by their silence, and others by open affirmation. They also legitimize the traditional social organization, by their interpretation of the sanctity of private property in Islam, by their own kinship connections, and by their own respect for the social distinctions which it implies. They are also the exponents of one among several competing ideologies, and hence supply a considerable number of Iranians with a referrent for their own identification and world view by which they hope to understand and to adjust to the rapid changes of these times.

In addition to these things the ulama act within the traditional sector of the Iranian political system as an important channel of access to traditional groups and for the uninfluential classes. They may, by their criticism or by direct but unpublicized approaches, act as a brake upon administrative operations, or even general policy. Finally, they may serve as propaganda mouthpieces for a variety of groups as well as for the government.

The preceding analysis has been lengthy, but all too brief for adequate treatment of this topic. More information is available but much more remains to be found out. In the meantime this peculiar, if not esoteric, subject requires some justification if only to encourage further work along the same lines. For this justification, I hope I am doing no more than the obvious in pointing to the relevance of the

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study of the changing role of the ulama to the whole issue of political development. For myself, at any rate, examination of the situation of this most traditional of all groups has lent much concreteness to the otherwise vague notions of modernization, rationalization, and political change. In concluding, it is perhaps not inappropriate to add that I have grown very fond of the ulama of Iran. The turban may grow smaller, but I hope that it will be worn for a longer period than the next 300 years.

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INFLUENCES HÉRÉDITAIRES ET PROBLÈMES POSÉS PAR LA RECENSION DE LA POÉSIE ARCHAÏQUE

PAR

RÉGIS BLACHÈRE

Par „poésie archaïque," on entendra ici l'ensemble des productions en vers s'échelonnant de la seconde moitié du sixième siècle de J.-C. jusqu'aux environs de 725. On sait combien le problème de la fixation écrite des œuvres poétiques de cette période soulève de problèmes, et quelles polémiques les recherches afférentes ont provoquées dans le Proche-Orient depuis quelques quarante ans. On se propose, dans ces quelques pages, d'insister sur un des facteurs qui a conditionné cette notation.

Les „logographes" iraqiens du neuvième siècle ont assez souvent signalé l'hérédité du don poétique dans certaines familles, durant la période en cause. Ils l'ont fait surtout par curiosité, poussés aussi par le désir de noter un fait qui constituait à leurs yeux un „titre de gloire." C'est ainsi par exemple qu'ils se sont plu à énumérer ceux des membres du clan de Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā qui avaient reçu le don des vers. Ils n'ont cependant pas assez marqué combien cette particularité était fréquente à l'époque archaïque. Fait plus grave: ils n'en ont pas dégagé certaines conséquences importantes aux regards du philologue et de l'historien de la littérature. Le rappel de quelques faits touchant trois cas de cette hérédité poétique pourra, croit-on, combler cette lacune.

Des données rassemblées par Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, dans le *Kitāb al-aghānī*, mettent en évidence l'hérédité poétique chez le panégyriste „itinérant" Ḥassān b. Thābit, devenu le chantre de Mahomet et de l'Islam après 622. A sa mort, Ḥassān laissait un fils, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, qui, sous le Calife omeyyade Mu'āwiya, se fit le défenseur des Anṣār de Médine, dans des diatribes en vers répondant aux attaques lancées par le Syrien al-Akhṭal, à l'instigation de Yazīd, héritier au trône.[1] Ce même 'Abd al-Raḥmān parait avoir joué un rôle important dans la fixation des œuvres laissées par son père; il semble bien en particulier avoir largement contribué à maintenir, à

[1] Voir *Aghānī*, 3e éd. (Caire, 1924 ss.), XV, 109-122 (données empruntées aux "logographes" Madā'inī, 'Umar b. Shabba, Ibn Naṭṭāḥ).

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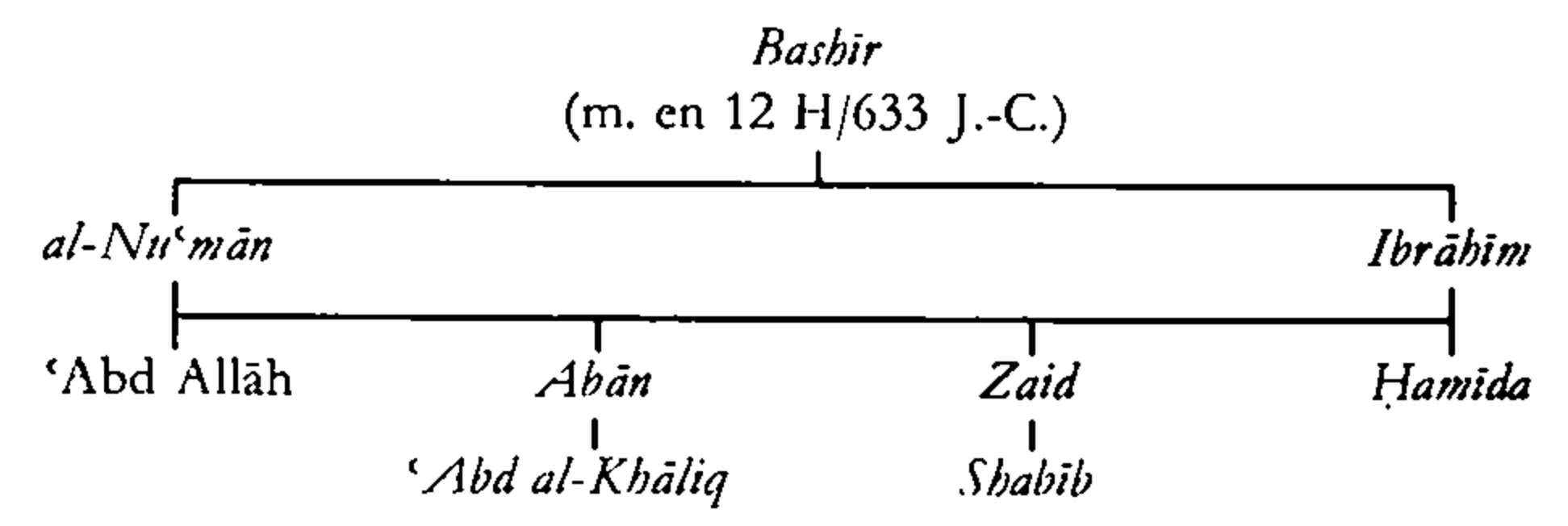
l'égard de celui-ci, une curiosité propre à lui conserver son renom. Il eut lui-même un fils, Sa'īd, dont la carrière, partagée entre Médine et Damas, se poursuivit jusqu'au delà du règne de Walīd II en 125 H. (743 J.-C.).[1] La vogue dont avait joui Sa'īd parmi les chanteurs-compositeurs du Hedjaz, de son vivant et après sa mort, peut rendre compte, dans une appréciable mesure, de l'intérêt porté à certains poèmes „profanes" mis sous le nom de son aïeul. Sans doute, l'état de notre information ne permet-il pas d'entrevoir le rôle assumé par les deux descendants de Ḥassān dans l'idée qu'on finit par se faire de lui et de son œuvre. Du moins peut-on penser que l'intervention de ces deux personnages ne put manquer de perturber l'œuvre conservée sous le nom du chantre de Mahomet et de lui donner ce caractère hétérogène qui frappe tous ceux qui la lisent. A ces considérations, s'en ajoute une autre dont la portée d'ailleurs se laisse plus sentir que mesurer. Ḥassān avait été le type du panégyriste „itinérant"; son fils devait être un polémiste entraîné par le courant des diatribes politiques de son temps; Sa'īd fut un élégiaque. En trois générations, on découvre toute l'évolution subie par la poésie dans le cadre du Hedjaz. Cet aspect de l'hérédité du talent est un symbole du temps et des mutations qu'il présente.

Le cas d'hérédité poétique, offert par une autre famille médinoise que, par commodité, on désignera sous le nom de *Banū Bashīr*, est non moins curieux, bien qu'un peu différent. Le tableau suivant donnera tout d'abord l'état de cette hérédité;[2] les noms des poètes sont en italique.



On n'a que quelques vers, sous le nom de Bashīr qui, on le sait, fut un des premiers médinois ralliés à la cause de l'Islam, et qui, jusqu'à sa mort en 12/633, durant la campagne d'Iraq, fut un fervent zélateur

[1] *Ibid.*, VIII, 269-79 (citation de 'Utbī, m. 228/842).

[2] Ce tableau est tiré des notules accompagnées de citations en vers figurant dans *Aghānī*, éd. Būlāq, XIV, 128-29. Les renseignements semblent empruntés au "logographe" Khālid b. Kulthūm (seconde moitié du IIe/VIIIe s.) car la donnée qui précède p. 127 en bas vient de lui.

de la foi nouvelle.[1] Avec son fils al-Nu'mān, le problème est plus complexe;[2] ce personnage en effet, célèbre pour ses dons poétiques et oratoires, fut aussi un homme politique rallié au Calife Mu'āwiya, avant de passer dans le camp des Zubairides insurgés au Hedjaz et en Iraq contre le Calife Marwān Ier en 64/683-84; il devait d'ailleurs trouver la mort au début de l'année suivante au cours de cette rebellion, en Syrie du Nord. S'il est peu connu comme poète, en revanche sa place dans la transmission du *hadīth* est importante, comme en témoigne la présence de son nom dans les „chaînes de garants" invoquées dans les corpus. Cette qualité de traditionniste et de „Compagnon" du Prophète a pu contribuer à lui valoir un certain renom d'ascétisme; des traits anecdotiques soulignent toutefois la contradiction offerte par le piétisme, et la passion du personnage pour la musique et les chanteurs. Un récit fixé au quatrième siècle H. (dixième J.-C.)[3] illustre cette passion, dans une scène où la cantatrice médinoise, 'Azza, tient un rôle assez piquant. Si l'on a peu de renseignements, sur le fils et les neveux d'al-Nu'mān, en revanche l'accent est mis par l'auteur d'*al-Aghānī* sur l'abondance de leur production poétique.[4] Ici encore, malgré le vague de notre information, nous sommes amenés à penser que le respect familial pour les œuvres des parents a dû jouer et a dû favoriser, pendant un certain temps, leur conservation. Toutefois un courant en sens contraire parait s'être, en même temps, dessiné en dépit des efforts de cette famille. Aujourd'hui, en effet, presque rien ne subsiste des œuvres des Banū Bashir. Le plus célèbre d'entre eux, pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, al-Nu'mān, ne se survit que dans quelques fragments tirés de pièces „de circonstance" ou de quelques *ghazal* ou élégies d'amour. Un tel fait requiert une explication particulière qui, au demeurant, devra conserver sa forme d'hypothèse. A ce moment de son histoire, la poésie arabe ne saurait prétendre à se conserver par le zèle seul des membres de la famille d'un poète. Pour échapper à l'oubli, les œuvres en vers de cette époque doivent aussi „coller" à des faits de civilisation ou à des événements historiques qui ont piqué et retenu l'attention

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[1] Sur ce personnage, voir "'Arafa" dans *EI*², I, 1110; à ajouter, sur ce poète, *Aghānī*, éd. Būlāq, XIV, 119, 125 (ligne 20), et surtout 120 vers le bas.

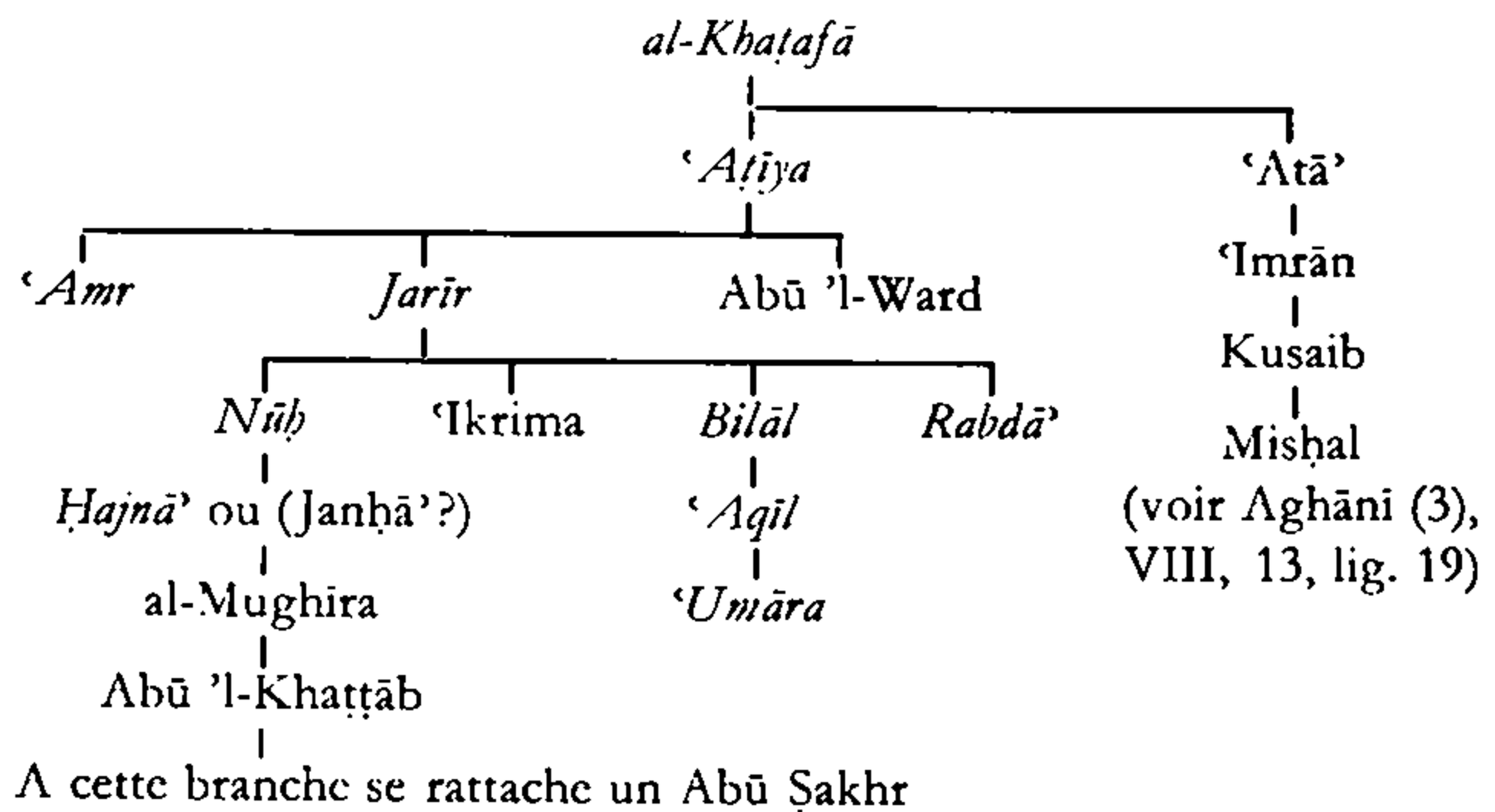
[2] Sur ce personnage, voir *EI*, III, 1018; à ajouter, sur ce poète, *Aghānī*, éd. Būlāq, XIV, 119-30, surtout 127-28 (trois fragments élégiaques).

[3] Récit harmonisé d'après les "logographes" 'Umar b. Shabba, Hammād Mauṣilī dans *Aghānī*, 3e éd., III, 13 ss.

[4] Voir *Aghānī*, éd. Būlāq, XIV, 128-29 où, dans chaque notule sur eux, ces poètes sont qualifiés de *mukthir*, "abondant."

des érudits iraqiens des deuxième-troisième siècles H. (huitième-neuvième J.-C.). Tel ne semble pas avoir été le cas des Banū Bashīr et de leurs œuvres. D'autres facteurs, en l'occurence, ont fort bien pu intervenir pour précipiter cet oubli. Ces poètes, à en juger par les rares fragments conservés, sont restés liés à la vie politique en Syrie, sous les Omeyyades, et n'ont guère provoqué d'intérêt chez les „logographes" iraqiens. Le même fait parait devoir être invoqué à l'égard des poètes issus de la puissante tribu des Taghlib de Djézireh. Dans le mouvement de désaffection vis-à-vis de la poésie qui se répand dans certains milieux dévots à Médine et à Bassora, l'austérité de figures comme celles de Bashīr et d'al-Nu'mān a dû pousser certains érudits à dépouiller ces personnages de leurs allures profanes, pour concentrer l'attention sur les valeurs islamiques qui éclataient en eux. Ainsi est-on tenté d'expliquer la rareté des vestiges poétiques transmis sous le nom de Bashīr. Ainsi également peut-on interpréter l'ignorance où nous sommes, des œuvres composées par les nombreux membres de cette famille qui avaient cultivé l'art des vers. En conclusion, on serait admis à poser que la seule hérédité poétique est incapable de garantir la conservation d'un *dīwān* archaïque. Le cas offert par le poète Jarīr et sa descendance parait en fournir la preuve.

Issu d'une sous-tribu des Tamīm, ce panégyriste a compté, lui aussi, dans sa descendance, des poètes renommés [1] comme le montre le tableau suivant: [2]



[1] Sur cette hérédité célèbre, v. Ibn Rashīq, *'Umda*, II (Caire, 1353/1934), 289.

[2] Cet arbre généalogique a été dressé à partir des données d'Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist*, éd. Flügel, 158 (ligne 29), 159 (ligne 3), et surtout à l'aide des "chaînes

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Parmi les descendants de Jarir qui, dans ce tableau, nous sont donnés comme poètes, tous n'intéressent pas également notre propos. Certains, comme Nūḥ ou comme Rabdā', nous sont mal connus et n'ajoutent presque rien à notre information. Deux personnages, au contraire, se détachent de l'ensemble. Le premier est Mishal, dont le père, Kusaib, avait épousé sa cousine Rabdā', fille de Jarir; nous ne savons rien sur lui, sinon qu'il s'employa, comme *rāwī* de son grand-père maternel, à colliger le *Dīwān* de celui-ci. [1] Le second est 'Umāra qui se fit une grande réputation à Bassora comme panégyriste, et qui vécut jusque sous le règne du Calife al-Wāthiq (de 227 à 232 H./ 842 à 847 J.-C.). Ce personnage fut en rapport avec des grammairiens de cette ville, en particulier avec Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'. Un grand nombre de données ont été consignées sous son nom par al-Ṣūlī. [2] Il est important de signaler l'objectivité avec laquelle il jugeait l'œuvre de son illustre aïeul. [3] 'Umāra, d'après nos textes, ne fut cependant pas le seul informateur des savants baṣriens, et ceux-ci, notamment Ibn Sallām, utilisèrent avec soin les renseignements remontant à d'autres fils de Jarir. [4] Comme on peut le voir, cette descendance s'employa avec zèle à perpétuer la mémoire de son grand ancêtre. Sans doute serait-on enclin à penser que ce zèle pieux, tendit à embellir cette figure. A en juger toutefois par les anecdotes conservées par cette voie, il n'en est rien. Ce qu'on relève dans ces données, c'est seulement un certain goût du pittoresque et un souci de bien marquer les attaches tribales, la *'aṣabīya* tamīmite. [5] Pour l'histoire littéraire, le fait vaut d'être signalé, mais n'implique pas une volonté d'altération du texte transmis.

Comme on peut s'en rendre compte par les trois séries de faits relevés ci-dessus, le rôle joué par les descendants d'un poète illustre dans la transmission et la fixation de ces œuvres est fort divers. Il se peut que, dans quelques cas, certains descendants aient mis à profit la gloire d'un ancêtre, pour faire passer sous son nom une partie de

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de garants" fournies dans *Aghānī* (3), VIII, 13 (lignes 17, 19), 14 (lignes 1), 34, (lignes 4, 7), 49 (ligne 9), 57 (ligne 3), 66 (ligne 6).

[1] Voir Ibn Nadīm, 158 (ligne 28, où il faut lire: "Ibn 'Imrān b. 'Aṭā" au lieu de "Ibn 'Ammār b. 'Ukāba").

[2] Voir sa notice dans *Aghānī* (1), XX, 183. Voir aussi Ibn Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 159(ligne 4), et deux citations chez Marzūqī, *Sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*, 1432, 1439.

[3] Voir le propos rapporté par Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 129.

[4] Ainsi dans *Aghānī* (3), VIII, 34 (ligne 6, avec une chaîne où figure un informateur bédouin).

[5] Un trait remarquable de cette tendance est à signaler dans la *narratio* rapportée dans *Aghānī* (3), VIII, 34, et aussi 36, 66.

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leur production personnelle. On aurait cependant tort de faire une trop large place à ces forgeries. La position psychologique de ces descendants, l'impossibilité où ils étaient de toucher sans discrétion à certains poèmes tombés dans le domaine public—, si l'on peut dire, le souci de ménager leur propre position et de recueillir une partie du prestige qui leur venait de leur grand ancêtre, incitèrent bien plutôt ces hommes à respecter l'héritage poétique qui leur était échu, à répandre des renseignements sur l'homme dont il tirait orgueil, à éclairer enfin les circonstances qui avaient amené l'apparition d'une ode. Dans d'autres cas, au contraire, par un souci de piétisme, ces descendants ne paraissent pas avoir hésité à supprimer, dans l'oeuvre dont ils auraient dû protéger l'intégrité, les pièces ou les fragments propres à discréditer leur aïeul ou à lui ôter une partie de son prestige en tant que musulman. Ces considérations ne sont évidemment pas les seules qui viennent à l'esprit du philologue, quand celui-ci s'emploi à l'étude et au classement des textes poétiques apparus au cours de la période archaïque. A tout le moins est-on en droit de dire qu'elles devraient tenir une place plus large que celle qui leur est faite d'ordinaire dans l'analyse textuelle. La mise en jeu, en effet, de l'influence familiale, dans les recherches d'histoire littéraire, rendrait compte de bien des faits dont la cause n'est point à trouver dans la seule amoralité des pasticheurs et des faussaires.

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AL-ḤULAL AL-MAUSHIYA, GRENADE ET LE MAROC MARĪNIDE

PAR

ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG

La chronique intitulée *al-Ḥulal al-maushiya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-marrākushiya*, d'un auteur anonyme andalou, sujet et thuriféraire du sultan naṣride Muḥammad V, est connue et mise à contribution depuis longtemps. Il en existe une dizaine de manuscrits. D'assez larges extraits en avaient été déjà publiés et traduits bien avant la première édition complète qu'en a donnée al-Fūratī, à Tunis, en 1329/1911. Une deuxième édition, meilleure, a été établie par les soins d'I. S. Allouche, Rabat, 1936: c'est à elle que renverront les références ci-après. En 1952, A. Huici Miranda en a procuré, à Tétouan, une traduction espagnole très consciencieuse, sur consultation d'un plus grand nombre de manuscrits.

Qu'il s'agisse du Maroc ou de l'Espagne, c'est pour l'histoire de la période almoravide-almohade que l'ouvrage est habituellement consulté. Allouche peut ainsi le présenter avec ce sous-titre: „Chronique anonyme des dynasties almoravide et almohade"; et, si Huici Miranda l'annonce sur la page de titre comme une „Crónica árabe de las dinastías Almorávide, Almohade y Benimerín," il précise, dès le début de son avant-propos (p. 11), que l'histoire des califes almohades après 'Abd al-Mu'min y est fort brève, avant que le livre ne „s'achève par une sèche énumération (*escueta lista*) des sultans marīnides, jusqu'à Abū Tāshufīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar en 783/1381." Déjà cent ans plus tôt, en des termes presque identiques, Dozy avait marqué son dédain pour la dernière partie de l'ouvrage: „nihil fere est nisi nudus regum catalogus."[1] Et, à date récente, suivant la même tradition, l'auteur d'un article de vingt pages, en langue arabe, sur „l'importance des *Ḥulal al-maushīya* pour l'histoire des Almoravides et des Almohades," expédie en deux lignes la partie marīnide, „revue succincte (*yasta'riḍu bi-ījāzin*) des événements historiques jusqu'au temps du sultan 'Abd al-Raḥmān."[2] C'est bien là donner à entendre que les Marīnides tiennent une place négligeable dans cette chronique,

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[1] Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbadidis*, II (Leyde, 1852), 184.
[2] Aḥmad Mukhtār al-'Abbādī, dans la revue *Tiṭwān*, n° 5 (1960), 140.

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composée cependant de leur temps, encore qu'ils n'en soient pas entièrement absents. Il est de fait que le nombre extrêmement réduit des pages qui leur sont consacrées, et la maigreur squelettique des renseignements fournis sur chacun d'eux, incitent aisément les érudits à ne guère porter leur attention sur une documentation d'aussi chétive apparence.

Et cependant pareille indifférence est-elle totalement justifiée? Une question vient à l'esprit: comment s'explique qu'ait été composée en Andalousie, à l'époque des Marinides, dont Fès était la capitale, cette chronique centrée sur Marrakech, et informant spécialement sur les deux grandes dynasties disparues, qui avaient eu pour capitale Marrakech? Une lecture attentive fournit, je pense, les éléments d'une réponse valable qui situe bien notre chronique dans son contexte historico-géographique particulier, et qui, du coup, en montre l'intérêt pour une tranche curieuse de l'histoire du Maroc marinide et de ses relations avec le royaume grenadin.

La rédaction de l'ouvrage est datée, dans l'une des dernières pages (p. 151), du jeudi 12 rabi' I 783/6 juin 1381 (qui fut effectivement un jeudi). Remarquons en passant que c'est l'anniversaire traditionnel de la naissance du Prophète, le *Maulid*, dont la célébration avait pris depuis quelque temps de l'importance dans l'Extrême-Ouest musulman: c'est peut-être cette coïncidence, fortuite ou en partie voulue, bien que le texte même ne la souligne pas, qui nous vaut la précision du jour et du mois. Mais retenons surtout l'année, et examinons la manière dont l'auteur nous expose la situation de son temps.

Il écrit manifestement en „*Andalus*," „cette péninsule-ci" (*hadhihī 'l-jazīra*), qu'il distingue expressément de „l'autre rive" (*tilka 'l-'udwa*) qui est le Maroc (pp. 2, 3, 158, 160). Pour lui, la souveraineté appartient fort heureusement — il en remercie Dieu — au Naṣride „*maulānā 'l-imām khalifat rabbi 'l-'ālamīn al-ghanī bi 'llāh amīr al-muslimīn*"; et il fait allusion au fait que ses propres ascendants étaient déjà bien vus par d'autres membres de cette valeureuse dynastie (p. 157). Ainsi Muḥammad V — al Ghanī bi 'llāh était bien son surnom honorifique officiel — est appelé imam-calife, encore que lui soit conservé le titre couramment usité d'*amīr al-muslimīn*, légèrement inférieur à celui d'*amīr al-mu'minīn*, titre suprême. Notre auteur le louange et l'exalte comme un défenseur de l'Islam, respecté de tous, qui a réussi à en imposer aux ennemis, à assurer la paix et la prospérité dans les territoires soumis à son autorité. L'œuvre de ce grand monarque est sensible non seulement en Andalousie, mais encore — et voici qui

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commence à nous intéresser directement sur la „rive" africaine. C'est grâce à lui que Marrakech, „capitale" (*badra*, *bādira*, *qā'ida*), est délivrée des attaques et des désordres qui l'avaient assaillie, et que l'union des forces et des cœurs s'est établie entre „les deux rives," celle d'Andalousie et celle du Maroc (pp. 2, 158, 159). C'est grâce à lui que la vie économique est restaurée, et que la population vit dans la confiance et le bonheur en des régions marocaines dont l'énumération vaut la peine d'être relevée.

Tout un paragraphe, en effet, passe en revue, dans un style littérarisé (pp. 158-159), les contrées du Maroc qui bénéficient de cette politique de bonne entente et de ses conséquences salutaires. Au nom de chacune d'elles est liée une formule qui exprime, en des termes divers mais concordants, le soulagement, et la reprise d'une activité pacifique. Sont énumérés de la sorte: le Tamesna et Anfa, Azemmour, l'Oued Oumm Er Rbia, le pays des Doukkala, celui des Sanhaja (ou Zénaga), Ourika et Aghmat, Tisgart et Kik,[1] le Djebel Deren (Atlas), Tinmal, le pays des Heskoura, celui des Hintata, le Sous extrême, le pays des Gazoula, la côte de Safi. Une semblable énumération est par elle-même parlante. Les territoires qu'elle nomme couvrent une partie importante du Maroc, mais une partie seulement, aisée à situer sur la carte, celle qui, comprenant plaines et montagnes, du Bou Regreg jusqu'à l'Oued Draa, à l'exclusion par conséquent de tout le Maroc septentrional, s'ordonne autour d'un centre politique: *Marrakech*.

La liste même des sultans marinides telle qu'elle figure dans les *Ḥulal* est hautement significative à son tour. A deux reprises, après avoir mentionné le règne bref d'un enfant, Muḥammad al-Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, détrôné dans les premiers jours de 776/juin 1374, l'auteur le fait suivre immédiatement, sans aucun commentaire, de celui du „sultan 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī" qui, installé dès l'abord à Marrakech, y régnait encore lors de la composition de l'ouvrage, sept ans plus tard (pp. 151, 157). Jetons un coup d'œil sur la *Rauḍat al-Nisrīn*, chronique marinide rédigée à la cour de Fès, vers l'an 1400, par Ibn al-Aḥmar, un membre de la famille naṣride qui s'était fixé au Maroc:[2] le successeur immédiat du Marinide al-Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Azīz est, jusqu'en 786/1384, Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Sālim,

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[1] Sur ces deux toponymes, voir E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* (Paris, 1928 , 77, 102, 129; trad., 126, 167, 218. Dans l'édition Allouche des *Ḥulal*, il doit falloir lire تيصغرت au lieu de تنصغرت .

[2] Ed. et trad. Bouali et G. Marçais (Paris, 1917), 31/91.

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que les *Ḥulal* ne connaissent point, tandis que la *Rauḍat al-Nisrīn*, elle, ignore 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī. Que représente donc ce 'Abd al-Raḥmān, et à quoi tendent les *Ḥulal*? Ibn Khaldūn nous apporte sur le personnage et sur son rôle politique, comme sur la situation marocaine à l'époque considérée, une documentation éclairante et d'autant plus précieuse qu'il a été personnellement mêlé à tel de ces épisodes qu'il raconte. A son *Histoire des Berbères* qui demeure, bien entendu, fondamentale, il y a donc lieu d'ajouter là-dessus quelques pages de son *Autobiographie.* [1]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī était le petit-fils d'Abū 'Alī, frère puiné du fameux sultan marīnide Abū 'l-Ḥasan. Cet Abū 'Alī, sous le règne de son père Abū Sa'īd, puis sous celui de son frère Abū 'l-Ḥasan, dirigea dans le Sud-Marocain des rébellions qui furent chaque fois matées; il finit par être exécuté, en captivité, en 733/1333 (*Berbères*, IV, 191-195, 214-215). En vain Abū 'l-Ḥasan essaya de se concilier ses fils, en assurant leur éducation, puis en prenant pour gendre l'un d'entre eux, 'Alī, surnommé Abū Ifellūsen, futur père de notre 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Abū Ifellūsen trahit son beau-père au cours de l'expédition d'Ifrīqiya; livré à Abū 'Inān, fils d'Abū 'l-Ḥasan, il fut exécuté en 751/1350 (*Berbères*, IV, 354-355). Sous les règnes suivants, son fils 'Abd al-Raḥmān — le nôtre —, avec deux de ses oncles paternels, mène une vie d'aventures, tantôt auprès du Naṣride de Grenade, tantôt auprès du sultan 'abdalwādide de Tlemcen, [2] tantôt au Maroc même, où il fomente des séditions. A la suite d'une tentative avortée pour s'y emparer du pouvoir, 'Abd al-Raḥmān passe de nouveau en Espagne au commencement de 767/automne 1365. D'abord bien reçu par le Naṣride Muḥammad V, qui lui confie le commandement des „combattants de la guerre sainte," il est un peu plus tard, en 770/1368-69, emprisonné par ce dernier à la demande instante du souverain de Fès (*Berbères*, IV, 355-368, 397-398, 487). Les relations entre Grenade et Fès s'étant gâtées, 'Abd al-Raḥmān est remis en liberté vers la fin de 774/mai 1373, et embarqué pour le Maroc, où il soulève des tribus du Rif oriental (p. 405).

C'est le moment de la grande crise dynastique qui voit aussi l'insurrection d'Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Sālim contre le très jeune sultan al-Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Dans la conjoncture, Muḥammad V

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[1] *L'Histoire des Berbères* sera citée ci-après en référence à la traduction de de Slane, et l'*Autobiographie*, *al-Ta'rīf*, dans l'éd. Ṭanjī (Le Caire, 1951).

[2] Voir aussi Abū Zakarīyā' b. Khaldūn, *Histoire des Banū 'Abd al-Wād*, éd. et trad. A. Bel, II, (Alger, 1913), 160/198-199.

a l'habileté de miser à distance sur les deux prétendants à la fois: il accorde ouvertement son aide militaire à Abū 'l-'Abbās, sans toutefois retirer son appui à 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Il dépêche un émissaire, sous l'égide duquel un compromis est établi entre les deux Marīnides concurrents: Abū 'l-'Abbās sera sultan, mais 'Abd al-Raḥmān prendra possession des territoires du Sud (Sijilmasa, Oued Draa) sur lesquels son grand-père, Abū 'Alī, avait jadis exercé son autorité. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, pendant le siège de Fès, obtient de son partenaire, fort réticent, la cession de Marrakech; et aussitôt après la prise de la ville assiégée, tout au début de 776/juin 1374, il va s'installer à Marrakech, sa „capitale." Une armée envoyée contre lui, en dépit de la foi jurée, par Abū 'l-'Abbās, s'arrête en route et rebrousse chemin. Un traité, passé entre eux peu après, fixe la frontière à la place-forte d'Azemmour, qui continue à relever de Fès, et, semble-t-il, plus à l'intérieur au cours de l'Oumm Er-Rbia (*Berbères*, IV, 407-411, 487). [1]

La dichotomie du Maroc marīnide s'était ainsi effectuée sous l'influence de Grenade. Ibn Khaldūn pouvait écrire que le Naṣride, „ayant maintenant sous la main tous les princes du sang marīnide, devint l'arbitre suprême des affaires du Maghreb" (*Berbères*, IV, 411). L'historien, au temps des premières tractations et des décisions initiales de partage, se trouvait à Fès. L'amitié que lui avait témoignée, assure-t-il, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, l'appelant à lui et le consultant, le rendit suspect à Abū 'l-Abbās. Il accompagna quelque peu 'Abd al-Raḥmān vers le Sud, méditant de s'embarquer à Safi pour l'Espagne; puis il se ravisa et rentra à Fès, où, grâce à des intercessions bienveillantes, il obtint pour lui-même, mais non pour sa famille, l'autorisation sultanienne de se rendre en Andalousie. Abū 'l-'Abbās, le soupçonnant d'intriguer en faveur de 'Abd al-Raḥmān auprès du Naṣride, réussit à le noircir dans l'esprit de ce dernier, qui le renvoya alors outre-mer, dans l'actuelle Algérie (*Ta'rīf*, 224-227).

Ibn Khaldūn, achevant vers la fin de 781/mars-avril 1380 la première mise au point de son *Histoire des Berbères*, constatait que, depuis le traité passé entre les deux Marīnides, leurs rapports entre eux et avec le Naṣride n'avaient point cessé d'être excellents: ils s'envoyaient régulièrement des présents les uns aux autres; „la tranquillité, déclare-

[1] Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, I, (Le Caire, 1939), 224-229, résume seulement Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, IV, 397-411. Sur notre 'Abd al-Raḥmān, la partie du *Kitāb al-'Ibar* d'Ibn Khaldūn relative à la dynastie naṣride (trad. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, dans *Journal Asiatique* [nov.-déc. 1898], 418-423) n'apporte rien de plus.

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t-il, n'a pas cessé de régner dans le Maghreb . . . tout le monde y vit dans le bonheur, avec l'assurance d'un avenir heureux" (*Berbères*, IV, 417-418). Deux ans plus tard, en 783/1381, le grand historien n'avait rien à rectifier de son dire (*Berbères*, IV, 487-488). Et c'est exactement alors que les *Ḥilal* s'efforcent de répandre, avec plus de précisions encore, les mêmes certitudes euphoriques, telles que nous les avons soulignées ci-dessus.

Hélas! Ces appréciations chaleureuses n'allaient pas être de mise très longtemps. Sur une rupture entre 'Abd al-Raḥmān et Abū 'l-'Abbās, le premier prit et pilla Azemmour; puis le second vint guerroyer jusqu'à proximité de Marrakech. La paix fut momentanément rétablie. Une deuxième rupture, survenue peu après, provoquée, nous dit-on — et le trait est à retenir — par les prétentions territoriales de 'Abd al-Raḥmān, lui permit d'abord d'annexer Azemmour et Anfa, mais l'obligea ensuite, une fois de plus, à se replier sur Marrakech, où il fut assiégé pendant quelques mois. L'intervention diplomatique du Naṣride le sauva pour peu de temps; il dut remettre deux de ses fils comme otages au sultan de Fès. Bientôt Abū 'l-'Abbās, informé des défections qui se multipliaient au détriment de son rival, rompit cette nouvelle trêve, et, avec l'aide de renforts naṣrides, alla de nouveau mettre le siège devant Marrakech. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, abandonné de presque tous en dépit d'une incursion 'abdalwādide qu'il venait de solliciter, périt en combattant héroïquement avec deux autres de ses fils lors de l'assaut final, fin jumādā II 784/11 septembre 1382 (*Berbères*, III, 476-77; IV, 420-27). Ainsi se termine tragiquement l'aventure de ce prince que les *Ḥilal* regardaient, quinze mois plus tôt, comme „le sultan" marīnide, héritier normal de la dynastie.

'Abd al-Raḥmān était-il qualifié de „sultan" dans les textes officiels émanés de lui ou à lui destinés? C'est peu probable; mais nous n'avons à notre disposition, pour en être mieux assurés, ni pièces d'archives ni documents d'épigraphie.[1] Ibn Khaldūn l'appelle ordinairement „émir"; dans un passage isolé, il lui accole, ainsi qu'à son aïeul Abū 'Alī, le titre de „sultan" (*Berbères*, II, 266, vérifié dans le texte arabe). Les monnaies conservées qui portent son nom le désignent ainsi: „le saiyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī."[2] Le titre

[1] Il n'est pas cité dans le répertoire de G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech* (Rabat, 1956). Sur l'emploi du terme "sultan" à cette époque en Afrique du Nord, voir R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, II (Paris, 1947), 13-14.

[2] Lavoix, *Catalogue . . . monnaies Bibl. Nat. Paris*, II, n° 1002; Prieto Vives, dans

d'*as-saiyid* est celui que portaient ordinairement les princes du sang apparentés aux califes almohades: y aurait-il là une résurgence voulue par ce restaurateur de Marrakech comme capitale? Sur ces pièces n'est pas énoncée sa *kunya*, laquelle a pu être Abū Zaid (qui accompagne d'ailleurs très fréquemment en arabe le nom de 'Abd al-Raḥmān) si l'on se réfère aux *Ḥulal* (p. 151, en supprimant *bn* qui est ici de trop), bien que celles-ci aient en un autre endroit (p. 157) la variante Abū Tāshufīn. Abū Zaid, d'ailleurs, se retrouve comme *kunya* de notre 'Abd al-Raḥmān sous la plume d'Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā, frère du grand Ibn Khaldūn, dans son *Histoire des Banū 'Abd al-Wād.* [1]

Les formules qui figurent sur ces monnaies sont presque toutes empruntées au Coran, 11, 88; 16, 53; 40, 44; 41, 13; 45, 2-3. Elles proclament que le secours et la victoire (viennent) de Dieu. Il se peut que l'une d'elles, *naṣrun mina 'llāhi wa-fatḥun qarīb*, comporte un sens plus richement allusif. Elle est aussi sur quelques monnaies de l'adversaire, le sultan de Fès, Abū 'l-'Abbās. [2] Bien qu'elle se rencontre en d'autres contextes politiques, elle fait penser ici spécialement aux Naṣrides ou Banū *Naṣr*. Le „vizir-poète" de Muḥammad V, Ibn Zamrak, [3] souligne cette connexion par la répétition dont il use de cette formule — au reste commode, puisqu'elle constitue un hémistiche du mètre *sarī'* — et par le relief qu'il entend lui donner; [4] et l'on trouve aussi dans ses vers: *abnā'u Naṣrin mulūkum 'azza naṣruhumū* [mètre *basīṭ*]. [5]

Quoi qu'il en soit de ce détail, l'orientation du maître de Marrakech vers le souverain de Grenade, pour ne pas dire sa subordination envers lui, est patente; et c'est assurément sous cet angle qu'il convient de comprendre et la genèse des *Ḥulal* et la façon dont les affaires du Maroc y sont présentées.

Nous avons rencontré ci-dessus des épisodes illustrant l'ingérence de Muḥammad V dans les troubles dynastiques de ce pays. C'est sous sa pression très directe qu'au début du règne d'Abū 'l-'Abbās le grand

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Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes (Madrid, 1915), 89-90, et nos 90-92; Brèthes, *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques* (Casablanca, 1939), nos 1317-1318 (les deux dirhems suivants, frappés à Meknès et à Fès, ne doivent pas être de lui); H. W. Hazard, *The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa* (New York, 1952), nos 831, 832, 1150.

[1] Ed. et trad. A. Bel, II (Alger, 1913), 131/162.

[2] H. W. Hazard, *op. cit.*, nos 803-805, 820.

[3] Sur lui, R. Blachère dans *Annales de l'Institut des Études Orientales*, Alger, II (1936), et E. García Gómez, *Ibn Zamrak el poeta de la Alhambra* (Madrid, 1943).

[4] Trois fois dans al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, IV (Le Caire, 1302 H.), 351, 354.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 293.

écrivain Lisān al-dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, réfugié à Fès, fut incarcéré, puis mis à mort. Sa politique marocaine, sous couleur d'assurer l'équilibre et la paix entre Marinides concurrents, paraît avoir visé à asseoir, à l'aide du partage, sa propre suzeraineté. Mais voici que les *Ḥulal* prennent tacitement, et cependant sans ambages, une position qui est un choix, *un choix en faveur de 'Abd al-Raḥmān et de Marrakech.*

C'est bien là, en définitive, ce que l'ouvrage signifie. Cet intérêt pour le passé de Marrakech, l'exclusivité dont bénéficie pour le présent, dans les pages du livre, le maître de cette cité, rompent sans crier gare l'équilibre et visent à promouvoir, sous la suzeraineté du Naṣride, l'autorité de 'Abd al-Raḥmān au Maroc. Le silence total qui est gardé sur le Marinide régnant à Fès, capitale rivale, est un silence éloquent; et la liste même des régions données comme faisant partie du domaine de 'Abd al-Raḥmān confirme cette attitude engagée. En tête viennent en effet le Tamesna, Anfa, Azemmour. Or Azemmour, sise à l'embouchure et sur la rive gauche de l'Oumm Er-Rbia, revendiquée à plusieurs reprises par 'Abd al-Raḥmān, ne paraît pas lui avoir appartenu en temps de paix; [1] et surtout le Tamesna, avec Anfa, au-delà de l'Oumm Er-Rbia, étaient, si l'on s'en rapporte à Ibn Khaldūn, nettement en dehors de la zone concédée au maître de Marrakech: les y inclure, n'était-ce pas soutenir implicitement ses ambitions territoriales, inavouées ou déjà formulées?

Qui donc a, dans un tel esprit, rédigé les *Ḥulal al-maushīya?* Depuis longtemps il a été fait justice sans difficulté des attributions, imprudemment avancées, à Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, puis à Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Un savant marocain de ce siècle-ci a prononcé un autre nom: celui d'un Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Ma'ālī b. Sammāk (*sic*) al-Mālaqī (= de Malaga).[2] Mais, sauf erreur, je ne vois sous ce nom qu'un Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Simāk al-'Āmilī, originaire de Malaga, réfugié à Marrakech au début des Almohades, puis cadi de Grenade aussitôt après la prise de la ville par ces derniers. [3] S'il s'agit

[1] On possède plusieurs dinars d'Abū 'l-'Abbās qui portent comme lieu de frappe Azemmour; mais ils ne sont pas datés; H. W. Hazard, *op. cit.*, nos 800, 810-817.

[2] Ibn al-Muwaqqit, ap. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa* (Paris, 1922), 386 n. Mais Lévi-Provençal, à la fin de sa vie, qualifiait encore les *Ḥulal* de "chronique anonyme," dans l'Avant-Propos de son édition des *Mudhakkirāt al-amīr 'Abdallah* (Le Caire, 1955), 4. Et l'étude récente de Aḥmad Mukhtār al-'Abbādī, citée ci-dessus, p. 147 n. 2, ne prétend pas lever l'anonymat.

[3] Sa biographie figure dans Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Dhail wa 'l-Takmila*, MS Paris 2156, fo 90a, et dans Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī, *Histoire des Juges d'Andalousie*, éd. Lévi-Provençal (Le Caire, 1948), 109.

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de ce personnage du douzième siècle, il est à exclure évidemment. A ne point tenter de vaines conjectures, nous ne sommes pas en mesure de percer l'anonymat. Si l'introduction et les dernières pages n'imposaient de croire, à moins d'une complète supercherie, à un auteur andalou vivant en Andalousie, on songerait volontiers à un homme de Marrakech, connaisseur de l'histoire et de la géographie marocaines, désireux de glorifier sa ville et d'aider à l'ascension de son chef. Mais il peut bien se concevoir aussi qu'un lettré andalou ait disposé d'informations écrites et orales suffisantes; l'énumération géographique précise qui est reproduite ci-dessus pouvait provenir d'un rapport envoyé de Marrakech, ou encore de souvenirs personnels si notre „historien" avait fait, comme tant d'autres de ses compatriotes d'Andalousie, un séjour privé ou officiel au Maroc. [1] Quant à son anonymat, qui nous dit que, pour cette prise de position politique, pour ce „ballon d'essai" de propagande, il n'a pas été intentionnel?

Je dédie bien volontiers ces pages à mon éminent confrère Sir Hamilton Gibb qui, au cours de ses travaux importants et si variés, n'a pas dédaigné d'examiner quelquefois de près des chroniques arabes.

[1] Muḥammad V lui-même, après un premier règne, avait vécu quelque temps détrôné, en exil, à Fès, aux alentours de 1360. Et il avait alors marqué sa dévotion envers le saint patron de Marrakech, mort un siècle et demi plus tôt. Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Sabtī, ou Sidi Bel Abbas (Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, IV, 354-355). Cette démarche et ce lien spirituel auraient pu être mis en valeur par les *Ḥulal*; mais sans doute l'auteur, au reste volontiers concis, n'a-t-il pas tenu à évoquer cette phase peu glorieuse de la carrière du Grenadin.

ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG

Sorbonne

Juste avant le tirage de cet article vient d'être publié, par Tourki et Ben Tawit, un second ouvrage d'Ibn al-Aḥmar (cf. ci-dessus, p. 149), *Mustanda' al-'alāma* (Tétuan, 1964), où ce suppôt des Marīnides de Fès mentionne (p. 72) deux secrétaires de chancellerie du "sultan" 'Abd al-Raḥmān, à Marrakech. Il donne l'un comme cantonné dans le *fiqh*; et il traite avec insistance l'autre, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Nafzī, de fieffé menteur. Ce dernier personnage n'aurait-il rien à voir dans la rédaction des *Ḥulal*?

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NOTE D'HISTORIOGRAPHIE SYRIENNE, LA PREMIERE PARTIE DE L'HISTOIRE D'IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ

PAR

CLAUDE CAHEN

Depuis qu'en 1908 Amedroz, en publiant l'Histoire de Damas d'Ibn al-Qalānisī, l'a présentée comme une continuation de l'Histoire de Hilāl al-Ṣābī, cette opinion a été implicitement admise, et n'a été soumise à aucun réexamen. Elle se heurte cependant à des difficultés qui commandent ce réexamen.

Sur quoi repose l'argumentation d'Amedroz? Sur une affirmation d'Ibn Khallikān, coïncidant avec une phrase d'Ibn al-Qalānisī lui-même, disant qu'il a „construit" sa continuation sur la base de l'année 448 H.,[1] année à partir de laquelle précisément nous savons que faisait défaut l'Histoire de Hilāl al-Ṣābī. Il est vrai que le manuscrit d'Ibn al-Qalānisī commence au milieu de l'année 363 H. et que, puisqu'il y manque quelques feuillets, l'œuvre originale commençait encore un peu antérieurement; il ne faut donc pas interpréter, pense Amedroz, la phrase de 448 H. comme signifiant le début d'une continuation détachée de l'œuvre qu'elle continue, mais considérer que la partie du manuscrit antérieure à 448 H. constitue de quelque façon un extrait de l'œuvre continuée, c'est-à-dire de Hilāl al-Ṣābī; et en effet une citation de Hilāl, relevée dans le *Mir'āt al-zamān* de Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, se retrouve à peu près textuellement dans le passage correspondant de l'Histoire d'Ibn al-Qalānisī. On peut donc considérer que, dans la mesure de ce qui l'a intéressé pour l'histoire syrienne, Ibn al-Qalānisī compense pour nous la perte à peu près complète de l'Histoire du grand Bagdadien.[2]

Malheureusement il est absolument impossible de suivre jusqu'à cette conclusion le savant qui avait voué sa vie à la publication des débris conservés de l'œuvre de Hilāl. Cela n'altère en rien l'intérêt de celle d'Ibn al-Qalānisī, mais, pour déterminer les sources de la

[1] Le gouverneur nommé à Damas en 441 H. y est encore en l'année 448 H., *allatī bunīya hādhā 'l-mudhaiyal 'alaihā wa-'ādat siyāqat al-ḥawādith minhā wa-īrād mā fīhā wa-tajaddada ba'dahā.*

[2] Amedroz, Préface à son édition, pp. 3-6, avec les références.

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première partie de l'Histoire de Damas, avant la Continuation, il ne suffit pas de la concordance de quelques lignes sur quatre-vingt trois pages serrées, ni d'une interprétation de deux phrases d'Ibn al-Qalānisī et d'Ibn Khallikān qui, après tout, ne l'impliquent pas nécessairement. Il est nécessaire, avant de conclure, de confronter dans son ensemble le texte de ces quatre-vingt-trois pages avec ce que nous pouvons savoir de celui de Hilāl, et nous pouvons tout de même le faire mieux que ne l'a tenté Amedroz. Or le résultat de la confrontation est net: dans une première partie, allant jusque vers la fin du quatrième siècle H., il y a entre les textes d'Ibn al-Qalānisī et de Hilāl des convergences considérables, mais non exclusives, et susceptibles de deux interprétations différentes; à partir de 400 H. au plus tard, il devient impossible de plus trouver aucune relation entre les deux ouvrages. Par conséquent, de deux choses l'une, ou bien ce qu'en 448 H. continue Ibn al-Qalānisī n'est pas Hilāl, ou, si c'est Hilāl, il s'agit d'un rapprochement artificiel, [1] la partie immédiatement antérieure de l'œuvre n'étant pas tirée de celle de Hilāl.

De l'Histoire de Hilāl, aux trois années et demie près (fin 389 H.-début 393 H.) publiées par Amedroz, et pour lesquelles — il est curieux qu'il ne l'ait pas fait remarquer — il n'y a aucun recoupement possible avec Ibn al-Qalānisī, rien ne s'est directement conservé; nous pouvons cependant nous en faire une assez bonne idée grâce aux compilations postérieures dont il est la base principale, la *Takmila* de Hamadhānī (conservée jusqu'en 367 H.), [2] la Continuation des *Tajārib al-umam* de Miskawaih par Abū Shujā' Rudhrawārī, jusqu'en 389 H., enfin le *Mir'āt al-zamān* de Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, jusqu'en 434 H., date où le manuscrit de Hilāl qui lui avait servi jusqu'alors s'arrêtait. [3] Si alors nous confrontons ces textes avec celui d'Ibn al-Qalānisī, nous constatons — sans qu'il y ait lieu ici de les détailler — quelques

[1] Il y a bien d'autres "continuations" qui ne ressemblent nullement à ce qu'elles continuent.

[2] Edition A. Y. Kan'ān dans *al-Mashriq* (1954-57), et à part (Beyrouth, 1960).

[3] Inédit pour cette période, et représenté en manuscrits par deux versions, dont l'une où abondent les lacunes, mais où sont plus régulièrement citées les sources; il ne fait pas de doute que Hilāl est la source fondamentale, que les autres complètent seulement deci-delà. L'indication sur le MS de Hilāl est donnée par Sibṭ lui-même *sub anno*. La parenté de Miskawaih avec Hilāl est, elle, moins nette; Miskawaih a utilisé la Chronique de Thābit b. Sinān, celle que continuait Hilāl à partir de 362 H.; mais il est douteux que pour les *Tajārib*, arrêtés en 369 H. semble-t-il, il ait connu même un début de l'Histoire de Hilāl (né vers 360 H.); toutefois celui-ci tenait compte d'écrits de son grand-père Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī, allié à Thābit et bien connu de Miskawaih, si bien que, de toute façon, tous ces auteurs écrivent dans la même ambiance.

rapprochements dans les années 371-379 H., d'autres plus nets pour les années 364-368 H., et surtout une parenté proche et générale pour la longue tranche d'histoire des années 380-389 H. constituant les pages 33 à 57 de la Chronique d'Ibn al-Qalānisī dans l'édition d'Amedroz; c'est au milieu de cette section que se situe la concordance particulière relevée par Amedroz. [1] Néanmoins là-même une remarque s'impose: les récits dont dépendent aussi bien les utilisateurs explicites de Hilāl que l'exposé d'Ibn al-Qalānisī sont conduits selon une méthode entièrement différente de celle ordinaire de Hilāl. Il n'y a en effet aucun doute — les extraits publiés par Amedroz et la refonte par Hamadhānī sont là également éloquents — que la Chronique de Hilāl était non pas seulement annalistique, mais même journalistique, alignant les faits sans synthèse à mesure que les communiqués en étaient enregistrés par l'administration bagdadienne; au contraire, la narration des faits syro-égyptiens des années 664-668 H. est faite, tant dans Hamadhānī que dans Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, qui ne sont pas coutumiers du fait, d'une seule traite ou de deux, et celle des événements de 380-389 H. introduite, à l'exception d'une préface en 380 H., d'une seule traite en 381 H. par Abū Shujā', en deux morceaux aux années 381 en 386 H. par Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī: ce qui signifie bien que tel était l'original dans Hilāl. Il se pourrait donc que chez celui-ci même il s'agît là non pas de passages tirés par lui de première main des archives bagdadiennes, comme pour l'ensemble de sa Chronique, mais d'additions postérieures empruntées à un ouvrage littéraire syro-égyptien, qu'alors aurait aussi bien pu connaître Ibn al-Qalānisī lui-même. Cette hypothèse apparaît a priori d'autant moins invraisemblable que justement la littérature historique de l'Égypte fatimide se caractérise par la grande place relative qu'y occupent les biographies de princes ou de vizirs rédigées de façon suivie sans disposition annalistique. [2]

Quoi qu'il en soit de cette hypothèse, il est en tous cas certain que, même pour l'époque envisagée en ce moment, le texte d'Ibn al-

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[1] Relative à la mort du vizir Ibn Killis.

[2] Vies d'al-Mu'izz, d'al-'Azīz, d'al-Ḥākim, du vizir al-Yāzūrī — pour nous en tenir à la période qui nous intéresse ici. Sur l'historiographie égyptienne sous les Fatimides en général, voir C. Becker au premier chapitre des *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, I. On remarque que, chez les historiens postérieurs de l'Égypte, comme Aibak al-Dawādārī, éd. S. Munajjid (1960) et Abū 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghribirdī, l'exposé est conduit en deux parts, d'abord une biographie des princes, empruntée à des sources égyptiennes, ensuite un récit annalistique des événements généraux, extrait d'auteurs non-égyptiens comme Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī.

Qalānisī ne peut s'expliquer entièrement par des emprunts à la source iraqienne que constituerait la Chronique de Hilāl al-Ṣābi: ici les détails sont plus nécessaires, et en voici quelques-uns. Page 14, à propos de la mort du Fatimide al-Mu'izz, très maladroitement racontée une seconde fois alors qu'elle l'avait déjà été page 12, il nous est dit que „le présent récit vaut mieux que la version précédente." [1] Page 24: on nous apprend „qu'arriva la nouvelle de la mort de 'Aḍud al-Daula" (le Buwaihide), avec, pour seul commentaire, la joie du calife fatimide et de son vizir; page 31: un autre Buwaihide est appelé anonymement „ṣāḥib Baghdād"; page 11: la nouvelle du changement de calife nous est racontée comme „arrivée de Bagdad"; et d'autre part, dès la page 4, nous est présenté un gouverneur de Damas comme arrivé en cette ville avec le jour précis, selon une formule qui sera, jusqu'à la conquête turque de 469 H., répétée plus ou moins complètement pour tous ses successeurs. Ces passages suggèrent donc des emprunts les uns à une source littéraire syro-égyptienne, les autres à des communiqués conservés aux archives de Damas. Enfin, négativement, il faut souligner l'extraordinaire maigreur des renseignements relatifs à l'Orient et même à l'Iraq; certes c'est l'histoire de Damas qui intéresse Ibn al-Qalānisī, et, dans la période où nous nous situons, Damas est liée à l'Égypte et non à l'Iraq; cependant on verra après 448 H. Ibn al-Qalānisī rapporter des faits iraqiens étrangers à l'histoire syrienne, et on s'étonne un peu, s'il a vraiment eu sous les yeux Hilāl lui-même, qu'il ne trouve à nous parler de la mort de 'Aḍud al-Daula et d'un changement de calife, qui occupaient de longues pages chez Hilāl, que d'après deux communiqués reçus à Damas ou au Caire. Si nous lisions l'Histoire de Damas sans le préjugé d'une dépendance à l'égard de Hilāl, nous conclurions très simplement de ces constatations qu'à l'époque considérée les archives damasquines étaient normalement alimentées du Caire et non de Bagdad, et que les sources d'Ibn al-Qalānisī sont des sources du domaine géographique couvert par l'État fatimide, et non une chronique iraqienne, quelque place qu'elle ait faite aux événements extérieurs.

Ces réflexions, encore un peu discutables pour la partie d'Ibn al-Qalānisī antérieure à la fin du quatrième siècle H., deviennent impérieuses à partir de 400 H. au plus tard. Car, à partir de cette date, les informations de l'historien damasquin deviennent en général

[1] Même remarque sur la mort de Jaish, p. 57, lignes 7-8, d'après un catalogue damasquin, opposé à la source suivie, p. 54.

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d'un laconisme [1] que ne suffit pas à expliquer ce que nous savons de la Chronique de Hilāl, et d'un caractère absolument incompatible avec l'hypothèse d'un emprunt à cette dernière. La trame est claire, et constituée — d'après les titres mêmes des chapitres (depuis le début du manuscrit) — par un catalogue des gouverneurs de Damas du genre de celui d'al-Kindī pour l'Égypte pré-fatimide, comme les archives damasquines permettaient d'en composer, et comme nous savons, surtout par les extraits dans Ibn 'Asākir, qu'il en avait été rédigé par exemple, une génération avant Ibn al-Qalānisī, par Ibn al-Akfānī. De chaque gouverneur on nous annonce l'arrivée, avec sa date précise, et en général on nous rappelle, parfois avec citation de quelques mots, la lecture de son acte de nomination, l'arrivée de son acte de révocation, ainsi que le libellé de son sceau. Il est inconcevable de rien rapporter de tout cela à Hilāl.

Même pour les récits ou détails extérieurs à cette trame, une telle référence est encore presque impossible. L'essentiel en porte sur les activités d'Anushtegin al-Dizbarī, gouverneur de Damas de 419 à 432 ou 433 H., et, après un paragraphe rétrospectif assez bref, sur la mort d'al-Ḥākim en 411 H., introduit en 432 H. pour expliquer le vizirat d'al-Jarjarā'ī, ennemi d'Anushtegin, sur ce vizir, dont on nous donne la transcription intégrale du diplôme de nomination en 418 H. par le fils d'al-Ḥākim, al-Ẓāhir. En ce qui concerne l'activité d'Anushtegin, il est étrange qu'Amedroz, qui cite, en note, [2] deux extraits de Hilāl al-Ṣābī, n'ait pas remarqué qu'ils ne se prêtent à aucun rapprochement avec Ibn al-Qalānisī. Quant au récit de la mort de Ḥākim, son déplacement chronologique signifie apparemment qu'Ibn al-Qalānisī l'a trouvé après coup dans un ouvrage qui ne se présentait pas sous forme annalistique, et il y fait peut-être allusion en 399 H. lorsque le récit qu'il donne de la persécution des Chrétiens est introduit par la phrase „qīla fī akhbār al-Ḥākim," [3] l'existence d'une *Sīra* de ce calife, comme d'autres de ses prédecesseurs, étant attesté par ailleurs. [4] Enfin, il est difficile d'imaginer que ce soit sur une source

[1] La période 363-400 H. occupe 67 pages, celle de 401 à 441 H. seulement 17, et il n'y a rien pour 442-447 H.

[2] Voir la préface de S. Munajjid au vol. II de sa nouvelle édition d'Ibn 'Asākir, et, dans l'ancienne édition, seule assez avancée, comparer les biographies de Tamīm al-Faḥl (III, 344), Tizmalat (VII, 58), Ḥāmid b. Mulham (IV, 17) et Anūjūr = Anushtegin (III, 151) avec les passages correspondants d'Ibn al-Qalānisī respectivement 57, 58, 66, et 71.

[3] Page 66.

[4] Voir Becker et Aibak, cités p. 158, n. 2. Le long poème du vizir Ibn al-Maghribī, cité pp. 62-63, signifie peut-être aussi que parmi les sources d'Ibn al-Qalānisī

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iraqienne qu'Ibn al-Qalānisi aurait copié le diplôme d'un vizir égyptien. Néanmoins, après 433 H. au plus tard, il est certain que même toute source égyptienne fait désormais défaut à notre auteur.

D'autre part, la même absence que précédemment se remarque de renseignements sur les événements d'Orient, alors qu'on nous a parlé, par exemple, de la révolte d'Abū Rakwa ou de la nomination d'al-Jarjarā'i, qui ont fort peu de répercussions immédiates à Damas. La seule nouvelle orientale de la période est l'annonce en une phrase, à l'année 436 H., des conquêtes turques en Orient, introduite par la phrase „la nouvelle arriva d'Iraq." Après quoi Ibn al-Qalānisi, qui en 450 H. empruntera au Khaṭīb Baghdādi un long récit de la révolte d'al-Basāsīrī et des tribulations du calife 'abbāside en Iraq, ne trouve même pas moyen de mentionner en 447 H. l'entrée du Sultan Seljukide à Bagdad, événement sans lequel la suite est incompréhensible, et qui formait le chapitre conclusif de l'Histoire de Hilāl.

Tout cela, je crois, est formel, et il n'y a qu'une conclusion possible, en dépit de l'impression d'abord fournie par la phrase d'Ibn Khallikān et celle d'Ibn al-Qalānisi en 448 H. Pour le quatrième siècle, Ibn al-Qalānisi peut avoir utilisé Hilāl al-Ṣābi, mais la chose n'est pas certaine, et de toute façon ce n'est pas une source exclusive; pour le cinquième, pratiquement, tout se passe pour l'auteur damasquin comme si son devancier iraqien n'existait plus. Dans ces conditions, si c'est la mort de Hilāl que l'Histoire de Damas a pris comme point de départ chronologique, nous sommes obligés d'en conclure qu'il ne s'ensuit pas que l'œuvre de Hilāl ait été effectivement celle qui lui a fourni les renseignements sur la période antérieure; et il devient même loisible de se demander si l'affirmation d'Ibn Khallikān, qui après tout ne reposait peut-être sur rien d'autre que la phrase de 448 H., doit être prise pour décisive. [1]

Le plus étrange est qu'Ibn al-Qalānisi ne parait guère avoir plus utilisé de sources syriennes que mésopotamiennes. Nous savons qu'il existait, sinon une historiographie damasquine débordant le cadre des catalogues de gouverneurs, [2] du moins une historiographie nord-syrienne dont, au travers des œuvres de Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm et de la Chronique Abrégée d'al-'Aẓīmī, nous pouvons nous

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figure la correspondance officielle de ce personnage, souvent citée par les auteurs postérieurs.

[1] Il résulte d'al-'Aẓimī an 363 H. qu'à Alep on connaissait Hilāl; mais pour Damas je n'en connais pas de témoignage.

[2] Voir infra, p. 165, n. 2.

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faire une idée assez précise; et, jusqu'en 425/1133, nous possédons directement la Chronique du Chrétien Yaḥyā d'Antioche, qui peut-être atteignait 458 H., et qui fut connue de Musulmans, puisque c'est al-'Aẓimī précisément qui nous procure ce renseignement, et dont la comparaison des textes prouve indiscutablement qu'il l'avait utilisée. [1] Al-'Aẓīmī lui-même avait composée une Histoire générale surtout alépine, détaillée; il connut Ibn al-Qalānisī, utilisa sa Chronique à partir de 448 H., [2] et nous verrons que, réciproquement, il est probable qu'Ibn al-Qalānisī s'en est servi dans sa Continuation après 448 H.: cela rend d'autant plus surprenante son abstention dans ce qui précède cette date. On me dira que ce qui l'intéresse est l'histoire de Damas et non de la Syrie: mais alors que lui importe tel épisode de l'histoire égyptienne, et pourquoi l'histoire nord-syrienne l'interessera-t-elle après 448 H.? Et il faut ajouter que, même pour l'histoire de Damas, ou en tout cas de la Syrie centrale, il aurait trouvé dans al-'Aẓīmī, pour ne pas parler de Yaḥyā, maints compléments appréciables à ses informations damasquines. [3] A vrai dire, de la Syrie du nord il ne connait que les expéditions conduites de Damas contre Alep — même pas l'avènement des Mirdāsides dans cette ville — ou exceptionnellement un événement comme le meurtre de Fātik en 412 H., explicitement d'après un communiqué reçu à Damas: les seuls points douteux concernent des détails donnés (p. 79) sur le séjour d'Anushtegin al-Dizbārī à Alep en 432-433 H., ainsi que deux brefs morceaux de poésie introduits à propos de ce meurtre et de la mort de Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, celui-ci peut-être tiré du dīwān d'Ibn Ḥaiyūs, le premier dû à un poète moins connu et que nous retrouvons dans al-'Aẓīmī; [4] mais ils ne suffisent pas à nous autoriser à parler d'une utilisation de ce dernier en règle générale dans la Chronique damasquine antérieurement à 448 H.

Ces constatations prennent un relief plus saisissant si — sans aller jusqu'à la période contemporaine de l'auteur, qui dispose alors d'informations directes autrement riches — nous regardons ce qui se passe pour les deux ou trois décades juste postérieures à 448 H. L'absence de chronique égyptienne, constatée depuis 433 H., se maintient, [5] et de même le manque de source iraqienne, si l'on excepte

[1] Voir en particulier les histoires relatives à Musarrif al-Rawādifī et les Byzantins dans les années 420 H. etc.

[2] Voir la préface à mon édition, dans le *Journal Asiatique* (1937).

[3] Voir Appendice.

[4] Pages 72 et 74.

[5] Les rares nouvelles d'Égypte sont des communiqués.

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le grand passage, introduit tout à fait en hors-d'œuvre, emprunté au Khaṭīb Baghdādī, qui n'est pas un chroniqueur suivi, sur la révolte d'al-Basāsīrī et les aventures du calife 'abbāsīde.[1] L'utilisation de catalogues de gouverneurs, au moins jusqu'à l'occupation de Damas par les Turcs, se continue, mais moins apparente en raison de la disposition annalistique et du mélange avec d'autres informations.[2] Des communiqués un peu plus nombreux arrivent maintenant de Bagdad,[3] mais, ce qui est neuf, c'est l'emploi systématique d'une chronique nord-syrienne, peut-être l'Histoire d'al-'Aẓīmī, qui se remarque par l'importance des nouvelles de la Syrie septentrionale, qu'à la différence d'autres n'introduit plus de préambule „la nouvelle arriva que . . .," et dont l'exposé présente avec l'historiographie nord-syrienne par nous conservée des ressemblances textuelles trop nettes et larges pour remonter à de seuls communiqués enregistrés dans les archives d'un État.[4]

C'est alors le lieu de nous demander ce qu'est vraiment en elle-même la Chronique 36 (3)-448 H., et il faut avouer qu'on a de la peine à le bien voir. Les contemporains d'Ibn al-Qalānisī, al-'Aẓīmī et Ibn 'Asākir, le créditent seulement d'une continuation à partir de 448 H. (ou 441 H., ce qui revient au même, les années intermédiaires étant creuses, sauf si l'on veut y voir l'indice d'une chronique se terminant en 441 H. . . .); par contre les Damasquins postérieurs, Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī et Dhahabī, citent sous son nom explicite des passages de la Chronique antérieure à 448 H., voire remontant au quatrième siècle. Je me demande — mais gratuitement, faute d'indice documentaire précis — si Ibn al-Qalānisī n'a pas d'abord composé, en prenant arbitrairement comme point de départ la date de 448 H. (peut-être alors comme celle où il savait que cessait Hilāl), la partie, annalistiquement disposée, de l'Histoire de Damas que nous lisons à partir

[1] Année 450, pp. 87-90; encore faut-il se rappeler que juste après ces événements, le Khaṭīb Baghdādī avait dû se sauver de Bagdad et avait quelques années séjourné précisément à Damas, où le présent récit—qui ne figure pas dans le *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*—avait dû être noté.

[2] C'est à cette disposition annalistique nouvelle que se réfère formellement, plutôt qu' à un commencement absolu, la phrase d'Ibn al-Qalānisī cité *supra*, n. 1.

[3] Mais, ayant, en tous cas pour les années de près antérieures à 448 H., ignoré Hilāl, a fortiori Ibn al-Qalānisī ignore-t-il son fils et continuateur Ghars al-Ni'ma Muḥammad, dont la Continuation cependant, dont Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī a transcrit l'essentiel, lui aurait apporté tant de compléments précieux sur l'histoire même de la Syrie et de Damas.

[4] Ibn 'Asākir dans sa biographie d'Ibn al-Qalānisī (Ḥamza), al-'Aẓīmī à l'année 448 H. de sa Chronique Abrégée.

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de cette date et qui s'oppose à la partie non-annalistique qui la précède; après quoi, peut-être dans la période 535-540 H. où nous savons par lui-même et al-'Aẓīmī que l'œuvre, jusqu'à cette date, était rédigée et que l'auteur s'interrompit pour d'autres occupations,[1] il aurait cherché à remonter dans le passé et à composer l'Histoire de Damas avant 448 H.; cette tâche aurait été conduite à bien à peu près pour le quatrième siècle, mais il serait mort avant de l'avoir achevée pour le cinquième. On pourrait, il est vrai, aussi supposer qu'une œuvre, également mal terminée, a été artificiellement accolée à la Chronique propre d'Ibn al-Qalānisī, soit par lui-même, soit par quelque successeur;[2] et à vrai dire, si avec Amedroz on intitule l'œuvre „Dhail Ta'rīkh Dimashq," nous sommes invités à chercher quelque préalable Histoire de Damas. L'ennui est que nous n'en connaissons aucunes,[3] et que, même parmi les Histoires égyptiennes, il ne semble y en avoir aucune qui se termine dans les années 440 ou 450 H.; au surplus, nous avons vu que les auteurs ultérieurs attribuent à Ibn al-Qalānisī la partie de l'œuvre antérieure à 448 H. aussi bien que la suivante. Dans ces conditions, il faut rappeler que le véritable titre attesté tant par le manuscrit que par Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Abū Shāma, Ibn Khallikān, et, en remplaçant „mudhaiyal" par „tadhyīl," par al-'Aẓīmī, est „Dhail al-Ta'rīkh al-Dimashqī," qui pourrait se traduire non pas „suite de l'Histoire de Damas" mais „suite damasquine de l'Histoire," et référer à une oeuvre antérieure de n'importe quelle date et quel genre, égyptienne,[4] ou de la série de Ṭabarī et de ses continuateurs

[1] Voir Ibn al-Qalānisī an 540 H. cité dans l'Introduction de Gibb à sa traduction de la période des Croisades, p. 10; d'autre part, al-'Aẓīmī avait écrit en 538 H., donc un état de l'Histoire de Damas, qu'il utilise, exitait auparavant.

[2] On pourrait même se demander, tant est grande la disproportion entre certaines nouvelles, juste annoncées par un communiqué laconique, presque un simple titre, et d'autres récits extrêmement circonstanciés, si un copiste n'a pas collé bout à bout des fiches distinctes, dont certaines auraient été destinées à être complétées. Le *sijill* annoncé p. 85 manque. Dans un autre ordre d'idées, il faut remarquer que le développement sur al-Mustanṣir introduit p. 71, après des faits des années 433-440 H., à propos de son avènement en 427 H., anticipe sur l'avenir jusqu'en 465 H. au moins, et que la page 79, qui parle de faits de 433-436 H., a été écrite après 448 H.

[3] Se terminant vers 441-448 H.; voir infra, p. 165, n. 2. La seule véritable Histoire de Damas, en dehors des catalogues de gouverneurs et des recueils de *faḍā'il*, consisterait dans celle d'Abū 'l-Fatḥ Ghaith al-Armanāzī, si l'existence, incidemment mentionnée, semble-t-il, seulement par un auteur tardif, en pouvait être démontrée comme, du même auteur, son Histoire de Tyr, inachevée. Voir Munajjid, cité n. 10, ma *Syrie du Nord*, 39, n.1, et Sakhāwī dans Fr. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 394.

[4] Devraient être examinés les restes et citation d'Ibn Zūlāq (avec la Conti-

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(Thābit b. Sinān et, tout de même, Hilāl al-Ṣābi, faisant commencer cette „suite," par exemple, en 362 H., où s'interrompait Thābit et vers où apparemment débutait notre manuscrit.[1] Ou bien l'on pourrait encore rechercher vers cette date une Histoire de Damas ancienne . . .[2]

Je ne peux terminer que sur ces points de suspension, qui ne sont pas une conclusion. Aussi bien ne prétends-je point avoir atteint de résultats précis. J'ai seulement, de façon négative, montré que la situation est plus complexe qu'il ne parait au travers des déclarations sommaires d'Ibn Khallikān et d'Amedroz; et d'autre part, j'ai voulu indiquer une orientation, une méthode que je crois nécessaires au progrès de la recherche historique en domaine oriental comme elles l'ont été en domaine européen, mais qui, chez les islamisants, ont rarement retenu l'attention. C'est justement, entre bien d'autres, un des mérites originaux du Professeur Sir Hamilton Gibb que d'avoir montré l'importance et la nécessité de la critique des sources; et c'est pourquoi il m'a été agréable de lui offrir en hommage plus spécialement une petite étude de ce genre, si incomplète qu'elle demeure.

Appendice

Ibn al-Qalānisī ne fait qu'une allusion fugitive (79 en bas) aux „exagérés" du culte de Ḥākim, mais il néglige ou tait le progrès en Syrie, dans la période qu'il raconte, des Druzes et des Nusairīs, que connait déjà (bien que, pour les seconds, moins explicitement) Yaḥyā d'Antioche. De même, il sait bien qu'il y a en Syrie nécessité de combattre les Arabes bédouins indociles, mais leurs progrès, qui caractérise la période et aboutit par exemple à la constitution de la

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nuation par son fils jusqu' en 415H.), d'al-Musabbihī (jusqu' en 423 H.), et les Vies des Califes citées n. 7. D'un autre historien de même époque, al-Rūdhabārī, on ne sait rien; et al-Qudā'ī, bien connu, lui, est trop sommaire. Voir, sur tout cela, C. Becker cité n. 7.

[1] Il faudrait savoir à quelle date exactement commençait l'Histoire d'Ibn al-Qalānisī, que nous possédons, avec quelques feuillets perdus, à partir du milieu de 363 H.; le récit, dans cette partie, est trop détaillé pour que le début (sauf s'il s'agissait d'un deuxième volume) puisse être de longtemps antérieur, et on ne peut alors penser qu' à un raccordement avec un auteur comme Thābit ou en Égypte al-Kindī (avec sa Continuation) s'arrêtant en 362 H., ou à un début lors d'un événement comme la conquête fatimide (359-360 H.).

[2] Le *Kitāb umarā' Dimashq* d'Ibn Ja'far al-Rāzī, mort en 347 H., vient difficilement en ligne de compte, et si peut-être Ibn Abī 'l 'Ajā'iz est mort plus tard, on n'a de citations de son œuvre que pour des périodes plus anciennes (cf. Munajjid, *op. cit.*). Ensuite, s'il y a des Faḍā' il, il n'y a plus de catalogues de gouverneurs qu'au début du sixième/douzième siècle, avec Ibn al-Akfānī.

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principauté kilābite mirdāside d'Alep, ne sont nulle part soulignés comme tels; même les Kalbites, qui entourent Damas et interfèrent si souvent, d'après nos autres sources, avec son histoire, l'intéressent peu, et c'est chez elles, non chez lui, qu'il faut en rechercher l'histoire. Les trois principales tribus syriennes au cinquième/onzième siècle sont celles des Ṭaiy, des Kalb et des Kilāb; mais il faut prendre garde, par un examen attentif du contexte, à débrouiller les confusions que les copistes anciens et les éditeurs modernes ont souvent commises entre les Kalb et les Kilāb. [1] Pour cette raison, je crois utile de donner ici la liste des chefs des Kalb attestés pour ce siècle; ils descendent d'un 'Ulaiyān ou 'Ulyān connu au milieu du siècle précédent sous les Ikhshīdides et les Ḥamdānides:

Sinān b. 'U. (connu de 406 à 419 H., sa mort, par Ibn al-'Adīm et Yaḥyā).

Rāfi' b. Abī 'l-Lail, neveu du précédent, connu par les mêmes 420-425 H.

Rāshid b. Sinān connu en 440 H. par Ibn Muyassar, 3.

Mismār b. Sinān, connu en 461-469 H. par Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, cité par Amedroz, éd. d'Ibn al-Qalānisī, 97 et 109.

Hassān b. Mismār, connu en 505 H. par Ibn al-Qalānisī.

Makhtūm b. Ḥassān, connu en 525 H. par Ibn al-'Adīm.

Le premier passage cité de Sibṭ mentionne aussi un Ḥāzim b. Nabhān, qarmate et chef d'un groupe kalbite; bien que les Kalbites fassent maintenant, en général, figure de sunnites en face des Kilābites shī'ites, la pénétration du qarmatisme dans leurs rangs au siècle précédent est une chose bien connue (M. Canard, *Hamdanides* I, 602 s.).

D'autre part, l'histoire des trois grands chefs des Ṭaiy, Daghfal al-Jarrāḥ, Mufarrij b. Daghfal et Ḥassān b. Mufarrij, qui occupent tant de place dans l'histoire syro-égyptienne et même syro-byzantine dans la période approximative 360-425 H. est bien connue des histo-

[1] Il faut ainsi corriger Kilāb en Kalb dans Ibn Muyassar, *Annales d'Égypte*, éd. Massé, 3, ligne 19, et dans Ibn al-Qalānisī, 79, ligne 11 (en raison des rapports avec Rāfi' b. Abī 'l-Lail, voir la liste ci-dessus). D'une manière générale, il y a dans l'édition d'Ibn al-Qalānisī par Amedroz des négligences qui, lorsqu'elles portent sur les noms propres, sont particulièrement gênantes. Ainsi, p. 58, le nom du seigneur de Qairwān, premier maître de Tizmalat, est à lire non pas Ibn W-f-rī, mais Ibn Zirī; p. 71, la ville natale d'Anushtegin est non pas Kh-t-l, mais la place bien connue du Turkestan Chinois Khutan. Page 93, ligne 17, B. Ḥammād est à corriger en B. Ḥamdān, et Numar(īyūn) en Numair (īyūn); etc. D'autre part en bas de p. 92, l'année 468 est à lire 458, d'après la suite de l'exposé; en bas de 78, l'année 436 est à lire 433.

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riens de la Syrie, de l'Égypte et de Byzance (G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, 3 vols.), mais brusquement, après les succès fatimides contre Ḥassān, l'ombre tombe sur eux. Il sera donc utile de relever quelques références sur leurs successeurs :

'Allān b. Ḥassān est connu d'Ibn al-'Adīm en 429 H.

Un Wahb b. Ḥassān, dont l'appartenance à la famille est probable mais incertaine, est cité par Ibn al-Qalānisi, 79, sans date précise vers ce moment.

Ḥumaid b. Maḥmūd b. al-Jarrāḥ et son frère Ḥāzim b. 'Alī (ou Ḥāzim b. 'Aqīl) sont libérés en 459 H. par le Calife al-Mustanṣir (Ibn al-Qalānisi et 'Aẓimī). Ils sont cités par Sibṭ b. al-Jauzi (dans Ibn al-Qalānisi, 94-97, où Ḥāzim est une fois écrit Khādim) ainsi que Badr b. Ḥāzim, en 461 H.

D'autre part, Jābir et Zamma (sic) b. Mufarrij b. Jarrāḥ figurent comme bénéficiaires d'un *taqlīd* (fatimide?) dans le Recueil Druze de S. de Sacy (*Religion des Druzes*, I), II, nos 9 et 19, vers 422 H., d'une manière qui n'oblige pas à croire qu'ils ont réellement adhéré à la secte, mais qui exige qu'on se pose au moins la question de leurs relations avec elle. Peut-être les deux noms sont-ils à corriger.

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QUELQUES ASPECTS DE LA VIE SOCIALE EN SYRIE ET JAZĪRA AU DIXIÈME SIÈCLE D'APRÈS LES POÈTES DE LA COUR ḤAMDĀNIDE

PAR

M. CANARD

Si l'on entreprend de tracer un tableau de la vie sociale dans une société musulmane ancienne, en s'appuyant sur les renseignements que peuvent nous fournir les poètes, il ne pourra s'agir que de la société aristocratique, de celle qui vit dans l'entourage du souverain ou des émirs et hauts fonctionnaires tenus par leur rang à faire acte de mécènes et entretenir des poètes chargés de faire leur éloge et de leur adresser des poésies de circonstances. Ce n'est donc guère que de cette société que je pourrai parler et non du peuple.

Il ne faut d'ailleurs pas se dissimuler que les poésies en question n'ont aucunement en vue de dépeindre la société, qu'elles sont surtout des dithyrambes individuels desquels il ne ressort pas autre chose que les qualités des personnages visés, qualités de bravoure guerrière, de dévouement à la religion et à la défense de l'Islam et de ses frontières, de générosité, d'intelligence, de culture et de sens politique. Elles ont quelquefois une couleur politique, quand leurs auteurs prennent parti dans les querelles qui agitent le monde de l'Islam. Mais, à l'époque dont je veux parler, il se trouve que le genre descriptif, déjà à la mode depuis longtemps, illustré par Ibn al-Mu'tazz et d'autres, connait chez certains une faveur particulière et qu'on peut trouver décrits des objets ou des faits de la vie sociale. Cependant nous ne devons pas nous attendre à ce qu'ils le soient comme nous l'entendrions, représentés tels qu'ils sont avec des mots et des traits empruntés à la réalité. Le poète vise plutôt à traduire en vers les idées, les sensations ou les sentiments qu'ils évoquent en lui, et surtout à exprimer les comparaisons que lui suggère un lien quelconque, souvent très ténu et très artificiel, et parfois peu perceptible pour nous, entre la chose et l'idée. Il le fait en utilisant les procédés d'une stylistique poétique compliquée et les richesses extraordinaires du vocabulaire arabe. Souvent, le poète est prié tout à coup de dire en vers comment il voit un objet présenté, ce qu'il lui suggère, et l'improvisation forcée n'est pas favorable à une description exacte.

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C'est ainsi que les poètes nous font connaître les objets que, dans la vie quotidienne, ou dans les réunions de gala auxquelles ils assistaient, ils avaient devant les yeux, le rôle qu'ils jouaient dans cette vie, les scènes ou les activités dont ils étaient témoins ou auxquelles ils avaient participé. Dans une certaine mesure, le souci qu'ont eu les poètes d'obéir à cette mode descriptive nous permet, en faisant la part de vision irréelle, d'artificiel et de poncif que leur méthode comporte, de nous représenter certains aspects de cette société, et les poètes sont sous ce rapport, au même titre que les géographes, historiens ou narrateurs d'anecdotes, une source pour l'histoire de la civilisation musulmane.

Un des poètes les plus instructifs à cet égard, bien qu'il soit moins célèbre que Mutanabbi et Abū Firās, est al-Sarī al-Raffā' de Mossoul, qui vécut dans l'entourage du Ḥamdānide Nāṣir al-Daula et de ses fils, et également à Alep auprès de Saif al-Daula, puis à Bagdad auprès du vizir buwaihide Muhallabī. G. von Grunebaum a dit de lui qu'il a traité, avec une maitrise particulière, tous les thèmes de la lyrique citadine et, en particulier, les thèmes descriptifs. Aussi lui ferons nous une large place dans notre exposé.

C'est ainsi que nous trouvons dans son *dīwān* des descriptions de maisons, châteaux, jardins d'agrément de Mossoul. Il ne s'agit naturellement pas d'une description méthodique suivant un ordre logique quelconque, et on n'y voit guère comment est tracé le jardin, comment est aménagée la maison. Mais les différentes touches réunies nous donnent une impression assez vive de la beauté des choses dont il s'agit. Ainsi pour le palais d'Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfar, fils et successeur de Nāṣir al-Daula, situé au bord du Tigre, de sorte que le jardin n'a pas besoin de puiser l'eau dans des étangs (*ghudrān*) ou des puits creusés (*qulb*), l'eau y parvient par des machines élévatoires (*dawālīb*) au gémissement (*hanna*) caractéristique. Son parc comporte une pièce d'eau (*birka*) où évoluent des oiseaux aquatiques (cygnes?: *iwazz*), un jet d'eau (*fawwāra*), des canaux d'irrigation (*sawāqin*) au milieu de la verdure, des palmiers et de la vigne qui porte des raisins blancs et noirs. [1]

Le poète nous décrit aussi la résidence d'un de ses amis, vraisemblablement aussi à Mossoul, avec ses palmiers et sa pièce d'eau. Mais là, il nous montre aussi l'intérieur de la maison. Le propriétaire devait être un amateur d'art, car il a des tentures murales représentant des

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[1] *Dīwān* (Le Caire, 1353 H.), 34.

scènes de chasse. On y voit des personnages pleins de grâce, des lions bondissants, des guépards attaquant des gazelles. [1] Le modèle de ce tableau, très fréquent dans l'art islamique, est évidemment le *paradeisos* perse. Comme dans un tableau dont nous parlerons plus loin, le poète, suivant l'habitude islamique, insiste sur le fait qu'il ne s'agit pas d'êtres vivants, car l'artiste ne peut faire l'œuvre du Créateur, et dit que c'est la brise agitant ces tentures qui donne aux figures l'apparence de la vie et du mouvement. Une autre tenture représente des chanteuses qui „donnent en abondance du plaisir aux yeux, mais le refusent aux oreilles," car on ne peut les entendre, dans un jardin fleuri „dont aucune terre n'a fait pousser les fleurs." Les exemples de représentations d'êtres vivants abondent sur des tentures ou des panneaux de bois sculptés, dans les demeures princières. Il suffira de rappeler les palais de Sāmarrā et celui du Ṭūlūnide Khumārawaih, et plus tard les palais fāṭimides. [2]

Une autre description est celle du château et du jardin, à Mossoul, de Yārūkh, officier turc, *maulā* et chambellan du Ḥamdānide Nāṣir al-Daula. Deux pièces y sont consacrées. [3] Yārūkh était sans doute protecteur et bienfaiteur de Sarī. [4] Ce château était au bord du Tigre qui alimentait aussi les canaux irriguant le jardin. Il dépassait tous les autres édifices en hauteur et ses créneaux (*shurafāt*), brillants comme des lingots d'argent (*wadhā'il*) et comme de l'or fondu au coucher du soleil, dominaient le pays au loin; les oiseaux gazouillaient dans les palmiers et autres arbres du jardin. [5]

Le poète déploie dans cette description toutes les ressources de son art. Selon un procédé connu il compare les choses de la nature à des créations artificielles, la parure des vergers à une broderie, les fruits à des colliers de bijoux. D'autres fois, c'est le procédé inverse, les canaux d'irrigation étant comparés à des serpents (ils le sont d'ailleurs aussi à des chaînes d'argent).

Ces descriptions donnent l'impression qu'on se trouve en face de

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[1] *Ibid.*, 200.

[2] Voir Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*. Pour le palais de Khumārawaih, voir Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 316-317: il s'était fait représenter sur des panneaux de bois sculptés dans son *majlis*, au milieu de ses concubines et chanteuses. Sur ces représentations, voir Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, et Ettinghausen, "Painting in the Fatimid Period," *Ars Islamica*, IX (1946).

[3] *Dīwān*, 49-50 et 93.

[4] Voir d'autres pièces consacrées à Yārūkh, *ibid.* 51, 53, 228; 266-267, à propos de la *sitāra* (orchestre féminin caché derrière un rideau) de Yārūkh.

[5] *Dīwān*, 93, vers 2, 12, 16; 50, vers 14, 20-21.

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constructions de luxe comme pouvaient s'en permettre les princes et les émirs enrichis par les revenus du pays et les prises des expéditions guerrières. Nous ne savons rien par contre sur les architectes et les artistes créateurs de ces palais et de leur aménagement.

Une demeure importante devait être aussi celle qu'avait fait construire à Alep Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Faiyāḍ, secrétaire de Saif al-Daula, qui fut fait prisonnier par les Grecs lors de la prise d'Alep en 351 H. Mais la pièce qui en fait mention est surtout consacrée à l'éloge de ce personnage en tant que secrétaire, et le palais n'est que peu décrit. On voit seulement que les autres bâtiments paraissent petits à côté de lui: le poète, pour donner une idée de la hauteur de l'édifice, emploie simplement les comparaisons ordinaires, et dit que ses chambres hautes illuminent splendidement la nuit et qu'on croirait, à les voir, qu'il s'agit du lever des étoiles. Il donne cependant des précisions sur l'emplacement de la maison, „entre les terrains de jeux des deux monastères," mais nous ne savons pas où cela se trouvait à Alep. [1]

Dans une pièce où il donne libre cours à la nostalgie qu'il éprouve pour Mossoul, sans doute quand il est à Alep, à moins que ce ne soit à Bagdad, il fait mention aussi de châteaux qui sont au bord du Tigre et qui semblent avoir souffert d'une crue. [2]

Le poète lui-même possédait une demeure assez somptueuse. Il en parle à l'occasion d'une invitation qu'il fait à un ami. Il la qualifie de *majlis*, mot qui signifie lieu de réunion, mais qui peut aussi signifier palais. Il ne la décrit pas particulièrement, mais fait ressortir le confort de son intérieur et les plaisirs qui y attendent son ami. Nous y reviendrons plus loin. Il décrit également une *ghurfa* (chambre haute), dominant la campagne dans laquelle il invite également un ami, et où, dit-il, une hirondelle a fait son nid. [3] Sa demeure devait être en tout cas assez spacieuse, car il se plaint de celle dans laquelle il est descendu à Bagdad, disant qu'elle est aussi étroite qu'un trou de lézard, qu'il ne peut y étendre ses jambes et qu'elle lui fait l'effet d'une prison. [4]

On trouve aussi dans les descriptions que fait Ṣanaubarī d'Alep, et des lieux de plaisance qui entourent la ville, de nombreuses allusions à des jardins ornés de pièces d'eau dans lesquelles évoluent des

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[1] *Ibid.*, 240-241.
[2] *Ibid.*, 98, vers 11-13.
[3] *Ibid.*, 187.
[4] *Ibid.*, 199.

poissons. Le thème de la description d'une pièce d'eau est fréquent; on en trouve aussi chez Abū Firās, bien que ce poète n'ait pas particulièrement versé dans le genre descriptif. [1] Les historiens ont parlé longuement d'autre part du palais qu'avait fait construire Saif al-Daula au pied de la colline du Jaushan et pour lequel il avait détourné le cours du Quwaiq. [2] Il s'étendait sur un espace de 6000 coudées.

Aux demeures princières, on peut rattacher les tentes des grands personnages qui étaient très grandes et dont la décoration intérieure comportait souvent des représentations figurées. L'émir Badr b. 'Ammār, gouverneur de Tibériade pour l'Ikhshīd, avait une tente de ce genre, ornée d'images (*tamāthīl*) dont Mutanabbī nous dit qu'elles étaient si frappantes de vie qu'on les aurait cru animées par des djinns et qu'elles semblaient tourner les yeux vers l'émir. La tente la plus célèbre à cet égard était celle de l'émir Saif al-Daula que Mutanabbī vit un jour à Antioche et dont il nous a laissé une description bien connue dans la première pièce qu'il adressa à cet émir. [3] Dans un cadre constitué par une rangée de perles, c'est-à-dire par une rangée de cercles blancs, était représenté un paysage dans lequel se mouvaient des animaux sauvages, lions en particulier, et des chevaux galopant. De plus, l'artiste y avait montré l'empereur byzantin, couronné, s'humiliant devant l'émir coiffé d'un turban pour qu'on distinguât bien son caractère arabe. L'artiste a sans doute voulu représenter ici l'empereur se prosternant, car le poète ajoute que les rois baisent le tapis sur lequel se tient l'émir, n'osant même pas, tant est grande la terreur qu'il leur inspire, lui baiser la main ou le bout des doigts. Le tableau représentait aussi des grands ou des princes se tenant debout dans une attitude respectueuse, les mains croisées sur le pommeau de leur sabre.

Dans toute cette description, le poète prend bien soin de nous dire que les personnages et les animaux ne sont pas vivants, que les arbres de ces jardins n'ont pas poussé arrosés par la pluie, que c'est seulement parce que le vent agite les étoffes que les animaux semblent se mouvoir: l'artiste ne peut créer la vie que seul Dieu peut créer. Nous avons vu que Sarī exprime la même idée de façon aussi naïve.

Il s'agit là de deux scènes distinctes, l'une et l'autre remontant à

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[1] Pour Sanaubarī, voir Yāqūt, II, 312 et pour Abū Firās, l'édition Dahhān, n° 204, 254 (3 vers).

[2] Voir M. Canard, *Sayf ad-dawla, Recueil de textes...*, 154, 204, 388.

[3] Ed. Barqūqī, II, 438, rime *-anā*, pour la tente de Badr; II, 232, rime *-imuh* pour la tente de Saif al-Daula.

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des modèles persans, d'une part une scène qui a pour théâtre un parc comme le *paradeisos* persan avec des animaux sauvages divers et des cavaliers galopant à leur poursuite, et d'autre part une scène d'humiliation d'un souverain vaincu, comme celle que les sculpteurs sāsānides ont représentée sur les bas-reliefs de Nakhsh-i Rustam et de Ṭāq-i Bustān, où l'on voit l'empereur Valérien s'agenouillant devant Shāpūr. [1] L'artiste qui a décoré la tente de Saif al-Daula a certainement eu ces modèles, ou des représentations remontant à ces derniers, sous les yeux. En ce qui concerne l'attitude des grands appuyés sur leur sabre, elle est bien connue aussi par les mêmes bas-reliefs, et cette habitude iranienne est attestée aussi dans l'Islam. C'est ainsi que Shābushtī nous représente 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir prononçant l'éloge funèbre de son frère Sulaimān, mort en 266 H., devant sa tombe, appuyé sur son sabre (*muttaki'an 'alā saifihi*), et que l'Ikhshid est montré dans la même position lors de son entrevue avec Muttaqī. [2] Il est difficile de savoir si les scènes en question étaient représentées sur les parois mêmes de la tente ou sur des tentures.

Tous les souverains musulmans avaient des tentes de ce genre et elles étaient chez les Fāṭimides un emblème de souveraineté. L'une des plus connues est celle de Mustanṣir. [3]

Ce n'était pas seulement dans les tentes, sur des murs d'appartements ou, comme nous le verrons plus loin dans les *ḥammāms*, qu'on trouvait ces représentations figurées, on en voyait aussi sur des tapis, comme celui sur lequel fut assassiné Mutawakkil, sur des étoffes (*thiyāb*), et autres objets. [4] Mutanabbī décrivant des cadeaux que lui a faits Saif al-Daula, mentionne des étoffes sur lesquelles l'artiste grecque (*ṣanā' al-Rūm*) a représenté ses rois et s'est montrée elle-même entourée de ses femmes esclaves (*tajlū 'alainā nafsahā wa-qiyānahā*).

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[1] Cf. Horovitz dans *Der Islam*, I (1910), 385 s.; Sarre et Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 71 s.; Herzfeld dans *Der Islam*, XXI (1933), 233 s. et *Malereien von Samarra*, 3 s. Voir aussi sur le tableau de Mutanabbī, G. Wiet, *Soieries persanes*, 78, avec la bibliographie donnée. Un vers de Mutanabbī montre les lions poursuivant leur proie, ou suivant une variante, la guettant. L'équivalent du *paradeisos* persan est le *ḥair al-waḥsh* des califes 'abbāsides à Sāmarrā (voir *EI* sous "Ḥair," Ya'qūbī *BGA*, VII, 263, Mez, 386), où Mu'tazz offrit un jour à 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir le spectacle du combat d'un lion et d'un éléphant: Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*, 72 (Shābushtī-Sachau, 27). Ce parc était en ruines à l'époque de Rāḍī, voir Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, trad., 237.

[2] Shābushtī, *op. cit.*, 84; Ibn Sa'īd, éd. Tallqvist, 40. De même le vizir al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān devant al-Mutawakkil: Qalqashandī, I, 108, 4 a f.

[3] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 419 (*Khazā' in al-khiyam*). Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, 241; Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 21.

[4] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 291; Ḥusrī, *Zahr al-adab*, II, 153; III, 161, 175.

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Il ne lui a pas suffi, dit-il, d'y représenter des chevaux, elle y a aussi représenté toutes sortes de choses, mais elle n'a pu donner une figure au temps qui est hors de toute figuration; elle n'a négligé aucune des choses qu'un artiste peut représenter, mais elle n'a pu faire parler les animaux. [1] D'après cette pièce de Mutanabbī, il semble bien qu'il s'agisse d'une artiste grecque esclave comme les aides qui l'entourent et que ces tissus aient été fabriqués dans un atelier de la cour de Saif al-Daula. La mention des esclaves tisseuses paraît s'opposer à ce qu'il s'agisse d'une étoffe importée de Byzance.

Il y aurait beaucoup à dire sur ces tissus à images, en particulier ceux qui montrent des animaux et des scènes de chasse. Ils sont de tradition ancienne, et cette tradition est passée de la Perse à Byzance d'une part, à l'Islam d'autre part. [2]

Ainsi, comme il a été souvent démontré, l'Islam a toujours admis les représentations figurées, même d'êtres vivants, sauf à l'intérieur des mosquées. Il n'a fait que continuer le préislam qui connaissait déjà les tapis à images. [3]

Il y avait encore d'autres objets à images dont on aimait à s'entourer. La coupe à images est chez les poètes un thème bien connu par une pièce célèbre d'Abū Nuwās, [4] par des vers d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz, [5] etc. Dans une poésie consacrée à un personnage qui était gouverneur de la ville de Ḥadītha en Jazīra, Sarī mentionne une coupe sur laquelle

[1] Ed. Barqūqī, II, 421, rime *-ānabā*.

[2] Pour Byzance, voir Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* (*Histoire de l'art byzantin* publiée sous la direction de Ch. Diehl, III), 50 s.; Kondakov, "Les costumes orientaux à la cour de Byzance," *Byzantion*, I, 24 s., où est étudiée une étoffe provenant des ateliers gréco-égyptiens d'Alexandrie au sixième ou septième siècle et représentant une chasse du modèle sāsānide; A. Grabar, "Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour byzantine sous les Macédoniens," dans *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Dritte Folge, Band III (1951), 32-60. Ces scènes de chasse étaient déjà notées par Ammien Marcellin dans son récit de l'expédition de 363 où il parle des palais de Ctésiphon (XXIV, 6). Des tissus arabes représentant les animaux pouvaient être vus en Occident dès le neuvième siècle ainsi qu'en témoignent des vers de l'évêque Théodulfe d'Orléans, mort en 821, qui, dans ses *Carmina* décrit les *pallia quae misit, ut puto, torvus Arabs*, et sur lesquels, dit-il, on voyait des boeufs, des vaches et des veaux (P.L., CV, col. 287; cf. G. Jacob, *Der nordlich-baltische Handel*, 141). Pour l'Islam, voir les ouvrages cités d'Arnold et de Wiet.

[3] *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, no 26, 290 s. Il y en avait chez les femmes du Prophète, voir K.A.C. Creswell, "The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam," *Ars Islamica*, XI-XII (1946), 159 s.

[4] I. Kratchkovsky, "La coupe sassanide dans les vers du poète abbasside Abū Nuwās," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, II (1928), 113 s. (cf. H. Ritter, dans *Orientalia*, I, [1933]). Voir aussi Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-adab*, II, 153; III, 161, 175.

[5] Ed. de Beyrouth, 243.

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étaient représentés Chosroès et César; dans des vers consacrés à la maison du Ḥamdānide Ḥarb b. Sa'īd b. Ḥamdān, frère d'Abū Firās, il parle aussi d'une coupe montrant des cavaliers perses tirant de l'arc. [1] Un autre poète ḥamdānide, Babbaghā, décrit une coupe à images qui est de couleur bleue. [2] Il est évident que cela était l'œuvre d'artistes locaux spéciaux, de *kharrāṭīn*, comme celui à qui Bashshār b. Burd avait commandé une coupe sur laquelle seraient représentés des oiseaux. [3]

Ce n'est pas seulement dans les palais et demeures privées des riches personnages qu'on pouvait contempler des œuvres d'artistes, on en trouvait aussi dans des lieux publics, les *ḥammāms*, c'est-à-dire les établissements de bains. On sait que les entrées des bains étaient décorées de cette façon [4] et que c'était probablement une survivance de l'antiquité romaine. [5] Les peintures murales des *ḥammāms* sont un thème favori de Sarī qui consacre plusieurs pièces à la description des établissements de bains. [6] Aucune de ces pièces ne précise où se trouvaient ces *ḥammāms*, à Mossoul, à Alep ou à Bagdad, c'est-à-dire dans les trois villes où vécut le poète. En tout cas, ces peintures représentaient des scènes de batailles, des cavaliers frappant de la lance ou du sabre, des scènes de chasse avec chiens et animaux sauvages poursuivis, analogues à celles de la tente de Saif al-Daula ou de la maison d'un des amis de Sarī mentionnées plus haut, mais aussi des scènes de beuveries avec présence de chanteuses et musiciennes. Quelques détails précis sont donnés sur l'aspect de ces *ḥammāms*: plafond voûté couleur de cornaline (*'aqīq*), avec petites ouvertures rondes munies de sortes de cloches de verre pour tamiser la lumière, brillantes comme de l'argent, de sorte qu'on dirait ce plafond incrusté de coupes d'argent, sol pavé de petites pierres noires brillantes (*sabaj*: jais). On voit [7] qu'on s'y rendait après boire, peut-être pour dissiper l'ivresse.

Sarī ne s'attache pas seulement à décrire les riches demeures et les *ḥammāms*. Il y a à Mossoul et dans la région du Tigre en général un objet qui a particulièrement attiré son attention, le moulin flottant.

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1 *Dīwān*, 127, 196. Même représentation de cavaliers dans un vers anonyme dans Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma*, I, 72.
2 *Yatīma*, I, 227.
3 *Aghānī*, III, 27.
4 Herzfeld, *Malereien von Samarra*, 1-3. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 340.
5 Mez, 365-366.
6 *Dīwān*, 59, 69, 143, 169.
7 P. 69.

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Les moulins flottants du Tigre, montés sur des bateaux amarrés dans le fleuve, dont les meules sont mues par une roue actionnée par le courant, sont bien connus. Nous ne savons pas exactement comment ils étaient construits, avec une roue à aubes disposée à l'intérieur d'un seul bateau, ou entre deux bateaux. Les deux modèles étaient connus en France, au dix-huitième siècle, sur le Rhône à Avignon. Ces moulins sont mentionnés par le géographe Ibn Ḥauqal et, d'après lui, par les géographes postérieurs. Ils font l'objet, de la part du juriste Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, d'une discussion au sujet des questions juridiques que pose leur amarrage dans le fleuve et des dommages qu'ils peuvent causer en certaines circonstances. [1] Ils sont mentionnés aussi par Shābushtī. [2] Ils étaient évidemment familiers à Sarī, car il leur a consacré une dizaine de pièces, [3] dans lesquelles il s'évertue à varier l'expression des images qu'ils évoquent dans son esprit. Il emploie pour les désigner le même terme qu'Ibn Ḥauqal, *'araba*, pluriel *'urūb* (selon *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, *'urb*), qui, d'après Yāqūt, est un terme spécial de la langue de la Jazīra. Le bateau amarré évoque pour lui l'image d'une esclave noire qui avait tenté de s'échapper et qu'on a attachée, le grincement de la roue, le gémissement d'un prisonnier, la poudre de farine, la poussière d'une bataille, le heurt de l'eau contre la roue, une lutte bruyante. Certaines de ces pièces indiquent le quartier de Mossoul où étaient amarrés ces bateaux, le Faubourg Haut. Dans une des pièces il est question seulement d'un moulin, dans le Diyār Bakr, sans qu'on puisse distinguer s'il s'agit d'un moulin flottant ou d'un moulin ordinaire. En tout cas, nous savons qu'il y avait aussi des moulins flottants à Balad, d'après Ibn Ḥauqal.

Ces moulins flottants avaient une grande importance économique. On sait que la Jazīra ravitaillait Bagdad. Mais on ne doit pas s'attendre à ce qu'un poète touche à des questions de ce genre. Par contre il nous dit qu'on allait visiter ces moulins, [4] et il semble d'autre part que le meunier était en même temps cabaretier, car on se rendait aussi dans ces moulins pour boire. [5] On se rend compte que ce qui

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[1] Ibn Ḥauqal, 147-148 (Mossoul et Balad), 266 (Tiflis); Yāqūt, III, 632; Qazwīnī-Wüstenfeld, II, 309, 366; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 208, sous 363 H.; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, trad. Fagnan, 142; Mez, 438-439. Selon Abū 'l-Qāsim, éd. Mez, f° 34b, la meilleure farine est la farine blanche des moulins flottants de Mossoul. Sur les moulins d'Avignon, voir S. Gagnière, dans *La Provence historique*, I (1950).

[2] P. 112; et pour ceux de Bagdad, 45, sous "Dair mār Jirjis" à Mazrafa.

[3] *Dīwān*, 11, 44, 96, 97, 138, 144, 145-146, 189, 232, 270.

[4] *Ibid.*, 97.

[5] *Ibid.*, 145-146, 270.

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intéressait Sarī dans ces moulins, c'était leur aspect extérieur et leur utilisation à des fins frivoles.

On trouve aussi, dans le *dīwān* de Sarī, des allusions à des circonstances diverses de la vie. On comprend, par une de ses pièces, [1] qu'un habitant de Mossoul avait une dette envers lui et devait lui fournir une certaine quantité de grain (*ṭa'ām*) au moment de sa récolte. L'homme excipa d'une mauvaise récolte et du déficit de son bien cette année-là pour ne pas payer sa dette. Sarī lui répondit par cette pièce que c'était pour devancer sa réclamation que cet homme se plaignait d'une mauvaise récolte, et appela sur lui toutes les malédictions du ciel, grêle, sauterelles et incendie. Il semble qu'il s'agisse ici d'un *khammās*.

On peut glaner de-ci, de-là, quelques détails intéressants relatifs au poète et aux personnes qu'il fréquentait: une satire de trois vers contre un témoin instrumentaire qui se laisse suborner, [2] une autre contre les cadis de Bagdad, lettrés et cultivés, mais débauchés, [3] contre les maîtres d'école dont il souligne la sottise – c'est un lieu commun dans l'Islam – et qui ne font, dit-il, qu'obscurcir l'intelligence des enfants, [4] une attaque contre Shimshāṭī, précepteur des enfants de Nāṣir al-Daula et partisan des adversaires littéraires de Sarī, les Khālidī: il se gausse de son origine arménienne que Shimshāṭī dissimulait, se prétendant d'origine arabe et noble. [5] Il parle plusieurs fois d'un curieux personnage, un ancien danseur de Bagdad devenu lettré, et partisan des Mu'tazilites dont il voudrait faire adopter les doctrines par Sarī. [6] Certaines pièces sont adressées à un coiffeur (*muẓaiyin*) et ventouseur (*ḥajjām*) de Mossoul, poète de surcroît, qu'il plaisante gentiment sur ses instruments comparés à des sabres. [7] Dans une autre pièce, il s'en prend à un personnage qui hébergeait chez lui des gens de mauvaise vie et qu'il semble accuser de proxénétisme. [8] Peut-être s'agit-il de quelqu'un de Bagdad où la débauche, comme en témoigne Ṣūlī, s'exerçait presque au grand jour. [9]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 242-243.
[2] *Ibid.*, 194.
[3] *Ibid.*, 246.
[4] *Ibid.*, 97.
[5] *Ibid.*, 158-160.
[6] *Ibid.*, 149, 154, 162, 164, 274. On voit par ces pièces que Sarī était shī'ite de même par une pièce, p. 156, dirigée contre les 'Abbāsides.
[7] *Ibid.*, 101, 134, 194.
[8] *Ibid.*, 277-278: il y avait eu une rixe chez lui.
[9] Cf. Ṣūlī, *Akhbār ar-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaqī*, trad., II, 113, 114, 117.

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Sarī d'autre part connaissait bien la société chrétienne, et les fêtes comme les habitudes chrétiennes lui étaient familières. C'est sans doute un Chrétien, cet ami qui lui envoie un cadeau, sorte de tabernacle contenant des bougies (*qibāb sham'*), à l'occasion du *mīlād* (Noël). [1] Il connait à Mossoul l'Église Blanche et ses statues. [2] Dans des pièces où, étant à Alep, il dit sa nostalgie de Mossoul, il évoque une église, son diacre (*shammās*) et son prêtre (*qass*), ainsi que les statues, [3] le Dair Sa'id qui est situé à Mossoul près du Tigre (aussi appelé Dair Mār Iliyā) et les cellules de ses moines. [4] Il connait d'autres couvents de la Jazīra comme le Dair al-Za'farān de Nisibe, [5] producteur d'un vin réputé, le Dair al-Shayāṭīn situé sur le Tigre entre Mossoul et Balad. [6] Le battement de la simandre que frappe le moine, la taille ceinte du *zunnār*, lui est familier, [7] ainsi que plusieurs termes particuliers à la religion chrétienne. Abū Naṣr b. Sanīdā, secrétaire du Ḥamdānide Abū 'l-Murajjā Jābir, secrétaire dont Sarī fait l'éloge, [8] est sans doute un Chrétien, car nous savons que les Ḥamdānides, comme les Buwaihides d'ailleurs, eurent souvent des secrétaires chrétiens. Il va sans dire que la sympathie que peut éprouver Sarī pour les Chrétiens s'explique aussi par les plaisirs que les Musulmans venaient goûter dans les monastères. Il dit dans une pièce consacrée aux plaisirs dont il jouissait à Quṭrabbul près de Bagdad: „Il y a un monastère dont les gazelles m'inspirent un amour passionné, pour un peu j'embrasserais leurs croix." [9]

Un grand nombre de descriptions des poètes, surtout de Sarī, sont consacrées à la vie de plaisirs que menait la société dont ils faisaient partie, réceptions, beuveries, distractions sportives. On se faisait une règle de jouer de la vie: „Prends de la vie (ce qu'elle t'offre), dit Sarī, car les durées d'existence sont éphémères, le temps s'enfuit et

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[1] *Dīwān*, 276.
[2] *Ibid.*, 202.
[3] *Ibid.*, 282.
[4] *Ibid.*, 44. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 669; Shābushtī, Introduction, 24-25; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, 292; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, 120-121.
[5] Shābushtī, 121 s.; Yāqūt, II, 663; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, 255-256; *Histoire de la Dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, 101.
[6] *Dīwān*, 274; cf. Yāqūt, II, 673 et Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, 303. La pièce est plus longue chez ces deux derniers. Voir la mention de trois autres couvents de Jazīra dans Abū Firās, 221-222.
[7] *Dīwān*, 249 u. Le son en était familier aussi à Ibn al-Mu'tazz: *Dīwān* (Beyrouth), 232, 233.
[8] *Dīwān*, 132.
[9] *Ibid.*, 272.

la vie s'éteint."[1] Aussi voit-on dans son *dīwān* se multiplier les descriptions de parties de plaisir avec beuveries dans les maisons et les jardins, dans les cabarets, les moulins flottants, les *hammāms*. Elles correspondent sans doute aux goûts de notre poète qui semble avoir été un bon vivant, sensible à toutes les joies et assez peu respectueux des interdictions légales. Il mentionne à plusieurs reprises le cabaret tenu par une femme nommée Utrujja al-Khammara:[2] chez elle, on faisait bon marché de l'observance de la loi; en vidant les jarres de vin, on se dépouillait du carcan de la religion.[3] A Mossoul, on allait boire dans les moulins flottants où l'on pouvait jouir à la fois de la fraicheur du fleuve et du plaisir d'apaiser la soif.[4]

Tout en buvant, on savait goûter d'autres joies des sens plus délicates, comme la contemplation des jeux de la lumière à travers les feuilles des arbres. Ainsi dans un jardin ombragé, Sarī prenait plaisir à regarder les taches que le soleil, passant entre les feuilles, faisait sur la terre, et qui évoquaient dans son esprit des dirhems éparpillés sur le sol.[5] Mutanabbī décrit la même impression, avec plus de recherche, semble-t-il.[6]

Les descriptions ont trait aussi à tout ce qui sert à agrémenter les réunions en question. Ainsi, Sarī énumère, dans une invitation qu'il adresse à un ami, les plaisirs qu'il lui offrira dans sa propre maison.[7] Il lui fait ressortir qu'il y trouvera du vin rafraichi (*shamūl*) qui vient du monastère 'Umr al-Za'farān de Nisibe,[8] des fleurs odorantes (basilic: *raiḥān*), de la glace à mettre dans les coupes pour rafraichir les boissons,[9] des bouteilles réfrigérantes (*muzammala*),[10]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 157, 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, 75, 99, 283.

[3] Voir la pièce citée plus haut, n. 49, dans Yāqūt et Ibn Faḍl Allāh, où il dit que "quand il entend le battement de la simandre. . . , un homme qui considère les délices de ce monde comme faisant partie de la religion voit dans le vin une obligation religieuse." "Chez Utrujja, dit-il, nous avons rejeté loin de nous la religion et nous nous en sommes dépouillés, et de quelle façon!"

[4] *Dīwān*, 145, 189, 270: "on y faisait vivre la joie en faisant mourir (en épuisant les outres de vin)."

[5] *Ibid.*, 242: "Le ciel des branches faisait écran au soleil et on ne voyait sur la terre que comme un éparpillement de dirhems."

[6] Mutanabbī, éd. Barqūqī, II, 483, rime -āni: "L'orient jetait parmi les feuilles sur mes vêtements des dinars qui échappaient à mes doigts." Cf. Blachère, *Motanabbi*, 244.

[7] *Dīwān*, 220-221.

[8] Voir plus haut, p. 179, n. 5.

[9] Voir *Dīwān*, 230, pour la glace (*thalj*).

[10] La *muzammala*, sur laquelle voir un article de *RAAD* (1922), 324-326, est plusieurs fois mentionnée par Sarī; voir *Dīwān*, 60-61.

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et également le dispositif bien connu destiné à combattre la chaleur à l'intérieur des appartements, le *khaish*, toile tendue qu'on agite au moyen de cordes et qui est imbibée d'eau, ici d'eau de rose, que l'on fait couler sur la toile, de façon que l'évaporation donne à la fois fraîcheur et parfum. [1]

La boisson principale dans ces réunions était évidemment le vin. Il ne semble pas qu'on y ait servi de la bière (*fuqqā'*) qui était une boisson populaire qu'on vendait dans les souks. [2] Cependant elle faisait partie des rafraîchissements offerts aux ambassadeurs byzantins au palais de Bagdad en 305/917. [3] Sarī décrit d'ailleurs des cruches de bière et ne dédaignait sans doute pas cette boisson. [4]

Les réjouissances avaient lieu parfois dans les jardins la nuit. Ainsi, le vizir Muhallabī, à Bagdad, donna une partie nocturne dans ses jardins ornés de pièces d'eau et de fontaines jaillissantes (*'auwārāt*), et l'éclairage était assuré par des bougies dressées sur des lances plantées en terre, illuminant toute la place et produisant le plus bel effet. [5]

On s'entourait dans les séances de beuverie d'objets dégageant un certain parfum. Fleurs et fruits étaient disposés dans les salons; [6] ils étaient l'accompagnement obligé de ces réjouissances. Les fleurs jonchaient parfois le sol. [7] On aimait aussi à tenir une fleur ou un fruit à la main. Toutefois, je n'ai pas trouvé chez Sarī la mention de ces réunions où l'on adoptait une seule couleur pour les fleurs, la tenue des commensaux et les accessoires, mode connue par différents récits du *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara* de Tanūkhī, du *Kitāb al-diyārāt* de Shābushtī, etc. [8]

Les narcisses, les basilics et les roses sont les fleurs les plus souvent

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[1] Cf. *Dīwān*, 136; et voir Mez, 359-360.

[2] Ṭabarī, III, 1505. Dans la *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, 184, Ibn al-Qāriḥ souhaite qu'on en serve au Paradis et que les marchands de bière de Syrie et d'Iraq, etc., y soient réunis.

[3] Salmon, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, 55/140; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II/2, 78.

[4] *Dīwān*, 46, 143.

[5] *Ibid.*, 9-10.

[6] Mutanabbī, I, 95, rime *-ābu*.

[7] Joncher le sol de fleurs lors d'une réunion bachique était également une habitude antique et byzantine: Mez, 378. On en jetait aussi dans l'eau: le vizir buwaihide Muhallabī à Bagdad acheta, trois jours de suite, pour 1000 dinars, de roses qu'il répandit sur une grande pièce d'eau des jardins de son palais appelé Dār al-Birka; il en tapissa également le sol de ses salons: Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 147. Un autre vizir buwaihide, Shīrāzī, en fit répandre une quantité quand son maître Mu'izz al-Daula vint lui faire une visite en son palais de la Rive Droite: Ḥusrī, *Dhail Zahr al-adab*, 277.

[8] Cf. par exemple, *Nishwār*, I, 144 et suiv.

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nommées par les poètes de cette région. Parmi les fruits, le melon (*dastanbū*) est au premier plan (voir plus loin). Une petite pièce de Mutanabbī mentionne le cédrat comme apprécié par Saif al-Daula pour son parfum. Il en tenait un à la main, en même temps qu'un spathe de palmier (*ṭal'*), un jour qu'il passait ses troupes en revue. [1] Le maître de maison apparaissait souvent, tenant à la main un petit melon (*dastanbū*, *dastanbūya*) dont il respirait le parfum. On sait que ce mot, persan d'origine, signifie „odeur de la main, ou des mains." Il s'agit d'un petit melon rond, à l'écorce jaune mouchetée et rayée, à l'intérieur très blanc et très parfumé. C'était naturellement, pour les poètes, l'occasion de composer quelques vers décrivant l'objet ou faisant allusion à une particularité quelconque relative à cet objet. C'est ainsi que nous trouvons deux petites pièces de quatre vers chacune dans le *Dīwān* de Sarī, pour qui le jaune de l'écorce évoque l'image d'une pointe de lance dorée. [2]

Mais il était d'usage aussi, et c'était certainement un raffinement, de porter à la main un dastanbūya artificiel, fait d'une substance odorante. Ainsi voit-on le melon d'ambre, c'est à dire une boule d'ambre noir (*nadd*) en forme de melon qu'on prenait plaisir à agrémenter d'une décoration. Tel est le melon d'ambre que le Ḥamdānide Abū 'l-'Ashā'ir, gouverneur d'Antioche, tenait à la main et qui a fait l'objet de deux jolis impromptus de Mutanabbī. Il était enfermé dans un étui de bambou, orné d'un collier de perles et surmonté d'une sorte de couronne d'ambre gris (*'anbar*). [3] Les vers de Mutanabbī font allusion à la fabrication de l'objet (ambre noir chauffé au feu pour être façonné), d'autre part à la coutume de saluer en faisant un geste de la main qui tenait le dastanbūya (*ḥaiyā bihā*), détail que l'on remarque aussi chez Sarī (*ḥaiyā bi-dastanbūya*). [4]

Il n'y avait pas que le dastanbū qu'on représentait ainsi façonné dans une matière odorante. Les fruits et fleurs artificiels étaient d'usage courant dans la haute société des neuvième et dixième siècles: noisettes et raisins d'ambre, [5] rose d'ambre, [6] pomme d'ambre, [7] comme par

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[1] Mutanabbī, II, 74, rime -ūli. Le commentaire dit que le spathe de palmier dégageait une odeur agréable et que ce n'est pas pour boire que Saif avait pris ces objets, ce qui montre qu'on les trouvait dans les beuveries.

[2] *Dīwān*, 60, 148.

[3] Mutanabbī, I, 254, rime *-adi*; II, 466, rime *-ān*.

[4] Sarī, *Dīwān*, 60. Sur la coutume de se saluer ainsi, cf. Mez, 378.

[5] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 98; *Faraj*, II, 22 (noisettes d'ambre et de musc jetées sur les assistants à l'occasion du mariage d'un Barmékide).

[6] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 277. [7] *Aghānī*, VI, 177-178.

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exemple celle dont parle Mutanabbī et qui avait été offerte à un ami du poète par l'émir ikhshidite Abū Shujā' Fātik: sur la pomme était écrit le nom Fātik. [1] Ces fruits artificiels étaient appelés d'une façon générale *tamāthīl al-'anbar*. [2] Le camphre servait aussi à faire de tels *tamāthīl*. [3] La matière odorante était parfois présentée telle quelle: Mutanabbī nous montre le 'Alide Abū Ṭāhir tenant à la main un morceau de musc qu'il fait admirer à ses compagnons. [4]

Ces objets odorants avaient pour but d'une part de témoigner du luxe et de la richesse d'un personnage, et d'autre part de flatter le sens de la vue et de l'odorat. Mais on faisait aussi de ces *tamāthīl* destinés à être mangés comme friandises. Ainsi ce poisson de sucre et d'amandes confit dans du miel qui fut offert à Mutanabbī par un nommé 'Ubaid Allāh b. Khallikān et qui lui était envoyé du Khurāsān; le poète y répondit par cinq vers écrits au safran sur le plat qui contenait ce gâteau. [5] On trouve dans Ḥusrī la description d'une fête donnée à Bagdad, à l'occasion du Naurūz, par le vizir buwaihide al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan, dans laquelle, au milieu d'une profusion de fleurs, apparut un château de sucre à quatre étages et des quantités de *tamāthīl* représentant des filles et des garçons (*jawārī*, *ghilmān*), ainsi que des oiseaux et animaux, sauvages et domestiques, en sucre également, colorés, gravés et ornés de diverses façons. [6]

Dans toutes ces réunions et beuveries, les parfums se répandaient à profusion, montant des cassolettes, des fleurs, des objets d'ambre et de camphre, etc. Ce goût des sensations olfactives se remarque encore dans la société arabe actuelle. On recherchait les raffinements les plus délicats dans cet ordre d'idées. C'est ainsi que chez Abū 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Amīd, vizir de Rukn al-Daula, on brûlait des parfums dans une cassolette (*mijmara*) remplie de narcisses et de myrtes qui

[1] Mutanabbī, II, 407, rime *-mubu*. On écrivait aussi sur des pommes naturelles: Yatīma, I, 248.

[2] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, VIII, 149 (cédrat, melon, dastanbū, etc.). Cf. le pain d'ambre dont Ṣūlī fait mention à la cour de Rāḍī et que les commensaux se partagèrent: *Akhbār ar-Rāḍī*, 31; trad., 80.

[3] Miskawaih, I, 244.

[4] Mutanabbī, I, 105, rime *-ibā*. A une époque postérieure, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 104, dans la biographie d'Ibn Mammātī, parle d'un énorme poisson d'ambre orné de pierres précieuses offert à Badr al-Jamalī par un marchand indou et que Badr refusa. Sur ces *tamāthīl* à la cour fāṭimide, voir Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 387, 414, 472, 474, 477 et Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 518.

[5] Mutanabbī, I, 209, rime *-addā*; II, 126, rime *-ali*.

[6] *Dhail Zahr al-adab*, 277. Sur les *tamāthīl* en matières précieuses, or par exemple, voir *Aghānī*, V, 29, 1 (un éléphant), et les trésors des Fāṭimides. Cf. Kahle, „Die Schätze der Fatimiden," *ZDMG* (1935), 358.

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cachaient complètement la vue de l'aloès qui brûlait; la fumée odorante s'échappait d'entre les fleurs et le mélange des deux parfums, dont une des sources était dérobée aux yeux, donnait une sensation de plus.

Cependant l'atmosphère de ces réunions pouvait être fatigante, et il semble que Mutanabbi éprouvait parfois cette impression. Dans une de ses pièces (deux vers seulement), où il parle d'une ivresse de joie et demande à boire encore du vin pour guérir cette ivresse, on pourrait penser que ce sont plutôt les vapeurs de l'aloès jointes à celles du vin et au bruit des chants et de la musique qui lui causaient un malaise proche de l'ivresse. [1] Car on sait que Mutanabbi, sans être abstinent, n'abusait pas du vin et qu'il fallait au contraire lui forcer la main pour le faire boire. [2]

Au cours de ces réceptions, les pluies de fleurs, en particulier de roses étaient particulièrement en vogue. C'est ce qu'on appelait *shādḫgullā* ou *shādḫgullāh*. Le mot est dans un vers d'Abū Firās, à la rime; il y compare la chute des flocons de neige à une pluie de roses blanches. [3] Le mot est d'origine persane et est composé de *shād*, qui signifie joie, gaité, joyeux et de *gul*, rose, fleur. On aimait à faire pleuvoir des fleurs sur les invités dans les milieux iraniens ou influencés par les coutumes iraniennes. Comme pour les fruits et fleurs artificiels dont nous avons parlé, on s'ingéniait aussi à faire des *shādḫgullā* avec des dirhems frappés pour l'occasion et de diverses couleurs, ou bien on mêlait les dirhems aux roses et à des *tamāthīl* d'ambre ou de camphre. Il n'est pas question de *shādḫgullā* de ce genre dans l'entourage des Ḥamdānides, mais le vers d'Abū Firās montre que le divertissement de la pluie de roses y était connu. D'autre part, le *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara* décrit une fête donnée par un des Barīdites de Baṣra, bien connus des Ḥamdānides, au cours de laquelle furent jetées en pluie sur les assistants des roses pour une valeur de 20.000 dirhems mêlées à 20.000 dirhems légers, et à des morceaux d'ambre et de camphre ainsi qu'à des *tamāthīl*: les serviteurs ramassèrent tout cela ensuite et se le partagèrent. [4] Si les Barīdites se livraient à ce

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[1] Mutanabbī, I, 350, rime *-ūri*.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 489, rime *-aqqi* (Abū Muḥammad b. Tughaj le force à boire); II, 7, rime *-akā* (à la demande de Badr b. 'Ammār); II, 377, rime *-imā* (à la demande de Abū Muḥammad b. Tughaj); II, 466, rime *-ān*: il refuse à Abū 'l-'Ashā'ir. Cf. sur cette particularité, Mez, 377.

[3] *Dīwān*, 5. Cf. *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, I, 234, où sont cités les deux vers d'Abū Firās. Les puristes écrivent *shādbikullā*.

[4] *Nishwār*, I, 147.

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coûteux divertissement, il serait bien étonnant que les Ḥamdānides de Mossoul ou d'Alep n'en eussent pas fait autant. Des manifestations de ce genre étaient aussi en usage à la cour des 'Abbāsides à l'époque de Mutawakkil et de Mu'tadid. [1]

Les pluies de roses ou de pétales de roses étaient aussi désignées sous le nom de *jullasān*, mot persan (*gullasān* ou *gullastān* que les dictionnaires donnent comme l'équivalent de *gulistān*, jardin de roses) [2] Mutanabbī a consacré quelques vers à un *jullasān* chez le Buwaihide 'Aḍud al-Daula. [3]

On jetait aussi des roses dans le Tigre: c'est ce qui eut lieu lors de la fête donnée par le vizir buwaihide al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan mentionnée plus haut.

Il s'agit là d'usages iraniens qui sont en rapport avec les fêtes populaires où l'on se jette des roses à l'époque où elles commencent à fleurir et qui sont attestées encore au dix-septième et au dix-huitième siècle par des voyageurs européens. Il ne semble pas qu'on puisse les comparer aux fêtes de l'antiquité gréco-romaine, appelée Rosalia, où l'on mettait des fleurs sur les tombes et qui sont en rapport avec le culte des Mânes. D'autre part, Bīrūnī mentionne l'usage d'apporter des roses dans les églises au moi de mai, pratiqué par les Chrétiens du Khwārizm. [4]

Il y aurait évidemment lieu aussi de parler des mets qui étaient servis à la table des grands personnages quand ils invitaient leurs commensaux. Mais il y faudrait un développement spécial. Le poète cuisinier, Kushājim, a consacré plusieurs vers à la description de mets contenus dans un panier à provisions, [5] et l'on trouvera dans Mas'ūdī de nombreux vers culinaires.

Les réceptions étaient encore agrémentées d'autres divertissements. Dans les poètes que j'ai examinés ici, Abū Firās, Mutanabbī, Sarī, je n'ai pas trouvé mention de ces exhibitions de pitres ou de bouffons, les *aṣḥāb al-samāja*, qui se livraient à des exercices comiques d'imitation et que Mutawakkil prenait plaisir à regarder à l'époque du Naurūz. [6]

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[1] Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 102-103; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, II, n° 138. On trouvera aussi dans von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, II, 80, d'après le *Quṭb al-surūr* d'Ibn al-Raqīq, la description d'une fête de ce genre donnée par le calife Rāḍī à l'occasion du Naurūz.

[2] Le mot, selon le *Lisān*, VII, 339, signifierait action de répandre des roses, et désignerait aussi la rose blanche et une espèce de basilic.

[3] Mutanabbī, II, 416, rime *-amā*.

[4] *Chronologie*, 306.

[5] Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma*, I, 249.

[6] Shābushtī, 26.

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Mais Mutanabbī nous décrit le spectacle curieux d'une poupée (*lu'ba*) représentant une danseuse probablement de grandeur naturelle, dotée d'une opulente chevelure qui lui descendait jusqu'à mi-corps; elle tournait, dansait et s'arrêtait devant un des assistants en levant le pied. Elle tenait à la main un bouquet odoriférant de basilic avec lequel elle faisait un signe quand elle s'arrêtait. L'arrêt devant un personnage était le signal de l'obligation où il était de porter la coupe à ses lèvres et de boire. Ces spectacles se doublaient d'un de ces divertissements littéraires dont on était friand dans les cours, et dont nous ne parlerons pas plus longuement, qui consistait à faire improviser par un poète de l'assistance des vers décrivant la scène. C'est ainsi que Mutanabbī, commensal de Badr b. 'Ammār (Badr al-Kharshanī), émir de Palestine, dans sa résidence de Ramla, a consacré à ce divertissement quatre petits impromptus. Il y décrit les gestes de cet automate dont il souligne que son corps n'est pas animé par une âme et que ses actes lui sont imposés, que, par contre cette danseuse ne ressent aucun vertige quand elle tournoie. Ni les vers ni l'introduction qui précède chacune des pièces ne permettent de se représenter par quel mécanisme était actionnée cette poupée. Une introduction dit qu'elle tournait *'alā laulab*, ce qui désigne sans doute un ressort en spirale donnant un mouvement circulaire; une autre dit qu'elle dansait *bi-barakāt* (il faut sans doute sous-entendre *handasīya*), expression qui est employée pour le mécanisme actionnant la *maqṣūra* et le *minbar* escamotables de la mosquée de 'Abd al-Mu'min à Marrakech, tel qu'il est décrit dans la *Chronique anonyme des dynasties almoravide et almohade*, intitulée *al-Ḥulal al-mawshīya*, et qui était mû par des câbles. On voit, d'après une des pièces de Mutanabbī que la poupée, à un certain moment, était tombée, ce qui laisse penser que le système ne fonctionnait pas toujours correctement. [1]

[1] Mutanabbī, I, 97, rime *-abi*; 345, rime *-ruhā*; 171, rime *-ūḥu*; 346, rime *-aru*; II, 355, rime *-amā*. L'automate de Mutanabbī ne versait pas à boire. Mais, plus tard, on eut des automates-échansonnes comme celle qui est représentée dans le *Traité des Automates* d'Ismā'īl b. al-Razzāz al-Jazarī (XIIIe siècle). Elle se tient dans une guérite à double porte qui s'ouvre automatiquement devant le roi; elle lui présente un verre de vin et une serviette pour qu'il puisse s'essuyer la bouche après avoir bu. La guérite est surmontée d'un récipient contenant le vin; celui-ci par un système compliqué, comprenant un tube, un second récipient plus petit qui culbute et un autre tube, se déverse dans le verre. L'automate est monté sur des roues qui roulent à l'intérieur de la guérite sur une rainure. Rien de comparable par conséquent à l'automate de Mutanabbī. Sur Ibn al-Jazarī, voir Brockelmann, Suppl., I, 902-903, et A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Treatise on Automata from a MS of the K. fī ma'rifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston and*

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L'emploi de poupées automates à la cour des grands est connu par d'autres exemples. Ainsi, au Caire, le vizir fāṭimide al-Afḍal (XIe-XIIe s.) avait fait installer dans la salle où il se tenait pour se livrer à des beuveries, huit statues de femmes se faisant face, quatre blanches de camphre, et quatre noires d'ambre. Elles inclinaient la tête pour saluer al-Afḍal quand il entrait, et reprenaient leur position primitive quand il était assis au fond de la salle. [1]

Il est fait allusion à d'autres distractions comme le jeu d'échecs. On y jouait notamment chez Badr b. 'Ammār, en temps de pluie. [2]

Mais ce sont les distractions sportives qui tiennent la plus grande place chez les poètes de l'entourage des Ḥamdānides. On est frappé par le nombre de pièces que Sarī a consacrées à des parties de chasse ou de pêche. La pêche en particulier semble avoir tenu une grande place dans sa vie. On le voit en barque sur le lac d'Apamée, [3] mais cette promenade fut interrompue par une tempête qui souleva des vagues énormes. Comme ce lac était, et est encore, renommé pour son abondance en poisson silure, [4] peut-être s'agissait-il d'une partie de pêche. La pêche au filet qu'on pratiquait à Mossoul dans le Tigre et dans des étangs (*ghudrān*), [5] fait l'objet de plusieurs pièces et est l'occasion pour le poète de décrire filet et poissons. [6] Le filet est représenté comme un être qui voit dans l'eau sans œil, [7] le poisson

elsewhere (Boston, 1924). Voir la planche VIII, pp. 18-19. Pour le texte des *Ḥulal maushiya*, voir l'edition Allouche (Rabat, 1936), 119-120 (Collection de textes publiés par l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, VI) et J. Meunié et H. Terrasse, *Recherches archéologiques à Marrakech* (Paris, 1952), 45 s. (Publication de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, LIV). Le mécanisme en question était mû par des câbles.

Il y avait parfois, dans les résidences princières, des choses curieuses, comme chez l'émir al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭughaj, les deux *majlis* couplés, décrits par Mutanabbī, I, 104, rimi *-abā*. Si l'on montait dans l'un, l'autre s'abaissait et vice-versa, de sorte que l'on pouvait voir de l'un ce que l'on ne voyait pas de l'autre et réciproquement. Il semblerait qu'il s'agisse d'une balançoire dite "bascule." Mais cet engin devait être quelque chose de plus compliqué. La description est obscure et les commentateurs ne sont ici d'aucun secours. Cf. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, III, 1 (Stuttgart, 1940), 43.

[1] Ibn Muyassar, 58.

[2] Mutanabbī, I, 97, rime *-ābi*.

[3] *Dīwān*, 100.

[4] Voir Gaulmier dans *Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas*, I, 19 s. Cf. Dimashqī, *Cosmographie*, 205; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 21.

[5] Sarī décrit souvent un *ghadīr*, 65, 176, 189.

[6] *Ibid.*, 6, 10, 13, 50, 170, 176, 190, 204, 267. Cette dernière pièce est également dans Nuwairī, *Nihāya*, X, 353.

[7] *Dīwān*, 170, 204, 267.

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comparé à un coutelas ou un poignard.[1] Parfois, c'est la même pièce qui décrit chasse et pêche.[2] La chasse à courre[3] (*tard*), la chasse avec usage de l'arbalète à balles (*qaus al-bunduq*) contre les oiseaux,[4] la chasse à la gazelle, avec chiens qui sont décrits,[5] la chasse au moyen de rets où les oiseaux viennent se prendre comme dans une entrave comparée au lasso (*wabq*),[6] les battues de nuit avec un grand bassin et une lampe (*bi 'l-tasht wa 'l-sirāj*), le bassin pour faire du bruit et troubler le gibier, la lampe pour attirer vers la lumière les gazelles qu'éblouit le feu et qui galopent vers lui,[7] tout cela fournit matière à des descriptions et récits poétiques, à de petites scènes de genre qui mériteraient une étude littéraire. Ces pièces commencent souvent par une courte description du départ pour la partie de chasse à la naissance du jour ou à la fin, avec des touches gracieuses qui révèlent en Sarī un poète sensible à la nature.

La chasse est aussi un thème fréquent chez Mutanabbī. On connait sa fameuse pièce sur la chasse de 'Aḍud al-Daula près de Shirāz, qui décrit une vaste battue forçant le gibier à descendre dans une plaine entourée de montagnes, où l'on garde les issues et où les cerfs et les gazelles sont pris dans des rets ou au lasso.[8] La chasse au cours de laquelle Badr b. 'Ammār, gouverneur de Tibériade, tua un lion sur les bords du Jourdain est célèbre aussi.[9] Le poète avait pour cela de nombreux modèles anciens à imiter, mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une chasse réelle, car la présence de lions en Palestine, Syrie et Iraq à cette époque est attestée par ailleurs. Les *ghulām* de Saif al-Daula étalèrent devant des ambassadeurs byzantins le cadavre d'une lionne dont ils avaient capturé aussi les petits, et Mutanabbī y fait allusion.[10] D'autres chasses sont plus ou moins

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1 *Ibid.*, 146, 170, 268.

2 *Ibid.*, 189-190.

3 *Ibid.*, 182.

4 *Ibid.*, 213. Sur l'usage de l'arbalète pour la chasse, voir une lettre d'Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī dans Nuwairī, *Nihāya*, X, 324-327. Voir une description d'arbalète par Kushājim et Babbaghā (*ibid.*, 348 s.). Sur la chasse, cf. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, II, 62, XIV, 282.

5 *Dīwān*, 13, 64-65, 100-101, 156, 250, 258.

6 *Ibid.*, 189-190. Voir la description d'un filet pour prendre les *'aṣāfīr* par Babbaghā, dans Nuwairī, *Nihāya*, X, 353.

7 *Dīwān*, 64-65, 100-101, 249-250. On trouvera une description de ce genre de chasse dans Kushājim, *Al-maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid*, 207.

8 Mutanabbī, II, 122, rime *-ali*; cf. Blachère, 246-248.

9 Mutanabbī, II, 165, rime *-ūlā*. Blachère, 99 s., relève la rhétorique déconcertante de cette pièce.

10 Mutanabbī, II, 76, rime *-ālibā*.

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brièvement décrites par Mutanabbī. Il a composé une assez longue pièce au sujet d'un chien d'Abū 'Alī al-Awārijī, qui était remarquable de vitesse et avait attrapé une gazelle à la course. [1] Bien que cette pièce soit pleine de clichés, on y relève quelques détails réels, le chien tenu en laisse par le *kallāb* (valet de chiens) qui le libère tout à coup, le collier muni de clous (*sājūr*), porté par le chien. C'est encore une courte pièce au sujet d'un faon de gazelle (*khishf*) que font lever les *ghulāms* d'al-Ḥasan b. Ṭughaj et que saisissent immédiatement les chiens lancés sur lui. [2] Le même personnage lance un épervier de chasse (*bāshiq*) sur une caille (*summāna*), [3] Le Ḥamdānide d'Antioche Abū 'l-'Ashā'ir lance un faucon (*bāz*) sur une perdrix (*ḥajala*). [4]

Abū Firās aussi, grand chasseur (c'est au cours d'une chasse qu'il fut capturé par les Byzantins), a pris comme thème la chasse dans une longue poésie (*al-muzdawija al-ṭardīya*) qui termine son *dīwān*, [5] et qui a ceci de remarquable, qu'elle est un récit conduit chronologiquement d'une partie de chasse longue et mouvementée, avec toutes ses péripéties, où lui-même se met en scène et parle, ainsi que d'autres personnages, le fauconnier, le valet chargé du guépard (*fahhād*), le cuisinier, des *ghulāms*, etc. Il décrit d'abord les préparatifs de la chasse: il appelle le fauconnier et lui donne l'ordre de choisir sept faucons, deux pour le lièvre et cinq pour la gazelle; il ordonne de coupler les chiens en deux meutes d'où il seront lâchés deux par deux. Il fait sortir également les guépards et les éperviers. Il fait préparer par le cuisinier des provisions de bouche (vers 13: *'ajjil la-nā 'l-labbāti wa 'l-ausāṭā*). Il ordonne à l'échanson de remplir de vin les fiasques. Il choisit pour l'accompagner vingt hommes seulement, les plus qualifiés. L'expédition part au coucher du soleil. Avant le lever du jour suivant, elle a déjà abattu toute une compagnie de gélinottes. Après la prière du matin, à laquelle Abū Firās appelle lui-même par le cri *ḥaiya 'alā 'l-falāḥ* (vers 24-25), commence la grande chasse dont le récit, plein de termes techniques, nous montre en action chiens, faucons, guépards etc. On voit Abū Firās interpellant les valets qui répondent à ses ordres et suivent les conseils qu'il leur donne. Il nous raconte comment il a tué lui-même une grosse pièce de gibier, qu'on

[1] *Ibid.*, II, 143-148, rime *-ali*. Blachère, 91-92.
[2] *Mutanabbi*, I, 252, rime *-adi*.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, rime *-ādā*.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 172, rime *-āḥi*.
[5] Ed. Dahhān, II, 435-448. Cinquante-huit vers de cette pièce sont donnés dans Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma*, et ont été reproduits par Ahlwardt, *Ueber Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, 1-4 et traduits, 37-43.

avait découverte couchée, d'une flèche qui n'a pas manqué son but (vers 32-33). Les différents épisodes sont contés d'une manière extrêmement vivante, comme cette conversation entre Abū Firās et un de ses *ghulāms* auquel il donne un de ses plus beaux faucons (vers 68 s.). La pièce a véritablement l'allure d'un petit drame. Les chasseurs se transportent d'un endroit à un autre à la recherche d'un nouveau gibier. Près du „fleuve de la vallée" (l'Euphrate?), ils trouvent une quantité d'oiseaux. Abū Firās laisse éclater sa joie quand il fait bonne chasse (vers 89-90). Il décrit ensuite l'épisode de la prise d'une grue par un faucon, près du fleuve (vers 95 s.). Vient ensuite la pause pour le déjeûner. Le poète presse le cuisinier de descendre de cheval. Celui-ci apporte des *ausāṭ* et des morceaux de perdrix et de gélinottes de la chasse. Mais les chasseurs, pressés de reprendre la chasse, ne descendent même pas de cheval pour manger et boire la coupe de vin que présente l'échanson. Abū Firās recommande à celui-ci de faire aussi bonne mesure à ses compagnons (vers 109-113). Puis l'on repart pour un nouveau terrain de chasse à la recherche de bêtes sauvages et de gazelles. Le guépard et les faucons entrent en action, puis les chiens. Enfin la chasse se termine après une course dans la montagne à la poursuite des mouflons qu'on force dans leurs retraites (vers 130 s.). Et c'est, la nuit venue, le retour au point de départ, les mulets chargés de gibier. On jette tout ce gibier à terre et l'on compte des centaines de pièces. Alors on fait frire ou rôtir le produit de la chasse et l'on mange, boit et fait ripaille pendant sept nuits, à en croire le dernier vers de la pièce (voir les vers 130-137). [1]

On doit remarquer que dans beaucoup de pièces cynégétiques, il est question comme ici de la cuisson du gibier dans les marmites et du festin auquel on se livre. [2]

La chasse n'était pas la seule distraction sportive à laquelle se

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[1] Beaucoup des mots employés dans cette pièce, notamment ceux du vocabulaire technique de la chasse, auraient besoin d'une explication que les dictionnaires ordinaires sont impuissants à nous fournir. Quelques remarques pour d'autres: au vers 14, *al-b-l-q-siyāt* doit être lu *al-falasqiyāt* et c'est le mot grec φλασκίον, bouteille; au vers 13, Ahlwardt a traduit *labbāt* et *ausāṭ* par Brust et Mittelstück; *labba*, pl. *labbāt*, signifie bien en effet le haut de la poitrine, mais il existe un *labba* désignant une sorte de pâte faite de lait et farine cuits ensemble; *wasaṭ*, pl. *ausāṭ*, pourrait désigner cette sorte de tartines ou sandwiches dont Ibn al-Rūmī (*Dīwān*, éd. Kāmil Kailānī [Le Caire, 1925], 418, reproduit par Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 396-397; cf. H. Zaiyāt dans *Mashriq*, XLI [1947]) nous apprend comment on les confectionnait.

[2] Sarī, *Dīwān*, 65, vers 18; 183, vers 1-2; 250, vers 8; Mutanabbī, II, 148, rime *-ali*.

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livrait la société aristocratique de Syrie et de Jazīra. Une pièce de Mutanabbī est consacrée à un personnage qui était un fervent du tir à l'arc. [1] Il va sans dire que les exercices équestres faisaient partie de la vie de cette société dont les membres étaient souvent en campagne contre des ennemis extérieurs ou intérieurs, ainsi que le maniement des diverses armes. Rappelons les prouesses équestres de l'émir turc Alptekin, de Damas, devant l'empereur Jean Tzimiscès dans sa campagne syrienne en 975. Saif al-Daula, au cours d'une expédition en 950, caracolait en avant de ses troupes, en jouant de la lance, car Mutanabbī le vit ainsi et composa à ce sujet une pièce bien connue. [2] Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant qu'à sa cour, à l'occasion du Naurūz, on se soit livré à des tournois. L'un des parents de l'émir, Abū Wā'il Taghlib b. Dā'ūd, qui fut fait prisonnier dans un combat contre les Kalbites, puis délivré au cours d'une contre-action et mourut à Ḥimṣ en 949, est dit s'être distingué dans un tournoi contre un Persan. [3]

Je me suis volontairement borné dans cet exposé à trois des poètes les plus connus de l'entourage des Ḥamdānides, tout en faisant appel à d'autres sources. On pourrait sans doute ajouter divers détails en faisant intervenir d'autres poètes comme Babbaghā, Kushājim, Nāmī etc. De toute façon, les quelques renseignements que j'ai pu en tirer sur la vie de la société aristocratique à leur époque ne manquent pas d'un certain intérêt.

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[1] Mutanabbī, I, 98, rime *-ūbā*.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 161, rime *-īu*. Sur Alptekin, voir Ibn al-Qalānisī, 12-14.

[3] Ed. Dahhān, 150 151 (Commentaire d'Ibn Khālawaih à la *Rā'iya* d'Abū Firās).

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تطوّر المقال الأدبيّ

في النثر الحديث

بقلم

عمر الدسوقيّ

بلغ النثر في أخريات العصر العثمانيّ بمصر والبلاد العربيّة الأخرى الغاية في الركّة والضعف . فعباراته سقيمة تتهالك عيًّا وسخفا . مقيّدة بقيود ثقيلة من الحلى والزخارف المصطنعة المتكلّفة . لتخفي ما وراءها من معنى غثّ مرذول أخذه الكاتب – عادة ممّن سبقه ، بيد أنّه ساقه لعجزه عن الأداء الصحيح في ذلك الثوب المهلهل الرثّ . وكثيرا ما كانت تعوزه الكلمة الصحيحة ، وتغلبه العاميّة والكلمات التركيّة والدخيلة ، فيأتي كلامه أشبه بالرموز .

ومن تذوّق طعم الأدب ، وكان على حظّ يسير من اللغة نسج على أسلوب المقامة في أخريات عصر المماليك . والتزم السجع في كلّ ما يصطنع من كتابة ، بل منهم من كان يتلاعب بالألفاظ ، ويأتي بالمقامات المحرّفة والمصحّفة ممّا لا يمتّ للأدب بصلة من قريب أو بعيد .

واذا وازنّا بين حال الكتابة الفنّيّة في تلك الآونة وبين حالها اليوم بعد مضيّ ما يقرب من قرن ونصف ، ورأينا عندنا نثرا فنّيّا تزهي به العربيّة ، ويباهي برونقه وسعته وعمق معانيه وغزارتها ، وطلاوة عبارته ونقاوتها ما كان عليه النثر في عصر العربيّة الذهبيّ في القرن الثالث والرابع من الهجرة – وجدنا أنّ الشوط الذى قطعته الكتابة منذ أوائل القرن التاسع عشر حتّى اليوم لم يكن سهلا هيّنا ، والتخلص من العقبات والأوضار والأدواء لم يكن ميسّرا دائما .

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واذا رحنا نتحسّس طريقنا نحو تطوّر النثر الفنيّ وجدنا أنّ أوّل الرواد الذين عبّدوا الطريق هو الشيخ رفاعة الطهطاويّ ، تعلّم في الأزهر العلم الموروث حتّى نال شهادته ، ولفت الأنظار إليه بنباهته وتفتّح ذهنه فاختاره الشيخ العطّار شيخ الأزهر إماما للبعثة المصريّة

بباريس حين طلب إليه محمّد عليّ أن يختار من بين علماء الأزهر من يصلح لتلك المهمّة . وقد صدقت فراسته في رفاعة ، لأنه كان يتمتّع بفطرة سليمة وميول أدبيّة واضحة ، ومحبّة للنفع العامّ ، وشغف عظيم بالعلم والمعرفة .

أفاد رفاعة من مقامه بباريس فائدة عمّت الأمّة العربيّة جمعاء ، إذ عمل جاهدا على نقل الثقافة الغربيّة الى اللغة العربيّة منذ بدأ يجيد الفرنسيّة ، وبذل الجهود المضنيّة لتذليل اللغة العربيّة لمصطلحات العلم الحديث بعد أن أسن ماؤها قرونا طويلة منذ عصر العبّاسيّين .

اخذ رفاعه وهو بباريس يكتب مذكّراته عن رحلته تلك ويدوّن انطباعاتها في ذهنه ، وآراءه في المجتمع الذى يعيش فيه . فظهرت هذه المذكّرات في شكل كتاب هو "تخليص الإبريز في تلخيص باريز"، وكان جديدا على اللغة العربيّة في مادّته حيث تعرّض لوصف الحياة الغربيّة لأوّل مرة وما فيها من نظم وتقاليد الحسن منها والرديء ، ووصف الحياة السياسيّة ، وما يتمتّع به أهل فرنسا من حرّيّة في القول والكتابة سواء في مجالسهم الخاصّة أو في دار النيابة وعلاقة الحاكم بالمحكومين ، ووصف مظاهر الحضارة من حفلات ودور تمثيل ووسائل ركوب ، إلى غير ذلك مما يُعدّ الكلام عنه جديدا بحقّ على اللغة العربيّة . ولم يكن رفاعة مجرد وصّاف ، ولكنه لشدّة حرصه على منفعة بني وطنه تراه يعلّق تعليقات تدل على حصافة رأي وإيمان عميق بمبادىء ومثل عليا لا يحيد عنها ، وينقد ما يراه من تخلّف في وطنه بصراحة .

وجد رفاعة نفسه وهو يصف الحضارة الحديثة أمام فيض من الكلمات الأعجميّة التي لا يجد ما يقابلها في العربيّة ، فجهد في الوصول الى كلمات عربيّة تؤدّي معناها ، فإن أعجزه ذلك عمد الى التعريب ونقل الكلمة الفرنسيّة الى العربيّة بعد تطويعها وصقلها لتلائم اللسان العربيّ ، وكان في ذلك يتأسّى بمترجمي القرنين الثالث والرابع للهجرة عند نقلهم علوم اليونان والفرس .

ولم يكن يتحرّج أحيانا من استعمال الكلمة الدارجة والكلمة التركيّة اذا لم يجد مندوحة عن ذلك ، وقد أسلف لنا عذره في المقدّمة حيث أراده "سهلا لا توعّر فيه ، يسلك طريق الإيجاز ، وارتكاب السهولة في التعبير حتّى يمكن لكل الناس الورود على حياضه" .

كان رفاعة رائدا من روّاد هذه الطريق ويعمل وحده في الميدان عملا شاقّا ، ولا ريب

أنّ اللغة قد أفادت من مجهوده فائدة كبيرة ، وبحسبنا أنّه من أوائل الذين أوصلوها بالتّيار الثقافيّ الغربيّ .

حاول رفاعة في هذا الكتاب أن يحطّم قيود الماضي حتى تنهض عبارته بأداء المعاني الجديدة ، ولا يقف الأسلوب عائقا في سبيل تلك المعاني ، وكانت عبارته تعلو أحيانا وتسفّ أحيانا تبعا للموضوع الذى يتناوله ، وكان كمن يتحسّس طريقه الشائك في ظلمة قاتمة . اهتمّ رفاعة بالمعنى وترك السجع والمحسّنات البديعيّة جانبا ومضى مترسّلا يصف ألوان الحضارة الغربيّة ويزوّد اللغة العربيّة بأفكار لاعهد لها بها ، وصارت اليوم من تراثنا .

تكلّم لأوّل مرّة عن المائدة الغربيّة ونظامها ، وعن المسرح ووظيفته وأنواع المسرحيّات ، والممثّلين والممثّلات ، وتكلّم عن الدستور والحياة النيابيّة وغير ذلك من الأمور الجديدة .

ومن الكتب التى ترجمها رفاعة وكان لها أثر في تنمية اللغة وقوّتها التعبيريّة لمقتضيات الحضارة الحديثة كتاب " قلائد المفاخر في غريب عوائد الأوائل والأواخر " طُبع لأوّل مرّة سنة ١٨٣٣ ، واشتمل الكتاب على كثير من المباحث القيمة كالشعر والموسيقى والغناء لدى الأمم المختلفة في الشرق والغرب ، ومختلف العادات كالزواج والحفلات وإكرام الضيف والملبس والسكنى والمؤونة وغير ذلك ، وبهذا كان وصلة بين العربيّة والعالم الخارجيّ .

ومن المترجمات ذات الأثر فى تطوّر النثر الحديث كتاب سمّاه رفاعة " بداية القدماء وهداية الحكماء " وهو من الكتب التى أخرجها بعد عودته من باريس ، تعرّض فيه لتاريخ اليونان والميثولوجيا والآداب اليونانيّة ، وتضمّن كذلك أخبار الأنبياء وتاريخ قدماء المصريّين والأوروبّيّين والسريان والبابليّين والعجم والهنود . وأفاض في تاريخ اليونان وخرافاتها وحروبها وفتوحها وآدابها وعلومها وفلسفتها ، وقد استعان في ترجمة هذا الكتاب بكتب التاريخ الفرنسيّة المعتمدة وختمه بنبذة عن الميثولوجيا لدى قدماء المصريّين . نجح رفاعة فيما أخفق فيه مترجمو العصر العبّاسيّ حيث لم يفهموا كتابي الشعر والخطابة لأرسطو ، ولم يستطيعوا نقل ما كتبه عن المأساة بأسلوب عربيّ مفهوم ، ولم يحاولوا أن يشرحوا الميثولوجيا اليونانيّة ، فجاءت تلك الترجمات غامضة ، وكان لذلك أثره في الفلسفة الإسلاميّة من جهة ، وفى إعراض العرب والمسلمين عن الأدب اليونانيّ من جهة أخرى . وقد أتمّ رفاعة هذه الأبحاث القيّمة المتعلّقة بالتراث اليونانيّ بترجمته لقصّة " تلماك " فكان بذلك أوّل من شقّ طريق التّيار الأدبيّ الغربيّ الذي أخذ منذ ذلك الحين يتدفّق على العربيّة ويزاحم التيّار العربيّ الأصيل .

ومن أواخر الكتب التي ألّفها رفاعة وفيها استقام أسلوبه وغزرت مادته وطرف موضوعه كتاب " المرشد الأمين " ونرى فيه لأوّل مرة في اللغة العربيّة مباحث عن الوطن ، والحرّيّة والمواطن الصالح ، والأسرة وبنيانها وصلاحها ، وغير ذلك من المباحث الاجتماعيّة والوطنيّة في عبارة سهلة خالية من التكلّف والصنعة .

هذا وقد ترجم رفاعة هو وتلاميذه الذين تخرّجوا على يديه في مدرسة الألسن ما يقرب من ألف كتاب ، نقلوا بها أطايب الثقافة الغربيّة في زمنهم الى اللغة العربيّة ، فاتّسعت آفاقها ، وصارت قادرة على التعبير عن مقتضيات الحضارة والثقافة الغربيّة وبخاصّة في العلوم الإنسانيّة . ولا شكّ أنّ هذا كان من أكبر العوامل على النهوض بالنثر الحديث وتمكين الكتّاب من الخوض في موضوعات جديدة تسعفهم الكلمات الفنّيّة ، وتضع بين أيديهم خلاصة الفكر الغربيّ في تلك الحقبة فتغزر مادّتهم ويستقيم نهجهم ، وتنفتح أمامهم طرق الإصلاح الاجتماعيّ والسياسيّ لبلدهم الذي عانى الكثير إبّان عصور الظلم التركيّ .

وبينما كان الأسلوب النثريّ يسير في الطريق السويّ بمصر كان لا يزال كتّاب الشام يعكفون على أسلوب المقامة فهذا هو الشيخ ناصيف اليازجيّ وكان معاصرا لرفاعة الطهطاويّ (١٨٠٠ – ١٨٧١) يكتب في تلك الحقبة ستّين مقامة جمعها في كتاب سمّاه (مجمع البحرين) طُبع لأوّل مرّة ببيروت سنة ١٨٥٦ . وكان أدباء الشام يعدّون أسلوب المقامة مجتلي فخارهم بمعرفة ذخائر اللغة وغريبها ، وقدرتهم الفائقة على محاكاة الحريريّ والقاضي الفاضل والسيوطيّ في أسجاعهم .

ولكنّ النهضة بمصر لفتت أنظارهم ، وبخاصّة ما قام به رفاعة وتلاميذه من نقل الثقافة الغربيّة ، فنعى المعلّم بطرس البستانيّ (١٨١٩ = ١٨٨٣) على أدباء بلاده إهمالهم شأن اللغة وأساليبها والعمل على تجديد شبابها ، ثم نوّه بما قامت به مصر في عهد محمّد عليّ حيث قال : " وقد فعل محمّد عليّ في هذا الجيل بكتب الإفرنج مافعله كرلس الكبير بكتب العرب ، فأمر بترجمة أطايبها الى اللغة العربيّة ، وسلّمها مع كثير من الكتب العربيّة القديمة الى المطبعة المعتبرة ببولاق من الإقليم المصريّ ، فخرج منها كتب شتّى في اللغة والطبّ والطبيعيّات والتاريخ – وهلّم جرّا ، فزيّن لغته العربيّة بكامل التزيين والصنائع من العربيّة والإفرنجيّة ، وعسى أن يحذو أنجاله وحفدته حذوه في هذا الأمر" .

وفي الحقّ أنّ النهضة في لبنان لم تقو إلّا بعد سنة ١٨٦٠ ، وأفاد اللبنانيّون من تعلّم

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اللغات الأجنبيّة ، ومن المدارس الطائفيّة الخاصّة التي أمدّتهم باللغة العربيّة ، بيد أن النزاع الطائفيّ من جهة ، والاضطهاد التركيّ وما صاحبه من كبت وحرمان من جهة أخرى جعل هذه البراعم الأدبيّة الغضّة التي ابتدأت تظهر ثمّة تذوي وتذبل إلاّ من آثر منهم الهجرة الى مصر ، وهنا تألّقوا وأفادوا واستفادوا ، وكانوا عاملا من عوامل نموّ النثر والأدب في العالم العربيّ .

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تُعتبر " الوقائع المصريّة " التي ظهرت في عهد محمّد عليّ أولى المجلاّت التي كان بها شيْ من الأدب حيث كان يُنشَر بها بعض القصص من ألف ليلة وليلة وبعض الطرائف والملح الأدبيّة ، ولكنها توقّفت عن الصدور حتّى سنة ١٨٧٥ حيث بدأت عهدا جديدا .

ظلّ أسلوب السجع مسيطرا على كتّابها أمدا غير يسير ، وكانت تتحرّج في عهدها الجديد من نشر القصص والحكايات ، وحتّى الأخبار الداخليّة والخارجيّة كانت تُكتَب بأسلوب المقامة المسجوع ، ولكنها وجدت صحيفة أخرى سبقتها الى التجديد فحاولت أن تلحق بها ، كانت تلك الصحيفة هي " جوائب " أحمد فارس الشدياق التي ظهرت في سنة ١٨٦١ .

كان الشدياق ذا ثقافة واسعة عميقة أفادها من قراءاته الكثيرة بلغات مختلفة ، متمكّنا من اللغة العربيّة حاذقا لأدبها ، كثير التجارب لأسفاره المتعدّدة واختلاطه بمجتمعات متباينة شرقيّة وغربيّة ، وكان يغشى هذه المجتمعات ويدرسها دراسة واعية ناقدا مساوئها مشيدا بمحاسنها . وقد كتب عدّة كتب عن هذه الأسفار أشهرها كتابه " الساق على الساق " .

وقد أفادت " الجوائب " من كلّ هذا وخرجت على الناس في أسلوب صحفيّ جديد كان قدوة لغيرها من الصحف ، اذ سلك مسلك الترسّل في المقالات السياسيّة والاجتماعيّة ، في حين كان يحتفي بالمقال الأدبيّ كلّ الاحتفاء ، وظلّ المقال الأدبيّ لدى الشدياق مسجوعا ، يعتني بانتقاء ألفاظه ، ويصوغ عباراته صياغة جذّابة ، ويطرزّه بالشعر المقتبس أو الذي يضعه هو ، ولكنّه يمتاز عن المقامة بطرافة موضوعه ، وحسن عرضه وكثرة تشويقه ولاذع سخريته التي مهر فيها الشدياق . وقد أخذ الكتّاب منذ عهد رفاعة والشدياق يفرّقون بين الأسلوب الصحفيّ الذى يُكتَب للعامّة ولجمهور القرّاء ، وبين الأسلوب الأدبيّ الذي يُكتَب للخاصّة .

وظهر نوع من الصحافة في تلك الحقبة سُمّي بالصحافة الأدبيّة ، لا شأن له بالسياسة ،

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وكان من أوّل هذه الصحف الأدبيّة ظهوراً "روضة المدارس" التي ظهرت بمصر سنة ١٨٧٠ بإشراف رفاعة الطهطاويّ، وحُشدت لها أقوى الأقلام في ذلك الوقت كل في الفرع الذى تخصّص فيه.

وكان من الطبيعيّ وهي صحيفة أدبيّة أن تُعنَى بأسلوبها، فجاءت أغلب مقالاتها مسجوعة موشّاة بالمحسّنات وألوان الخيال، وروّجت للقصص الموضوعة والمترجمة، وكانت تُوزَّع بالمجّان على طلبة المدارس. ووجد فيها الأسلوب المسجوع ملاذا وموئلا.

ثمّ ظهرت مدرسة جمال الدين الأفغانيّ حين ألقى عصا تيّاره بمصر بعد أن طوّف في عديد من الدول العربيّة والاسلاميّة، والتفّ حوله لفيف من نابغي المثقّفين وفي مقدّمتهم الشيخ محمّد عبده، وأديب إسحق، وسعد زغلول، وسليم نقّاش، وإبراهيم اللقانيّ.

وجد جمال الدين حين وفد على مصر أنّ الأحوال السياسيّة فيها تسير من سيّء الى أسوأ، وأنّ حكّامها يستبدّون بأهلها أشدّ استبداد وأقساه يحكمون حكما مطلقا، ويرهقونهم بالضرائب الباهظة، ويغتالهم الفقر والجهل والمرض بدون أيّة رعاية أو عناية من هؤلاء الذين تتجمّع فى أيديهم أموال هؤلاء الفلّاحين فيبعثرونها في اللهو والملذّات دون رقيب أو حسيب. ولم يجد جمال الدين مفرّا من أن يخوض غمرات السياسة، وينصب نفسه وتلاميذه مصلحين، يناقشون الحكّام ويدافعون عن الشعوب المظلومة، ويطالبون بالشورى، ويحاربون النفوذ الأجنبيّ الذي ابتدأ يستفحل أمره، ويمهّد للاستعمار الأجنبيّ، ثم يحاولون جهدهم أن ينبّهوا الأمّة الى المفاسد الاجتماعيّة المتفشّية في هذه الشعوب المغلوبة على أمرها والتي تعاني منها الجمهرة الغالبة حتى نمّت فيها صفات رديئة على مرّ السنين: كالنفاق والرشوة والكذب والخداع والتراخي في العمل – الى آخر هذا الثبت الشنيع من نقائص الشعوب التي مُنيت بالاستعمار قرونا طويلة فكادت تموت فيها روح الكرامة والعزّة.

ومن هنا أخذ النثر يعالج مشكلات الشعوب سياسيّة واجتماعيّة، وكان من الطبيعيّ أن يتحرّر من القيود الثقيلة التي كانت ترسف فيها الكتابة الانشائيّة ممّا أفسد المعنى وستر الأفكار عن الوضوح والجلاء، وكذلك أخذ الكتّاب يتجنّبون المقدّمات الطويلة التي كانت ترهق الكاتب والقارىء على السواء بدون طائل.

وعلى الرغم من أنّ الموضوعات التي خاضت فيها مدرسة جمال الدين كانت في غالبها

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سياسيّة واجتماعيّة ، فإنّ أسلوب المقالات كان يختلف باختلاف الكتّاب ، فمنهم من كان متأجّج العاطفة منطلق الخيال ، متمكّنا من الأدب القديم نثره وشعره فتراه يضفي على كلّ ما يتناوله قلمه صفة الأسلوب الأدبيّ ، مثل أديب إسحق ، وكان من الذين آثروا الهجرة من بلاده الشام الى مصر ، واتّصلت أسبابه بجمال الدين ، وكان ممّن يعشقون الحرّيّة في شتّى مظاهرها . وأصدر صحيفتي "مصر" و "التجارة" لسان حال هذه الطليعة المتحرّرة التي التفّت حول جمال الدين تحارب الفساد في مختلف أوضاعه . ولمّا نُفي أديب من مصر الى باريس أصدر بها صحيفة القاهرة .

كان أديب يحاكي في أسلوبه مدرسة ابن العميد التي اشتهرت في العصر العبّاسيّ الثاني ، يأتي بالجمل القصيرة الفقرات ، المسجوعة سجعا لا تكلّف فيه ، الموشّاة بالاستعارات وألوان الخيال والمحسّنات ، ويكثر من الاقتباس من القرآن الكريم والشعر العربيّ القديم مع عاطفة حارّة تسبغ على كلامه قوّة وحيويّة .

وكان في موضوعاته وهو بباريس يوازن بين الحرّيّة وبحبوحة العيش التي يتمتّع بها الفلّاح الفرنسيّ ، وبين الفلّاح المصريّ المسكين الذى لايعرف إلّا عصا الشيخ وسوط المأمور وحبس المدير ، وكيف يقضي غدوته في حمارّة القيظ يكدّ ويتعب فإذا جاء الغداء لا يجد إلّا خبز الشعير ولا يشرب إلا الماء الكدر ، وحوله صغار لا تعرف أبدانهم الوقاء ونسوة تعوّضن الاقذار عن الكساء ، فإذا آوى الى بيته رأيت كوخا قذرا متداعيا ، مع أنه هو صاحب الأرض وما تدرّ من ذهب ، ولكنّ الذهب يُجبَى منه قسرا ويذهب الى الحكّام الفاسدين .

وكان عدوّا لدول الاستعمار وبخاصّة الاستعمار الإنجليزيّ ، وكثيرا ما حذّر المصريّين من خداعه ، ويُعتبر أديب من أوائل من نادوا بالوحدة العربيّة وتبيان أثرها في العالم .

وقد عدل أديب في أخريات حياته عن الأسلوب المسجوع ، وأخذ يتهجّم عليه بشدّة ، وكان له أثر آخر هو تنظيم المقال وبيان خصائصه ، فكان يقسمه الى فقرات ، ويربط بعضها ببعض ربطا محكما ، ولكنّ أسلوبه لم يضعف حين ترك السجع بل استعاض عنه بالازدواج وهو الترادف الصوتيّ الذي يعطي الكلام رونقا وموسيقيّة خاصّة .

ويمثّل أديب في مقالاته مرحلة من مراحل تطوّر المقال الأدبيّ ، إذ لم يعد المقال الأدبيّ وقفا على الخواطر الخاصّة الذاتيّة بل خرج به الى ما يهمّ الشعوب وجعل كلّ شؤون الحياة مجالا لقلمه ، واهتمّ بالفكرة بجانب العبارة ، وارتفع بالمقال السياسيّ والاجتماعيّ الى المستوى الأدبيّ ، ووضع أصولا وقواعد للمقالة بعد أن كان بعض الكتّاب لايفرّقون بين

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المقامة والمقالة ، وكان يدين بالنظام والترتيب في مقالاته حتّى لايضلّ القارىء وينبهم عليه الأمر .

كان هذا شأن أديب إسحق في حين كان الشيخ محمّد عبده وإبراهيم اللقانيّ يؤثران الفكرة المنطقيّة والاتّجاه العقليّ ، والميل الى الحيدة في الإحكام وسرد الحقائق، ممّا هو من خصائص النثر الاجتماعيّ .

وبهذا ظهرت أنواع مختلفة من المقالات : المقالة السياسيّة ، والمقالة الاجتماعيّة والمقالة الأدبيّة ، والمقالة العلميّة . وصار لكلّ نوع خصائصه وله كتّابه ، وكثيرا ما تنحو المقالة الاجتماعيّة نحو الأدبيّة في أسلوبها ومميّزاتها .

ومضى القرن التاسع عشر ، والكتّاب المحدثون يحتفون بالمقالة الأدبيّة أكبر احتفاء ، ويحشدون لها ذخائرهم من الأدب شعره ونثره ، ويجودون عبارتها وينتقون ألفاظها بعناية تامّة ، ولم يقلعوا عن السجع المفتعل ، وألوان البديع الأخرى إلّا في النادر .

ولما اشتدّ احتكاكنا بالثقافة الأجنبيّة في فترة الاحتلال ، وبعد أن فرض المحتلّ لغته في مدارس مصر الرسميّة تُدرّس بها كلّ الموادّ ما عدا اللغة العربيّة ، نشأ جيل من المثقّفين يجيد الإنجليزيّة ، ويقرأ آثار أدبائها وأعلام الفكر فيها ، كما أنّ الثقافة الفرنسيّة كان لها أنصارها الأقوياء ، وكان الصراع بينها وبين الإنجليزيّة على أشدّه بمصر ، ولم يعد يرضى هؤلاء المثقّفين بالثقافة الحديثة ذلك الأسلوب المقيّد بالسجع والزخارف البديعيّة والوقوف عند حدّ الألفاظ ، وإنّما أرادوا أن يكون المقال غذاء الفكر والذوق معا وأن يحصب ذهن القارىء ويوسّع آفاقه ، ويحفزه على التفكير ، ويفتح أمامه ميادين واسعة نحو حياة أفضل .

وما أن خطا القرن العشرون في سنيّه الأولى خطوات حتّى وقفت المقالة الأدبيّة في مفترق الطرق ، فلم يكن من المستطاع الرجوع الى الأسلوب القديم الموروث عن المقامة ، لأنّ الأذواق الحديثة لم تكن تستسيغه ، ولأنّه يعوق الفكر عن الانطلاق ، كما لم يكن في المستطاع الكتابة باللغة الدارجة ، التى دعا إليها بعض المفكّرين ، لأنّها لا تنهض بمقتضيات الفكر الحديث في الأداء ، وهي تختلف من بيئة الى بيئة ، وليس لها جمال الفصحى وقدرتها ، ومن ثمّ كان لزاما على الأدباء أن يبحثوا عن أسلوب آخر تظهر فيه شخصيّة الأديب ، ولا يطغى عليه محفوظه وتقليده للقديم ، ويرضي في الوقت نفسه الحاسّة الفنّيّة والأذواق الأدبيّة لدى القرّاء .

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وهنا يظهر مصطفى لطفي المنفلوطيّ الشيخ الأزهريّ الذي لم يتمّ علومه بالأزهر وجذبه الأدب القديم إليه ، وصحب الشيخ محمّد عبده وتتلمذ عليه ، وتأثّر بنزعاته الإصلاحيّة في الدين والاجتماع ، ويقرأ الكتب المترجمة بشغف ولذة .

كان المنفلوطيّ يعرف قدرته على الكتابة ، ولكنّه كان مقتّرا عليه في رزقه ، يشقى جهده في سبيل العيش ، ويظهر أن صلته بالشيخ محمّد عبده قد جعلته ، وهو بعدُ طالب بالأزهر يهجو عباسا (خديو مصر) بقصيدة ، حينما كان الصراع على أشدّه حول أموال الأوقاف التي كان عبّاس يريد اغتيالها ، ويقف محمّد عبده في سبيله ، وحول إصلاح الأزهر الذي حاوله الشيخ محمّد عبده ووجد العقبات التي أقامها الخديو أمامه جمّة فنفض منه يده . وقد زُجّ بالمنفلوطيّ في السجن فذاق مرارته ، ولعلّ عداوته لعبّاس وهو في مستهلّ حياته وقفت أمامه في ميادين التوظّف .

كانت الحقبة التي تفتّحت فيها مواهب المنفلوطيّ الأدبيّة – أي في مستهلّ القرن العشرين – قد اشتد فيها بطش الإنجليز ، ووقعت حوادث دنشواي المشهورة التي كتب عنها جورج برنارد شو (جزيرة جون بول الأخرى) ، وكان المصريّون يشعرون شعورا حادّا بوطأة الاحتلال ، ويدركون أنّهم من أمّة عريقة لها ماضيها وحضارتها وتراثها الفكريّ العظيم ، ويحلمون بعودة هذا المجد فلا بدع اذا راق لهم من أدب الغرب – الذي اشتدّت صلتهم به على مرّ الأيّام – الأدب الرومانسيّ الذي يتغنّى بالتاريخ وأمجاد الماضي ويعظّم القوميّات ، ويهيم بالطبيعة ، والذي كان طابعه العام لدى الفرنسيّين بخاصّة بعد انهيار إمبراطوريّة نابليون هو الطابع الحزين – حتّى سُمّي بداء العصر . وقد كانت حال المصريّين النفسيّة بعد إخفاق الثورة العرابيّة ، ونكبة الاحتلال تشبه حال الفرنسيّين بعد أن تقوّضت إمبراطوريّة نابليون ، فأعجبهم الأدب الرومانسيّ ذو الطابع الحزين . وكان المنفلوطيّ ممّن يعتلج الأسى في صدورهم لرفاهة حسّه وصدق وطنيّته وبؤس عيشه مع شعوره بموهبته . ومن هنا انطلق يبكي ويصوّر بؤس نفسه وبؤس قومه .

لم يكن المنفلوطيّ ممّن يعرفون أيّ لغة أجنبيّة ، ولكنّ هذا لم يمنعه من قراءة ما تُرجم الى العربيّة من شتّى اللغات ويعجب بآثار الرومانسيّين بشغف ولذّة ، وقد شاء له طموحه أن يترجم بعض آثارهم القصصيّة . ولم يكن المنفلوطيّ عميق الثقافة واسع آماد الفكر ، لأنّ ينابيع ثقافته كانت الثقافة العربيّة القديمة ، وآراء المصلحين الاجتماعيّين في عصره وبخاصّة آراء الشيخ محمّد عبده ، والكتب المترجمة . ولكنه كان قويّ العاطفة مرهف الحسّ والذوق ،

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يضفي على كلّ ما يتناوله يراعه رونقا وجمالا من بارع أسلوبه وفيض عاطفته ، فأحسّ قرّاءه في ذلك الوقت إحساسا قويّا بانفعالات نفسه والتذاذا وجمالا بحلو صياغته وجمال عرضه .

استطاع المنفلوطيّ أن يبتدع طريقة جديدة في الكتابة الأدبيّة ، طريقة تخالف تلك التي اشتهرت بين الكتّاب والأدباء في القرن التاسع عشر، الذين كانوا يحفلون – كما ذكرنا – بالسجع وألوان البديع ، ويغلبهم على أساليبهم محفوظهم من الأدب القديم فيردّدون تشابيهه ومجازاته وكناياته ، وإن كانت لا تناسب الموضوع والبيئة والعصر . وهي طريقة تخالف كذلك النثر الصحفي الذّي يُكتب لساعته ، ويخوض غمار المعارك السياسيّة ، فلا يتأنّى صاحبه في انتقاء الألفاظ وصياغة الجمل . ومع أنّ المنفلوطيّ قد درس الأدب القديم ، وتخيّر أطايبه لصقل ذوقه إلاّ أنّه استطاع أن يفلت من ربقته الى حدّ كبير .

لجأ المنفلوطيّ الى الأسلوب المرسل ، مع مزيد عناية بانتقاء ألفاظه وصوغ جمله وبارع تمثيله ومحاولة التجديد في التعبير بنعومة وسلاسة ، وكثيرا ما كان ينتحي نحو الأسلوب الخبريّ الممتزج بالأسلوب الخطابيّ ؛ ولعلّ طبيعة الموضوعات التّي طرقها هي التي وجّهته هذه الوجهة ، مع حدّة عاطفته التي كانت تدفعه دفعا الى الوعظ ، ولهذا قلّ أن نجد عنده عمقا في الفكرة أو قوّة في التحليل أو دقّة في النظر ، ومع ذلك كلّه نراه مؤثّرا في قارئه لعهده ؛ لأنّ ذلك من طبيعة الأسلوب الخطابيّ المشحون بالعاطفة . ومع أنّه ممّن درس الأدب القديم ووعاه ، فإنّه لم يقلّد كاتبا بعينه ، وكانت له شخصيّته الواضحة المطبوعة بطابعه .

أمّا الموضوعات التي طرقها المنفلوطيّ في مقالاته – تلك التّي جُمعت في كتابه " النظرات " ذي الأجزاء الثلاثة – فمعظمها في الاجتماع ومنها في الدين والرثاء والأدب . ولعلّ النشأة الدينيّة التي نشأها المنفلوطيّ في بيت شرف ونسب ، ودراسته بالأزهر وصحبته للشيخ محمّد عبده هي التي أوحت إليه الكتابة في هذه الموضوعات .

كان المنفلوطيّ يمثّل طائفة المحافظين ، وكان شديد الحنق على الحضارة الغربيّة ، حضارة المستعمر ، يرى أنّها هي التّي جرّت الموبقات والمفاسد الى الأمّة ، وأنّها خدعة من خدع الاستعمار ، يفتن بها الشعوب المغلوبة على أمرها ، ولا تلبث أن يجذبها لألاؤها فتنحلّ أخلاقها ويشيع بينها الفحشاء والاتّجار بالأعراض وانتهاك الحرمات وشتّى ألوان الشرور والآفات الاجتماعيّة ، وقد نصب المنفلوطيّ نفسه مصلحا " اجتماعيا "

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يسير على نهج أستاذه الإمام محمّد عبده ولكن بطريقته الخاصّة ، ويتهجّم على المدنيّة الغربيّة غير ناظر إلاّ الى مساوئها غاضّا النظر عن حسناتها ، وإنّه هو نفسه يتمتّع بكثير من هذه الحسنات في حياته المادّيّة . وقد بالغ في سخطه عليها لدرجة أنّه كان يرى أنّ من الخير للشرق أن يتجنّبها ما استطاع ولو ظلّ على جهالته . أغرم المنفلوطيّ بالكتابة في الدعارة ، والخيانة الزوجيّة والانتحار ، والاختلاط بغير المحارم على طريقة الغربيّين ، وسقوط الفتيان والفتيات في مهواة الرذيلة ، وانحراف بعض الأزواج عن جادّة الدين والفضيلة .

وكان المنفلوطيّ يحنو على المرأة حنوّا بليغا ، وينعى على الرجل قسوته وغلظته ، وكان يكره الطلاق ويقبّحه ، وحتّى اذا زلّت المرأة وساءت سيرتها فإنّنا نراه يتلمّس لها المعاذير وينحو باللوم على الذئب البشريّ الذي افترسها وعلى المجتمع الذي لم يرعها ويتيح لها حياة الفضيلة . ولهذا كان المنفلوطيّ من أنصار الحجاب حفاظا على المرأة .

وكان يلتقط موضوعاته أحيانا ممّا يتردّد في الصحف من حوادث وأخبار ، والصحف من همّها نشر الخبر المثير والفضائح الجذّابة وأنباء أولاد العلية الذين ألفوا الخروج على العادات والتقاليد ، وكان يعزو كلّ هذا الفساد الى المدنيّة الغربيّة وما جلبته من أوصاب رُزىء بها المجتمع مع التحلّل من الأخلاق .

كانت نظرته الى الحياة الاجتماعيّة في عصره نظرة ملؤها التشاؤم واليأس ، وصوّر المجتمع المصريّ تصويرا بشعا ، وبالغ في تجسيم الآفات ، واتّخذ من الحادثة الفرديّة ظاهرة اجتماعية خطيرة . وهو في كثير من الأحيان يخطىء في العلاج خطأ فاحشا فتورث مقالاته أثرا عكسيّا يغري النفوس الضعيفة بسلوك سبيل الغواية ، بدلا من الابتعاد بها عن مواطن الزلل ، وبدلا من أن يبعث الأمل قويّا في نفوس الشباب نراه يصوّر لهم مجتمعهم يغصّ بالمفاسد والآفات ، وربّما نقم بعضهم على الإنسانيّة جمعاء وهذا هو في مقاله "الزهرة الذابلة" يلجأ إليه فتى أصابه الصمم الكامل مستغيثا : فاذا المنفلوطيّ يملأ قلبه يأسا وقنوطا ، فلا يجد الفتى أمامه سبيلا سوى الانتحار ، وكان في قدرة المنفلوطيّ أن يحيل يأس الفتى الى أمل .

ومن أهمّ الموضوعات التي شغل بها المنفلوطيّ ، وعالجه بكلّ ما أُوتي من جهد وعاطفة وإخلاص هو موضوع الفاقة والبؤس اللذين كان يتردّى فيهما سواد الشعب نظرا للفروق الشاسعة بين الطبقات في تلك الآونة ، فهناك الإقطاعيّون في جانب وبقيّة الشعب في جانب آخر ، وكان المنفلوطيّ من أبناء الطبقة الوسطى أدنى الى الفقر منه الى الغنى ، خالط الناس وعرف أدواءهم ، وكان – كما ذكرنا – جيّاش العاطفة سريع العبرة ، ينفذ الى قلبه بكاء المحزونين ونداء المكروبين .

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ولم يكن من المنتظر في تلك الحقبة أن تتّجه الحكومة وجهة اشتراكيّة ، وإنّما يزداد الغنيّ كلّ يوم غنى ، بينما يزداد الفقير كلّ يوم فقرا . ولم يكن يملك أصحاب الأقلام إلّا أن ينادوا ضمائر الأغنياء وذوي الجاه علّها تستيقظ من سباتها العميق ، وتفيق من سكرات الترف والنعمة فتلتفت الى المنكوبين والمحرومين وتمدّ الأيدي بالإحسان . ولقد كانت هناك نفوس خيّرة ولا شكّ تجود بشيء من المال ، ولكنّه لايبل غلّة ولا يشبع جوعة ، ولا يعالج مشكلة مزمنة بل كان الإحسان فوضى يذهب الى غير وجهته ويناله من لا يستحقّه ، ويبذله الأغنياء مباهاة ورياء . يبنون به المساجد في بلد تغصّ بالمساجد ، ويشيّدون به سبل الماء ، والنيل على قيد خطوات منهم ؛ واقترح إنشاء ما سماه " مجتمع الإحسان " تكون مهمّته جمع الهبات والتبرّعات وما يجود به المحسنون ، ويوزّع بالعدل على المستحقّين . وله مقالات عديدة في تصوير الفقر من أشهرها " قتيلة الجوع " ، و " بين الكوخ والقصر " ، و " الغنيّ والفقير " وفيها يقول : " مررت ليلة أمس برجل بائس فرأيته واضعا يده على بطنه كأنّما يشكو ألما فرثيت لحاله ، وسألته ما باله ، فشكا ألمّ الجوع ، ففثأته عنه ببعض ما قدرت عليه ، ثم تركته وذهبت الى زيارة صديق لي من أرباب الثراء والنعمة ، فأدهشني أنّي رأيته واضعا يده على بطنه ، وأنه يشكو من الألم ما يشكو ذلك البائس الفقير فسألته عمّا به فشكا الى البطنة ، فقلت : يا للعجب لو أعطى ذلك الغنيّ ذلك الفقير ما فضل عن حاجته من الطعام ما شكا واحد منهما سقما ولا ألما " .

وتخيّل المنفلوطيّ المدينة السعيدة كما تخيّلها من قبلُ أفلاطون في الجمهوريّة ، والفارابيّ في المدينة الفاضلة ، والسير توماس مور في " الأثيوبيا " ، ومدينة المنفلوطيّ السعيدة مدينة كان يرى أنّها لا تتحقّق إلّا في المريّخ ، وأخذ يصف هذه المدينة كما تخيّلها وإن كان خياله قاصرا في كثير من صفاتها الأساسيّة ، ثم ختم مقاله أو رؤياه بقوله : " هذه هي مدينة السعادة التي يعيش أهلها سعداء لا يشكون همّا لأنّهم قانعون ، ولا يمسكون في أنفسهم حقدا لأنّهم متساوون ، ولا يستشعرون خوفا لأنّهم آمنون " .

لقد أتعب المنفلوطيّ نفسه حقّا وهو ينادي أغنياء الأمّة كي يعطفوا على فقرائها ، وسفح دم قلبه دموعا حارّة على ما يعانيه البائسون ، ولكن هل يسمع الصمّ الدعاء؟ لقد كان الأمر في حاجة الى تغيير جذريّ ، يقضي على الإقطاع ، ويقرّب الفروق بين الطبقات ، ويرفع مستوى المعيشة بين الكادحين ، وذلك ما حدث أخيرا بمصر .

ولا نريد أن نتتبّع المنفلوطيّ في كلّ موضوعاته فبحسبنا ما ذكرنا منها ، وقد استطاع

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المنفلوطيّ أن يسبغ على المقالة الأدبيّة لونا جديدا من الأسلوب وطرافة الموضوع ، واتّصاله المباشر بالحياة يعالج مشكلات الجماهير . كان المنفلوطيّ أديبا مطبوعا اصطنع لنفسه أسلوبا في انطلاق وجمال ، ولغة عذبة مصفّاة من شوائب العجمة والابتذال والحوشيّة والتكلّف ، يصدر عن سليقة وذوق مرهف وعاطفة جيّاشة ، يعرف كيف يصوغ العبارة الآسرة بكلماتها المنتقاة .

ولقد ذاعت شهرته في حياته وبعد مماته ، وأقبل على آثاره الشادون في الأدب يقرأونه بنهم ولذة ويحاكون نعومة أسلوبه وجميل بيانه ، ويحفظون من تعابيره الجميلة ما يضفي رونقا على أساليبهم . وبذلك مكّن للمقالة الأدبيّة الحديثة بذلك الأسلوب الطلق الجيّد ، وكان له فضل في ترقيق أذواق الكتّاب وسنّ النهج السويّ لهم في تناول المقالة على الرغم من أنّه كانت تعوزه الفكرة العميقة والدراسة المتأنّية لموضوعاته .

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كان لانتشار الثقافة الأجنبيّة بين المتعلّمين بمصر وغيرها من بلدان العروبة وبخاصّة لبنان منذ مستهلّ القرن العشرين أثر واضح – كما رأينا – في العدول عن الأسلوب المزخرف المتكلّف الذي كان يحاكي المقامة ، بيد أنّ الأثر لم يقف عند الشكل ، بل رأينا كثيرا من الكتّاب الذين نهلوا من مناهل الثقافة الغربيّة ينهجون في الكتابة نهجا جديدا فيه إغناء الفكر ويزودون مقالاتهم بخلاصة ما درسوه عن الموضوع الذي يتناولونه في الثقافة الغربيّة ، ومن ثمّ نرى كاتبا مثل المازنيّ لايعجبه أدب المنفلوطيّ ويرميه في " الديوان ١ " بأنّه " أدب اللفظ الخالي من المعاني الجديدة والفكرة العميقة ، والدراسة الجادّة " ، وأنّه " أدب الدموع والعبرات ذلك الأدب الذي يستهوي قلوب المراهقين ويلائم أذواقهم " .

ونرى من يتطرّف فيدعو الى قطع صلتنا بالأدب العربيّ القديم كلّه ، وأن نتّجه اتّجاها غربيّا خالصا في ثقافتنا ونتحلّل من التقيّد بقواعد اللغة وأصولها ، ونصطنع لغة قريبة من العاميّة في التعبير عن هذه الثقافة الوافدة ، ويمثّل هذا الرأي سلامة موسى ، وكان شعوبيّا متطرّفا ، ومن حسن الحظّ أنّ دعوته لم تجد آذانا صاغية فماتت .

ورأى بعضهم أنّ لا ضير من اقتباس بعض الأساليب الغربيّة التي لا تتناقض مع أصول العربيّة وكان طه حسين من أنصار الرأي الأخير .

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١ كتاب في النقد أصدره هو والعقّاد سنة ١٩١٩ وسنة ١٩٢١ في جزئين .

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زادت حركة التجديد قوّة بعد الحرب العالميّة الأولى وثورة سنة ١٩١٩ ، واستقرار الحياة النيابيّة في مصر ، إذ شعر المصريّون بالانطلاق من ربقة مستشار المعارف الإنجليزيّ وسياسته العميقة في التربية والتعليم ، واشتدّ التنافس بين الأحزاب وكان لكلّ حزب صحفه التي تناضل عن مبادئه ، وتقدّم الأدباء الصفوف في النضال الحزبيّ . وظهرت بجانب الصحف اليوميّة صحف أسبوعيّة للأدب والفنون والعلوم بجانب الصحيفتين القديمتين " المقتطف " و" "الهلال" .

ولا يفوتنا هنا أن ننوّه بمجلّة أسبوعيّة ظهرت في العقد الثاني من القرن العشرين وهي مجلة " البيان " التي كان يصدرها البرقوقيّ ، وظهر أوّل عدد منها في ٢٤ من أغسطس سنة ١٩١١ ، وظهر قبلها مجلّات أدبيّة مجدّدة مثل " المجلة المصريّة " لخليل مطران في سنة ١٩٠٠ ، ومجلة " الزهور" لأنطون الجميّل في مارس ١٩١٠ ، وإنّما آثرنا أن ننوّه بمجلة " البيان " ، لأنّها كانت الميدان الأوّل الذي اشتهرت فيه الأقلام الجديدة ، تلك التي تزعّمت النهضة الأدبيّة فيما بعد ، أقلام العقّاد وشكري والمازنيّ وطه حسين والرافعيّ وهيكل ، ولأنّ البيان كانت تعبّر عن الروح الجديدة التي تتطلّبها الأمّة العربيّة في الأدب ، الروح التي تجمع بين الثقافتين الغربيّة والعربيّة ، فكانت من أهمّ الجسور التي عبرت عليها الثقافة الغربيّة الحديثة الى لغتنا وأدبنا .

ولم تكن البيان مجلّة سهلة الهضم ، ولكنّها كانت مجلّة الخاصّة من المثقّفين الذين هم " خلاصة الأمّة ، وإنّ أكثرهم من ذوي الإحساس الشريف " كما يقول صاحب المجلّة . وأمّا العامّة فكان يرى صاحب البيان أنّهم " نشر لا نظام لهم " .

اهتمت البيان بالترجمة ، فكان يحتوى العدد الواحد مقالات من الشرق ومقالات من الغرب ، وترجمت كتبا كاملة نشرتها تباعا مثل " حضارة العرب " لجوستاف لوبون ، و " الأبطال " لكارليل و " الواجب " لجول سيمون ، وكتاب " التربية الطبيعيّة " أو " آميل " القرن الثامن عشر لروسو وقام بترجمته المازنيّ ، وفصلا من كتاب " الحبّ والزواج " لدافيد هيوم ترجمه العقّاد و " الأكاذيب المقرّرة في المدنيّة الحاضرة " لماكس نورد وترجم العقّاد منه الفصل الخامس بعنوان " أكاذيب الزواج " .

ونشرت مقالات مترجمة لهازلت ، وبيكون ، وأمرسن ، وجونسون ، وكانت تختار بجانب هذا فصولا عربية للجاحظ والصابيّ والهمذانيّ والرئيس ابن سينا .

ولمعت على صفحات البيان أسماء ذلك الجيل الذي قُدّر له أن يقود الحركة الأدبيّة

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في الشرق العربيّ أكثر من نصف قرن ، فنجد في أعدادها عبد الرحمن شكري يكتب مقالا بعنوان " الفكاهة في شعر العرب " درس فيه الفكاهة الخياليّة واللفظيّة ، ونجد الرافعيّ يتكلم عن " الجنسيّة العربيّة في القرآن " ، وطه حسين يكتب مقالا بعنوان " النقد " يتحدّث فيه عن حقيقته وأثره في الأمم وشروطه ومضارّ الغلوّ فيه ، والمازنيّ يكتب مقالا بعنوان " مقالات في الأدب " ضمّنها أبحاثا جدّيّة في كيف يكتب الكاتب ويقرض الشاعر ، وما الأسلوب والتحيّل معتمدا في أفكارة على ينابيع الثقافة الغربيّة ، ويكتب العقّاد " مذكّرات إبليس " وهي مجموعة مقالات ضافية تناولت الأخلاق والاجتماع والأدب بأسلوب خياليّ تصوّر فيه إبليس يمشي في شوارع القاهرة يكيد للناس على اختلاف أنواعهم ويوقعهم في حبائله .

وهكذ رأينا على صفحات البيان كيف تنمو الأقلام الجديدة وتشتدّ وتحدّد اتّجاهها الفكريّ والبيانيّ . ومن الطريف أنّ معركة العامّيّة والفصحى اشتدّت بين المجدّدين أنفسهم . فنرى هيكل يعيب مجلة البيان وكتّابها حين يصطنعون فخامة التراكيب ويعدلون عن مذاهب السهولة الى جفوة الأعراب وخشونة البادية ١ ويردّ عليه المازنيّ قائلا : " إن كان ظنّي صادقا ، وكان قد غاب ذلك عنك ، فاعلم وأنت المجرّب العارف ، والعوان لا تُعلّم الخمرة أنّ ما تدعوننا إليه لا يقدّمنا خطوة ، وإن كان يؤخّرنا عشرا ، لأنّ في الناس العالم والجاهل والكاتب لا يستطيع أن يولج المعنى أفهامهم على السواء مهما تبذّل في أساليبه وتسفّل في تراكيبه . " ٢

ويناصر لطفي السيد هيكل ، وينضمّ البرقوقيّ والرافعيّ الى المازنيّ . وقد أجمعوا على أنّ اللغة يجب ألاّ تقف جامدة ، بل يجب أن تُمَدّ بأسباب القوة ، وتعريب المصطلحات الحديثة ، وعلى أنّها يجب أن تتخفّف من فخامتها .

وكافحت البيان كفاح المستميت للبقاء في خلال الحرب العالميّة الأولى ، وما أن انتهت الحرب وشبّت الثورة في مصر حتّى احتجبت البيان سنة ١٩١٩ ، وقد انهكتها المعركة ، ولعلّها أرادت أن تفسح الطريق أمام النهضة الشاملة في الأدب ، وأمام تلك الأقلام التي قويت واشتدّت على صفحاتها لتقود الحركة الأدبيّة الى ذروتها .

وظهر فيما بين الحربين العالميّتين عدد غير قليل من المجلّات الأدبيّة الأسبوعيّة ،

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١ العدد الرابع من السنة الأولى .

٢ انظر العدد الثامن من السنة الأولى .

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تغصّ بالمقالات الأدبيّة في كلّ موضوع يخطر بالبال ، متّجهة تلك الوجهة الجديدة في الاهتمام بالفكرة ، ودراسة الموضوع ، وان اختلف الكتّاب في هذا تبعا لاختلاف ثقافاتهم من حيث ينابيعها ودرجتها ونوعها .

اشتهر من بين هذه المجلّات " السياسة الأسبوعيّة " ويحرّرها الدكتور محمّد حسين هيكل " والبلاغ الأسبوعيّ " ويحرّره العقّاد ، و " الجديد " ويحرّره المرصفيّ ، و " الرسالة " ويحررها الزيّات ، و " الثقافة " لأحمد أمين .

ولا يسعنا في هذه العجالة أن نلمّ بكلّ كتّاب المقالة في تلك الحقبة ، ولا أن نقف أمام كلّ كاتب من كبار الكتّاب نستقصي موضوعاته ، ونحلّل أسلوبه وفكرته ، ونبيّن مدى جهده وإسهامه في تطوّر المقال الأدبيّ ، وبحسبنا أن نذكر أن الكتّاب انقسموا فريقين ، فريق ظلّ مهتمّا بالصياغة ، وهم المحافظون الذين آثروا الأساليب الجزلة مع التجديد في الصور والمعاني والموضوع ، والذين أشفقوا على التراث العربيّ والتقاليد الشرقية أن يجرفها التيّار الغربيّ ، وكان معظم هؤلاء من الذين لم ينالوا حظّا كبيرا من الثقافة الأجنبيّة ، أو نالوا قدرا ضئيلا لا يُعتدّ به ، ومنْ هؤلاء الرافعيّ ، وقد ابتدأ يهتمّ بالشؤون العربية والإسلاميّة على صفحات البيان كما ذكرنا وكان أسلوبه – لمحاكاته الكتّاب القدماء في العصور الذهبيّة للأدب العربيّ – يكاد يستعصي على أفهام جمهرة القرّاء . ولكنّه تخفّف نوعا ما عندما ابتدأ يكتب في مجلّة الرسالة منذ سنة ١٩٣٤ الى وفاته في ١٠ من مايو سنة ١٩٣٧ وقد جُمعت المقالات التي كتبها بالرسالة في كتابه " وحي القلم " . وكان الرافعيّ يُعنى بما يكتب ولا يستهين بقرّائه ، وتجدّد في موضوعاته وإن كانت تدور حول الإسلاميّات والاجتماعيّات والأخلاق والوصف . ولم تكن الكتابة لديه فكرة ومعنى وعاطفة فحسب بل كانت الى ذلك فنّا وأسلوبا وصناعة .

وجد الرافعيّ المشكلات الاجتماعيّة التي ولّدتها الحضارة الحديثة تُعالَج بطريقة تخالف روح الدين ، وتعمل على التحلّل والفساد ، فأخذ يعالجها بقلم المسلم الذي يؤمن بأنّ الدين عنده لكلّ داء دواء ، فيكتب كثيرا عن المشكلة المزمنة مشكلة الفقر والغنى عدّة مقالات ، ويكتب عن مشكلات الزواج والمرأة مقالات كثيرة : " قصّة زواج "، " فلسفة المهر "، " زوجة إمام "، " الطائشة "، " فلسفة الطائشة "، " أرملة حكومة "، " لحوم البحر "، " الجمال البائس "، " في اللهب ولا تحترق " .

كان الرافعيّ يمثّل في كتابته الفكرة العربيّة الإسلاميّة مع تجديد في الصورة والعرض

والفكرة . وقد عرف اللغة العربيّة معرفة لم تُتح لكاتب معاصر حتّى قال عنه المازنيّ وهو من فريق المجدّدين : " وكان الرافعيّ أعلم أهل العربيّة بالعربيّة " ١ . ولم يستخدم الرافعيّ على الرغم من ذلك صورة قديمة أو قالبا محفوظا في استعاراته ، بل كان يستخدم ألفاظ اللغة في بناء صور جديدة ، وبرع في هذا الميدان براعة أثرت اللغة إثراء عظيما .

وثمّة ناحية أخرى في الرافعيّ جديرة بالملاحظة ، وهي قدرته على السخريّة والتهكّم ، ولا سيّما في خصوماته الكثيرة العنيفة . كان الرافعيّ قد نشأ في بيئة دينيّة متزمّتة ، فكان ردّ الفعل عنده هو المرح والسخريّة ، كما كان ذا عيلة ترهقه في القيام بشؤونها تكاليف الحياة ، وكان ذا عاهة حيث أُصيب بالصمّ التامّ وهو شابّ ، فخاف من سخريّة الناس فقابلهم بسخريّة أشدّ وأنكى ، وقد يتطرّف الرافعيّ في سخريّته فتنقلب الى هجاء فاحش ، وقد يعتدل فتأتي صورا عجيبة من أدب السخريّة تدلّ على قدرة فائقة في التوليد والهزء وقوّة إدراك المفارقات بين مثله العليا وبين الواقع في الحياة وفي خصومه .

وكان الرافعيّ ذا مدرسة في الأسلوب له أتباع ومعجبون ، ومعظم أتباعه من هؤلاء الذين يرون رأيه في الحياة المعاصرة ، ويقيسونها مثله بمقياس المثل العليا العربيّة ، وقد حاولوا أن يقلّدوه في أسلوبه ، ولكنّ أحدا منهم لم يصل الى ما وصل إليه الرافعيّ من الصور البيانيّة ، وغاية ما وصلوا إليه هو محاكاة ذلك الأسلوب الجزل القويّ الخالي من الأساليب الأعجميّة .

ومن مدرسة المحافظين عبد العزيز البشرى ، ويمثّل الاتّجاه العربيّ المصريّ ، تشابه مع الرافعيّ في نشأته الدينيّة المتزمّتة إذ كان والده شيخا للأزهر ، ولكنّه لم يكن هو متزمّتا بل كان ردّ الفعل لديه الانطلاق المادّيّ والفكريّ ، ويمثّل بأخلاقه اللون المصريّ المحلّيّ أو ما يُسمّى " بأولاد البلد " في حبّه للحديث والنكتة وغشيان المقاهي والجلوس الى ذوي الفكر والنفوذ في ندواتهم الخاصّة .

كان البشرى من دعاة الأدب القوميّ المحلّيّ ، ولم يكن يريد أن نولّي ظهورنا الى الأدب العربيّ ، بل كان يريد أن يمثّل أدبنا العربيّ بيئتنا الخاصّة ، ويدلّ على السمات المصريّة بما فيها من وداعة وسلاسة وغيرة على مصلحة الوطن ، بحيث لا يكون أدبنا صورة من الأدب القديم ، بل تكون لكلّ بيئة عربيّة أدبها فهناك أدب عربيّ مصريّ ، وأدب عربيّ سوريّ ، وأدب عربيّ عراقيّ وهكذا .

١ انظر مجلة الحديث العدد السادس من سنة ١٩٣٧ .

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ولذلك كانت كلّ مقالاته التي جُمعت في كتابه " المختار" وفي كتاب " المرآة " تمثّل البيئة المصريّة بمشكلاتها الاجتماعيّة والأدبيّة ، مع حفاظ على اللغة ومقوماتها ، ومع قدرة على النكتة والدعابة التى اشتهر بها المصريّون .

ومن هؤلاء أحمد حسن الزيّات صاحب مجلّة الرسالة وقد درس بالأزهر حقبة طويلة ثمّ درس الحقوق بفرنسا ، ويمثّل الأناقة في الأسلوب مؤمنا بأن الأدب فنّ وكلّ فنّ صناعة ، مؤمنا بأن بالأسلوب يتميّز الكاتب ، وقد دافع عن نصاعة الأسلوب وقوّة الأداء وحلاوة الصياغة في كتاب سمّاه " دفاع عن البلاغة " .

وقد جمع ما كتبه في الرسالة من مقالات في كتاب سمّاه " وحي الرسالة " في أربعة أجزاء ، وظهر له أخيرا جزء أخير سمّاه " ضوء الرسالة " . وكانت مجلّته مدرسة تجمّعت فيها كلّ الأقلام القويّة من شتّى أرجاء العالم العربيّ تُعنَى كل العناية بالتراث العربيّ والقيم العربيّة الإسلاميّة ، وقد احتجبت الرسالة سنة ١٩٥٣ بعد عشرين عاما من جهادها . ولكنّها استأنفت صدورها سنة ١٩٦٣ بمعونة الدولة ولايزال الزيّات يوالي كتابة مقالاته التي بلغت الغاية في أناقة العبارة ، وطرافة الموضوع حيث يتخيّره من المشكلات التي تمسّ الحياة ، ويمثّل فيه وجهة النظر المحافظة ، فتراه في هذه الأيّام يكثر من الحديث عن الاشتراكيّة وعن القيم الجديدة في الحياة ومدي ملاءمتها لتقاليدنا .

هذا ويمثّل المدرسة المجدّدة العقّاد والمازنيّ . أمّا العقّاد فابتدأ يكتب مقالاته منذ سنة ١٩٠٨ ، وكلّما تهيّأ له منها مجموعة أخرجها في كتاب فله " خلاصة اليوميّة " و " الفصول " و " ساعات بين الكتب " وغيرها .

والعقّاد وإن قرأ كثيرا في الأدب العربيّ القديم إلاّ أنّه قرأ أكثر في الأدب الغربيّ وبخاصّة باللغة الانجليزيّة وما تُرجم إليها ، وكان يقرأ ثمّ يتمثّل ما يقرأ ، ثم يكتب عنه مقالا في الصحف الكثيرة التي كان يتولّى تحريرها . وقد سبق أن ذكرنا كيف أسهم في تحرير مجلّة " البيان " ، ويُعتبر العقّاد من أكبر من قدّموا الثقافة الغربيّة الى قرّاء العربيّة ، لا نقلا وتحريبا وإنّما يقدّم إليهم خلاصة ما يقرأ مزوّدا برأيه الخاصّ ، وعليه طابعه المتميّز .

ولا يُعنَى العقاد ببهرجة الأسلوب ، وإنّما يُعنَى بصحته وقدرته على الأداء ، ويهتمّ بالمعنى اهتماما بليغا ، ومن أهمّ خصائصه الاعتماد على المنطق الحادّ ، والقدرة على التحليل والتعليل والإفادة من قراءته الكثيرة ، فيأتي مقاله حافلا بأفكار من الشرق

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والغرب والقديم والحديث . وهو كثير الاعتداد برأيه وبنفسه ، وقد دخل في جدل كثير وخصومات حادّة مع جمهرة من معاصريه من أجل هذا .

وإذا تناولنا إحدى هذه المجموعات التي ضمّت مقالاته ، وبخاصّة تلك التي نشرها في البلاغ الأسبوعيّ منذ سنة ١٩٢٦ وجدنا موضوعات طريفة معظمها غربيّ تعتمد على الثقافة الغربيّة في أساسها ، ففي " ساعات بين الكتب " نجد مقالات مثل : " حبّ المرأة "، و " الغيرة "، و " النقد "، و " في الماضي "، و " كتاب سادهانا "، و " بيتهوفن "، و " الموسيقى "، و " أزياء القدر "، و " حرّيّة الفكر "، و " البطولة "، و " الوطنيّة "، و " العقل والعاطفة "، و شكسبير "، و " توماس هاردى"، و " قصّة العقل والعاطفة "، و " هنريك أبسن "، و " الحبّ والغزل والإحساسيّة في التصوير"، و " روسو، وفولتير والساخر – الى غير ذلك من المقالات المتنوعة الأغراض والموضوع .

لقد تطور المقال الأدبيّ على يد هذه المدرسة التي يمثّلها العقّاد ، وغني بالفكرة وعمقها وبالدراسة والتحليل ، ولم يعد أدب اللفظ والعبارة الطليّة والأسلوب الفخم ، أعطت هذه المدرسة معايير جديدة للمفهوم الأدبيّ ، معظمها مأخوذ عن مقاييس الأدب الغربيّ .

ولا يزال العقّاد يوالي نتاجه الى أن توفّي عام ١٩٦٤ ، وإن قلّت كتابته للمقالة ، وكثر اهتمامه بنشر الأبحاث والكتب ، واشتهر بدراساته للشخصيّات التاريخيّة من الشرق والغرب . وله مدرسة ومعجبون ولكن قلّ منهم من بلغ مبلغه في كثرة اطّلاعه وغزارة مادّته وقدرته على الهضم والتمثّل دون أن يفقد شخصيّته .

أمّا المازنيّ فكان في أوّل أمره من روّاد الثقافة الغربيّة مع التزمّت في الكتابة والعناية الفائقة بأسلوبه فجمع بين الحسنتين ولكنّ اعتماده اعتمادا كلّيّا على الصحافة في رزقه جعله يتخفّف كثيرا جدّا من هذا التزمّت ، وصارت له قدرة عجيبة في اصطناع الأساليب التي تكاد تقرب من العامّيّة دون أن تفقد أصالتها العربيّة .

ويمتاز بسخريّته اللاذعة ، وهي ردّ فعل لأمور كثيرة منها البيئة الدينيّة التي نشأ فيها ومنها ما لاقاه في صباه من ضغط عليه من والده ، ومنها أنّه كان قميئا ، مصابا بالعرج ، وإحساسه بعاهته جعله يتهجّم على الناس قبل أن يتهجّموا عليه ، ولكن بأسلوب عذب طريف ، وأدبه ليس موضوعيّا وإنّما كلّ مقالاته تدور حول نفسه وإحساسه بما حوله ، وكثيرا ما يتّخذ نفسه موضعا للسخريّة ، وينظر الى الحياة من خلال تلك النفس الشفّافة التي قُتّر عليها في رزقها .

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وقد اختار لمقالاته العديدة أسماء تدلّ على سخريّته من الحياة ومن في الحياة وما فيها ولم يعد يعبأ بشيء وامتدّت تلك السخريّة حتّى شملت عصارة نفسه وجهد حياته فنرى عناوين مثل " قبض الريح " و " حصاد الهشيم "، و " خيوط العنكبوت " و " صندوق الدنيا " . وكأنّه كان ينتقم من الحياة في سخريّته ، تلك الحياة التي لم تصبه إلّا بالأوصاب والضيق .

لقد تطوّر فنّ المقالة عند المازنيّ ، فكان في أوّل حياته يحفل بدراسة موضوعه ويجمع بين ما قيل عنه في الشرق والغرب ، ويخرجه مجوّد الأسلوب ، ولكنه عدل عن ذلك وأخذ يستوحي تجاربه وحياته الماضية والحاضرة ، ولا يجري وراء تجويد أو يتأنّى لاختيار لفظة أو صوغ عبارة، بل يرسل الكلام على أعنّته كأنّه الحديث الدارج ، مع قدرة بالغة في ضرب المثل والصور الواقعيّة ، والتهكّم المرح وبخاصّة من نفسه وأهل بيته .

والحديث يطول لو رحنا نتتبّع كلّ الكتّاب المجدّدين والمحافظين بمصر وفي العالم العربيّ اليوم ، ولكن بحسبنا أن ذكرنا هؤلاء الذين كانوا طليعة وروّادا في فنّ المقالة الأدبيّة . وهم نموذج في ميولهم وأغراضهم وثقافاتهم المتباينة وأساليبهم لكتّاب المقالة الأدبيّة في العالم العربيّ وبخاصّة في لبنان الذي ازدهرت فيه الحياة الأدبيّة وبخاصّة بعد التحرّر من الاستعمار التركيّ ، ونيله الاستقلال وظهرت فيه مجلّة " الأديب " ومجلة " الآداب " تحملان ثمرات أقلام تقدّمية كثيرة جديرة بأن يفرد لها دراسة خاصّة .

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THE DANCE WITH ZOOMORPHIC MASKS AND OTHER FORMS OF ENTERTAINMENT SEEN IN ISLAMIC ART

BY

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

The study of the art of painting in the Muslim world has so far been mostly centered on the establishment and characterization of schools and of the œuvre of certain artists and, to a lesser degree, on the iconographic content and the development of the represented scenes. Comparatively little work has been done on other fruitful avenues of research, for instance, the exploration of the paintings and, for that matter, of other forms of figural representation as *documents of history*, particularly of social and cultural history. Yet, authentic and usually unbiased as they are, the scenes which mirror contemporary events and customs seem preeminently suited for such investigations. Efforts in this respect have so far been devoted mainly to the forms and changes of fashion, [1] of arms and armor, [2] Sufi practices, [3] and Ottoman festivals. [4]

On the basis of such pictorial evidence from the Islamic world, a peculiar type of performance, also found in many other civilizations, that is, a spectacle or dance enacted by persons fully or partially dressed up as animals, will be discussed in the following pages. This material is all the more valuable as no clear and specific literary references in early Muslim sources have so far been found, although two later European travelers have noted the phenomenon, which they observed with great curiosity. [5]

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[1] Joseph M. Upton, "Notes on Persian Costumes of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, II (1930), 206-220; Hermann Goetz, "The History of Persian Costume," *A Survey of Persian Art*, III (London-New York, 1939), 2227-2257.

[2] Hans Stöcklein, "Arms and Armour," *A Survey of Persian Art*, III, 2555-2585.

[3] Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928), 111-114; Hellmut Ritter, "Philologika XV. Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār III," *Oriens*, XII (1959), 87-88.

[4] Metin And, *Kırk Gün, Kırk Gece* (Istanbul, 1959).

[5] John Covel, *Diary*, ed. James T. Bent in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (London, 1893), 215-216; G. C. Drietsch, *Historia magnae Legationis Caesareae susceptae per Damian. Hugo Virmondtium* (Vienna, 1721), 455-56. Both passages are quoted in Alessio Bombaci, "Rappresentazioni drammatiche di Anatolia,"

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One representation of such a dance has been known for a long time, since this particular drawing, originally part of the Ardabil Library, but later owned by the Public Library in Leningrad, was published in 1912 by F. R. Martin, and in 1923 was attributed by E. Kühnel to the well-known artist and draftsman of everyday subjects, especially in pastoral settings, Muḥammad-i Haravī (pl. III).[1] Here, within a landscape, three figures, completely dressed up as goats, gambol in animal fashion; only the human hands and feet, as well as the peculiar stance of the figures and the fact that two of them carry clappers or castanets, indicate that these are not real animals. They are, however, not the only dancers in the design, as at the top three additional figures perform very exaggerated steps accompanied by equally exaggerated gestures. It seems also significant that one of the high conical caps worn by these dancers is decorated with bells, which are also applied to the cap of a third type of dancer, to be seen in the upper left corner, the only one of this category. The latter's headgear is also adorned with the tail of an animal which is made to flutter by means of bizarre gestures; especially eccentric are the movements of his arms with their overlong sleeves. The music for these performers is provided by four men in the lower right foreground, who play the tambourine, a panpipe, and two types of drum. A similar drawing, based on this design, was once in the collection of Miss Jessie Beck and is now in the British Museum.[2] In it one notes, however, only two goat dancers and the artist also omitted the singular dancer with bells and animal tail on his cap. In the copying process, the direction of the figures was also reversed and the free space made available by the omitted figures was filled with trees, which therefore seem to be only of compositional and not of intrinsic significance. A third version of the design, a delicately tinted drawing like the one in the British Museum, is in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington (pl. IV).[3] This is the only rendition which carries a signature --though possibly apocryphal--of one "Mīrzā Muḥammad

Oriens, XVI (1963), 190-91. The present article does not consider a very special form of such masquerading, the dressing up of *prisoners* in the hides and furs of many different animals; this happened in 1573 at the Court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and was illustrated in a miniature of an *Akbar-nāmeh* of the Victoria and Albert Museum (W. Staude, *Moghul-Maler der Akbar-Zeit* [Wien, 1935], fig. 33).

[1] Ernst Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 1923), pl. 66.

[2] Arnold, *op. cit.*, 112-113, pl. xlvii; B. Gray, "A Persian Drawing of Dancing Dervishes," *British Museum Quarterly*, IX (1934), 1-2.

[3] N° 07.157. Size 171 x 93 mm. Drawn in black with faint color and gold.

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al-Ḥusaini" and a date "122" which most likely should read 1022 H. (that is, A.D. 1613).[1] Compositionally, it stands halfway between the Leningrad and London versions, inasmuch as it includes again the dancer with the oddly raised arms, although this time he wears no bells and the animal tails now decorate the high conical hats of the two dancers not dressed up. This drawing features also a large and two smaller trees, thus taking up a secondary motif introduced by the London composition.

In addition to these already published examples, there exist at least three others which are practically unknown. The first, another tinted drawing, though listed by E. Blochet in an exhibition catalogue of about 1932,[2] was at that time not illustrated and it furthermore disappeared from sight after that show, to be rediscovered only recently (pl. V). To judge by its style, it is slightly later than the other versions, but still within the Shāh 'Abbās period, that is to say, from the second or third decade of the seventeenth century, having probably been executed in Isfahan. It is the freest in the handling of the constituent elements and it also emphasizes different aspects. There is now no doubt that these are actors dressed up as billy goats, since human hands, legs and feet are clearly visible under the short skins, and two of the dancers carry clappers. On the other hand, their horns are now longer and more curved than in the other drawings. Only one of these figures, the one on the left, is actually seen dancing, while the other two, one of them standing, the other sitting, seem to be involved in declamatory speech-making. The drawing of the landscape, with its large tree and rock, leaves room only for two more non-masked performers who are of the type wearing the broad kulāh ending in an animal tail. As usual, they are involved in very energetic steps and are seen waving their arms which are covered by overlong sleeves, the one on the left also turning his head to watch his companion. The scene is completed by the band in the lower right corner; but there are now five musicians, because a bearded man blowing a long straight horn has been added to the ordinary complement.

[1] It was customary in the early seventeenth century to leave out the zero in a date (see F. Sarre-E. Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi* [München, 1914], 52, remarks on pl. 15 and also the dates in pls. 16, 20, 21, 37 and 47a; E. Mittwoch, "Zu Josef von Karabacek's 'Riza-i Abbasi'. Eine Entgegnung," *Der Islam*, II [1911], 212, n. 1).

[2] E. Blochet, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Persian Paintings from the XIIth to the XVIIth Century formerly from the Collections of the Shahs of Persia and the Great Moguls held in the Galleries of Demotte, Inc.* (New York, n.d.), 39, n° 108, there called "Tauris, first half of the XVth Century."

A fifth version appeared recently in London. This later copy has again three dancers dressed up as goats and shown in the same attitudes as the Leningrad leaf; it has, however, a unique feature, as one of the non-masked dancers carries a long stick with three sets of jingles to stress the rhythm of his steps. [1] Finally, an artistically inferior sixth version of the same general type was seen by the writer in the Tehran art market in the mid-fifties, though unfortunately no record of the number and position of the dancers has been kept.

It is clear from this list that the subject must have had a wide and unusual appeal at the time—ca. 1565 to 1625—especially as there may be further versions still hidden while others are now lost. The meaning of these drawings becomes therefore a matter of unusual interest. Sir Thomas Arnold was the first to try to identify these dancers; he designated them as wandering dervishes of a more unorthodox type and he has been followed in this interpretation by E. Blochet and several other scholars. The only more specific support for such an assumption was tentatively provided by Miss Grace Dunham Guest who (in her notes on the drawing in the Freer Gallery of Art) pointed to an essay by Professor Mehmet Fuad Köprülüzade, entitled *Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les mystiques musulmans* (Istanbul, 1929). Although this paper speaks of ecstatic dances, fantastic (though not zoomorphic) appearances, use of cattle bones as rattlers, and the worship of trees as shamanistic survivals among early Turkish Sufis, these parallels, if one may so designate them, do not seem close or characteristic enough to admit of an interpretation of the various drawings as representations of heterodox dervishes; nor do pictorial representations of the more orthodox forms of the dhikr (pl. II) help us in our quest for an identification, since their common elements—outdoor action and a circular dance movement to the tune of a few musicians, usually playing the flute and the tambourine—show none of the peculiar and, therefore, telling features which characterize the various drawings under discussion.

A different interpretation was proposed by Ernst Kühnel who entitled the scene "Tanzmusik," while Franz Rosenthal saw in the different figures of the drawings "wandering musicians and entertainers, two of them dressed up in goat-skins." [2] In this secular interpretation, these two scholars were followed by Alessio Bombaci

[1] The writer is greatly obliged to Mr. Basil Gray for having kindly shown him this drawing. It is a later copy of the Leningrad leaf.

[2] *Humor in Early Islam* (Leiden, 1956), frontispiece and p. ix, n⁰ 1.

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who was able to place these scenes into the larger context of dramatic and dance performances in countries bordering on Iran, including those in which actors dressed up as animals.[1] Using the researches of Georg Goyan, he referred in particular to such displays in Armenia which are alleged to date from as early as the tenth century and are common in the thirteenth (pl. XV).[2] He could also quote two European writers. During the festivities organized in Adrianople by Sultan Mustafa IV, in celebration of the circumcision of his son Muḥammad, one of these visitors, the earlier of the two, the Englishman John Covel, had actually witnessed, in the early seventeenth century, how Armenian and Turkish actors (the latter from the borders of Persia and sometimes dressed in Persian costumes) "often mix severall sorts of beasts in their gambals, and in every play always enter'd in a large Dear (like our hobby horse) . . . pulling and biting them."[3]

It now seems possible to give further support to this second interpretation. But first, a more general remark may be permitted. If these drawings really showed a group of dervishes, and in particular members of a Sufi brotherhood, in the act of performing a mystic dance, there would be only one form of attire, not three different ones; they would hardly act with such deliberately exaggerated gestures, even underlining them with a jingle-stick, and they would show one or two of the participants in an unconscious state (see pl. II). Secondly, Professor Hellmut Ritter recognized in the single dancer with the curiously raised arms—as if he were trying to imitate a fluttering bird—a close parallel to the *curcunabaz*, a performer of grotesque dances in the Karagöz plays, where the figure wears, however, the high pointed cap found on the head of the two other figures of the drawings (pl. VI).[4] These *curcunabazlar* perform usually with or after the boy dancers (*köçekler*); for instance, at the celebration of a circumcision or for the amusement of a rich Aga.[5] They are

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[1] Bombaci, *op. cit.*, 188-190.

[2] Georg Goyan, *2,000 let armyanskogo teatra*, Tom pervyi: *Teatr drevneĭ Armenii po pamyatnikam material'noĭ kul'tury y drevnim tekstam* (Moskva, 1952); Tom vtoroĭ, *Teatr srednevekovoĭ Armenie po pamyatnikam*, etc., (Moskva, 1952). This publication was at first not available to me, but Professor Bombaci kindly sent me some photostats of the illustrations, of which one is here reproduced as pl. XVI.

[3] John Covel, quoted in Bombaci, *op. cit.*, 191.

[4] Hellmut Ritter, *Karagöz, Türkische Schattenspiele*. Dritte Folge. Mit Beiträgen von Andreas Tietze, (Wiesbaden, 1953), 25 n. 1, and fig. 100, after which our pl. VI has been made.

[5] *Ibid.*, 4, 25, 269, 293.

therefore purely secular types for comic entertainment. This explains their exaggerated movements and gestures, as well as their peculiar headgear—features which are also to be found in the six Persian drawings. It may even be that this form of grotesque dance existed at a much earlier time, since figures performing such an act occur on polychrome painted pottery bowls of ca. 1200 (pl. VII). Thirdly, and this seems even more important, there are several other scenes, so far not noted, in which persons are at least partially dressed up as animals and performing in a purely secular setting.

Nearly contemporary with the Leningrad drawing is an illustration in a manuscript of *Yūsuf ve Zulaikhā* by Jāmī in the University Library in Istanbul (MS persan 1318, f° 50b) which the typescript supplement to the catalogue describes as follows:

> L'arrivé de Potiphar à la ville accompagné de sa future épouse Zuleykhā et les habitants de la ville en train de les divertir en jouant à la flute et au tambourin (pl. VIII).

Indeed, two tambourine players and one flutist play for a group of dancers, three of them children, in the lower left corner. More significant is a group in the upper right corner, where a tambourine player in a reddish-grey coat and wearing the well-known conical hat ending in an animal tail, plays for a person close to him, who carries over his head a reddish-brown bull-head mask and uses a stick and what might be a clapper to mark the rhythm of his steps. Unfortunately, the manuscript has no colophon with specific information as to its date and place of production, but we are fairly safe in attributing the painting to Shiraz and the period of 1575 to 1585. Shiraz was at that time a mere provincial center, which would explain why it was prone to include a more folkloristic element in its iconography, in contrast to the versions of the same subject executed in the contemporary royal workshops of Qazvin and Khurasan where the same scene shows only musicians and boy dancers.

The custom must have lingered on practically to our time, for the same motif occurs on a *qalamkār* hanging made in the workshop of one 'Abd al-Khāliq about the turn of this century, and now in the collection of the U.S. National Museum in Washington.[1] Here within a polylobed arch (like those found in *miḥrābs* and *sajjādas*) one finds a repeat pattern made with the help of wood blocks which show scenes from the traditional Iranian literature (for example,

[1] Division of Ethnology, n° 401560. Men dressed up as animals appear also on Qajar metalwork.

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"Lailā holding the figure of the prostrate Majnūn in her lap with wild and tame animals around them" and of "Farīdūn riding on the cow Birmāyeh"), buildings (mosques, isolated minarets, churches with a cross on the steeple, palaces, and lampposts), various animals (elephants and peacocks), and finally a man with a fierce bull-head mask dancing with another figure (pl. IX).

Naturally one wonders to what time and place this form of popular entertainment (and it seems that all three types of performers in the series of Persian drawings should be classed in this category) is first traceable. It seems that the man with the animal mask appears already (though not for the first time in Islamic art) on mid-thirteenth century silver-inlaid brass objects, most likely made in Syria. They have remained undiscovered until now due to the fact that they occur in a place where one would hardly expect them—in inscriptions, though very unusual ones; that is, in a bizarre type of anthropomorphic writing in which the figural elements practically obliterate the lettering. But there is no doubt that in at least two objects, a canteen in the Freer Gallery of Art (pl. X, 1 and 2)[1] and a large tray in the Cleveland Museum of Art (pl. XI),[2] they occur in four and two places respectively. Each time the figure is dressed in ordinary human fashion, but carries the head mask of an animal. It is hardly possible to identify the type of animal depicted, although in none of these cases does the artist seem to have rendered a horned or bovine creature, but rather a genus with a protruding muzzle or snout of a more general, terrifying nature.

There exists from this period at least one example which *seems* to represent a human figure completely dressed up as an animal. A medallion on the neck of the so-called Blacas Ewer in the British Museum, made by Shujā' b. Man'a in Mosul in 629/1232, contains a design which was interpreted as a dancing monkey by the late D. S. Rice (pl. XII).[3] It is, however, rather unlikely for a simian to play

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[1] The only description of the object so far published is by M.S. Dimand, "A Silver Inlaid Bronze Canteen with Christian Subjects in the Eumorfopoulos Collection," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), 17-21. The inscriptions occur in fig. 3. Another form of entertainment is shown on the left of the top figure where a man is seen riding backwards on an animal.

[2] Howard Hollis, "Two Inlaid Brasses," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XXXIII (1946), 40, pl. on p. 43.

[3] The Ewer is illustrated in *A Survey of Persian Art*, VI, pl. 1329; see D.S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī, al-Mawṣilī," *Ars Orientalis*, II (1957), 310. Professor Rice was the first to observe the motif of the dancing monkeys and to discuss it.

with castanets in both hands, and since this behavior forms a direct parallel to the Persian dancers dressed up as goats (pls. III-V), the question arises whether this should not be considered as another case of an entertainer masquerading as an animal. Although the interpretation of this scene by itself remains admittedly ambiguous, there exists still other evidence which makes it fairly certain that this is a masked human dancer.

There is first a circumstantial, literary clue. The *qarrād*, or handler of trained monkeys, is a figure known from early Islamic times, [1] and, being very popular, he has also been incorporated at some length into the work of such litterateurs as al-Hamadhānī (358-398/969-1008) who refers to him in his twentieth *maqāma*, and Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310) who introduces him in his second shadow play, *'Ajīb wa-gharīb*, where the various entertainers at an Egyptian fair appear in their characteristic manner. [2] In addition, Paul Kahle, E. Graefe, R. R. Zed, and Enno Littmann have provided us with the repertory and "spiel" of the modern Egyptian *qarrād*. [3] From these ancient and modern sources we know that the performances of the trained monkeys consisted of pantomimes imitating certain forms of human behavior (the walk of different age groups, gestures during various types of work), of the animal's clever reaction to suggested situations (for example, his eagerness or reluctance to marry certain ladies), of dances and jumps, and finally, of riding a trained goat. But specific as these descriptions are—even to the point of mentioning that the monkey wears at times one or another form of human headgear—there is no reference in the medieval or modern texts to dancing with castanets (nor, for that matter, to the pretense of reading a book, a point which will presently be discussed).

Further evidence establishes the fact that the dressing up as animals,

[1] I. Goldziher, "Die Handwerke bei den Arabern," *Globus*, LXVI (1894), 205, quotes Ḥassān b. Thābit and Khālid b. Ṣafwān, indicating that this performer existed in Medina in early Islam; his trade was common in the second and third century H. A pre-Islamic reference to the *qarrād* is found in the Syriac *Physiologus* (*Das Buch der Naturgegenstände*, ed. and tr. Karl Ahrens [Kiel, 1892], p. 5 of text, p. 37, n. 4 of translation).

[2] E. Graefe, in E. Graefe, G. Jacob, P. Kahle and E. Littman, "Der Qarrād," *Der Islam*, V (1914), 94-95 (for al-Hamadhānī); G. Jacob, "Ein ägyptischer Jahrmarkt im 13. Jahrhundert," *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. Bayerischen Akademie, München, Philos.-Philol.-Histor. Klasse*, n° 10 (1910), 31-32; G. Jacob, "Der Qarrād," 95-98; G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland*, 2nd ed. (Hannover, 1925), 72-82 (for Ibn Dāniyāl).

[3] "Der Qarrād," 98-106.

and particularly as monkeys, is much older in the Near East than the thirteenth century. If we start with the earliest evidence, we can point to a bronze lamp in the Musée du Louvre which is related to those from the Eastern Roman Empire; it was, however, found by R. Ghirshman in Susa and seems to date from the Parthian period. On the lid of the cover for the oil intake is the fully sculptured figure of a monkey (pls. XIII and XIV).[1] The way in which this figure sits, carries its head, and is seen reading a scroll — all this points to a masked actor rather than an animal. If this should be the case, and it seems most likely that it is, the custom must have existed many centuries before the Muslim period. Also, a connection with late antique popular spectacles suggests itself at once.

The link between this pre-Islamic Near Eastern example and the continued custom in the thirteenth century, demonstrated by the inlaid bronzes, is a passage in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.[2] It refers to an episode at the court of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd (743-744 A.D.), which is described as follows: [الوليد بن يزيد] . . . أرسل الى أشعب فجاء به فألبسه سراويل من جلد قرد له ذنب . . . "He (the Caliph) sent (somebody) to Ash'ab and he brought him and he clothed him with trousers of monkey skin and he had a tail." We even have a pictorial record of the Umayyad period which reflects this custom, because the painting on the vault of the apodyterium in Quṣair 'Amra shows a seated bear playing a stringed instrument to the tune of which a monkey, standing on his hind legs, claps his front paws (pl. XXV, lower). The music-making bear leaves little doubt that one faces here again a dressed-up ensemble of human entertainers.

All this evidence of figural or literary nature constitutes enough material to reconstruct the physical aspect of the zoomorphic dance which has existed in Iran and various parts of the Arab world from pre-Islamic to modern times. However, being concerned in this discussion only with pictorial representations of this form of entertainment, questions as to its origin, specific meaning, and the social standing of the performers need not be considered here, especially as literary and anthropological research in this field is almost entirely lacking.

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[1] Olov R. T. Janse, "On the Origin of Traditional Vietnamese Music," *Asian Perspective*, VI (Hong Kong, 1962), 151 and pl. iii. I am grateful to Dr. Janse for the opportunity to discuss with him this object, which he was the first to publish, and for his kindness in putting the two photographs here illustrated at my disposal.

[2] Būlāq edn., VI, 123-124; Cairo edn., VII, 46. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Oleg Grabar for having kindly drawn my attention to this passage.

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There remains but one aspect of the subject which should, at least, be mentioned. Why is it that entertainers masked as animals occur in Arabic *writing* (though this type of script should rather be called pseudo-writing)? In trying to answer this question one has to consider all the background decoration of these "inscriptions." It contains many elements of pre-Islamic art, such as imaginary beasts and, what is even more important, duels with various monsters; there are, furthermore, other scenes of violence. [1] In this context, the artists were therefore prone to use age-old imagery and fantastic and fearful subjects. The masked dancers fitted very well into such a repertory; they may even have meant more than an awe-inspiring spectacle, as they could have represented another throwback to an earlier stage of historical development when such dances had a religious significance which, though only dimly felt, may have been akin to certain heterodox Sufi practices and thus have been appropriate in such a setting. At the same time these images must be regarded as part of the new imagery of daily life which the rising middle class of the urban centers had introduced into Islamic art and which were particularly abundant in the middle of the thirteenth century.

There are, possibly, even two other explanatory factors which may have been conducive to this epigraphic feature. About this time, the splendid art of the book in Armenian Cilicia (a region just to the north of Syria) made use at times of the man in the animal mask (pl. XV) [2] and cosmographical manuscripts, especially of al-Qazwini's

[1] For a related inscription on the Blacas Ewer of 1232, see D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Paris, 1955), fig. 29. The author of this article is preparing a publication on this and related forms of writing.

[2] For illustrations see Goyan, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 81, 81A, 81B; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pl. xxv, fig. 1 (dated 1260). The theme of an actor with an animal mask appears even earlier in Byzantine art, for a duel with one participant dressed up in this manner occurs in an eleventh-century fresco in Santa Sophia in Kiev (Goyan, *op. cit.*, I. fig. 89). The significance of this fresco in the context of theatrical representation was already noted by Metin And (*Bizans Tiyatrosu* [Ankara, 1962], fig. 16 and Appendix). For very graphic though slightly later examples (ca. 1280 etc.) from the Latin West, see J. Baltrušaitis, *Réveils et prodiges* (Paris, 1960), chap. 6, fig. 12.

There exists also Armenian lettering which incorporates such masked figures (pl. XVI), but Professor Der Nersessian kindly informed me that "these letters with animal masks are of a fairly late date"; according to her, even letters with human heads appear in Armenian manuscripts only in the 14th century (letter of February 26, 1964). Both these features occur earlier in the Muslim world, so that this *epigraphic* usage could apparently not have come from an Armenian source; the influence seems to have come rather from the Muslim milieu to the Armenian illuminators.

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'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt, began to be illustrated. The latter nearly always contain miniatures of the dog-faced men of the Island of Seksār (pl. XVII) and therefore presented an iconographically related subject, which could have helped to stimulate the imagination of a metal-worker. On the other hand, since the earliest Arabic illustrations of these cynocephali (and even still earlier European versions, such as a relief in Vézelay) show these creatures in the nude,[1] they cannot be the exact prototypes of the animal-headed figures in the pseudo inscriptions, as these wear human clothes. Without having at present definite clues as to which of these conditions were of special significance, one can nevertheless say that they all served to create an artistic koine which brought about the intrusion of this unexpected element into Arabic epigraphy.

Naturally, the dance with zoomorphic masks is not the only instance in which figural renditions of various forms of entertainment appear in the arts of Muslim countries from the high Middle Ages down to fairly modern times. Such scenes are chiefly to be found in very specific periods and areas. At the earliest, they can be traced in Egypt under the Fatimids, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when artists were for the first time able and willing to render extensively scenes of daily life and to do so with a fair amount of realism—[2] thereby revealing a new attitude toward life and art which was probably due to the influence of the now all-important bourgeoisie, especially that of the merchants. They make their next appearance in Syria and Iraq in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under the Ayyubids, Zankids, and the last of the Abbasids, when, on inlaid bronzes and in miniature painting, this realistic approach found its richest expression during the Muslim Middle Ages. After that they can be found in Iran, from about 1500 on—that is, mainly in the Safawid period, when a pastoral and lower-class realism is part of a new "anti-classical" attitude; and, finally, they can be traced in Mughal India and Ottoman Turkey, whose pictorial arts have a strong realistic tendency. Typical

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[1] R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V (1942), 175 and pl. 43c (from the earliest Qazwīnī MS dated 678/1280, Munich, cod. arab. 464, f° 211b and pl. 43f from Vézelay). Professor Der Nersessian indicated to me that the cynocephali in Vézelay and in scenes of the Pentecost in Armenian manuscripts of the first half of the 13th century are meant to represent strange people in remote lands to whom the Gospel had been preached.

[2] R. Ettinghausen, "Early Realism in Islamic Art," *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, I (Roma, 1956), 250-73.

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examples are the representations of wrestlers which occur first on a Fatimid luster plate—the scene includes even an umpire and a watchful audience (pl. XVIII)—and then on Ayyubid and Zankid bronzes (pl. XIX).[1] The matches could not be better explained than with the words of E. W. Lane in his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*:

> 'Wrestling matches are also sometimes witnessed in Egypt: the combatants (who are called 'muṣāre'-een,' in the singular 'muṣāre',') strip themselves of all their clothing except their drawers, and generally oil their bodies; but their exercises are not remarkable, and are seldom performed but for remuneration, on the occasion of festivals, processions, etc. On such occasions, too, mock combats between two men usually clad only in their drawers, and each armed with a sabre and a small shield, are not unfrequently witnessed: neither attempts to wound his adversary: every blow is received on the shield.[2]

Even for the last-mentioned mock battles with harmless weapons, we can find the perfect illustrations in inlaid medallions on a basin made for the Ayyubid Sultan al-'Ādil II (pl. XIX, 2) and on a tray made for Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' of Mosul.[3] In the same way a Fatimid luster dish (pl. XX) illustrates this passage from Lane's *Manners and Customs*:

> Sometimes two peasants contend with each other, for mere amusement, or for a trifling wager or reward, with 'nebboots,' which are thick staves, five or six feet long: the object of each is to strike his adversary on the head. The nebboot is a formidable weapon, and is often seen in the hand of an Egyptian peasant: he usually carries it when on a journey...[4]

This form of fencing, or to use a term used in Egyptian English-language publications, this "stick-dancing game" is nowadays called *taḥṭīb* in Egypt, where it is popular in rural areas and has also found a place in that most modern of urban entertainments, television.[5]

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[1] D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī al-Mawṣilī," 308, fig. 33a and pl. 8a, after which our pl. XIX, 1 was made; see also fig. 33b and pl. 9f (from a tray made for Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' of Mosul).

[2] Everyman's Library, n.d., 357-58.

[3] D. S. Rice, *op. cit.*, 310 and pl. 8d, after which our pl. XIX, 2 was made; see also pl. 9h (from a tray made for Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu').

[4] *Ibid.*, 357. Two Mamluk miniatures in a not yet identified text show the practice of this game in fifteenth-century Egypt; one of them even indicates that it could be played on horseback (Mohamed Mostafa, "Darstellung des täglichen Lebens in der islamischen Kunst," *Bustan*, n° 2 [Wien, 1960], 38-39, figs. 22, 23).

[5] A. Tawfiq, "The Big Theatre of Arab T. V.," *Egypt Travel Magazine*, n° 107 (July, 1963); see also Galal Eid, "The Ninth Festival of Amun at Luxor," *op. cit.*, n° 91 (March, 1962), figures on pp. 14 and 16 where the game is called "taḥṭīb" and "stick-dancing game." Dr. Harold Glidden pointed out to me that the word occurs in Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. Milton Cowan (Wiesbaden, 1961), 186, where it is designated as an Egyptian dialect term.

The Historical Museum in Bern owns a water color drawing made in Egypt, which gives us the nineteenth-century aspect of this entertainment (pl. XXI).[1] Another early piece of such pictorial evidence is a carved wooden panel with various acrobatic acts from the Fatimid period (pls. XXII and XXIII) and executed in the same style as the panels which were originally in the Lesser Western Fatimid Palace of 450/1058.[2] Other acrobats and dancers appear on thirteenth century metalwork (pl. XIX, 3),[3] and pottery (pl. XXV, upper), as well as in Indian paintings from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries (pl. XXIV), and in many other places.

Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow play of the various performers at a fair in thirteenth-century Egypt points to several other entertainers whose acts can be matched with medieval representations. In this way, we are able to recognize that the two dancing monkeys on al-Dhaki's basin are the trained animals of a *qarrād* (pl. XIX, 4). In the play, the monkey is asked to dance like an equilibrist; accordingly, one of them is seen balancing a cup in this manner. As to the little stand between the animals, this is a usual prop in many of the animal demonstrations and is therefore an appropriate element in the composition. Another performer is the trainer of bears, called "Abū 'l-waḥsh" (the father of wild beasts) in the play. He is undoubtedly shown in at least one inlaid scene which presents a man between two erect bears which he seems to balance (pl. XIX, 5). There is still one other composition on the same inlaid basin which could belong to this repertory of entertainers: the man riding on a lion (pl. XIX, 6). This is not the usual confrontation of man and lion in the form of a prince on the lion hunt; nor does it seem to have astrological connections, as in that instance it is usually a female sun who is riding Leo, the symbol of her *domicilium*, and not an old bearded man holding a dagger and turning back so as better to twist the lion's tail. Even a third possibility—a saint on a lion—seems unlikely, as in that particular iconographic setting he usually rides calmly, at times handling a snake, while the inlaid figure is shown in an aggressive and agitated action quite unbecoming to a holy man. This leaves only the *sabbāʿ*, or lion

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[1] The writer is indebted to Professor G. Redard for his kindness in procuring a photograph of this painting in the Bern Museum. Its subject is remarkably close to that on the Fatimid luster plate (pl. XX).

[2] K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, I (Oxford, 1952), pl. 38.

[3] D. S. Rice, *op. cit.*, 310, figs. 33c-f and pls. 8e and 9i (our pl. XIX, 3 was made after Rice, pl. 8e); see also our pl. VIII, lower center.

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tamer; and his behavior on the lion (which is probably drugged) seems quite in keeping with such an interpretation.

This short survey allows us to make one final remark. Although the various forms of entertainment here mentioned are probably of a decidedly popular nature, the portrayal of such scenes on luxury goods-- silver-inlaid bronzes, luster- or polychrome-painted pottery, and fine wood carvings—indicates their decided appeal to the wealthy and even the palace. It will be recalled that many of the scenes here illustrated are from royal objects. This admits of two conclusions. Although the "princely cycle" showing the enthroned ruler, or scenes of war, the hunt, and the courtly entertainments of dance, music and drinking, are all-important in Islamic art, they are not the only source of artistic inspiration. Popular entertainments of various forms had also a decided appeal, just as myths, legends, and themes of the pre-Islamic era continued to exert a persistent influence. On a higher level, it might then be postulated that it was out of this crossing of the royal and the popular-- that is, of the hierarchical, ceremonial and static court procedure with the realistic, informal and mobile every-day middle-class life—that the flowering of the Fatimid arts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and of the Seljuq-Ayyubid arts of the second half of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was born.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN
Freer Gallery of Art
Washington, D.C.

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The Dance of the Sufis and their Shāhids. "From an Anthology of Persian Poets." Herāt, 930/1523. Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), n° 32.54

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"Entertainers" in the Manner of Muhammadi. Leningrad State Library (After F. R. Martin)

Marfat.com

"Entertainers," Attributed to Mirzā Muḥammad al-Ḥusaini, 1022/1613. Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), n° 07.157

Marfat.com

"Entertainers" in the Manner of Reẓā-ye ʿAbbāsi. Private Collection

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Performer of Grotesque Dances (*Curcunabaz*) in a Karagöz Play (After H. Ritter)

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Fig. 1. Polychrome Painted Bowl with Horsemen and Grotesque Dancers, ca. 1200.
Formerly A. Garabed, London.

Fig. 2. Polychrome Painted Pottery Fragment with Grotesque Dancers.
Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)

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"Entertainers Performing While Potiphar Meets Zuleykhā," from a MS of *Yusuf ve Zuleykhā* by Jāmi. Istanbul University Library, MS persan 1318, f° 50b. (Photograph courtesy Prof. Nejat Diyarbekirli)

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"Dancer With Animal Mask." Detail from a *Qalamkār*. U.S. National Museum, Division of Ethnology (Washington, D.C.), n° 401560. (Photograph courtesy o the Museum)

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Details of Anthropomorphic Inscription on a Silver Inlaid Bronze Cameen. Syria, Ayyubid Period, Mid 13th Century. Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), n° 41.10

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Detail of Anthropomorphic Inscription on a Silver Inlaid Bronze Tray, Syria, Ayyubid Period, Mid-13th Century. Cleveland Museum of Art. (Photograph courtesy of Dorothy Shepherd)

PLATE XI

Detail Showing a Dancer Dressed up as a Monkey. From the Blacas Ewer, Mosul, 629/1232, British Museum. (After *L'Orfèvrerie Persane*, 167.)

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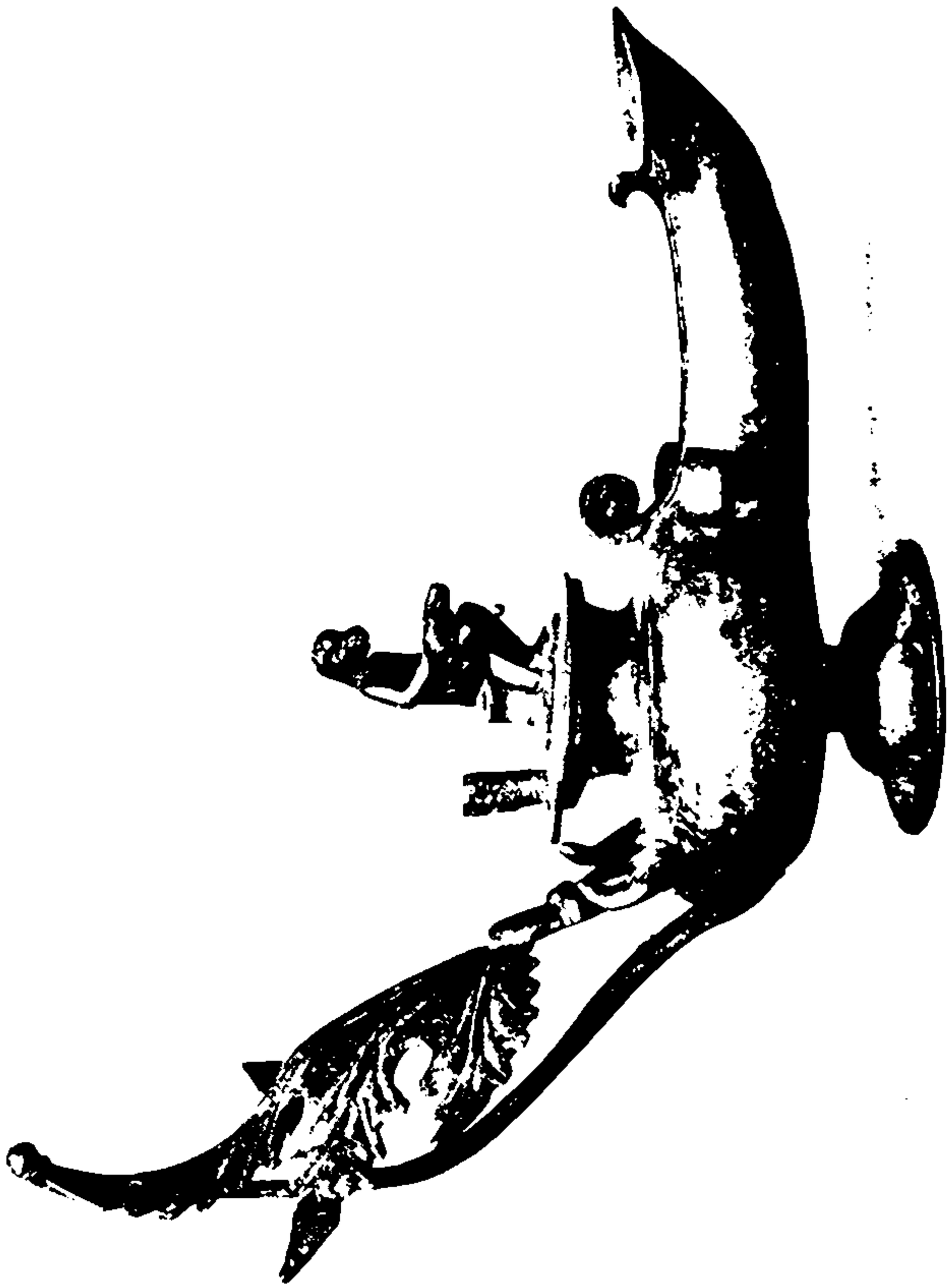

Lamp Found in Susa, Musée du Louvre. (Photographs courtesy Dr. Oleg R. T. Janse)

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Lamp Found in Susa, Musée du Louvre.
(Photographs courtesy Dr. Olov R. T. Janse)

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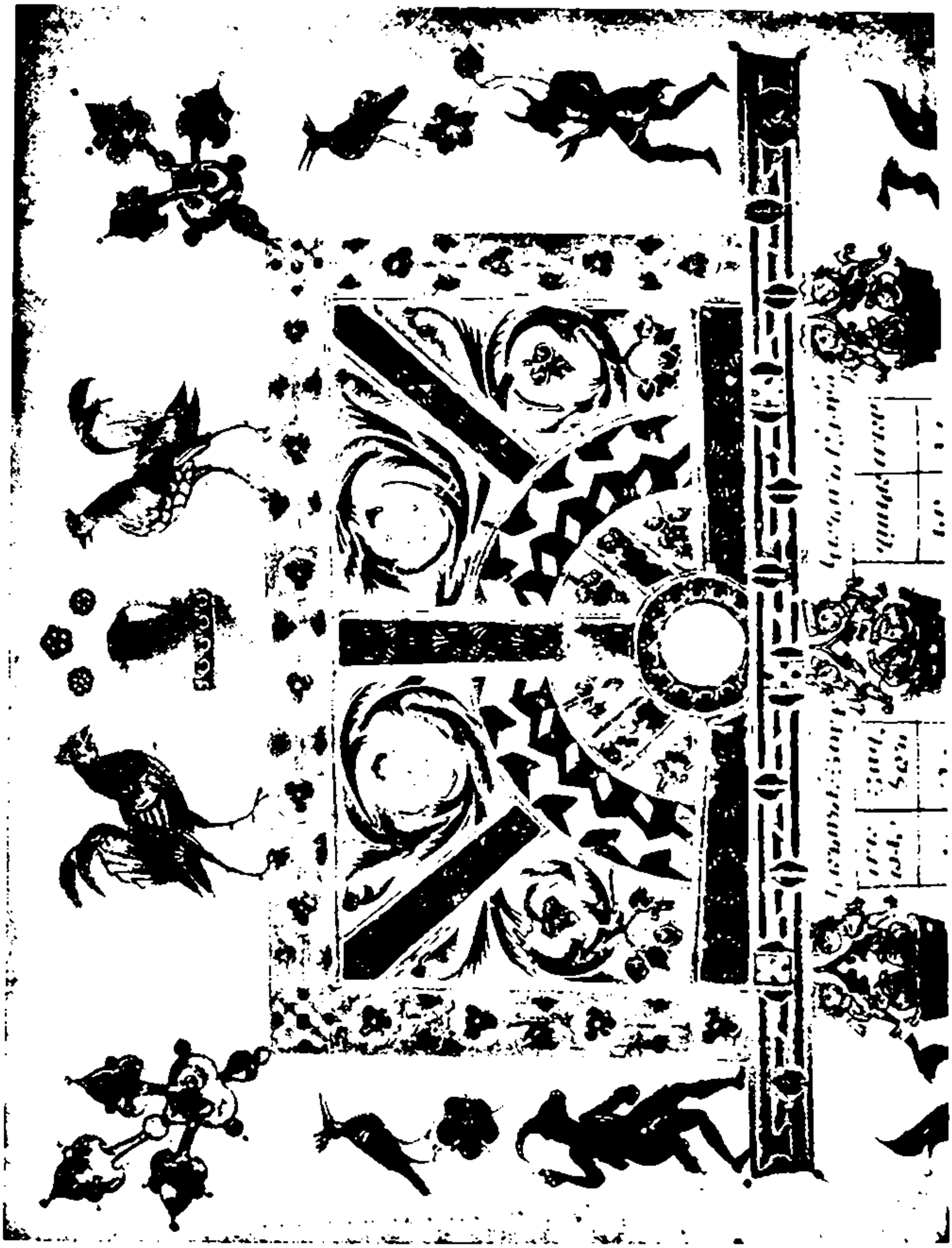

Detail from a Canon Table of an Armenian Gospel. Illustrated by Florus Roslin Gulbenkian, 1262. Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), MS. W. 539, f. 8a (Photograph

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Details from Armenian MSS. (After Goyan)

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Dog-faced Men, Miniature from a MS of *'Ajāib al-makhlūqāt* by al-Qazwīnī. Probably Iraq, ca. 1370-1380. Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), n° 54.64b

PLATE XVII

Central Scene of Transversal Frieze of Wall Painting
(at Top), Egypt, 11th or 12th Dynasty, Art Collection, Museum of Dallas

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Fig. 1. Wrestlers. — Fig. 2. Mock Duel With Swords and Shield. — Fig. 3. Boy Dancers. — Fig. 4. Trained Monkeys. — Fig. 5. Bear Tamer With Two Bears. — Fig. 6. Lion Tamer.

Figs. 1-6 Details from a Silver-Inlaid Basin made by Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Dhakī al-Mawṣilī for the Ayyubid Sultan al-ʿĀdil II, Abū Bakr, Syria or Egypt, 636-638/1238-1240. Musée du Louvre, n° 5991. (After D. S. Rice).

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Luster Plate With Two Men Fighting With Staves. Egypt, 11th or 12th Century.
Museum of Islamic Art (Cairo), n 14516

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Water Color Drawing of Two Men Fighting With Staves. Made in Egypt, 19th Century. Historical Museum (Bern). (Photograph courtesy of the Museum and Prof. G. Redard).

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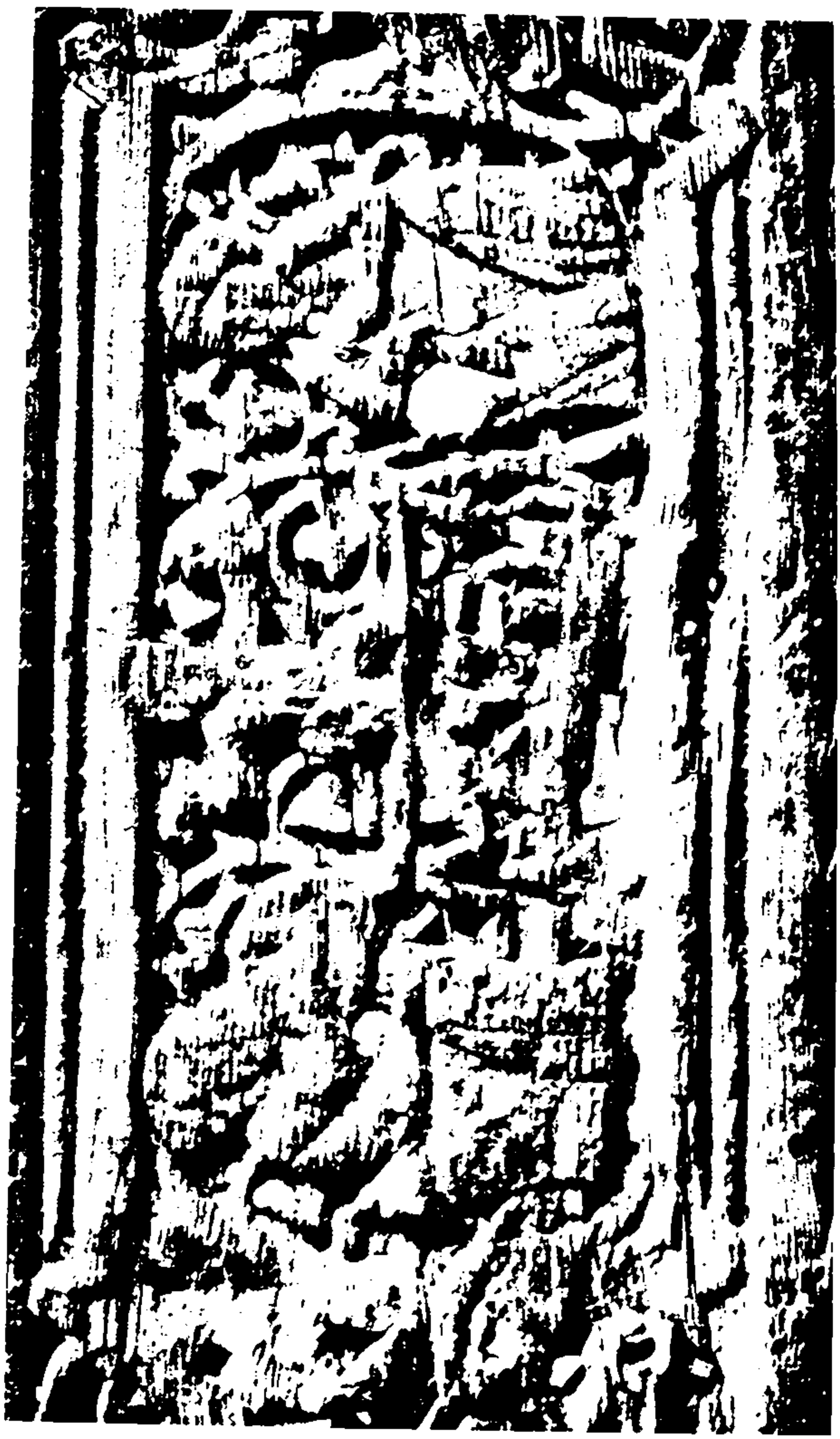
Carved Wooden Panel With Arabic Legend, 11th Century, Cairo Museum



Carved Wooden Panel With Acrobats. Egypt, 11th Century. Coptic Museum (Cairo)

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Aeronauts Before King Nushirvan, Indian Origin, Second Half of 15th c.
Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Berlin), Or. Fol. 4148, f. 57b

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Pottery Ewer With Dancers. Persia, ca. 1200. Formerly Possession of H. Kevorkian, New York

Detail from a Painting in Quṣair ʿAmra (After A. Musil and others, *Kuṣejr ʿAmra*, II [Wien, 1907], pl. xxxiv)

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THE NEW PERSIAN RENAISSANCE IN WESTERN IRAN

BY

RICHARD N. FRYE

Inasmuch as Sir Hamilton Gibb in his writings has, among other things, been concerned with general, important literary problems, I thought it appropriate in a volume offered to him to discuss certain broad topics regarding the Persians under late Abbasid rule.

The so-called "New Persian Renaissance" in western Iran in the tenth and eleventh centuries is much less known and less appreciated than in Khurasan and Transoxiana. We do not find in western Iran the galaxy of literary men writing in New Persian, such as Rūdakī, Firdausī, 'Unṣurī, Farrukhī, and others who were active in the east. Instead, we find writers such as Badī' al-Zamān of Hamadan (d. 1007), who wrote his famous *Maqāmāt* in Arabic, the great physician Abū 'Alī b. Sīna (Avicenna, ca. 1037) who wrote many books on various subjects, all in Arabic save the *Dāneshnāme'ye 'Alā'ī* (in honor of the Buwaihid 'Alā' al-Daula of Isfahan).[1] Even the local histories of Qum and Isfahan dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. were written in Arabic.[2] The same was true, for the most part, in poetry; for example, a poet of the Buwaihid period, Mihyār al-Dailamī (d. 1037), was a Zoroastrian who became a Muslim and wrote verses in Arabic.[3] It is true that there were a few poets in western Iran who wrote in New Persian, as well as in dialects of Persian, but they were relatively unimportant.[4] The productions in Arabic overshadowed any in Persian, which was only natural, according to

[1] The division between eastern and western Iran has been mentioned by many writers, including E. G. Browne in his *A Literary History of Persia*. This division also obtains in art and in its sub-field of scripts, where it has not received attention. Somewhere in Khurasan, possibly in Nīsābūr under the Ṭāhirids a special form of the Arabic Kufic alphabet was evolved, called "Iranian Kufic," or "rhomboid Kufic" by S. Stern (*BSOAS* XVI [1954], 398). This script was modified into a Naskhī script, found in the oldest Persian manuscript—the Vienna pharmacopoeia of al-Harawī, and was used in Khwarazm and by the Bulghars on the Volga.

[2] C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 348-349.

[3] Browne, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

[4] *Ibid.*, 92, 93, 158.

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E. G. Browne, due to the proximity of Baghdad, the center of Islamic culture. On the other hand, Barthold perhaps exaggerates when he says "they [the Buwaihids] submitted wholly to the influence of Arabic literature while remaining indifferent to the Persian." [1]

One may say, generally speaking, that while in Khurasan and Transoxiana a New Persian literature was flourishing, in western Iran Arabic was dominant as a literary language. Works of science, philosophy, and the like, of course, were being composed in Arabic, both in eastern and western Iran. To explain this, one must look at the historical situation in the tenth century in western Iran.

At the same time that the Samanids were consolidating their power in Transoxiana, the Dailamites were expanding from their mountain strongholds in the Elburz range, and they were to dominate western Iran in the tenth and first half of the eleventh century. Minorsky has shown the importance of this expansion of the Caspian mountaineers, who established dynasties such as the Musāfirids in Azerbaijan, the Kākwaihids in Hamadan and Isfahan, and the most important, the Buwaihids. [2]

It is clear, from Arabic sources, that the Dailamites, in small groups, were migrating from their highlands to all parts of western Iran at the beginning of the tenth century, either as brigands, or more usually as mercenaries, much as the Turks from Central Asia. [3] Turkish and Dailamite regiments are frequently found side by side in the armies of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and one may add that they frequently clashed. [4]

The political history of the Buwaihids is now fairly well known. But what of the internal conditions in western Iran under these Shi'ites, the upholders of the Iranian national tradition, according to Minorsky? What was the religious position of the Buwaihids? By this I do not mean their formal religious adherence, but rather their attitude toward religion, especially as related to their "Iranian nationalism". We can find a number of interesting details indicating,

[1] W. Barthold, *Mussulman Culture*, trans. S. Suhrawardy (Calcutta, 1934), 84.

[2] V. Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites*, Société des Études Iraniennes, III (Paris, 1932), 8, 16-17. In this article I use Arabic forms of names rather than Persian.

[3] For example, when 'Alī ('Imād al-Daula) captured Isfahan, the Dailamites, who were mercenaries of the governor, deserted him for 'Alī, enabling the latter to capture the town. They deserted to 'Alī because they were Dailamites as he was. (*Cf. The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate* by Miskawaih, trans. D. S. Margoliouth, I (Oxford, 1921), 317.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 96.

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on the whole, the great religious tolerance of these Shi'ite mountaineers. One might have expected fanaticism among the new Dailamite converts, who were won over by the missionaries of the Shi'ite sayyids at the end of the ninth century shortly before their expansion in Iran, but such does not seem to be the case. [1]

We find, for example, cases of Buwaihid sympathy for Zoroastrians in Fars province. In the *Firdaus al-murshidiya* of Shaikh Kāzarūni (d. 426/1034), we read that the Zoroastrians in Kāzarūn were so strong that they prevented the shaikh from building a mosque. As the editor says, "The governor of Kāzarūn was a Zoroastrian, and the course of the conflicts between both parties (Zoroastrians and Muslims), and before the higher authorities in Shiraz, shows us how strong was the position of the Zoroastrians under the Bōyids." [2] At this time, Fakhr al-Mulk, a Buwaihid prince, was ruling in Fars, with his capital at Shiraz. The name of the governor of Kāzarūn was Khurshid, but he is also called Dailam Majūsi, and he was a particular thorn in the flesh of the shaikh. [3] The prosyletizing activities of the shaikh caused so much trouble for the governor and the leaders of the Zoroastrian community that they protested to Fakhr al-Mulk, who ordered Shaikh Kāzarūni to appear before him, where he was reprimanded for disturbing the peace, though he was not punished. [4] So there were Zoroastrians among the Dailamites as well as elsewhere in Iran.

From various sources we learn that the Dailamites often apostatized after ostensibly accepting Islam, and it would seem that religion played a rather subsidiary role in their lives. [5] Perhaps one could go further and suggest that the west Persian Renaissance which, in a sense, was more "intellectual" than literary, came to flourish because of the tolerance of the Shi'ite Dailamites. For the lack of emphasis on tradition among the Shi'ites, and lack of a real system of Shi'ite theology in this period, created a situation similar to the Mu'tazilite period of the Abbasid Caliphate, when Greek learning played an important role in the development of Islamic civilization. This

[1] Minorsky, *La Domination*, *passim*, and his "Caucasica IV," *BSOAS*, XV (1953), 514.

[2] F. Meier, ed., *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūni* (Leipzig, 1948), introduction, 20-21, 40, text 29-30.

[3] *Ibid.*, 115-116.

[4] *Ibid.*, 117, 121.

[5] See the references in A. Ateş, article "Deylem," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, III (1945), 569. Compare also the non-Islamic names in Ibn Isfandiyār's *History of Tabaristān*, for indication of long and widespread persistence of Zoroastrianism, or other non-Islamic beliefs, in the mountains.

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parallel has been noted by A. Mez in his important work, *The Renaissance of Islam*, and is, I believe, quite valid. [1] One Arabic source tells how, in 341/952, Mu'izz al-Daula set free some preachers of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. [2] The fact that the Buwaihid princes maintained the Sunni caliphs in Baghdad, though attributed to political realism, nonetheless does show a religious tolerance on the part of the Shi'ite rulers. Although we have few sources, the same measure of tolerance seems to have obtained in Azerbaijan under the Dailamite Musāfirids, and one may suppose a similar tolerance, or laxity, under the minor Kurdish dynasties. The Dailamites as Shi'ites then were generally tolerant of Zoroastrians and, indeed, of all faiths, including their Sunni Muslim rivals. But this did not mean they were fanatically pro-Iranian; on the contrary, as relatively new converts to Shi'ism, it would seem they respected even more the *Arab traditions* of the family of 'Alī and the general *Islamic Culture* about which we will speak.

At the same time, the Buwaihid princes were not above enforcing order, and to this extent we read of Rukn al-Daula ordering the Shi'ites of Qum to attend the mosque. [3] And Shaikh Kāzarūnī said, "Do you know how the Dailamite and his followers obtained victory and secured the rule in Fārs? It was that when they made war they said, 'He, He, He,' and so emphasized God the Exalted, and kept Him in mind; as a matter of course, they seized cities and provinces". [4] In short, the religious spirit of the Buwaihids was conducive to a renaissance in western Iran. For example, the great savant Avicenna left Bukhara, after the fall of the Samanids, for Khwarezm, whence he fled from Maḥmūd of Ghazna to the west, and finally to the more congenial soil of Isfahan to work and write. We find similar cases of lesser scholars. Of course, their migration to the west was no doubt also prompted by the struggles between the Īlek Khans and the Ghaznavids, after the fall of the Samanid kingdom. Let us, however, examine in general terms the Buwaihid rule which was replaced in the middle of the eleventh century by the domination of the Seljuk Turks, for interesting parallels can be drawn between them.

The Dailamites were regarded as wild, barbarous people addicted to raiding and plundering. We hear of this in many Arabic sources

[1] Page 62 of the English translation by S. Khuda Bakhsh (Patna, 1937).
[2] *Loc. cit.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 60(referring to Maqdisī, 395).
[4] *Op. cit.*, 266.

such as the geographies written before or at the time of the expansion of the Dailamites. While one might have expected a strong element of religious fanaticism in the rather newly-Islamicized Dailamites at the beginning of Buwaihid rule, and incidentally also among the Seljuk Turks, in both cases the desire to become "cultured", to patronize the arts (and to present a good face for posterity?), was stronger than any possible fanaticism. Both Dailamites and Turks realized they were conquering more civilized and cultured people than themselves. It is important, in this regard, to keep in mind the supremacy of the Arabic language in the Islamic cultural world, which already had been formed by the third/ninth century A.D. There was no longer any question of the cultural orientation of Islamic society, as Professor Gibb remarked; no question as to whether it was to be a "re-embodiment of the old Perso-Aramaean culture into which the Arabic and Islamic elements would be absorbed, or a culture in which the Perso-Aramaean contributions would be subordinated to the Arab tradition and the Islamic values." [1] Both the Samanids in the east and the Buwaihids in the west came on the scene too late to alter this, if indeed they could have done so earlier. In the east, the Samanids, upholding orthodoxy, readily accepted the Islamic values of state and society, only tolerating and then patronizing a revival of Iranian ideals in literature, almost as a side issue. As Sunnites they were committed to the Islamic tradition, and the Iranian tradition came only as a *Nachklang*. With the Shi'ite Buwaihids it was too late to overthrow the well-entrenched Islamic tradition in *western Iran* closer to Baghdad, even had they so desired. Furthermore, the rude Dailamite mountaineers were hardly capable of imposing a rival Iranian tradition to compete with the eminently successful Islamic institutions. One wonders whether the story would have been different if the Buwaihids had conquered and held Khurasan and Transoxiana, rather than western Iran. However, even this is unlikely in view of the history of Khurasan in the second century of the hegira.

Put briefly, the Buwaihids were not basically committed to "Arab-Islamic" culture when they expanded, but they found it so well-entrenched in western Iran they had to accept and further it, which they did with alacrity. The Samanids, on the other hand, *were* committed to the "Arab-Islamic" culture by virtue of adherence to its Sunni religious, political and social aspects. Under them this culture

[1] H. A. R. Gibb, "The Social Significance of the Shu'ūbiya," *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* (Copenhagen, 1954), 108.

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became stronger, even though it was not so well-entrenched (at least culturally) as in western Iran.

Thus, when the Seljuks conquered Iran, and entered Baghdad in 1055, they found dominant everywhere an Islamic culture into which Iranian elements had been synthesized. The new Persian literary renaissance in the east was really Islamic, in spite of pre-Islamic Iranian echoes in it. The Shu'ūbiya movement had been long since disembowelled, as Gibb said. [1] So the Turks carried the Samanid version of the Persian Renaissance to the west with the consequent unification and stabilization of all Iran, culturally as well as politically, short lived though it was.

To be sure, Iranian concepts did not fuse completely everywhere and lose their identity in a general Islamic culture; Zoroastrians continued to exist in Iran, and the Isma'ilis and others emphasized certain non-Islamic Iranian concepts, but these were outside of the main stream of development. [2]

To turn to another side of Buwaihid rule, the Seljuk Turks are credited with the giving of a coup de grace to the Abbasid Caliphate, of regularizing the division between caliph and sultan, and of creating the military fiefs or *iqṭā'* which feudalized the Near East. But Turks had been long in the Near East before the Seljuks, first as mercenaries, then as a praetorian guard (like the Germans in the Roman Empire), and all of the features mentioned above were in effect under the Buwaihids before the Seljuks arrived on the scene. The ownership of land was considerably changed by the Buwaihids, and much land was appropriated by the Buwaihid princes, to be parcelled out to their military chiefs, as has been shown by Professor Lambton. [3] One would suspect that the Dailamites, who in their mountain fortresses had lived in independence from central control, when they came on the Iranian plateau followed the same procedure as had obtained in the Caspian mountains. Although statistical sources are lacking, it would seem that the number of castles and walled towns grew under Buwaihid rule, and increased greatly under the Seljuk Atabeks, when Ghuzz tribesmen were moving through Iran. In other words, the Seljuk Turks, while continuing the Samanid ideal

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[1] *Ibid.*, 113.

[2] The researches of H. Corbin on the Ishraqī philosophy of Suhrawardī, and Isma'ili doctrines in Iran, *after* the occupation of Alamūt, show that non-Islamic Iranian elements did not disappear.

[3] A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (Oxford, 1953), 50.

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of a fused Islamic and Iranian culture followed the Buwaihids in the domain of land ownership, and perhaps of political rule. The leaven of Central Asiatic "steppe" political features which they brought to the Near East is another and involved question. Much study needs to be, and should be, done on the Central Asian system of non-hereditary, hierarchic rule which may be seen in the Qarākhānid (Ilek) state, and which certainly persisted into Ottoman and Mamluk times.

It should be emphasized that the Qarākhānids upheld old Turkish traditions of royalty and considered themselves as descendants of the Orkhon Turkic rulers. The Seljuks, on the other hand, were mere condottieri with no Turkic traditions of royalty. That is why a Turkic literature flourished under the Qarākhānids side by side with Persian, whereas under the Seljuks only the latter was used. [1]

The history of the Seljuks, and the great changes in the Islamic world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are far beyond the scope of this brief paper. I feel that Iran is now fully part of Islamic culture and society; there is little place here for the Iranist. It is rather the Islamist who explains the history of Iran until the time of the Safavids (and the Ottomans), when the modern history of the Near East begins. The Persians, however, played a great role in internationalizing Islam, by turning it from its Arab background and making of it a universal culture.

[1] Cf. my book on *Bukhara* (University of Oklahoma) now in press.

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THE STUDY OF THE LITERATURE OF THE FATIMID *DA'WA*

BY

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The literature of the Western Isma'ilis is described as a "guarded treasure" (*al-khizāna al-maknūna*), or a "noble, spiritual possession." [1] It is esoteric in its character; and although not *secret* in the strictly literal sense of the word, it is still carefully "preserved and guarded," and every student of Fatimid lore will have his own experience of the difficulties encountered in obtaining reliable information or having access to the literature of this interesting school of Shi'ite Islam. As regards the term "Western Isma'ilis," it has the high authority of W. Ivanow, the doyen of Western specialists in the field, who is still happily with us, pursuing with perennial zeal his studies in Persian and Eastern Isma'ilism.[2]

The distinction between Eastern and Western Isma'ilism is mentioned by him in his *Guide to Ismaili Literature* (abbreviated *GIL*, in the pages that follow), [3] which is an indispensable adjunct to research in any field of Isma'ilism. While accepting his nomenclature, it is proposed to shorten the somewhat cumbrous expression "Western Isma'ili *da'wat* Literature" to "Fatimid Literature" for general works on History, Language, Religion, etc., and "*Da'wat* Literature" for books and smaller treatises (*rasā'il*) relating to the esoteric teaching of the Musta'lian school of Isma'ilis. There are a number of sound reasons for adopting such a course. First, the name is derived from that of the Lady Fatima, who is held in very special reverence by the sectarians themselves, as being the only woman in the "quinity" (*panj-tan, ahl al-kisā'*), that is Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husain. Secondly, it was a literature which was originally inspired and composed under the aegis of the Fatimids, a well-known Egyptian

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[1] *qunyatun nafsāniyatun khaṭiratun* in *Risālat Saiyidnā Ṭaiyib Zainuddin*, the fifth extract cited below.

[2] He wrote to me on November 15, 1962, that he is residing in the University Club, Tehran, and working on a revised edition of his *Guide to Ismaili Literature* and "on some Persian texts, Ismaili, of course".

[3] W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, Prize Publication Fund, XIII London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1933.

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dynasty in the history of Islam.[1] Later on, the *da'wa* (the Western Isma'ili "church") continued in the Yemen and in the subcontinent of India. It is now established in India in its two branches: (a) the *Dā'ūdis*, the more numerous branch, have their headquarters in Surat, Gujarat, and (b) the *Sulaimānis*, by far the smaller branch, in Baroda, Gujarat. Strictly speaking the seat of Sulaimāni *da'wa* in the valley of the *qabā'il Yām* in the Yemen, but at present, the *dā'i*, being friendly to the House of King Ibn Sa'ūd, resides in Ṭā'if in the Ḥijaz. The sectarians of each group claim a larger number of adherents than the situation warrants and, as there are no proper world figures, no useful purpose would be served in attempting a comparative census. Thirdly, the literature produced during the Fatimid regime and the Yemenite *da'wa* remains almost unchanged in principle to this day and has not been developed and reshaped as in the case of the Eastern or Nizāri school. And fourthly, "the Fatimid Literature" is typographically a simpler designation than *al-da'wa al-Ṭaiyibīya al-Mahdīya* or *al-da'wa al-Fāṭimīya al-Hādiya*.

Although not "secret," it is certainly "esoteric" in the dictionary sense, and forms part of the *bāṭin* (inward, esoteric), as distinguished from the *ẓāhir* (manifest, exoteric). The sectarians say that real knowledge is to be gathered *min famin ilā udhunin* (from mouth to ear, that is from the living teacher), emphasizing the light of guidance (Persian: *nūr-i hidāyat*) from the teacher (*fāḍil*) to the taught (*mafḍūl*), and that such teaching must be graded in accordance with the capacity of the students (*'alā qadri 'uqūlihim*). As regards "initiation," secrecy and cognate matters, Ivanow's observations, written some thirty years ago, are still valid. He says:

> The student who is interested in Ismaili literature most probably would look for information about its divisions into sections, in accordance with the "degrees of initiation," about which he reads in every book that is devoted to the subject. As I have already had the chance to note elsewhere,[2] these degrees of initiation understood in the sense similar to the masonic degrees, etc., are pure fiction. There are no traces of them either in the Ismaili literature (according to the statements of most learned specialists, in whom I have all reasons to have full confidence) or in practice. Quite naturally, the education of a learned Ismaili requires as much systematic and progressive study as

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[1] The best account of the Fatimids will be found in *Tārikh-i Fāṭimiyin-i Miṣr* by Zāhid 'Alī (Urdu), Osmaniya University Publications No. 371 (Hyderabad, 1367/1948). Abbreviated, *Tar. Faṭ. Miṣr.*

[2] "An Ismailitic Work by Nasiru' d-din Tusi", *JRAS (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society)*, (1931) 534, 557.

> any other form of learning anywhere. It is quite natural that people of no education were not encouraged to read difficult and most abstract treatises on high philosophy, because, naturally also, their misunderstanding of the ideas expressed therein would surely mislead them. The hierarchy of the spiritual dignitaries, which probably has given the basis to the whole story, apparently was in ordinary life purely administrative in character, though some symbolic meaning was attached to it in higher speculations. Just as in every religious community, people who devote themselves to profound studies in philosophy and theology are very rare outside clerical circles. And though a layman may or may not possess knowledge of these matters, such is obligatory in the case of high clerical dignitaries. Thus it is quite natural that a *dāʿī* or a *ḥujjat* in the Fatimide time had to be "initiated" into the highest "wisdom," which was naturally not intended for everybody, and therefore "secret." But such knowledge alone did not make a *dāʿī*, and there were surely many people, just as there are many of them now, who have exactly the same learned qualifications with regard to the "secret" doctrine and may not occupy any special post. If there was any secret knowledge at all, it most probably belonged to purely worldly affairs connected with policy and administrative matters. During the period of the *satr*, as at present, the *dāʿī* is supposed, for instance, to know the place in which the hidden Imam resides. This is a great mystery, and yet it has nothing to do with doctrine.[1]

From our later studies it will follow that this is not a very accurate description of the state of affairs in Fatimid Ismaʿilism.

"Secrecy," of a theological kind, certainly exists, and in *actual practice*, the principle of progressive study has hardened into a façade of secrecy, which creates difficulties for the ordinary student of Ismaʿilism and generates frustration in the case of a specialist. For instance, in spite of my best efforts, W. Ivanow has never been able to obtain a complete list of the *daʿwa* books, either from Dāʾūdī or Sulaimānī sources. The authorities decided that even "divulging" the list was fraught with great danger; or, at any rate, as this scholar was not a *ṭālib-i ḥaqq* (seeker after the truth), but only a learned inquirer, impelled by idle curiosity, he was not the proper person to be given the list of Sulaimānī works, which, it is said, comprise some four hundred titles composed during the last three hundred years.

Zāhid ʿAlī, the exponent and critic of the Ismaʿili faith says:

> It is necessary to remember that one of the peculiarities of the Ismaʿili teaching was its secrecy and esotericism; in fact, this is its foundation. On account of political exigencies and national interests, we [the author

[1] *GIL*, 19-20.

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was himself a *Dā'ūdī* Bohora][1] never divulged our true beliefs to any person except the members of the *da'wat* hierarchy; the reason being that the subjects (of the Fatimid empire) were mostly of the Sunnite persuasion. And so the instruction given to the common people (*'āmma*) was something entirely different from the (esoteric) teaching imparted to the members of the *da'wat*. In fact, the higher secrets were not divulged even to the ordinary members (of the community) . . . . these were restricted to the "inner circle" of the followers.

As an example, he says that the noted Jurist Nu'mān, *qāḍi 'l-quḍāt* (Chief Justice) and *dā'i 'l-du'āt* (Chief of Propaganda), who held "the public appointment" of Chief Justice of the Fatimid Empire, had no knowledge of some of the works of Saiyidnā Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, who was the *bāb al-abwāb* (the Chief Gate of Knowledge) of the Caliph-Imam al-Mu'izz li-dīn Allāh.[2]

The best general account of the religious system of the Fatimids will be found in Zāhid 'Alī's *Tārīkh-i Fāṭimiyīn-i Miṣr*.[3] And in discussing the religious sciences of the Fatimid religion, he shows clearly that the instruction given to those who accepted the Isma'ili faith may be divided into three graded parts. (I) The student was first taught the law proper (*fiqh*) and the chief text-book was the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* (Pillars of Islam) of Saiyidnā al-Qāḍi an-Nu'mān, the Founder of the science of law and the greatest Isma'ili jurist.[4] Generally this formed part of the *ẓāhir*, as distinguished from the second and third disciplines, *ta'wīl* and *ḥaqā'iq*, which together constitute the *bāṭin*.

(II) The second discipline was known as *ta'wīl*, allegorical interpretation of the shari'a (often described as *ta'wīl al-sharī'a*). This method of interpretation was an esoteric doctrine, not to be taught to the student unless he had (a) reached a certain standard of comprehension, and (b) attained to a greater faith in the secret doctrine. The second stage could only be reached by knowledge, *plus* (and this is of vital importance) faith in the truth of the Imams and the correct

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[1] See "Bohoras", *EI*², 1254-1255. And a work in Urdu, *'Iqd al-Jawāhir fī aḥwāl al-Bawāhir* by Abū Ẓafar Nadwī (Karachi, n.d.; preface dated 1936).

[2] Zāhid 'Alī, *Hamāre Ismaili Madhhab kī Ḥaqīqat awr uskā Nizām* (Our Ismaili Religion: its Nature and Organization) (Urdu) (Hyderabad, 1373/1954). *Muqaddima*, pp. *nūn-sīn* (ن–س) Abbreviated, *Ism. Madh.*

[3] Chap. 32, pp. 469ff.

[4] Ed. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, I (1951); II (1961) (second edition in press); *GIL*, n° 64; "Cadi Nu'man: Fatimid Jurist and Author", *JRAS* (1934), 1-32. An abridgement, *Kitāb al-Iqtiṣār*, was edited by Muḥammad Wahīd Mirzā. An extract from vol. I, 412-431, has been translated by G. Salinger: "A Muslim Mirror for Princes", *The Muslim World*, XLVI (January, 1956), 24-39.

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esoteric doctrine. Personally I have been told often that it is not knowledge *alone* that makes the teacher impart the teaching to him who would learn: he must accept with heart and soul the fundamental teaching. Here also the most authoritative works are those of the said Nu'mān and some others such as Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman.

(III) Finally, comes the third and last stage—the study of the *ḥaqā'iq*. Only those among the second stage, who reach a high proficiency in philosophical acumen and theoretical reasoning are promoted to the study of *religious philosophy*, usually called *ḥaqā'iq*. In this the student is taught about the Beginning and the End (*ibtidā'/intihā'*; *mabda'/ma'ād*); Prophecy (*nubūwa*); Heirship (*waṣīya*); Leadership (*Imāma*); Resurrection (*qiyāma*); and related concepts. Thus *ẒĀHIR* is the shari'a, which includes *fiqh* and *BĀṬIN* consists of (a) a *means*-science, *ta'wīl*, which is the bridge to (b) an *ends*-science, the final goal of human attainment, the *ḥaqā'iq* (always used in the plural and not the singular, *ḥaqīqa*).

The literature of the *da'wa*, so far as could be ascertained, was presented by W. Ivanow in his *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1933). This, unfortunately, is not complete; for, although it comprises the essential books of the Yemenite *da'wa* (526/1132 to 999/1591),[1] and usually designated as the *khizāna*, it does not contain the books composed during the last 400 years. The extent of the Dā'ūdī works is not known; but the Sulaimānīs claim that some four hundred works were composed during the last four centuries. And this is not surprising; for, most of the Sulaimānī authors hailed from the Yemen and composition in the Arabic, which was their mother tongue, presented no formidable difficulties. This literary heritage is not made accessible to the novice in a haphazard fashion, but certain definite rules were followed in teaching him in a progressive manner. It is this progression which will now be studied by us.

One rule peculiar to the *da'wa* instruction is that elementary classes are generally held after the morning prayer till the midday prayer (*ẓuhr*). The students sit in a mosque or in the house of a teacher and form themselves into a *ḥalqa*. The morning *ḥalqas* are usually elementary; for instance, grammar, Nu'mān's *Ṭahāra*, followed by the *Da'ā'im*. In the afternoon, slightly more advanced classes are held,

[1] For a list of *dā'īs* see Asaf A. A. Fyzee, "A Chronological List of the Imams and *dā'īs* of the Musta'lian Ismailis", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., X (1934), 11-13.

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and the teacher may expound the *Mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*, *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im*, *Simṭ al-baqā'iq* and works of a similar gradation. Finally, after the *'ishā'* (night) prayer, until just before dawn, "in the very witching time of night," the most secret and advanced works are taught. This is entirely in keeping with the general spirit of instruction among the Musta'lian Isma'ilis, and is a matter of common knowledge among the Bohoras of India.

Among the Dā'ūdī Bohoras, the ordinary teacher of prayer or grammar is called the "Mulla Sahib"; a good scholar who is a dignitary of the *da'wa* (*hadd*, plural, *hudūd*, as they are called) may be given the title of "shaikh"; and the teacher of shaikhs is sometimes designated "Saiyidī," but the title "Saiyidnā" appears to be restricted to the *dā'ī al-muṭlaq* of the time, the highest of the existing dignitaries of the *da'wa*.

This nomenclature, prevalent among the Dā'ūdis, is slightly varied among the Sulaimānis. The "mulla" is generally an *'āmil*; namely, an officiant for conducting prayers, performing marriages and arranging burials. There is no such title as "shaikh" or "saiyidī." When the mulla reaches the higher ranks he is referred to as the "Hazrat" (Arab. *ḥaḍra*, the presence). The Sulaimānī *dā'ī*, usually a Yemenite, appoints his plenipotentiary for the "two islands" of *al-Hind wa'l-Sind*, and he is known as the "Hazrat al-Manṣūb" (Indian pronunciation). Sometimes there are joint "Hazrats" to perform the exalted functions of the *dā'ī* in India and Pakistan, as at present, namely Hazrat Mawlānā Muḥammad Shākir (Baroda) and Hazrat Mawlānā Fatḥullāh (Hyderabad). The title "Saiyidna Sahib" is strictly restricted both among the Dā'ūdis and the Sulaimānis to the *dā'ī al-muṭlaq*; the former is generally an Indian and the latter, Yemenite. It is to be further noted that all correspondence is carried on and instruction imparted among the Dā'ūdis in the Gujarati language, while the official language of the Sulaimānis is Urdu, the official language of Pakistan and the language most commonly used by the vast majority of Muslims in India. It is the language of some 110 million persons, both Hindus and Muslims, and possesses a rich literature, of particular value in matters pertaining to law and religion, and contains poetry of the highest merit. It is also very commonly used as the language of films and is extremely popular on account of its euphonious character. The official correspondence among the Sulaimānis, between India and the Yemenite *dā'ī*, is carried on in Arabic, and the letters of the *dā'ī* are publicly read and translated

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by the "Hazrat." Such letters from the Sulaimānī Saiyidnā *al-dā'ī* are called "musharrifāt."

In order to give a clear picture of the curriculum of the Western Isma'ilis, we shall now examine the following authoritative documents:

(i) Introduction to the *Kitāb al-azhār* of Ḥasan b. Nūḥ (d. 939/1533), seven volumes. *GIL*, n° 275, composed about 931/1525. A complete copy exists in the Bombay University. The author gives a very good account of his studies, portions of which I have translated and the rest, carefully studied. An extract was given to me by one of the most learned of the Dā'ūdī Bohora scholars, the late Shaikh Hibatullāh b. Ibrāhīm (Bombay). The extract is too long to be printed in the original Arabic, but I have used it with great care and exhaustively.

(ii) An extract from the *Masā'il Miyān Sham'ūn*, a contemporary of Ḥasan b. Nūḥ, a well known legal compendium, *GIL* n° 279. This is so important that it is given in the original.

(iii) An account of the *dā'ī* Badruddīn's studies from the *Risālat Luqmānjī b. Ḥabībullāh*, 12th century A.H./17th century A.D. [1]

(iv) An extract from *Majālis Saifīya* (12th/17th century), during the time of the 39th Dā'ūdī *dā'ī*, Ibrāhīm Wajīhuddīn b. 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīmuddīn (d. 1168/1754).

(v) An important letter ascribed to Ṭaiyib Zainuddīn, the 45th Dā'ūdī *dā'ī* (d. 1252/1837).

It is necessary to state that the dates and lists of succession of the various *dā'īs* are taken from my article, mentioned earlier, "A Chronological List of the Imams and *Dā'īs* of the Musta'lian Isma'ilis," *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., X (1934), 8-16. The Yemenite *dā'īs* are designated as YD; the Sulaimānī, as SD, and the Dā'ūdī *dā'īs* as DD, for the sake of brevity, in the pages that follow.

I. *The Course of Studies*

The earliest mention of how to read the *da'wa* books and acquire the esoteric science of *ḥaqā'iq* is to be found in the *Rāḥat al-'aql* of Ḥamīduddīn al-Kirmānī. [2] It was published ten years ago and my

[1] The termination *-jī* at the end of a Muslim or other name is a Gujarati suffix denoting respect. For instance, Luqmānjī would be rendered as "the respected Luqmān". And the prefix or suffix Bhāi (often found in the anglicized spelling "-bhoy") means "brother" and is a very common appellation affixed to names, both Hindu and Muslim, in the Gujarati language as found in Western India.

[2] *GIL*, n° 117. A manuscript copy exists in the Fyzee collection in the Bombay University: 2 vols., edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein and Dr. M. Hilmy (Cairo:

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own copy is unfortunately in Bombay,[1] and I am therefore unable to give the substance of what the author has to say. My vague recollection is that what he says is very brief and is by no means to be compared with the material offered here.

1. The author of the *Kitāb al-azhār* (*GIL*, n° 275), Ḥasan b. Nūḥ (d. 939/1533) was an Indian Bohora scholar who lived before the split between the Dā'ūdis and Sulaimānis. He describes his early training in the introduction to his seven volume *magnum opus* and says that when he was inducted into the Fatimid faith, he was ordered to go to the Yemen to acquire the secret doctrine from its very source, namely the reigning *dā'ī* Saiyidnā Ḥasan b. Idris, the 26th Yemenite *Dā'ī*. So he left his family, wife and children, and went to the Yemen and met the *dā'ī* of the time and ". . . he (Ḥasan b. Idris) introduced me to the study of the *ẓāhir* of the *'ulūm al-sharī'a*." He first of all read the historical works such as *'Uyūn al-akhbār*,[2] *Nuzhat al-afkār* (*GIL*, n° 259), *Rauḍat al-akhbār*,[3] and a number of other works as well.

"And when I said to him (the *dā'ī*): My Master, examine me thoroughly and improve my knowledge. And I pray to God that this may lead to my felicity and salvation; so that I may be patient with the trials you impose upon me and anticipate with confidence your favours and bounties. And how could I not behave in this fashion in view of the test which had already been imposed by my Master? . . . And thus I bore patiently all the tests and examinations, for a considerable period. And he (the *dā'ī*), may God sanctify his soul, guided me ever afterwards in the study of books on controversy, and the proofs for the verification of the truth and the confutation of the false doctrine put forward by those who persisted in error, such as:

(1) *Mukhtaṣar al-uṣūl* by 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (5th YD), *GIL*, n° 224.

(2) *Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib by* Qāḍī Nu'mān b. Muḥammad. *GIL*. n° 79. This book is discussed in my paper "Shi'ite Legal Theories" in *Law in the Middle East*, ed. M. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny, I, 113 ff.

Ismaili Society, 1952). Pp. 10, 46, 438, 10 (with index).

[1] Written in Cambridge, England, December, 1962.

[2] *GIL*, no 258. This is the most exhaustive general history written by the Fatimid authors and is in seven volumes. A complete copy, transcribed for me, is in the Delhi University Library. A copy is also to be found in the Aṣafiya Library, Hyderabad, *Tar. Faṭ. Miṣr*, 602.

[3] Ivanow doubts the existence of this work as separate from the preceding on (*GIL*, 259a).

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(3) *Kitāb al-shajara* by Saiyidnā Abū Tammām, *GIL*, n° 218.

(4) *Dāmigh al-Bāṭil* by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (5th YD), *GIL*, n° 220.

(5) *Ummahāt al-Islām*, author unknown.

(6) *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* by Saiyidnā Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (3rd YD). *GIL*, n° 202.

(7) *Tanbīh al-hādī wa 'l-mustahdī* by Saiyidnā Ḥamīduddīn al-Kirmānī, Chief *Dā'ī* of al-Ḥākim, 4th century. *GIL*, n° 118.

(8) *Rasā'il Saiyidnā Ḥamīduddīn*. *GIL*, n° 125.

(9) *Urjūzat al-mukhtāra* by Qāḍī Nu'mān b. Muḥammad, 4/10th century. *GIL*, n° 63,

and other books concerning the same discipline and its meaning, and concerning the resurrection and this despicable world, the abode of extinction (*fanā'*)."

Later Ḥasan b. Nūḥ had further discussions with the *dā'ī* who tested him and said:

"Lo, I shall bestow on thee the hidden sciences and the guarded secrets of the 'Friends of God.' So, take them with calmness and peace, and be *a trusty guardian* in their protection. Whenever something is given to thee, thank the giver of the bounty and the grateful to thy Lord, *until belief comes to thee* . . . So I kissed the earth in gratitude for his (the *dā'ī*) favour and hoped for the satisfaction of my needs by obtaining his gifts and bounties . . . and he gave to me:

(1) *Risālat al-waḍīya* (*GIL*, n° 364).

(2) *Majmū' al-tarbiya* (*GIL*, n° 195).

(3) *Asās al-ta'wīl* (*GIL*, n° 71).

(4) *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im* (*GIL*, n° 69).

(5) *Majālis li-Saiyidnā al-Mu'aiyad* (*GIL*, n° 154, in 8 volumes, 800 *majālis*).

(6) *Majālis al-naṣḥ* (*nuṣḥ*) *wa 'l-bayān* (*GIL*, n° 231).

(7) *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq* (*GIL*, n° 206).

(8) *al-Risālat al-jāmi'a* (*GIL*, n° 14).

(9) *Ta'wīl al-zakāt* (*GIL*, n° 40).

(10) *Asrār al-nuṭaqā'* (*GIL*, n° 43).

(11) *Sarā'ir al-nuṭaqā'* (*GIL*, n° 44).

(12) *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* (*GIL*, nos 207, 208.

(13) *Nizām al-wujūd* (*GIL*, n° 226).

(14) *al-Rāḥa wa 'l-tasallī* (*GIL*, n° 78).

(15) *Kitāb ta'wīl al-naḥw* (not mentioned in *GIL*).

(16) *Majālis Saiyidnā Abī 'l-Barakāt* (*GIL*, nos 178, 326).

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(17) *Kitāb al-yanābi'* (*GIL.*, n° 30).
(18) *Madkhal al-ta'wīl* (*GIL.*, n° 415).
(19) *Mafātīḥ al-kunūz* (*GIL.*, n° 204).
(20) *Kitāb al-maqālid* (not mentioned by Ivanow).
(21) *Ta'wīl al-sharī'a* (GIL., n° 71).
(22) *al-Anwār al-latīfa* (*GIL.*, n° 198).
(23) *al-Fatarāt wa 'l-qirānāt*, also known as *al-Jafr* (*GIL.*, n°s 8, 41. Attributed to 'Alī, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and finally composed by Saiyidnā Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman).
(24) *al-Īḍāḥ wa 'l-bayān* (*GIL.*, n° 242).
(25) *Kitāb al-maṣābīḥ* (*GIL.*, n° 116).
S (26) *al-Shumūs al-zāhira*, I (*GIL.*, n° 205).
(27) *al-Iftikhār* (*GIL.*, n° 26).
(28) *al-Mabda' wa 'l-ma'ād* (*GIL.*, n° 247).
(29) *Simṭ al-ḥaqā'iq* (*GIL.*, n° 240; recently published).
(30) The books and *risālas* of Saiyidnā *Sulṭān al-khaṭṭābīn* al-Ḥasan b. Abī 'l-Ḥaffāẓ (not mentioned by Ivanow).
S (31) *al-Shumūs al-zāhira*, II (*GIL.*, n° 205, see n° 26).
(32) *al-Ibtidā' wa 'l-intihā'* (*GIL.*, n° 159).
S (33) *Kitāb al-riyāḍ* (*GIL.*, n° 137).
S (34) *Rāḥat al-'aql* (*GIL.*, n° 117).
(35) *Risālat al-bayān li-mā wajab fī ta'wīl shahr Rajab* (or, as Ivanow has it, *mā wajab min ma'rifati 'l-ṣalāt fī nisf shahr Rajab*. *GIL.*, n° 261).
S (36) *Zahr al-ma'ānī* (*GIL.*, n° 260).
(37) *Risālat ḍiyā' al-baṣā'ir* (*GIL.*, n° 269).

"and many other books and risālas concerning the *ta'wīl*, *ḥaqā'iq* and profound secrets (*al-asrār al-daqā'iq*)."

Then he was made to read several works repaetedly in order to master them completely, and among these he specially mentions three works: *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, *Rasā'il Saiyidnā Ḥamīduddīn*, and *Rasā'il Saiyidnā 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd*. "When it became clear to my Master that I was full of effort and zeal, he addressed me graciously as follows:

"O my son, the noble books that you have read are like the Body (corporal self) in religion, and your need now is the Blowing of the Trumpet *so that belief may come to you* and you may truly become one of the followers of the pious Friends of God. Then I kissed the earth before him (*qabbaltu al-arḍ*) and prostrated myself before God (*kharartu li 'l-Lāhi sājidan*), and knew that I had come nearer to the accomplishment of my goal and said: O my Master, full authority is

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given to you. Bestow or withhold, as you will, without assigning any reason, for verily I have come to Your Gate, in preference to any other Gate. '*So, the Trumpet is blown and all who are in the heavens and the earth swoon away, save him whom Allah willeth. Then it is blown a second time, and behold them standing, waiting*' (Kor., 39, 68).

Then the author read the books again and again in obedience to the *dā'ī's* behest. Still later, the *dā'ī* Ḥasan b. Idrīs (20th YD) died and he was succeeded by his brother Ḥusain b. Idrīs (21st YD). With the 21st *dā'ī*, Saiyidnā Ḥusain, he read the following works:

(38) *'Ibārat al-ishāra* (*GIL*, n° 272).

S (39) *al-Anwār al-laṭīfa* (*GIL*, n° 198).

SS (40) *Kitāb al-dhakhīra* (*GIL*, n° 230, a very secret work which the author of the *Fihrist al-Majdū'* had not seen).

SS (41) *al-dhāt wa 'l-ṣūra* (*GIL*, n° 387).

". . . and a number of other noble works. And he (Ḥusain b. Idrīs) explained to me some of the refined secrets and expounded to me the difficult sciences which are kept secret and divulged the highest secrets to me which were kept protected from undue disclosure

وتبيّن لى بعض ما فيها من الأسرار اللطيفة ، وأظهر لى من العلوم
الغامضة ما كان مكنونا ، وكشف لى من الأسرار العالية ما كان دون البلغاء مصوناً

This is the most valuable account in the whole range of the *da'wa* literature regarding the course of studies pursued by the learned and clearly establishes that the principle of *progression* was conjoined by the fifteenth century to that of *secrecy*. It will be observed that Ḥasan b. Nūḥ was not instructed in the *Kanz al-walad* (*GIL*, n° 190), which is supposed to be read ONLY by the *heir* of the reigning *dā'ī*, and thus in our classification would be marked as SSS, the other grades of secrecy being SS and S in descending order.

II. *Masā'il Miyān Sham'ūn*

The second source is the answer given by Saiyidnā Ḥasan b. Idrīs 'Imaduddīn (20th YD) to a contemporary scholar Miyān Sham'ūn b. Muḥammad al-Ghūrī.[1] He lived in the tenth/sixteenth century and was one of the most famous scholars of the time, the other being the equally renowned author of the *Ḥawāshī* (glosses to the legal topics in the *Da'ā'im* and other juristic works), Saiyidī Amīnjī b.

[1] *GIL*, p. 66, gives the names of his two works. I have not been able to identify the exact *risāla*, an extract whereof was given to me by Bhaishaheb Esmail Lukmanji of Burhanpur. An account of the lives of the three *dā'is* will be found in Nadwī, *'Iqd al-Jawāhir fī aḥwāl al-Bawāhir*, 211-219.

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Jalāl. The *Masā'il* is a miscellany containing much useful information and throws a good light on the problems of the community (*GIL*, n° 279). The answer is a short one, but coming as it does from a learned *dā'i*, it is an important authority, and being short, it is printed *in extenso*.

من مسائل ميان شمعون

بن محمد الغورى ، أجاب عنها سيدنا حسن بن إدريس قس ، السؤال : فى إرقاء المتعلّمين فى درجات العلم كيف يسلك بهم فى تعليم الكتب ، الجواب : يبدأ من كتب الشريعة

(١) بكتاب الطهارة (*GIL*, n° 86)

(٢) ومختصر الآثار (*GIL*, n° 61)

(٣) والدعائم (*GIL*, n° 64; see above.)

ومن التأويل – (١) بتنبيه الغافلين (*GIL*, n° 202)

(٢) وتنبيه الهادى والمستهدى (*GIL*, n° 118)

(٣) ومجموع التربية (*GIL*, n° 195)

(٤) وأساس التأويل (*GIL*, n° 71)

(٥) وتأويل الدعائم (*GIL*, n° 69)

(٦) ورسايل سيّدنا حميد الدين (*GIL*, n° 37)

(٧) والمجالس المؤيّدية (*GIL*, n° 154)

(٨) وجامع الحقائق (*GIL*, n° 160)

(٩) والرسالة الجامعة (*GIL*, n° 14)

(١٠) ورسالة المبدأ والمعاد (*GIL*, n° 247)

(١١) والرسالة الكاملة (*GIL*, n° 248)

(١٢) ورسالة المعاد (*GIL*, n°° 138, 157, 412)

(١٣) وجلاء العقول (*GIL*, n° 223. Iv. *jalā'*)

(١٤) ومجموع لسيّدنا على بن محمد بن الوليد (*GIL*, n° 221?)

(١٥) والمصابيح الزاهرة (*GIL*, n° 426)

(١٦) وتحفة القلوب (*GIL*, n°° 207, 208)

(١٧) والرضاع الغلاء فى الباطن (*GIL*, n° 46)

(١٨) ومفاتح الكنوز (*GIL*, n° 204)

(١٩) وكتاب العبارة والبشارة (*GIL*, n° 272)

(٢٠) وكتاب كنز الولد (*GIL*, n° 190. Not read by Ḥasan b. Nūḥ.)

(٢١) والذخيرة (*GIL*, n° 230) وكتب الدّعوه كثيرة ، وللمستفيد المطلق (*dā'i*) إذرأى فى المستفيد ذكاء أو بلادة أن يعالج فى إرقائه على قدرما يراه من رأيه الصائب والحمد لله ربّ العالمين

III. *From the Risālat Shaikh Luqmānji b. Ḥabībullah*

This is an extract from the *Risāla* of Shaikh Luqmānji b. Ḥabibullāh. He lived during the time of three *dā'is*, Nūruddīn, Badruddīn and Wajihuddīn (37th, 38th and 39th DD) during the twelfth/eighteenth century,[1] and died in 1173/1760. The 37th DD, Ismā'īl

[1] *GIL*, p. 72.

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Badruddīn went from Jamnagar and established himself at Mandwi in Cutch. He lived in great style and entertained very lavishly, and was particularly generous to learned men. There came in the time of his predecessor, *dā'ī* Nūruddīn, three shaikhs from the Yemen, and their names were Shaikh 'Abdallāh, Shaikh Aḥmad and Shaikh Ḥusain. These three shaikhs were sent by Nūruddīn's deputy in the Yemen, Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Wazīr, in order that they may learn at the feet of the *Dā'ī* Nūruddīn, and he was most generous to them both materially and spiritually, and became "one with them." Luqmānjī b. Ḥabibullāh and Shaikh 'Abdallāh were co-pupils in the study of *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq* (*GIL*, n° 160); and Shaikh Aḥmad learned the *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im* (see n° 5, preceding list).

Now Luqmān b. Ḥabibullāh was most desirous of learning from the *dā'ī* Nūruddīn for a long time, but there had been no opportunity since he had left his studies before the death of Dā'ī Nūruddīn (37th DD, died 1130/1718). The reason was that for a long time he was in the service of the Great Shaikh (*ajall*) 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīmuddīn, a scholar of great renown and the father of the 39th DD, Ibrāhīm Wajihuddīn, and 'Abd al-Qādir used to be Luqmān's spiritual preceptor and worldly patron.

When Luqmān came to the Dā'ī Nūruddīn (38th DD) in 1711, the said *dā'ī* had seven pupils: (1) Luqmānjī b. Ḥabibullāh; (2) Chānd Khān b. Ḥabibullāh Khairagūnī; (3) Walī b. Luqmān b. Ḥabibullāh (father and son were the pupils of the same illustrious teacher); (4) Muḥammad 'Alī b. Najm Khān of Kapadwanj; (5) Shams Khān b. Bhā'ī Khān Khairagūnī; (6) Shams Khān b. Ilāh Bakhsh Khairagūnī; and (7) Jīwā Bhā'ī b. (name illegible) Khairagūnī.

These seven students were assiduous in their studies. But Luqmān and Chānd Khān were advanced pupils, so the *dā'ī* Nūruddīn honored them by a *qalansuwa* (headgear, betokening proficiency) on the very day they became his pupils. On the second day, that is, 7 Rajab 1123/22 August 1711, the *dā'ī* Nūr Muḥammad Nūruddīn began teaching them the *Risāla al-bayān* (*GIL*, n° 261); then *Risālat al-ibāna* (*GIL*, n° 256); then *al-Risāla al-jāmi'a* (*GIL*, n° 14), 2 volumes; then *Ithbāt al-nubūwa* (*GIL*, n° 27); then *Kitāb al-farā'iḍ wa 'l-ḥudūd al-dīn* (*GIL*, n° 45). The *Aqwāl al-dhahabīya* (*GIL*, n° 121) was read jointly by Luqmānjī with Shaikh Ḥusain and Shaikh 'Abdallāh. Then Luqmānjī read the *A'lām al-nubūwa* (*GIL*, n° 19) and the *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq* (*GIL*, n° 160).

This shows the course of studies pursued by Luqmānji, a very reputed scholar.

The *dā'ī* Nūruddīn continued his instruction to the others in the following order:

Asās al-ta'wīl (*GIL*, n° 71)—to Muḥammad 'Alī;

Majmū' al-tarbiya and *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im* —to Walī b. Luqmān and Chānd Khān;

Dīwān al-Mu'aiyad Shirāzī (*GIL*, n° 156. Recently edited with a very valuable introduction, by the late Dr. M. Kamil Hussein) and *Tāj al-'aqā'id* (*GIL*, n° 234. Abbreviated translation by W. Ivanow, *A Creed of the Fatimids*, Isma'ili Society, Bombay, 1936) —to Shams Khān Sidhpūrī; and

the *Panj Ganj*, apparently a Persian work, not mentioned by W. Ivanow—to Mulla Jīwā Bhā'i.

The studies undertaken by Shaikh Luqmānji b. Ḥabībullāh under the *dā'ī* Nūruddīn clearly indicate the great learning of the teacher, the progressive nature of the studies, and the careful assessment of each pupil and his capacities by the instructor.

IV. *Extract from Majālis Saifīya*

The *Majālis Saifīya* (*GIL*, n° 349) was composed by Ibrāhīm al-Saifī of Surat, who died in 1326/1821. He lived during the time of the 43rd DD, 'Abd 'Alī Saifuddīn b. 'Abd al-Ṭaiyib Zakiyuddīn who died in 1232/1817, in Surat. He gives an account of the education of a great scholar 'Abd Mūsā b. Saiyidnā Ismā'īl Badruddīn (38th DD). 'Abd Mūsā began learning the Koran at the age of eight and committed it to memory. He first acquired Gujarati, his mother tongue, and then went to Burhanpur for further studies in 1155/1743, and was inducted into (*akhadha 'l-'ahd*) the community by the *dā'ī* Ibrāhīm Wajīhuddīn (39th DD, d. 1168/1754). His first studies were in elementary grammar and then the *Dīwān Amīr al-Mu'minīn* ('Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), a favorite reading book.

'Abd Mūsā continued his higher studies under the *dā'ī* Wajīhuddīn, and the first books of the *da'wa* he read were the *Ṭahāra* and the *Da'ā'im* of Qāḍī Nu'mān. He then gives a long, but usual, list of books read, and the last of them were: *Simṭ al-ḥaqā'iq*; *Risālat al-iḥsān*; *Risālat al-bayān*; *al-Risāla al-kāmila*; *Risālat al-īḍāḥ wa 'l-tabṣīr*; *Majmū' al-ḥaqā'iq*; *Risālat al-nafs*; *Kitāb al-marātib*; *al-Risāla al-jāmi'a*; *Ta'wīl al-zakāt*; and *Masā'il al-'ishrīn*.

There is nothing very special about this list, and it is not necessary

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to give a complete list of all the books read in the elementary stage, because they follow the usual pattern in *da'wa* study.

The most important extract, however, relates to a saying of Saiyidnā Yūsuf Najmuddīn (42nd DD), who died in 1213/1798, in Surat. He said: The fundamentals of the science of the Rightly Guiding *da'wa* (*al-da'wa al-hādiya*) are the FOUR BOOKS. The first and greatest is *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*;[1] the second is *Rāḥat al-'aql*;[2] the third is *Da'ā'im al-Islām*;[3] and the fourth is *Majālis al-Mu'aiyadīya.*[4] "For, he who knows what is contained in these four books and has faith in them, has undoubtedly reached the rank of the learned ones. He is fit to teach and his opinion is trustworthy. And knowledge, in its completeness is to be found in *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*; so he who desires knowledge should stick to it with sincerity and faith."

V. *Risālat Saiyidnā Ṭaiyib Zainuddīn*

The fifth source is a well-known letter of Ṭaiyib Zainuddīn, the 45th Dā'ūdī *dā'ī*, who died in Surat in 1252/1837. It is of such great importance as to merit being cited in the original. It contains specific and authoritative directions regarding the manner in which instruction should be imparted. The text given below was furnished to me by one of the learned shaikhs of the Dā'ūdī Bohoras and copied by me in the year 1934. This may well be designated as the "last word" on the subject.

كتاب سيدنا طيب زين الدين قس إلى بعض عماله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

من عبد الله المعتمد على امداد آل رسوله الرّاجى بهم قبول سعيه ، وبلوغ مأموله ، الحمد لله ربّ العالمين والصّلوة على محمد وآله الطّاهرين ، أمّا بعد فاعلم أيّها الأخ الذّى أقمته لصيانة أحكام الدين ، وجعلت إليه تربية من قبله من المؤمنين فسحت له فى إفادة المستفيدين من كتب أهل البيت الطّاهرين ، إنّ العلم هى قنية نفسانيّة خطيرة ، وهى بأن تصان حقّ صونها جديرة ، فلايسوغ أن يبذّل شيء منه إلّا لأهله ، ولاينبغى أن يلقى منه

[1] Much has been written on it, but see *EI*², II, 459; *GIL*, nº 13; Zāhid 'Alī, *Tar. Faṭ. Miṣr*, 514 ff. A correct edition was printed in Bombay, but it is very scarce. An Egyptian edition was published by Khair al-Dīn al-Zarkalī in four parts, two volumes, but is said to be both inaccurate and incomplete (Cairo, 1347/1925).

[2] See p. 13, above.

[3] Ed. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, I (1951); II (1961) (Cairo).

[4] *GIL*, nº 154. A book greatly admired for its eloquence and style. It is very commonly used for public *khuṭbas* and instruction both among the Dā'ūdīs and the Sulaimānīs. Copies are fairly common and not very secret; it is not printed.

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إلّا إلى مستحقّه العارفين لفضله ، فليكن بذلك منه كذلك على أهله موقوفاً ، وليكن ذلك أيضا بقانون تتّخذه وتدريج تعتمده معروفا ، فتبدى للمستفيدين أولّا – (١) بكتاب الميزان و (٢) كتاب أجناس الأفعال و (٣) كتاب الضريرى ، و (٤) كتاب الكنوز الخمسة وأشباهها ممّا يقرب تناوله ، وتشتمل على المستفيدين فوائده ، ثمّ (٥) بكتاب التّوراة ، و (٦) كتاب أحاديث بنى إسرائيل و (٧) كتاب الخطب المصطفويّة ، و (٨) كتاب الأحاديث النّبويّة ، دون كتب الوصيّة لرسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله ، فإنّك لا تأذن بقراءته لهم ، ثم (٩) بكتاب كليلة ودمنة والدواوين مثل (١٠) ديوان أمير المومنين على عليه السلام و (١١) ديوان سيّدنا المؤيّد فى الدين ، و (١٢) ديوان سيّدنا على بن محمّد بن الوليد ، وأمّا (١٣) ديوان سيّدنا عبدالله و (١٤) ديوان سيّدنا الخطّاب و (١٥) ديوان سيّدنا الحسين بن عامر و (١٦) ديوان الأمير تميم فلا إلّا أن يكون ، ثمّ من الأذكياء من تراه أهلا لذلك فتستخرج له الإذن من عندنا ، ثم تنيله من ذلك ما رغب فيه ، ثم (١٧) بكتاب التذكيرات و (١٨) كتاب بلوهر و (١٩) كتاب الهمّة و (٢٠) كتاب تنبيه الهادى ، و (٢١) كتاب الطهارات و (٢٢) المجلّد الأوّل من الحواشى ثم (٢٣) بكتاب افتتاح الدعوة و (٢٤) كتاب المناقب المثالب و (٢٥) كتاب الوعظ والتشويق و (٢٦) كتاب تنبيه الغافلين ثم (٢٧) بالجلد الاوّل و (٢٨) الثانى من دعائم الإسلام ، والجلد الثانى (٢٩) من الحواشى والجلد الأول (٣٠) والثانى (٣١) من مختصر الآثار ، وأيضا (٣٢) من المنتخبة المنظومة ، ومن (٣٣) كتاب الاقتصار و (٣٤) كتاب الينبوع ، ثم (٣٥) بكتاب المجالس والمسايرات و (٣٦) كتاب سيرة المؤيّديّة ، و (٣٧) كتاب سيرة الأستاذ جوذر و (٣٨) كتاب شرح الأخبار و (٣٩) كتاب مجالس سيّدنا حاتم ، و (٤٠) كتاب اختلاف أصول المذاهب و (٤١) كتاب معاصم الهدى و (٤٢) كتاب الأرجوزة المختارة

وأمّا (٤٣) عيون الأخبار و (٤٤) كتاب الأزهار و (٤٥) كتاب نزهة الأفكار فإنّها كتب غير مباحة لغير مستحقّيها ، وهى أيضا محتاجة إلى استخراج الإذن فيها ، وكذلك (٤٦) كتاب إخوان الصّفاء وخلّان الوفاء فإنّك مفسوح فى إباحة القسمين ، الأوّل والثّانى ، دون الثالث والرابع فاعلم هذا ، وقد كتبنا إليك بهذا التّرتيب فى قراءة الكتب ، فابن عليه عملك ، ولك الخيار فى تقديم مارأيت أن تؤخّره ، وذلك إنّك إن رأيت من المستفيدين هنالك من لا تصادف فى قريحته قبولا لهذا التدريج ، أو تكون رغبته فى كتاب من الكتب المذكورة أشدّ ، ونشاطه فى قراءته أوكد ، قرنت له من التقديم والتأخير ما يصلح لحاله ، ويليق بطبعه لفعلت ذلك ، ليس لك أن تتعرّض لكتاب من الكتب التّى لم نسمّها لك ،

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سواء كان الكتاب من كتب الظاهر، أم من كتب الباطن، فإنّه لافسح لك فيما بقى من الكتب البتّة إلّا أن ترفع إلينا فى ذلك، ثم تعمل على مايردّبه الجواب إليك، وعليك أن تطالعنا فى كلّ سنة مرّة بأحوال المستفيدين فى بحثهم وجودة ذكائهم، وأن تكتب أيضا بأسماء الكتب التّى يقرؤونها، وأسمائهم، وإن رغب من استفاد من هذا الكتب، هنالك ان يهاجر إلى الحضرة طالبا لزيارة، فلا تأذن له فى ذلك حتّى تطالعنا بأمره وتطلب له الإذن منّا فى بابه، وفّقك الله وإيّانا بمنّه إنّه جواد كريم، انتهى.

In this extract—a very authoritative document detailing the course of study—the following points are especially to be noted:

(1) The sciences are not to be taught except to those who are fit to receive instruction.

(2) The principle of progression is affirmed indubitably.

(3) Certain books are NOT to be read without *specific permission* to be obtained from the *dā'ī*.

(4) Some discretion is also given to the teacher to change the order of books.

(5) There are *specific prohibitions* regarding works that are considered advanced.

(6) The scheme is: first, grammar; next, simple anecdotes; then, poetry, for the mastery of the language; then, law (*sharī'a*) that is, the *ẓāhir*; and finally, *ta'wīl* and *ḥaqā'iq*.

We have now come to the end of our inquiry. The study of the literature of the *da'wa* differs considerably from the syllabus of the Sunnite schools in India, such as the *dars-i Niẓāmī* [1] and the courses at Deoband. It differs (a) in the discretion vested in the teacher based upon the faith and intellectual capacity of the learner, and (b) on the ever-present need of "protecting" the sciences from public gaze. Its general principles are:

1. After grammar and poetry, so necessary for the perfect mastery of the Arabic language, first of all, the *sharī'a*;
2. Next, *ta'wīl* (a *means*-science); and, finally
3. *ḥaqā'iq* (the *ends*-science, esoteric philosophy).

There is no line of demarcation between *ta'wīl* and *ḥaqā'iq*, but a clear distinction exists between the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* of the shari'a sciences. *

[1] See my paper, "Islamic Law and Theology in India." *Middle East Journal*, VIII (1954), 168-170.

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* N.B. My gratitude is due to many Bohora scholars for furnishing particulars and extracts from the *da'wa* books. The late Shaikh Hibatullāh ('Āmil, Bohora Mosque, Pakmodia Street, Bombay) was one of the most learned scholars of the *da'wa* literature. He helped me considerably and was generous with his wide learning. I am also indebted to the late Dr. Zāhid 'Ali (Hyderabad, Deccan) for elucidating many difficult passages in the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*. Shaikh Faidullāh (Surat), Shaikh Qavvumbhai Essabhai (Kurla, Bombay), and Bhaisaheb Shaikh Esmail Lakmanji (Burhanpur) helped me greatly with the loan of books and with information on specific points, and furnished extracts when the books were difficult of access. Without their kind and generous help, it would have been impossible to compose this paper.

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IL DIVANO DI AL-'ARJI

DI

FRANCESCO GABRIELI

Nel 1956, negli *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (I, 361-70), pubblicai un breve studio dal titolo *Un poeta minore omayyade: al-'Argī*, in cui dai frammenti allora disponibili delle sue poesie cercavo ricostruire la fisionomia e caratteristica d'arte di questo erotico hijazeno. Il mio studio si fondava su circa 200 versi, desumibili da varie fonti storico-letterarie, in primo luogo l'*Aghānī*. Ma in quello stesso anno, e senza che io ne avessi allora conoscenza, usciva a Baghdad, a cura di due studiosi iracheni, un intero divano del poeta, che porta a oltre un migliaio il numero dei versi a lui attribuiti, e permette di riesaminare la sua opera su una assai più ampia e organica base. Sono lieto di riprendere oggi e completare quel primo studio, offrendo queste nuove paginette su al-'Arjī a un altro illustre collega ed amico, Sir Hamilton Gibb.

Il *Dīwān al-'Arjī*, edito a Baghdad da Khiḍr al-Ṭā'ī e Rashīd al-'Ubaidī, si fonda su un unico manoscritto della Biblioteca del Museo locale (già proprietà del P. Anastase al-Karmalī), contenente oltre al divano del Nostro un „divano di 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib," uno di Abū 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī, e uno di Suḥaim.[1] Gli editori nulla precisano sulla età di questo non datato manoscritto, giudicandolo solo, dal

[1] *Dīwān al-'Arjī. Riwāyat Abī 'l-Fatḥ al-Shaikh 'Uthmān b. Jinnī al-mutawaffā sanat* 392 *H.*, ed. Khiḍr al-Ṭā'ī e Rashīd al-'Ubaidī (Baghdad, 1956), pp. 213-15 di prefazione francese. L'edizione, che oltre al manoscritto base ha utilizzato due copie moderne di esso, entrambe di questo secolo, e quindi valevoli solo per qualche emendazione, non può dirsi filologicamente soddisfacente. Il testo oltre a frequenti scorrettezze di vocalizzazione attribuibili ad errori di stampa, ne ha altre che un editore arabo non dovrebbe farsi rettificare da un arabista (da un abbondante errata-corrige appuntato durante la lettura estraggo gli esempi seguenti: p. 23, verso 2, si legga *waq'u 'l-bayāḍi*; p. 33, v. 5, *al-khallatu*; p. 43, v. 7, *yathnī banāti*; p. 44, v. 5, *al-qiyāma*; p. 49, v. 1, *tunūfa*; p. 64, v. 4, *yukhbiru*; p. 79, v. 10 *radiya*; p. 122, v. 1 *dhī l-shafiqatu*; p. 140, v. 5, *wa ghuiyiba*; p. 141, v. 8, *utihti*; p. 168, v. 6, *ibbāna*; p. 177, v. 6, *lam yuqdari*; ecc., ecc.). Il commento, ricco di erudizione grammaticale e metrica, non soccorre altrettanto nella interpretazione e nel lessico, gira le difficoltà, ripete spiegazioni di vocaboli correnti nella lingua poetica e lascia poi in asso nei casi più oscuri (curiosa la svista sul *fī 'l-jawāmi'* di n. 9, 4, spiegato rettamente a suo luogo, mentre nella breve introduzione francese diventa *dans les réunions*...). Nel complesso, i due editori sembrano aver lavorato con più amore che specifica preparazione a tale compito.

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suo aspetto esteriore, „non antico," anche se nemmeno assai recente; ma la recensione del divano di al-'Arji che esso in primo luogo contiene sarebbe invece assai antica, anteriore, secondo una nota finale, al-muḥarram 380/990, quando un 'Afīf b. As'ad[1] avrebbe copiato il testo qui riprodotto dalla recensione di Ibn Jinni, e con lui stesso l'avrebbe collazionato e studiato. Questo particolare, dell'illustre grammatico e filologo di Mossul quale raccoglitore del divano di al-'Arji, non è altrimenti attestato nelle fonti biobibliografiche su entrambi,[2] ciò che gli editori cercano in vario modo di spiegare; ma pare anche a noi che non vi sia motivo sufficiente per mettere in dubbio quel preciso ed esplicito dato del colofone, e che quindi abbiamo dinanzi nel MS di Baghdad una antica, anche se incompleta raccolta delle poesie di al-'Arji,[3] curata assai probabilmente da Ibn Jinni stesso, e a noi trasmessa attraverso un suo discepolo. Essa contiene 70 *qaṣīde* o parti di *qaṣīde*, per un totale di 1114 versi, di cui 171 di dubbia attribuzione (per la maggior parte figuranti già nel divano di 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a); ai quali vanno aggiunti altri 22 frammenti spigolati dagli editori, con un insieme di 83 versi (ma anche qui con 44 attribuiti anche ad altri autori). Pur facendo la debita parte a queste incerte attribuzioni, l'insieme del materiale su cui fondare un giudizio su al-'Arji è oggi quintuplicato rispetto al nostro studio di sei anni fa.

Il nuovo materiale sommato al vecchio ci conferma che l'opera di questo poeta fu quasi esclusivamente di poesia d'amore: ad eccezione di qualche sporadico verso di *hijā'*,[4] e di quelli riflettenti la sua disgrazia e rovina finale (importanti, vedremo, sia dal lato autobiografico che da quello artistico), tutte le sue *qaṣīde* hanno contenuto o almeno pretesto amoroso, anche là dove il vero intento sarebbe stato in realtà diffamatorio e satirico (come nelle poesie per la madre e la moglie di Muḥammad b. Hishām); o là dove il preludio d'amore sbocca nel *fakhr*, come nel n. 16, in onore della 'uthmānide 'Uthaima

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[1] Non sono riuscito a trovare notizie su questo personaggio: gli editori (p. 38, n. 4) lo dicono *min warrāqī al-qarn al-rābi' al-hijrī*.

[2] Osservammo già che di un divano di al-'Arji era solo un cenno in *Khizānat al-adab*, II, 429. Di una sua raccolta a cura di Ibn Jinni tace l'elenco delle opere di quest'ultimo, in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, V, 29-32.

[3] La incompletezza risulta già dai numerosi frammenti ricavabili da citazioni, e non compresi nella scelta di Ibn Jinnī. Si veda l'appendice a questa stessa edizione; altri nemmeno qui compresi incontrammo e segnalammo nel nostro articolo (*Studi in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, I, 362, n. 1).

[4] Fr. 71 contro Abū 'Adī al-'Ablī, 83 contro il *duldul* Muḥammad b. Hishām. Isolato e dubbio, per il suo contenuto eccezionalmente gnomico, il fr. 78.

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da lui effettivamente sposata, e risolventesi in un vanto delle glorie ancestrali dei Quraish. Come il suo grande predecessore e modello 'Umar, al-'Arjī sembra non aver avuto altro interesse che quello galante ed erotico; ma il modo con cui egli trattò questo tema presenta consonanze e divergenze notevolissime dal suo modello, che occorre qui precisare.

'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a è arrivato a svincolare quasi interamente la sua poesia dal modulo stereotipato del *nasīb*. Non si può certo affermare che questo sia assente dal suo divano, ma o vi è ridotto a una mera convenzione iniziale, o più spesso è del tutto omesso, conformemente alla realtà ambientale, di una vita sedentaria e non beduina, incentrata sugli intrighi d'amore urbani e sulle avventure galanti del pellegrinaggio. E col *nasīb* beduino è caduto in 'Umar, o ridotto al minimo, il fenomeno correlativo del *gharīb*, di una lingua arcaica e obsoleta, dispiegantesi sopratutto nelle parti descrittive e animalistiche (*waṣf* del cammello, del cavallo, della vacca selvatica), tutti temi obbligati dell'antica *qaṣīda* tradizionale. La lingua di 'Umar è semplicissima, perfino povera di vocabolario (per quanto può esserlo un poeta arabo classico), e spesso animata dalla forma dialogica, da cui traspare, pur con tutta la stilizzazione letteraria, l'arabo parlato dalla buona società hijazena alla fine del I secolo dell'ègira. Al-'Arjī invece non ha saputo o voluto seguire se non in parte l'esempio del grande poeta makhzūmita: la convenzione del *nasīb*, con tutto il suo bagaglio di clichés di puro stile beduino sul campo abbandonato, la partenza della bella, i due amici, permane nella maggior parte delle sue *qaṣīde*, [1] privandole di quella naturalezza e freschezza che costituiscono la novità e il pregio della poesia di 'Umar, anche se taluni aspetti dell'arte di questo, come l'uso del dialogo, appaiono da al-'Arjī consapevolmente imitati. [2] E al *nasīb* tradizionale si accompagna ancora in lui la frequente descrittiva di animali e paesaggi, [3] che

[1] Il n. 1, indubbiamente una delle sue migliori, introduce come 'Umar *in medias res*. Ma tali casi sono una minoranza; assai più spesso si comincia, come in n. 5, con il *rab'* deserto, l'interrogazione degli e sugli *aṭlāl* (25, 33, 37, 38), i *ṣāḥibāni* (35, 40, 58) o *'ādhilāni* (2, 43), il "lampo del Yemen" (11), la veglia notturna d'amore (7, 31), e simili luoghi comuni.

[2] Si vedano, come particolarmente ricche di parti dialogiche, le *qaṣīde* nn. 1, 5, 32, 33, 34, 48, 50, 63 (quest'ultima con la felice macchietta della messaggera berbera).

[3] Descrizione del cavallo in 1, versi 34-38, 3, versi 23-32, 50, versi 20-23, del cammello in 6, versi 17-24, di palme (cui sono paragonate le alte cavalcature) in 45, versi 18-23. Felice descrizione di una gelida notte in 3, versi 20-22, del miraggio in 6, versi 13-16.

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culmina talvolta in qualche quadretto vigoroso, ma più spesso è uno stancante sfoggio di bravura linguistica, e dà a tutta la sua poesia un'impronta incomparabilmente più arcaica di quella del suo grande vicino e predecessore.

Non ci soffermeremo dunque su tutto ciò che è convenzionale e generico nella poesia erotica di al-'Arjī: una poesia che rispecchia una vecchia convenzione letteraria di ambiente beduino, sopravvivente e convivente qui con una diversa, evoluta realtà. Le sue donne, a eccezione della 'Uthaima cui son diretti i nn. 16, 21 e 63, e delle due dame makhzūmite cantate in spregio del figlio e marito governatore (nn. 4 e 13), sono puri nomi (Rudaiyā, Lailā, 'Amra, Nu'm, Hind, Zainab, Asmā', Humaida, Sulaima, Quraiba, e così via), intercambiabili a piacere. Solo una figura ha un più concreto rilievo, ed è quella Kulāba che compare sin dalla prima *qaṣīda* del presente divano (la stessa largamente citata in *Aghānī*, I, 388-90), e poi ancora nel n. 10: una maulāt dei Banū Thaqīf, che sembra esser stata, più che diretto oggetto d'amore, intermediaria e ministra d'amore al poeta, che in 10, 9-10 le appare grato per averlo aiutato a recuperare l'amata Lailā. È probabile che vi sia qui un richiamo a fatti e persone meno evanescenti delle solite situazioni convenzionali: così come qualcosa di più personale e concreto sembra contenere l'accenno al nobile castello che è nei nn. 46 e 60 (con ripresa letterale dei versi relativi):

Castello dalle colonne e dal giardino, che sorgi tra
i palazzi sulle rocce sporgenti,
che Dio ti tenga in florido stato, che il Signore ti
guardi dalla rovina,
io giuro, per quei che gettano i ciottoli a Muzdalifa,
per quei che dietro loro fanno inginocchiare i
cammelli a Muḥaṣṣab,
che mai in vita mia ho distolto il mio amore da te
finchè non muti il colore del corvo...

E altrettanto può valere del convegno di Shu'bat al-Aṣghā' ricordato in n. 50, o di Karsān, n. 47 dove al-'Arjī ha descritto a più forti tinte una scena d'amore, raffigurando sè stesso come „beato fra le donne," amorosamente accolto e vezzeggiato da una schiera di belle. Ma queste scenette, che in 'Umar riempiono tutte di sè, con vivo movimento drammatico, tante singole poesie, nelle *qaṣīde* di al-'Arjī vanno sceverate entro il più trito repertorio della vecchia erotica preislamica.

Non manca, anche fuori delle specifiche situazioni erotiche, qualche sporadica traccia di realismo: e non considereremo tale i frequenti

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accenni ai luoghi e riti del pellegrinaggio,[1] divenuti anch'essi maniera con 'Umar e gli altri hijazeni; ma piuttosto fuggevoli altri accenni, introdotti di solito nei paragoni, a una realtà contemporanea non stilizzata. Tale n. 48, v. 11:

Quando ella batte le mani, balzano verso di lei le
ancelle, *come la guardia* (*shurṭi*) *sorge in piedi*
in cospetto del Califfo

o n. 62, v. 6:

Non gusto sonno fino al mattino, che attendo vegliando,
come le guardie vigilano a turno a custodia del
punto debole minacciato

che ricorda, certo inconsapevolmente, il noto versetto del Salmo CXXX, 6.

Altrove balena un particolare ben lungi dall'ambiente beduino:

(n. 63, v. 18)...potremo noi avere accesso a te,
anzichè dalla porta, dalla finestrella
piccola? (*min al-khaukhat al-ṣughrā*)

Ma il più efficace contatto con la realtà, che solleva dal fastidio di una convenzione sempre ripetuta, è dato da quei versi sgorgati dalla vita vissuta di al-'Arjī, cioè dalla sua tragica disavventura e fine. Era già noto il vigoroso frammento *aḍā'ūnī wa-aiya fatan aḍā'ū* (già in *Aghānī*, I, 413, ora n. 9 del divano), e l'altro *fa-kam min kā'ibin ḥaurā'a rūdin* (*Aghānī*, I, 411-12, ora n. 54), ove dipinge la sua disperazione e la vergogna della subita berlina e della prigionia.[2] Il divano aggiunge il n. 55 (due versi erano già in *Aghānī*, e sette negli *Ansāb* di Balādhurī, V, 114):

Ci avesse visti Lailā senza disperarsi, quando
calammo insieme nella Valle del Mercato![3]
Digrignando i denti, oppressi dai ceppi del fabbro,
come i leoni digrignano le lunghe zanne.
Incedendo, e chi va leggero passa oltre chi è gravato,
col passo superbo dei cammelli maldomi.
E la gente (intorno a noi) si divideva in due parti,
chi pieno d'odio e rancore e chi sdegnato e
soffocato dalle lacrime.

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[1] Per i luoghi del pellegrinaggio come teatro dell' avventura amorosa, v. i nn. 4, 13, 14, v. 12, 32 v. 10, 51 v. 8 ecc.: come in 'Umar, al-Muḥaṣṣab con la sua *jamra* è il luogo e momento favorito degli incontri.

[2] Vedili tradotti nel nostro articolo già citato, pp. 368-369.

[3] Alla periferia della Mecca ove, insieme al suo *rāwī* Ibn Gharīr, al-'Arjī fu esposto alla berlina, dopo l'oscuro affare del maulā, per vendetta del governatore (cf. fr. 79).

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Accorsero a noi a frotte d'ogni paese, come sgomenti
dal soffio del corno della Resurrezione.
E sui tetti erano belle simili a statue, che
piangevano e gemevano di cordoglio sincero...

e in diversa e più ampia redazione (n. 64) il gruppo di versi già parzialmente noto dalla *Ḥamāsa* di Ibn al-Shajarī:

Domando di Wajnā' in carcere alla sua vicina; per il
padre suo, un grave peso mi preme!
Dove puoi mai trovare più Wajnā', da cui ti separa
il carcere, e un merlato e colonnato edifizio
si chiude sopra di me,
e al piede ho un saldo ceppo di fabbro che me lo
torce, e che risuona al muovere dei passi.
La punta sporgente del suo chiodo sembra un dente
molare di digrignante stallone, che percuote
le femmine

Disponendo ora di un nucleo almeno dell'intero divano, non possiamo che ribadire quanto scrivemmo nel nostro primo studio, che cioè in questi frammenti più schiettamente autobiografici, più che nelle *qaṣīde* „d'arte," sia da cercare la parte migliore dei versi di al-'Arjī. [1] La sciagura animò qui di un tono inconfondibile di sincerità la convenzione letteraria. Per il resto, lo scoperto divano non apporta alcuna pagina nuova nella storia della poesia araba (come è del resto quasi costante regola in tali nuove „scoperte"), e solo aumenta ulteriormente le variazioni di un fisso patrimonio di immagini, temi, procedimenti stilistici che sono *res nullius* per tutta quella più antica età. [2] Caratteristica del nostro Umayyade è se mai una pesantezza e macchinosità stilistica, a differenza anche qui della fluidità di 'Umar, che denota in lui un certo sforzo e stento espressivo. [3] Frequentissimo, quasi in ogni *qaṣīda*, è il fenomeno del *taḍmīn*, l'*enjambement* tra un verso e l'altro, che anche 'Umar certo usa, ma non in così larga misura come nel Nostro. [4] Caratteristico l'uso ed abuso di incisi, che

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[1] *Un poeta minore omayyade* ecc., 370.

[2] Essi sono stati esaurientemente analizzati da R. Blachère, "Les principaux thèmes de la poésie érotique au siècle des Umayyades de Damas", *Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales d'Alger*, V (1939-41), 82-128; al-'Arjī vi è poco utilizzato, in qualche citazione dal n. 1 attraverso l'*Aghānī*.

[3] Vedi esempi caratteristici in n. 15, v. 6 (*yarā 'l-mauta ghunman rāḥatan wa 'lladhī bihi! 'alaihi 'anā'un fahwa bi 'l-mauti tāmi'u*), n. 16, v. 20 (*fa-lammā an ra'at! lam tashukka fīhi liwāhā*), e v. 25 (*wa bi-hashi 'l-fatāti qurban mina 'l-majdi Quṣaiyun in ya'dilū maulāhā*), 35, 10 (*fa-zaltu ubakkī wa-qad as'adā!'alā dhāka fīhi bihi mā 'staṭā'ā*). Anche gli Editori nella introduzione (p. 24), notano questo *iltiwā'* del poeta.

[4] Si veda, per citare solo pochi esempi a caso, n. 2, versi 3-4 e 13-14; 3, versi

interrompono, non sempre vantaggiosamente, il corso della frase;[1] non caratteristico di lui solo infine, ma significativo nel senso arcaizzante che abbiamo già rilevato, l'uso del *gharīb* che raccosta al-'Arjī, anzichè ai più leggeri e spontanei poeti d'amore come 'Umar stesso, Walīd b. Yazīd, al-Aḥwaṣ, alla vecchia scuola dei *qudamā'* del deserto e dei loro epigoni per questa parte, come la triade Akhṭal, Jarīr, Farazdaq, e Dhū 'l-Rumma.

Le considerazioni e i raffronti finora svolti dovrebbero servire, almeno fino a un certo punto, a chiarire il problema delle attribuzioni in comune tra al-'Arjī e altri poeti coevi, in particolare il caposcuola 'Umar. Diciotto poesie del Divano si ritrovano in tutto o in parte nel divano di 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a,[2] una (n. 18) è attribuita anche ad al-Aḥwaṣ, una (n. 53) ad 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, il fr. 72 a Ja'far b. al-Zubair, il 75 a Walīd b. Yazīd. Gli editori propendono a mantenere per tutte la paternità di al-'Arjī, per spiegabile affetto al loro autore, e (nei riguardi di 'Umar) con l'argomento non senza peso che è più facile l'attribuzione di versi d'un poeta meno noto al più famoso che non vice versa. A noi sembra che un criterio di probabilità in questo così incerto e delicato campo possa essere proprio quello della lingua e dello stile, del tono o timbro generale della singola *qaṣīda* o *qit'a* quale ci è parso di notare alquanto diverso tra i due poeti. Perciò inclineremmo a mantener senz'altro ad al-'Arjī *qaṣīde* come il n. 3 con la descrizione della notte e del destriero, tipica dell'antico stile, il n. 13 per Jabra (che del resto la tradizione lega strettamente col Nostro), il 39, 40, 67; mentre in altri componimenti più brevi fra quelli di duplice attribuzione ci pare di risentire il timbro leggero e scherzoso di 'Umar: in particolare nel gruppo 17, 20, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, ove è supponibile, anche per la stretta contiguità di numero, che tutto un blocco di poesie omariane sia stato intruso nel divano del suo successore. Queste, s'intende, restano impressioni soggettive, che non possono mai aspirare a una sicurezza, se decisive testimonianze esterne non intervengano a convalidarle. Ma abbiamo voluto avanzarle per quel che valgono, a sottolineare quella fondamentale distinzione di forma, che si risolve in una diversa intensità e schiettezza poetica, fra il principe dei poeti amorosi del Hijaz, e questo suo non indegno

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8-9 e 14-16; 4, versi 2-3; 6, versi 31-33; 10, versi 6-7, 9-10; 11, versi 6-7; 12, versi 1-4 e così via.

[1] Un esempio, combinato con l'*iltiwā'*, nel verso ora citato di n. 16, 25.

[2] Sono i nn. 3 (7 versi), 13 (3 versi), 17, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 40 (7 versi), 44, 49, 52, 56, 58, 67 (5 versi).

ma più modesto epigono. Al-'Arjī insomma resta una ricca, dotata e brillante figura della pleiade erotica hijazena, ma sempre secondaria rispetto al geniale caposcuola.

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QEULQUES RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA PLACE DU *'ILM AL-KALĀM* DANS LES „SCIENCES RELIGIEUSES" MUSULMANES

PAR

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La coutume s'est établie en orientalisme d'appeler „théologie" cette science religieuse de l'Islam qu'est le *'ilm al-kalām* ou *'ilm al-tauḥīd*. On en comprend aisément la raison. Si l'on veut suivre les querelles des différentes tendances ou écoles au sujet des „croyances religieuses" (*'aqā'id*), ce sont bien les manuels de *kalām* qu'il faut ouvrir. Les premières écoles constituées, mu'tazilites de Baṣra ou de Bagdad, centrèrent leurs prises de position autour des fameuses „cinq thèses", Unicité de Dieu, Justice divine, „les Noms et les Statuts" (sort du croyant, du pécheur, de l'impie), „État intermédiaire" entre la foi et l'infidélité, Devoir „de commander le bien et d'interdire le mal". [1] Si les traités ash'arites et māturidites modifièrent l'ordre des questions et insistèrent sur des points nouveaux, ils n'en furent pas moins, dans leur problématique, tributaires de ces mu'tazilites qu'ils combattaient. Les manuels les plus élaborés, ceux des ash'arites ou māturidites désignés par Ibn Khaldūn comme „modernes", [2] s'en tiendront à un plan *ne varietur*: 1) l'existence de Dieu et Ses attributs; 2) les actes du Très Haut (problème de la liberté humaine face à la toute-puissance divine); 3) la prophétie; 4) la promesse et la menace (les fins dernières); 5) les noms et les statuts (traité de la foi); 6) l'*imāma* et la „commanderie du bien". Cet ensemble recouvre ce que nous pourrions appeler les six grandes „questions théologiques" de la foi musulmane.

Une réalité historique s'impose cependant: le *kalām* est loin d'avoir reçu dans l'élaboration de la pensée musulmane la place de premier choix qui revient à la théologie en chrétienté. Sans doute ses tenants se plaisent-ils à le magnifier; [3] de larges zones du monde musulman — surtout dans les milieux shāfi'ites et ḥanafites, plus tard mālikites —.

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[1] Cf. entre autres l'article "al-Mu'tazila" de H. S. Nyberg dans *EI*.

[2] *Muqaddima*, (Le Caire, al-Bahīya, s.d.), 326-327.

[3] Voir Ījī, commenté par Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, I, (Le Caire, 1325/1907), 44-61.

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l'accueillent sans réserve; il est inscrit comme matière obligatoire au programme des grandes mosquées-universités. Mais il eut de tout temps des détracteurs acharnés: non seulement les *falāsifa*, si volontiers taxés d'hétérodoxie eux-mêmes, mais des croyants attachés d'abord à l'intériorisation de leur foi. Si bien que nous verrons maint penseur musulman ne l'aborder qu'avec méfiance, et tendre à en restreindre l'étude. Faut-il ajouter que, de nos jours, la volonté de renouveau affirmée par les diverses tendances réformistes, *salafiya* et autres, ne s'est guère accompagnée d'un effort de reprise et de rajeunissement du *kalām* comme tel?

Par ailleurs, si nous examinons de près le contenu des traités, il faut reconnaître que l'utilisation des arguments rationnels s'y alourdit sans cesse d'une dialectique très poussée, porteuse souvent d'analyses fort valables, mais défensive avant tout, nourrie d'arguments *ad hominem*, et qu'éclaire assez rarement une tentative de pénétration des *'aqā'id* elles-mêmes. C'est pourquoi nous avions proposé naguère, à titre d'équivalence approchée, de définir le *kalām* non tant comme une „théologie" que comme une „apologie défensive". [1] Mais dans cette perspective même, reste la déception que le *kalām*-apologie n'ait point renouvelé sa problématique au cours des siècles. Les derniers traités qui témoignent d'une réflexion personnelle datent des quatorzième ou quinzième siècles, et les manuels postérieurs reprendront inlassablement les mêmes débats et les mêmes arguments. La seule tentative contemporaine de renouveau, la *Risālat al-tauḥīd* de Muḥammad 'Abduh, laisse bien des questions irrésolues, et ne semble point avoir suscité jusqu'ici de continuateurs marquants. [2]

On peut souhaiter que ce bilan pessimiste soit demain contredit par les faits. Mais à quelles conditions? Je voudrais présenter en ces pages quelques remarques sur une question préalable et à laquelle il nous faut d'abord répondre: pourquoi le *kalām* a-t-il eu en Islam cette position quelque peu ambiguë? — le rôle qui fut sien d'apologie défensive est-il vraiment coextensif à ce que l'on peut appeler la théologie musulmane? — et sinon, en quel sens cette dernière expression se peut-elle entendre?

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[1] Cf. Gardet et Anawati, *Introduction à la Théologie musulmane* (Paris, 1948), 313 et *passim*.

[2] L'objet du *kalām*, dit 'Abduh, est "la fixation des croyances religieuses et l'explication des prophéties", dans le but "de travailler à conserver et consolider la religion" (*Risālat al-Tauḥīd* [Le Caire, 1353 H.] 5; trad. fr. de Michel et M. 'Abd al-Rāziq [Paris, 1925], 5). Il précise par ailleurs qu'après les quatorzième/quinzième siècles, "cette science cessa de progresser" (*ibid.*, 21/17).

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L'histoire même des „sciences religieuses" (*'ulūm al-dīn*) de l'Islam mettrait en lumière la position difficile et controversée du *kalām*.

On l'a souvent noté, les premières réflexions sur les données de foi se sont exercées à propos des problèmes politiques de la Communauté musulmane naissante. Je préciserai un peu: et plutôt que de „problèmes politiques", je préférerais parler des conditions mêmes d'existence de la Communauté, en tant que rattachées au code de vie coranique où s'unissent croyances, prescriptions cultuelles, règles de l'agir humain et relations sociales. [1] Ce sont les querelles autour du califat et de ses conditions de légitimité qui furent à l'origine des „noms et statuts" et du problème de l'acte humain face à la toute-puissance divine. Nous retrouverions ici les positions prises par les premiers murji'ites, qadarites, jabarites. Par la suite, l'invasion de la philosophie grecque amena les mu'tazilites à se dresser contre tout anthropomorphisme et à „défendre" l'Unicité et la Justice de Dieu. Les mu'tazilites „hommes de religion", [2] entendirent, en première visée, protéger les esprits déçus par l'ancien littéralisme et tentés par les „sciences étrangères". S'ils firent de la raison (*'aql*) le critère de la Loi (*mīzān al-shar'*), ce fut d'abord pour répondre aux *zanādiqa* („libre-penseurs") par leurs propres armes. A partir du quatrième siècle H., l'école ash'arite s'opposa violemment aux mu'tazilites, et affirma, au service de l'Unicité divine, l'absolue suprématie de la Loi. Mais elle se situa, elle aussi, sur le plan de ses adversaires, et utilisa comme eux l'attirail des arguments dialectiques.

Sans vouloir suivre les étapes historiques et du *kalām* et des autres „sciences religieuses", je crois bon de rappeler rapidement ici quelques points de repère. Les principaux détracteurs du *kalām* se répartissent selon les deux lignes adverses des *falāsifa* et des „pieux Anciens". L'opposition des premiers est de beaucoup la plus connue, elle ne fut peut-être pas, dans l'histoire de la pensée musulmane, la plus décisive. Elle ne fut à vrai dire que la réplique (tardive) de l'attaque de l'Islam officiel contre la *falsafa* elle-même.

Les premiers „philosophes" en effet s'accommodaient du *kalām*. On a pu dire qu'Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī était à la fois *failasūf* et mu'tazilite, encore que cette affirmation, à mon sens, demanderait à être nuancée. [3] *L'Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* de Fārābī fait au *kalām* sa place, en étroite

[1] C'est la célèbre distinction entre *'aqā'id*, *'ibādāt*, *akhlāq*, *mu'āmalāt*, mise en lumière aussi bien par Ghazzālī que par Ibn Taimiya.

[2] Cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā 'l-Islām* (Le Caire), 204.

[3] Cf. Abū Rīda, Introduction aux *Rasā' il al-Kindī*, I (Le Caire, 1369/1950);

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connexion avec le *fiqh*, et il semblerait que, pour Fārābī, ce soit du *kalām* que le *fiqh* reçoive ses fondements.[1] J'y reviendrai. Par contre, la classification des sciences des *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (et donc certains courants ismā'īliens qui l'inspirent) ignora le *kalām*. Est-ce pour cela qu'Ibn Sīnā, à notre connaissance, n'en parla point? Il reste que les principales questions du *kalām*, Dieu et son pouvoir créateur, la prophétie, les fins dernières, sont traitées par lui, mais selon une tout autre problématique et qui se veut exhaustive.

C'est au siècle suivant que survint l'attaque massive des *mutakallimūn* contre la *falsafa*, et la première phase de la très célèbre „querelle des *Tahāfut*". La critique de Shahrastānī, surnommé le „tombeur des *falāsifa*", marqua certainement la pensée sunnite postérieure. Ce n'est pas le lieu de revenir sur le clair résumé des *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* de Ghazzālī, et sur les discussions et condamnations de son *Tahāfut*. Mais il convient de souligner ici que ce n'est pas (ou si peu) au nom du *'ilm al-kalām* que Ghazzālī mena son attaque, mais plus largement et plus directement au nom des vérités de foi et de leur valeur spirituelle. Elève qu'il fut de Juwainī, il nous a laissé un excellent petit manuel de *kalām*, l'*Iqtiṣād*. Or, voici qu'en l'introduction de ce manuel, il se plait à souligner le rôle purement „médicinal" de la discipline dont il va traiter: la seule utilité du *kalām* est de guérir les douteurs de leurs doutes et de réfuter les négations des négateurs.[2] L'*Iḥyā'* présentera le *kalām* comme „obligatoire pour la communauté" — mais non pour chaque musulman.[3] Car son étude risquerait de devenir nocive à une âme simple solidement ancrée en sa foi.

Si bien que je ne crois nullement illusoire de parler, de ce point de vue, d'une influence sans doute directe de Ghazzālī sur son futur adversaire Ibn Rushd. On sait avec quelle vigueur ce dernier se plait à dénoncer les jeux dialectiques des *mutakallimūn*, et surtout leur propension à les communiquer à tous, sans discernement. Les „hommes du vulgaire" (*'awāmm*) dont la foi est simple et solide, les „hommes de science profonde" (entendons les falāsifa) qui s'élèvent aux vérités intelligibles, sont des esprits sains. Les tenants du *kalām*

Richard Walzer, *New Studies on al-Kindī*, *Greek into Arabic* (Oxford, 1962,) voir, par exemple, p. 195; et notre étude sur "Le problème de la 'philosophie musulmane'" dans *Mélanges Etienne Gilson* (Toronto et Paris, 1959), 269-270.

[1] *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, éd. Palencia, 56-57.

[2] *Al-Iqtiṣād fī 'l-'itiqād*, (Le Caire, s.d.), 7-8 (ou éd. Çubukçu et Atay [Ankara, 1962], 11-15).

[3] Voir la classification des sciences prise d'un point de vue juridique dans *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, I, chap. 3.

sont des „esprits malades" qui, par leur méthode et leurs discussions, ont „mis en pièce la Loi religieuse et divisé les gens complètement". [1]

Une telle opposition, ignorée des *falāsifa* orientaux, n'apparut donc que fort tardivement, comme une réaction d'auto-défense. Elle fut loin de triompher. Peut-être même n'eut-elle quelque portée que dans la mesure où elle s'apparentait à l'évidente méfiance que le „spirituel" Ghazzālī avait nourri à l'égard du *kalām*.

En fait, la première attaque, et la plus efficace, était venue de la lignée des „pieux Anciens", éminemment représentée par les grands docteurs du ḥanbalisme. C'est au nom de la valeur absolue accordée à la Parole divine que les ḥanbalites récusèrent comme une quasi impiété l'usage de la dialectique et de ses arguments rationnels dans les choses de la foi. Sous Mutawakkil, ce sont eux qui triomphèrent des mu'tazilites — seule tendance de *'ilm al-kalām* alors existante. En vain la réforme d'Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī voulut-elle se réclamer d'Ibn Ḥanbal. Ḥanbalites et ash'arites s'opposèrent, parfois avec une violence telle que l'opposition prit figure de sédition (*fitna*), et la stèle d'Ash'arī, peu de temps après sa mort, fut renversée au cimetière de Baghdad. Au onzième siècle, le mystique ḥanbalite Anṣārī entreprit et réussit, dans son *Dhamm al-kalām*, l'une des plus virulentes réfutations que nous ayons de cette „science religieuse". Si l'on songe à l'influence du ḥanbalisme rigide sur le wahhābisme sa'ūdien, et à la ferveur des réformistes contemporains (*salafīya*) à l'égard d'Ibn Taimīya et de son disciple Ibn Qaiyim, on peut mesurer combien active fut et reste, en certains secteurs de la pensée musulmane, cette attitude des „pieux Anciens".

Ajoutons que l'andalou Ibn Ḥazm (cinquième s.H./onzième s.) récusa, lui aussi, le principe même de la „science du *kalām*". Il était ẓāhirite, et le ẓāhirisme ne fut point définitivement agréé parmi les écoles de *fiqh*. C'est sa stricte fidélité à la lettre, ou plutôt son nominalisme sémantique attaché aux règles du langage „révélé", qui conduisit Ibn Ḥazm à se refuser aux méandres dialectiques. Mais ce faisant, et dans ses réfutations mêmes, il déboucha maintes fois sur des analyses plus poussées, voire plus judicieuses que celles de ses adversaires, plus aptes à faire progresser certains problèmes. [2]

[1] Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl al-Maqāl*, éd. et trad. fr. de L. Gauthier (Alger, 1942), p. 29. Cf. "Kashf 'an manāhij..." ap. *Falsafat Ibn Rushd* (Le Caire, 1325 H.), 68.

[2] Ainsi ses analyses sur la notion d'*istiṭā'a* ("capacité") à propos de l'agir humain, *al-Fiṣal fī 'l-milal*, (Le Caire, 1347 H.), III, 21-26 et 31.

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Le ẓāhirite Ibn Ḥazm au onzième siècle, ou le ḥanbalite Ibn Taimiya au quatorzième, sont des adversaires du *kalām*. Mais il n'y a pas de doute que dans les oeuvres de l'un ou de l'autre apparaissent sur Dieu, sur l'agir humain, sur la prophétie, des avancées que l'on peut dire à bon droit d'ordre théologique. [1]

Précisons une question de vocabulaire.

Comment entendre, en climat musulman, le terme de „théologie"? Le mot lui-même n'a pas d'équivalent exact. Le titre de la pseudo *Théologie d'Aristote* a été transcrit et non traduit, *Uthūlūjiya Aristūṭālis*. La meilleure traduction en mot-à-mot serait sans doute *ilāhiyāt*, „les choses de Dieu". C'est un terme technique bien connu. Il désigne d'abord le sommet métaphysique de la *falsafa* „théologie naturelle". Le *kalām* reprendra *ilāhiyāt* à son compte, pour désigner, selon l'étymologie, le seul traité sur „l'Existence de Dieu et Ses attributs" (*wujūd Allāh wa-ṣifātuhu*), auquel est joint parfois le traité des „Actes du Très Haut".

En climat chrétien, l'une des meilleures — et des plus simples — définitions de la „théologie" comme science et sagesse constituée, est certainement la phrase de saint Augustin qui l'identifie à „l'intelligence de la foi" (*intellectus fidei*). Il s'agit là de ce que la terminologie postérieure appellera la „théologie surnaturelle", car sa lumière objective est celle de Dieu révélant et Se révélant; dans le cœur du théologien, lui répondra une raison tout illuminée par la foi. La partie suprême de la philosophie qui traite de l'existence de Dieu connu par sa création sera bien „théologie" aussi, mais „naturelle" (ou „théodicée", selon un terme qu'accrédita Leibniz). Dès lors, la théologie „intelligence de la foi" traitera directement de Dieu en son Mystère révélé sans doute, mais aussi de toute l'économie divine du salut, et en conséquence de l'agir humain orienté à la fin dernière voulue par Dieu („théologie morale"). Telle est bien la notion à laquelle continue de se référer comme spontanément la pensée chrétienne; et notion qui reste présente, explicitement ou implicitement, en tout climat issu de chrétienté, même s'il est présentement déchristianisé.

Or — les repères historiques que nous avons rappelés le montrent

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[1] Outre le texte (caractéristique) mentionné dans la note précédente, bien d'autres exemples pourraient être tirés du *Fiṣal*. Pour Ibn Taimiya, voir résumé et références ap. Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki -D-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taimīya*, (Le Caire: IFAO 1939), *passim*, et spécialement pp. 153-203.

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— il apparaît que telle n'est pas, ni en compréhension, ni en extension, la perspective exacte du *kalām*. En compréhension: si nous examinons le contenu des manuels musulmans, nous les voyons soucieux d'une „défense" plus que d'une „intelligence" de la foi. En chrétienté, cette „défense de la foi" (apologétique) est comme le préambule critique de la théologie. En Islam, et de l'aveu des auteurs eux-mêmes, elle devient l'objet propre du *kalām*. [1] Il n'est pas surprenant qu'ils se soient heurtés aux difficultés inhérentes à toute apologétique — dès lors qu'une plus large „théologie" ne la vient pas orienter et sans cesse purifier: méandres sans fin des discussions, usage souvent abusif des arguments *ad hominem*, enlisement en des débats d'opinion qui eurent une heure d'actualité, mais ne gardent plus guère d'intérêt que rétrospectif Je songe par exemple à ces réfutations sans fin de sectes et sous-sectes mu'tazilites, depuis longtemps éteintes, et que continuèrent à pourfendre certains manuels de l'âge dit „moderne". Et c'est bien sur le même plan défensif que s'articula le renouveau tenté par Muḥammad 'Abduh, tenant spécialement compte de la démarche à la fois rationnelle et historique de la pensée contemporaine. Il est remarquable que cet effort de renouvellement apologétique ne s'accompagna point d'un effort correspondant d'„intelligence de la foi": dans la *Risālat al-tauḥīd*, la prophétie par exemple n'est que peu traitée pour elle-même, en sa nature propre, elle est avant tout envisagée en fonction du progrès que lui doit l'organisation des cités temporelles; [2] quant à l'aporie de la liberté humaine et de la Toute-Puissance divine, 'Abduh se borne à en affirmer l'existence, et se refuse à toute recherche d'élucidation. [3] La fonction illuminative, qui est première en théologie chrétienne, l'effort de l'intelligence illuminée par la foi pour entrer dans le mystère comme mystère et saisir les connexions intelligibles du donné révélé, n'apparaît en *kalām* que par éclair. Elle n'est pas voulue pour elle-même. Le *kalām* s'adresse à l'adversaire, ou au croyant habité par le doute, pour le convaincre du bien fondé rationnel et scripturaire de la foi musulmane.

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[1] "Le *kalām* est la science à qui il appartient d'établir solidement les croyances religieuses en apportant des preuves et d'écarter les doutes" (Īji-Jurjānī, *op. cit.*, 34-35). Cf. la définition de Muḥammad 'Abduh citée ci-dessus, note 5.

[2] Voir, par exemple, *Risālat al-tauḥīd*, 110 ss. (trad. fr., 78 ss.).

[3] "Quant à chercher au delà, à vouloir concilier l'Omniscience de Dieu et sa Volonté, qui sont prouvées, avec la libre activité de l'homme, que nous montre l'évidence, c'est chercher à pénétrer les secrets du décret divin; et il nous est interdit de nous plonger dans cet abîme et de nous occuper de ce que la raison est presque incapable d'atteindre" (*ibid.*, 61; trad. fr., 43).

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Les domaines du *kalām* et de la théologie chrétienne ne se recouvrent pas non plus en extension. En effet, ce n'est que par une équivalence un peu hâtive, à titre de première approche, que la problématique du *kalām* peut sembler analogue en climat musulman à celle de la théologie en climat chrétien. Je ne songe pas seulement ici à la différence des donnés de foi, mais au fait que le témoignage de la foi musulmane, adhérant à toute proposition coranique, rencontre, par là même, ce „code de vie terrestre" impéré à la „Communauté la meilleure qui ait surgi parmi les hommes". [1]

En Islam sans doute, Dieu est mystère, et ne révèle pas Son mystère. Vouloir présenter, comme le tenta Asin Palacios, une sorte d'équivalence entre le *De Incarnatione* et le traité de la *nubūwa* (prophétie), ou entre le *De Summo Pontifice* et le traité de l'*imāma*, ne peut qu'être nominal. Par contre, l'imbrication est étroite entre les conditions de vie du croyant dans la Communauté musulmane ou Communauté du Prophète (*al-jamā'a al-islāmīya*, *ummat al-nabī*) et l'adhésion de foi (*taṣdīq*) aux „croyances nécessaires". Il n'y a pas en *kalām* une réelle équivalence de la „théologie morale"; c'est qu'en fait les règles de l'agir humain impérées par Dieu en vue de la fin dernière recouvrent ici un domaine à la fois moral, social et juridique qui, pour une large part, appartient à une autre discipline, essentiellement les *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Ces derniers à leur tour requièrent, pour leur compte personnel, l'élaboration du donné scripturaire ou traditionnel sur le plan des croyances et surtout des actes cultuels, non moins que sur le plan moral ou social. Les règles de la vie cultuelle de l'Islam relèvent des „sources du droit" (et des „branches") non seulement dans leur application, mais dans leur rapport même à la foi.

Dès lors, s'il nous faut bien traduire, pour la facilité du langage, *fiqh* par droit musulman, comme nous traduisons en bref *kalām* par théologie, il est clair que la science du *fiqh* déborde très largement le „droit canon" de chrétienté. Un large domaine de la „théologie" comme telle relèverait en Islam des *uṣūl al-fiqh*, étant bien entendu que l'axiomatique d'une „intelligence de la foi" n'y sera pas ce qu'elle est en chrétienté, du fait même de la notion de foi, du contenu de la foi et de la nature de l'acte de foi en l'un et l'autre climat religieux. [2]

L'analyse de ce que furent au cours des âges les rapports entre les

[1] *Coran*, III, 110 (et textes parallèles).

[2] Cf. notre étude '*Les Noms et les Status*', *le problème de la foi et des œuvres en Islam* ap. *Studia Islamica* (Paris, 1956).

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deux disciplines du *fiqh* et du *kalām* éclairerait ces remarques. En fait, c'est le *'ilm al-fiqh* dont l'importance est première en Islam. A. W. Wensinck déjà l'avait affirmé. Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb dans sa *Structure of Religious Thought* y insiste avec pertinence.[1] Tout le paragraphe sur *Law and Theology* serait à méditer, et illustrerait singulièrement le propos de nos présentes remarques. Je me bornerai à ajouter qu'il serait souhaitable, pour éviter toute confusion, que le terme „théologie" cessât d'être considéré en orientalisme comme la traduction adéquate de *'ilm al-kalām*, et que l'on n'oubliât jamais que la Loi musulmane est directement prégnante de valeurs religieuses. La Communauté musulmane en effet est centrée sur le texte coranique comme Loi révélée (*shar'*). En *kalām* même (et en *falsafa*), ce n'est pas le problème de la raison et de la foi qui est posé; ce qui est en jeu, et la distinction est d'importance, c'est le rôle de la raison (*'aql*) par rapport à la Loi (*shar'*). Le vocabulaire contemporain lui-même est resté fidèle à cette perspective: dans les Universités modernes des pays musulmans, la *kulliyat al-sharī'a*, où le *fiqh* tient certes une place prépondérante, doit s'entendre comme „Faculté des sciences religieuses".

En conséquence, ce serait ne rien comprendre à la pensée „théologique" de l'Islam que de ne point se ravitailler dans les *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Ou plutôt: les exposés qui mériteraient le mieux le nom de théologie seraient encore ceux appelés *uṣūl al-dīn*, où plus d'une fois *uṣūl al-fiqh* et *kalām* se trouvent confluer.

Sans doute, dans son *Catalogue des Sciences*, Fārābī avait-il remis l'étude des principes au *kalām*, l'étude et l'utilisation des conséquences au *fiqh*: „le *mutakallim* fait triompher les principes que le *faqīh* emploie comme fondements".[2] Mais cette vue ne restait-elle pas quelque peu partielle, trop soucieuse d'articuler l'une par rapport à l'autre les deux disciplines? Il ne serait pas très difficile de renverser le lien principes-conséquences, de souligner que la fonction du *kalām* est de défendre les principes établis par les *uṣūl al-fiqh*, que le *kalām* donc se subalterne en quelque sorte à ces derniers.

Il nous faut rappeler ici que les tenants et les détracteurs du *kalām* se répartissent précisément selon ces familles d'esprits que sont devenues les grandes écoles juridiques. Et cette remarque déborde les cadres du sunnisme. C'est en certains milieux hétérodoxes, aussi bien

[1] Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston, 1962), chap. 11, § 3, 196-207.

[2] *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, *loc. cit.*

du shi'isme que du khārijisme, que les mu'tazilites, condamnés à Bagdad, continuèrent d'exercer leur influence. En sunnisme, les tendances ash'arites eurent l'audience préférentielle du shāfi'isme; plus tardivement, et après un temps d'opposition, elles eurent droit de cité dans le mālikisme maghribin. Quant au hanifisme, l'école dite „māturidite" lui fut à ses origines si étroitement liée qu'il serait certainement plus juste de paler d'un *kalām* „hanafite māturidite". Ses grands textes de base sont les „professions de foi" hanafites, si bien étudiées par Wensinck:[1] et plus directement, semble-t-il, que les œuvres (mal connues au demeurant) de Māturidi de Samarqand Le courant ḥanbalite enfin et l'éphémère ẓāhirisme se présentent bien comme deux écoles de *fiqh*; et c'est en tant que telles qu'elles se refusèrent à admettre la légitimité même du *'ilm al-kalām*.

En bref: quand il y a opposition (ḥanbalisme, ẓāhirisme), c'est que les *uṣūl al-fiqh*, appuyés sur le genre si populaire de la „profession de foi" (*al-'aqīda*), prennent en charge pour leur propre compte les problèmes traités en *kalām*, n'écartant que la méthode dialectique de discussions avec l'adversaire; et quand il y a entente (ḥanafisme, shāfi'isme, partiellement mālikisme), la science du *kalām* devient comme le prolongement et la mise en œuvre auto-défensive de certaines recherches inaugurées par les „sources du droit".

Tout dépend alors de la force de réflexion personnelle des auteurs étudiés. L'intérêt des grands ḥanbalites, c'est d'une part leur recherche d'intériorisation, d'autre part l'impact de cette recherche sur la piété populaire. De ce point de vue, les études du professeur Henri Laoust sur Ibn Baṭṭa et Ibn Taimiya, celles entreprises par le professeur George Makdisi sur Ibn 'Aqil ne sont point seulement des études de droit ou de jurisprudence au sens occidental; et je ne crois pas que l'on puisse réfléchir avec fruit sur les valeurs de foi de la pensée musulmane sans recourir aux textes ainsi analysés. Les œuvres d'un Ibn Taimiya, par exemple, drainent certainement bien plus de „théologie" que tant de manuels tardifs de *mutakallimūn*, tels Sanūsī, Bājūrī et bien d'autres.

Mais il ne faudrait pas conclure de ces quelques réflexions que l'étude des principaux ouvrages du *'ilm al-kalām* soit sans intérêt et sans utilité. Elle est indispensable au contraire pour qui veut pénétrer la mentalité religieuse des peuples d'Islam. Le développement histo-

[1] Dans *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932).

rique de la pensée musulmane ne saurait être suivi sans recourir aux textes mu'tazilites qui nous restent, ainsi qu'aux œuvres d'Ash'arī et de Baqillānī, par exemple. Chez Juwainī, et surtout chez Shahrastānī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (le *Muḥaṣṣal*), Jurjānī, Taftāzānī . . . nous saisissons la part d'influence que put exercer la *falsafa* sur ses opposants; et parfois - - particulièrement s'il s'agit de Rāzī — surgit un effort direct d'élucidation, que l'on pourrait appeler „théologique" en un sens plénier.

Il convient seulement de situer le *kalām* à son plan: affirmation et *défense* des croyances de foi, et de savoir le compléter par d'autres disciplines et d'autres courants, et par ceux-là mêmes à l'occasion qui lui furent le plus opposés. Si nous cessons de confronter sans cesse le *kalām* à la „théologie" selon le sens que ce terme revêtit en chrétienté, c'est alors que nous devient compréhensible le rôle, limité mais réel, qu'il joua dans le développement de la pensée musulmane.

Qu'une certaine désaffection se soit faite jour à son égard à l'époque contemporaine, cela n'est pas douteux. Deux raisons, semble-t-il, peuvent l'expliquer. Le musulman qui voudrait approfondir les motifs de sa foi et son contenu, et donc ce qui le fait être d'un même mouvement intérieur *mu'min* et membre de l'*ummat al-nabī*, ne pourrait qu'être déçu par les ouvrages de *kalām*. Car il demanderait alors à ce dernier plus qu'il n'est habilité à lui donner. Et même s'il s'adressait au *kalām* sur son plan limité d'apologie défensive, déçu encore serait-il en constatant le non-renouvellement de la problématique, sa non-adaptation aux problèmes de l'heure.

Ce n'est pas à nous qu'il appartient de dire si le *kalām* saura se réadapter, et surtout se situer dans un ensemble plus vaste d'*uṣūl al-dīn*, où les „sources du droit" auraient largement leur part. A la pensée musulmane seule revient de déterminer les conditions de réveil de telle de ses sciences religieuses. Tout ce que l'on peut dire ici c'est que la vitalité d'une „apologie défensive" dépend certes de sa capacité à se renouveler sans cesse; mais est en dépendance ultime d'une „théologie" au sens large, prenant à son compte le donné de foi selon toute son extension: et que le domaine ainsi recouvert ne saurait être identique en Islam et en chrétienté.

En résumé: la „science du *kalām*", telle qu'elle fut élaborée au cours des siècles, est donc un objet d'étude éminemment valable; sans elle, un large secteur de la pensée religieuse musulmane nous échapperait. Il reste que nous devons éviter d'identifier *kalām* et théologie, au sens que ce mot à pris en chrétienté et dans le vocabulaire occidental.

D'une part en effet, ce n'est pas la structure de tout le donné de foi musulman que nous livrera le *kalām*; et d'autre part, le contenu des croyances religieuses qu'il étudie est saisi avant tout dans une perspective de justification ou de défense. Or ce donné de foi et son contenu même s'enracinent en maintes notions et attitudes intellectuelles qui relèvent des *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Et bien des fois, certains détracteurs du *kalām* nous seront, de ce point de vue, des guides plus autorisés que tel ou tel *mutakallim*.

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THE TRIBULATIONS OF AN OVERSEER OF THE SULTAN'S SHIPS:

A Letter from the Cairo Geniza
(*Written in Alexandria in 1131*)

BY

S. D. GOITEIN

An overseer of the Sultan's ships was an official in charge of the passengers and the goods carried by them, and, in addition to his substantial duties, also served as a spy on the merchants and their consignments. His superior was not the captain of the ship in which he travelled or any other naval authority, but the qadi, or chief Muslim judge of Alexandria.

In the present letter, such an overseer describes his manifold misfortunes, which were partly connected with his profession, but mostly caused by the profligacy of an unworthy son. When the rapacity of an oppressive minister of finance played havoc among persons of some prominence, our overseer, like many other government officials, was forced to hide and to flee from the country. For a year or more, he suffered terrible privation in the deserts of Libya and Egypt. Meanwhile, his profligate son had sold everything in the house and spent the proceeds on wine and musicians. The overseer managed to be transferred from a ship going to Spain to two others sailing to Tunisia, and, in order to forestall further mischief, took his son along on the journey.

Despite the hardships and misfortunes endured on this trip the boy did not improve. When his grandmother and his father obtained a position for him in the office of the director of finance of the Buḥaira district, he remained at his post for a short time only and returned to Alexandria to enjoy music and European wine. Attempts to remove him to Syria and to Yemen were not successful. Moreover, the old man, as an inspector of the Sultan's ships, was unable to secure commissions for merchandise which would have made his journeys profitable or even possible. For it seems that his salary was pocketed by his superior, the qadi. In his dispair, the overseer turns to an old friend, obviously a high government official, with the request to employ his son, who meanwhile had reached the age of twenty-two.

It is remarkable that a father should write so many hard words

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about a son for whom he seeks an appointment. Even more astounding is the remark of the son to his father quoted in the letter: "As long as you are alive, I will be a good-for-nothing; only after you are dead, will I be successful." All in all, our letter is a vivid illustration of the life of middle class government officials (to which group also the boy's grandfather had belonged): while the father, as his many Bible quotations and his whole way of expression shows, was a religious and scholarly person, the son was swamped in the cosmopolitan and pleasure loving society of Alexandria.

Our letter deserves publication and translation in full because of its exceptionally intimate character. In the Mediterranean society of the High Middle Ages, where saving face was one of the foremost principles of personal conduct, letters were, as a rule, very much restrained. To enlarge about one's misfortunes was regarded as bad taste, a rule both practised in the Geniza letters and quoted in them as a maxim. Nothing was more dreaded than becoming the butt of other people's gossip. However, the writer of our letter, in his bottomless grief, not only describes his troubles and failures in an unusually frank way, but even enjoins the addressee to make them subject of his conversation everywhere.

Still, our writer himself felt that he had gone too far. Our letter was never sent off. This is proved by the fact that it bears no address and that it lacks the concluding Hebrew phrases which were de rigueur, especially in a letter interspersed with so many Hebrew words and quotations. Instead, the letter was discarded in the Geniza of Fusṭāt, or Old Cairo, to which fact it owes its preservation.[1]

The time of our letter can be fixed with great certainty because of the references to "The Monk," the notorious finance minister Abū Najāḥ, who, after many misdeeds, was killed in 1129. A special chapter is devoted to him in the *Histoires Coptes*, published by Claude Cahen in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, LIX (1960), 141-42, where the other sources for him are listed. Our writer arrived in Alexandria in the spring following Abū Najāḥ's death, travelled to Tunisia in the summer of the year 1130, and wrote the letter in the following summer, that is, 1131. A number of persons mentioned in the letter are known from other Geniza records as having lived at that time.

[1] For the Cairo Geniza in general cf. S. D. Goitein, "The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a Source for Mediterranean Social History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LXXX (1960), 91-100, where further literature is indicated.

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The language of the letter is an excellent example of the living Arabic of the period. The deviations from classical grammar are those common in the non-literary texts of the Geniza, for which now Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic* (Jerusalem, 1961), may be compared. Usages which may seem strange to readers unacquainted with "middle Arabic" are absolutely commonplace, for example, *naṯhanuh biyadī*, l. 26, *kunt na'khudh*, *verso* l. 26 or *wamaṣā'ib an 'amilhā*, l. 32, *khauf an*, l. 33, or *zubdiyatain ṣinī*, l. 39.

Jews normally wrote Arabic with Hebrew characters. For the convenience of the reader the text has been transliterated into Arabic letters, whereby the following rules were observed:

1. The *alif fāṣila*, which is constantly omitted in the original is added throughout, since its absence would be irritating.

2. The Hebrew letters are rendered by the Arabic equivalents intended by the writer. Hebrew *g* stands for Arabic *j* or *gh*
d stands for Arabic *d* or *dh*
t stands for Arabic *t* or *th*
k stands for Arabic *k* or *kh*.

Our writer omits all diacritical points with the exception of *ṣ* and *ṭ* with a dot, denoting *ḍ* and *ẓ* respectively, which, however, he also often fails to supply. The omission of the diacritical points follows a certain orthographic tradition and is not indicative of the writer's pronunciation. He never dots the *hā' al-ta'nīth*.

If we are not mistaken, in this letter, unlike many other Geniza records, the absence of diacritical points nowhere leads to ambiguity. However, for a critical appreciation of the text printed here the reader should always keep the orthography of the original in mind.

3. The letters *w* and *y* used in Hebrew as vowel indicators are rendered in Arabic by *ḍamma* and *kasra* respectively, for example, *lwk* is *Lukk*, l. 9, *'ndlws—Andalus*, l. 35, *mwt* is *mutt*, *verso* l. 41; *'qymt* is *aqimt*, which stands for classical *aqamt*, compare l. 12 and *passim*.

4. The duplication of Hebrew *w* and *y* indicates either a) that the letter is to be read as a consonant, not as a vowel, or as marking a diphthong; for example, *bhyyrh* is *Buḥaira*, l. 56; *rmyyt* is *rumiyat*, margin; or b) that the consonant is doubled; for example, *w'wwlw* is *wa'awwalū*, margin. In Arabic, we provide, instead, an appropriate vowel sign or a *shadda*.

5. Hebrew *w* and *y* designating *hamza* are rendered according to the usual Arabic orthography.

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6. *Alif maqṣūra* is rendered by *yā'*, even when written in the original with *alif*.

7. Hebrew numerals are rendered by their Arabic equivalents.

8. Hebrew words and phrases are translated into Arabic. The translations are enclosed by parentheses and the corresponding words in the English translation are italicized. Hebrew names are also parenthesized. The psychology of bilingualism, albeit a fascinating object of research, cannot be touched upon here.

The letter writer of the Geniza times used to leave considerable space at the top and the right side of a page. After having reached the bottom of a page, he would continue on the right margin from the bottom to the top and then on the top from right to left. Only after having given thus a carpet-like appearance to his first page would he continue overleaf.

Our letter is found in the Taylor-Schechter collection of the University Library, Cambridge, England, where it bears the mark TS 24. 78. Thanks are extended herewith to the Librarian.

Text

١ (باسمك الرحمن)

٢ كتابى اطال الله بقد حضرة مولاي الشيخ الاجل

٣ وادام عزه ونعماه ورفعته وسناه وتمكينه

٤ وكبت حسدته واعداه اعلمه ان لو رمت الى

٥ شرح اليسير مما جرى على وما قاسيته من محن

٦ هذه الدنيا ومصائبها ونكباتها لطال شرحه

٧ وما وسعه كتاب ولا ادركه خطاب وفى بعض

٨ ما انا فيه جاتنى نوبه الراهب انجلينا [لبرقه]

٩ الى لك وكانت ساعة غير موفقه لو كنت فى ال

١٠ صعيد او فى الريف كان يكون لي سويت من هو اوفى

١١ مني لضعف [ق] لكن ما شاء الله الا هذا خرجت ومعي

١٢ ١٠ دنانير عدد اقمت فى الطريق ٢٥ يوم ولحقنى

١٣ (عيد الفصح) فى الطريق واقمت فى لك ٨ اشهر والاخبار

١٤ كما هي مضيت اخر (شهر ايلول) الى برقه بسبب الاعياد

١٥ والصوم ثم وصلني موت من يسحقوا (اعظامه فى جهنم)

١٦ عُدت الى لُك لم نجد صحبه الى الاسكندريه مضيت
١٧ الى سنتريه بلد ما دخله يهودي قط من صعوبه
١٨ الطرق وعدم الما وبراري ما فيها حشيشه
١٩ ولا عود حطب ولا مرعى للجمال يحمله [يحملوا ؟] علفهم
٢٠ معهم فجرى على من (المصائب) فى السبوت ما لا
٢١ اقدر اشرح اليسير منه ومنها الى الواح اصعب
٢٢ واعظم ومنها الى الصعيد والى مصر بعهد ٦ اشهر
٢٣ مضى منى سبوت واعياد وغفاره ٧ دنانير ونصف بقى
٢٤ معي دينارين وكسر منه ونصف فى البيوت ومشتت
٢٥ لا بيت ولا مأوى نطوف حتى يحصل لى صاع شعير
٢٦ اكثر الاوقات نطحنه بيدي فى البيوت وانفذت
٢٧ من لك مع بن طيبان قرصتين يجيؤون كل واحده ١٥
٢٨ درهم فطير شعير قلت لهم هذا اكلي وابنى دخل
٢٩ من الريف استغنم غيبتى وقالوا انه مضى الى
٣٠ طرابلس وحسبه انهم ما يرونى (قط) والطبل
٣١ والزمر فى داري واللعب وكل (ارذال الناس) ومضى كل
٣٢ ما تركه (اي : تركته) وباعه (!) كل ما فى الدار (وهى الفضلة الباقية لى)
٣٢ (١) وخرب بيتى
٣٣ ومصائب ان عملها ما سبقه اليه احد وجلست
٣٤ بمصر فى العداسين شهرين خوف ان يأخذنى القاضي
٣٥ يوكلنى للاندلُس وكان لي ع (اى: على) القيصراني بهار فلفل
٣٦ وبهار لك وجدته توفى وداره مختومه وفى دار ال
٣٧ الماطشى مضى انحدرت جمعه (العيد) وصلت عروبه
٣٨ (عيد الفصح) وجدت دار خراب ليس فيها ما نبيع اخذت نطع
٣٩ كنت اشتريته من قبل سفري وزبديتين صبنى بعتهم
٤٠ فى السوق انفد القاضي يطلعنى فى المركب للاندلُس
٤١ سالت وشرحت له حال طلعنى مشرف على مركبين
٤٢ للمهديه وقال لي ما على المشرف تبع وعلى ال

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٤٣ الضمان ما قدرت اخالفه شكيت اليه المنحوس قلت له

٤٤ يبيع ابواب الدار ويخربها جابو [يعنى جاء به] استحلفه بالايمان

٤٥ المعظمه انه يسافر معي وسافرت وهو معي وما

٤٦ شاء الله بالتعديه وما قدر يسافر معي لأن كان

٤٧ عليه ديون كثير وحجج وزنتها عنه ليلة الاقلاع

٤٨ (وعهد الله) ما بقى معي سوى ٣٥ درهم تركتها

٤٩ لاخوته وسافرت وقاسينا مصائب وصعوبه وكنت

٥٠ قليل الزاد لأن اخذني ليله الاقلاع (والله شاهدي وحاكمى) .

٥١ طلع معي رغيف خبز لان دخل الريح يوم الجمعه

٥٢ من سحر ما لحقت نخبز ولا نصلح لي شي ورجعنا

٥٣ وظننت انه يعتبر مما قاسين وكان شكره لله

٥٤ عاد الى ما كان فيه وانا مبصل وجمله ما سافرت به

٥٥ قفه نيل وبهار لاك وأخذ وحبس وشي يطول شرحه

٥٦ وسالت انا وسته الكبيره ابو المنا عامل البحيره

٥٧ اخذو [يعني اخذه] معي [معه] ووصيناه واوعد وما قصر معه وكان عنده

٥٨ اوفى ما كان عند جده فى ايامه وفرحنا وقلنا

٥٩ يستريح من جوار اللعب شهر (ايلول) استوحش غاب

٦٠ من جوار اللعب دخل سألناه قال جيت في حاجه بعد العيد

(الهامش)

نخرج خرج العيد عاد الى ما كان فيه وهو يأخذ الديون ويكتب عليه الحجج وهرب من الروم النباذين ومن غيرهم وطلع الى مصر لما قرب الفور طلعت نعل نأخذ من احد شى نكون نستعين به فى سفرتي [لان] لقيته فى البحيره ومعه كتاب من سيدنا (الرئيس) ورجع معي الى مصر ووصلت يوم (الفور) اقمت الى (عيد الفصح) فى محاكمه تميم وعولوا قوم يدفعوا لي ابهره لك فلما سمعوا اننا مشرف على مراكب السلطان توقفوا وتمنعوا وخرجت من مصر فى وسطانيات (عيد الفصح وعهد الله) ما اخذت نصف دينار درا [يعنى دراهم] مونه الطريق الا من ابو زكري السجلماسي سلف وصلنى الى الا سكندريه وجدت المراكب رميت البحر شكيت حالي للقاضى وعرفته ان ما دفع لي احد شى وما معي بضاعه لروحي تحملنى انا وابنى خليته فى فوه ما دخل معى خوف من الروم

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وحلفت له ان ما معي ما نتزود به وانا ما اخذ منك اجره وما نقدر نسافر صاح علي وتمرمر وخلاني بلبزه الروم وحلوني للقاضي واعنتوني وفي ما انا فيه دخل عرفته بطالتي وتاخري وخليت من كلم الروم دفعت لهم الدراهم واخذت الحجج

وكان بمصر تلاهي به بن بقا من اجل شتيمته له بالاسكندريه قال له اشهد عليك وندفع لك ٢٠ دينار تتمعش بها عريان مفلس سمع (؟) كتب عليه حجة ولم يفعل يدفع له شي

صفحه ٢

١ وحلف ان دفع له الحجه ومضيت لداره وسألت اهله وسألته

٢ يدفع لي الحجه لم يفعل ثم سمعت ما هو اعظم من هذا واعظم

٣ من الروم ان حيون الاعرج دفع له مقطعين ١٠ دنانير وكتب عليه حجه

٤ ب ٤ من الشهود العدول واخذ الثوبين ارهنم ع [يعني : عند] النباد

٥ ف ٤ اقساط نبيذ ستين درهم وعند سماعي ذلك (رجفت عظامي

٦ وهاجت احشائي وارتجت يداي) وما بقى لي عقل واخذت المصاحف وحلفت

٧ بها (الاقسام المعظمه) ان وزنت (لحييم) درهم (ابداً) شاء معي

٨ شاء لم يكن معي واقام مستخبى شهر وطلب بن الرصاصيه

٩ بن خالتي السفر لشام لوالده وخافت والدته تخليه وحده

١٠ وجهته معه لدمياط وكتبت لابن (المرشح) يتولى سفرهم

١١ وقلت (ان الرب سوف يضربه او يأتي يومه) ولعل غيبته ينصلح من تعديده

١٢ ما لحق المراكب اقلعت من دمياط من هنا ما يقدر يسافر

١٣ يرميه (حييم) الحبس قلق مما يستخبى خرج خليت (نهراى) كلم

١٤ لي (حييم) وسألو [يعني: وسأله] باخذ المقطعين ويسمح له ويدفع له حجه لم

١٥ يفعل الا مصرم ١٠ دنانير لي عنده وكنت سمعت منه العام الماضي

١٦ منه يقول لوالدته نطلع لمصر لشيخ [للشيخ] ابو الحسن يجعلني في خدمه

١٧ او لابن بقا في دار السُكر قلت له اما بن بقا استغنى عنك

١٨ عنده اليوم من لا يقدر يخرجه ولا يخليه قلت له اشتغل ى الـ

١٩ ريف هذه الشهرين (الى الاعياد) يسافر هبه الحموي لليمن نساله

٢٠ يحملك معه ما فعل وخرج وما عندي منه علم وما يخفى

٢١ تعيدده [؟] الا ويلقاه في الريف اقوام (من اولاد الفجور)

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٢٢ يقولوا له اضمن معنا وكل واشرب وابوك يوخذ وما يخفى عنك
٢٣ خلفى ولولا الدعا على بعدي دفعت الدار الذي يهددونى بها
٢٤ للمساكين او للسلطان وما يبقى تهديد اش [يعنى : ايش] نعمل بها سنتين
٢٥ او سنه ما اريدها انا ماز نحملها معي (وعهد الله) او أن
٢٦ الاملاك تتباع ما بقيت فى ملكى وكنت ناخذ ثمنها ونسافر
٢٧ وما كان يرونى (ابدا لا نطيل عليك) نعود الى ما ينفع يا مولاي
٢٨ اشغالك كثير وخدمك كثير ان كان لك موضع تشغله فيه ورأيت
٢٩ انه ينفعك او تجعله مع احد معين او مساعد او مشرف كيف
٣٠ حسن عندك فافعل ولا شك الا انه عندكم تفضل واستقصى عنه
٣١ وقت كونى بمصر فى (شهر نيسان) حرصت ابصرك اتحدث معك فى هذا
٣٢ رأيتك الا اظن فرد دفعه فان انت فعلت معه شيء ورايت ان
٣٣ فيه منفعه لك ولروحو [يعنى : ولروحه] (خير) ابقيه وان كان منحوس لا ينفع
٣٤ خليه انت على عين ما ترى واقل من هذا لمثله كفايا [كفاية] ولولا
٣٥ ما كان بيننا من الخبز والملح لما دللت عليك فى شيء من هذا
٣٦ خصصته باتم السلام وان كان لك هُنا حاجه او خدمه وعلمت
٣٧ انى نصلح لذلك كلفنى ذلك مع ما ان اليوم ما بقى نصلح لشي
٣٨ الّا للدواده [يعنى : للدويده] قد هد عمري وفنى وأفنى جسمي امره وحاله وكما
٣٩ اراه نرى ملك الموت ربيته يشتمنى (أثما) نقول له يا معذر
٤٠ ابصر اولاد الاسكندراين (!) السماليك [يعنى : الصماليك] تشبه بهم قال لي مهما
٤١ انت فى المحياه انا منحوس لو مت كنت مقبل (وعهد الله)
٤٢ عليك بحق الشريعه (المنزله) على يدي (موسى استاذنا فى طور سيناء)
٤٣ لا يكون لك حديث فى السبوت والاعياد والمحافل والجموع
٤٤ الا حديثى و مصيبتى فقد هلكت وقال الولي (فليتكلم الرجل
٤٥ عن هموم قلبه) انا حى ميت روح بل [يعنى : بلا] جسم وجسم بلا روح ولدت
٤٦ ابو زكري وربيته الى وصل ٢٢ سنه قد حلفتك افعل ما
٤٧ يخلصك من الله (اتكلم ويشرح صدرى) خصصته باتم السلام واخيه السلام
٤٨ ولد يبيع ثيابه وعمامته وفوطته وملحفته النوم ويرضى
٤٩ يمشى عريان ومصيبه (لم يكن مثلها) اعذرنى فى الزلل والغلط

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Translation

In Y(our name), O M(erciful)

I am writing to you my lord, the illustrious elder, — may God prolong the life of your excellency, and make permanent your honored position, affluence, highness, eminence and power, and humiliate your enemies and all who envy you – in order to inform you that if I tried to describe only a fraction of the troubles and tribulations and humiliations which I have endured in this world, the account would be too long; no letter could contain them and no epistle do them justice.

(7) In addition to the troubles which I previously had to bear, I was overtaken by the disaster caused by the Monk. I fled to Lukk, [1] which was most unfortunate; had I gone to the country or to Upper Egypt, I would have fared better.[2] A man stronger than I would have weakened on this journey.[3] But such is what God willed.

(11) When leaving (Alexandria), I had ten dinars with me. For twenty-five days I was on my way and was overtaken by the Feast of Passover (Easter). During the eight months which I spent in Lukk bad news continued to come from home. At the end of *Elul* (August-September) I went to Barqa for the High Holidays and the Fast.[4] Then, when I learned of the death of the one *whose bones will be ground in Hell* (the Monk),[5] I returned to Lukk, in order to join other travellers going to Alexandria, but found none. Therefore I went to Santariya,[6] a place never visited by a Jew, as it is a rough country with no water, a desert without vegetation, no wood for fuel and no pasture for the camels, so that their fodder must be carried from afar. I

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[1] "A locality in the district of Barqa, between Alexandria and Tripoli," Yāqūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch* (ed. Wüstenfeld), IV, 364. Occurring also in other Geniza documents.

[2] Text: *kān yakūn lī sawiyat*, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 709a: valoir *plus*.

[3] After this sentence the text has a *q* with a dot. This could be the number one hundred and mean "a hundred times," or, more likely, the dot indicates that the letter is to be deleted.

[4] The Jewish Day of Atonement.

[5] Or: "may be ground."

[6] The capital of *al-wāḥ al-thālitha*, the "third oasis," in the westernmost part of Egypt, "between the Faiyūm and Fazzān," Yāqūt, III, 157, Ibn Duqmāq, V, 14. The assertion that the place was not visited by Jews is an exaggeration. In MS E.N. Adler 154 (2558), l. 21, preserved in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, business worth one hundred dinars is done there. To be sure, that letter is dated 1158, but the transaction is mentioned as an ordinary affair.

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experienced *hardships* on the Sabbaths which I am unable to describe.[1] (21) From there I travelled to the Oasis,[2] on a stretch of land still more difficult and more terrible than the one described, and then to Upper Egypt and down to Old Cairo — altogether six months.[3] For the Sabbaths and holidays and for protection[4] I spent seven and a half dinars so that only a little over two dinars were left me. Thus, I passed a year and a half in other people's houses with no rest or comfort, most of the time begging for a *ṣāʿ* of barley, which I ground with my own hands in strange people's places.[5] From Lukk I sent with Ben Ṭibān[6] two flatcakes of unleavened barley bread, each weighing only fifteen dirhems, to show them on what food I lived. (28) My son took advantage of my absence and left his post in the country and went to Alexandria.[7] Some said that he also travelled to Tripoli. He thought I would *never* be seen again. In my house, there was *a rabble of mankind*[8] with drums and flutes and music, and all I had left was gone. He sold everything he found in the house — *all that had been spared* from his former exploits. Thus he ruined me, besides causing troubles the like of which no one has experienced before.

(34) In Old Cairo I lived for two months in the street of the Lentil-cooks (*al-ʿAddāsīn*),[9] for I feared the Qadi would put me in charge of a ship going to Spain. Al-Qayṣarānī owed me a buhār (three hundred pounds) of pepper and one of lacquer. When I went to collect them, I found he had died and his house was sealed.[10] When I looked for al-Māṭishī[11] — he had gone.

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1 Since Jews were not allowed to travel on Saturday for religious reasons, the Jewish traveller had to stay behind and then to catch up with his caravan after the Sabbath, a procedure both dangerous and expensive, since special guides and guards had to be hired.

2 The Egyptian *wāḥ*, see p. 278, n. 6.

3 That is, since he left Lukk in the Barqa district of Eastern Libya.

4 The traveller spent all his money on his arrangements for his Sabbath rest, see p. 279, n. 1, while he begged for his food.

5 Except the hypothetical phrase "I would have been content with bread made of barley," no other reference to the use of this foodstuff has been traced thus far in the Geniza papers.

6 A name common in this period, an equivalent of the Hebrew name Tobiah.

7 The verb *dakhal*, even without the qualification "from the *Rif*" means travelling to the city (Cairo or Alexandria) from the countryside, cf. line 59.

8 A tentative rendering of "Eri and Arodi," two names mentioned in Genesis 46:16. The origin of this usage has not yet been traced.

9 That is, a low-class district, serving as a hiding place.

10 By the court, in order to protect the rights of the orphans.

11 Perhaps a scribal error for: Māshiṭi.

(37) Then I travelled to Alexandria during the week preceding Passover and arrived there on the eve of the *holiday*. I found my house ruined and nothing fit for sale left in it. So I took a hide which I had bought before my departure and two Chinese (or porcelain) dishes and sold them on the market. [1]

(40) As expected, the Qadi sent word that he wanted me to embark on a ship sailing for Spain. I explained my situation to him, whereupon he put me in charge of two ships heading for al-Mahdiya and assured me saying: "An overseer cannot be prosecuted; I take the responsibility for this." I could not disobey him, but complained to him about the good-for-nothing (his son) and said: In the end, he will sell the doors of my house and ruin it entirely. On hearing this, the Qadi bade the boy appear before him and made him take the most solemn oaths that he would travel with me.

(45) Thus we were about to depart, but God had not yet willed that we sail, for my son could not leave because of his many debts and the promissory notes signed by him. I paid everything during the night before our departure. *By God's covenant*, I ended up with not more than thirty-five dirhems, which I left to his brothers.

(49) On our voyage we experienced misfortunes and tribulations. Moreover, I lacked provisions, because I was overtaken by our sudden departure. *God is my witness and judge*, not one loaf of bread went with me on board. A favorable wind started to blow at early dawn Friday so that we found no time to bake or to prepare a thing before sailing.

(52) We came back and I hoped that he would have learned from our hard experiences. However, his gratitude to God manifested itself only in that he relapsed into his old ways. I myself was stripped of everything. [2] For all I had with me was a basket of indigo and a buhār of lacquer and this was taken from me and sequestered. [3] To explain all this would take too much time.

(56)After this I and the old lady (the boy's grandmother) asked Abū 'l-Munā, the director of finances of the Buḥaira district, to take him

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[1] Selling on the market means getting a low price. Normally one sold to, or through, business friends.

[2] Text: *muḥaṣṣal*. Our translation is tentative.

[3] MS Taylor-Schechter NS J 60, which was written around 1130, contains the lower part of a contract in which a man receives one buhār of lacquer for doing business with it in *diyār al-gharb*, or the Muslim West. The contract might refer to our writer. In case the upper part of the MS should be found, we shall learn his name and other details about him.

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into his employ. We entreated him, and he, Abū 'l-Munā, did not disappoint us. He (the young man) had it better with him than with his own grandfather, when the latter was still alive. We were happy and believed that he would renounce the company of the musicians. However, after having been away for the month of *Elul*, he missed the company of the musicians and appeared again in Alexandria. When questioned, he explained that he had come on business, but would return after the High Holidays. However, the Holidays passed and he relapsed into his old habits, made debts, signed promissory notes and, when he had to flee from the European wine-sellers and others, went up the Nile to Old Cairo. (Margin) Shortly before the Fūr-day, [1] I, too, went up in order to get goods on commission, which would be an assistance to me on my impending voyage. I met him in al-Buḥaira. He had received a letter from our lord, *the Gaon*, [2] and returned with me to Old Cairo. I arrived on the day of *Purim*, and was busy with my lawsuit against Tamim [3] until Passover. Several merchants intended to entrust me with some buhārs of lacquer. When they learned, however, that I was an overseer of the Sultan's ships, they held back and refrained from doing so. Thus I left Old Cairo during the middle days of Passover, and *by God's covenant* without taking with me dirhems to the amount of one half of a dinar for the expenses of my journey. Only Abū Zikrī al-Sijilmāsī granted me a loan. [4] On my arrival in Alexandria, I found that the ships already had been pushed into the sea. I explained my plight to the Qadi and informed him that no one had entrusted me with goods, and I had no merchandise of my own which would support me and my son. I had left my son in Fūwa, [5] for he could not enter Alexandria for fear of the European merchants. I swore to him (the Qadi):

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[1] The Arabic name of the Jewish *Purim* holiday (held in February or March).

[2] The reference is to Maslīah, the head of the Jewish "academy" of Jerusalem, which at that time, because of the Crusaders, had its seat in Fuṣṭāṭ. Maṣliah was the highest juridical authority for the Jews of the Fatimid Empire and it was certainly in this capacity that he summoned the young man to appear before him.

[3] A very common Jewish name at that time, being regarded as having the same meaning as Hebrew Solomon ("The Perfect").

[4] This man was the Jewish *wakil al-tujār*, or representative of the merchants. Many documents emanating from, or addressed, to him have been preserved. They will be published in a volume dealing with the India trade, prepared by the present writer.

[5] In those days, one travelled from Cairo to Alexandria on the western (Rosetta) branch of the Nile down to Fūwa, whence one continued on the Khalīj, the canal connecting Alexandria with the Nile.

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"I do not even have money for provisions, nor do I get a remuneration from you. In short, I cannot undertake the journey." Hearing this, he shouted at me angrily and left me in the clutches of the Europeans, who brought me before the Qadi [1] and caused me great trouble. In the midst of these calamities, my son came to Alexandria and I informed him that I was out of work and in straits. I let someone talk to the Europeans, paid them what my son owed them and took the promissory notes from them.

(Top of the page) While in Old Cairo, my son was fooled by Ben Baqā in revenge for his having cursed him in Alexandria. Ben Baqā said to him: "I shall give you a loan of twenty dinars, properly witnessed, on which you can make a living, although you are at present broke and without proper clothing." My son accepted and wrote the promissory note, but Ben Baqā did not give him anything and swore that he had returned the document to him. I went to his house and asked his wife and, later, him personally, to give me the note, but he refused (*Verso*, l. 2) Finally I heard of something even graver than this or his former dealings with the Europeans. Ḥaiyūn the Lame had given him two *maqṭa'* cloths against a promissory note to the value of ten dinars, signed by four proper witnesses. He took the cloths and pawned them with a wine merchant against four *qisṭs* of wine worth sixty dirhems. [2] When I heard this, *my bones shook, my heart moaned and my hands waxed feeble.* [3] I was at the end of my wits. I took copies of the Bible and on them swore solemns oath *never* to pay even one dirhem for *Ḥaiyīm*, [4] whether he stayed with me or not.

(*Verso* 8) For a month he lived in hiding. Then Ben al-Raṣṣāṣīya, [5] the son of his maternal uncle, wanted to travel to Palestine to his father. His mother, who feared to let him travel alone, sent my son with him to Damietta and wrote to Ben al-Murashshaḥ, [6] asking

[1] Perhaps another judge, or a general expression, namely "who brought me to court," is intended.

[2] That is, he pawned cloths worth ten dinars for sixty dirhems, which is less than two dinars.

[3] The quotations are from the book of Jeremiah 23:9, 31:20 and 50:34.

[4] The Hebrew name of the unworthy son.

[5] "The lead workers," an important Jewish family in that period.

[6] Literally, "the son of the candidate." The Jerusalem academy (cf. p. 281, n. 2 above) used to confer honorary titles on donors. As a first step, they were appointed as "candidates" for a certain title, which in itself was regarded as an honor. When a "candidate" died, before obtaining the title, the epithet "son of the candidate" remained as a family name.

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him to make arrangements for their passage. My thought was that *the Lord might smite him, or his appointed day to die would come*, or perhaps he would improve his ways while being abroad.[1] However, the ships had sailed from Damietta before he reached them and no travel was possible any more. Now the possibility that *Ḥaiyim* (that is, Ḥaiyūn the Lame) might throw him into prison would give more trouble than his going into hiding; thus he disappeared from Alexandria. I asked Nahrāy[2] to talk for me to *Ḥaiyim* and to entreat him to take back the two *maqṭa'* cloths and to release my son from his promissory note. However, he did not agree, but pocketed ten dinars which he owed me.[3]

(*Verso* 15) Last year I heard my son say to his mother: I would like to go up to Old Cairo, to the elder Abū 'l-Ḥasan, in order to get employment with him, or with Ben Baqā, in the Sugar House. I said to him: Ben Baqā has no use for you, for he has someone whom he is unable and unwilling to dismiss. Work for two months in the country; after the Holidays, Hiba al-Ḥamawī[4] will travel to Yemen and I shall ask him to take you with him. However, my son did not agree to this, and left Alexandria. At present, I have no knowledge of him. (*Verso* 21) Now it could be that *a brood of sinful men*[5] in the Rīf say to him: "Let us be tax-farmers in partnership. You eat and drink, and your father will be held responsible for your debts." You know my character. However, were it not for the curses upon me after my death, I would give the house with (the loss of) which they threaten me to the poor or to the government, so that no threat would remain. What shall I do with it after years, when I shall pass away? Shall I take it with me? *By God's covenant*, were it now possible to sell properties, it would not remain in my possession. I would take its price and travel abroad, and no one would *ever* see me again. (*Verso* 27) *Without more ado*, I would like to come back to something practical, my lord. Your activities are manyfold and your employees numerous. Perhaps you have a post for him where you could use his services. Or else, could you find a position for him with someone else as an assistant or associate or overseer? Whatever you regard as

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[1] A quotation from I Samuel 26:10. The Arabic words following the quotation seem to mean: His being far away from us is preferable to mourning him (*ta'dīd*).

[2] Most probably, Nahrāy b. 'Allān, a merchant prominent at that time is intended. The name Nahrāy is comparatively rare.

[3] "Pocketed" is a tentative translation of *mṣrm* (*muṣrim* or *muṣarrim*).

[4] An India trader, known from other Geniza papers, cf. p. 281, n. 4.

[5] Numbers 32:14.

appropriate, please do. He will certainly make good with you. Kindly inquire about him. While I was in Old Cairo, during the month of Nisan, I intended to talk to you about this, but I believe I saw you only once. In any case, if you do something for him, and it will prove to be beneficial for you and for him, good, then retain him. However, if he proves to be a good-for-nothing, send him away. The decision rests with you. To have said less about this to a man like you would have been enough. Had it not been for our old friendship [literally: the bread and salt taken by us in common], I would not have troubled you in this matter.

(*Verso* 36) Best personal regards; should you have any business or service for which you believe I could be of use, kindly charge me with it, although I am not good for anything any more except for the worms. My son's deeds and his bad state have wrecked my life and destroyed my body. To see him is for me like seeing the Angel of Death. I brought him up, and now he curses me *boldly*. When I say to him: "Take a warning, look at the sons of the Alexandrian beggars! Do you want to become like one of them?" he replies: "As long as you are alive, I will be a good-for-nothing. Only after you are dead will I be successful."

(*Verso* 41) *By God's covenant* and the Holy Law *given* to *our master Moses on Mount Sinai*, on Sabbaths and holidays, at parties and meetings, have no other subject of conversation except my story and my misfortune. For I am finished, and the Saint (King Solomon) has said: *When sorrow is in a man's heart, he wants to communicate it to others.* [1] I am alive, but dead, a soul without a body and a body without a soul. I have begot Abū Zikrī [2] and brought him up, and now he is twenty-two. I implore you, do for him what will profit you before God. *I speak so that I may find relief.* [3]

(*Verso* 47) My special and most devoted regards to you and regards to your brother. A boy who sells his garment, his turban, his kerchief and his nightgown and consents to walk around unclothed! Not to speak of other misfortunes *the like of which have never occurred*! Excuse me for slips and errors.

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[1] Proverbs 12:25, as interpreted in the Babylonian Talmud Yoma 75a.
[2] The *kunya* of his son Ḥaiyim.
[3] Job 32:20.

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SPECIALIZATION

BY

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No group, society, or civilization, so history allows us to postulate, will consistently support an intellectual endeavor unless it believes this effort to be serviceable either to its practical or to its existential needs — and one may do well to remind oneself that it is, in the last analysis, the existential need that determines what is to be recognized as socially useful and thus as a practical need. For the last four centuries, we of the West have, with a growing single-mindedness, aspired to an ever tighter control of the phenomenal world, with applied understanding of the empirically observable as our foremost tool. We have extended our outreach into the outside world and, in doing so, we have extended the range of our psychological experience; and this very self-extension or self-transcendance — which I presume is actually our primary aspiration — has, in turn, assisted in ascertaining and unlocking previously unsuspected areas of objective fact. Consider only the areas staked out by sciences, such as social psychology and the more recent schools of literary criticism. As early as 1686 did Charles Perrault, a major protagonist in the famous battle of Ancients and Moderns, point to amplification and refinement of psychological experience (and its literary articulation) as an argument in favor of the Moderns.

That our Western society (and the Westernizers in other societies as well) do not propose to relinquish their control over the outside world, nor their as yet somewhat tentative psychological insights, but rather to widen and to secure them — this we all know not only from observation but, and I should like to add, above all, from introspection. But when it comes to laying the educational groundwork for the perpetual implementation of our aspiration, we meet up with the disturbing fact that the maintenance and enlargement of our physical and social means of control necessitate specialization, while for the maintenance and enlargement of our self-understanding — as individuals and as a society (or societies) — specialization is rapidly ceasing to suffice. This is merely a stenographic way of saying that the present demarcation of the several sciences (or rather, perhaps, of the several approaches which they are concretizing) is

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proving, in many instances, fruitful merely in the repetitious unearthing of more and more data of the same category, without providing the prospect of that deeper and wider self-understanding to which we are looking for surer directions in the reshaping of our social universe.

This dichotomy between the area of control where specialization does, and that of self-understanding where it does not, suffice to advance our quest needs to be safeguarded against the obvious objection that, in most of the natural sciences, progress in insight and, hence, ultimately, in control has become contingent on the collaboration of two or more fields which, in our constantly obsolescent classifications (and the educational organization relying on them), are kept separate. The evident truth of an observation of this order is, however, easily taken into account when we remind ourselves that such fringe collaboration of two or more sciences, if successful, is apt to result in coalescence into a new and again typically specialized field. Astrophysics or biochemistry or, in the humanities, the academic acceptance as a unit of a composite field like Islamic studies, may serve as illustrations.

Since the seventeenth century, rationalism and empiricism have increasingly become the hallmark of scientific procedure. The need for completeness, when it comes to the collection and organization of material of whatever kind, is clearly defensible in terms of those fundamental principles or attitudes. From the point of view of our current existential aspirations, this need for completeness is, however, more than a mere logical outgrowth of our (subjectively not historically speaking) traditional approach to ascertainable fact. The comprehensive, the universal, the complete are, for us, possessed of an emotional appeal that, even though it may yield to genetic analysis, may, in the present context, simply be noted and accepted as a constituent of the greatest significance and efficacy in our psychological structure. [1] The quest for this universality and its peculiar satisfactions is among the factors that induce our society to maintain that enormous and amazingly ramified research apparatus in certain branches of the humanities and the non-statistical social sciences that has gradually been building up over the last hundred or hundred and fifty years.

[1] To Plato, *Republic* iv, 11, 435E, *to philomathes* appeared to be characteristic of the Greeks; Theodoros Metochites (d. 1332), in the words of H. G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im* 14. *Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952), 65, sees the value of the Greek character above all in the "ungeheuren Wissens- und Forschungsdrang der die Grenzen der Erfahrung ins Niedagewesene hinausschob".

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To comprehend ourselves as members of a living cultural whole, to give our experience depth in time through historical integration, and in space and time, through comparative examination of each and every human effort at mastery of the universe by means of a "civilization", abortive or fullgrown, to juxtapose the guiding principles of those civilizational efforts with a view to a phenomenology of man's possible reactions to his environment, to delineating what man is or could be by ascertaining what he has been (and therefore what he has done) anywhere and at any time –this is to provide a frame work, and to us at the moment the only framework, within which we can understand, and that is also: evaluate ourselves, direct, learn and—a scientifically not openly admissible hope –prognosticate.

To restate this self-diagnosis from a slightly different vantage-point. We no longer believe that the articulation of cultural values remains tied to the civilization that first successfully tested a particular mode of expression. This is why we feel justified in aiming at a totality of comprehension which it is not always easy to distinguish from a desire for total annexation. Contrary to any other surviving civilization, ours has for at least three hundred years not been challenged by the contemporary phase of another civilization. What has affected us and, at certain points, made us doubt the validity of our civilizational structure have been various aspects of the past of one or the other alien culture. And we have tended to overcome the weaknesses which those doubts suggested by widening our responsiveness so as to become able to integrate and manipulate the neglected or overlooked aspect of humanistic experience which the alien past appeared to us to signify. Our means toward an achievement of this kind has been history. For history, after first acquainting us with the alien as such, will then take it out of that absoluteness within which it is not only unassimilable, but as often as not the embodiment of something essentially hostile. You may integrate a statue, but not an idol; a style of piety, but not a doctrinal system; an institutional ideal, but not a menacing state. [1] Within a classicistic aspiration, the art of Islam makes little sense; within an aspiration that yearns for an autonomous universe of artistic expression, Islamic art provides an effective body of techniques (if not more) to overcome our enchainment to the phenomenal world.

[1] A. Malraux, *Les voix du silence* (Paris, 1951), 589, 607, has expressed kindred, not to say identical, ideas.

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The study of history from which, in the footsteps of Giambattista Vico (his *Scienza nova* was published in 1725), the Western thinker would expect an adequate self-understanding, and into whose methodology he would channel the resources of new sciences, such as economics and sociology, that had been admitted in response to shifts in perceptiveness—this study of history, under the impact of a curiosity ever more impatient of limitations and abetted by an ever more disquieting selfconcern, has had to be reconstituted as the comparative study of civilizations. Its unspoken goal is not only cognition, but education, manipulated development of what is recognized as essential and serviceable in our tradition against the foil and contrast of the "other" solutions.

So the student of Western civilization, who is motivated by the aspiration toward all-embracing knowledge, will need to break out of the circle of specialization and immerse himself in civilizations not his by birth and tradition. Limitations of linguistic and historical training must be removed—yet it cannot be denied that, at this point already, the scholar will be compelled to compromise. Such compromise, however inescapable and, in a sense, fruitful it may seem, is necessarily pernicious as a limitation to that all-important empathy into, and identification with, the "other" civilization to which mastery of its linguistic means will always remain the most suggestive aid. The result of compromise is, as often as not, the area expert who, in virtue of inadequate knowledge of his own civilization, is apt to suffer from a purblindness complementary to that of the "occidentalist".

We must never forget that, regardless of the personal aims of the student society, our society requires him to assist it in its self-understanding by unveiling and interpreting for it some of the "otherness" of the historically alien, by acquainting it with what not historically, but psychologically, could be viewed as alternative experiments and solutions. Is this to say that our society desires the student of culture history, the cultural anthropologist, the philosopher of history, to facilitate its road to a "relativistic" position? to a sceptical devaluation of its own accomplishments and aspirations? Hardly. We must come to understand such "relativism" primarily as a tool for the cognition of (cultural or psychological) otherness, as an incentive and a means toward the attainment of that self-extension and self-comprehension which we have noted as one of the distinctive traits of the Western interest in the human existence. "Relativism" helps to play down and

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discard values no longer central to the basic cultural aspirations –a function which it displayed rather shrilly in the period of the Enlightenment; it does not weaken, nor even combat, the Western position as such. For it is one of the outstanding characteristics of the modern West that it needs the knowledge of the "other" for its own sake, because of that very universality of phenomenological inventorizing and of philosophical self-comprehension to which it so passionately aspires. No other living civilization –even after accepting Western ideas and institutions –has developed this same vital self-interest in outside civilizations; not even the West itself, although fascinating at the same time as model and antagonist, has received by non-Westerners an analytical treatment worthy of the name.

A certain number of sciences that are the outgrowth of the specific interests of our times, such as comparative mythology in its psychologizing variety and, of course, depth psychology, presuppose a global surveyor's outlook; for, as long as the documentable possibilities of the human mind are not effectively described and classified, the very tools of those new organs of collective self-interpretation are bound to remain frustratingly imperfect. The concept of the fundamental sameness of human nature will not be put in question; what is realized is the range of transformation or disguise that is open to it. Different cultural situations make possible different personal situations, different interests, different conflicts, all of which throw light on the nature of man of which any given cultural phase allows but a partial uncovering.

Is it not true even our own experiences cannot be fully accommodated within our actual environment, and that, to locate certain problems, ideas, sentiments that concern us, we have, since the middle of the eighteenth century, become compelled to retreat to fictitious realities or—as our scientific conscience seems to prefer –to places outlandish and times past? We no longer feel with the ancients (and their medieval successors) that the possible outranks the empirically factual; that poetry is "more philosophical" than history. We are chained to the accidental in our selves and in our lives; and so we need to anchor what transcends in us the currently livable, in a sphere that is made acceptable as reality by comparable accidental limitations. The rise of the historical novel during the last two hundred years is not merely a symptom of our quest for a stage on which "untimely" aspects of ourselves may be invested with that character of reality which the current structure of our environment will not allow them.

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The universality of this need has, it is true, limitations following from choices of our past to which we still hold—such as the elimination from our primary aspiration of certain types of psychological self-fulfilment in which, for example, representative sections of India and Central Asia have found their supreme subjective goal. The same could be said with minor qualifications of the world of so-called "spiritistic" phenomena. There are, then, directions in which we simply do not want to enlarge our quest for encyclopedic comprehension and control —possibly from a suspicion that the desire of extreme isolationist interiorization and that for control and articulable self-understanding are incompatible to the extent that both imply a total claim on the total personality.

Our relativism, then, affects only those phenomena that are central to our "encyclopedic" outreach. The blind spots which I have just indicated are clung to because the (psychological) universe, through whose mastery we wish to understand ourselves, does not, to us, contain those particular experiential facts. From the viewpoint of our present aspiration, but also from that of man's operational control of our world, the Western approach as now developing, that is, presupposing concern with "otherness", is the only possible one (or, more accurately, the only one that would be available at this moment in history); and this is so because of the "openness" of the experiential universe which it postulates. No other extant civilization has been able (or perhaps concerned), on the strength of its inherited aspiration, to inform *all* the scientifically accessible aspects of experience, or even to arrive at a self-understanding which would be (1) existentially satisfactory, (2) factually correct, and (3) allowing for the development of control over the expanding human (political, social, etc.) and intellectual universe.

One may perhaps add that the *Versachlichung*, objectivation, extrapolation of experience, its rationalization, all of which we pursue, are, to us at least, bearable only in their demands on our emotional self-discipline if they are striven after in the service of promoting the universalism of our aspiration. Ultimately, what we want is the road and not the goal. [1]

This is why we are also prepared to admit that our period, which

[1] So already Hölderlin: "Wir sind nichts; was wir suchen ist alles;" quoted by W. Rehm, *Griechentum und Goethezeit. Geschichte eines Glaubens*, 3rd edn. (Bern, 1952), 18.

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uses the tool of cultural relativism for its fulfilment, is only a passing moment in the history of mankind, and that relativism is therefore, strictly speaking, not *a* tool, but *our* tool. With its aid we shall change —presumably through that very deepened self understanding for which we are using it. It may well be that future generations, with different concerns, will either lose the disposition to perceive relativism or utilize it as a tool toward some other end. In any case, however, it will remain a tool.

For the educational dilemma of the student of cultures and civilizations, there is, at this point in the development of Western civilization, no obvious solution. From the point of view of the Orientalist (and some of the Africanists as well), the intrinsic conflicts and contradictions of his intellectual situation within the culture of the West are sharpened by the pressure of the engagement which is brought to bear on his field by the communist world, on the one hand, and the Oriental world, on the other. Although different in nature and intent, both pressures are ultimately political; this diagnosis needs no elaboration insofar as the communist concept of scholarship and its function is concerned; in the case of an increasing number of self-statements originating in the Oriental orbit (which frequently take the form of postulative rebuttals of research undertaken by Westerners or, more accurately, of research motivated by the scientific aspirations of the West) the underlying tendency is the prevention or the removal of conclusions believed to impede acceptance or realization of positions that appear to be politically desirable.

No coalescence of sciences is in sight; the historian and the anthropologist may combine, or one scholar may excel in both history and anthropology, but the fields are not likely to merge. In the end, it will probably fall to the lot of philosophy, once it has mastered the impulses due to the advances of the natural sciences, to dare that metaphysical integration for which we are secretly waiting. Meanwhile the historian of cultures or the cultural anthropologist will be happy and, we may hope, productive in his multiple specialization which, not quite inexcusably, he makes do for a comprehensive humanism. And for his happiness he has good grounds. For while society cannot dispense with the specialist, and is prepared to honor and to cherish him, it must needs impose on him an education that will bestow on him few means to cope with that essential loneliness which is inexorably part and parcel of the human condition; the student of culture, on the other hand, as well as the scientists alive

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to the cultural implications of his insights acquire of necessity, and in proportion as the protective aura that envelops the specialist will thin, some means at least for coping with that solitude in which a bewildered environment may want to confine them.

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THE *QAIDA MARRAKUSHIYA* OF IBN TAIMĪYA

BY

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This edition of the treatise, *al-Qā'ida al-Marrākushiya* or "The Moroccan Principle" (for the solution of the Divine Attributes) by Ibn Taimiya, has been based on a rare manuscript which was formerly preserved in the Stadtbibliothek, Berlin, under Ahlwardt 2309. In the year 1936, I copied it at the Senkinsbergische bibliothek, Frankfurt a/M where it was brought to me by the kind effort of my teacher, Professor J. W. Fück, the then professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Frankfurt. During the Second World War, this manuscript, along with many others, were fortunately shifted to Tubingen, West Germany, where it is now preserved under Landberg 1019.

From the first paragraph of the tract, we understand that it was written by the Imam Ibn Taimiya in the year 712/1312, sixteen years before his death in the citadel of Damascus, as a prisoner, in the year 728/1328. This paragraph further reveals the fact that the treatise was written by him during his stay in Egypt, at the request of some important person, at a time when there arose a controversy between two groups of Spanish Malikites on "the question of the affirmation of the Divine attributes and the confirmation of His settling down on the Throne." [1] After its completion, the treatise was first brought over to Morocco, where it became popular as *al-Qā'ida al-Marrākushīya*. It was due to this *risāla*, or treatise, that the reputation of the Imam, as a great savant, spread all over Morocco, and the Scholars of Morocco brought over to their country a huge number of his books from Egypt.

In the editing of this treatise, care has been taken to check and trace all the Koranic verses by putting the number of the suras, or chapters, and *āyāt*, or verses, within two brackets at the end of the verses quoted in the text. Other necessary textual references have been put as usual in the footnotes.

A brief summary of the treatise follows:

In Egypt there once arose a theological controversy between two

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[1] *Al-Ithbāt li 'l-ṣifāt wa 'l-jazm bi-ithbāt al-'ulūw 'alā 'l-'arsh.*

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persons [1] on the affirmation of the divine attributes and the confirmation of God's "settling down on the Throne." One of them said, "It is not incumbent upon anybody to know this question nor to discuss it, as it is a controversial and detestable problem not approved by the Imam Mālik. A Muslim must therefore believe that God is alone in His kingdom. He is the creator, owner and lord of everything. He who discusses this question is a downright anthropomorphist."

The question was ultimately referred to Ibn Taimīya with a request to issue a *fatwā*, or legal judgment, as to whether the holder of the aforesaid views was right or wrong. In case he was wrong, how could one believe in the divine attributes, with special reference to God's being in person over all creations?

Before giving his answer to the question, Ibn Taimīya puts forward a few principles which, in his opinion, must be remembered before tackling the question of the divine attributes. These, briefly, are the principles:

It is a bounden duty of every *mu'min*, or believer, to acknowledge, in general as well as in detail, all that the Prophet of Islam has transmitted to us through the Holy Koran and the Sunna. A Prophet can neither lie nor misrepresent things. The Koran must be understood, and acted upon. Simple recitation of the Koranic verses, without understanding their meaning, has no utility. Both reflection (*tadabbur*) and understanding (*'aql*) are necessary. The Companions (*Ṣahāba*) of the Prophet devoted much time to the understanding of the Koran. The Followers (*tābi'ūn*) of the Companions did not materially differ from the Companions in interpreting the Koran. The Koran, the Sunna and the opinions of the Muslim scholars of the three early generations (*al-qurūn al-thalātha*) testify to the fact that God is on His Throne (*'arsh*) above the heavens. The ignorant philosophers among the Jahmites and the Qarmatians held to their folly that, for the sake of public interest, the Prophets told lies and instructed their followers to believe other than what they themselves secretly believed regarding the divine attributes. The Jahmite theologians, Ibn Taimīya continues, relied on mere rational evidences of the *Nufāt*, or deniers of God's attributes, and disbelieved in the texts of the scriptures, considering them to be contradictory to reason;

[1] We do not know who these two persons were. They were obviously two scholars of opposing views.

whereas, in reality, there existed no contradiction between the rational evidences and the texts.

After stressing the importance of the Koran, the Sunna, and the practice of the early Muslims, Ibn Taimiya cites a great number of Koranic verses in favor of the affirmation of the Divine attributes and of His settling down on the Throne. He also repeatedly cites the views of the early Muslims who never attempted to interpret the attributes of God as was being done by the Mu'tazilites, the philosophers and the *Nufāt*, who, in order to strengthen their unlawful theories, have invented various terms and idioms not approved by Islam. Ibn Taimiya emphatically rejects all attempts, made in subsequent periods, to deprive God of the attributes ascribed to Him by substituting them with metaphorical interpretations.

In his opinion, it would be absurd to suppose that later generations should have a deeper insight in, and a better understanding of, the divine attributes than the Prophet and his Companions, who never endeavored to interpret them in any way. He quotes a number of authorities who believed that God is on His Throne, above the seven heavens, and that he who disbelieves it is a *kāfir*, or disbeliever. He further attacked the theologians who attached the highest value to human reason as a criterion of understanding the Divine attributes.

As for the alleged disapproval of the Imam Mālik of discussing the divine attributes, Ibn Taimiya explains that, for the Imam Mālik, the meaning of the word *istawā*, or settled down, was well-known, though its modality (*kaifīya*) was unknown This is why Mālik considered the questioning about the modality as innovation. Further, Mālik never maintained that the attributes resembled bodily form. Ibn Taimīya then cites a number of authorities who defended Mālik for his orthodox views regarding the divine attributes. In conclusion, we find Ibn Taimīya always adhering to the literal meaning of the Koran and the Sunna without attempting to give any conceptualist interpretation.

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القاعدة المرّاكشيّة

لشيخ الاسلام تقي الدين أبي العباس أحمد بن تيميّة قدّس الله روحه ونوّر [٩٥ ظ] ضريحه ، ألّفها بالديار المصرية فى شهر سنة اثنتى عشر وسبعمائة عند حصول التنازع بين طائفة من المغاربة المالكيّين الّذين سلموها وعظموها واستصحبوها الى بلاد المغرب ، وكان من غريب اصطناع الله سبحانه لعبده هذا انه جعل مقامه ومحنته وانتصاره بالديار المصرية سببا عظيما لانتشار علمه ببلاد المغرب لأن مصر لأجل الحج وجهُ تلك البلاد الفسيحة كما أنّ الشام لأجل الحج ايضا وجه البلاد المشرقية. والله تعّ اراد علوّ١ كلمة هذا الامام المحقق الناقد البارع وانتشار صيته وعلمه فى مشارق الارض ومغار بها. فأقام سبحانه لذلك أسباباً وفتح له ابوابا. والمولّفات التى انتقلت من ديار مصر الى بلاد المغرب على ايدي طلبة العلم والدين لا يحضرنى٢ عددها لكثرتها. رأيتُ واحداً من أعيانهم | قد استصحب اربعة٣ عشر مصنفا وآخر اكبر منه استصحب اكثر من ذلك وأجلّ. [٩٦ و] فنشره فى بلادهم ثم عاد ليأخذ قطعة اخرى واما ما نقل متفرقا فانّه كثير جدا ، ولله تعّ فى خلقه أمر هو بالغه ، لا اله الا هو عليه واليه متاب.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله ربّ العالمين ، سُئل شيخ الاسلام فريد الزمان بحر العلوم تقى الدين ابو العباس احمد بن تيمية رحمة الله عليه عن رجلين تباحثا فى مسئلة الاثبات للصفات والجزم باثبات العلوّ على العرش ، فقال احدهما لا يجب على أحد معرفةُ هذا ولا البحثُ عنه بل يكره له كما قال الامام مالك للسائل وما أراك الا رجل سوءٍ٤ ، انما يجب عليه ان يعرف ويعتقد أنّ الله تعّ واحد فى ملكه وهو ربّ كل شئ مليكه وخالقه بل مَنْ تكلّم فى شئ من هذا فهو مجسّم حشويّ. فهل هذا القائل لهذا الكلام مصيب أم مخطى واذا كان مخطيا فما الدليل على انه يجب على الناس أن يعتقدوا إثبات الصفات والعلّو

١ فى الاصل علوا .
٢ فى الاصل لا يحيطونى .
٣ وعلى الحاشية ن أربعة وفى الأصل أربع .
٤ فى الاصل سو.

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على العرش الذى هو أعلى ١ المخلوقات؟ أفتونا فى ذلك | وابسطوا القول بسطا شافيا يزيل [٩٦ ظ]
الشبهات مثابين مأجورين إن شاء الله تعّ.

فأجاب المشار اليه قائلا الحمد لله ربّ العالمين، يجب على الخلق الاقرار بما جاء به النبى صلّعم، فما جاء به القرآن العزيز او السنّة المعلومة وجب على الخلق الإقرار به جملة وتفصيلا عند العلم بالتفصيل، فلا يكون الرجل مؤمنا حتّى يقرّ بما جاء به النبي صلّعم. وهو تحقيق شهادة أن لا اله الا الله وأنّ محمدا رسول الله فمن شهد انّه رسول الله شهد انّه صادق فيما يخبر به عن الله تعّ. فإنّ هذا حقيقة الشهادة بالرسالة إذ الكاذب ليس برسول فيما يكذبه. وقد قال الله تعّ (٦٩ : ٤٤-٤٦) ولو تقوّلَ علينا بعض الاقاويل لأخذنا منه باليمين ثمّ لقطعنا منه الوتين.

وبالجملة فهذا معلوم بالاضطرار من دين الاسلام لا يحتاج الى تقريره. وهو الاقرار بما جاء به النبي صلّعم وهو ما جاء به القرآن والسنّة كما قال تعّ | لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللّٰهُ على [٩٧ و]
المؤمنين اذ بعث فيهم رسولا من انفسهم يتلو عليهم آياته ويزكّيهم ويعلّمهم الكتاب والحكمة وإن كانوا من قبل لفي ضلال مُبين (٣ : ١٥٨). وقال تعّ كما ارسلنا فيكم رسولا منكم يتلو عليكم آياتنا ٢ ويزكّيكم ويعلّمكم الكتابَ والحكمةَ (٢ : ١٤٦). وقال تعّ واذكروا نعمتَ الله عليكم وما انزل عليكم من الكتاب والحكمة يعظكم به (٢ : ٢٣١). وقال تعّ ما ارسلنا من رسول الا ليطاع باذن الله (٤ : ٦٧). وقال تعّ فلا وربّك لا يؤمنون حتّى يحكّموك فيما شجر بينهم ثمّ لا تجدوا فى انفسهم حرجا ممّا قضيت ويسلّموا تسليما (٤ : ٦٨). وقال تعّ يايّها الذين آمنوا اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولي الامر منكم فان تنازعتم فى شيء فردّوه الى الله والرسول (٤ : ٦٢). ومما جاء به الرسول رضاه عن السابقين الاولين وعمّن اتّبعهم باحسان كما قال تعّ وَالسَّابِقُونَ الأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ وَالَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ رَضِيَ اللّٰهُ عَنْهُمْ وَرَضُوا عَنْهُ (٩ : ١٠١). ومما جاء به الرسول اخباره تعّ بأنه قد اكمل الدّين بقوله سجانه اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام دينا (٥ : ٥). ومما جاء به الرسول امر الله له بالبلاغ | المبين وقال تعّ وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الذِّكْرَ لِتُبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ (١٦ : ٤٦). [٩٧ ظ]
وقال تعّ يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللّٰهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ (٥ : ٧١).

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١ فى الاصل أعلا. ٢ فى الاصل آياته.

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ومعلوم انه صلّعم قد بلّغ الرسالة كما أُمر ولم يكتم منها شيئا ، فانّ كتمان ما انزل الله تعّ اليه يناقض موجب الرسالة كما انّ الكذب يناقض موجب الرسالة ، ومن المعلوم من دين المسلمين انه معصوم من الكتمان اشيٍّ من الرسالة كما انه معصوم من الكذب فيها . والامّة تشهد له بأنّه بلّغ الرسالة كما امر الله تعّ و بيّن ما أُنزل اليه من ربّه . وقد اخبر الله بأنه اكمل الدين بما بلّغه ، إذ الدين لم يعرف الا بتليغه ، فعُلم انّه بلّغ جميع الدين الذى شرعه الله لعباده كما قال صلّعم تركتكم على البيضاء ليلها كنهارها لا يزيغ عنها بعدى الا هالك ، وقال ما تركتُ من شئٍ يقربكم الى الجنة الا وقد حدّثتكم به ولا من شئٍ يبعدكم عن النار الا وقد حدّثتكم به . وقال أبو ذرّ لقد توفّى رسول الله | صلّعم وما طائر يقلّب جناحه فى السماء الا أفادنا منه علماً . [٩٨ و]

اذا تبيّن هذا فقد وجب على كل مسلم تصديقه فيما أخبر به عزّ وجلّ من أسماء الله وصفاته مما جاء فى القرآن وفى السنّة الثابتة عنه كما كان عليه السابقون الاوّلون من المهاجرين والانصار والذين اتبعوهم باحسان رضي الله عنهم ورضوا عنه ، فإن هؤلاء هم الذين تلقّوا عنه القرآن والسنّة وكانوا ينقلون ما فى ذلك من العلم والعمل كما قال أبو عبد الرحمان السّلمي : لقد حدّثنا الذين كانوا يقرءون القرآن كعثمان بن عفّان وعبدالله بن مسعود وغيرهما انهم كانوا اذا تعلموا من النبى صلّعم عشر ايات لم يجاوزوها حتّى يتعلّموا ما فيها من العلم والعمل . قالوا افتعلّمنا القرآن والعلم والعمل جميعا . وقد اقام عبدالله بن عمر وهو من أصاغر الصحابة فى تعلم البقرة ثمان[1] سنين لأجل الفهم والمعرفة وهذا معلوم من وجوه .

أحدها ان العادة المطّردة التى جبل الله عليها بني آدم توجب اعتناءهم بالقرآن المنزّل لفظا ومعنىً بل ان يكون اعتناء هم بالمعنى اوكد ، فإنّه قد علم أنه من قرأ كتاباً فى الطّب او الحساب او النحو او الفقه او غير ذلك | فانه لا بدّ ان يكون راغبا فى [٩٨ ظ] فهمه وتصوّر معانيه . فكيف بمن قرءوا كتاب الله المنزّل اليهم الذى به هداهم الله وبه عرفّهم الحقّ والباطل والخير والشّرّ والهدى والضلال والرشاد والغيّ ؟ فن المعلوم انّ رغبتهم فى فهمه وتصوّر معانيه أعظم الرغبات ، بل اذا سمع المتعلم من العالم حديثا فانّه يرغب فى فهمه ، فكيف بمن يسمعون كلام الله من المبلّغ عنه ، بل ومن المعلوم انّ رغبة رسول الله

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١ فى الاصل ثمانى .

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صلعم فى تعريفهم معاني القرآن اعظم من رغبته فى تعريفهم حروفه ، فانّ معرفة الحروف بدون المعاني لا تحصل المقصود إذ اللفظ انما يراد للمعنى .

الوجه الثانى انّ الله قد حضّهم على تدبّره وعقله واتباعه فى غير موضع كما قال تع كِتَابٌ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ مُبَارَكٌ لِيَدَّبَّرُوا آيَاتِهِ وَلِيَتَذَكَّرَ أُولُو الْأَلْبَابِ (٣٨ : ٢٨) . وقال تع أَفَلَا يَتَدَبَّرُونَ الْقُرْآنَ أَمْ عَلَى قُلُوبٍ أَقْفَالُهَا (٤٧ : ٢٦) . وقال تع أَفَلَمْ يَدَّبَّرُوا الْقَوْلَ أَمْ جَاءَهُمْ مَا لَمْ يَأْتِ آبَاءَهُمُ الْأَوَّلِينَ (٢٣ : ٧٠) . وقال تع أَفَلَا يَتَدَبَّرُونَ الْقُرْآنَ [٩٩ و] وَلَوْ كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا (٤ : ٨٤) . فاذا كان قد حضّ الكفار والمنافقين على تدبّره علم انّ معانيه مما يمكن الكفار والمنافقين فهمها ومعرفتها ، فكيف لا يكون ذلك ممكنا للمؤمنين ، وهذا يبيّن انّ معانيه كانت معروفة بيّنة لهم .

الوجه الثالث انه قال تع إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاهُ ١ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ (٤٣ : ٢) . فبيّن انه انزله عربيا لان يعقلوا . والعقل لايكون الا مع العلم بمعانيه .

الوجه الرابع انّه ذمّ من لايفهمه ، فقال تع وَإِذَا قَرَأْتَ الْقُرْآنَ جَعَلْنَا بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْآخِرَةِ حِجَابًا مَسْتُورًا وَجَعَلْنَا عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ أَكِنَّةً أَنْ يَفْقَهُوهُ وَفِي آذَانِهِمْ وَقْرًا (١٧ : ٤٧–٤٨) . وقال تع فمال هؤلاء القوم لا يكادون يَفْقَهُونَ حَدِيثًا (٤ : ٨٠) . فلو كان المؤمنون لا يفقهونه ايضا لكانوا مشاركين للكفّار والمنافقين فيما ذمّهم الله به .

الوجه الخامس انّه ذمّ من لم يكن حظّه من السماع الا سمع الصوت دون فهم المعنى واتّباعه . فقال تع وَمَثَلُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا كَمَثَلِ الَّذِي يَنْعِقُ بِمَا لَا يَسْمَعُ إِلَّا دُعَاءً وَنِدَاءً صُمٌّ بُكْمٌ عُمْيٌ فَهُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ (٢ : ١٦٦) . وقال تع أَمْ تَحْسَبُ أَنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ يَسْمَعُونَ أَوْ يَعْقِلُونَ إِنْ هُمْ إِلَّا كَالْأَنْعَامِ بَلْ هُمْ أَضَلُّ سَبِيلًا (٢٥ : ٤٦) . وقال وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَسْتَمِعُ إِلَيْكَ حَتَّى إِذَا خَرَجُوا مِنْ عِنْدِكَ قَالُوا لِلَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ مَاذَا قَالَ آنِفًا أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ طَبَعَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ وَاتَّبَعُوا أَهْوَاءَهُمْ (٤٧ : ١٨) . وامثال ذلك ، وهؤلاء المنافقون سمعوا صوت الرسول صلّعم ولم يفهموا وقالوا ماذا قال آنفا أي الساعة . وهذا كلام من لم يفقه قوله . فقال تع أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ طَبَعَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ وَاتَّبَعُوا أَهْوَاءَهُمْ (٤٧ : ١٨) فمن جعل السابقين الاوّلين من المهاجرين والانصار والتابعين لهم باحسان غير عالمين بمعاني القرآن جعلهم بمنزلة الكفار والمنافقين فيما ذمّهم الله عليه .

١ فى الأصل انزلنا وهو خطأ .

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والوجه السادس انّ الصحابة رضّهم فسّروا للتابعين القرآن كما قال مجاهد عرضتُ المصحف على ابن عباس من اوّله الى آخره اوقفه ١ عند كلّ آية منه واسأله عنها ولهذا قال سفيان الثوري اذا جاءك التفسير عن مجاهد فحسبك به. وكان ابن مسعود يقول لو أعلم احدا أعلم بكتاب الله مني تبلغه الابل لأتيته وكلّ | واحد من اصحاب ابن [١٠٠ و] مسعود وابن عباس نقلوا عنه من التفسير ما لم يحصيه الا الله ، والنقول بذلك عن الصحابة والتابعين ثابتة معروفة عند اهل العلم بها. فإن قال قائل : فقد اختلفوا فى تفسير القرآن اختلافا كثيرا ولو كان ذلك معلوما عندهم عن رسول الله صلّعم لم يختلفوا فيه. فيقال الاختلاف الثابت عن الصحابة بل وعن أيمة التابعين فى القرآن اكثره لا يخرج عن وجوه :

أحدها ان يعبّر كلّ منهم على معنى الاسم بعبارة غير عبارة صاحبه فالمسمّى واحد ، وكلّ اسم يدلّ على معنى لا يدل عليه الاسم الآخر مع انّ كلاهما حق بمنزلة تسمية الله بأسمائه الحسنى وتسمية الرسول بأسمائه وتسمية القرآن العزيز بأسمائه. فقال تعّ قُلِ ٱدْعوا ٱللّٰهَ أَوِ ٱدْعوا ٱلرَّحْمـٰنَ أَيًّا مَا ٢ تَدْعوا فَلَهُ ٱلْأَسْمَاءُ ٱلْحُسْنَى (١٧ : ١١٠). فاذا قيل الرحمان الرحيم ، الملك القدوس ، السلام فهى كلّها اسماء لمسمى واحد سبحانه وتعّ وان كان كلّ اسم يدل على نعت الله تعّ لا يدل عليه الاسم الآخر ومثال هذا | التفسير [١٠٠ ظ] كلام العلماء فى تفسير الصراط المستقيم. فهذا يقول هو الاسلام وهذا يقول هو القرآن اى اتّباع القرآن وهذا يقول هو السنّة وهذا يقول طريق العبودية وهذا يقول طاعة الله ورسوله ، ومعلوم انّ الصراط يوصف بهذه الصفات كلّها ويسمى بهذه الاسماء كلّها ولكن كلّ منهم دلّ المخاطب على النعت الذى به يُعرَف الصراط وينتفع بمعرفة ذلك النعت.

الوجه الثانى ان يذكر كلّ منهم من تفسير الاسم بعض انواعه او اعيانه على التمثيل للمخاطب لا على سبيل الحصر والاحاطة كما سأل أعجمى عن معنى الخبز فأُرى رغيفا فقيل هذا هو، فذاك مثال للخبز واشارة الى جنسه لا الى ذلك الرغيف خاصة. ومن هذا ما جاء عنهم فى قوله تعّ فَمِنْهُمْ ظَالِمٌ لِنَفْسِهِ وَمِنْهُمْ مُقْتَصِدٌ وَمِنْهُمْ سَابِقٌ بِالْخَيْرَاتِ بِإِذْنِ ٱللّٰهِ (٣٥ : ٢٩). فالقول الجامع انّ الظالم لنفسه هو المفرط لترك مأمور او فعل محظور والمقتصد القائم باداء الواجبات وترك المحرّمات والسابق بمنزلة المقرب | الذى يتقرب [١٠١ و] الى الله بالنوافل بعد الفرائض الذى يحبّه الحقّ. ثم انّ كلا منهم يذكر نوعا من هذا.

١ فى الأصل اقفه.
٢ فى الاصل ايما.

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فإذا قال القائل الظالم المؤخّر للصلاة عن وقتها والمقتصد المصلى لها فى الوقت والسابق المصلى لها فى اوّل الوقت حيث يكون التقديم افضل . وقال آخر الظالم لنفسه هو البخيل الذى لا يصل رحمه ولا يؤدّى زكاة ماله والمقتصد القائم بما يجب عليه من الزكوة وصلة الرحم وقرى الضيف والاعطاء فى النائبة ١ والسابق الفاعل للمستحب بعد الواجب كعمل الصدّيق حين جاء بماله كلّه ولم يكن مع هذا يأخذ من احد شيئا . وقال آخر الظالم لنفسه الذى يصوم عن الطعام لا عن الآثام والمقتصد الذى يصوم عن الطعام والآثام ، والسابق الذى يصوم عن كل ما لا يقربه الى الله وامثال ذلك لم تكن هذه الاقوال متنافية بل كلّ نوعا مما تناولته الآية .

الوجه الثالث ان يذكر احدهم لنزول الآية سبباً ويذكر الآخر سبباً آخر لا ينافى الأوّل ومن الممكن نزولها | لأجل السببين جميعا او نزولها مرّتين مرّةً لهذا ومرّةً لهذا . [١٠١ ظ] واما ما صحّ عن السلف انّهم اختلفوا فيه اختلاف تناقض فهذا قليل بالنسبة الى ما لم يختلفوا فيه كما انّ تنازعهم فى بعض مسائل السنة كبعض مسائل الصلوة والزكوة والصيام والحج والفرائض والطلاق ونحو ذلك لا يمنع ان يكون أصل هذه السنن مأخوذاً عن النبي صلّعم وجلّها منقولة عنه بالتواتر وقد تبيّن انّ الله انزل عليه الكتاب والحكمة وأمر أزواج نبيّه صلعم ان يذكرن ما يُتلى فى بيوتهن من آية الله والحكمة وقد قال غير واحد من السلف انّ الحكمة هي السنة وقد قال صلّعم الا انّي اوتيتُ الكتاب ومثله معه فما ثبت عنه من السنة فعلينا اتّباعه سواء قيل انه فى القران ولم نفهمه نحن او قيل ليس فى القرآن كما ان ما اتفق عليه السابقون الاوّلون والذين اتبعوهم باحسان فعلينا ان نتّبعهم فيه سواء قيل انه كان منصوصا فى السنة ولم يبلغنا ذلك او قيل انه مما استنبطوه | واستخرجوه باجتهادهم من الكتاب والسنة . [١٠٢ و]

فصل

فاذا تبيّن ذلك فوجوب اثبات العلو لله تعّ على العرش ونحوه يتبيّن من وجوه :

أحدها أن يقال إنّ القرآن والسنن المستفيضة المتواترة وغير المتواترة وكلام السابقين والتابعين وسائر القرون الثلاثة مملوّة بما فيه اثبات العلوّ لله تعّ على عرشه بأنواع من الدلالات ووجوه من الصفات وأصناف من العبارات تارة يخبر انّه خلق السماوات

١ فى الاصل النابية .

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والارض فى ستّة ايّام ثم استوى على العرش ، وقد ذكر الاستواء على العرش فى سبعة مواضع وتارة يخبر بعروج الاشياء وصعودها وارتفاعها اليه كقوله تعّ بَلْ رَّفَعَهُ ٱللَّهُ إِلَيْهِ (٤ : ١٥٦) ، إِنِّي مُتَوَفِّيكَ وَرَافِعُكَ إِلَيَّ (٣ : ٤٨) ؛ تَعْرُجُ ٱلْمَلَٰئِكَةُ وَٱلرُّوحُ إِلَيْهِ (٧٠ : ٤)، وقوله تعّ إِلَيْهِ يَصْعَدُ ٱلْكَلِمُ ٱلطَّيِّبُ وَٱلْعَمَلُ ٱلصَّالِحُ يَرْفَعُهُ (٣٥ : ١١) . وتارة يخبر بنزولها منه أو من عنده كقوله تعّ وَٱلَّذِينَ آتَيْنَاهُمُ ٱلْكِتَابَ يَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّهُ مُنَزَّلٌ مِّن رَّبِّكَ بِٱلْحَقِّ فَلَا تَكُونَنَّ مِنَ ٱلْمُمْتَرِينَ (٦ : ١١٤) ، قُلْ نَزَّلَهُ رُوحُ ٱلْقُدُسِ مِن رَّبِّكَ بِٱلْحَقِّ (١٦ : ١٠٤)، حمٓ تَنزِيلٌ مِّنَ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ (٤١ : ١)، تَنزِيلُ ٱلْكِتَابِ مِنَ ٱللَّهِ ٱلْعَزِيزِ ٱلْحَكِيمِ (٣٩ : ١). وتارة يخبر بأنّه العليّ الأعلى كقوله تعّ سَبِّحِ ٱسْمَ رَبِّكَ ٱلْأَعْلَى (٨٧ : ١) [١٠٢ ظ] وقوله وَهُوَ ٱلْعَلِيُّ ٱلْعَظِيمُ (٢ : ٢٥٦). وتارة يخبر بانّه فى السماء كقوله أَأَمِنتُم مَّن فِى ٱلسَّمَاءِ أَن يَخْسِفَ بِكُمُ ٱلْأَرْضَ فَإِذَا هِيَ تَمُورُ أَمْ أَمِنتُم مَّن فِى ٱلسَّمَاءِ أَن يُرْسِلَ عَلَيْكُمْ حَاصِبًا فَسَتَعْلَمُونَ كَيْفَ نَذِيرِ (٦٧ : ١٦–١٧) . فذكر السماء دون الارض ولم يعلّق بذلك الوهية او غيرها كما ذكر فى قوله وَهُوَ ٱلَّذِي فِى ٱلسَّمَاءِ إِلَٰهٌ وَفِى ٱلْأَرْضِ إِلَٰهٌ (٤٣ : ٨٣)، وقوله تعّ وَهُوَ ٱللَّهُ فِى ٱلسَّمَٰوَاتِ وَفِى ٱلْأَرْضِ (٦ : ٣) وكذلك قال النبي صلّعم: الا تأمنونى وانا امين من فى السماء. وقال للجارية : اين الله. قالت فى السماء. قال اعتقها فانها مؤمنة. وتارة جعل بعض الخلق عنده دون بعض كقوله تعّ وَلَهُ مَن فِى ٱلسَّمَٰوَاتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ (٢١ : ١٩ / ٣٠ : ٢٥). ويخبر عن من عنده بالطاعة كقوله تعّ إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ عِندَ رَبِّكَ لَا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ عَنْ عِبَادَتِهِ وَيُسَبِّحُونَهُ ، وَلَهُ يَسْجُدُونَ (٧ : ٢٠٥). فلولا كان موجب العبدية عاما كدخولهم تحت قدرته ومشيته وامثال ذلك لكان كل مخلوق عبده ١ ولم يكن احد مستكبرا عن عبادته بل مسبّحا له ، ساجدا. وقد قال تعّ إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ عَنْ عِبَادَتِي سَيَدْخُلُونَ جَهَنَّمَ دَاخِرِينَ (٤٠ : ٦٢). وهو سبحانه وصف الملائكة بذلك ردا على الكفّار المستكبرين عن عبادته. وامثال هذا فى القرآن لا يحصى ٢ الى كلّه. وامّا الاحاديث والآثار عن الصحابة | والتابعين فلا يحصيها الا الله تعّ. فلا يخلو٣ [١٠٣ و] امّا ان تكون ما اشتركت فيه هذه النصوص من اثبات علوّ الله نفسه على خلقه هو الحق او الحقّ نقيضه والحقّ لا يخرج عن النقيضين واما ان يكون هو نفسه فوق الخلق او لا يكون فوق الخلق كما يقول الجهمية. ثم تارة يقولون لا فوقهم ولا فيهم ولا داخل العالم

١ فى الاصل عنده . ٢ فى الاصل يحطى .
٣ فى الاصل يخلوا .

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ولا خارجه ولا مباين ولا مجانب. وتارة يقولون هو بذاته فى كلّ مكان، وفى كلا المقالتين يدفعون أن يكون هو نفسه فوق خلقه. فاما ان يكون الحقّ اثبات ذلك او نفيه فان كان نفي ذلك هو الحق فمعلوم انّ القرآن لم يبيّن هذا قطّ لا نصّا ولا ظاهرا ولا الرسول ولا احدا [1] من الصحابة والتابعين وايمّة المسلمين ولا أيمة المذاهب الأربعة ولا غيرهم. ولا يمكن احد ان ينقل عن واحد من هؤلاء أنّه نفى ذلك او اخبر به. واما نقل الاثبات عن هؤلاء فاكثر من ان يحصى. فانّ الحقّ هو النفي دون الاثبات، والكتاب والسنة والاجماع | انما دلّ على الاثبات ولم يذكر النفي اصلا لزم ان يكون الرسول [١٠٣ ظ] والمؤمنون لم ينطقوا بالحق فى هذا الباب بل نطقوا بما يدل امّا نصا واما ظاهرا على الضلال والخطأ المناقض الهدى والصواب ومعلوم انّ من اعتقد هذا فى الرسول والمؤمنين فله اوفر حظ من قوله تع وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ الْهُدَى وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّى وَنُصْلِهِ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا (٤ : ١١٥). فإنّ القائل اذا قال هذه النصوص اريد بها خلاف ما يُفهم منها او خلاف ما دلّت عليه او انّه لم يرد اثبات علوّ الله نفسه على خلقه وانما اريد بها علوّ المكانة ونحو ذلك كما بسطنا الكلام على هذا فى غير هذا الموضع. فيقال له فكان يجب ان يبين للناس الحقّ الذي يجب التصديق به باطنا وظاهرا بل ويبيّن لهم ما بدا لهم على انّ هذا الكلام لم يرد به مفهومه ومقتضاه فانّ غاية ما يقدّر انه تكلّم بالمجاز المخالف للحقيقة والباطن المخالف للظاهر ومعلوم باتفاق العقلاء | انّ المخاطب المبيّن اذا تكلّم بمجاز فلا بدّ [١٠٤ و] ان يقرب بخطابه ما يدلّ على ارادة المعنى المجازي. فاذا كان الرسول المبلّغ المبيّن الذى بيّن للناس ما نزّل اليهم يعلم انّ المراد بالكلام خلاف مفهومه ومقتضاه كان عليه ان يقرن بخطابه ما يصرف القلوب عن فهم المعنى الذي لم يرد لا سيّما اذا كان باطلا لا يجوز اعتقاده فى الله فانّه عليه ان ينهاهم عن ان يعتقدوا فى الله ما لا يجوز اعتقاده اذا كان ذلك مخوفا عليهم ولو لم يخاطبهم بما يدلّ على ذلك فكيف اذا كان خطابه هو الذي يدلّ على ذلك الاعتقاد الذي يقول النفاة هو اعتقاد باطل. فاذا لم يكن فى الكتاب ولا السنة ولا كلام احد من السلف والأئمة ما يوافق قول النفاة اصلا بل هم دايما لا يتكلّمون الا بالاثبات امتنع حينئذ ان لا يكون مرادهم الاثبات وان يكون

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١ فى الاصل احدا.

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النفي هو الذي يعتقدونه ويعتمدونه ، ولو لم يتكلموا به قط ولم يظهروه وانما اظهروا ما يخالفه وينافيه ، وهذا كلام مبيّن لا مخلص لأحد عنه لكن | للجهميّة المتكلّمة هنا كلام . [١٠٤ ظ] وللجهمية المتفلسفة كلام . اما المتفلسفة والقرامطة فيقولون ان الرسل كلّموا الخلق بخلاف ما هو الحق واظهروا لهم خلاف ما يبطنون . وربّما يقولون انهم كذبوا لأجل مصلحة العامة فانّ مصلحة لا تقوم الا باظهار الاثبات وان كان فى نفس الامر باطلا وهذا مع ما فيه من الزندقة البيّنة والكفر الواضح قول متناقض فى نفسه فانّه يقال لو كان الامر كما تقولون والرسل من جنس رؤسائكم لكان خواص الرسل يطلعون على ذلك ولكانوا يطلعون خواصهم على الامر فكان يكون النفي مذهب خاصة الأمّه واكملها عقلا وعلما ومعرفة والامر بالعكس ، فان تأمل كلام السلف والأيمة وجد أعلم الامة عند الامة كأبي بكر وعمر وعثمان وعلي وابن مسعود ومعاذ بن جبل وعبدالله بن سلام وسلمان الفارسي وأُبي بن كعب وأبي الدرداء وعبدالله بن عباس وعبد الله بن عمر وعبدالله بن عمرو وامثالهم اعظم الخلق اثباتا وكذلك افاضل التابعين مثل سعيد بن المسيب ومثاله والحسن البصري وامثاله وعلي بن | الحسين وامثاله واصحاب بن مسعود واصحاب بن عباس وهم من اجلّ التابعين [١٠٥ و] بل النقول عن هؤلاء فى الاثبات يخبر عن اثباته كثير من الناس وعلى ذلك تأوّل ١ يحيى بن عمّار وصاحبه شيخ الاسلام أبو اسمعيل الانصاري ما يروى ان من العلم كهيئة المكنون لا يعرفه الا أهل العلم بالله فاذا ذكروه لم ينكره الا اهل الغرة بالله ، تأولوا ذلك على ما جاء من الاثبات لأن ذلك ثابت عن الرسول والسابقين والتابعين لهم باحسان بخلاف النفي وانه لا يوجد عنهم ولا يمكن حمله ٢ عليه وقد جمع علماء الحديث من المنقول عن السلف فى الاثبات ما لا يحصي عدده الا ربّ السماوات ولم يقدر أحد أن يأتى عنهم فى النفي بحرف واحد الا ان يكون من الاكاذيب المختلقة التي ينقلها ٣ من هو من أبعد الناس عن معرفة كلامهم ، ومَنْ هو مَنْ لا يتمسك بمجملات سمعها بعضها كذب وبعضها صدق مثلما ينقلونه عن عمر انه قال كان النبي صلّعم وابو بكر يتحدثان وكنت كالزنجي بينهما ، فهذا كذب باتفاق اهل العلم بالاثر وبتقدير | صدقه فهى مجمل . [١٠٥ ظ] فان قال اهل الاثبات (إنّه) كان مما يتكلمان فيه من هذا الباب لموافقة ما نقل عنهما

١ فى الاصل ماول .
٢ فى الاصل جملة .
٣ فى الاصل تنقلها .

كان أولى من قول النفاة انهما يتكلمان بالنفي وكذلك حديث جراب أبي هريرة لما قال حفظتُ عن رسول الله صلّعم جرابين . امّا احدهما فبثثته فيكم وامّا الآخر فلو بثثته لقطعتم هذا البلعوم . فانّ هذا حديث صحيح لكنه مجمل وقد جاء مفسرا ان الجراب الآخر كان فيه حديث الملاحم ، ولو قُدّر انّ فيه ما يتعلق بالصفات فليس فيه ما يدل على النفي بل الثابت المحفوظ من احاديث أبي هريرة كحديث اثباته سبحانه يوم القيامة وحديث النزول والضحك وامثال ذلك كلها على الاثبات ولم ينقل عن أبي هريرة حرف واحد من جنس قول النفاة . واما الجهمية المتكلمة فيقولون انّ القرينة الصارفة لهم عما دلّ عليه الخطاب هو العقل فاكتفى بالدلالة العقلية الموافقة لمذهب النفاة فيقال لهم اوّلا فحينئذ اذا كان ما تكلم به انما يفيدهم الإضلال وانما يستفيدون الهدى من عقولهم كأن الرسول قد نصب لهم أسباب الضلال | ولم ينصب لهم اسباب الهدى واحالهم فى [١٠٦ و] الهدى على نفوسهم فيلزم على قولهم انّ تركهم فى الجاهلية خير لهم من هذه الرسالة التى لم تنفعهم بل ضرتّ بهم. [1] ويقال لهم ثانيا فالرسول صلّعم قد بيّن الاثبات الذى هو العقل اظهر من قول النفاة مثل ذكره لخلق الله وقدرته ومشيته وعلمه ونحو ذلك من الأمور التى يعلم بالعقل اعظم مما يعلم نفى الجهمية وهو لم يتكلم بما يناقض هذا الاثبات فكيف يحيلهم على مجرد العقل فى النفى الذى هو أخفى وادقّ ، وكلامه لم يدل على نقيضه وضدّه . ومن نسب هذا الى الرسول صلّعم فالله حسيبه على ما يقول والمراتب ثلاثة إما ان يتكلم بالهدى او بالضلال او يسكت عنهما ومعلوم انّ السكوت عنهما خير من التكلم بما يضل . وهنا يعرف بالعقل انّ الاثبات لم يسكت عنه بل لله ما جآء به السمع موافقا للعقل فكان الواجب فيما ينفيه العقل ان يتكلم فيه | بالنفى كما فعل فيما [١٠٦ ظ] يثبته العقل . واذا لم يفعل ذلك فالسكوت عنه أسلم للامة . اما اذا تكلّم فيه بما يدل على الاثبات واراد منهم ان لا يعتقدوا إلا النفى لكون مجرد عقولهم تعرفهم به فإضافتهم هذا الى الرسول صلّعم من اعظم ابواب الزندقة والنفاق ويقال لهم ثالثا مَن الذى سلم لكم انّ العقل يوافق مذهب النفاة بل العقل الصريح انما يوافق ما اثبته الرسول وليس بين العقل الصريح والمنقول الصحيح تناقض أصلا ، وقد بسطنا هذا فى مواضع وبيّنا أنّ ما يذكرونه من المعقول المخالف لما جاء به الرسول صلّعم انما هو جهل وضلال تقلّدهم متأخروهم

[1] فى الاصل ضربتهم .

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عن متقدميهم وسمّوا ذلك عقليات وانما هى جهليات ، ومن طلب منه تحقيق ما قاله أيمة الضلال بالمعقول لم يرجع الا الى مجرد تقليدهم . فهم يكفرون بالشرع ويخالفون للعقل تقليدا لمن توهموا انه عالم بالعقليات ، وهم مع أيمتهم الضلال كقوم فرعون معه حيث قال تع فاستخف قومه فأطاعوه ٤٣ : ٥٤). وقال تع واستكبر هو وجنوده فى الأرض بغير الحق وظنوا أنهم إلينا لا يرجعون فأخذناه وجنوده فنبذناهم فى اليم فانظر كيف كان عاقبة الظالمين وجعلناهم أئمة يدعون إلى النار ويوم القيامة لا ينصرون واتبعناهم فى هذه الدنيا لعنة ويوم القيامة هم من المقبوحين (٢٨ : ٣٩-٤١).

وفرعون هو امام النفاة ولقد صرّح محقق النفاة بأنّهم على قوله كما يصرح به الاتحادية من الجهميّة النفاة اذ هو الذى انكر العلو وكذّب موسى فيه وانكر تكليم الله لموسى . فقال تع وقال فرعون يا هامان ابن لى صرحاً لعلى ابلغ الأسباب أسباب السموت فأطلع إلى إله موسى وإنى لأظنه كاذباً (٤٠ : ٣٨-٣٩) والله تع قد أخبر عن فرعون انّه انكر الصانع بلسانه فقال وما رب العالمين (٢٦ : ١٥) وطلب ان يصعد ليطّلع الى إله موسى فلو لم يكن موسى أخبره انّ الله فوق (العرش) لم يقصد ذلك فانّه لم يكن مقرّا به فاذا لم يخبره موسى به لم يكن اثبات العلو لا منه ولا من موسى عليه الصلاة والسلام فلا يقصد | الاطلاع ولا يحصل به ما قصده من التلبيس على [١٠٧ ظ] قومه بانّه صعد الى اله السماء ولكان صعوده اليه كنزوله الى الآبار والانهار وكان ذلك أهون عليه فلا يحتاج الى تكلف الصرح . ونبيّنا صلّعم لما عرج به ليلة الاسراء ووجد فى السماء الاولى آدم وفى الثانية يحيى وعيسى وفى الثالثة يوسف ثم فى الرابعة ادريس ثم فى الخامسة هارون ثم وجد موسى وابراهيم ثم عرج الى ربّه ففرض عليه خمسين صلوة ثم رجع الى موسى فقال له ارجع الى ربّك فاسئله التخفيف لأمتك فإنّ امّتك لا تطيق ذلك . قال فرجعتُ الى ربّى فسألته التخفيف لأمتى ، وذكر انّه رجع الى موسى ثم رجع الى ربّه مرارا فصدّق موسى فى انّ ربه فوق السماوات وفرعون كذّب موسى فى ذلك . والجهمية النفاة موافقون لآل فرعون ائمة الضلال ، واهل السنّة والاثبات موافقون لآل ابراهيم ائمة الهدى ، وقال تع ووهبنا له إسحق ويعقوب نافلة وكلاً جعلنا صالحين وجعلناهم أئمة يهدون بأمرنا وأوحينا إليهم | فعل الخيرات وإقام الصلوة وإيتاء [١٠٨ و] الزكوة وكانوا لنا عابدين (٢١ : ٧٢-٧٣). وموسى ومحمد من آل ابراهيم بل سادات آل إبراهيم صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين .

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الوجه الثانى فى تبيين وجوب الاقرار بالاثبات والعلو لله تعّ على السماوات ان يقال من المعلوم انّ الله اكمل الدين واتمّ النعم وانّ الله انزل الكتاب تبياناً لكلّ شىء وانّ معرفة ما يستحقه الله وما ينزّه عنه هو من أجلّ امور الدين واعظم اصوله وانّ بيان هذا وتفصيله أولى من كلّ شىء ، فكيف يجوز ان يكون هذا الباب لم يبيّنه الرسول صلّعم ولم يفصّله ولم يعلّم امّته ما يقولون فى هذا الباب ، وكيف يكون الدين قد كمل وقد تركوا على الطريقة البيضاء وهم لا يدرون بماذا يعرفون ربهم أبمَ ١ يقوله النفاة او بأقوال أهل الاثبات .

الوجه الثالث أن يقال كلّ من كان فيه أدنى محبّة للعلم او ادنى محبّة للعبادة لا بدّ أن يخطر بقلبه هذا الباب ويقصد فيه الحق ومعرفة الخطأ من الصواب | فلا يتصوّر [١٠٨ ظ] ان يكون الصحابة والتابعون كلهم كانوا معرضين عن هذا لا يتساءلون عنه ولا يشتاقون الى معرفته ولا تطلب قلوبهم الحقّ فيه وهم ليلاً ونهاراً يتوجهون بقلوبهم اليه سبحانه ويدعونه تضرعاً وخفيةً ورغباً ورهباً ، والقلوب مجبولة مفطورة على طلب العلم بهذا ومعرفة الحقّ فيه ، وهى مشتاقة اليه اكثر من شوقها الى كثير من الامور ، ومع الارادة الجازمة والقدرة يجب حصول المراد ، وهم قادرون على سؤال الرسول صلّعم وسؤال بعضهم بعضاً وقد سألوا عن ما هو دون هذا . سألوا أنرى ربنا يوم القيامة ؟ فأجابهم ، وسأله أبو رزين أيضحك الربّ ؟ فقال نعم ، فقال لن نعدم من ربّ يضحك خيرا ، ثم انّهم لما سألوه عن الرؤية قال سترون ربكم كما ترون الشمس والقمر ، فشبّه الرؤية بالرؤية لا المرئى بالمرئى ، والنفاة لا يقولون يُرى كما يُرى الشمس والقمر بل قولهم الحقيقى انّه لا يُرى بحال . ومن قال يُرى موافقةً لأهل الإثبات وموافقة لهم فسّروا الرؤية بمزيد علم فلا يكون كرؤية | الشمس والقمر ، والمقصود هنا انّهم لا بدّ أن يسألوه عن ربهم الذى [١٠٩ و] يعبدونه . واذا سألوه فلا بدّ أن يجيبهم . ومن المعلوم بالاضطرار انّ ما يقوله الجهمية النفاة لم ينقل عن أحد من أهل التبليغ عنه . وانما نقلوا عنه ما يوافق قول أهل الاثبات .

الوجه الرابع أن يقال امّا أن يكون الله يحبّ منا أن نعتقد قول النفاة او نعتقد قول أهل الاثبات او لا نعتقد واحداً منهما . فان كان مطلوبه منا اعتقاد قول النفاة وهو انّه لا داخل العالم ولا خارجه وانّه ليس فوق السماوات ربّ ولا على العرش اله

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١ فى الاصل انما .

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وانّ محمدا صلّعم لم يعرج بـه الى الله وانما عـرج الى السماوات فقـط لا إلى الله وانّ الملائكة لا تعرج الى الله بل الى ملكوته وانّ الله لا ينزل منه شيء ولا يصعد اليه شيء وامثـال ذلك وان كانو يعبّرون عن ذلك بعبارات مبتدعة فيهـا اجمال وابهام كقولهم لـيس بمتحيّز ولا جسم ولا جوهر ولا هو فى جهـة ومكان وامثال هذه العبارات التى يفهم منها العامة تنزيـه الربّ تعّ | عن النقائص ، ومقصودهم بهـا انّـه ليس فـوق السماوات ربّ [١٠٩ ظ] ولا على العرش إله يعبد ولا عرج بالرسول الى الله والمقصود انّـه إن كان يحبّـه الله لنا ان نعتقد هذا النفى فالصحابة والتابعون أفضل منا فقد يعتقدون هذا النفى والرسول صلّعم كان يعتقده واذا كان الله ورسوله يرضاه لنا وهو إمّا واجب علينا أو مستحبّ لنا فلا بدّ أن يأمرنا الرسول صلّعم بما هـو واجب علينـا ويندبنا الى ما هـو مستحب لنا ولا بـدّ لمن يظهر عنـه وعن المؤمنين ما فيـه اثبات لمحبوب الله ومرضيـه وما يقرّب اليه لا سيّما مـع قوله عزّ وجلّ اَلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِى (٥ : ٥). ولا سيّما الجهمية تجعل هذا اصل الدين وهو عندهم التوحيد الذى لا يخالفه الا شقى فكيف لا يعلّم الرسول صلّعم امتّه التوحيد وكيف لا يكون التوحيد معروفاً عند الصحابة والتابعين. والمعتزلة والفلاسفة | ومن اتّبعهم يسمّون مذهب النفاة التوحيد ؛ وقد سمّاه صاحب المرشدة [١١٠ و] أصحابـه الموحّدين اذ عندهم مذهب النفاة هو التوحيـد . واذا كان كذلك كان من المعلوم انـه لا بدّ ان يـبينه الرسول صلّعم وقـد عُلّم بالاضطرار انّ الرسول واصحابه لم يتكلّموا بمذهب النفاة فعُلّم انّـه ليس بواجب ولا مستحب بل عُلم انـه ليس من التوحيد الذى شرعه الله تعّ لعباده ، وان كان يحبّ منا مذهب الاثبات وهو الذى أمرنا به فلا بدّ ايضا أن يبيّن ذلك لنا ومعلوم أنّ فى الكتاب والسنّة من اثبات العلو والصفات اعظم مما فيها من اثبات الوضوء والتيمّم والصيام وتحريم ذوات المحارم وخبيـث المطاعـم ونحـو ذلك من الشرايع . فعلى قول اهل الاثبات يكون الدين كاملا والرسول مبلّغا مبيّنا والتوحيد عن السلف مشهـوراً معروفاً . والكـتاب والسنة يصدّق بعضه بعضاً والسلـف خير هذه الأمّـة وطريقهم افضل الطرق ، والقرآن حق ليس فيـه اضلال ولادال ١ على كـفر ومحال بـل هـو الشفاء والهدى والنور ، وهذه كلّها لوازم ملتزمة | ونتائج مقبولة فقولهم مؤتلف غير مختلف ومقبول [١١٠ ظ] غير مردود . وان كان الذى يحبّه الله تعّ منا أن لا نثبت ولاننفى بـل نبقى فى الجهـل

١ فى الاصل دل .

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البسيط وفى ظلمات بعضها فوق بعض لا نعرف الحق من الباطل ولا الهدى من الضلال ولا الصدق من الكذب بل نقف بين المثبتة والنفاة موقف الشاكين الحيارى مذبذبين بين ذلك لا إلى هؤلاء ولا الى هؤلاء لا مصدّقين ولا مكذّبين لزم من ذلك ان يكون الله يحبّ منا عدم العلم بما جاء به الرسول صلّعم وعدم العلم بالحق من الباطل ويحبّ منا الحيرة والشك . ومن المعلوم انّ الله لا يحب الجهل ولا الشك ولا الحيرة ولا الضلال وانما يحب الدين والعلم واليقين وقد ذمّ الحيرة بقوله تع قُلْ أَنَدْعُوا مِنْ دُونِ ٱللَّهِ مَا لَا يَنْفَعُنَا وَلَا يَضُرُّنَا وَنُرَدُّ عَلَىٰ أَعْقَابِنَا بَعْدَ إِذْ هَدَانَا ٱللَّهُ كَٱلَّذِى ٱسْتَهْوَتْهُ ٱلشَّيَاطِينُ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ حَيْرَانَ لَهُ أَصْحَابٌ يَدْعُونَهُ إِلَى ٱلْهُدَى ٱئْتِنَا قُلْ إِنَّ هُدَى ٱللَّهِ هُوَ ٱلْهُدَىٰ وَأُمِرْنَا لِنُسْلِمَ لِرَبِّ ٱلْعَالَمِينَ وَأَنْ أَقِيمُوا ٱلصَّلَاةَ وَٱتَّقُوهُ وَهُوَ ٱلَّذِى إِلَيْهِ تُحْشَرُونَ (٦ : ٧٠-٧٢). وقد أمرنا الله تع ان نقول ' إِهْدِنَا ٱلصِّرَاطَ ٱلْمُسْتَقِيمَ صِرَاطَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ ٱلْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا ٱلضَّالِّينَ (١ : ٥-٧). وفى صحيح مسلم وغيره عن عائشة رضى الله تع عنها انّ النبىّ صلّعم كان اذا قام من الليل يصلى يقول : اللّهمّ ربّ جبريل وميكايل واسرافيل فاطر السماوات والارض عالم الغيب والشهادة انت تحكم بين عبادك فيما كانوا فيه يختلفون ، اهدنى لما اختلف فيه من الحقّ باذنك ، انّك تهدى من تشاء الى صراط مستقيم . فهو صلّعم يسأل ربّه ان يهديه لما اختلف فيه من الحقّ فكيف يكون محبوب الله علم الهدى فى مسائل الخلاف . وقد قال الله تع وَقُلْ رَبِّ زِدْنِى عِلْمًا (٢٠ : ١١٣). وما يذكره بعض الناس عنه انّه قال "زدنى فيك تحيراً" كذب باتّفاق اهل العلم بحديث صلّعم بل هذا سؤال من هو حائر ، وقد سأل المزيد من الحيرة . ولا يجوز لأحد ان يدعو بمزيد الحيرة اذا كان حائرا بل سأل الهدى والعلم فكيف بمن هو هادى الخلق | من الضلالة ؟ وانما ينقل مثل هذا عن بعض الذين لا [١١١ ظ] يقتدى بهم فى مثل هذا ان صحّ النقل عنه .

وقول هؤلاء الواقفة الذين لا يثبتون ولا ينفون وينكرون الجزم بأحد القولين يلزم عليه أمور ، أحدها انّ من قال هذا فعليه ان ينكر على النفاة فانهم ابتدعوا الفاظا ومعانى لا اصل لها فى الكتاب ولا السنة . وامّا المثبتة اذا اقتصدوا على النصوص فليس له الانكار عليهم وهؤلاء الواقفة هم فى الباطن يوافقون النفاة او يقرّون بهم وانما يعارضون المثبتة ، فعلم انهم اقرّوا اهل البدعة وعادوا اهل السنة الثانى أن يقال عدم العلم بمعانى القران والحديث ليس مما يحبّه الله ورسوله فهذا القول باطل . الثالث ان يقال الشك

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والحيرة ليست محمودة فى نفسها باتفاق المسلمين . غاية ما فى الباب ان من لم يكن عنده علم بالنفى ولا الاثبات يسكت ، فاما من علم الحقّ بدليله الموافق لبيان رسوله فليس الواقف الشاك الحائر أن ينكر على هذا العالم الجازم المتبصّر المتّبع للرسول العالم بالمنقول والمعقول . الرّابعَ | أن يقال السلف كلهم انكروا على الجهمّية النفاة وقالوا [١١٢ و] بالاثبات وافصحوا به وكلامهم فى الاثبات والانكار على النفاة اكثر من ان يمكن اثباته فى هذا المكان وكلام الائمة المشاهير مثل مالك والثورى والاوزاعى وابى حنيفة وحمّاد بن زيد وحمّاد بن سلمة وعبد الرحمن بن مهدى ووكيع بن الجرّاح والشافعى وأحمد بن حنبل واسحق بن راهويه وأبى عُبيد وائمة أصحاب مالك وابى حنيفة والشافعى واحمد موجود كثير لا يحصيه أحد .

وجواب مالك فى تلك صريح فى الاثبات فقال مالك : الاستواء معلوم والكيف مجهول وفى لفظ استوائه معلوم او معقول والكيف غير معقول والايمان به واجب والسؤال عنه بدعة . فقد اخبر رضى الله تعّ عنه بأنّ نفس الاستواء معلوم وأنّ كيفية الاستواء مجهولة وهذا بعينه قول اهل الاثبات . واما النفات فا يثبتون استواء حتى تجهل كيفيته بل عند هذا القائل الشاك ومثاله انّ الاستواء مجهول غير معلوم ، واذا كان الاستواء مجهولا لم يحتج ان | يقال الكيف مجهول لا سيّما اذا كان الاستواء منتفيا فالنفى المعدوم لا [١١٢ ظ] كيفية له ، حتى يقال هى مجهولة او معلومة . وكلام مالك صريح فى اثبات الاستواء وانه معلوم وان له كيفية لكن تلك الكيفية مجهولة لنا لا نعلمها نحن ولهذا بدع السائل الذى سأله عن هذه الكيفية فإنّ السؤال انما يكون عن امر معلوم لنا ونحن لا نعلم كيفية استوائه وليس كلما كان معلوما وله كيفية تكون تلك الكيفية معلومة لنا يبيّن ذلك انّ المالكية وغير المالكية نقلوا عن مالك انه قال : الله فى السماء وعلمه فى كلّ مكان حتى ذكره ١ مكى ٢ خطيب قرطبة فى كتاب التفسير الذى جمعه من كلام مالك ونقله ابو

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١ فى الأصل ذكر.

٢ مكى هو ابن ابى طالب بن محمد ولد سنة ٣٥٥ بالقيروان ومات فى ثانى المحرّم سنة ٤٣٧ راجع غاية لابن الجزرى صفحة ٣٠٩ والديباج لابن فرحون صفحة ٣٤٦ هو تلميذ لأبى محمد أبى زيد .

عمر الطلمنكى ١ وأبو عمر بن عبد البرّ ٢ وابن ابى زيد ٣ فى المختصر وغير ٤ واحد ونقله ايضا عن مالك غير هؤلاء ممن لا يحصى عددهم مثل احمد بن حنبل وابنه عبدالله والأثرم ٥ والخلّال ٦ والآجرّى ٧ وابن بطة وطوائف غير هؤلاء من المصنفين فى السنّة. ولو كان مالك من الواقفة او | النفات لم يقل هذا الاثبات والقول الذى قاله مالك قاله [١١٣ و
قبله ربيعة بن ابى عبد الرحمان شيخه كما رواه عنه سفيان بن عيينة وعبد العزيز بن عبدالله بن ابى سلمة الماجشون كلاماً طويلًا يقرّ مذهب الإثبات ويردّ على النفات ، قد ذكرناه فى غير هذا الموضع . وكلام المالكية فى ذمّ الجهمية النفاة مشهور فى كتبهم وكلام ائمة المالكية وقدمائهم فى الاثبات كثير مشهور حتى انّ علماءهم حكوا اجماع اهل السنة والجماعة على انّ الله بذاته فوق عرشه وابن ابى زيد انما ذكر ما ذكره ساير ائمة السلف ولم يكن من ائمة المالكية من خالف ابن أبى زيد فى هذا وهو انما ذكر هذا فى مقدمة " الرسالة " لتلقّى جميع المسلمين لأنه عند ائمة السنة من الاعتقادات التى يلقيها كل احد ولم يرد على ابن أبى زيد فى هذا الّا من كان من اتباع الجهمية النفاة لم يعتمد من خالفه على انه بدعة ولا انه مخالف للكتاب والسنة ولكن زعم من خالف ابن ابى زيد وامثاله انما قاله مخالفا للعقل وقال انّ ابن ابى زيد لم يحسن من الكلام الذى يعرف فيه ما يجوز على الله عز وجلّ وما لا | يجوز ، والذى انكروا على ابن أبى زيد [١١٣ ظ
وامثاله من المتأخرين تلقوا هذا الانكار عن متأخرى الاشعرية كأبى المعالى واتباعه ،

١ هو ابو عبيد احمد بن محمد بن على بن ابى عيس الطلمنكى المقرى ولد سنة ٣٤٠

٢ ومات سنة ٤٢٩ راجع تذكرة الحفاظ للذهبى مجلد ٣/٢٨٠ ، الديباج لابن فرحون صفحة ٣٩ .

٣ هو ابو محمد على بن ابى زيد القيروانى ولد سنة ٣١٦ ومات سنة ٣٨٦ . هو مصنف " الرسالة " مختصر من كتاب مالك نسخته القلمية موجودة فى المتحف البريطانى تحت رقم ٦٥٨٥ .

٤ فى الأصل غيره .

٥ هو على بن المغيرة مات سنة ٢٣٢ راجع فهرست صفحة ٥٦ وتاريخ بغداد مجلد ١٢ صفحة ١٠٧ .

٦ هو ابو بكر الخلّال البغدادى مات سنه ٣١١ وابنه ابو بكر محمد صنّف كتاب الزهرة .

٧ هو ابو بكر محمد بن الحسين بن عبد الله الآجرّى مات فى مكّة سنة ٣٦٠ .

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وهؤلاء تلقوا هذا الانكار عن الاصول التى شركوا فيها المعتزلة ونحوهم من الجهمية . فالجهمية من المعتزلة وغيرهم هم اصل هذا الانكار ، وسلف الامة وائمتها متفقون على الاثبات رادّون على الواقفة والنفاة مثل ما رواه البيهقى وغيره عن الاوزاعى ، قال كنّا والتابعون متوافرون نقول إنّ الله فوق عرشه ونؤمن بما وردت به السنّة من صفاته ، وقال أبو مطيع البلخى فى كتاب "الفقه الاكبر" المشهور سألت أبا حنيفة عن من يقول لا أعرف ربى فى السماء أو فى الارض قال قد كفر لانّ الله عزّ وجل يقول الرّحمان على العرش استوى (٢٠ : ٤). وعرشه فوق سبع سماوات . فقلت انه يقول على العرش استوى ولكن لا ندرى العرش فى السماء او فى الارض ، فقال اذا انكر انّه فى السماء كفر لانّه تعّ فى أعلاء علّيين وانه يُدعى من اعلا لا من اسفل . وقال عبدالله بن نافع كان مالك بن انس يقول الله فى السماء | وعلمه فى كل مكان ، وقال معدان سألت [١١٤ و] سفيان الثورى عن قوله تعّ (٥٧ : ٤) وهو معكم اين ما كنتم قال علمُه . وقال حمّاد بن زيد فيما ثبت عنه من غير وجه رواه ابن أبى حاتم والبخارى وعبدالله بن أحمد وغيرهم انما يدور الجهمية على ان يقولوا ليس فى السماء شىء وقال على بن الحسين بن شقيق قلت ولعبدالله بن المبارك بماذا نعرف ربّنا" قال بأنّه فوق سماواته على عرشه باين من خلقه وهذا مشهور عن ابن المبارك ثابت عنه من غير وجه وهو ايضا صحيح ثابت عن أحمد بن حنبل واسحق بن راهويه وغير واحد عن الائمة . وقال رجل لعبدالله بن المبارك يا ابا عبد الرحمان قد خفتُ الله من كثرة ما ادّعوا على الجهميه قال لا تخف فإنهم يزعمون انّ الهك الذى فى السماء ليس بشىء وقال جرير بن عبد الحميد كلام الجهمية اوّله عسل وآخره سمّ . وانما يجادلون ان يقولوا ليس فى السماء اله رواه ابن ابى حاتم وروى هو وغيره بأسانيد ثابتة عن عبد الرحمان بن مهدى قال انّ الجهمية ارادوا ان ينفوا ان يكون الله عزّ وجلّ كلّم موسى وان يكون على العرش ، أرى ان يستتابوا فإن تابوا (فذَّعهم) والا ضُربت اعناقهم . قال يزيد بن هارون [1] من زعم ان الله على العرش استوى على خلاف ما يقرّ فى قلوب العامة فهو جهمى وقال سعيد بن عامر الضبعىّ وذُكر عنده الجهمية فقال هم أشرّ قولا من اليهود والنصارى قد أجمع أهل الأديان مع

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١ هو يزيد بن هارون السلمى مات سنة ٢٠٦ ، راجع تاريخ بغداد جلد ١٤ ص ٣٣٧–٤٧ .

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المسلمين على انّ الله على العرش وقالوا هو ليس عليه شىء. وقال عبّاد بن العوّام الواسطى كلّمت بشر المريسى ١ وأصحابه فرأيت اخر كلامهم ينتهى الى ان يقولوا ليس فى السماء شىء ، أرى والله ان لا يناكحوا ولا يوارثوا . وهذا كثير فى كلامهم ، وهكذا ذكر أهل الكلام الذين ينقلون مقالات الناس مقالة اهل السنة وأهل الحديث كما ذكره ابو الحسن الأشعرى ٢ فى كتابه الذى صنّفه فى اختلاف المصلّين ومقالات الاسلاميين ، فذكر فيه اقوال الخوارج والروافض والمرجية والمعتزلة وغيرهم ثم قال ذكر مقالة اهل السنة وأصحاب الحديث وجملة قولهم الاقرار بالله عزّ وجلّ وملائكته وكتبه ورسله وبما جاء من عند الله وما رواه الثقاة عن رسول الله صلّعم لا يردّون من ذلك شيئا الى ان قال وانّ الله على عرشه كما قال الرحمان على العرش استوى وانّ له يدين بلا كيف كما قال تعَ لِمَا خَلَقْتُ [١١٥ و] بِيَدَىَّ (٣٨ : ٢٤). واقرّوا انّ لله علما كما انزله بعلمه وَمَا تَحْمِلُ مِنْ أُنْثَى وَلَا تَضَعُ إِلَّا بِعِلْمِهِ (٣٥ : ١٢). واثبتوا السمع والبصر ولم ينفوا ذلك عن الله كما نفته المعتزلة وقالوا انه لا يكون فى الارض من خير وشر الا ما شاء الله وان الاشياء تكون بمشية الله كما قال وَمَا تَشَاءُونَ إِلَّا أَنْ يَشَاءَ ٱللَّهُ (٧٦ : ٣٠). الى ان قال ويقولون انّ القرآن كلام الله غير مخلوق ويصدّقون بالاحاديث التى جاءت عن رسول الله صلّعم مثل انّ الله ينزل الى سماء الدنيا فيقول هل من مستغفر فاغفر له كما جاء فى الحديث ويقرّون انّ الله يجىء يوم القيامة كما قال وَجَاءَ رَبُّكَ وَٱلْمَلَكُ صَفًّا صَفًّا (٨٩ : ٢٣). وانّ الله يقرب من خلقه كيف شاء كما قال وَنَحْنُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ حَبْلِ ٱلْوَرِيدِ (٥٠ : ١٥). وذكر أشياء كثيرة الى ان قال فهذه جملة ما يأمرون به ويستعملونه ويرونه وبكلّ ما ذكرناه من قولهم نقول واليه نذهب . وقال الاشعرى ايضا فى مسئلة الاستواء قال اهل السنة واصحاب الحديث ليس بجسم ولا يشبه الاشياء وانه على العرش كما قال أَلرَّحْمَانُ عَلَى ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱسْتَوَى ولا نتقدّم بين يدى الله | ورسوله فى القول بل نقول استوى بلا كيف [١١٥ ظ] وان له يدين بلا كيف كما قال خَلَقْتُ بِيَدَىَّ وانّ الله ينزل الى سماء الدنيا كما جاء فى الحديث ، قال وقالت المعتزلة استوى على عرشه بمعنى استولى وقال الاشعرى ايضا

١ هو ابو عبد الرحمان بن غياث المريسى كان يتّبع جعد بن درهم وجهم بن صفوان فى مسئلة خلق القران ، مات سنة ٢١٨ .

٢ ابو الحسن على بن اسمعيل الاشعرى مات سنة ٣٢٤ .

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فى كتاب الابانة عن اصول الديانة فى باب الاستواء إن قال قائل ما تقولون فى الاستواء قيل نقول له إنّ الله مستوى على عرشه كما قال ٱلرَّحْمَانُ عَلَى ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱسْتَوَى وقال إِلَيْهِ يَصْعَدُ ٱلْكَلِمُ ٱلطَّيِّبُ وقال بَلْ رَّفَعَهُ ٱللَّهُ إِلَيْهِ وقال حكايةً عن فرعون يا هامان ٱبْنِ لِى صَرْحًا لَّعَلِّى أَبْلُغُ ٱلْأَسْبَابَ أَسْبَابَ ٱلسَّمَاوَاتِ فَأَطَّلِعَ إِلَى إِلَٰهِ مُوسَىٰ وَإِنِّى لَأَظُنُّهُۥ كَاذِبًا كذّب موسى فى قوله انّ الله فوق السماوات ، وقال الله عزّ وجلّ ءَأَمِنتُم مَّن فِى ٱلسَّمَاءِ أَن يَخْسِفَ بِكُمُ ٱلْأَرْضَ فالسماوات فوقها العرش . وكلّما علا فهو سماء وليس اذا قال ءَأَمِنتُم مَّن فِى ٱلسَّمَاءِ يعنى جميع السماوات وانما اراد العرش الذى هو اعلا السماوات الا انه ذكر السماوات فقال وَجَعَلَ ٱلْقَمَرَ فِيهِنَّ نُورًا (٧١ : ١٥) ولم يرد انه يملأهنّ جميعا . وراينا المسلمين جميعا يرفعون أيديهم اذا دعوا نحو السماء لأنّ الله مستوٍ على العرش الذى هو فوق | السماوات فلولا ان الله على العرش لم يرفعوا أيديهم [١١٦ و] نحو العرش وقد قال قائلون من المعتزلة والجهميّة والحروريّة انّ معنى استوى استولى وملك وقهر وانّ الله فى كل مكان ، وجحدوا ان يكون الله على عرشه كما قال اهل الحقّ وذهبوا فى الاستواء الى القدرة ، فلو كان كما قالوا كان لا فرق بين العرش والارض السابعة لأنّ الله قادر على كلّ شىء والارض فالله قادر عليها وعلى الحشوش والاخلية فلو كان مستويا على العرش بمعنى الاستيلاء لجاز ان يقال هو مستوٍ على الأشياء كلّها ، ولمّا لم يجز عند احد من المسلمين ان يقال انّ الله مستوٍ على الاشياء كلها وعلى الحشوش والاخلية بطل ان يكون معنى الاستواء على العرش الاستيلاء الذى هو عام فى الأشياء كلها . وقد نقل هذا عن الأشعرى غير واحد من ائمة اصحابه كابن فورك ١ والحافظ بن عساكر ٢ فى كتابه الذى جمعه فى تبيين كذب المفترى فيما ينسب الى الشيخ ابى الحسن الاشعرى . وذكر اعتقاده الذى ذكره فى اوّل الابانة وقوله فيه فان قال قائل قد انكرتم قول المعتزلة | والقدرية والجهميّه والحروريّة والرافضة المرجيّة فعرّفونا قولكم الذى تقولون وديانتكم التى بها [١١٦ ظ] تدينون ، قيل له قولنا الذى به نقول وديانة التى بها ندين التمسك بكتاب الله تع وسنّة نبيّه صلّعم وما روى عن الصحابة والتابعين وائمة الحديث ، ونحن بذلك معتصمون

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١ هو ابو بكر محمد بن حسن معتزلى مشهور مات سنة ٤١٦ ، صاحب كتاب مشكل الآثار راجع أسلام لريتر ٢٥٦/١٧ .

٢ هو ابو القاسم على بن الحسن الشافعى مات سنة ٥٧١ .

وبما كان عليه أحمد بن حنبل نضّر الله وجهه قائلون ولما خالف قوله مجانبون لأنّه الامام الفاضل والرئيس الكامل الذى أبان الله به الحقّ عند ظهور الضلال وأوضح به المنهاج وقمع به بدع المبتدعين وزيغ الزايغين وشكّ الشاكين فرحمة الله عليه من إمام مقدّم وكبير مفهم وعلى جميع ائمة المسلمين .

وجملة قولنا إنّا نقرّ بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله وما جاء من عند الله وما رواه الثقات عن رسول الله صلّعم وذكر ما تقدّم وغيره من جمل كثيرة أوردت فى غير هذا الموضع . وقال ابو بكر الآجرّى فى كتاب الشريعة الذى يذهب اليه اهل العلم انّ الله على عرشه فوق سماواته ، علمه محيط بكل شىء قد أحاط بجميع ما خلق فى السماوات العلى أ وبجميع ما فى سبع ارضين ترفع اليه افعال العباد . فان قال قائل ايش معنى [١١٧ و
قوله ما يكون من نجوى ثلاثة الا هو رابعهم (٥٨ : ٨). قيل له علمه . والله على عرشه وعلمه محيط بهم ، كذا فسّره اهل العلم والآية تدلّ اوّلها وآخرها على انه العلم وهو على عرشه ، هذا قول المسلمين ، والقول الذى قاله الشيخ ابو محمد بن ابى زيد وانه فوق عرشه المجيد بذاته وهو فى كلّ مكان بعلمه قد تأوّله بعض المبطلين بأنّه رفع المجيد ومراده انّ الله هو المجيد بذاته وهذا مع انه جهل واضح فانه بمنزلة ان يقال الرحمان بذاته والرحيم بذاته والعزيز بذاته . وقد قال ابن ابى زيد فى خطبة الرسالة ايضا على العرش استوى وعلى الملك احتوى ، ففرّق من الاستواء والاستيلاء على قاعدة الأئمة المتبوعين ، ومع هذا فقد صرّح ابن ابى زيد فى المختصر بانّ الله فى سمائه دون ارضه . هذا لفظه ، والذى قاله ابن ابى زيد ما زالت تقول ائمة السنة من جميع الطوائف . وقد ذكر ابو عمر | الطلمنكى الامام فى كتابه الذى سمّاه "الوصول فى معرفة الاصول" انّ [١١٧ ظ
اهل السنة والجماعة متّفقون على انّ الله استوى بذاته على عرشه وكذلك ذكره محمد بن عثمان بن ابى شيبة ١ حافظ الكوفة فى طبقة البخارى ونحوه ذكر ذلك عن اهل السنة والجماعة وكذلك ذكره يحيى بن عمار السجستانى الامام فى رسالته المشهورة فى السنة التى كتبها الى مالك بلاده . وكذلك ذكد ابو نصر السجزى ٢ الحافظ فى كتاب الابانة له .

١ محمد بن عثمان بن شيبة مات ٢٩٧ .

٢ عبيدالله بن سعيد السجزى مات ٤٤٤ ، راجع حسن المحاضرة للسيوطى صفحة ١٦٢ ، طبقات الحفاظ للذهبى مجلد ٢٩٧/٣ .

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قال وائمتنا كالثورى ومالك وابن عيينة وحمّاد بن سلمة وحمّاد بن زيد وابن المبارك وفُضيل بن عياض واحمد واسحاق متفقون على انّ الله فوق العرش بذاته وان علمه بكل مكان ، وكذلك ذكر شيخ الاسلام الانصارى ١ وابو العباس الطرفى ٢ والشيخ عبد القادر الجيلى ٣ ومن لايحصى عدده الا الله من ائمة الاسلام وشيوخه ، وقال الحافظ ابو نعيم الاصبهانى ٤ صاحب حلية الأولياء وغير ذلك من المصنفات المشهورة فى الاعتقاد الذى جمعه . طريقتنا طريق السلف المتبعين للكتاب والسنة واجماع الامة | قال ومما اعتقدوه انّ [١١٨ و] الله لم يزل كاملا بجميع صفاته القديمة لايزول ولايحول لم يزل عالما بعلم بصيرا ببصر سميعا بسمع متكلما بكلام واحدث الاشياء من غير شىء وان القرآن كلام الله وكذلك سائر كتب المنزّلة ، كلامه غير مخلوق وان القرآن من جميع الجهات مقروأ ومتلوأ ومحفوظاً ومسموعاً ومكتوباً وملفوظاً كلام الله عزّ وجلّ حقيقة لا حكاية ولا ترجمة وانه بالفاظنا كلام الله غير مخلوق وان الواقفة واللفظية من الجهمية ، وانّ من قصد القرآن بوجه من الوجوه يريد به خلق كلام الله فهو عندهم من الجهمية وان الجهمية عندهم كافر ، وذكر أشياء الى انّ قال وان الاحاديث التى ثبتت عن النبى صلّعم فى العرش واستواء الله عليه يقولون بها ويثبتونها من غير تكييف ولا تمثيل وانّ الله بائن من خلقه والخلق بائنون منه لا يحل فيهم ولايمتزج بهم وهو مستوٍ على عرشه فى سمائه من دون ارضه وذكر سائر اعتقاد السلف واجماعهم على ذلك ، وقال يحيى بن عمار فى رسالته لا نقول كما قالت الجهمية انه مداخل الامكنة وممازج | لكل شىء ولا نعلم اين هو بل نقول هو بذاته [١١٨ ظ] على العرش وعلمه محيط بكل شىء وسمعه وبصره وقدرته مدركة لكل شىء وهو معنى قوله " اينما كنتم " وقال الشيخ العارف معمر بن أحمد شيخ الصوفية فى هذا العصر احببتُ ان اوصى اصحابى بوصية من السنة واجمع ما كان عليه اهل الحديث واهل المعرفة والتصوف المتقدمين والمتأخرين فذكر اشياء فى الوصيّة الى ان قال فيها وانّ الله استوى على عرشه بلا كيف ولا تمثيل ولاتأويل والاستواء معلوم والكيف مجهول وانه مستو على عرشه بائن

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١ شمس الدين ابو عبدالله محمد بن ابى طالب الانصارى الصوفى الدمشقى مات ٧٣٨ .

٢ أبو على محمد بن ابى بكر المطرّف الكنانى الطّرفى مات سنة ٤٥٤ .

٣ الشيخ محيى الدين عبد القادر الجيلى (الجيلانى) المشهور مات سنة ٥٦١ .

٤ أحمد بن عبدالله الاصبهانى مات سنة ٤٣٠ .

من خلقه والخلق بائنون منه لا حلول ولا ممازجة ولا ملاصقة وانه عزّ وجلّ سميع بصير عليم خبير يتكلم ويرضى ويسخط ويضحك ويعجب ويتجلّى لعباده يوم القيامة ضاحكا وينزل كلّ ليلة الى سماء الدنيا كيف شاء بلا كيف ولا تأويل فمن انكر النزول او تأوّل فهو مبتدع ضال . وقال الامام ابو عثمان اسمعيل بن عبد الرحمان الصابونى النيسابورى [1] فى كتاب الرسالة فى السنة له ويعتقد اصحاب الحديث ويشهدون انّ الله فوق سبع سمواته على عرشه كما نطق به كتابه وعلماء الأمّة واعيان سلف الامة لم يختلفوا انّ الله تعّ على عرشه ، وعرشه فوق سماواته | قال وامامنا أبو عبدالله الشافعى احتج فى كتابه [١١٩ و] المبسوط فى مسئلة اعتاق الرقبة المؤمنة فى الكفارة وانّ الرقبة الكافرة لا يصح التكفير بها بخبر معاوية بن الحكم وانّه اراد أن يعتق الجارية السوداء عن الكفارة وسأل النبى صلّعم عن اعتاقه إيّاها ، فامتحنها ليعرف انها مؤمنة أم لا ، فقال لها اين ربّك فاشارت الى السماء فقال اعتقها فانها مؤمنة ، وحكم بإيمانها لمّا أقرّت أنّ ربّها فى السماء وعرفت ربّها بصفة العلوّ والفوقية ، وقال الحافظ ابو بكر البيهقى فى باب القول فى الاستواء قال الله تعّ الرحمان على العرش استوى ثم استوى على العرش وهو القاهر فوق عباده يخافون ربّهم من فوقهم اليه يصعد الكلم الطيّب أأمنتم من فى السمآء واراد من فوق السماء كما قال ولاصلبنّكم فى جذوع النخل (٢٠ : ٧٤) بمعنى على جذوع النخل وقال فسيحوا فى الارض بمعنى على الارض ، وكلما علا فهو سماء والعرش اعلا السماوات فمعنى الآية أأمنتم من على العرش كما صرّح به سائر الآيات ، قال فيما كتبنا من الآيات دالّة على ابطال قول من زعم من الجهمية انّ الله بذاته فى كل مكان وقوله "وهو معكم اينما | كنتم" [١١٩ ظ]. انما اراد بعلمه لا بذاته . وقال ابو عمر بن عبد البرّ [2] فى شرح الموطا لمّا تكلم على حديث النزول قال هذا حديث لم يختلف اهل الحديث فى صحته وفيه دليل انّ الله فى السماء على العرش من فوق سبع سماوات كما قالت الجماعة وهو من حجتهم على المعتزلة قال وهذا اشهر عند الخاصة والعامة وأعرف من ان يحتاج الى اكثر من حكايته لأنّه

١ ابو عثمان اسمعيل بن عبد الرحمان بن أحمد الصابونى النيسابورى ولد سنة ٣٧٣ ومات سنة ٤٤٩ .

٢ ابو عمر بن على بن محمد بن عبد البرّ النمرى القرطبى صاحب كتاب الاستيعاب فى معرفة الاصحاب مات سنة ٤٦٣ .

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اضطرار لم يوافقهم عليه أحد ولا انكره عليهم مسلم ، وقال ابو عمر ايضا أجمع علماء الصحابة والتابعين الذين حمل عنهم التأويل قالوا فى تأويل قوله تعَ ما يَكُونُ مِنْ نَجْوى ثَلاثَةٍ إِلَّا هُوَ رابِعُهُمْ (٥٨ : ٨). هو على العرش وعلمه فى كلّ مكان.، وما خالفهم فى ذلك احد يحتجّ بقوله . تمّت بحمد الله .

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المقطعيّة في اللغة العربيّة

بقلم

اسحق موسى الحسيني

من أظهر خصائص اللغة العربيّة – وأخواتها الساميّات – أنّها لغة مقطعيّة ، للمقطع شأن كبير في بناء أصولها وفي عروضها وفي النغم الذي يظهر في كلامها .

والمقطع هو صامت يليه صائت قصير أو طويل أو صامت ، مثل دَ ، دا ، دَرْ . وهو لا يعدو أن يكون قصيراً كالمثل الأوّل وطويلاً كالمثلين الآخرين .

وليس من كلمة في العربيّة إلاّ مؤلّفة من مقطع أو أكثر . والأصل الثلاثيّ او الجذر مؤلّف من ثلاثة مقاطع قصيرة . والصوت العربيّ الصامت – وهو المعروف عند النحاة بالحرف الصحيح ضدّ المعتلّ – لا بدّ له من لاحق نطقاً ، وهذا اللاحق في الغالب صائت قصير : حركة . ولا يمكن أن يجيء هذا الصامت ساكناً ، مقطوعاً عن الحركة ، إلاّ اذا جاء نهاية في المقطع . ومن الصعب نطق الصامت معزولاً عن الحركة . ولذا ينطق عادة مسبوقاً بهمزة مثل إدْ إرْ إزْ الخ ، او ملحوقاً بحركة مثل دَ رَ زَ الخ . ويصحّ ان نفرض أنّ العربيّ الأوّل تكلّم مقطعيًّا سواء أمقطعاً واحداً أم مجموع مقاطع .

ومع ذلك فإنّ اللغويّين والنحويّين القدامى لم يفطنوا الى المقطع ولم يعيروه انتباهاً . وقد تحدّثوا في كتبهم عن الأصوات معتبرين الصوت الوَحْدة الصغرى في اللفظ كما اعتبروا الكلمةَ الوحدةَ الصغرى في الجملة . وليس الامر كذلك في كلا الحالين إذا نظرنا الى اللغة على أنّها وسيلة للتعبير في المجتمع لا على أنّها مادّة للتشريح ، وهو النظر الصحيح . وعلماء اللغة المحدثون يرون الجملة وحدة الكلام لا الكلمة المفردة بقطع النظر عمّا كان عليه حال الإنسان الأوّل . وكذلك حال المقطع فهو الوحدة الصغرى في اللفظ لا الصوت . ولو لم تُدوَّن اللغة ويراها العلماء القدامى مرسومة لما نظروا إليها إلاّ هذا النظر الحديث . ونتج عن هذا الإغفال أنّهم لم يستفيدوا من هذه الخاصّيّة لا في علم اللغة ولا في علم العروض . وسنحاول أن نبيّن وجوه الفائدة .

إنّ تعليم الأبجديّة من المشاكل المويصة التي كثرت فيها الآراء . وقد حاول بعض المعلّمين

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أن يحسموا هذه المشكلة بتعليم الكلمة مرّة واحدة ثمّ بتحليلها الى الأصوات الرئيسيّة التي تتألّف منها. وهي محاولة جيّدة. لأنّها تجنّب الطفل نطق الصوت الواحد مستقلاً. فلا يقول إب او با او باء ولا اعتراض على هذه الطريقة سوى أنّها قد تكون شاقّة عسيرة على الأطفال في الخامسة أو السادسة عند التحليل. ولو اتّبعت الطريقة المقطعيّة لهانت البداية مع تجنّب نطق الأصوات مستقلّة. وتُلخّص هذه الطريقة في أن يُبدأ بتدريس الصائتات الثلاثة: ا، و، ي، لسهولة نطقها ولكونها صلب كلّ كلمة. ثمّ تُتناول الصامتات واحداً واحداً بالتدريج وحسب سهولة نطقها وكتابتها. فتأتي الـ د على هذا النمط دا دو دي ثم الـ ر را رو ري ثم تُؤلّف من هذه المقاطع فوراً كلمات: داري، دوري مقرونة بالصور. ويُؤكّد على النطق المقطعيّ.

ثم تتابع الصامتات الـ ز، ب، م، س، ن، ل الخ ... مؤلّفة دائماً مع الصائتات مقاطع فكلمات فجملاً تامّة مثل:

زار سامي دار نوري

باب داري

نوري زار سامي

الى غير ذلك من أمثال هذه الجمل القصيرة المفهومة.

ولكي يرسخ في أذهان الأطفال أنّ هذه الجمل مؤلّفة من مقاطع يُكلّفون بتقطيعها مقرونة بضرب الكفّ او القرع على الأرض أو نحو ذلك.

وقد جُرّبت هذه الطريقة مدّة في مدارس الأطفال التي كانت تستعمل الكتاب الجديد للأستاذ خليل السكاكينيّ رحمه فكانت نتيجتها أن أتمّ طلّاب الصفّ الاوّل الابتدائيّ جزئين من هذه السلسلة، الأوّل والثاني، بعد أن كان المقرّر جزءاً واحداً.

وربّما كان ضعف هذه الطريقة المقطعيّة، كالطريقة الصوتيّة، أنّها تولي النطق أكثر ممّا يلزم من عناية. وقد تطوّرت أغراض القراءة اليوم فلم تعد خطابيّة في جملتها، بل أصبحت عقليّة أي إيصال المادّة الى القارىء في أتمّ حال وأسرع وقت. ولمجاراة هذا التطوّر أُدخل ما يُعرف "بالقراءة الصامتة"، وخُصّص لها وقت في المنهج، وُوضعت لها أساليب لتحقيق الفائدة منها على الوجه الأكمل. وأصبح في ميسور الطالب في كلّ صفّ من الصفوف الابتدائيّة أن يقرأ عدداً من كتب القراءة الصامتة لا يقلّ عن عشرين كتاباً، تتوافر فيها السهولة والإمتاع والتدرّج وملاءمة ذهنيّة الصغار. ويُقرأ ضعف

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هذا العدد في الصفوف الثانويّة. فهذه القراءة هي التي تحوّل مركز الثقل من القراءة الجهريّة الخطابيّة التي ألفتها المدارس – وما تزال – الى القراءة الصامتة العقليّة التي تلائم العصر الحاضر.

وبذلك يبقى أسلوب تدريس الأبجديّة المقطعيّ الذي شرحناه هو الأسلوب الملائم لطبيعة اللغة العربيّة ذات الحروف المختلفة صورها، وذات الحركات المنفصلة عن صلب الحروف، وذات الخصائص المباينة الخصائص اللهجات المحكيّة. وتأتي القراءة الصامتة فتزيل ما تستلزمه هذه الطريقة من بطء لا يصلح للحياة الحاضرة.

ومما يتّصل بتعليم الأبجديّة، في هذا الشأن، تعليم الإملاء. فلهذا الموضوع مشاكل جزئيّة نذكر منها طريقة قراءة القطعة المعيّنة للإملاء، والتفريق بين الصائت والحركة لعلاقتهما بهذا البحث.

أمّا المشكلة الأولى فعلاجها الوحيد قراءة القطعة مقطعيًّا. فكلمة الحصان مثلاً تُقرَأ ا ح صا ن في أربعة مقاطع لكي يكتبها الطفل مقطعيًّا أيضاً. وكلمة القرية تُقرَأ ا قر ي ة في أربعة مقاطع، وقس على ذلك سائر كلمات القطعة. ومن المألوف أن يدمج المعلّم المقطع الثاني في المقطع الثالث في الكلمة الأولى والمقطع الثالث في المقطع الرابع في الكلمة الثانية فيحدث تشويشاً. وإن وردت الكلمتان في جملة يوصل المقطع الرابع في الكلمة الأولى بالمقطع الأوّل في الكلمة التي تليها مقرونة بأل التعريف مثل: الحصان الكبير، بعد أن يكون المعلّم شرح همزة الوصل هذه. ويزيد في سهولة هذه الطريقة أنّ الأطفال اعتادوا القراءة المقطعيّة وألفوا ربط الكلمات بعضها ببعض.

أمّا المشكلة الثانية فمصدر صعوبة لا مبرّر لها للأطفال. فكم مرّة يكتب الطفل الحصان هكذا: الحصانو، والقرية هكذا: القرياة او القارية، لأنّه لم يفهم من البداية أنّ ق مقطع قصير وقا مقطع طويل وأنّ الألف (حرف اللين) أطول من الحركة.

هاتان مشكلتان جزئيّتان. ولكنّهما من أبرز المشاكل في تعليم الإملاء، كما يلاحظ المعلّمون. وهما من نتائج إهمال المقطعيّة.

وتبدو فائدة المقطعيّة في تدريس العروض، هذا العلم الذي يتهيّبه الطلّاب والمعلّمون في جميع مراحل التعليم، مع أنّه من أيسر العلوم وألذّها. ومن العجب أنّ طلّاب اللغة الإنكليزيّة يتعلّمون العروض الإنكليزيّ، وهو أصعب من العروض العربيّ بالنسبة إليهم لاعتماده على الضغط على المقاطع لا على طولها وقصرها، ولا يتعلّمون العروض العربيّ.

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والعروض الإنكليزيّ جزء لا يتجزّأ من درس اللغة الانكليزيّة ، وهو مهمل في اللغة العربيّة في معظم المدارس . ثمّ إنّ العروض العربيّ كامن في أذواق الطلّاب العرب بالفطرة والسليقة . ومنهم من يعرف الوزن ويدرك أنّه صحيح أو مكسور بالسليقة دون أن يعرف مواطن كلّ علّة من علله . وهذا ما يعبّرون عنه بالأذن الموسيقيّة وهو أشبه بالملكة في النحو ، إذ نجد أحياناً قرّاء يقرأون دون لحن ، وكتّاباً يكتبون دون خطأ ، سليقةً ، مصداقاً لقول الشاعر :

وَلَسْتُ بِنَحْوِيٍّ يَلُوكُ لِسَانَهُ وَلٰكِنْ سَلِيقِيٌّ أَقُولُ فَأُعْرِبُ [الطويل]

ولكنّ هذه السليقة لا تُوجَد عند جميع الطلّاب . وتدريس العروض كتدريس النحو او البلاغة يُقصَد منه تقويم الملكة أو إثارتها باعتباره وسيلة لا غاية . ولم تثقل هذه الموضوعات على المتعلّم وترهقه وتفسد الغاية من وجودها إلّا بعد أن جعلت غايات . ونقطة البداية في إصلاح هذه العلوم الآليّة التمييز بين ما هو ذو فائدة وما لا فائدة منه . وبعد ذلك يُعاد النظر في صوغ المادّة حسب مقتضيات علم النفس وعلم اللغة كي تحقّق هدفها بأسرع وقت .

لقد دُرّس العروض العربيّ بطريقتين ، طريقة الدوائر وطريقة التفاعيل . والطريقة الأولى تُنسَب الى الخليل بن أحمد الفراهيديّ من رجال القرن الثاني الهجريّ . ولسنا بصدد شرح هذه الطريقة ، فهي مفصّلة في كتاب العقد لابن عبد ربّه . ولكنّ الذي يهمّنا الآن ذكره أنّ هذه الطريقة تحلّل المقطع الى متحرّك وساكن وترمز إليهما ، فتجعل الحلقة ٥ للمتحرّك والخطيط العموديّ ١ للساكن . فهذه مثلاً ١٥ ترمز الى متحرّك فساكن وهي في علم العروض سبب خفيف . وهذه ١٥٥ ترمز الى متحرّكين متواليين فساكن وهي في علم العروض وتد مجموع . والدوائر كلّها قائمة على هذا الأساس ، أي بالرمز الى المتحرّك والساكن . وعيب هذه الطريقة أنّها قفزت من المتحرّك والساكن الى التفاعيل متجاوزة المقطع . وقد أشار المستشرق الأب أغسطس فيكينى الفرنسيسيّ في كتابه (فنّ إنشاد الشعر العربيّ) الى أنّه لا حاجة مطلقاً الى هذا الرمز المفصّل الذي يشوّش الموضوع ، وأنّ الرمز الى المقطع جملة أسهل وأفيد . وهذا الذي نقصده . ولو أدرك الخليل بن أحمد الفراهيديّ – هذا اللغويّ المبتكر الألمعيّ – المقطع لاعتمد عليه وحده دون حاجة الى الرمز الى أجزائه . فالعروض العربيّ كلّه يعتمد على مقطعين ، طويل وقصير . واذا مرّن الطالب في المرحلة

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الابتدائيّة على قراءة الكلمات مقطعياً ، وعلى قراءة الشعر قراءة بطيئة مقطعيّة أدرك وحدة الموسيقى الشعريّة الكامنة في الشعر واحتذاها دون حاجة الى التفصيل المملّ الذي يُوجد في كتب العروض ، وأدرك فوق ذلك – إن كان موهوباً – مختلف البحور ومواطن الكسر. وهذه الطريقة تظهر كذلك ما يُزاد في بعض البحور من مقطع او جزء من مقطع كالترفيل والتذييل في الكامل مثلاً كما في هذا البيت :

إنّ ٱلْمَكَارِمَ فِي ٱلْمَكَا رِهِ وَٱلْمَغَانِمَ فِي ٱلْمَغَانِمْ ،

ففي آخر هذا البيت مقطع زائد عن التفعيلة تجعله مرفّلاً .

وفي هذا البيت :

ٱلنَّاسُ فِي غَفَلَاتِهِمْ وَٱلْمَوْتُ دَائِرَةٌ رُحَاهْ

هاء زائدة عن التفعيلة وهي حرف ساكن يجعل البيت مذيّلاً في اصطلاح العروضيّين .

وطريقة التفاعيل لا تقلّ عقماً عن طريقة الرمز السابقة إذ إنّها تعتمد على قياس شيء بشيء بالتفاعيل المعروفة . وقد شاعت أكثر من الطريقة السابقة ونفرّت أكثر ممّا بشرّت حتّى انتهى الحال بإهمال العروض في جلّ المدارس .

وحاصل القول أنّ المقطعيّة تفيد في تدريس العروض ، كما تفيد في تدريس الأبجديّة والإملاء ، وتذلّل هذا الموضوع الذي يستثقله الطلّاب ، وتساعد على تدريسه في المرحلة الابتدائيّة ، كما أثبتت التجارب مدّة طويلة . ولولا أنّ بعض المدارس كانت ترهب الطلّاب في تدريسهم العروض ، بتأثيرها الأساليب القديمة وعدم إلمامها بالمقطعيّة الحديثة ، لشاع تدريسه وعمّت فائدته .

وما أثر هذه المقطعيّة في نغم اللغة أو موسيقاها ؟

إنّ اللغة العربيّة ذات طبيعة خاصّة – تشاركها فيها أخواتها الساميّات – تبدو في الجذر الثلاثيّ (أصل الكلمة) الذي يتألّف من ثلاث صامتات أو على الأصحّ من ثلاثة مقاطع قصيرة . ومن هذا الجذر تبني المزيدات كلّها بناءً مطّرداً فتقول : كَسَّرَ وحَسَّنَ وفَهَّمَ ودَرَّسَ ، وكلّها تتألّف من ثلاثة مقاطع ، طويل وقصيرين ، على التوالي . وتقول : قاتلٌ وجالسٌ وداعبٌ ولاعبٌ الخ ، وهي أيضاً تتألّف من ثلاثة مقاطع ، طويل وقصيرين . وتقول : تَفَهَّمَ وتَحَسَّنَ وتَرَبَّعَ وتَدَبَّرَ الخ ، وهي تتألّف من أربعة مقاطع ، قصير فطويل فقصيرين . وتقول : ٱسْتَرْحَمَ وٱسْتَمْلَحَ وٱسْتَحْسَنَ وٱسْتَقْبَحَ الخ ، وهي تتألّف من أربعة مقاطع ، طويلين فقصيرين . وهكذا نجد أنّ المزيدات تطبع الألفاظ بطابع خاصّ موحّد مقطعياً .

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ومن هذه المزيدات تتألّف المشتقّات ، وهي كذلك تفعل فعل المزيدات من حيث فرض الطابع المقطعيّ . فجالسٌ وفاهمٌ وقائمٌ ونائمٌ الخ كلّها تتألّف من ثلاثة مقاطع ، طويل فقصير فطويل . ومفهومٌ ومضروبٌ ومحسوبٌ ومقلوبٌ تتألّف من ثلاثة مقاطع طويلة . ومنكسرٌ ومندرسٌ ومنفتحٌ الخ كلّها تتألّف من أربعة مقاطع ، طويل فقصيرين فطويل . وقس على ذلك سائر المشتقّات . وعلى ماذا يدلّ ورود هذه المشتقّات والمزيدات في الكلام؟ الا يدلّ على وجود موسيقى خاصّة أو نغم خاصّ؟

ولقد تنبّه الأستاذ ه. ا. ر. جب الى هذه الظواهر الخاصّة فقال فى كتابه " الأدب العربيّ "[1] : "يبدو بوضوح أنّه ما دام هذا النظام اللفظيّ مطّرداً ، لا شواذّ فيه، وما دام الجذر مؤلّفا من ثلاثة صامتات ، ففي اللغة العربيّة عدد كبير من الكلمات يتشابه فيها نظام الحركات تشابها تامّا . . . وينتج عن ذلك بالضرورة أنّ السجع والجناس يلعب دوراً كبيراً فى الأدب العربيّ ، منظومه ومنثوره على السواء وأنّ تجنيس الحروف والتلاعب بالألفاظ – بعيداً من أن يُتجنّبا – يُعتبران وسيلتين من وسائل تنميق الكلام شعراً ونثراً . "

وقد نظر الأستاذ جب الى الموضوع من حيث القوالب (أو المزيدات) وتوالي الحركات فيها . ونحن ننظر إليه من حيث وحدة النظام المقطعيّ ليس فى المزيدات وحدها ، بل وفي المشتقّات أيضاً ، وهي تؤلّف نسبة كبيرة في اللغة . ونخلص من ذلك الى أنّه في اللغة العربيّة موسيقى كلاميّة خاصّة ، تختلف عمّا في اللغة الإنكليزيّة أو الفرنسيّة أو الألمانيّة مثلاً . وأنّ قوام هذه الموسيقى هي المقطعيّة التي لا تعدو أن تكون طويلة أو قصيرة .

والعرب أنفسهم لا يفطنون الى هذه الموسيقى لتعوّدهم إيّاها . ولكن يمكن أن تُدرَك وتُدرَس إمّا بمقابلتها بموسيقى إحدى اللغات الأجنبيّة وإمّا بتسجيل آليّ لكلام غير متكلّف ثمّ سماعه بغاية البطء . وقد فعل شيئاً من هذا المرحوم السر لويد جيمس – أستاذ علم الأصوات فى مدرسة الدراسات الشرقيّة فى لندن – حين تنبّه الى وجود موسيقى خاصّة في اللغة الإنكليزيّة يلاحظها من يستمع الى مذيع الأخبار من محطّة الاذاعة البريطانيّة مثلاً . وللفرنسيّة موسيقى خاصّة أيضاً تختلف عن الموسيقى الانكليزيّة . وكذلك للعربيّة موسيقى خاصّة وإن كانت طمست قليلاً بسبب اختلاف اللهجات وتكلّف القرّاء والخطباء . ولذلك فهي أبين في كلام الجماعات المتجانسة كالبدو أو القرويّين المحافظين على لهجاتهم .

[1] انظر : H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, 2nd edn. (1962) 8

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وأذكر على سبيل المثال أنّ غربياً مثقّفاً ثقافة عالية استمع الى محاضرة باللغة العربيّة طالت نحو ساعة. ثمّ إنّه أخبر المحاضر بعد ذلك أنّه لحظ موسيقى خاصّة في محاضرته، نوعاً من الموسيقى لم يألفه عند بني قومه، مردّها – حسب قوله – تكرار قوالب كلاميّة متشابهة. وقد أصاب فيما قال. فما هذه القوالب إلاّ المزيدات والمشتقات التي تؤلّف نسبة كبيرة في اللغة، وبمعنى آخر، توارد المقاطع الطويلة والقصيرة على أنماط متشابهة. ولعل أحد الموسيقيّين يعالج هذا الموضوع ويستقصيه، ويضع – إن أمكنه ذلك – رموزاً موسيقيّة للجملة العربيّة التي تتكرّر على نحو ما فعل علماء الأصوات الإنكليز عند تصوير النغم (intonation) في اللغة الإنكليزيّة.

هذه بعض نتائج "المقطعيّة" في اللغة العربيّة عُرضت بإيجاز لإثارة البحث والتفكير لا لتقرير حقائق. فالموضوع بكر وهو بداية لا أكثر.

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THE *SANNIYA* LANDS OF SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II IN IRAQ

BY

ALBERTINE JWAIDEH

The thirty-three years of autocratic rule and all the attendant evils which marked the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) and which hastened the fall of the Ottoman Empire have been the object of many studies. Much has been written about the different provinces with the exception of Iraq about which little has been known. Nevertheless, this period was also one of significant change in the history of the ancient land of Mesopotamia. Though neglected and distant from the seat of power, the fertile lands of the Tigris and Euphrates were never far from the mind of the shrewd Sultan Abdul Hamid who assiduously extended his *sannīya* holdings in this region. In fact, any understanding of Iraq in the late nineteenth century is incomplete without a knowledge of this development, owing to its social, economic, and administrative implications.

Sannīya or crown lands were the *mulk* (private freehold) of the Sultan of Turkey over which he could exercise all the rights granted by law to any possessor of *mulk* lands and the income from which, as the *mallākīya* (owner's share), was his own. [1] The rules which governed it were the same as those for other *mulk*, except in the case of the death of the possessor. All personal properties belonging to Sultans returned to the throne on their death and, in consequence, the heirs could not lay claim to them. After the death of a Sultan, the government would allocate to each member of the family some item of property. [2] This qualification attached to the *mulk* rights of crown properties, however, did not affect the full liberty of the Sultan to

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[1] Compare Sa'īd B. Ḥamāda, al-*Niẓām al-iqtiṣādī fī 'l 'Irāq* (Beirut, 1938), 30 f.; G. B. Admiralty, Intelligence Division, *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, I (Calcutta, 1917), 143; Aḥmad Fahmī, *A Report on Iraq* (Baghdad, 1926), 30 f. Cf. Sulaimān al-Bustānī, *Kitāb 'Ibra wa-dhikrā au al-daula al-'uthmānīya qabl al-dustūr wa-ba'dab* (1908), 151.

[2] I. A. 55/3, memorandum n° 8746/16/1, 10/11 September 1920, from the Revenue Secretary to the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad; *ibid.*, ref. n° 1498/M. 1091/366, letter from J. M. de Robeck, High Commissioner, Constantinople, to Lord Curzon, 7 November 1920.

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dispose of his properties as he willed during his lifetime, nor did it affect his enjoyment of the profits to be gained from them. [1]

Crown lands were to be found in Iraq long before the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid, but they had never been extensive enough to be of much consequence. [2] While their origin is quite obscure, it is probable that what later came to be known as *sanniya* lands had their origin in the *Khāṣṣ Humāyūn*. [3] The period of the great extention of such holdings in Iraq came with the accession of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In fact, within months vast areas of the richest agricultural lands had been registered as the private property of Sultan Abdul Hamid and it was for this reason that *sanniya* land holdings came to be so closely associated with his name. [4]

It is impossible to ascertain the precise extent or proportion of the arable land in Iraq which at any time belonged to the Crown, owing to the inaccuracy and incompleteness of the records, but their concentration in the richest areas made them economically and administratively significant. Most of these lands were to be found in the Ḥilla-Diwaniya, 'Amāra, and Baṣra Districts as may be seen from Tables 1, 2, and 3. The largest span of *sanniya* lands took in the exceedingly rich lands occupied by the tribes of Albu Muḥammad and Albu Darrāj in the 'Amāra District stretching, on the left bank of the Tigris, from the town of 'Amāra to 'Azair, including all the lands of the great Chaḥala Canal, and, on the right bank, from the town of Kumait down to 'Azair. [5] In Baṣra, many previously *mīrī* (state) lands were converted to *sanniya* holdings by Imperial order. From among them the famous gardens of Dauwāsir were developed by Ḥājj Aḥmad b. Ḥājj Ni'ma and those of Di'aiji, Kawūs, and 'Āmiya by Al Yāsir. [6] There are references to some *sanniya* lands in the

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[1] *Ibid.*, memorandum n°. 8746/16/1.

[2] For example, the lands of Bashiktash and Tophanè were crown lands from an early date: cf. *ibid.*

[3] Cf. H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Part 1 (Oxford, 1951), 47 f.

[4] For the extent of new acquisitions within the first two years of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign, see Table 1.

[5] From information supplied privately by shaikhs in 'Amāra. Cf. Arab Bureau, *Tribes of the Tigris* (Calcutta, 1917), 10; M. Khalifa al-Nabhāni, *al-Tuḥfa al-Nabhāniya* (Egypt, 1342 H.), 379; O. A. *Yıldız Khususi* 530, 9 Jumada I 1294; *Dahliyah* 86, 22 Rajab 1304; *Dahliyah* 725, 1 Rabi I 1312; *Dahliyah* 1706, 11 Rajab 1325; I. A. 30/E/19, reg. n° 34, ref. n° 18058, 13 May 1944, report by Sa'd Ṣāliḥ, former Governor of 'Amāra, p. 13.

[6] For the history of these lands, cf. A. Basha'yan, *Zubdat al-tawārikh fi aḥwāl*

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Moṣul, Shahrizūr and Baghdad districts.[1] Officials of the Iraq Land Settlement Department have assured me that there had been crown lands in Muntafiq as well, but none of the documents which I found in either the Ottoman Archives or the Iraq Archives listed any such estates within this district.

Sultan Abdul Hamid engaged special agents who travelled throughout the domain seeking lands for acquisition.[2] By careful selection, the lands they acquired were almost always more fertile than others and included the most prosperous districts in the country.[3] By the

TABLE 1

A List of Sanniya *Lands Acquired in* 1294 (1877)[4]

Name of Liwas	*Name of Qadas*	*Name of Lands*
		Part I
Karbalā'	Musaiya b	Musaiya b
Karbalā'	Musaiya b	Nāṣirīya
Karbalā'	Musaiya b	Iskandarīya
Ḥilla	Wardīya	Wardīya
Baghdad	Sāmarrā'	Dujail
Ḥilla	Sāmarrā'	Ḥammām Al Kabīr and Arāḍī Al Hawa
Ḥilla	Ḥilla	Arāḍī Banafsha
Baghdad	Ḥilla	Arāḍī Ṭarmīya
		Part II
Karbalā'	Ḥilla	Half share of Creet Groves
Karbalā'	Ḥilla	Half share of Maḥmūdīya Groves
Karbalā'	Ḥilla	Half share of the Muṭlaq Sharqī Groves
Karbalā'	Ḥilla	Half share of Mi'ānīd Groves
Karbalā'	Karbalā'	Half share of Muṭlaq Gharbī Groves
		Part III
'Amāra	'Amāra	Abū Ḥillāna
'Amāra	'Amāra	Chibīsa
'Amāra	'Amāra	Baqma
'Amāra	'Amāra	Umm al Dibis

ahl al-Baṣra (MS Basha'yan Library, Baṣra), XII, 194 f. Cf. *Reports of Administration of Divisions and Districts*, 1918, I (Calcutta, n. d.), 243.

[1] O. A. *Dahliyah* 332, 11 Shawāl 1306; *Dahliyah* 240, 25 Shawwāl 1304.

[2] Bustānī, *op. cit.*, 149, 151.

[3] *Salnāma Baghdād* (1318 H.), 416 ff. *ibid.* (1322 H.), 243, 255, 259. al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, 379; *Zaurā'*, n° 1040.

[4] From the *defter* (record) in which were recorded the lands in the Wilayat of Baghdad added to the *amlāk* (properties) of His Imperial Highness, the Sultan: O. A. *Yildiz Khususi* 530, 9 Jumada I 1294.

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TABLE 1 (continued)

A List of Sanniya *Lands Acquired in 1294 (1877)*

ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Abū Rummāna
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Tachriba
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Shinbila
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Baghl
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Umm Ṣafrān
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Achcha
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Umm al Rish
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Misandaq
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Drūd
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Khanbusha
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Zhairīya
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Athbir
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Abū Jir
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Arāḍī al-Baṭr
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Abū ʾAl Qubḥ
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Abū Shobri
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Abū Jaʿab
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Arāḍī Balkhas
ʿAmāra	ʿAmāra	Abū Fisaiwa

TABLE 2

Sanniya *Lands in Lower Iraq Acquired after 1294 (1877)*

(A partial list prepared from documents in the Istanbul Archives: this Table does not contain the names of any of the lands listed in Table 1.)

Location	*Name of the Land*
Baghdad	Abū Ghuraib [1]
Baghdad	Al-Riḍwānīya [2]
Baghdad	Al-Ṭarmīya [3]
Najaf	Land along the newly dug Canal of Ḥamīdiya [4]
Between Ḥilla and Hindīya	Abu Gharaq and Abu ʿArāis [5]

[1] O. A. *Yıldız Khususi* 1187, 23 Ramadan 1305; *Salnāma Baghdād* (1318 H.), 416.
[2] O. A. *Yıldız Rasmi* 247, 16 Ramadan 1302; *Salnāma Baghdād* (1318 H.), 416 f.
[3] *Salnāma Baghdād* (1318 H.), 416 f.
[4] O. A. *Dahliyah* 615, 10 Muharram 1306.
[5] O. A. *Dahliyah* 143, 3 Shaʿban 1304.

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Ḥilla	Shkara Sayid Muhammad, Yusufiya and Maliḥ [1]
Shāmiya	Ja'āra [2]
'Amāra	Dinān, Ṭamrīya and Filḥa [3]
Kūt	Musabḥiya and Abū Thofar and Bghaila [4]
Kūt	Shādī [5]

TABLE 3

A List of Sannīya *Properties in Baṣra* [6]

1. The Muqāṭa'a of Al Sieba in Dauwāsir and its attachments to the end of Duwaib.
2. Di'aiji
3. Kāwūs
4. 'Amīya
5. Part of the lands of Hartha
6. Arāḍa

provisions of law, it would appear that *sannīya* lands could only be extended in the same way as those of any other private individual, that is, by purchase, gift, etc. and the same legal procedures were applied in the acquisition of such lands. [7] The staff of the *Sannīya* Land Department exercised great care in making out their documents recording the purchase of these lands. Each transaction was carefully justified; for example, certain fertile lands were worthy only of the Sultan; [8] the tenants for example, of properties adjoining those of the Sultan were unsuitable; [9] it was necessary to acquire some fertile lands neighboring *sannīya* lands in order to prevent them from falling into foreign hands; [10] tenants of lands irrigated by the creek of a *sannīya* estate were asked to pay for their water privileges and, if they could not, their lands were promptly appropriated. [11] Tenants who happened to have fertile land bordering upon those of the Sultan

[1] O. A. *Dahliyah* 155, 13 Shawwal 1306.
[2] O. A. *Yıldız Khususi* 1187, 23 Ramadan 1305; *Salnāma Baghdād* (1318 H.), 416 f.
[3] O. A. *Dahliyah* 86, 22 Rajab 1304.
[4] O. A. *Dahliyah* 155, 6 Sha'ban 1305; *Salnāma Baghdād* (1322 H., 259).
[5] *Salnāma* (Baghdad, 1322 H.), 255.
[6] *Reports of Administration*..., 1918, I, 243. For the history of these *sanniya* properties except for the last named, see Basha'yan, *op. cit.*
[7] O. A. *Yıldız Khususi* 192, 27 Safar 1297; *Yıldız Rasmi* 618, 4 Ramadan 1297; *Yıldız Rasmi* 345, 13 Jumada II 1297.
[8] O. A. *Dahliyah* 143, 3 Sha'ban 1304; *ibid.*, 332, 11 Shawwal 1306.
[9] O. A. *Dahliyah* 86, 22 Rajab 1304.
[10] O. A. *Dahliyah* 240, 25 Shawwal 1304.
[11] O. A. *Dahliyah* 298, 10 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1304.

were forced to sell [1] and others whose land prevented direct access to water by the *sannīya* estates were similarly bought out. [2] Even troubles among tribesmen on neighboring lands were considered to be justifiable reason for making them *sannīya*. [3] There were other instances where the traditional grazing lands of neighboring tribes overlapped lands which were already *sannīya* and it was deemed wise to unite all these grazing lands by bringing the remainder within the *sannīya* estates as well. At one time twenty-one estates, ranging from two to one hundred and sixty seven donums each, were acquired on this pretext. [4] Sometimes lands were acquired as gifts from private individuals [5] or as payment for debts incurred. [6] At other times, rich *mīrī* lands along newly dug canals were acquired gratuitously as *mawāt* (dead lands) under the pretext that, by making them *sannīya*, they could be brought under cultivation, whereas otherwise they would remain barren. [7] Not even the *milk* properties of private citizens were exempt from Abdul Hamid's attentions for many were forced to give him their lands or intimidated into selling. Over against the arbitrary use of authority by the Sultan's representatives, private property holders were powerless; those who demanded their rights could be imprisoned and at least one person died while resisting the confiscation of his lands. [8]

Most of the *mīrī* lands acquired as *sannīya* during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid were "purchased", it would seem, without any indication that a single piaster changed hands. [9] For example, in 1882 the lands of the Saiyids Zuwain in Ja'āra were seized and, without payment, converted into *sannīya*; the legal rights of the Saiyids, who had converted these former "dead lands" into some of the finest date groves of lower Iraq, were completely ignored. [10] In other cases, only a down payment was made, and the remaining installments were

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1 O. A. *Dahliyah* 143, 3 Sha'ban 1304.
2 O. A. *Dahliyah* 155, 13 Shawwal 1306.
3 O. A. *Dahliyah* 86, 22 Rajab 1304.
4 O. A. *Dahliyah* 27, 5 Rajab 1304. The donum equals 0.62 acres.
5 O. A. *Dahliyah* 143, 3 Sha'ban 1304.
6 *Reports of Administration...*, 1918, I, 338.
7 O. A. *Dahliyah* 615, 10 Muharram 1306.
8 Al-Bustānī, *op. cit.*, 149.
9 I.A. 55/3, memorandum nº 8746/16/1, 10/11 September 1920; *ibid.*, ref. nº 1498/M. 1091/366, 7 November 1920; *Reports of Administration...*, *1918*, I, 74.
10 Arab Bureau, *Arab Tribes of the Baghdad Wilayet, July* 1918 (Calcutta, 1919), 188.

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either ignored or conveniently forgotten. The documents recording the acquisition of lands by the *Sannīya* Land Department usually showed the amount to be paid and the source from which it was to be made. While there were probably properties for which a sum was paid from the private treasury of the Sultan, [1] payment did not usually come directly from this source. The most common source appears to have been the State Treasury which paid the *badals* (prices or substitutes in money) in lieu of unpaid allowances or debts owed to the Sultan. [2] But *sannīya* lands were acquired by every sort of means from sheer expropriation to *bona fide* purchase with the Sultan's money. [3]

Sannīya lands were administered by a well-organized establishment known as the *Dā'irat al Sannīya* (*Sannīya Land Department*) which had branch offices in those areas where these lands were concentrated. It was an extensive administrative organization, independent of the local civil administration, and manned by a private staff which was responsible only to Istanbul and under the dirction of the Sultan himself. The jurisdiction of the provincial governor and sub-governors did not permit interference in the affairs of these lands, except to extend help and assistance when needed. [4] However, there was a close tie between the Army and the *Sannīya* Land Department. Usually, the President of the *Sannīya* Land Department of Baghdad was the Commander-in-Chief of the Sixth Imperial Army [5] and the President of the *Sannīya* Land Department of Baṣra, the Brigadier in command of the military forces in that province. [6] The explanation for the close link between the Army and the *Sannīya* Land Department is that the former was practically the only source of suitably trained engineers and surveyors and it alone could forcibly collect the revenues of estates from which nothing could otherwise be acquired. [7]

In comparison with other lands, the *sannīya* lands tended during the

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[1] I. A. 55/3, ref. nº 1498/M.1091/366, 7 November 1920.

[2] O. A. *Dahliyah* 298, 10 *Dhu* 'l-Qa'da 1304; *ibid.* 240, 25 Shawwal 1304; *ibid.* 27, 5 Rajab 1304; *ibid.* 332, 11 Shawwal 1306; *ibid.* 86, 22 Rajab 1304; *ibid.* 155, 6 Sha'ban 1305; *ibid.* 132, 17 Sha'ban 1304.

[3] I. A. 55/3, ref. nº 1498/M.1091/366, 7 November 1920.

[4] *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, I, 143.

[5] O. A. *Yıldız Rasmi* 182, 5 Rabi I 1299; Ḥamāda, *op. cit.*, 127; Fahmī, *op. cit.*, 30. f.

[6] O. A. *Dahliyah* 1706, 11 Rajab 1325.

[7] Compare S. Haider, *Land Problems of Iraq* (Ph. D. thesis, London University, 1942, unpublished), 421. f.

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reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid to be well administered.[1] The drainage and digging of canals was closely and continuously supervised;[2] bridges were built over the creeks and canals leading to the estates;[3] tenants were encouraged to plant and cultivate trees;[4] adequate storage facilities were provided for the crops; and, when there was threat of natural calamity, the crops of *sannīya* lands suffered the least harm. This latter benefit was due to the close supervision and the more adequate storage facilities which insured that the harvested produce would be safely housed before severe damage from rains and insects would set in.[5] All these facilities, no doubt, added greatly to the productivity and wealth of these estates. Another likely contributory factor making for the discrepancies between *sannīya* and other lands is that a knowledge of the acquisition policies of the *Sannīya* Land Department would tend to discourage the prudent possessor of land rights from making any major improvements on his holdings, with the resultant diminution in yield and wealth this might bring.

There is little evidence that the extention of *sannīya* lands in Iraq had any appreciable effect on either tribal administration or on land tenure practices. For example, in 'Amāra the responsibility for maintaining law and order among the tribesmen on *sannīya* lands continued to be attached to the lease of the *iltizām*,[6] as had been the case previously. If anything, the existence of the *Sannīya* Land Department only complicated and further confused matters so far as the civil government was concerned. In connection with the modes of land tenure, the *Sannīya* Land Department continued to follow local practices. In 'Amāra, both *mīrī* and *sannīya* lands continued to be farmed out by *iltizām*. The leases were nominally put up for auction every five years,[7] but their duration varied and they were subject to arbitrary termination.[8] In Ḥilla-Diwāniya, tribes occupying *sannīya* lands persisted in considering them as their tribal *lazma* (holding) and

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1 *Civil Administrative Report, 1919, part 1, Mosul*, 24.

2 For example the yield of the Dujail estate increased greatly after it became *sannīya*: *Zaurā'*, nº 1040. See also Basha'yan, *op. cit.*, XII, 194 f.

3 *Zaurā'*, no 1355; O. A. *Yıldız Khususi* 1187, 23 Ramadan 1305.

4 Basha'yan, *op. cit.*, 195.

5 O. A. *Yıldız Khususi* 1187, 23 Ramadan 1305.

6 By *iltizām* is meant the contract which states the terms and conditions of appointment of a *multazim* or contractor who was thereby made the landholder and responsible government authority over a specified area in return for the payment of a fixed sum known as a *badal*.

7 *Tribes of the Tigris*, 18.

8 For example, *Zaurā'*, nº 1068, 12 Safar 1300, mentions an *iltizām* of one year

actually held them as such. [1] Likewise, in Baṣra, the customary land tenure practices on the date groves, known as *ta'aba*, continued to be followed. [2]

The proportion of the yield collected by the *Sannīya* Land Department as *mallākīya*, or owner's share, varied considerably, but it usually followed the customary practice which obtained on the lands before they became *sannīya*. It varied from one tenth to one half of the gross produce, [3] while in 'Amāra it ran as high as 60%. It is probable that the 60% figure applied to lands on which previously the tithes or government tax had been set at one fifth, a sum paid jointly by the *mallāk* (land holder) and lessee, but once such lands became *sannīya* the entire tithe, or 20%, together with the *mallākīya* half, or 40%, amounted to a total of 60% of the yield, all of which was claimed by the *Sannīya* Land Department. [4] This was an exorbitant claim, since the remaining 40% was shared out in various ratios by the tribal shaikhs, tribal overseers, threshers, and others, and the fellah, who actually tilled the land, generally still had to pay the expenses of planting and cultivation from the meager amount which remained as his share. It is not likely, however, that the amount claimed as the *sannīya* share was ever paid in full.

The Sultan's private property was exempt from taxation, but this privilege did not extend to the tenants who were required to continue payment of their share of the tithe, in accordance with the customary levy. These tithes were not paid to the State Treasury however, but to the private treasury of the Sultan instead. [5] In this way the Sultan received both the *mallākīya* share and the tithe share. Nevertheless, the te-

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duration only. A document from the Minister of Interior dated 22 Sha'ban 1324 and a letter from the Headquarters of the Sixth Imperial Army dated 30 July 1322 state that the estates were leased for periods of two or three years: O. A. *Dahliyah 2443*, 12 Sha'ban 1324.

[1] F. M. Āl Far'aun, *al-Qadā al-'Ashā'irī* (Baghdad, 1941), 159, 170 ff. Compare *Reports of Administration...*, *1918*, I, 72, 121, 134, 186; Sir Ernest Dowson, "Preliminary Notes on Land Settlement in Iraq" (MS, Ministry of Interior, Baghdad), 2 f. For a more detailed treatment of land tenure practices in Hilla-Diwāniya, see A. Jwaideh, *Land and Tribal Administration of Lower Iraq under the Ottomans from* 1869 *to* 1914 (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1958, unpublished), 536-559.

[2] Cf. Basha'yan, *op. cit.*, 194 ff.; *Reports of Administration...*, *1918*, I, 243. The unique pattern of land tenure in the date groves of Baṣra acknowledged certain acquired rights to the land and its product on the part of the *ta'ābs* (occupancy tenants) who undertook the planting and cultivation of the trees.

[3] *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, I, 145.

[4] *Reports of Administration...*, *1918*, I, 244.

[5] *Zaurā'*, n° 1021.

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nants did derive certain benefits from tilling *sanniya* lands. They were given interest-free loans toward the purchase of seed,[1] priority in regard to water rights, exemption from conscription and all forms of forced labor,[2] and were not subjected to harrassment from the police.[3] These privileges were granted in order to induce cultivators to work and to remain on *sanniya* lands. But if the cultivators on *sanniya* lands were more prosperous than was generally the case with their counterparts on other lands, it was largely owing to the greater fertility of these lands.

Almost immediately after the Revolution of 1908 the Young Turks obtained from Sultan Abdul Hamid a cession of his private properties which were transferred to the direction of the State. This transaction was recorded in the minutes of the Council of Ministers of September 1, 1324 (September 14, 1908) and received the Imperial Irāda the same day. Although these lands continued to be called *sannīya*, they were transferred to the administration of the newly formed Department of *Amlāk al-Mudawwara*,[4] and other kinds of property, for example, army barracks, public buildings, etc., were added to the same lists. Thereafter, however, these properties were not tended with the same care as before and the yields deteriorated greatly, especially in the case of the *sannīya* date gardens in Baṣra. But the land tenure practices continued substantially the same.[5]

NOTE ON SOURCES

Apart from published reports, historical works, etc., the main sources of this essay are the following:

1. The Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. These are referred to in the footnotes under the heading "O.A.," followed by the name of the ministry or department concerned (*Dahliyah*, *Yildiz Khususi*, *Yildiz Rasmi*) and then by the number of the file, with more detailed references where necessary.

2. The archives of the Land Settlement Department of the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior. These are referred to under the heading "I.A.," followed by the file number and, where necessary, the register

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[1] O. A. *Yildiz Khususi* 1187, 23 Ramadan 1305.

[2] Al-Bustānī, *op. cit.*, 151; S. Haider, *op. cit.*, 422.

[3] *Civil Administrative Report, 1919, Part 1, Mosul*, 24.

[4] For an English translation of the minutes as they were published, compare I. A. 55/3. See also *ibid.*, memorandum n° 8746/16/1, 10/11 September 1920; *ibid.*, ref. n° 1498/M.1091/366; *Reports of Administration..., 1918*, I, 243.

[5] *Reports of Administration..., 1918*, I, 243.

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number and the reference number of the individual document.

3. *Al-Zaurā'*, the official newspaper of the Ottoman province of Baghdad. Inaugurated by Midḥat Pasha and published in both Arabic and Turkish, it contained not only the text of government decrees, statements and reports, but also items of news. For the greater part of the period dealt with, it was the only newspaper published in Baghdad. It is referred to under the heading "*Zaurā'*," followed by the number of the issue.

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THE EXPEDITION OF BI'R MA'ŪNA

BY

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The character of the expedition sent by the Prophet in the month of Safar 4 H.,[1] which ended in the killing of the participants at Bi'r Ma'ūna, is rather obscure. Traditions about this expedition are contradictory:[2] the aim of the expedition can hardly be determined; the number of the participants is variously stated in the divergent traditions; the tribal composition of the participants is disputed; the details about the attackers are few; the reason for their attack on the Muslim party is not clear. It may therefore be useful to present a survey of some of the traditions concerning this encounter, in course of which a version apparently hitherto unknown is presented.

I

The traditional account of the story as reported by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151 H.)[3] forms a composite narrative, based on the authority of a number of Muslim traditionists. According to this account, one of the chiefs of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, Abū Barā' 'Āmir b. Mālik,[4] nicknamed "Mulā'ib al-Asinna" ("The Player with the Spears"),[5] came to the Prophet and was invited by him to accept Islam. Although he did not embrace Islam, he was not far removed from it. He asked the Prophet to send some of his Companions to Najd to summon its people to embrace Islam, and expressed the hope that they would respond. He assured the Prophet of his protection of the Companions. The Prophet sent forty of his Companions with al-Mundhir b. 'Amr

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[1] Cf. J. M. B. Jones, "The Chronology of the Maghāzī—a textual survey," in *BSOAS* (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*,1957), 249, 267; the anonymous tradition fixing the date of the expedition in Muharram (p. 249 n. 10) is quoted as well in Samhūdī's *Wafā' al-wafā'*, I, 211.

[2] See Max v. Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, rev. and ed. W. Caskel, III, 9.

[3] In Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*.

[4] See his biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* nº 4417.

[5] For this nickname, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ansāb al-Khail*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (Cairo, 1946), 77; Aus b. Ḥajar, *Dīwān*, ed. Geyer, XVII, 7, 8; XXI, 3; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, III (Cairo, 1935), 335; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. "Sullān"; al-Zurqanī; *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-mawāhib*, II 1325 H.), 75; al-Suhailī: *al-Rauḍ al-unuf*, II (Cairo, 1914), 174.

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al-Sā'idī. [1] When the party reached Bi'r Ma'ūna, [2] they sent Ḥarām b. Milḥān with the Prophet's letter to 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail. [3] He, however, killed the envoy, without even looking at the letter. 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail summoned his people (that is, the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a) to attack the party of the Muslims. But they respected the protection of Abū Barā', and refused to join him. He then summoned the clans of Sulaim: 'Uṣaiya, Ri'l and Dhakwān. They responded and attacked the Muslim party. The Muslims fought, but were killed to the last man. [4]

Two men of the expedition, 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamrī and a man from the Anṣār, who were engaged in pasturing the camels of the party, noticed some vultures hovering about the camp. When they drew near, they saw the dead bodies of their companions. The Anṣārī decided to fight, and was slain by the polytheists. 'Amr b. Umaiya was captured, but was released by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, when he stated that he was from Muḍar. [5] On his way, he killed two men of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, whom he accidentally met, not being aware that they had been granted protection by the Prophet. The Prophet paid their bloodwit.

Abū Barā' was grieved by the violation of his protection by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, and the death of the Prophet's companions. Ḥassān b. Thābit composed verses inciting the son of Abū Barā', Rabi'a, against 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail. [6]

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[1] See, about him, Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III (Beirut), 555, 618; Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiqāq*, ed. A.S. Hārūn, 456; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, 275; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 8220.

[2] For the location of the place, see 'Arrām b. al-Aṣbagh al-Sulamī, *Asmā' Jibāl Tihāma*, ed. A. S. Hārūn, (*Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt*) VIII, 429; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. "Bi'r Ma'ūna", "Ublā"; Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā'*, II, 256-57; Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in altarabischen Poesie*, s.v. "Ublā".

[3] See *EI*², s.v. "'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail" (W. Caskel).

[4] Only one man, wounded seriously, was left. He survived till the Battle of the Trench.

[5] Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jambara*, MS British Museum, f° 45b; al-Balādhurī, *Ansab*, MS, f° 896a.

[6] The rendering of these verses by Nabia Abbott (*Studies in Arabic Papyri*, [Chicago, 1957], 69) is rather inaccurate. "Alā abligh Rabī'ata dhā 'l-masā'ī: fa-mā aḥdathta fī 'l-ḥadathāni ba'dī" is not "*Verily I shall inform Rabī'ah, he of the highest distinctions, of the event you caused to happen (right) behind me.*" "Alam yaru'kum" cannot be rendered: "surely you will make amends": the correct translation is: "were you not shocked (or stirred)." "Wa-mā khaṭa'un ka-'amdi" cannot be translated: "and he (the latter) did not do wrong (to the man of Bi'r Ma'ūna) intentionally." It should be rendered: "a mistake is not the same as an intentional act" (that is, an intentionally committed crime). Cf. the translations of Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 435; Lyall, *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ*

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Rabi'a b. 'Āmir, the son of Abū Barā' attacked 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, trying to kill him, but he failed.

Anas b. 'Abbās al-Sulami, a maternal uncle of Ṭu'aima b. 'Adī b. Naufal, boasted of his killing Nāfi' b. Budail al-Khuzā'i, one of the members of the Muslim party. The martyrs were mourned in verses by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Ḥassān b. Thābit. Ka'b b. Mālik composed verses blaming the Ja'far b. Kilāb (of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a) for not carrying out the obligation of protection granted to the Muslim party. [1]

This account of Ibn Isḥāq [2] differs in very essential points from the account of Mūsā b. 'Uqba (d. 141 H.). [3] His account is traced to al-Zuhri (d. 124 H.). [4] Abū Barā' refused to accept Islam. He offered the Prophet a gift, but the Prophet refused to accept the gift of a polytheist. [5] The number of the Companions sent by the Prophet is rendered by the word *rahṭ*, denoting rather a small group.

As in the account of Ibn Isḥāq, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail summons his people to attack the Muslim party. When they refused, he appealed to the clans of Sulaim. They joined him, attacked the Muslim party and killed all the men, except 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamri, who was released by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail. [6]

The same account is partly quoted by Ibn Ḥajar, [7] with an explicit statement that it is taken from the book of the *Maghāzī* by Mūsā b. 'Uqba.

The most important detail in the account of Mūsā b. 'Uqba is the

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and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, 87; W. Arafat, "The Development of a Dramatic Theme in the Story of Khubaib," *BSOAS* (1958), 19, line 12.

[1] The verses of Ka'b b. Mālik were added by Ibn Hishām; see Guillaume, *op. cit.*, 762 (678).

[2] Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Saqqā, Abyārī, Shalabī, III, 193-99; Guillaume, *op. cit.*, 433-36.

[3] Sachau, "*Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā b. 'Uqba*," *Sitzungsberichte der phil. Classe, Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1904), 468.

[4] See A. A. Duri, "A Study on the Beginnings of History Writing in Islam," *BSOAS* (1957).

[5] The same saying of refusal uttered by the Prophet when 'Iyāḍ b. Ḥimār al-Mujāshi'i offered him the gift of a horse; see Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif*, (Cairo, 1935), 147; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr* (Delhi), 3; Abū 'Ubaid, *Amwāl*, 256; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jambara*, f° 66a; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 6123. The same expression occurs again, when the Prophet refused to accept the gift of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām; see Zubair b. Bakkār, *Nasab Quraish*, MS Bodl., f° 65b; *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. "ZBD"; and see the discussion in Abū 'Ubaid's *Amwāl*, 257, whether the gift was presented by 'Āmir b. Ṭufail or by 'Āmir b. Mālik.

[6] See the translation of this document in Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. xliv (Introduction).

[7] *Iṣāba*, n° 8220.

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phrase that al-Mundhir b. 'Amr al-Sā'idī was sent by the Prophet with the group as "his spy in Najd" ('ainan lahu fī ahli Najd). It points to the fact, that the expedition was not a peaceful missionary enterprise.

The papyrus about the campaigns of Muḥammad, edited by Nabia Abbott, [1] contains the story of the expedition of Bi'r Ma'ūna. The date of the papyrus is fixed by Professor Abbott at the end of the second century of the Hijra and it is attributed by her to Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 154 H.). The story of the expediton shows close affinity to the account of Ibn Isḥāq. It may be remarked that a list of the Anṣār, killed at Bi'r Ma'ūna, is given. According to the version of the papyrus, three men were pasturing the cattle of the party. One of them preferred to fight the polytheists, and was killed. The other two went back to Medina, and, on their way back, they killed the two men of Kilāb who had been granted a safeconduct by the Prophet

The composite account of al-Wāqidī (d. 207 H.) [2] contains quite divergent details. According to this account, the Prophet sent seventy young men of the Anṣār, distinguished by their piety and called *al-qurrā'*. The version giving the number as seventy is told on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (d. 63 or 74 H.) and is repeated by a saying about four battles, in each of which seventy Anṣār were killed, [3] but al-Wāqidī prefers the version of forty men. Further, al-Wāqidī mentions that a guide of Sulaim, called al-Muṭālib (read: al-Muṭṭalib), [4] was sent with the party. Al-Wāqidī gives the name of the man of the Anṣār, who was sent with 'Amr b. Umaiya to pasture the camels of the party, as al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma. [5] A passage is devoted to the description of the heroic death of the leader of the party, al-Mundhir b. 'Amr; he refused to be pardoned by the attackers, fought and was killed. Also al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma preferred to die fighting. A special passage, told on the authority of 'Urwa, reports the death of 'Urwa (b. Asmā') b. al-Ṣalt, who was on friendly terms with 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, and whom his people, the Sulaim, tried to spare and par-

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[1] N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Papyri*, Document 5 (Chicago, 1957), 65-79.

[2] *al-Maghāzī*, ed. v. Kremer, 337-44.

[3] al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, 338, 341; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, VII (Damascus, 1932), 198; Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-mawāhib*, II, 77.

[4] See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 8024.

[5] See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, 112; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 1423. According to Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 195 the name of the Anṣārī who pastured with 'Amr b. Umaiya was al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqba b. Uḥaiḥa b. al-Julāḥ (see, about him, Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiqāq*, ed. A.S. Hārūn, 441; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, 276; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 8225).

doned. He, however, preferred to fight and was killed. [1] The story about the gift offered to the Prophet by Abū Barā' is recorded, but another version of this story is added as well. Abū Barā' sent Labid and his son Rabī'a with a gift to the Prophet. The Prophet refused to accept the gift. He sent him, however, a remedy for the tumor of which Abū Barā' suffered, as he did request it. According to the account of al-Wāqidī, Rabī'a, the son of Abū Barā', attempted to kill 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail after a talk with the Prophet.

Al-Wāqidī devotes special passages to the story about the Prophet's curse on Muḍar and the clans of Sulaim, [2] mentions the verse of the Koran revealed to the Prophet on the occasion of the slaughter of the Companions (later abrogated) and gives a list of the killed members of the expedition.

Of special importance is a version given by al-Wāqidī, stating that Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ returned to the Prophet with 'Amr b. Umaiya. Al-Wāqidī refutes this version, on the ground that only Anṣār participated in this expedition. [3] Also of importance is the remark of al-Wāqidī about Anas b. 'Abbās al-Ri'lī al-Sulamī, who killed Nāfi' b. Budail al-Khuzā'ī: "He went out on the Day of Bi'r Ma'ūna, inciting his people to fight the Muslim party, in order to avenge the blood of the son of his sister, [4] Ṭu'aima b. 'Adī."

Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 H.) has two versions: [5] (1) a version similar to that of al-Wāqidī, including the description of the expedition as a group of pious young Readers, the action of 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail and his killing of Ḥarām b. Milḥān, the curse of the Prophet, the *āya* revealed to the Prophet and the return of 'Amr b. Umaiya; (2) a tradition transmitted by Ibn Abī 'Arūba-Qatāda-Anas b. Mālik, giving quite a different explanation of the affair of Bi'r Ma'ūna. Ri'l, Dhakwān, 'Uṣaiya and Liḥyān [6] came to the Prophet and sought his

[1] See, about him, Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV (Beirut), 377; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS f° 1131b; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, 491; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, ed. Levi-Provençal, 250; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 5509.

[2] See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. A. M. Shākir, n° 7821 (Kor. 3, 128); al-Naḥās, *al-Nāsikh* (Cairo, 1938), 91; Marzūqī, *Azmina*, II (Hyderabad, 1332 H.), 33; J. Kowalski, *O pewnych potrawach spożywanych w Arabii podczas głodu* (R.O. 1914), 223); al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, III, 142.

[3] Al-Wāqidī, however, contradicts himself by giving the list of the martyrs: 'Āmir b. Fuhaira was a maulā of Abū Bakr; Nāfi' b. Budail was from Khuzā'a; 'Urwa b. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt was from Sulaim; al-Ḥakam b. Kaisān was a maulā of Makhzūm; 'Amr b. Umaiya (the survivor of the expedition) was from Kināna.

[4] In the text: *ibni akhīhi*, read *ibni ukhtihi*; al-*Maghāzī*, 344.

[5] *Ṭabaqāt*, II (Beirut), 51-54.

[6] The Liḥyān were in fact cursed by the Prophet with Dhakwān, 'Uṣaiya

aid against their people (probably the unbelievers among their people). The Prophet sent with them seventy pious men of the Anṣār, called *al-qurrā'*. When they reached Bi'r Ma'ūna, these clans betrayed them and killed them. The Prophet cursed these clans daily for a month in his morning prayer. A revelation had been sent down to the Prophet: "Inform your people, that we met our Lord and He was pleased with us and contented us."

Two other versions recorded by Ibn Sa'd in the biography of Ḥarām b. Milḥān deserve attention. Both versions are told on the authority of Anas b. Mālik. The first version states that some people came to the Prophet and asked him to send men to teach them Koran and Sunna. The Prophet sent seventy pious men called *al-qurrā'*. This Muslim party was attacked by these people and slaughtered before they reached their destination. Ḥarām b. Milḥān was pierced with a spear by a man who came from behind and killed him. This version, rather a vague one, is followed by a version more clear and detailed: The Prophet sent seventy men with Ḥarām b. Milḥān to the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. Ḥarām volunteered to precede the party. He came to the unbelievers and got a promise of safety. When he talked with them about the Prophet they signaled to one of them, who attacked him and pierced him with a spear. [1]

It may be remarked that the three versions recorded by Ibn Sa'd contradict the version that 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail killed Ḥarām. In these three versions 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail is not mentioned at all.

Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245 H.) gives a very short account about the expedition. The Prophet sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr al-Sā'idī with thirty men to Bi'r Ma'ūna; twenty-six of them were Anṣār, four were Muhājirūn. All of them were killed, except 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Kinānī. [2]

The number of the members of the expedition, given by Ibn Ḥabīb as thirty, is the smallest one mentioned in the sources. Nothing in this account is said about the course of the encounter about the aim of the expedition.

An important tradition in connection with the expedition of Bi'r

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and Ri'l. The Liḥyān were responsible for the slaughter of the Companions at the Day of al-Rajī'. The information about the two disasters reached the Prophet on the same day and he cursed the clans of Sulaim together with Liḥyān; see Lyall, *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail*, 86 n. 4; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *Insān al-'Uyūn*, III, 195.

[1] *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 514-15.

[2] *al-Muḥabbar*, 118.

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Ma'ūna is given by Ibn Ḥabīb in a chapter devoted to "Stories of men who drank undiluted wine till death, because of anger or disdain." [1]

According to this tradition, it was 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail who went out against the Companions sent by the Prophet on the request of Abū Barā' to teach his people Islam, and killed them all, except one. Abū Barā' became angry, because 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail violated his promised protection of the Companions. When the people of Abū Barā' were informed that 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail had died on his way home from a visit to the Prophet, they decided to leave their abode and seek new pastures. When Abū Barā' asked about the unwonted movement in the camp he was informed: "They are departing because of the event which happened." He was surprised to learn that they were about to depart without his order. One of his relatives told him that they suspected that he had had a fit of mental aberration when he was sent to "that man." Abū Barā' became enraged and decided to drink himself to death. "There is no good in life when the Banū 'Āmir disobeyed me." [2]

The tribal tradition of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a is reflected in a peculiar sentence quoted by Ibn Ḥabīb: "The Banū 'Āmir say that he did not kill himself. He died as Muslim."

The tradition recorded by Ibn Ḥabīb is a significant and a rare one, stating that Abū Barā' lost influence in his tribe and that he outlived 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail.

Al-Balādhurī (d. 279 H.) has a short record of the expedition. The number of the men was forty or seventy. They went out at the request of Abū Barā' as missionaries, and were killed in an attack launched against them by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, aided by the clans of Sulaim. [3]

Al-Bukhārī (d. 256 H.) quotes the tradition of Qatāda on the authority of Anas, already mentioned above (see Ibn Sa'd), according to which the Companions were treacherously killed by the clans of Sulaim and Liḥyān who invited them. The tradition in which the role of Ḥarām b. Milḥān is stressed, already mentioned above as well, is also recorded. (See, above, Ibn Sa'd, the biography of Ḥarām.) A

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 472; this version is given by Bakrī in his *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, s.v. "Ma'ūna". The version is divergent on a detail: 'Amr b. Umaiya and Ḥarām b. Milḥān pastured the camels of the Muslims. Ḥarām decided to fight the polytheists and was killed. 'Amr b. Umaiya returned to the Prophet.

[2] About his drinking of wine till his death, see, Jarīr wa 'l-Farazdaq, *Naqā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 199; Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, 224

[3] *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Hamidullah, I, 375.

peculiar tradition told as well on the authority of Anas deserves to be mentioned: the Prophet sent seventy men called *al-qurrā'* for some purpose. They were met by two clans of Sulaim, Ri'l and Dhakwān, at the well of Bi'r Ma'ūna. The men of the Muslim party said to them: "By God, we do not intend you, we are merely passing by to carry out some purpose of the Prophet." They (that is, the clans of Sulaim) killed the men of the Muslim party, and the Prophet cursed them daily for a month in his morning prayer. [1]

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 H.) records the account of Ibn Isḥāq but mentions the other versions as well. Both versions about the death of Ḥarām are given: (1) that he was killed by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, and (2) that he was killed by a man from the people of Bi'r Ma'ūna. Four verses of Ḥassān (already mentioned) and nine verses of Ka'b b. Mālik, blaming the relatives of Abū Barā' for not helping the attacked Muslim party, and reproaching the violators of the promise of protection given to the Prophet, are quoted as well. [2].

Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345 H.) blames 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail of the killing of seventy Anṣār sent to Najd by the Prophet, to teach the people the Koran. [3]

A tradition closely resembling the tradition recorded by al-Bukhārī, in which it was stressed that the missionaries did not intend the clans of Sulaim, is given by al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360 H.). [4] Some details in this account may be stressed: the expedition was sent by the Prophet after the death of Khubaib. It was Ḥarām b. Milḥān who informed the men of Sulaim, that the party had no intentions concerning them (*annā lasnā iyāhum nurīdu*) in order to gain their consent to their passage. There is a description of how the men of Sulaim killed Ḥarām and the Muslim party. [5]

An important version, differing from other accounts, is given by al-Samarqandī (d. 393 H.) in his *Tafsīr*. [6] The Prophet sent a troop commanded by al-Mundhir b. 'Amr. The Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a went out against them, ambushed them and killed them. Three men of the participants of the expedition came back. In the neighborhood of Medina they met two men of Sulaim, who stated that they were of

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[1] *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III (Cairo, 1286 H.), 23-25.
[2] Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II (Cairo 1939), 219-223.
[3] *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf* (Cairo, 1938), 212.
[4] *al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr*, 110.
[5] This tradition is quoted in Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'*, I, 123.
[6] MS Chester Beatty, II, f° 228a.

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'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, and killed them. About these three men, *āya* one of sura forty-nine was revealed.

Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430 H.) records, in his *Ḥilya*, the version of Qatāda about the treacherous slaughter of the seventy Anṣār by the clans of Sulaim who invited them. He also records a tradition related on the authority of Ka'b b. Mā'ik, according to which 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail attacked and killed a small group (*nafar*) of Companions sent to the Banū Sulaim.[1] In his *Dalā'il al nubuwa*, Abū Nu'aim records the version about the sending of a small group (*rabṭ*) of pious Companions at the request of Abū Barā', and their slaughter by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail. From al-Wāqidī are quoted the passages about the heroic death of 'Āmir b. Fuhaira, and about the gift sent to the Prophet by Abū Barā', with Labīd.[2]

A unique tradition is recorded by Abū' l-Baqā' Hibat Allāh.[3] According to this version ten survivors of the Muslim party returned to Medina.

Later sources do not contribute much to the elucidation of the event. The account of Ibn 'Asākir (d. 686 H.) is mainly based on that of al-Wāqidī.[4] On Wāqidī's account is also based the version of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H.).[5] Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H.) records the version[6] given by al-Ṭabarī,[7] on the authority of Isḥāq b. Abī Ṭalḥa—Anas: the forty or seventy Companions were sent to Bi'r Ma'ūna. There stayed 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail. The Muslims entered a cave and sent Ḥarām b. Milḥān to the people of Bi'r Ma'ūna to convey the message of the Prophet. He was killed by a man of the people of Bi'r Ma'ūna. 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, with the people of Bi'r Ma'ūna, attacked the Muslims in the cave and killed them. The *āya* revealed to the Prophet in connection with this event was replaced by *āya* 169 of sura 3.[8]

The account of 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1044 H.)[9] is mainly based on the accounts of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī. The contradictory accounts are quoted, and attempts of scholars to smooth out the con-

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1 *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'*, I, 123.
2 Pp. 185-86 (Hyderabad, 1320 H.).
3 *al-Manāqib al-Mazyadiya*, MS British Museum f° 8a.
4 *Ta'rīkh*, VII, 195-199.
5 *Imtā' al-asmā'*, ed. A. M. Shākir, I (Cairo, 1941), 170-73.
6 *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 95.
7 *Ta'rīkh*, II, 222; and cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. A. M. Shākir, n° 8224 (Kor. 3, 169).
8 See also Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Kor. 3, 169.
9 *Insān al-'uyūn*, III (1353 H.), 194-97.

tradictions are recorded. (The number of the members of the party, the curse of Liḥyān with the clans of Sulaim, etc.)

Al-Samhūdī (d. 1056 H.) quotes the traditions of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bukhārī. Contradictory traditions are discussed (the tribal composition of the expedition, whether Abū Barā' drank wine till death, or accepted Islam and died a Muslim in battle). [1]

The path of reconciliation between contradictory traditions is followed by al-Zurqānī (d. 1122 H.). [2] A case of plausible reconciliation may be quoted here. Quoting the tradition that Ḥarām was killed by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail and the tradition that he was killed by a man of Sulaim, al-Zurqānī states that 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail was the leader of the people, so the deed was attributed to him. [3]

In summary, it may be said that the traditions about this expedition are contradictory as to whether the expedition was a peaceful one sent to teach Islam and the Koran, or a military enterprise; whether it was sent to the Banū 'Āmir or to Sulaim; whether the members of the expedition were slain by clans of Sulaim, by clans of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, by clans of Sulaim led by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail; whether the envoy, Ḥarām, was killed by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail; or by a man of Sulaim; whether the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a opposed the relations between Abū Barā' and the Prophet or supported it; whether ten or three or two or one of the members of the party survived and returned to Medina; whether Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās was among the members of the party or not; whether three or two men who returned to Medina killed the two men of Sulaim (or 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a), or whether it was 'Amr b. Umaiya alone who killed them; whether the members of the party were Anṣār only, or Anṣār and Muhājirūn.

II

Scholars have tried to find an answer to the riddle of the expedition. Muir [4] assumes that "perhaps there were divided opinions in the tribe [that is, 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a]." Muir points out that the Prophet, almost immediately after the massacre, entered into communication with 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, on the subject of the latter's claim for blood-money for the two 'Āmirites killed by the returning 'Amr b. Umaiya, without making any counterclaim for the blood of the martyrs, and

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1 *Wafā' al-wafā'*, I (1326 H.), 211.
2 *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-mawāhib*, II (Cairo, 1325 H.), 74-79.
3 *fa-kāna nisbatu dhālika ilaihi 'alā sabīli 'l-tajauwuzi.*
4 *The life of Moḥammad*, ed. Weir (Edinburgh, 1912), 280 n. 2.

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remarks that (all this) "looks as if the attack was not so gratuitous as might appear."

Caetani mentions the same argument (of paying 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail the bloodwite for the two men from Kilāb who had been killed). Caetani supposes that the disaster of Bi'r Ma'ūna was the consequence of a military expedition, not of a peaceful missionary enterprise. He suggests that there might have been some violation of a pact by the Muslims, and that therefore the massacre was an act of legitimate defense or revenge. [1]

Lyall makes a comprehensive study of the question of the aim of the expedition. [2] He reaches the conclusion that it was a warlike expedition "sent by the Prophet to help one section of the Banū Sulaim against another." "The Prophet had reason to think, from his relations with Abū Barā', that the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a were friendly to him and might have been expected to help. In this he was disappointed. The Sulamis proved to be treacherous, and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail perhaps joined them in the attack on the Prophet's party." The payment of the bloodwit by the Prophet for the two 'Āmirites serves as evidence, for Lyall, that 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail did not in fact violate an express pledge of protection given by Abū Barā'.

Buhl gives the traditional account of the expedition as a peaceful missionary enterprise. [3]

Watt, trying to solve the problem of the blood money paid by the Prophet to 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, without any counterclaim for the martyrs of Bi'r Ma'ūna, declares that it is improbable, as has been suggested, "that the Muslims had done something which caused them to forfeit the right to blood money." [4] Watt suggests that 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail encouraged the Sulamī clans to massacre the Muslims. "He was morally responsible, he was not their leader in any sense and so not technically responsible." [5] "It was probably also they who killed the letter carrier." Watt suggests that the appeal of Abū Barā' to Muhammad "was at bottom an appeal for help against rivals within his tribe. Muḥammad, anxious to bring Banū 'Āmir to his own side, decided to interfere in the internal politics of the tribe,

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[1] Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, I (Milano 1905), 578-80.
[2] *The Diwāns of 'Abid b. al-Abraṣ and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail* (Leiden, 1913), 84-89.
[3] *Das Leben Muhammeds* (Heidelberg, 1955), 261-62.
[4] Cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*
[5] Cf. the opinion of Lyall, *op. cit.*, 89: "The Sulamis proved to be treacherous and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail perhaps joined them."

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though he realized the riskiness of doing so." [1] 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail was not strong enough to bring the tribe to disown Abū Barā"s protection, and "persuaded his neighbours of B. Sulaim to attack the Muslims, and doubtless gave them help by way of information." [2]

C. E. Bosworth suggests [3] that "Muḥammad had apparently been invited to intervene in an internal dispute of Sulaim, but the incident is also mixed up with the quarrel within 'Āmir between Abū Barā' and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail."

W. Caskel states that "there was an engagement of protection entered into by the uncle of 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, only that 'Āmir could not fulfil it among Sulaim, who had killed the 'holy band', in reality a pillaging expedition." [4] Caskel states that after the death of Abū Barā', 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail became formally the head of the Ja'far.

Nabia Abbott assumes that "this was not a military expedition but a proselytizing mission to a large confederation of tribes in the prosperous and coveted Najd." [5]

Muhammad Hamidullah mentions the massacre of the seventy missionaries, treacherously slain by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail in the territory of Sulaim. The Sulaim were evidently discontented, assumes Hamidullah, because of the Muslim expeditions in their territory, in the preceding months. [6]

III

As mentioned above, al-Wāqidī quotes a version stating that Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ returned with 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamrī to the Prophet, after the massacre of Bi'r Ma'ūna. Al-Wāqidī seems to refute this information, stressing that only men of the Anṣār participated in this expedition. [7]

The information about the participation of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in the expedition of Bi'r Ma'ūna is included in a significant account recorded by Abu 'l-Laith al-Samarqandī (d. 393 H.): [8]

> 'Āmir b. Mālik, one of the horsemen of the Arabs (his nickname was Mulā'ib al-Asinna) wrote to the Prophet: 'Send me men to teach us the Koran and instruct us in religion. They will be under my pro-

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[1] Cf. Muir, above, about "The divided opinions in the tribe."
[2] W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), 31-33, 97-98.
[3] *EI*², s.v. "Bi'r Ma'ūna."
[4] *EI*², s.v. "'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail."
[5] *Studies in Arabic Papyri*, 76-79.
[6] *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, I (1959), 312.
[7] Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, 342 *infra*—343 *supra*.
[8] *Bustān al-'ārifīn* (on margin of *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*), 207.

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tection.' The Prophet sent him Mundhir b. 'Amr al-Sā'idī with fourteen men, Muhājirūn and Anṣār. After a night's march, they heard that 'Āmir b. Mālik had died. They wrote to the Prophet and he sent four men to help them. They travelled together till they reached Bi'r Ma'ūna. Then they were attacked by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail with some clans of the Bedouins, Ri'l, Dhakwān, Lihyān and 'Uṣaiya, who killed them all at Bi'r Ma'ūna, except for 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamrī, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and another person. That was because they had dropped behind the party. When they [that is, the three men] learned that the party had been wiped out, they returned to Medina. The Prophet cursed these clans in his prayers for forty days.

This account, quite different from the stories of the heroic death of al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, 'Āmir b. Fuhaira, Ḥarām b. Milḥān and others, was not admitted into the current collections of traditions about the *maghāzī*.

It seems, however, to be an abridged version. Some additional details are given in a narrative recorded by al-Samarqandī in his *Tafsīr*.[1]

> 'Āmir b. Mālik wrote to the Prophet: 'Send me men to teach us the Koran and instruct us in religion. They will be under my protection.' The Prophet sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr al-Sā'idī with fourteen men, Muhājirūn and Anṣār and they set out in the direction of Bi'r Ma'ūna. When they were a night's march from Medina, they heard that 'Āmir b. Mālik had died. Al-Mundhir b. 'Amr wrote to the Prophet, asking him to send aid, and the Prophet sent four men: 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamrī, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and another man. They travelled till they reached Bi'r Ma'ūna. Then they wrote to Rabī'a b. Mālik [that is, to Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Mālik]: 'We are under your protection and the protection of your father. Shall we proceed to you or not?' He said: 'You are under my protection, so come.'
>
> Then 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail set out against them and asked assistance of Ri'l, Dhakwān and 'Uṣaiya. They went out against the Muslims who fought them until they killed all of them, except 'Amr b. Umaiya, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.
>
> (These three) had lagged behind (the Muslim party) and alighted under a tree. A bird perched on the tree let drop a clot of blood upon them. They understood that the bird had drunk blood, and said: 'Our friends have been killed.' They climbed a mountain and saw the dead bodies of their friends, the birds hovering over them.

Further on, a passage is devoted to the description of the heroic death of al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma. He refused to save his own life and fought the polytheists till he was killed.

'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamrī and, with him, two other men returned to the Prophet. The account contains the story of the murder of the

[1] MS Chester Beatty, II, 263 f.

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two men of Kilāb by 'Amr b. Umaiya, and the curse of the Prophet on Muḍar and the clans of Sulaim.

It may be remarked that whereas in the version of *Bustān al-'Ārifīn*, al-Samarqandī states explicitly that the persons who returned to Medina were 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamrī, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and a third person—he mentions, in the account of his *Tafsīr*, 'Amr b. Umaiya, not giving the name of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

This account is unique in giving the number of the participants of the expedition as fourteen plus four. From among the eighteen participants fifteen were killed. It is evident that this is the account referred to and refuted by al-Wāqidī. The account states explicitly that Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ took part in the expedition, and that both the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār participated in it.

One may venture to say that we have here a very early account. It may be accepted with certainty that this version of the tradition was known and even disputed at the end of the second century.

IV

The assumptions put forward by the scholars, surveyed briefly above, are divergent. Some of them are contradictory. They give rise to a number of questions. One is tempted to ask, why did the Prophet decide to interfere in the internal politics of a polytheist tribe, "though he realized the riskiness of doing so," as assumed by Watt? It is not plausible that the Prophet would have risked the lives of his Companions, if not for the cause of Islam and in the interest of the Muslim community. Further, how could 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail succeed in persuading the clans of Sulaim to attack the Muslims and kill them, as proposed by Watt, when he failed to convince his own people that they should do so? What was the relationship between 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail and the clans of Sulaim?

There is some hope of finding some of the answers and to arrive at some solutions which may elucidate the story of Bi'r Ma'ūna. Some details may give a clue to this.

Going through the different accounts of the story of Bi'r Ma'ūna one notes that, of the party of the polytheists who massacred the Muslims, only two names are mentioned in the sources: Jabbār b. Salmā b. Mālik b. Ja'far [1] killed 'Āmir b. Fuhaira. [2] Anas b. 'Abbās al-

[1] Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jambara*, MS f° 123a; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, 88; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 1051; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 196.

[2] Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 231; Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiqāq*, 25; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*,

Ri'lī killed Nāfi' b. Budail b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī.[1] We are here especially concerned with the case of Anas b. 'Abbās.

Anas boasted of the killing of Nāfi' b. Budail. In one of the two verses of Anas there is mention of Abū Raiyān whose blood Anas avenged. This Abū Raiyān is said to have been Ṭu'aima b. 'Adī b. Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf. Anas was his maternal uncle.[2] Al-Wāqidī says a little more about Anas and about the role he played at Bi'r Ma'ūna. Quoting the two verses of Anas, al-Wāqidī remarks: "Anas went out on the Day of Bi'r Ma'ūna inciting his people (to attack the Muslims), in order to avenge the blood of his sister's son."[3]

Some details about Ṭu'aima may help to elucidate the course of events.

Ṭu'aima b. 'Adī b. Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣaiy belonged to the nobility of Quraish in Mecca.[4] His boon companion was one of the noble quraishites of Mecca, Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Sahmī.[5] Like Munabbih, Ṭu'aima was a fierce opponent of the Prophet.[6] According to one of the traditions, the document about the boycott of the Banū Hāshim was entrusted to Ṭu'aima.[7] He attended the meeting at the Dār al-Nadwa at which the problem of the expulsion of the Prophet was discussed, representing the Banū Naufal.[8] He incited the Quraish to fight on the eve of the battle of Badr,[9] and was one of the *muṭ'imūn* during the march.[10] He is said to have killed, at Badr, Sa'd b. Khaithama[11] and Sahl b. al-Baiḍā'.[12] According to a tradition of al-Wāqidī, he killed Ṣafwān b. al-Baiḍā'.[13] Traditions are not unanimous about his death: whether he was captured at Badr and the Prophet ordered Ḥamza to kill him in cold blood,[14] or whe-

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nº 4408; Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa*, ed. As'ad Darabzūnī (Cairo, 1957-8), nº 1908.

1 See Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣāba, nº 8644.

2 Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 197-98.

3 Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, 344.

4 Mu'arrij, *al-Ḥadhf min nasab Quraish*, 42.

5 Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. Lichtenstadter, 177.

6 al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS, fº 808b; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Ḥamidullah, I, 153-54.

7 *Ibid.*, I, 235.

8 Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 125.

9 al-Balādhūrī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I, 292.

10 Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 320.

11 al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I, 296.

12 *Ibid.*, I, 225; but see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 213.

13 *al-Maghāzī*, 141; but see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 416.

14 Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, 68: "Three were killed in cold blood at Badr: 'Uqba, Ṭu'aima and al-Naḍr"; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS, fº 808b; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Ḥamidullah, I, 148; Ibn Ḥazm *Jawāmi' al-sīra*, 148.

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ther he was killed in an encounter with 'Alī and Ḥamza. Some sources record a vivid description of this encounter. Al-Wāqidī gives this description, [1] but omits the name of Ṭu'aima. The story is quoted by Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī, [2] by Abū 'l-Baqā' Hibat Allāh [3] and by al-Majlisī. [4] Some sources mention only that he was killed at Badr. [5]

The clan of Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf were opposed to the Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf and Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, and were allies of the 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. [6] 'Adī b. Naufal competed with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in supplying beverages for the pilgrims: al-Muṭṭalib supplied the beverages at Zamzam, 'Adī b. Naufal, at a spot between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; the latter offered them honey and milk. [7] The mother of 'Adī was Hind, Umm al-Khiyār bint Wuhaib, of Māzin the kindred of Sulaim.

The mother of his sons, Muṭ'im and Ṭu'aima, was Fākhita bint 'Abbās b. 'Āmir b. Ḥuyaiy b. Ri'l, of Sulaim. [8] Of special importance is the information stating that the Sulaim were allies of the Banū Naufal. [9]

It is thus conceivable why the clans of Sulaim responded, according to some accounts, when 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail summoned them to attack the Muslim party. The reasons are clearly expounded in a significant passage of the *Nasab Quraish*: [10]

> The Banū Ri'l and Dhakwān, and they are allies of the Banū Naufal (and they are of Sulaim), gave aid to 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail against the Companions of the Prophet, who were killed at Bi'r Ma'ūna, because of Ṭu'aima.[11] He who aided 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail was Anas b. 'Abbās al-Ri'lī, called al-Aṣamm. With him went out (to the attack) the Ri'l, Dhakwān and 'Uṣaiya. The 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a refused to aid

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[1] *Maghāzī*, 87.
[2] *Nasab Quraish*, 199-200.
[3] *al-Manāqib al-Mazyadīya*, MS, f° 8a.
[4] *Biḥār al-anwār*, VI "*Bāb ghazwat Badr al-kubrā*" (quoted from al-Wāqidī).
[5] Mu'arrij, *al-Hadhf min nasab Quraish*, 42; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 366; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 177.
[6] Mu'arrij, *al-Hadhf min nasab Quraish*, p. 41; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS, f° 808a: "Za'amū anna Banī Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf kānū yadan ma'a 'Abd Shams 'alā sā'iri Banī 'Abd Manāf."
[7] Muṣ'ab, *Nasab Quraish*, 32, 197 (cf. the expression "Ibn al-Siqāyatain").
[8] *Ibid.*, 198; al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, f° 255a.
[9] Muṣ'ab, *op. cit.*, 97, 198.
[10] *Ibid.*, 198-199.
[11] Jubair b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī promised to free his slave Waḥshī, if he would kill Ḥamza (Ḥamza, as mentioned, killed Ṭu'aima). Wahshī succeeded, in fact, in killing Ḥamza at Uḥud and was freed by Jubair. (See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 65, 76.)

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'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, because Abū Barā' was the protector of the Companions who were killled by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail at Bi'r Ma'ūna.

We shall now follow the thread of Anas b. 'Abbās who seems to have been the driving spirit behind the attack on the Muslim party. W. Arafat, in his penetrating study of the story of Khubaib, analyses a verse of Ḥassān in which the name Anas is mentioned, and says: "Anas, according to Ibn Hishām and the note to the poem in the Diwān, was from the tribe of Sulaim and nothing else seems to be known about him." [1] Every bit of information about Anas may be helpful to elucidate the case of Bi'r Ma'ūna.

The name Anas is glossed by Ibn Hishām as follows: "Anas al-Aṣamm al-Sulamī, the maternal uncle of Muṭ'im b. 'Adī b. Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf." [2] He can thus easily be identified with the chief of the clan of Ri'l, Anas b. 'Abbās b. 'Āmir b. Huyaiy b. Ri'l b. Mālik b. 'Auf b. Imra'al-Qais b. Buhtha b. Sulaim, as mentioned in Muṣ'ab's *Nasab*. [3] His sister was Fākhita bint 'Abbās, the wife of 'Adī, the mother of Ṭu'aima b. 'Adī, whose blood Anas avenged at Bi'r Ma'ūna. His father, 'Abbās, known as 'Abbās b. Raiṭa, was a highly respected chief of his people, and the Sulaim intended to "put a crown on his head." 'Abbās had as antagonist one of his relatives, who offended him, and he left his tribe. He joined the Fazāra.[4] According to al-Jāḥiẓ, he was compelled to leave his tribe because of the small number of his kin in the tribe. [5] 'Abbās was a poet, [6] but his verses were sometimes attributed to his son Anas, [7] who was also a poet. [8]

Anas b. 'Abbās, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, [9] al-Balādhurī [10] and Ibn Ḥazm, [11] was a chief of his people, and was killed by the

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[1] W. C. Arafat, "A Dramatic Theme in the Story of Khubaib b. 'Adiy," *BSOAS* (1958), 26.

[2] Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 188.

[3] Page 198; the same genealogy is recorded in al-Zubair b. Bakkār's *Nasab Quraish*, MS Bodl., f° 191a (in the genealogy of "Zainab bint 'Adī b. Naufal").

[4] *Aghānī*, XVI, 55 (his name is given as "al-'Abbās b. Anas," but see al-Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, quoted below); Nallino, *Raccolta*, III, 66.

[5] *al-Ḥayawān*, I, 359; V, 30, 31.

[6] al-Bakrī, *Simṭ*, 513; Jarir wa 'l-Farazdaq, *Naqā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 392.

[7] al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*, ed. Krenkow, 263; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. "Dafīna."

[8] Sībawaihi, *Kitāb*, I (Būlāq, 1316 H.), 349; Abū Tammām, *al-Waḥshiyāt* (ed. Maimani), 231.

[9] *Jamhara*, MS, f° 160a.

[10] *al-Ansāb*, MS, f° 1132a.

[11] *Jamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, 250 (erroneously "Ibn Jubair b. Ri'l" instead of "Ibn Ḥuyaiy").

Khath'am. [1] A story told on the authority of Abū 'Ubaida states that Anas raided, together with Ṣakhr b. 'Amr al-Sulamī, the Banū Asad. [2] Ibn Sa'd mentions that Anas was a member of the delegation of Sulaim who visited the Prophet. He is said to have embraced Islam. [3]

Of special importance for the elucidation of the relations between Ri'l and 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, and especially between Anas and the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, is the story of *Yaum al-Raghām* reported by Abū 'Ubaida. When the Tha'laba b. Yarbū' attacked the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, Anas b. 'Abbās stayed with the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. He acted in the interest of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, trying by a stratagem to make possible a counterattack of the Kilāb against the Tha'laba b. Yarbū'. He was captured and released after paying a ransom of 200 camels. [4] The place of the encounter between the Yarbū' and the Kilāb seems to have been al-Ẓilāl. Yāqūt mentions that as the place, stating that it belonged to the Ja'far b. Kilāb. "They (that is, the Ja'far b. Kilāb) were attacked at this spot by 'Utaiba b. al-Ḥārith b. Shihāb. He seized their cattle and the cattle of the men of Sulaim." [5] The *Naqā'iḍ* have an additional phrase, which is of some importance: [6] "...of the men of Sulaim, being under their protection. One of them was Anas b. 'Abbās al-Ri'lī." This phrase supplies a clue for the understanding of the relations between the clan of Ri'l and the Ja'far of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, and throws light on the action of 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail.

V

It is not easy to establish the true facts about the expedition. In the light of the version recorded by al-Samarqandī, which was omitted

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[1] The information of Ibn al-Kalbī is quoted in Ibn Ḥajar's *Iṣāba*, nº 269.

[2] *Aghānī*, XIII, 130.

[3] *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 307 (erroneously "Anas b. 'Iyāḍ al-Ri'lī"); this information is also recorded in Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rīkh*, III, 137, and in Ibn Ḥajar's *Iṣāba*, nº 269. About the son of Anas, Razīn, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, nº 2645. About his father, 'Abbās, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, nº 4496 (al-'Abbās b. Anas b. 'Āmir al-Ri'lī) and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS, fº 1138b ('Abbās b. Anas al-Aṣamm).

[4] Jarīr wa 'l-Farazdaq, *Naqā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 410; *Aghānī*, XIV, 84; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS, fº 997b f. Other versions about the capture of Anas by 'Utaiba b. al-Ḥārith: (1) Anas came to 'Utaiba as a guest and was treacherously put in fetters, and released after he paid a ransom; (2) he was under the protection of 'Utaiba and was treacherously tied, put in fetters, and released after paying ransom; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS, fº 997b and fº 1138b ("Anas b. 'Iyāḍ" and "Anas b. Mirdās," in the MS, are errors).

[5] So Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. "Ẓilāl"; *amwāla 'l-muslimīna*, in the *Naqā'iḍ*, 302, is an error; read: "*amwāla 'l-sulamiyīna*".

[6] *Naqā'iḍ*, 302.

in the traditional accounts, and after a closer study of the data quoted above, some suggestions about this expedition may be propounded.

Abū Barā', one of the leaders of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a came into touch with the Prophet. He was an aged man and was summoned by the Prophet to accept Islam. Neither he nor his son Rabī'a [1] embraced Islam, although the tribal tradition of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a tried to show that Abū Barā' later embraced Islam, fought and fell in battle. According to the traditions, he agreed to give the Muslim group safe conduct and consented to the propagation of Islam in his tribe. That is quite plausible, and Abū Barā' might have hoped that he would strengthen his influence in the tribe by accepting the Muslim group. A significant phrase in Ibn Qutaiba's *al-Shi'r wa' l-shu'arā'* seems to point to this fact. [2] The Prophet obviously hoped to win over parts of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a to the cause of Islam. The action brings to mind the despatch of missionaries to Medina before the Hijra. After the defeat at Uḥud, it was the only way of propagating Islam.

The Prophet sent a group of fourteen Companions, relying upon the promise of Abū Barā'. The Companions might have realized on their way that they were only a few, and sent to ask for aid. They received the aid of four men. Two of the four were famous for their valor: Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was an excellent fighter; 'Amr b. Umaiya was a reckless warrior, although the Prophet's opinion on his moral qualities was rather unfavorable. [3] It is also plausible to assume that the Muslim troop sent word to Rabī'a, the son of the aged Abū Barā', asking him to reaffirm the promise of safe conduct and protection. They wanted to be sure that he would stand by his father's pledge. Whether Abū Barā' died exactly on the night when the Companions set out is rather doubtful. The tradition that he lived a short time after the massacre of Bi'r Ma'ūna seems to be more trustworthy.

The Muslim troop alighted at Bi'r Ma'ūna. Here evidently the clans of Sulaim led by Anas b. 'Abbās al-Ri'lī camped under the protection of the Kilāb. Groups of Kilāb stayed there also. This is indicated by the fact that 'Āmir b. Fuhaira was killed by Jabbār b. Salmā of the Banū Ja'far of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. The expedition took place in a

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[1] See, about him, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, n° 2627.

[2] Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, 224, var. "q": *li-yuqārrūhu 'alā riyāsatihi*. In the edition of Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā (Cairo, 1932) it is rendered: *li-yuqātilūhu 'alā riyāsatihi*. In the edition of Shākir(Cairo, 1364 H.) the phrase has been omitted.

[3] See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, II, 296, "Bāb fī 'l-ḥidhr."

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very hot month (Safar/July-August, 4 H.), and the clans evidently gathered with their herds around the well. The envoy of the Muslim troop came to the people staying at the well and informed them that they were not the object of their expedition. The envoy, Ḥarām b. Milḥān, was killed by one of the people.

The attack was a sudden one, as attested by a verse of the sister of al-Mundhir b. 'Amr.[1]

The attack was led by Anas b. 'Abbās al-Ri'lī. He fulfilled his obligation as a relative of Ṭu'aima b. 'Adī to avenge his death at Badr. The clans who followed him fulfilled their obligation as allies of the Banū Naufal.[2] Some units or individuals of Ja'far b. Kilāb might have taken part in the attack. This is indicated by a verse of the sister of al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, in which she mentions "the wolves of the Ḥijāz, the Banū Buhtha [that is, the Banū Sulaim] and Banū Ja'far" [that is, Ja'far b. Kilāb of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a].[3] 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail might have approved the action of Anas or even taken part in the attack. But the responsibility was on the Ri'l and the other clans of Sulaim. It was the Ri'l and clans of Sulaim who were cursed by the Prophet. The action is connected with Mecca and the Naufal b. 'Abd Manaf were the cause for the launching of the attack on their enemies. The attack was apparently inspired by Mecca.

In fact, the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a are merely reproached for not standing by the pledge of protection. Ka'b b. Mālik reproaches the 'Āmir that they did not come to the aid of those attacked when they asked for help. They refrained from coming to their aid, because they knew that the battle would be a seroius one.[4] 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail is reproached by Ḥassān for violation of the pledge of Abū Barā', obviously because he did not prevent the clans of Sulaim, his clients, to attack the Muslim troop.[5]

It is conceivable that Abū Barā' was grieved by the violation of

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[1] "Had the group been wary of these troops," Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, ed. Hirschfeld, 57.

[2] The case of al-Raji' is also connected with the clan of Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf: Khubaib was killed in revenge for al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Naufal. Khubaib was bought by Ḥujair b. Abī Ihāb, an ally of the Banū Naufal. He was executed by the son of al-Ḥārith with the assistance of Abū Maisara of the 'Abd al-Dār. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 182.

[3] Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, ed. Hirschfeld, 57-58.

[4] Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 221-22.

[5] Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 198: "You left your 'jār' (that is, the Muslim group) to the Banū Sulaim, fearing their hostile action, in (your) abjection and weakness."

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his protection. According to the record of Ibn Qutaiba,[1] he commanded his people to kill 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, but they disobeyed. The affair had evidently, in their opinion nothing to do with them. It was the Banū Sulaim who had settled their accounts with the Muslims. They, the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, considered the sending of Abū Barā' to "that man" as a fit of mental aberration.[2] It was only the son of Abū Barā' who tried to kill 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, but failed. Abū Barā', feeling that he had lost authority in his tribe, started to imbibe unadulterated wine and drank himself to death. It may be remarked that the verses of Ḥassān are addressed to Abū Barā''s son, Rabi'a; not one verse is addressed to Abū Barā'. He lost influence in his tribe, and must have died shorthly after the massacre of Bi'r Ma'ūna, probably from his tumor.

The tradition about the attendance of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was not admitted into the traditional accounts, because of the case of the murder of the two men of Kilāb (or Sulaim) granted safe conduct by the Prophet. The report of Qatāda, as quoted by al-Samarqandī,[3] states explicitly that the two men were killed by the three Companions, returning from Bi'r Ma'ūna. The report of the papyrus states that the two returning Companions killed the two men of Kilāb.[4] Later collections of the *maghāzī* preferred not to mention the version claiming that Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the first who shed blood for the cause of Islam, the hero of al-Qādisiya, did not take part in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna but saved his own life, while the other Companions died the death of martyrs, or was involved in the murder of the two men of Kilāb. The blame of the murder of the two men of Kilāb was put solely on 'Amr b. Umaiya al-Ḍamrī.

The Prophet could not demand the bloodwite for the martyrs from the Banū Sulaim, nor from the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. He promised to pay the bloodwite for the two men of Kilāb, killed by his Companion (or Companions) and started to collect the money of the indemnity. He summoned the Banū Naḍīr to contribute a portion of it. That led to the encounter with the Naḍīr and to their expulsion.

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1 *al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, 224.
2 Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 472.
3 MS Chester Beatty, I, 228a.
4 Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Papyri*, Document 5 (verso), 69, lines 11-12.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE *IQṬĀ'*

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Certain superficial resemblances between society and tenures in medieval Persia and certain types of feudalism in Western Europe have encouraged a somewhat loose attribution of the term feudalism to society and government in Persia. Further, just as during the French Revolution feudalism was adopted as a generic description to cover the many abuses of the ancien régime, [1] so in recent years it has become in Persia a term of abuse. Leaving aside this misuse of the term, it may be of some interest to examine whether Persian society can be called feudal, in the narrower sense of the term, and Persian institutions feudal, in a legal sense. The institution most commonly thought of as feudal in medieval Persia is the *iqṭā'* in its various aspects. It was the dominant institution of the Great Seljuq Empire (A.D. 1037-1157). *Iqṭā's* were granted by rulers prior to the Seljuqs, but it was in the Great Seljuq period that the institution became, as it were, regularized. The system continued in Persia down to the twentieth century in its essentials, though the nomenclature varied. An examination of this system and its origins will throw light on the existence or otherwise of feudalism in Persia. In the following pages, I shall not be breaking new ground, but rather restating conclusions reached elsewhere; and I am conscious of my debt to the work which has been done on the evolution of the *iqṭā'* by Professor Cahen.

Among the superficial resemblances between society and tenures in medieval Persia and feudal society and tenures in Western Europe are the following: the fragmentation of authority in the tenth century A. D., and again on the break-up of the empires which were subsequently established in Persia; the grant of land in return for the performance of military service; the grant of land to certain officials in lieu of salary; the grant of immunities; the supremacy of the military class; the existence of a subject peasantry; private armies; and private courts. None of these in themselves constitute or confirm the existence of feudalism. As against these similarities there are certain obvious differences. Among them is the fact that the dominant military

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[1] Cf. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 1952, p. xv.

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class, from the ninth century A.D. onwards, was composed, to a great extent, of slaves and freedmen;[1] and they were concentrated in towns, and not dispersed in castles, as was the case in Western Europe. In practice, however, the slave or freedman who rose to high administrative or military office differed very little from the freeman so far as his power and authority were concerned; and the appointment of slaves and freedmen, under the Great Seljuqs, to the office of atabek, meant that their status was second only to that of the sultan. Another difference is that commerce was relatively highly developed in the Abbasid Empire. These facts do not preclude the existence of feudalism; but they make it less likely.

Feudalism is generally believed to have existed in pre-Islamic Persia. A brief examination of this and the circumstances of the Arab conquest will show that the *iqṭāʿ* was not a continuation of Sassanid feudalism in Islamic dress. Christensen traces the origins of Sassanid feudalism back through the Arsacids to the Achaemenids, when the king of kings created vassals, giving them certain parts of his domains as hereditary property with certain privileges, and, probably, certain immunities.[2] Under the Sassanids, there was a strong antagonism between two mutually opposed tendencies, feudalism and bureaucratic centralization, the struggle between which dominated the social and political development of the Sassanid Empire until the reign of Khusrau Anūshiravān.[3] By that time, the great nobles (*shahrdārān*) had become "a court nobility" and had lost the character of a true feudal nobility. The ancient connection between the second rank of nobility (the *vāspuhrān*) and the village, however, remained. No precise details exist of the privileges enjoyed by the feudal nobility, or to what extent the government exercised authority over their fiefs. It appears that the population occupying the land had to pay taxes either to the state or to the lord, or perhaps to both; and were forced to render military service.[4] The lowest in rank among the inferior nobility were the *dihqāns*, village chiefs, whose power came from their hereditary possession of local administrative functions. They were divided into five classes. In some cases the amount of land held by a *dihqān* by hereditary right was small, and he was merely the most important peasant of the district. His main function was to collect the taxes,

1 This was true of post-Abbasid Persia only at certain relatively limited periods.
2 *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1936), 14.
3 *Ibid.*, 45.
4 *Ibid.*, 101 ff.

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[illegible] disappeared as such, and their lands either became state lands or were left in the hands of their occupiers. The *dihqāns*, on the other hand, retained their importance and continued to act as a link between the new government and the people; but their functions were bureaucratic and not feudal. Under the Abbasids, there was, in certain respects, a deliberate and conscious imitation of Sassanid practice; it was not, however, the feudal tendencies of the Sassanid Empire which were imitated, but its bureaucratic centralization.

Land, after the early Arab conquests, fell into two broad categories: (1) land which had not been abandoned by its holders on the conquest continued to be held by them as non-Muslims (though later they were often converted), and paid *kharāj* (land tax), which, in the early period, carried the stigma of inferiority; and (2) land which had been abandoned by its owners, former crown lands of the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, land which had belonged to the religious institution and land which had no owner (that is, waste lands, etc.). From the second category, grants known as *qaṭī'a* were made to Muslims. Such grants were subject to *'ushr* (tithe), which was regarded as an alms tax payable only by Muslims.[2] The Arab *junds* (citizen armies), on the morrow of the conquests, were largely remunerated by tax-grants; but since, at this period, all Arabs virtually were soldiers and the notion of possession was barely separated from property, such tax-grants tended to be regarded as *qaṭī'a*, that is, land grants, also. These grants differed from the grants of relatively large areas of land as *qaṭī'a* which Becker and others have compared to the emphyteutic grants of the Byzantine Empire and were similar rather to the small estates held in full ownership, in return for military service, by the peasant-soldiers of the Byzantine frontier areas (the *limitanei* or *akritai*).[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 107.

[2] These were long-term grants of public domains to private individuals who, provided they brought the lands under cultivation, were granted full rights of disposal of the land and certain fiscal reductions

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In theory, Muslims could not acquire *kharāj* land; but, in practice, it proved impossible to prevent the conquerors from obtaining large areas of land as private property. Land thus obtained became indistinguishable from land granted as *qaṭī'a*. Both were alienable, hereditary, and subject to *'ushr*. Such lands were seldom, in the early period, cultivated by the Arabs personally, but rented in various forms to the peasants, the owner being responsible for the payment of *'ushr*, but exercising no rights other than those of an owner. He enjoyed no immunities, fiscal or otherwise, and had no judicial or administrative functions. In some cases, the *qaṭī'a* was linked to the tribal structure of early Muslim society. The primary need of the Arabs in the early period was not for money, but for pasturage; and a *qaṭī'a* was accordingly sometimes given to the leader of a tribal group and exploited by the group collectively.[1] In general, apart from the grants to tribal leaders and a few leading personages, the area of a *qaṭī'a* was usually relatively small, sometimes only enough to support one family. So far as this was the case, the *qaṭī'a* grants differed from both the large emphyteutic grants of the Byzantine Empire and the large estates which had formerly existed in the Sassanid Empire.

In the course of time, *qaṭī'a* grants also came to be known as *iqṭā'*. Qudāma, writing in the tenth century A.D., uses the term *iqṭā'* to mean a hereditary grant subject to *'ushr*, whereas he calls a non-hereditary grant *ṭu'ma*. Both were made from land other than *kharāj* land, and were under the *dīwān al-ḍiyā'*. Qudāma also mentions grants called *īghār*, that is, land which paid a fixed sum to the treasury and was immune from the entry of the tax collector; and *taswīj*, that is, annual, but renewable, tax-free grants. *Īghār* and *taswīj* were both made on *kharāj* land.[2]

By the tenth century A.D., the *iqṭā'* began to emerge in its medieval form. In order to determine whether it was a feudal grant, at this stage of its evolution, it will be useful to examine briefly some of the contemporary social and economic institutions of the Abbasid Empire. Such an examination will show whether the new development of the *iqṭā'* arose, as the feudal system in Western Europe, from a need for "protection", or whether the need which gave rise to it was of another kind, and the institutions seized upon, different from those seized upon in Western Europe by the need for protection.

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1 Cahen, *op. cit.*, 27 ff.
2 *Ibid.*, 28.

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In later Roman and early medieval society in Europe, the prevailing need was for protection. The institutions which this need seized upon, when it first began to turn away from the state, were twofold: one related to the person, the other to land: the *patrocinium* and the *precarium*. In early Islamic society, there was an institution not wholly dissimilar to the Roman *patrocinium*, namely the relationship of patron and client. This had two aspects, one Arabian in origin and social in its nature, and the other legal in origin and arising from slavery and influenced by Roman institutions. At the beginning of the first century of Islam a Muslim was, practically speaking, an Arab. On the expansion of Islam, converted non-Arabs were affiliated to an Arab tribe and known as *mawālī*.[1] The term carried with it, in the eyes of the Arabs, a social inferiority, and, for some two centuries, the distinction between Arabs and *mawālī* was a live issue. By the tenth century A.D., the social differentiation between them had virtually disappeared, and *maulā* was used only as a legal term to mean a freed slave. Clientship was thus, in Islam, a relationship between two parties arising from a need for social status. It did not carry primarily the implication of service and support; and it never became associated with land as did the *patrocinium*.

The *precarium*, used for protection in Western Europe, gave rise to the commendation of lands (*patrocinium fundorum*). In early Islamic times, an institution known as *taljī'a*,[2] which resembled the *patrocinium fundorum*, also existed. By it, the weak landowner committed his estate to the protection of the strong to indemnify it. The man who ceded his estate by such a transaction lost his ownership in it; but, in some cases, he retained the right to sell it and to transmit it by inheritance. The motive was usually to secure protection from either attack or extortionate demands from the government. It was found, inter alia, in frontier districts and in tribal areas, where security was likely to be precarious. It was often members of the military classes, holding adjacent estates, who undertook this form of protection and responsibility for the payment of the government tax. Conditions for a *taljī'a* contract varied: in some cases, the former owner agreed to pay special dues to the "patron" for protection.[3] There are also instances of landowners transferring their property into crown lands in return for protection; in such cases, they would

[1] Sing. *maulā*.
[2] Plur. *talājī*.
[3] Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), 67 ff.

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hold the property on some sort of life rent. The Abbasids confiscated many Umayyad *talāji*; but various new *talāji* were created during the Abbasid period.[1] Under the later Abbasids, and subsequently, references to *talāji* are rare, perhaps because the small landowners had become fewer. In the nineteenth century in Persia, instances of a similar practice are recorded, possibly because the need for protection had again become urgent.[2] The fact that this type of tenure was not, on the whole, widespread, and was a sporadic rather than a permanent feature of the land tenure system, suggests that "protection" was not the dominant need in Islamic society; and that the need or needs, which gave rise to the *iqṭā'* system must be sought elsewhere.

The accession of the Abbasids had been followed by a great economic revival "based on the exploitation of the resources of the empire through industry and trade, and the development of a vast network of trade relations both within the Empire and with the world outside. The Islamic town was transformed from a garrison city to a market and exchange, and in time to the centre of a flourishing and diversified urban culture."[3] With this development of trade and its concentration in Baghdad and the large Persian cities, a change took place in the financial administration of the state. The old silver standard, which had prevailed in the central and eastern part of the Sassanid Empire, was replaced by the gold standard.[4] The decisive step was taken in Baghdad between A.D. 874 and 915, though the silver standard continued in existence beside the gold standard. The situation, because of the diversity of coins in circulation and their fluctuating relative values, was thus a complicated one. Taxes in various areas, notably Fars, Isfahan, and Ahwaz, which had formerly been paid in kind, were paid in cash; in Syria and Mesopotamia, they were reckoned partly in cash and partly in kind.[5] The process of conversion was performed by *jahābidha*;[6] and a *dīwān al-jahbadha* was set up, the first mention of which occurs in A. D. 928.[7] The functions of the *jahābidha* concerned the administration, remittance,

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[1] Cahen, *op. cit.*, 31.

[2] It is not without interest that there have been cases of "protection" being sought by small landowners in Gurgān in recent years.

[3] *EI*², article on Abbasids.

[4] Fischel, *The Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Medieval Islam*, 3; B. Spuler, *Iran in Früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952).

[5] Mez, *Die Rennaissance des Islams*, 104.

[6] Sing.: *jahbadh*.

[7] Fischel, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

and supply of funds. Prominent officials all had their own *jahbadh*, or agent, with whom they deposited funds for safekeeping and administration. By the tenth century A.D., it was customary to pay debts by letters of credit (*suftaja*), as well as in cash. The use of *suftaja* in private commercial transactions and in the financial administration of the state--particularly with regard to the remission of taxes from the provinces—greatly facilitated the mercantile relations and government business of the Abbasid Empire.[1] The money requirements of the caliph and the state had become, by this time, very considerable; and a rapid supply of funds, especially for military purposes, was necessary. Various devices were adopted to obtain money: tax-farming, the putting up of offices for auction, the sale of crown lands, and the confiscation of private fortunes. Nevertheless, the budget was often unbalanced; and, in spite of the economic revival, there was a progressive deterioration in the financial stability of the state from the ninth century A.D. onwards. This was due to a number of causes, inter alia, the civil war after the death, in A.D. 809, of Hārūn al-Rashīd, internal revolts, foreign wars, the growing luxury of the court, over-taxation, the extortion of officials, and the consequent decline in agricultural production, notably in Iraq.

Considerable changes were also, meanwhile, taking place in the social structure of the caliphate. The most striking was in the composition of the military forces of the caliphate, and the increase in the numbers and power of the Turkish military slave troops, noticeable especially from the reign of Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861) onwards, and which culminated in the emergence of the *amīr al-umarā'* in A.D. 936. Against this background of change in the economic and social environment (though not in the nature and purpose of government), the *iqṭā'* began to emerge as one of the main institutions of the state.

The dominant need of the state, at this time, was for money to finance its operations, and the crucial problem, the payment of its civil and military officers. Hence, it was the financial and administrative institutions of the state that this need seized upon and transformed; and from this stems a fundamental difference between the feudal institutions of Western Europe and the *iqṭā'*; namely, that whereas a contractual relationship was an essential characteristic of the former,

[1] *Ibid.*, 12 ff.

the element of contract never became a feature of the *iqṭā'*. In Islam, all authority is delegated authority and excludes, therefore, the question of contract. Al-Māwardī, it is true, claims that the imamate was a contract; but this claim had ceased to have any validity, in practice, by the tenth century A.D. The authority of the governor, the tax-collector, and the judge was in all cases delegated. If, therefore, it was the financial and administrative institutions of the state which were the real parents of the *iqṭā'*, it is not surprising that the element of contract never became a feature of the new system.

The institutions which were seized upon by the need to finance the state and transformed by the new development of the *iqṭā'* were the *ḍamān* and *qabāla*, on the one hand, and the provincial governorate or amirate, on the other. The *ḍamān* was a tax-farm, which often involved the putting up for auction of the right to collect the taxes of a given area, usually annually. Under the early caliphs, the taxes of some districts were handed over to certain Arab towns or to individuals. Thus, Nihavand and later also Hamadan were handed over to Basra by Mu'awiya, and Dinavar to Kufa. Out of this practice grew the tax-farm proper. The whole of Egypt under Manṣūr (A.D. 754-75) was offered to a tax-farmer; and in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.D. 786-809) tax-farming was common; and by A.D. 900 it was widespread. Sometimes, whole provinces were involved,and the tax-farmers, as witness the case of the Barīdis in Khuzistan, were often exceedingly powerful. The *qabāla* was not a tax-farm proper, but the undertaking by a local notable to pay the tax quota of the local community, which would be assessed by the method known as *muqāṭa'a*, that is, assessment at a lump sum, payable according to the lunar year,[1] in contradistinction to assessment by measurement (*misāḥa*) and assessment by a share of the crop (*muqāsama*), payable according to the solar year. The *muqāṭa'a* method was adopted in many areas for the sake of the convenience of the government. Abū Yūsuf recognized it, but disapproved of it, and recommended control of the activity of the man who accepted the *qabāla* by a military leader (amir) or agent acting on behalf of the imam, whose expenses were to be defrayed by the state treasure.[2] The assessment of taxes by *muqāṭa'a* continued to be common in Persia until the twentieth century.

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[1] Cahen, *op. cit.*, 29.
[2] Løkkegaard, *op. cit.*, 96 ff.

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The second institution seized upon was the provincial governorate. This, under the Abbasids, had been through various vicissitudes. The keystone of the administrative system had been the separation of military and financial affairs, with the amir as the head of the military administration and the *'amil* of the financial. In the provinces, there was a network of officials, the provincial government being virtually a replica of the central administration. The existence of a large body of officials placed a heavy burden on the finances of the province, upon which they were a charge. This burden was further aggravated by the fact that the officials of the bureaucracy were not, even in theory, the servants of the public; they were the servants of the caliph (and later of the sultan), partaking, according to their degree, of his absolute authority. Appointment to an official position was broadly regarded as a passport to wealth—hence the establishment of the *dīwān al-muṣādara*, since all, or virtually all, officials were expected to get rich by illegal means. The burden imposed by the official classes was still further added to by the existence of factions: each important official had his own supporters who rose (and fell) with him. The strain imposed by the bureaucratic administration eventually became too great and the system broke down. In the first place, the difficulty of paying the officials of the bureaucracy and the army led to a wholesale extension of the farming of taxes, thus setting up a vicious circle. The situation was, moreover, complicated by another tendency: already by the death of Ma'mūn in A.D. 833, the balance between the civil and military arms of the administration, whether at the level of the central government or the provincial, had been upset, and the money received from the farming of the taxes soon ceased to be sufficient to pay the army leaders and their troops. As the revenue came in with increasing irregularity, so the practice grew of assigning the taxes, not to the tax-farmers, but to the military themselves. Once a military leader was assigned the right to collect the taxes of a large area, it became relatively easy for him to establish his semi-independence. Moreover, the matter did not stop with the assignment of the taxes. When these still failed to come in regularly, rights over the land itself were then assigned: in other words, the tax-farm swallowed up the land revenue system, and itself, in turn, became assimilated to the provincial governorate, which had become militarized. The result of these various developments was the ruin of the land, on the one hand, and the failure of the military to support or defend the central government, on the other. This militarization of the

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state, which is marked not only in Iraq and the neighborhood, but also in the east under the Samanids, and more especially under the Ghaznawids, and the growing tendency of the military to be occupied, not only with the arts of war, but also with administration, have obscured the true nature of the *iqṭā'* system, which in its origins was bureaucratic and not feudal.

The assignments made to the military mentioned above were called *iqṭā'*s, but they differed from the old *iqṭā'*s, which were assignments of *'ushr* land, in that they were made probably mainly from *kharāj* land (but the distinction between these two types of land had by this time become blurred). They were, therefore, an extension of the *ighār* rather than of the original *iqṭā'*. The jurists, in fact, distinguished between the two types, calling the former *iqṭā' al-tamlīk* and the latter *iqṭā' al-istighlāl*. The difference in theory between them was that the former was a grant of ownership, its purpose the extension of cultivation, and the latter a grant of the usufruct, its purpose remuneration for services. Under the Buwaihids, the military, to whom the *iqṭā'*s of the new type were given, did not normally live on their grants, but merely sent their agents to collect their revenues. If the historians of the period are to be believed, they exploited their holdings to the maximum and ruined the countryside. In theory, the *iqṭā' al-istighlāl* was not hereditary, or even granted as a life-rent; there were periodic redistributions, and if a *muqṭa'* died, his children did not receive his *iqṭā'* but pensions. The soldier, in return for his *iqṭā'*, had to perform military service and was, in theory, subject to detailed regulations and inspection. The amirs, who also received *iqṭā'*s, had no responsibility for the payment of the soldiery, who themselves received pay (*rizq*), or an *iqṭā'*, from the state. There was thus no subinfeudation as in Western Europe. A provincial governor could distribute the area under his jurisdiction as *iqṭā'*s, but he did this as an official of the state, and not because the area formed part of his private domain. Legally, possession of an *iqṭā'* did not give the beneficiary any juridical rights over the inhabitants. But, in practice, it clearly contributed to the spread of patronage and was, in the Buwaihid period, accompanied by widespread acts of usurpation by the military; and Professor Cahen thinks that as a result peasant-proprietorship tended to disappear.[1] Moreover, the tendency for the function of the provincial governor, the provincial

[1] *Ibid.*, 32 ff.

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military commander, the tax-collector, the tax-farmer, and the *muqṭa'* to be combined in one person, led to the emergence of large properties, virtually independent of the central government. The tendency of the de facto powers of the *muqṭa'* to increase was also strengthened by the fact that governors frequently received in their provinces some areas by way of an *iqṭā'*. In such cases, they combined in these districts their economic power as *muqṭa'* with their functions as governor, and tended to exercise the powers of both throughout the province. [1] Under the Buwaihids and in Fatimid Syria there are cases of *muqṭa'*s who had, in addition to their obligations as *muqṭa'*s, the administrative duties and obligations of *wālīs* or governors also. In such cases, the *muqṭa'* carried out all governmental functions; all the towns and fortresses in the province would be under his jurisdiction; all the costs of the provincial government would be defrayed locally; no taxes would be paid to the central government, but, in time of war, a military contingent would be furnished; and the ruler's name would be mentioned in the Friday prayers and on the coinage. Further, the *muqṭa'* was free to constitute the area under him into *iqṭā'*s. Such a *muqṭa'* or *wālī* was, in the view of Professor Cahen, in many respects the brother of a European feudatory. [1] The great difference between the two, and what would seem to be a crucial difference, was that the *muqṭa'* held his *iqṭā'*, or government, solely at the will of the sovereign and as a matter of grace. This type of *iqṭā'* was the exception under the Buwaihids; it did not become widespread until the Seljuq period.

The dominant type of *iqṭā'* under the Buwaihids was the military *iqṭā'*. These were controlled by the military diwan, the *dīwān al-jaish*, at the head of which was the *'āriḍ* or muster-master. The military diwan was thus concerned not only, or even primarily, with military administration, but rather with the fiscal value (*'ibra*) and characteristics of each *iqṭā'*, and the reallocation of *iqṭā'*s as they fell vacant. [1] This intimate connection between the assessment of taxes and the levy of troops continued in Persia down to the twentieth century, but did not in itself constitute feudalism. When the central government was strong, control over the allocation of *iqṭā'*s was close. The military *iqṭā'* did not necessarily involve decentralization or a relaxation of the authority of the central government.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 35-36.
[2] *Ibid.*, 36.
[3] Cf. *ibid.*, 36-37.

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Under the Great Seljuqs, there took place an assimilation of the military *iqṭā'* to the governorate or "administrative" *iqṭā'*. With this the careful estimate of the exact fiscal value of the *iqṭā'* tended to be replaced by an approximate estimate; and the *iqṭā'* to be defined not by fiscal value but by service; and for the *iqṭā'* to become, by usurpation, a hereditary domain over which the *muqṭa'* had governmental prerogatives.[1] The situation, however, varied in different parts of the empire. Broadly speaking, five main types of *iqṭā'* can be distinguished; but the distinction between them was not absolute, nor did all *iqṭā'*s in the same category conform exactly to the same pattern. Moreover, the situation was further confused by the fact that the same persons sometimes held more than one type of *iqṭā'*. First, there was the grant of an *iqṭā'* by the sultan to a member of his family. These were probably not intended originally to be hereditary, but the tendency developed for certain branches of the family to regard certain districts as its own *iqṭā'*; and sometimes, as in the case of the Seljuqs of Kirman and the Seljuqs of Syria, to set up virtually independent dynasties. Originally, the grants to members of the Seljuq family were, perhaps, not unlike the *qaṭī'a* granted to Arab tribal groups in the early centuries of Islam. The dominant need of the Seljuqs, in the early period of their expansion, was also for pasture for their flocks, but by the end of the period, the *iqṭā'*s granted to Seljuq princes were barely distinguishable from "administrative" *iqṭā'*s or provincial governorates. These grants were in all cases simply delegations of authority, and did not contain any implication of vassalage or permanent rights. The Seljuq prince held the area at the will of the sultan, who could, and frequently did, revoke the assignment. The usual method by which a prince was dispossessed was to assign the area to a third person, who would then take possession of it by force. The terms of these grants varied. In most cases, complete financial control was handed to the prince, in the sense that all revenue was collected by him; he was usually instructed, however, not to increase taxation and was, in any case, to some extent limited in this by local custom and Islamic theory. The degree to which he could sub-assign the area under him varied. In some cases, the right was accorded; in others, not. The Seljuq sultans also assigned *iqṭā'*s to their wives and other Seljuq women; but such *iqṭā'*s were in the nature of pensions or personal estates and fell into a different cate-

[1] Cf. *ibid.*, 43.

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gory. The practice of the Qajar rulers in the nineteenth century of appointing their sons and relatives to provincial governments was in some respects not unlike the grant of *iqṭā'*s by the Seljuq sultan to members of the Seljuq family. Neither were in a legal or technical sense feudal grants.

The second type of *iqṭā'* was the "administrative" *iqṭā'*, which was in effect a provincial government. In the western part of the Seljuq Empire, this type of grant was normally called an *iqṭā'*, but in the eastern provinces it was known by the traditional terms of *wilāya*, *'amal*, *riyāsa*, or *niyāba*, the term *iqṭā'* being used for the military *'iqṭā*, which continued to exist as a separate category, in spite of the tendency towards assimilation with the "administrative" *iqṭā'*. In the "administrative" *iqṭā'*, the *muqṭa'* (or *wālī*) was granted complete control, and was able to make sub-assignments. This is especially noticeable in the case of *muqṭa'*s who attained to virtual independence. No effective system was devised for maintaining control over the *muqṭa'*. In some cases, there appears to have been an attempt to exert this by "reserving" certain taxes, retaining certain "crown" lands, within the area of the *iqṭā'*, or appointing a deputy (*nā'ib*) to reside in the *iqṭā'* on behalf of the sultan. Under the later sultans, the power of the amirs, relative to that of the sultans, grew; and with this, the grant of an *iqṭā'* tended to become merely official recognition of the possession of a given district by an amir. Simultaneous assignment of the same *iqṭā'* to two amirs, who were then forced to fight it out, became increasingly common. With the increase of the power of the amirs, a hereditary tendency began to appear in the "administrative" *iqṭā'* also; but this was by usurpation and not by right. There were various cases of *iqṭā'*s being granted to members of former ruling houses. These merged, on the one hand, into those *iqṭā'*s which were pensions or personal estates, and, on the other, into the "administrative" *iqṭā'*. They differed from the latter in that the assignee, or his family, had sometimes had a past connection with the area assigned to him.

The relations between the sultan and *wālī*, or *muqṭa'*, who held an "administrative" *iqṭā'*, were not those of lord and vassal. The source of all grants of authority or land was the absolute sovereignty of the sultan; and the grant, a matter of grace. Moreover, the fact that the amirs, who were the dominant group among the assignees, were for the most part slaves of freedmen, militated against the emergence of a feudal society in which there was a union of vassalage

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and benefice; and, in theory, a freely negotiated contract between equals. By Islamic law, on the death of a slave, his possessions escheated to his master. In practice, it often happened that, on the death of a royal slave, the sultan would grant his possessions to one of his descendants. Many amirs and atabeks succeeded in establishing hereditary dynasties, but they did this by usurpation. The holder of a provincial government or an *iqṭāʿ*, "administrative" or military, owed the obligation of obedience and service to the sultan, but there was no obligation of protection or maintenance upon the sultan. There was, in fact, no contract involving mutual fealty. The grant was arbitrary, subject to regrant at irregular intervals, and to revocation without cause. There is in some of the Seljuq documents an injunction to the assignee to "consult", but this, I think, derived from the practice of the steppe and was not part of the *iqṭāʿ* system. Under the Safawids, there appears to have been a council of amirs (*umarā-yi jānki*). Details of its procedure and activities are scanty; but in the absence of evidence, there seems no reason to regard it as a "feudal court"; under the Qajars, the *jānki* was not a regular part of the organization of the central government, but a tribal council dealing with affairs concerning the Qajar tribe, which appears to have sat, not under the shah, but under the head of the tribe, the *il-khānī*.

It seems likely that in Persia, at least, the fact of the amirs in medieval times often being slaves or freedmen had very little influence on their status. There are two trends running through society, mutually opposed, but in fact seldom coming into conflict: namely, the "equalitarian" theory of Islam reinforced by the generally levelling tendency of Turkish military government on the one hand, and, on the other, the "social" but not functional pre-eminence of "old" families (the *buyūtāt*). There was, however, nothing in the nature of a hereditary aristocracy. Repeated conquest and the inheritance laws of Islam effectively prevented the emergence of such a class. The sayyids occupied a special position, deriving from hereditary descent, but this was not combined, except by coincidence, with landownership. The only other class which had perhaps some claim to be regarded as a hereditary aristocracy was that of the tribal leaders. So far as they constituted such a class, their authority was essentially personal, and derived from their possession of flocks and tribal followers: not from the possession of land (though tribal leaders often eventually acquired land). Further, the vicissitudes of conquest, invasion, and

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economic pressure resulted in a frequent dispersal of tribal groups and the disappearance of chiefly families.

The third type of *iqṭāʿ* was the military *iqṭāʿ*, which was a continuation of Buwaihid practice. This type, as stated above, was becoming assimilated to the "administrative" *iqṭāʿ*, and it is not always easy to distinguish between the two. In theory, the military *iqṭāʿ* was a grant on the revenue, and the beneficiary did not live on the land on which the draft was made; but in practice he very often did. A hereditary tendency appeared in the military *iqṭāʿ* also and became normal under Nūr al-Dīn Zangī (the ruler of Aleppo A.D. 1146-73). In addition to the military assignments to individuals, there were, in the time of Malikshāh (A.D. 1072-92), a number of areas throughout the empire constituted into *iqṭāʿs* for the standing army, so that, when passing through that area on campaigns, fodder and provisions were ready. This too was an "administrative" device to ensure that commissariat difficulties would not impede the progress of the army when it was marching through the countryside; it was not a feudal arrangement.

Fourthly, there were *iqṭāʿs* granted to officials of the "civil" government. Such grants resemble, perhaps, the sergeanty of Western European feudalism. These *iqṭāʿs* took the form either of grants on the revenue or grants of land. The wazir apparently received one-tenth of the produce of the soil as an *iqṭāʿ*. We have no precise details of what was implied by this. In the first place, much of the empire was alienated from the control of the central government in the form of "administrative" *iqṭāʿs*, and therefore the sum involved may not have been very large. Secondly, as the alter ego of the sultan, the wazir was probably expected, from the proceeds of such a levy, to carry out some of the traditional duties of the sultan, such as the provision of pensions for the religious classes, the upkeep of hospices, bridges, roads, and so on. In addition to grants of revenue, the Seljuq wazirs also held assignments of land. These differed from the "administrative" and military *iqṭāʿ*s in that there was no explicit or implicit obligation to furnish the sultan with troops; but the distinction was obscured by the fact that the maintenance of "private" armies was the rule for all prominent persons, with the exception of the religious classes. Various members of the religious classes also held *iqṭāʿs*; where these were held by qadis or others of the religious hierarchy, the *iqṭāʿ* was in lieu of salary; in others, it was rather a pension and belonged to the fifth category of *iqṭāʿ*, namely the "personal" *iqṭāʿ*

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granted to private persons and others as a gift on a life, or hereditary, tenure. Lastly, there was another type of *iqṭāʿ* which was a personal estate of a rather special nature; namely, the *iqṭāʿ* granted to the caliph to meet the expenses of his position. This practice was not a new one, but one which survived from earlier times. The first person to grant the caliph an *iqṭāʿ* was Nāṣir al-Daula, the Hamdanid (A.D. 929-68), a grant which clearly underlined the fact that the caliph no longer collected the revenues of the empire and expended them on its administration, and that control had passed to the "military", who had taken possession of the resources of the empire and merely allotted to the caliph a "pension".

The Seljuq period, broadly speaking, marks not the dissolution of the fiscal administration of the central government -in the details of the local arrangements for assessment and collection there is a striking continuity—but its militarization and a contraction in the area of its direct operation. This contraction was, however, accompanied by the emergence of what tended to become a "hereditary" domain, over which the *muqṭaʿ* had governmental prerogatives, which included the collection of taxes, the holding of the *maẓālim* court and general supervision of security and religious affairs. This system was not feudalism in a technical sense. If a comparison is to be sought, it is to be found with the Byzantine *pronoia* rather than the Western European fief. In the early stages, the adoption of the *iqṭāʿ* system did not coincide with weakness in the control of the central government, but rather with a change in the military forces of the state. The power of the Seljuq state, when it was first established, was based on the Turkoman tribes; they proved an unreliable source of power and, eventually, the military forces of the state came to be largely composed of slaves and freedmen. With this change in the state, the problem of the payment of the military forces, and the financing of the administration in general, received a new urgency. The *iqṭāʿ* was a device to solve this problem. It was only partially and temporarily successful. In the long run, it contributed to a decline in the relative power of the sultan vis-à-vis the amirs and, eventually, to the disintegration of the Seljuq Empire.

A not dissimilar course of events occurred in Safawid times.[1] Tribal forces also formed the original basis of Safawid power, and

[1] Questions of space forbid a discussion of Īlkhān practices and the reforms of Ghāzān Khān.

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were eventually replaced by an army composed largely of slaves and freedmen, paid by assignments of the revenue and of land. A new terminology had by this time developed, the term *iqṭāʿ* having been superseded by *tuyūl* and *suyūrghāl*. There is a certain lack of precision in the use of these terms. Broadly, the former covered grants of lands which were not in theory hereditary, and were made, for the most part, in outlying areas, amounting in effect to provincial governments. The holder was entrusted with the administration of the area and provided military contingents, when called upon, and presents (*pīshkash*) to the shah at the New Year. This was similar to the Seljuq "administrative" *iqṭāʿ*. Secondly, the term *tuyūl* was used to designate land assigned in lieu of salary; some areas, presumably originally crown lands, were permanently attached to certain offices. Thirdly, it covered the grant of immunities in private property; and fourthly, the grant of crown lands to the standing army. The latter were hereditary and passed to one of the male heirs of the holder, unless these refused to bear arms. Originally, this type of *tuyūl* was merely a grant on the revenue, made, in some cases, jointly to a group. The proceeds were collected, not by the soldier or soldiers personally, but by a *taḥṣīldār*. The term *suyūrghāl* was sometimes used to cover the first sense of *tuyūl* mentioned above; but it came to be used mainly to designate hereditary or life grants of crown land, waqf land, and usufructory property; it often also involved some sort of grant of immunity. [1]

In the 19th century, under the Qajars, with the tendency towards the centralization of the administration, in this sense, that the revenue demand was drawn up and allocated to the different provinces and districts by the central government, the term *tuyūl* ceased to be applied to what was in effect a provincial government. The provincial governor, however, was frequently assigned a *tuyūl* in lieu of salary. In the second half of the century, with the increasing difficulty which the central government experienced in financing the administration, many of the provincial governments and government offices were farmed. The position of the provincial governor, whether he farmed the provincial revenues or not, was in practice not very different from that of the *muqṭaʿ/wālī* or *tuyūldār* of earlier times. [2]

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[1] There were various other grants made on the revenue and grants of exemptions, known as *muqarrari*, *muʿāfī*, and *hamasāla*.

[2] He had, in practice, a free hand in the collection of the quota due from him and of what was required to defray the expenses of the local administration.

In the frontier districts and tribal areas, *tuyūl*s continued to be granted in return for the provision of military contingents. From the middle of the century onwards, the tendency was to assess villages in terms of taxes and military contingents (though some areas were exempted from the provision of the latter), and to assign them as *tuyūl*. Cause and effect were reversed: originally the military *iqṭāʿ* had been given for service and not vice versa. Thus under the later Qajars, service was, in some cases at least, given for the *tuyūl*. Such grants usually carried with them certain immunities. In the course of time, it sometimes happened that the liability to provide contingents was neglected, and the grant was converted by usurpation into private property enjoying immunities and exemptions. There were also, under the Qajars, cases of grants of land (*tuyūl*) being assigned to certain offices; these similarly tended to become assimilated to private property. Lastly, grants known sometimes as *tuyūl* and sometimes as *suyūrghāl* continued to be made on crown land, waqf land, and usufructory property. [1]

There is thus a striking continuity between the *iqṭāʿ* and the *tuyūl*/*suyūrghāl*. The latter, like the *iqṭāʿ*, were, in the main, devices for financing the administration of the state and the upkeep of the army. Under the Seljuqs, there was a general tendency for the military leader to become also an administrator and to exercise jurisdiction. This was also true in subsequent periods of Persian history up to the second half of the nineteenth century. There was also, throughout, a connection between military functions and the possession of land, but this was not based on a feudal contract involving mutual fealty between sovereign and vassal.

The period of the *iqṭāʿ*/*tuyūl* was preceded by a spread in the tax-farm; its decline was also accompanied by a somewhat similar phenomenon. Whereas, however, the spread of the tax-farm in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. had heralded the development and regulari-

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Any surplus remaining after the payment of the central government quota was retained by him. He usually exercised rights of jurisdiction within the province; and, if called upon to do so, provided military contingents.

[1] An interesting example of a *tuyūl*/*suyūrghāl* on usufructory property is the statement in the *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī* of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī (Tehran, lith., 1894-96, ii, 314) that the Gāvbāz tribe of Fārs, who earned their living by fattening cattle and selling them as fatstock, were in the *tuyūl* and *suyūrghāl* of the *naqīb* of the *qalandars* and *darvīshes* of Fars; this presumably meant that the *naqīb* had the right to collect the taxation due from the Gāvbāz, and possibly also to settle disputes among them.

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zation of the *iqṭā'*, the growth in tax-farming in the nineteenth century was followed by a fundamental break in the administration: the old institutions were no longer adequate for the changing needs of the country and were eventually superseded by institutions based on those of the democratic countries of Western Europe. These institutions had developed in Western Europe out of feudalism and feudal practice. In Persia, however, the *iqṭā'/tuyūl* had not given rise, as feudalism had done in Western Europe, to a belief in the binding force of engagements freely entered into, or to the idea that one is not bound to obey an order incompatible with one's dignity as a free man. Nor had there been anything in the relationship between the *muqṭa'* and the sultan, or the *tuyūldār* and the shah, like the *foi* which had bound together lord and vassal in Western European feudalism, and to which the high importance attached in Western Europe to the virtue of fidelity goes back. [1] The *iqṭā'* was not a feudal institution in a legal sense; and Persian society was not, in the narrower sense, feudal. When, therefore, Persia adopted modern institutions based on those of Western European democratic states, the break with the past was a complete one; and she passed to the new age without any of the intermediary experience of feudalism.

[1] Cf. Ganshof, 154.

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LA CLASSIFICATION DES SECTES DANS L'HÉRÉSIOGRAPHIE ASH'ARITE

PAR

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Le professeur H. A. R. Gibb s'est souvent attaché, au cours de sa longue et fructueuse carrière, à étudier la structure de la pensée musulmane et, partant, à s'interroger sur la fonction qu'il convenait d'assigner respectivement, dans l'ensemble de cette pensée, à ces disciplines spécifiquement musulmanes que sont le *hadith*, la jurisprudence (*fiqh*), la théologie spéculative (*kalām*), la philosophie d'inspiration hellénistique (*falsafa*) et le soufisme. A plusieurs reprises l'étude de l'ash'arisme l'a retenu, aussi bien dans sa méthodologie que dans le contenu de sa théodicée et de sa politique; nous voudrions joindre modestement nos efforts aux siens en nous interrogeant, à notre tour, sur la manière dont les grands représentants de l'école qui furent aussi des hérésiographes, Ash'ari, Baghdādi, Shahrastānī et Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ont pour leur part compris la classification des sectes musulmanes. [1]

Ces classifications, loin d'être fixées *ne varietur* dès l'origine, présentent souvent d'assez notables divergences. C'est à les dégager dans une vue fort schématique, et d'une façon purement descriptive, que nous nous bornerons ici, dans les limites nécessairement étroites qui nous sont imparties, sans rechercher dans quelle mesure ces divergences, au demeurant inséparables de l'évolution de l'ash'arisme, peuvent trouver leur explication dans la personnalité des auteurs considérés, leurs propres systèmes ou les circonstances politiques dans lesquelles ils ont vécu et enseigné.

Dans le *Kitāb al-maqālāt*, qui constitue le premier grand traité d'hérésiographie qui nous soit parvenu, les sectes musulmanes sont rangées, sans le souci d'une grande rigueur dans la systématisation, entre les dix catégories suivantes: [2]

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[1] Les références que l'on trouvera dans le corps de cette note renvoient aux éditions suivantes: Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyīn*, éd. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1930). *'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī*, *Al-farq bain al-firaq* (Le Caire, s.d.); *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul, 1928). Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa 'l-niḥal*, 3 vols. (Le Caire, 1948). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *I'tiqādāt firaq al-muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn* (Le Caire, 1938).

[2] Nous reprenons ici quelques unes des conclusions de notre article sur „La

1° Les *shī'ites*, qui eux-mêmes comprennent les *ghulāt* ou extrémistes, les *imāmīya* (auxquels sont rattachés les *kaisānīya*) et les *zaidīya*.

2° Les *khārijites*, avec leurs nombreuses subdivisions, mais dont les quatre sectes fondamentales sont celles des *azāriqa*, des *ibāḍīya*, des *ṣufrīya* et des *najadāt* (p. 101).

3° Les *murji'a*, qui englobent une grande diversité de sectes ou d'écoles qui n'eurent souvent, dans la réalité, aucun lien historique: ainsi les *jahmīya*, *najjārīya*, *karrāmīya*, *ḥanafīya* et *marīsīya*.

4° Les *mu'tazila*, sur lesquels al-Ash'arī apporte une documentation d'une exceptionnelle valeur, en particulier quand il s'agit de préciser la doctrine d'Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī (m. 303 H.).

5° Les *jahmīya*, très sommairement définis.

6° Les *ḍirārīya*, 7° les *najjārīya* et 8° les *bakrīya*, dont les systèmes composites sont rapidement analysés.

9° Les *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* ou *ahl al-sunna* dont la profession de foi fait l'objet d'un résumé précis, mais qui surprend toutefois par sa brièveté et sa sérénité quand on songe qu'al-Ash'arī sera souvent par la suite présenté comme le grand, sinon le plus éminent, théoricien du sunnisme.

10° Les *kullābīya*, ou disciples de 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (m. 240 H.), connu sous le nom d'Ibn Kullāb, dont l'importance, dans l'histoire du *kalām* ash'arite, a été vigoureusement soulignée par Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī dans son *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* (p. 309).

On remarquera d'autre part qu'une allusion rapide est faite aux ascètes (*nussāk*) et aux *ṣūfīya*, qui s'imposent des règles de dévotion particulières ou enseignent des idées suspectes touchant le *ḥulūl*, l'incarnation de l'Esprit divin dans certains corps d'une exceptionnelle beauté, ou la *ru'ya*, la vision de Dieu réservée en ce monde à des saints privilégiés, sans que le soufisme, en tant que tel, soit condamné (p. 288).

Il y a tout lieu de penser qu'al-Ash'arī a composé ses *Maqālāt* à une époque où il était encore mu'tazilite. On ne peut s'empêcher d'être frappé d'abord par le fait qu'Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal n'est à aucun moment cité, alors qu'al-Ash'arī, ainsi qu'on le sait, mit sous le patronage du grand traditionniste de Bagdad son *Ibāna*, l'un de ses plus célèbres *credo*. La brièveté du passage consacré à Jahm b. Ṣafwān et aux jahmīya, ne saurait non plus manquer de surprendre, alors que

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classification des sectes dans le Farq d'al-Baghdādī," publié dans la *Revue des Etudes islamiques* (1961), 19-59.

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de nombreuses réfutations avaient déjà vu le jour dans les milieux de traditionnistes contre ces hérétiques auxquels on entendait rattacher, historiquement et doctrinalement, les mu'tazila.

Il est difficile d'imaginer qu'al-Ash'ari, écrivant à l'époque même où le ḥanbalisme se constitue fortement en école, entre 247 et 334 H., et intervient souvent dans la vie sociale par des manifestations qui ne pouvaient passer inaperçues, ait pu tout ignorer des réfutations des jahmiya que composèrent tour à tour, à côté de bien d'autres, des hommes comme Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (m. 241 H.), Abū 'Āṣim Khashish (m. 254 H.), 'Uthmān al-Dārimī (m. 280 H.), Abū Muḥammad al-Rāzī (m. 327 H.) ou, à plus forte raison, al-Barbahārī (m. 329 H.).

Né en 260 H., c'est vers la quarantaine — sous le califat si agité d'al-Muqtadir, où la rivalité entre le sunnisme et le shi'isme s'aviva, et où tant de sectes tenues pour schismatiques vinrent se heurter au traditionalisme ḥanbalite — qu'al-Ash'ari rompit avec le mu'tazilisme de ses premières années dans des circonstances qui n'ont pas été pleinement éclaircies. On peut même, nous semble-t-il, avancer que c'est entre 291 et 300 H., approximativement, que les *Maqālāt* ont dû être composées; on y trouve en effet (p. 85) une allusion à l'insurrection qarmaṭe de Syrie que le calife al-Mustakfī entreprit de réprimer en 291 H. et dont plusieurs chefs furent suppliciés à Bagdad.

Bien différente, en tout état de cause, est la classification générale des sectes que l'on trouve dans le *Farq bain al-firaq* d'Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī, de la grande école de Nishāpūr qui, après la prise de la ville par Maḥmūd b. Subuktakin en 389 H., s'en alla vivre à Isfarā'in où il mourut en 429 H. Jurisconsulte shāfi'ite et théologien ash'arite, disciple d'Abū Bakr b. Fūrak et d'Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī, Baghdādī, qui assista à la fin des Sāmānides et au début des Ghaznévides, fut étroitement mêlé, comme toute sa production en témoigne, aux luttes que le sunnisme eut à soutenir, dans les provinces orientales, contre les karrāmiya, les mu'tazila, le shī'isme et l'ismā'ilisme. C'est, en définitive, entre trois grandes catégories que peuvent se répartir les nombreuses sectes musulmanes dont le *Farq* entreprend la définition et la classification: d'une part les hérétiques schismatiques (*aṣḥāb al-ahwā'*); de l'autre les hérétiques renégats ou apostats (*aṣḥāb al-kufr*), qui prétendent appartenir à l'Islam, mais doivent en être exclus; enfin les traditionnistes communautaires (*aṣḥāb al-sunna wa 'l-jamā'a*) qui seuls détiennent la plénitude de la vérité révélée.

A. Les *aṣḥāb al-ahwā'*, les schismatiques hérétiques qui se rattachent

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à l'Islam par certaines de leurs options de foi mais s'en détachent par d'autres, comprennent les sectes suivantes:

1° Les *rawāfiḍ*, parmi lesquels figurent les *zaidīya*, les *kaisānīya* et les *imāmīya* — les shi'ites extrémistes ou *ghulāt* étant rejetés parmi les renégats.

2° Les khārijites, eux-mêmes groupés autour de huit sous-sectes (*muḥakkima*, *azāriqa*, *najadāt*, *ṣufrīya*, *'ajārida*, *tha'āliba*, *ibāḍīya* et *shabībīya*).

3° Les *mu'tazila* ou *qadarīya*, qui se divisent en une vingtaine de sectes, et contre lesquels Baghdādī avait déjà composé un *Kitāb faḍā'iḥ al-mu'tazila*.

4° Les *murji'a*, avec leurs cinq principales subdivisions (*yūnusīya*, *ghassānīya*, *tūmanīya*, *thaubānīya* et *marīsīya*).

5° Les *najjārīya*, dont les thèses sont, sur certains points, celles des mu'tazila, et sur d'autres, celles des „gens du *ḥadīth*."

6° Les *jahmīya*, *bakrīya* et *ḍirārīya* qui se trouvent ainsi assez étrangement réunis sous une même rubrique.

7° Les *karrāmīya* dont l'étude est d'autant plus précieuse que Baghdādī a eu à sa disposition le *Kitāb 'adhāb al-qabr* d'Ibn Karrām et qu'il avait pu discuter, en 370 H., en présence du sāmānide Nāṣir al-Daula b. Simjūr, avec un théologien connu de la secte.

8° Les *mushabbiha* enfin, qui groupent un ensemble composite de sectes, allant de la simple hérésie à l'apostasie caractérisée, mais qui toutes participent de la même hérésie, le *tashbīh*, la comparaison de Dieu avec ses créatures, qui présente des degrés variables de gravité.

B. On arrive ainsi à la deuxième grande catégorie de sectes hérétiques, celle des *aṣḥāb al-kufr*, des hérétiques renégats ou apostats qui, contrairement à leurs prétentions, se sont mis d'eux-mêmes hors de la communauté musulmane. Dans cette catégorie entrent les sept groupes de sectes suivants:

1° Les *ghulāt* ou shī'ites extrémistes qui voient dans leurs imams une incarnation (*ḥulūl*) de l'Esprit Saint, ou leur confèrent le qualité de prophète (*sabā'īya*; *bayānīya*; *mughīrīya*; *ḥarbīya*; *manṣūrīya*; *jarrāḥīya*; *khaṭṭābīya*; *ghurābīya*; *mufawwiḍa*, *dhammīya*; *shura'īya* et *namīrīya*).

2° Les *ḥulūlīya*, ou partisans de l'union substantielle de l'Esprit Saint avec l'homme, parmi lesquels on retrouve plusieurs sectes précédemment énumérées, mais auxquels viennent s'ajouter les *rizāmīya*, *muqanna'īya*, *ḥulmānīya*, *ḥallājīya* et *shalmaghānīya*.

3° Les *mubāḥīya* ou *aṣḥāb al-ibāḥa*, qui désignent avant tout les *khurrāmīya* ou *khurramdīnīya* (*bābakīya* ou *māzyārīya*) qui considèrent comme licites toutes les interdictions légales.

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4° Les *tanāsukhiya*, ou partisans de la transmigration des âmes, parmi lesquels on retrouve la plupart des sectes précédemment énumérées parmi les *ghulāt* et les *hulūliya*, et auxquels viennent s'ajouter les *rāwandiya*.

5° Deux sectes mu'tazilites extrémistes: les *ḥā'ittiya* (également considérés comme tanāsukhiya) et les *himāriya* de 'Askar Mukram.

6° Les deux sectes khārijites extrémistes: les *ṣufriya* et les *maimūniya*.

7° Les *bāṭiniya* enfin contre lesquels le *Farq* se déchaîne avec une particulière violence et dont il fait, en définitive, des matérialistes athées (*dahriya zanādiqa*).

C. A ces schismatiques et hérétiques s'oppose enfin le parti des *ahl as-sunna wa 'l-jamā'a*, des gens de la tradition et du regroupement communautaire, auquel appartiennent, sous réserve de la rectitude de leur *credo*, les théologiens dogmatiques, les jurisconsultes fondateurs d'écoles et leurs disciples, les traditionnistes qualifiés, les lexicographes des écoles de Baṣra ou de Kūfa, les maîtres en sciences coraniques, les ascètes et les mystiques énumérés par al-Sulamī (m. 412 H.) dans son histoire du soufisme (à l'exception d'Abū Ḥulmān al-Dimashqī, d'al-Ḥallāj et d'al-Qannād), les guerriers de la foi qui montent la garde aux frontières (*murābiṭ*), et enfin la grande masse (*'āmma*) des Musulmans qui résident dans les pays où les emblèmes de l'Islam ont triomphé.

De ce *credo* des „gens de la sunna et de la communauté" tel que le *Farq* l'analyse, Abū 'l-Muẓaffar al-Isfarā'inī (m. 471 H.) donne, à son tour, un fidèle tableau dans le résumé qu'il a fait de l'oeuvre d'al-Baghdādī. 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Rizq Allāh al-Ras'anī (m. 660 H.), pour sa part, s'en dispense; on devine aisément la raison de ce silence. Originaire de Jazīra, avant d'aller enseigner à Mossoul, Ras'anī avait reçu une solide formation de jurisconsulte et de traditionniste ḥanbalite; il avait même été à Damas un élève du cheikh Muwaffaq al-Dīn b. Qudāma (m. 620 H.). Ecrivant à une époque où le ḥanbalisme syrien réagissait vigoureusement contre les progrès de l'ash'arisme, il lui eût été difficile de contribuer à donner, du *credo* d'al-Baghdādī, une plus large diffusion en en faisant figurer le résumé dans son propre *Mukhtaṣar*. [1]

Pour en revenir au *Farq* d'al-Baghdādī, dont la rigueur avait tout

[1] On trouvera une notice sur Ras'anī dans le *Dhail 'alā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II (Le Caire), 247-276. Pour son *Mukhtaṣar*, cf. l'édition de P. Hitti (Le Caire, 1942).

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pour séduire un sunnite militant comme paraît l'avoir été Ras'anī, la distinction entre *aṣḥāb al-kufr* et *aṣḥāb al-ahwā'* repose en définitive sur une distinction bien connue de tous les traités de droit musulman entre la peine légale (*ḥadd*) et la peine discrétionnaire (*ta'zīr*). Dans la catégorie des schismatiques renégats figurent toutes les sectes auxquelles le chef de l'État, l'imam, doit appliquer la peine prévue pour l'apostat (*murtadd*) à qui on demandera de faire acte de repentir et auquel, en cas de refus, on appliquera la peine de mort avec la confiscation des biens.

Les hérétiques schismatiques rangés dans la catégorie des *aṣḥāb al-ahwā'*, qui appartiennent encore à l'Islam par certaines de leurs croyances, mais s'en détachent par d'autres, relèvent des peines discrétionnaires (*ta'zīr*) que la Loi confère à l'imam et dont il est en définitive seul juge. C'est, d'autre part, à une mise systématique à l'écart (*mujānaba*) de ces schismatiques que les membres de la communauté sont pour leur part conviés, en refusant de prier derrière eux, de faire sur eux la prière des morts, de les enterrer dans les cimetières musulmans, de considérer comme licites les bêtes qu'ils égorgent ou de contracter mariage avec eux — sans pour autant cesser d'entretenir avec eux des relations commerciales ou de les utiliser à l'occasion contre un ennemi commun.

Si nous passons au troisième grand traité d'hérésiographie ash'arite, au *Kitāb al-milal wa 'l-niḥal* d'al-Shahrastānī (m. 549 H.) — lui aussi shāfi'ite et élève en *kalām* d'Ibn al-Qushairī (m. 514 H.) — nous arrivons à une classifications des sectes qui, tout en différant sensiblement, dans son ordonnancement et sa structure, de celle d'al-Baghdādī, n'en participe pas moins, dans une large mesure, du même esprit. Nous nous trouvons devant la classification suivante aussi peu respectueuse de l'ordre de la succession chronologique des sectes et de leur formation que l'avait été celle du *Farq bain al-firaq*:

1° Les *mu'tazila* (I, 57-112), toujours étudiés école par école.

2° Les *jabrīya* (I, 112-123), ou partisans de la toute-puissance divine et de la prédestination, parmi lesquels figurent des écoles aussi différentes les unes des autres que peuvent l'être celles des jahmīya (113), des najjārīya (116) et des ḍirārīya (116).

3° Les *ṣifātīya* (I, 123-170) qui tous admettent en Dieu l'existence d'une pluralité d'attributs et qui comprennent les ash'arites (127), les *mushabbiha* (145) et les *karrāmīya* (159).

4° Les *murji'a* (I, 222-234) proprement dits avec leurs six subdivisions.

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5° Les *khārijites* (I, 170-222) ramenés à six sectes fondamentales (*azāriqa*; *najadāt*; *ṣufrīya*; *'ajārida*; *ibāḍīya* et *tha'āliba*) dont toutes les autres dérivent.

6° Les *shī'ites* (I, 222-345) qui comprennent les *imāmīya*, les *zaidīya*, les *kaisānīya*, les *ghulāt* et les *bāṭinīya* (dont la nouvelle secte fondée par Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ (m. 518 H.) fait l'objet d'une longue analyse (339-345).

La critique fort vive que Shahrastānī fait de la doctrine des *bāṭinīya*, comme tous les grands ash'arites depuis Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (m. 403 H.), montre, notons-le au passage, combien tendancieuse fut l'accusation souvent portée contre lui d'avoir été un crypto-bāṭinite. [1]

7° Les *ahl al-furū'* (I, 345-368), c'est-à-dire tous les jurisconsultes dans la mesure où leurs divergences portent non plus sur le dogme proprement dit (*uṣūl*), mais sur des problèmes pratiques de droit (*furū'*) dans lesquels tout *mujtahid* de bonne foi et dûment qualifié a nécessairement raison.

Tous ces jurisconsultes sont eux-mêmes censés appartenir soit à l'école de la tradition soit à l'école du libre examen (*ra'y*) qui s'opposent sur le problème de la place qu'il convient d'attribuer respectivement au raisonnement analogique (*qiyās*) et aux traditions isolées (*akhbār āḥād*). Parmi les „gens du *ḥadīth*" figurent les jurisconsultes de l'école du Hedjaz: Mālik, Shāfi'ī, Sufyān al-Thaurī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal et Dāwūd b. 'Alī, tandis que l'école du *ra'y* comprend avant tout Abū Ḥanīfa et, plus particulièrement, parmi ses disciples, al-Shaibānī (362-368).

La deuxième grande partie du *Kitāb al-milal*, de beaucoup la plus longue (tomes II et III), est consacrée, comme l'on sait, à l'étude des religions extérieures à l'Islam; elle n'est pas cependant sans avoir une incidence sur l'hérésiographie musulmane telle que Shahrastānī la conçoit.

Après les religions qui ont un Livre (Juifs et Chrétiens) (II, 1-52) et qui jouiront, dans la communauté musulmane, d'un statut préférentiel, et celles qui ont un pseudo-livre (*Majūs*) (II, 52-104) et qui, en conséquence, ne pourront aspirer, dans l'État musulman, qu'à une situation inférieure à celle des précédentes, viennent en effet les religions naturelles qui n'ont pas de Loi révélée (*sharī'a*), mais qui

[1] Sur les discussions autour des positions prises par Shahrastānī à l'égard du shī'isme et de la *falsafa*, cf. les remarques d'Ibn Taimīya dans le *Minhāj al-sunna*, III, 209.

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reposent uniquement sur les opinions personnelles de leurs fondateurs et de leurs adeptes. Dans cette dernière catégorie entreront donc, après les philosophes de l'antiquité grecque (II, 231 et suiv.), tous les philosophes musulmans (*falāsifat al-islām*) (II, 1-245) et, en particulier, Avicenne dont l'étude, pour objective qu'elle soit, s'accompagne, par la place même qui lui est assignée, d'une condamnation sans équivoque — condamnation qui, d'une part, montre là encore combien est tendancieuse l'accusation faite à Shahrastānī de s'être fait un défenseur de la philosophie avicénienne et, d'autre part, avec quelle fermeté, tout au long de son histoire, le *kalām* ash'arite a banni la philosophie de l'Islam.

C'est, en effet, à des conclusions fort voisines de celles de Baghdādī et de Shahrastānī que parvient enfin, à son tour, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (m. 606 H.) dans son remarquable essai de classification des sectes, le *Kitāb i'tiqādāt firaq al-muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*, dont on doit l'édition au regretté Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq. C'est cependant, là encore, devant une classification nouvelle sur bien des points que nous nous trouvons — classification qui a dû faire leur place à des sectes nouvelles, mais qui donne parfois aussi, des sectes les plus connues de l'Islam, une définition quelque peu différente de celles auxquelles les précédents traités nous avaient habitués. Les sectes ainsi définies sont rangées sous les dix rubriques suivantes:

1° Les *mu'tazila*, avec dix-sept subdivisions, mais dont les thèses fondamentales sont ramenées à trois au lieu de cinq: la négation des attributs de Dieu, la création du Coran et la liberté humaine. On trouve d'autre part, parmi les *mu'tazila*, les *ghailānīya*, disciples du *qadarī* Ghailān al-Dimashqī dont l'appartenance au mu'tazilisme proprement dit n'est pas toujours attestée.

2° Les *khārijites*, avec leurs vingt-et-une subdivisions, et dont les thèses communes sont aussi ramenées à trois: excommunication pour fautes graves; excommunication de 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, Zubair et 'Ā'isha, et glorification toute particulière d'Abū Bakr et de 'Umar.

3° Les *shī'ites* (ou *rawāfiḍ*), dont les nombreuses sous-sectes se répartissent entre les quatre groupes des *zaidīya*, *imāmīya*, *ghulāt* et *kaisānīya*.

4° Les *mushabbiha* (p. 63) ou anthropomorphistes. Rāzī considère, on le remarquera au passage, que ce sont les *rawāfiḍ* qui furent les premiers *mushabbiha* dans l'Islam, en particulier avec Hishām b. al-Ḥakam et Hishām al-Jawālīqī. Il soulève à cette occasion le problème du *tashbīh* chez Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Isḥāq b. Rahawaih et Yaḥyā

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b. Ma'in. „Ce sont les mu'tazila, nous dit-il en substance, qui ont accusé ces docteurs de la Loi d'être des *mushabbiha*, et c'est là une erreur. Ces théologiens voulaient, tout à la fois, prendre position contre le *ta'ṭīl* et le *tashbīh*, mais se refusaient à discuter sur les termes ambigus du Coran (*mutashābihāt*) se bornant à affirmer leur croyance dans la réalité de ces termes, sans soulever le problème du 'comment' et tout en affirmant que Dieu est comparable à rien." (p. 166)

5° Les *karrāmiya*, avec leurs sept subdivisions sur lesquels, contrairement à toute attente, Rāzī, qui avait si vivement polémiqué contre eux, ne nous donne que fort peu de renseignements (p. 67).

6° Les *jabrīya* (p. 68) qui constituent un ensemble hétéroclite de sectes où voisinent les *jahmīya*, les *najjārīya*, les *dirārīya* et les *bakrīya*.

7° Les *murji'a* (p. 70), avec cinq subdivisions dont certaines sous-sectes n'avaient pas encore été mentionnées dans les traités antérieurs.

8° Les *soufis* (p. 72), qui font ainsi leur entrée pour la première fois — après les vives critiques dont ils avaient été l'objet dans l'œuvre d'Abū 'l-Faraj b. al-Jauzī — dans un traité général d'hérésiographie sunnite. Fidèle à la grande tradition de l'ash'arisme, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī leur est favorable et estime que c'est une erreur que de ne pas leur avoir fait une place dans les *kutub al-firaq*; il n'en dénonce pas moins, avec vivacité, en condamnant comme hérétiques les *ḥulūlīya* et les *mubāḥīya*, les tendances de tant de soufis vers l'incarnationnisme et l'antinomisme.

9° Sous le titre de *sectes qui font extérieurement profession d'islam mais sont à exclure de la communauté musulmane* (p. 76) figurent les *bāṭinīya* (ou Fatimides d'Égypte), les *ṣabbāḥīya*, disciples de Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, le fondateur de la nouvelle *da'wa* nizāride, les *nāṣirīya*, disciples de Nāṣir Khusraw, les *qarāmiṭa*, les *bābakīya*, les *muqanna'īya* et les *sab'īya*.

10° *Les sectes extérieures à l'Islam*, qui terminent cette classification (p. 82), comprennent tout à la fois les *juifs*, les *chrétiens*, les *majūs*, les *thanawīya*, les *sabéens* et finalement les *falāsifa* (p. 91). En parlant de ces derniers, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī tient à énumérer les nombreux ouvrages qu'il avait composés contre eux, en faisant remarquer que nul avant lui ne s'était acharné, avec autant d'application, à dénoncer l'hérésie de la *falsafa* et en protestant de son fidèle attachement au *credo* des gens de la tradition et de la communauté (p. 92).

Une exclusive toute particulière, tout au long de ces grands traités d'hérésiographie ash'arite, auxquels la renommée de leurs auteurs a donné et continue de donner une audience et une autorité toutes

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particulières, a ainsi frappé les *ghulāt*, les *bāṭinīya* et les *falāsifa*, que l'on s'est ainsi obstinément refusé à faire entrer dans le décompte des sectes musulmanes. Mais ce qu'il importe avant tout de retenir, c'est le sens et la portée de cette hérésiographie telle qu'elle s'est trouvée infléchie depuis le *Farq* de Baghdādī. Son dessein prédominant n'est certes pas de tracer l'histoire des sectes, mais d'arriver avant tout à une classification normative de ces sectes en fonction de leur éloignement plus ou moins grand du sunnisme dont chacun de ces auteurs se considère en définitive comme l'interprète le plus autorisé. Tous ces ouvrages constituent en définitive, tout autant que des traités de théologie dogmatique, de véritables *traités de politique iuridique* dont le but est d'éclairer l'État et chaque membre de la communauté sur leur comportement à l'égard des schismatiques qu'on leur dénonce. A ce titre, on ne saurait oublier qu'à la condition d'être éclairés à la lumière des circonstances de temps et de lieu qui les virent naître, ces traités d'hérésiographie — comme beaucoup d'autres documents de ce genre — constituent des sources de tout premier ordre pour l'étude de l'histoire musulmane — domaine où, là encore, la part du professeur H. A. R. Gibb a été si enrichissante.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION AND EXPANSION OF TETUAN: THE PERIOD OF ANDALUSIAN IMMIGRATION

BY

J. D. LATHAM

I

Towards the latter part of the fifteenth century, the inexorable advance of the *Reconquista* swept before it, one by one, the last remaining vestiges of Islamic sovereignty in Spain. Reluctant, or unable to cut the roots that held them to the ancestral soil, the vanquished Muslim population, for the greater part, accepted terms and peace with vassalage. To some, however, departure from the homeland seemed less distasteful than allegiance to the Catholic throne, and such of them as had the means and freedom to depart left Spain for Barbary. Among the emigrants went fervent spirits eager to resume the jihad wherever, and as best they might, against the forces of triumphant Christendom. It is with a group of exiles of such ilk that Tetuan, as it stands today, begins its history. Raised from the ruins of an earlier foundation, the town owes its restoration to a colony of Spanish Muslims who fortified the place and made of their retreat a base from which they could pit themselves against the Portuguese in North Morocco, principally in Ceuta and Tangier, and make descents upon the coasts of Spain.

For the reader who desires a more detailed knowledge of the origins of new Tetuan and the circumstances of its reconstruction, but who is compelled by linguistic limitations to rely on works in European languages, the principal source of reference remains the history section of A. Joly's well-known monograph on Tetuan, published more than half a century ago. [1] A more recent publication, which may be regarded to some extent as a supplement to Joly's work, is T. Ruiz de Cuevas's *Apuntes para la historia de Tetuan.* [2] While the pages of the *Apuntes* do contain much that is useful for certain periods and aspects of Tetuanese history, it cannot be recommended to the reader whose unfamiliarity with the subject prevents him from

[1] "Tétouan: 2me partie: historique", *Archives Marocaines*, V, 1905.

[2] Tetuan, 1951.

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differentiating between accurate and inaccurate, likely and unlikely, typical and aberrant. It is, in any case, quite disappointing as regards the matters with which we shall be presently concerned. More disappointing than the *Apuntes* is a paper published by F. de Carranza in the *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, No. 13, Madrid, 1950 and bearing the rather promising title "Sidi Abul Hassan al-Manziri." Here, the aim of the author is to establish more accurately the identity of the man with whose name the rebirth of the town is associated, and, by so doing, to solve the problem surrounding the date at which the work of reconstruction actually commenced. Unfortunately, there are so many weak links in his chain of evidence that it is impossible to place much faith in his conclusions. [1] For the rest, suffice it to say that the more general sources of information (for example, encyclopedias, histories of Morocco, etc.) have little to offer in the way of enlightenment. On the contrary, the diversity of accounts which they present confronts us with some bewildering contradictions, especially in the matter of dating. For these discrepancies, there are several reasons of which the most important, perhaps, is the arbitrary presentation of matters of opinion as matters of established fact, and of which the least important is certainly the utilization of new source material; for much the same material as was available to Joly has in fact been used time and again, while it is but rarely that some new item of information, or illuminating observation, has been introduced to lend a little flavor to the rehash.

The data assembled and discussed—not always with the same level of competence—by Joly derive essentially from (a) the two celebrated sixteenth century "descriptions of Africa" by Leo Africanus [2] and Marmol, [3] and (b) the *Kitāb al-istiqṣā'*, a comprehensive history of Morocco compiled in the nineteenth century by Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī. [4] Since all but a small portion of what is said on our subject in the *Istiqṣā'* is taken on trust from the work of Nāṣirī's Spanish

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[1] References to sources are lacking, and the author is often confused and inconsistent. See, for example, his handling of the *nisba* "al-Manẓarī," 93-94.

[2] *Descrittione dell' Africa*, in Gio. Ba. Ramusio, *Navigationi et viaggi*, I (terza edit.), (Venetia, 1563). A. Épaulard's French translation, 2 vols. (Paris, 1956), is of the first Italian edition corrected at the discretion of Épaulard and collaborators against a manuscript which is believed to be "une bonne copie dont s'est servi Ramusio." In the absence of a critical edition of the latter, I hesitate to rely unquestioningly on the French version.

[3] Luys del Marmol Caravajal, *Descripcion general de Affrica*, 2 vols. (Granada, 1573).

[4] References are to the Casablanca edition, IV, 1955.

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contemporary, Manuel Pablo Castellanos,[1] whose uncorroborated word it is dangerous to accept, the importance of the Moroccan compilation is, for our particular purposes, reduced to almost negligible proportions. Notwithstanding its inaccuracies, the *Istiqṣā'* nevertheless remained, until quite recently, virtually the only source in the Arabic language to which the historian had access. In 1959, however, a Moroccan historian, Muḥammad Dāwūd, published the first volume of a history of Tetuan,[2] his native town, which clearly frees us from our dependence on the work of Nāṣirī. Aspiring to European, rather than traditional Moroccan, standards of scholarship, Dāwūd draws on a wide range of primary sources, and writes with method and discrimination. Although one cannot always agree with his conclusions or processes of reasoning, he does acquaint us with data drawn from hitherto inaccessible or unpublished Arabic sources, or from the fund of his long experience of Tetuan and its traditions; and since there is no cause to suspect that he is careless in reporting his evidence or reproducing the texts of his *loci probantes*, the value of his work is clear. While it cannot be claimed that anything Dāwūd has to offer will solve some of the more vexing problems of our subject, his work is yet sufficiently informative to justify the appearance of the present paper, in which the restoration of Tetuan and its expansion under the impact of protracted Andalusian immigration will be accorded closer consideration than has hitherto been attempted or even possible.

Those sources which are relatively well-known in the context of Tetuanese history (for example, Leo, Marmol, etc.) and whose general value has been assessed in readily accessible works call for no special review here; such comment as is necessary will be made as and when the occasion demands. Of the unfamiliar Arabic sources with which we shall be concerned, on the other hand, some detailed account is required. The earliest and, to my mind, the most important of these is an untitled record of events in the history of Tetuan by the celebrated biographer, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Fāsī (988-1052/1580-1642) who is known to us principally as the author of the *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin*. Dāwūd had access to two privately owned copies of Fāsī's "*taqyīd*," as he calls it: one incorporated in an old miscellany, in the hand of al-Tuhāmī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Raḥmūn al-

[1] 1843-1911. References are to his *Descripcion histórica de Marruecos* (Santiago, 1878).

[2] *Tārīkh Tiṭwān* (Ma'had Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, Tetuan, 1959).

Tiṭwānī (fl. in Tetuan 1143/1730-31), and another in the hand of Maḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (1035-1116/1625-1704). Both copies were made from the original. [1] So far as one can judge, Fāsī, who spent the latter part of his life in Tetuan, is as reliable an authority as one is likely to find. He appears to write carefully, and inspires confidence.

The second oldest source which Dāwūd brings to light is a fairly short and incomplete manuscript of more recent date. Both the title and the name of its author are lacking, but from internal evidence Dāwūd puts it at more than a hundred and fifty years old, and strongly suspects it to have been the work of a certain Abū Zaid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥā'ik, Qadi of Tetuan, and one of the shaikhs of the Tetuanese compiler whose work we shall mention next. [2] In the second section of this manuscript, the author gives some account of the history of Tetuan which he describes as his native town. Where it has been possible to control its contents, Dāwūd has found it to be an accurate source of information. Because of its lack of title, Dāwūd proposes in his introduction to refer to the manuscript as *The Tetuanese Manuscript*, but later he more frequently speaks of it as "the old manuscript." I shall refer to it as the *Anonymous Manuscript*.

Not quite so old as this last source is a work whose title we may conveniently shorten to *Nuzhat al-ikhwān . . . fī binā' Tiṭwān* by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad Sukairaj (1145[?]-1250/1732[?]-1834). [3] Skīraj, as this author is more commonly known, was a native of Tetuan, who, apart from a brief interlude during which he studied at the Qarawīyīn in Fez, passed the whole of his adult life as a jurist and notary in his home town. He is an uncritical compiler, but the *Nuzha*, Dāwūd asserts—and rightly, we may suppose—does contain a good deal of interesting material which can be found nowhere else. Where this is not incompatible with established fact or probability, it cannot reasonably be rejected. The *Nuzha*, which, it seems, still exists only in manuscript and in an incomplete form, was made available to Dāwūd by his friend and former teacher, Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ruhūnī (1871-1953). The complete work is said to have been in two parts, each containing not less than two hundred and fifty leaves of quarto size.

Ruhūnī, the last on our list, is himself the author of a history of

[1] *Ibid.*, 59, 95.
[2] *Ibid.*, 58-59.
[3] *Ibid.*, 48-49.

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Tetuan—with a biographical bias—entitled *'Umdat al-rāwīn fī tārīkh Tittāwīn.*[1] Of the *'Umda* there are three manuscripts: the original and two copies. The first is now to be found in what was formerly the Biblioteca General of Tetuan, while the two copies are the private property of 'Abd al-Khāliq Torres and Dāwūd, respectively. The first four parts of Dāwūd's copy, which is the work of several copyists including himself, were taken from the original, the remaining six from the Torres copy. Of the original manuscript, to which the author, it seems, made numerous additions and alterations between 1925 and 1946, an edited Spanish translation exists,[2] but it is of indifferent quality and clearly a far from satisfactory substitute for the unpublished Arabic text. Quite apart from the fact that, at certain points, only a short abstract of content is given, one can never be quite sure that the carelessness and inaccuracy reflected in the footnotes have not been responsible for errors and omissions in the body of the translation. It does, however, give some idea of the nature and content of the *'Umda*, which—rather like the *Nuzha* on which it draws freely—turns out to be an undiscriminating compilation, yet, at the same time, a mine of raw material from which unique items of useful information can be extracted by the critical investigator.

In spite of the very recent date of the *'Umda* and the comparative lateness of the *Anonymous Manuscript* and the *Nuzha*, their degree of usefulness for our purposes is not necessarily less than that of many earlier, but comparable, compilations with which, for want of better, the Islamic historian has so frequently to make do. Their testimony, therefore, must be admitted or rejected according to the principle normally adopted in such cases; namely, that uncorroborated items of information resting on the word of a single author, but to all appearances realistic, are admissible until contradicted by whatever unimpeachable or more reliable sources the future may bring to light, or until shown beyond reasonable doubt to be in conflict with circumstantial evidence.

II

The history of Tetuan prior to the period with which we are concerned need not long detain us. The close of the fourteenth century is as far back as we need go. By this time, so we are most

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[1] *Ibid.*, 50-58.

[2] *Historia de Tetuan . . . por . . . R'honi . . . traducida por Muhammad ibn Azzuz Haquim* (Tetuan, 1953) hereafter abbreviated to *'Umda tr.*

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commonly told, the piratical activities of the inhabitants of the place had attained such serious proportions that Enrique III of Castile determined to eradicate what had become a painful thorn in the side of Spain. Accordingly, in the year 1400, the Castilian monarch--to quote from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*--"sent a squadron of ships which penetrated into the mouth of the Martin and destroyed the corsairs' fleet; troops were landed who took the town, destroyed it and carried off many of the inhabitants as prisoners. Tetuan remained deserted for about eighty years." [1] The course of events is somewhat similarly described in most other reputable histories and works of reference. [2] Although there is--for reasons which will soon be apparent--no unanimity on the period of time which elapsed between the destruction of Tetuan and its restoration, the general picture which emerges and which is most often accepted as historical fact is that, after its destruction by Enrique III in 1400, the town remained a deserted ruin for at least something more than three-quarters of a century. That such was actually the case is a proposition to which there are cogent objections. In the first place, the historicity of the Castilian expedition, of which there is surprisingly no mention in López de Ayala's chronicle of the reign of Enrique [3] and for which, in the last resort, we seem only to have the word of Marmol, [4] has yet to be proved. Leo, significantly enough, makes no reference to the operation, but, on the contrary, attributes the desolation of the town to the Portuguese. [5] Furthermore, if some misfortune, whatever its true nature or description, did indeed overtake Tetuan and result in its depopulation *at the turn of the century*, then either the disaster cannot have been so absolute, or its effects so enduring, as we are usually led to believe. Such must be our conclusion, if we accept the evidence of Portuguese sources. For in the year 1435 Tetuan, so far from being a scene of utter devastation, was a "lugar cercado de muros, e torres, e em que havia Castello de Menagem, e fronteiros." [6] It seems, then, at this date, to have been essentially a garrison town.

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[1] *EI*, s.v. "Tiṭṭāwīn".

[2] Cf. A. Cour, *Dynastie marocaine des Beni Waṭṭās* (1920), 78; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, II (Casablanca, 1950), 116, etc.

[3] Cf. D. López, in D. Peres and E. Cerdeira, *Historia de Portugal*, III (Barcelos, 1931), 538, n. 1; R. Ricard, in *Hespéris*, XXIII (1936), 126, n. 2.

[4] *Descripcion*, II, f° 131, col. 1. [5] *Descripcion*, 48 f.

[6] R. de Pina, *Chronica do Conde D. Duarte de Menezes* in J. Correa da Serra, *Collecção de livros ineditos de historia portugueza*, III (Lisboa, 1793), 56. Cf. Zurara, *Chron. do Conde D. Pedro de Menezes*, in Serra, *op. cit.*, II (1792), 600.

As such, it must have had a certain importance, for the prospect of its continued existence was so uncongenial to the Portuguese that they determined to be rid of it. Accordingly, in the year 1437, it was attacked and reduced by D. Duarte de Menezes and, in consequence, abandoned by its inhabitants.[1] It would seem, therefore, that Leo is right in regarding the Portuguese as the decisive factor in the ultimate ruin of old Tetuan.

Before the close of the century, a new Tetuan, raised and, for the most part, inhabited by Spanish Muslim exiles, stood on the site of the old. The date at which its history begins is problematical. Traditionally, it is held to be embodied in the *abjad* chronogram *TF. ĪḤT*, which, in numerical terms, amounts to 889 or 1484-5 of the Christian era.[2] Greater precision is offered by three verses of uncertain date which Dāwūd has discovered in what he describes as "an ancient miscellany" (*kunnāsh qadīm*):[3]

> Tiṭṭāwan was for certain constructed in the year *tuffāḥat* [= *TF.ĪḤT*]. On *za'* [7] in the month of Sha'bān they began to dig and to build. It was completed at the end of *kāf* [20]. I find this correct and undisputed.[4]

This, then, would give the date 7 Sha'bān 889 H. or 30 August 1484. Fāsī, on the other hand, who is our oldest datable Arabic source, puts the date at 7 Sha'bān 898,[5] that is, 24 May, 1493. Leo, our oldest known source, speaks in no such precise terms, but it is nevertheless clear from what he says that, for him, new Tetuan began its existence after the capitulation of Granada.[6]

In considering the discrepancy between the dates 889 and 898, the possibility of numerical transposition cannot be excluded since

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[1] *Ibid.*, III, 79-80; cf. II, 623.

[2] *Istiqṣā'*, IV, 125; Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 95-96 (*Anonymous Manuscript*, etc.). T = 400, F = 80, Ā = 1, Ḥ = 8, T = 400.

[3] *Ibid.*, 86. If the miscellany is that of al-Tuhāmī (see *supra*), TFĀḤT goes back at least as far as the first half of the eighteenth century.

[4] *Kāf* can hardly mean 20 or 27 Sha'bān. Dāwūd's suggestion of twenty *years* (*op. cit.*, 91) is feasible only if the completion of the second *qaṣaba* on Jabal Darsa (see *infra* and *ibid.* 92-93) were held to mark the completion of new Tetuan. The work of restoration proper is more likely to have taken twenty *months*, i.e., if we accept Fāsī's date, up to Rabī' I 900/December 1494, or, in other words, shortly before we hear of al-Manẓarī in action against the Portuguese (see *infra*, p. 395).

[5] Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 95-96.

[6] After a period of eighty, ninety or ninety-five years according to the edition. If the last figure (*Descripcion*, 48 f.) is correct, and if it was thought at the time of Leo's visit to Tetuan that the town was destroyed in 1400/802-3, then 898 is a feasible date *by hijra reckoning*.

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confusion of two different combinations of the same digits can occur as easily in Arabic as in English. The possibility is only slightly less if the numbers are expressed verbally. The fact that 7 Sha'bān occurs both in Fāsī's dating and in that indicated by the verses immediately induces the speculation whether there could be any connection between the two. If so, one is entitled to wonder whether the notorious Granadan *imāla* (ā > ē or i) had not been responsible for introducing an element of confusion into the traditional chronogram; for we have only to substitute *yā'* (= 10) for *alif* in *TFĀḤT* and read *TFYḤT* (= *TFĒḤT* or *TFĪḤT*) to arrive at the date offered by Fāsī. If this last could be regarded as accurate--and Fāsī is not a careless writer--one might suppose the original chronogram to have been a diminutive, perhaps, of *TuFfĀḤaT*, to which form it changed either at some stage in the evolution of local pronunciation or when committed to paper by a writer or writers who mistakenly assumed the word to represent the Granadan pronunciation of the classical *TuFfĀḤaT*. But even if the hypothesis of a phonological influence of some kind is valid, and if, in fact, the date is to be found in a chronogram at all, there is no way of knowing for certain at what stage and in what direction it operated since other possibilities equally feasible suggest themselves which, in the absence of objective criteria, make it unwise to choose between alternatives. A third date is offered by Skīraj in the chronogram *TFḤT*, that is, 888, [1] but as he seems to be the sole source for it, and as he is not a discriminating historian, the variant cannot be taken too seriously. It is best regarded as illustrating the possibility of error to which a chronogram is exposed.

For his part, Dāwūd is prepared to accept all three dates with the suggestion that they may indicate various stages in the history of the new town, 888 representing the year in which actual building operations began, 889 the year in which works of major importance were completed, and 898 the year in which the small initial group of exiles forming the early population of Tetuan was swamped and obscured by a great wave of immigration following the fall of Granada. [2] This interpretation scarcely carries conviction. It owes its conception and its weakness to Dāwūd's respect for two principles which are understandable in an Arab historian, but whose logical deficiencies will be immediately apparent to the Western critic. The first is that the inha-

[1] Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 95.
[2] *Ibid.*, 95-96.

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bitants of a town know their own history best, the second, that preference must be given to a tradition which has been handed down from generation to generation. Far sounder is his reluctance to dismiss the evidence of Fāsī, on the grounds that he is a careful and reliable writer and the earliest known Maghribi historian to mention the subject. As regards the speculation that the post-1492 influx may have obscured the earlier establishment of a sparse primitive population, the suggestion is not unreasonable, but whether its presence there could be supposed to go back as far as 1484 is another question, [1] for in no reliable source of my acquaintance is there any mention of al-Manẓarī's operations against the Portuguese before 1495. [2]

As regards the chronogram, one may feel that it cannot be lightly dismissed since it represents a strong and possibly ancient tradition. But is the form *TFĀHT* correct, and does it go back much beyond the beginning of the eighteenth century, if indeed so far? [3] To the second of these questions, one may reply that there is no evidence that it does. Since there is a general tendency to assign, not always correctly, a post-1492 dating to the Granadan phase of emigration, the date which it embodies—889/1484—may well commend itself to champions of the principle *difficilior, ergo potior*. On the other hand, it would be highly imprudent to reject the evidence of our oldest datable sources, Leo and Fāsī, whose knowledge of Tetuan and its inhabitants was the fruit of personal experience. Furthermore, the apparent absence of any mention of al-Manẓarī in the field against the Portuguese before 1495 is strange, especially if it implies an eleven year period of military inactivity. [4] A fourth date frequently quoted in European works, usually on Cour's authority, is 892/1487, but since the date is nowhere, to my knowledge, substantiated by the evidence of any primary source, it cannot be accepted as fact. [5]

III

In whatever other respects the chroniclers and historians of Tetuan may conflict with one another, there is at least one point on which

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[1] We have concrete proof of Andalusian refugees in North Morocco in 896/1491, but whether they were connected with Tetuan one cannot say. (M. J. Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber*, I [München, 1866], 42-44).

[2] Cf. also D. López, in Peres and Cerdeira, *op. cit.*, III, 539.

[3] See *supra*, p. 393, n. 3.

[4] See also my comments p. 393, n. 4.

[5] Cour, *op. cit.*, 77-78. Cf. *EI*, *loc. cit.* Cour accepts that Tetuan was deserted for ninety years. Does he accept its destruction in 1400/802-3 and reckon in

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they agree. All concur in associating the work of reconstruction with a certain Granadan *ra'īs* whose *nisba* was al-Manẓarī, [1] and whose *ism* and *kunya* may, despite the variant, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī, [2] be quite confidently accepted as Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī. Of this person's background, prior to his appearance in the Maghrib, next to nothing is known with any certainty, and indeed there are surprisingly few tangible facts to acquaint us with anything but the military aspect of his subsequent career. Apparently a native of Baza, al-Manẓarī took an active part in the military operations which finally lost Islam its last strongholds in the Granadan kingdom. [3] Beyond the fact of his eventual emigration to Morocco, nothing more can be said for certain of his Andalusian background. The assertion that his *nisba* derives from a fortified place called al-Manẓar located in the vicinity of Granada, while not improbable, is as likely as not a late a priori assumption on the part of Ruhūni. [4] Into a somewhat similar category falls the affirmation that al-Manẓarī's Granadan family were of Zanātan stock originating from Ghumāra. [5] Finally, the suggestion that the man is to be identified with a certain Muḥammad b. Ḥasan 'Alī, otherwise known by the Spaniards as "el Veterano," who, after the surrender of Baza in 1489, sought leave from Ferdinand to cross to Africa with his arms and a troop of cavalry, is a hypothesis developed from a process of reasoning which is too unsound to merit serious consideration. [6] The exact date of his arrival in Morocco, like that of the reconstruction of Tetuan, must be regarded as uncertain.

Initially, the Andalusian colony at Tetuan seems to have comprised only a fraction of its subsequent strength. Until the appearance of Dāwūd's history, the only figures to which there was ready access

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hijra years, thus arriving at 892? Carranza suggests that al-Manẓarī emigrated following the surrender of Baza, December 1489, but this date rests on his identification of al-Manẓarī. (See *infra*).

[1] This is the classical transcription. In the vernacular the ẓ becomes ḍ, hence *al-Manḍari* and its variations.

[2] Skīraj in *'Umda tr.*, 28.

[3] Cf. *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (hereafter abbreviated to *SIHM*), ed. H. de Castries and others, 1905-, *1re Série, Espagne*, I, 97, n. 5.

[4] *Apud* Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 107. There were probably several places of this name. Cf. F. J. Simonet, *Descripcion del Reino de Granada* (Madrid, 1860), 212. The *nisba* al-Manẓarī occurs in Granadan documents contained in L. Seco de Lucena, *Documentos arábigo-granadinos* (Madrid, 1961), 31, 66 (Ar. text).

[5] Carranza, *op. cit.*, 94. See *supra*, p. 388, n. 1.

[6] *Ibid.*, 94-95.

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were those of Leo and Marmol. To these we can now add those offered by the Arabic sources available to Dāwūd. As precisely as the manner in which he dates the reconstruction of the town, Fāsi puts the size of the founder group at forty-six men and ten women.[1] Between this figure and that embodied in two further verses of the "*kunnāsh qadim*"[2] there is a difference of one man and eight women:

> The number of dedicated men was *mim* [40] and *ya'* [7] no more, and the number of women the points of the *ya'* [2]. These persons laid the foundations.[3]

Other figures supplied by the author of the *Anonymous Manuscript* and Skiraj, are, respectively, forty households and eighty individuals.[4] While no objective control of any of these figures is possible, it may nevertheless be observed that those of our most credible source have the merit of not representing a conveniently round number. The same may be said of those contained in the verses. The *Anonymous Manuscript*, on the other hand, has the demerit of yielding a figure which is not only a round number, but which is frequently used in Morocco to denote nothing more than an indeterminate group of moderate aggregate.[5] As regards the last figure of eighty individuals, one need hardly reiterate that the uncorroborated evidence of Skiraj should be viewed with caution. The point is not, in any case, of major importance since the essence of the matter is that the original number of inhabitants could only be computed in multiples of ten. Such an evaluation is consistent with what might be expected of a small advance group of Granadan militia whose principal concern, at this stage, must have been to assess their prospects of life and livelihood, and to create the physical conditions of security before committing their wives and families to the uncertainties of exile.

According to Fāsī, it was through the good offices of the Sharīf 'Alī b. Rāshid al-'Alamī, "amir of the Jabal ['Alam] and builder of Shafshāwan (Xauen)" that they came to settle on the site of Tetuan.[6] After disembarking at the Wadi Martil, he relates, they dispersed in the mountain villages of the hinterland, and then established contact with Ibn Rāshid. The substance of this last sentence is also

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[1] Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 86. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Dāwūd misinterprets "the points of *yā'*" as "*yā'*" thus bringing the number of women to ten.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See my comments in *BSOAS* (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*), XXIII (1960), 143.

[6] Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 90.

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contained in the *Anonymous Manuscript*.[1] The author does, however add certain details which make it clear that, for him, it was Ibn Rāshid from whom the Andalusians sought permission to restore Tetuan and to whom they subsequently turned for help in the face of local opposition. No mention of this role which these accounts assign to Ibn Rāshid is to be found either in Leo or Marmol. For the latter, it was the ruler of Fez to whom al-Manẓarī addressed himself. "Supplico al rey de Fez," he remarks briefly, "le hiziesse merced de le dexar fortalescar y poblar aquella ciudad . . ."[2] It is also around this ruler that the somewhat more detailed accounts of the nineteenth-century historians revolve. The author of the *Istiqṣā'* merely confines himself to repeating the version of Castellanos which derives from an unspecified source.[3] According to this, the first step taken by the emigrants was to seek out the Sultan of Fez, in order to beg hospitality and land on which to build a town as a protection against the turbulent tribes of the Rif. The Sultan gladly acceded to the request and appointed al-Manẓarī leader and governor of the place. Skiraj, as reported by Dāwūd, has it that when the emigrants began to build on the site of old Tetuan, they were faced with local opposition.[4] They therefore took their case before the amir of the day, who pleaded shortage of money. He did, however, permit the nazir of the Qarawiyīn to make them a loan from *ḥabs* funds, whereupon they were granted an advance of 40 *qinṭārs* or 40,000 *mithqāls*.[5] The last two sentences are far from explicit, and Dāwūd's use of oratio obliqua, in which possibility of abridgment cannot be discounted, is regrettable in the light of what purports to be a verbatim version—presented by Ruhūnī—of the situation as recounted by Skiraj. The arrival of the emigrants once mentioned, the text runs as follows:

> They began to build their dwellings in the quarter known as al-Balad. The people of the *qabīlat Banī Ḥuẓmar* opposed them, claiming that the land belonged to them and served as pasture for their flocks. They therefore submitted their differences to the judgement of the reigning prince, who ordained that the land be acquired for 40,000 *mithqāls*. This question, together with the construction of the walls, he placed in the hands of his *'āmil* in Shafshāwan, Sīdī 'Alī ibn Rāshid al-'Alamī who delegated his functions to the heroic . . . al-Manẓarī . . .[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 90, 97-98.
[2] *Op. cit.*, II, f°. 131, col. 1.
[3] *Istiqṣā'*, IV, 124-125. Cf. Castellanos. *op. cit.*, 23.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 89.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *'Umda tr.*, 27-28.

Even if allowance be made for the fact that the opposition of the Banū Ḥuzmar is mentioned elsewhere in Dāwūd's history, and similarly attributed by him to Skiraj,[1] there nevertheless remain points of difference between the two presentations which are obvious enough to require no demonstration. Whatever view may be taken of Ruhūnī's version, it certainly clarifies the two comparatively inexplicit sentences in Dāwūd's reported account; more specifically, we are told the reason, or a principal reason, for the visit to Fez, and likewise the reason, or again a principal reason, for the financial aspect of the affair. The loan from the Qarawiyin mentioned in the one version and conspicuously absent from the other is puzzling, since it can safely be assumed that in utilizing the *Nuzha*, both Dāwūd and Ruhūnī were served by one and the same manuscript.[2] The omission of the detail by Dāwūd would be understandable since what he writes is evidently a précis in oratio obliqua; it is less so in the case of Ruhūnī who—from the Spanish translation of his work, at any rate--appears to quote Skiraj verbatim. Whether he does so in fact, and that in extenso, is open to doubt, if account also be taken of the absence in Ruhūnī of certain other details recorded by Dāwūd and attributed by him to Skiraj. Clearly, the question can only be decided by inspection of the original manuscript of the *Nuzha*; but, until this becomes available, the fact that differences in the two versions reside in omissions, rather than contradictions, gives us every reason to suspect that they are both selective and are, in fact, complementary to one another.

The tribes with whom the Andalusians are said to have come into conflict are, as noted by Skiraj, the Banū Ḥuzmar[3] or, as indicated by his anonymous predecessor, the Banū Ṣāliḥ and the Banū Sālim.[4] Their opposition seems to have been intense, for Fāsī goes so far as to say that they appealed for Christian assistance against the intruders.[5] Since no mention of such an appeal is made by other Arabic writers, one wonders whether later chroniclers have chosen to ignore what, in the conditions of their time, seemed to them a most unpalatable, or even unacceptable, aspect of the conflict. However that may be, we are left in no doubt that constant skirmishes, in which the policy

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 97.
[2] See Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 48-49.
[3] *Ibid.*, 97.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

of the tribal raiders appears to have been the systematic demolition of the nascent town, presented such a serious obstacle to building operations that the Andalusians were compelled to seek outside assistance. According to the *Anonymous Manuscript*, it was Ibn Rāshid to whom al-Manẓarī addressed himself, and who responded by raising a troop of 400 horse from the tribes of the Rif to protect the colony.[1] Reference to a defensive force is also found in Skīraj, but the details are somewhat different in that this force was supplied by the Sultan after the negotiations in Fez and was made up of forty *a'yān*--in whatever sense this might be interpreted--of Fez and forty Rifans.[2]

With the possible exception of certain numerical details, which fit too snugly into stereotyped moulds for them to be taken too literally, none of the foregoing data conflicts with ascertainable historical fact or probability. That the reconstruction of Tetuan was more than the comparatively effortless outcome of independent action on the part of a small group of Granadan emigrants is abundantly clear. It is equally clear that, without effective material and moral support, the undertaking must surely have failed. To suspect a problem of choice between Ibn Rāshid and the Waṭṭāsid ruler as the source of such support will, perhaps, be the first reaction of those unfamiliar with the political situation in North Morocco towards the end of the fifteenth century. Upon closer acquaintance with the background, the existence of such a problem will be doubted.

Let us begin by considering the position of Ibn Rāshid and the role of Xauen. With the occupation of Ceuta in 1415, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing a foothold in North Morocco which they maintained and consolidated by the capture of Qaṣr al-Ṣaghīr (1458), Arzila (1471), Tangier (1471), and other coastal towns.[3] From these bases on the littoral, their expeditions penetrated as much as fifty miles inland. They were by no means met with universal opposition, for, amongst tribes held in the vassalage of powerful local overlords of sharifian family or pretensions, there was much dissatisfaction with the impositions of their masters. The discontented and rebellious were not, therefore, altogether dismayed at the advent of the Portuguese, while the *shurafā'*, for their part, saw in the jihad against the

[1] *Ibid.*, 97-98.

[2] *Ibid.*, 97. The figure forty is probably not intended as an exact figure. See *supra*, p. 397, n. 5.

[3] On the general background, see *EI*, *loc. cit.*; Cour, *op. cit.*, 58-72; Terrasse, *op. cit.*, II, 111 f.; D. A. Yebbur, *Los Ber-Rached de Chefchauen* (Tetuan, 1953).

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Christian invader an excellent opportunity to restore their positions and make good their losses, and to do so with the official approval and support of Fez, as far as that was possible or practicable. It was in circumstances such as these that Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Muḥammad, a sharif of the Jabal 'Alam, proclaimed himself amir and leader of the jihad and laid the foundations, or possibly undertook the restoration, of Xauen, which he planned as a haven of refuge and center of resistance against the Portuguese circa 876/1471-2. Treacherously murdered by the inhabitants of Kharrūb in concert with their Portuguese allies, he was succeeded by his cousin, 'Alī b. Rāshid, who constructed and fortified the town on new foundations.[1]

In what capacity, or on what authority, Ibn Rāshid applied himself to this undertaking, the absence of explicit texts prevents us from saying with absolute certainty. Nor is it clear in what sense we are to understand the term "amir" as applied either to himself or to his predecessor. His position vis-à-vis the Waṭṭāsid is perhaps most correctly described as that of the Sultan's amil,[2] for we have to do with a family of great local power and prestige, virtually independent, but apparently enjoying some legitimate basis for their authority in Fez.

In the light of what we know of the life and times of the new master of Jabal 'Alam, the testimony of those who present him as the dominant personality behind the restoration of Tetuan carries conviction. In the first place, a distinct Andalusian bias runs through the history of his personal and domestic life. A veteran of the Granadan campaigns, he was married to a woman whom we know as Lālla Zahra, an Andalusian *renegada* from Vejer de la Frontera.[3] The nature of the family circle, which developed around his union with Lālla Zahra, is easily assessed. In his son and successor, the Spanish-speaking hispanophile, Mawlāy Ibrāhīm, we readily detect the influence of a Spanish mother—an influence which is also reflected in the character and talents of his daughter 'Ā'isha—the politically renowned Sitt al-Ḥurra—through whom he chose to ally his family with the house of the Granadan al-Manẓarī.[4] The already pronounced

[1] *Istiqṣā'*, IV, 121 (quoting Fāsī's *Mir'āt*); cf. Cour, *op. cit.*, 72.

[2] *'Umda tr.*, 28.

[3] R. Ricard, "Moulay Ibrahim, caïd de Chechaouen" in *SIHM*, 1*re Sér.* Portugal, III, 146-147.

[4] After prolonged research into the confused and confusing family tree, I agree with Dāwūd (*op. cit.*, 114, 118) that *Sitt al-Ḥurra* was married, not to Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, as commonly supposed, but to his grandson, second qaid of Tetuan, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad.

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Andalusian tone of the household can only have been heightened by the arrival, in due course, of Lālla Zahra's brother, Martin Fernandez —in aftertimes, Martinho Elche, of the Portuguese sources—and various other members of his family.[1] Impressed by the respect shown to his sister and her offspring, or rather—Bernardo Rodrigues is more specific—influenced by the favors accorded his nephew, Ibrāhīm, Martin decided to throw in his lot with the accommodating sharif and, taking the name 'Alī Fernando, embraced the Islamic faith.[2] In addition to the family and relatives of Ibn Rāshid, Xauen also sheltered what must have been a substantial Andalusian community encouraged and supported by the sharif, and it is scarcely surprising that it should have assumed the aspect of a town in the Alpujarras, an aspect which it still retains and which imparts to it the most purely Hispanic appearance of any town in Morocco today.[3]

Whatever the personal sentiments or predilections of Ibn Rāshid, it requires no unusual depth of insight to recognize the expediency of his interest in the fortunes of such Andalusians as might be persuaded of the need to withdraw to Morocco. In his efforts to consolidate his position in the Rif, the support of Andalusian expatriates would count for more than the uncertain prospects of support from fickle tribes, or a Fez committed to trucial inactivity.[4] The military qualities and experience of the Andalusians,[5] combined with a desire for retaliation and an acute awareness of the threat of further Christian penetration in the Maghrib, would make them a valuable asset.

For their part, the Andalusians must have had as great a need of Ibn Rāshid as he of them. The lot of the Andalusian immigrant could be hard. This much is clear enough from the contents of a document dating back to 896/1491, issued as an authoritative response to the declared grievances of an unspecified group of expatriates.[6] This document reveals complaints of indifference to their straitened circumstances, of a general lack of personal security restricting freedom of movement in the country, and the difficulties of obtaining the means of subsistence. It cannot be supposed that the position of al-Manẓarī and such of his fellow-immigrants as lacked the security

[1] Ricard, *op. cit.*, 147.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] See plate XXVII.
[4] See Cour, *op. cit.*, 71, 81-82.
[5] These were highly valued in Morocco.
[6] Müller, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

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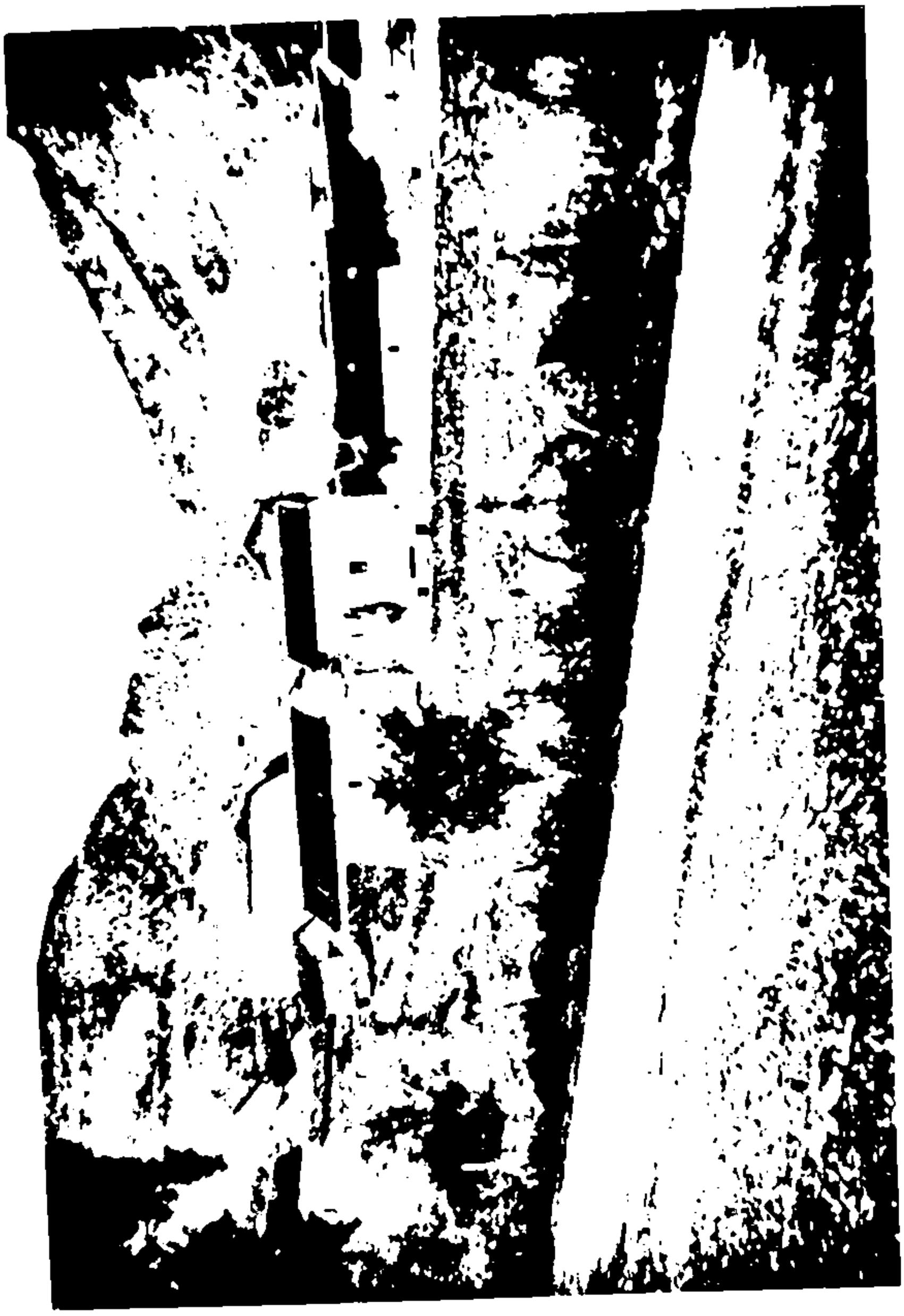

General view of Nasan Shahsiyan

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which bonds of relationship, or other connections with local tribes, might afford, could, in the ordinary course of events, have been any more favorable. On the contrary, it is likely to have been less so. It is axiomatic that, beyond the towns and cities, the position of the unprotected outsider who found himself in the midst of a tribal society, by nature suspicious and inordinately jealous of its rights, could be precarious in the extreme. It is, therefore, not difficult to assess local tribal reactions to an alien group aspiring to survival as an independent community on the site of a town which had reverted to the rural domain.

As we have already seen, there are, in fact, specific reports of conflict, and these, no less than the alleged cause of conflict, namely, the infringement of tribal territorial rights, may be regarded as wholly consistent with probability. Indeed, a parallel situation is observable in the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Algerian town of Blida which, like Tetuan, owes its existence to a colony of Andalusian refugees.[1] Compelled by tribal hostility to migrate from the ancient site of Tipasa, which they had attempted to colonize about the year 1533, the community moved to the banks of the Wadi Rummām, so as to profit the more effectively from the good offices of the then most influential personage of the region, Sidi Aḥmad al-Kabir. The prestige of this widely venerated marabout might have sufficed to check all active expression of local antipathy to the intruders, had not the resentment of the neighboring Banū Abī 'l-Naṣā'ir at what they alleged to be an encroachment on tribal territory culminated in physical conflict with the settlers. To this problem, a final solution was reached only when the Andalusians, through the intervention of Sidi Aḥmad, were able to acquire an exclusive and undisputed title to land. This they eventually secured from the tribe Aulād al-Sulṭān, who, though sharing the general dislike of the newcomers, felt obliged to repay the marabout for past favors and to accede to his appeal for the grant of a suitable site to his Andalusian protégés. Vis-à-vis the indigenous population, then, there appears to have been little essential difference between the respective positions of the Andalusians of Tetuan and those of Blida.

Quite apart from any question of xenophobia or rights of land, the possibility of fiscal exactions and other irksome demands, which

[1] C. Trumelet, *Blida*, I (Alger, 1887), 573-6.

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could normally be expected to follow the creation of a new urban center, is unlikely to have escaped the attention of the rural population. Whether there were also the disaffected who, being aware or suspicious of an understanding between al-Manẓarī and Ibn Rāshid, saw the projected restoration of Tetuan as an attempt on the part of the latter to extend or strengthen his control over the region, we do not know. What we do know is that, whereas there is nowhere any suggestion that the aggrieved parties either sought or received any support for their case from the ruler of Xauen, we do have Fāsī's unequivocal reference to an appeal for Christian—presumably Portuguese—intervention. It is, in my view, precisely to this stage in the sequence of events that the mission to Fez is most likely to belong, because it is precisely at this point that the details supplied by the fullest accounts of this mission fall most naturally into place.

With the data derived from our sources, and a knowledge of the background, we shall, perhaps, not err too widely if we reconstruct the situation somewhat as follows. The refusal of the Granadans to withdraw from Tetuan had provoked an outbreak of hostilities which must have made it difficult enough for them to hold their ground, let alone consolidate their position. Numerically, they were at a great disadvantage and, in the long run, military experience, courage and determination could be no substitute for paucity of numbers. The colonists had thus been obliged to apply to Ibn Rāshid for reinforcements. To their frustrated neighbors, the most promising source of help in these circumstances must certainly have seemed to lie in the very enemy which the *mujāhidūn* sought to combat—the Christians. From this impasse, the only practicable avenue of escape for the Andalusians lay in the payment of compensation for the site. Held to ransom for a settlement which neither they nor, evidently, Ibn Rāshid could afford, the colonists had no alternative but to refer their case, probably after due consultation with, or on the advice of, Ibn Rāshid, to the only authority capable of lending the appropriate material and moral support. It seems improbable that we shall ever learn the details of the case which they put before the sultan, but one may assume that much was made of the dangers of militant Christianity and the strategic value of a fortified Tetuan as a bulwark against the threat of renewed encroachment on the Waṭṭāsid realm. [1] Here, it could be argued, was an excellent opportun-

[1] It may be noted that after the capture of Melilla in 1497, the deserted but strategic site of Tāzūṭā was assigned to a Granadan captain who colonized it

ity for the ruler to avail himself of his truce with the Portuguese to strengthen his defenses. Moreover, rich prizes could be won which would more than offset any initial outlay on the undertaking. Whatever their submissions, they are of little account; the outcome was in their favor. Their cause was formally approved, and the mission returned with a military detachment and the wherewithal to conclude a settlement with the tribal plaintiffs.

IV

From small beginnings, the Andalusian population of Tetuan must soon have assumed more ample proportions. Each new phase in the series of upheavals which bedevilled Spain for more than a century must surely have contributed to its growth. Only a few years after the fall of Granada, for instance, we hear of Mudejares, exasperated by Christian efforts to suppress religious freedom, departing for Tetuan and surrounding areas from Ronda, Baza, Muchar and Motril. [1] Writing in the early years of the sixteenth century, Leo, for his part, speaks of Tetuan's force of three hundred horses, "huomini tutti granatini & il fiore di granata," [2] while Marmol in his day has this to say of the town and its Andalusian inhabitants: [3]

> La fortaleza de la ciudad cõsiste en la gente, porque ay de ordinario dentro quatrocientos de a cavallo buena gente de guerra, y mil y quinientos peones escopeteros y vallesteros, y despues que los Moros del reyno de Granada se rebelarõ ay muchos mas.

If we are to credit a statement that, in the early years of the seventeenth century, Tetuan "had 800 good houses and a fleet which was the scourge of the 'Gut of Gibraltar'," [4] it is a reasonable inference that by that time the total number of inhabitants stood at not less than 5,000 souls. Since by the beginning of the seventeenth century the town was inhabited by an increasingly heterogeneous population, such an estimate can tell us nothing of the rate and manner of growth —or otherwise—of the Andalusian element. If tolerably accurate, however, it can be usefully compared with a perfectly plausible assessment which we have for the latter part of the seventeenth century.

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with Andalusians (Marmol, *op. cit.*, II, f°. 156, col. 3. Cf. Leo, *op. cit.*, 52 F.).

[1] *K. nubdhat al-'aṣr* (Anon.). Ed. and tr. A. Bustani and C. Quiros, (Larache, 1940), p. 48/tr. 56.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 49A.

[3] *Op. cit.*, II, f°. 131, col. 4.

[4] Hakluyt Society edition of J. Pory's translation of Leo (London, 1896), 632, n. 138.

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"Les Habitans de Tetoüan," writes Pidou de St. Olon, "qu'on fait monter à plus de quinze mille, se disent Andalous, & parlent presque tous Espagnol . . ." [1] For such a dramatic increase in population as the comparison implies, an explanation is not far to seek. Towards the end of 1609, Spain began to implement the policy of general expulsion which was finally adopted as the definitive solution to the Morisco problem. By the middle of 1610, some 40,000 Moriscos, according to a contemporary Spanish report, were concentrated in Tetuan and region. [2] While it cannot, for a number of reasons, be supposed that Tetuan was the ultimate destination, or even the ultimate goal, of so numerous a body of refugees, it is nevertheless fairly certain that the exodus from Spain accounted for a substantial increase in population. This much seems to be borne out not only by the remarks of St. Olon, but also by the account which a Moroccan Jewish source gives of a fine imposed on the Tetuanese, in December 1610, by Mawlāy al-Shaikh. [3] For the purposes of this exaction the population was broken down into three groups, namely, Muslims, Andalusians and Jews, who were required to pay, respectively, 100,000, 150,000 and 10,000 *ūqiyas*. It is unfortunate that we have no knowledge of the principle on which each of these three amounts was assessed, for if the sum demanded of the Andalusians—who in this context can only be the Moriscos [4]—could be regarded as a per capita assessment, it would follow that they were sufficiently numerous to form the majority of Tetuan's inhabitants. Whether this was the case or not, we are nevertheless left with the impression that the newcomers constituted an important and sizeable section of the population, of whom it could soon be said that they had "made it [Tetuan] of a dunghill a pleasant and fruitfull place." [5] In support of this impression, it remains only to take into consideration the contribution which the Moriscos made to the physical expansion of the town.

From the time of its reconstruction by al-Manẓarī and his followers, Tetuan had been gradually expanding. The primitive urban unit known as al-Balad (vulg. *Blād*)—the nucleus of the present Ḥaumat

[1] *État présent . . . du Maroc* (Paris, 1694), 12.

[2] *SIHM*, 1re *Sér.*, *Pays-Bas*, V, vi (*Lettre du Marquis de Villa Real*, gouverneur de Ceuta).

[3] G. Vajda, *Recueil de textes historiques judéo-marocaines* (Paris, 1951), 23.

[4] The Moriscos were linguistically and culturally distinct from the indigenous population. Cf. J. D. Latham, "Towards a study of Andalusian immigration," etc. in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1957, 225-26, 230.

[5] *SIHM*, *Ire Sér.*, *Angleterre*, III, 56. (Harrison, *Relation*, 1627.)

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al-Balad seems to have been a comparatively small but well defended stronghold. Described as "a quadrangular town with its *qaṣaba* in the [Southwest] corner," it had, according to Fāsī, three gates and was well fortified with a wall seven cubits thick around which ran a second wall surrounded by trenches.[1] Before the middle of the sixteenth century, a second *qaṣaba* had been constructed on Jabal Darsa[2] and, from all accounts, work had already begun on an extension of the city wall to incorporate the increasingly populous southern suburb -the so-called "lower suburb," or al Rabaḍ al Asfal (vulg. *Rbāṭ es-Sefli*) within the boundaries of the expanding urban organism.[3] Whether or not this development was largely a consequence of Andalusian immigration, as one might be inclined to suspect, is a question to which the silence of our sources permits no positive answer. During the same period, the "upper suburb," or al-Rabaḍ al-A'lā, situated to the north beneath Jabal Darsa, seems to have been extending westwards before finally branching out into the two great districts of al-'Uyūn (vulg. *'Ayūn*) and al-Ṭrankāt (vulg. *Trankāts*).[4] The development and expansion of the first is closely associated with the settlement of the Moriscos in that area, who were responsible for the emergence of a new quarter located at the upper end of al-'Uyūn and called al-Sāniya, or also more commonly at that period, Rabaḍ al-Andalus.[5] Also attributed to the Moriscos, and rightly so, if we are to judge by the Spanish origin of the name[6] and the spirit of the Renaissance so evident in its street plan,[7] is the accretion, also to the West, of the Ḥaumat al-Ṭrankāt.[8]

With the expulsion of the Moriscos, Andalusian immigration came to an end. The general picture of its history and its vital significance for the history of Tetuan will be clear enough. On the other hand, with serious gaps in our knowledge which may never be bridged, important matters of detail remain irritatingly problematical. Certain

[1] Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 91. Parts of the *qaṣaba* wall can still be seen in Sūq al-Ḥūt al-Qadīm, Gharsa al-Kabīra and al-Ṣabbāghīn.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 100-101.

[4] *Ibid.*, 101.

[5] *Ibid.*, 102. Cf. *'Umda tr.* 54, according to which both al-'Uyūn and al-Sāniya took the name Rabaḍ al-Andalus.

[6] Beaussier derives Ṭrankāt from the Spanish *trinquete*. It may, however, be a sound feminine plural of the Spanish *tranca*.

[7] Cf. Latham, *op. cit.*, 214 and n. 79.

[8] Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, 102, 103, 182. Ṭrankāt is mentioned in a document dated 1032/1622-3 (*ibid.*, 284).

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of these may prove less so once we have the opportunity of examining the original texts of Dāwūd's manuscript sources, whose apparent importance leads one to express the hope that their publication will be undertaken and that without too much delay. [1]

[1] For assistance with the preparation of the map I am indebted to Professor Crowe and his staff of the Department of Geography, University of Manchester.

J. D. LATHAM
University of Manchester

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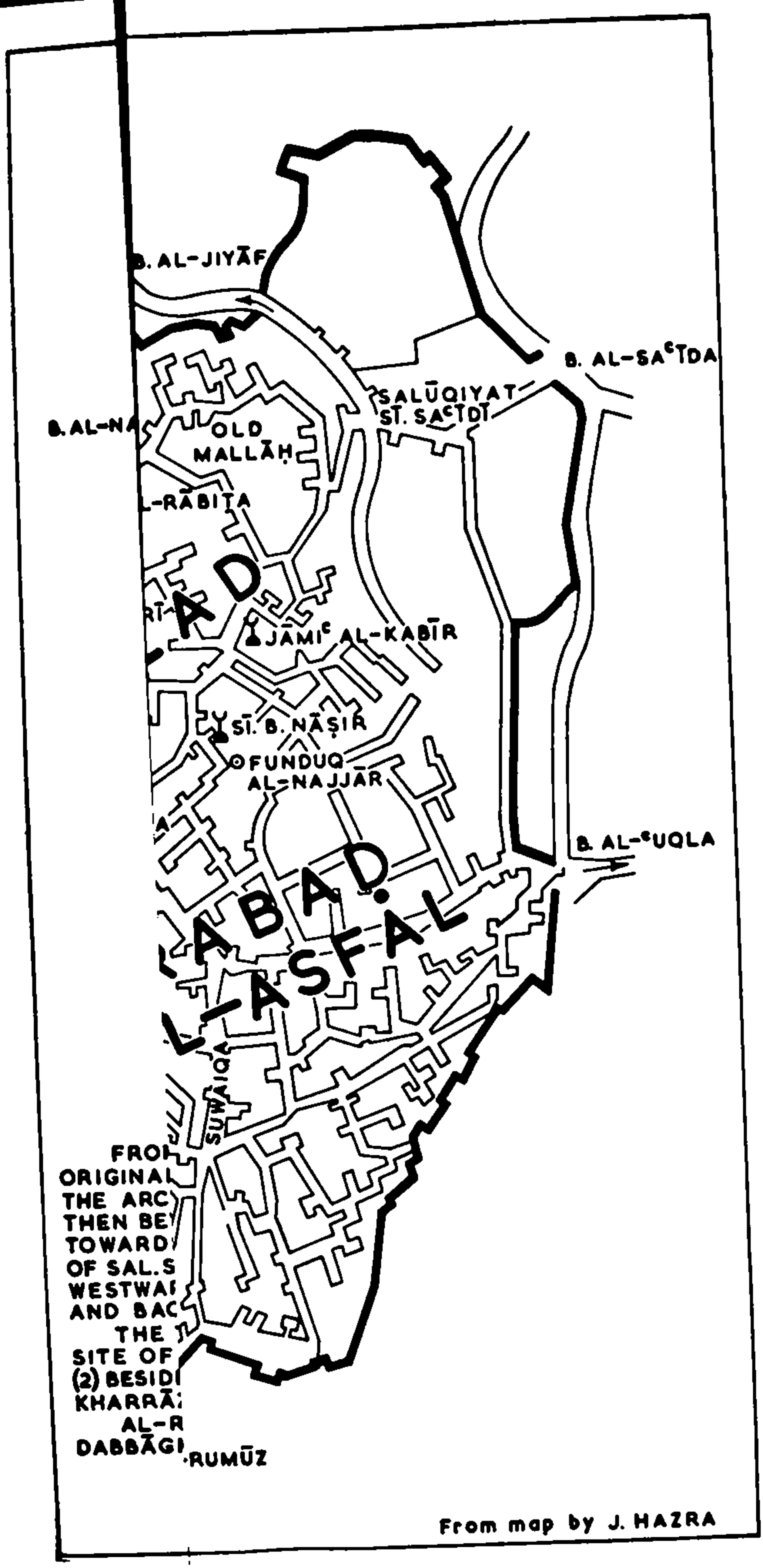
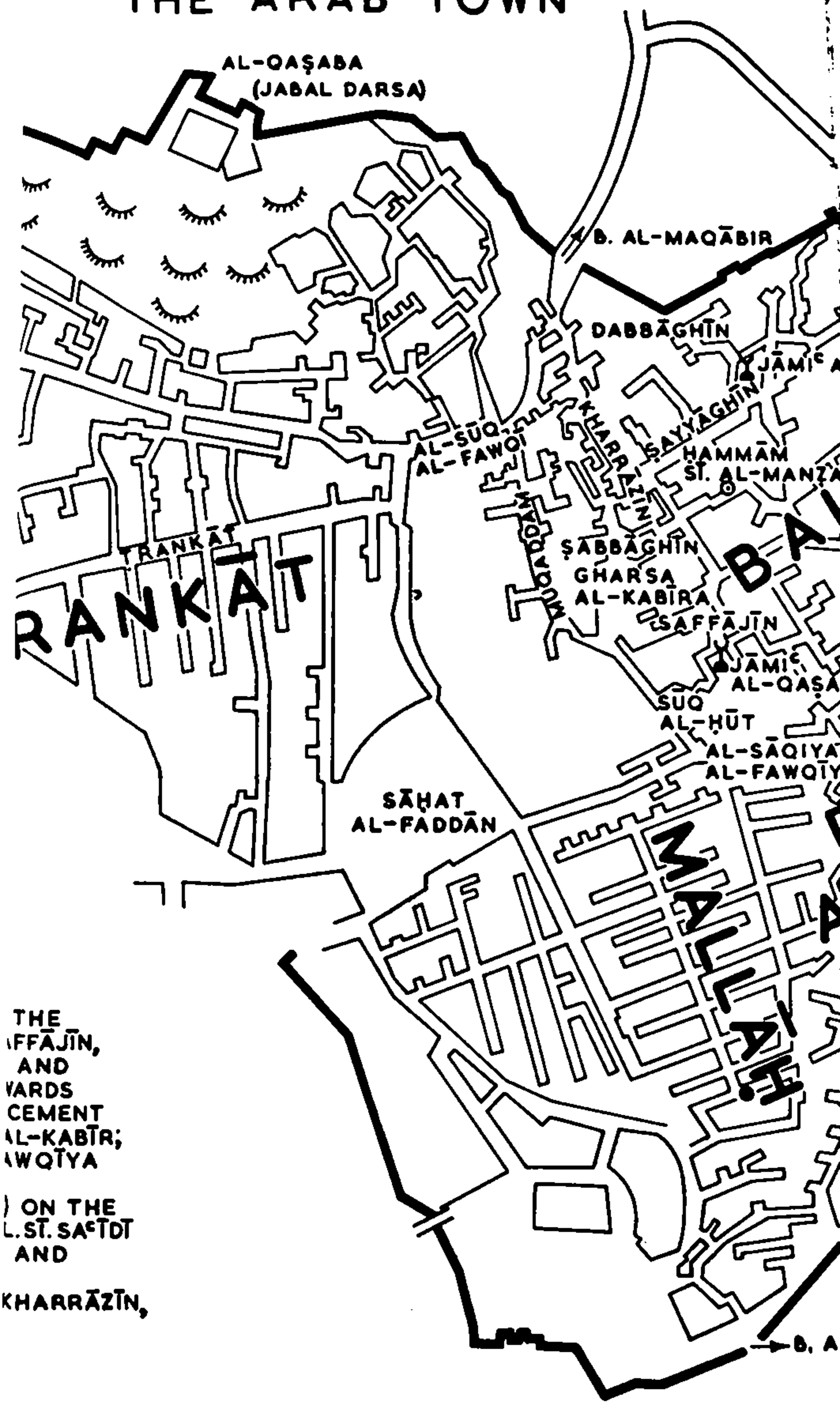


From map by J. HAZRA

TETUAN
THE ARAB TOWN



THE
FFĀJĪN,
AND
VARDS
CEMENT
AL-KABĪR;
AWQĪYA

) ON THE
L. ST. SAʿĪDĪ
AND

KHARRĀZĪN,

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ALESSANDRO II. MACEDONE, KOTYS L'ODRYSIO E AL-BĪRŪNĪ

DI

G. LEVI DELLA VIDA

Il capitolo sul cristallo di rocca (*billaur*) nel *Kitāb al-jamāhir fī 'l-jawāhir* di al-Bīrūnī, 181-89 nell'edizione Krenkow (Hyderabad 1355), [1] è conosciuto anche fuori del gruppo specialistico degli arabisti grazie alla traduzione dottamente annotata datane da Paul Kahle molti anni fa, prima che ne fosse pubblicata l'edizione, di su due manoscritti. [2] Dopo una diffusa descrizione delle diverse qualità di cristallo, delle località dei suoi giacimenti, degli usi che se ne fanno (con abbondanti citazioni di versi) al-Bīrūnī riferisce varie storie nelle quali ha parte il cristallo (*Fī dhikr akhbār fī 'l-billaur*, 186-89; trad., 337-43): nella prima di esse si racconta di un padiglione (*qubba*) di cristallo posseduto dall'imperatore Nerone (così va letto naturalmente anche nell'edizione pagine 186, linea 14 e 187, linea 8 in luogo di *Iyārūn*), il quale era stato ammonito da un filosofo al suo seguito che esso gli era piuttosto di danno che di vantaggio, giacché se l'avesse perduto non sarebbe riuscito a procurarsene un altro simile, e ne sarebbe rimasto profondamente afflitto; il che infatti avvenne [3]

Al-Bīrūnī menziona come sua fonte Plutarco nel „Libro dell'ira"; [4] e infatti l'aneddoto compare in uno dei *Moralia* plutarchei, περὶ

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[1] *GAL*, I, 476, II, Suppl. III, 874, 1242. La bibliografia recente su al-Bīrūnī può vedersi nell'articolo di J. Boilot in *EI*², I, 1236.

[2] „Bergkrystall, Glass und Glassflüsse bei Bērūnī", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XC (1936), 322-56 (la sezione sul cristallo di rocca, 325-43).

[3] Lo stesso testo è tradotto anche da Mohamed Jahia Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Bērūnī* (Diss. Bonn, 1935), 39; essendo la dissertazione stata composta per suggerimento e sotto la direzione del prof. Kahle, le due traduzioni sono quasi identiche; in ambedue la proposizione *fa-innahā idhā faqadtahā lam ta'man an ya'ūzaka al-fauz bi-mithlihā* (p. 186, linea 17-18 dell'edizione) è tradotta poco felicemente „wenn sie für dich verloren ist, so bist du nicht sicher, dass du nicht das Bedürfnis hast, eine ähnliche zu besitzen" (Haschmi); „wenn du sie verlierst, so bist du nicht sicher, dass du den Wunsch haben wirst, dir eine ähnliche zu verschaffen" (Kahle); mentre è ovvio che significa „se la perderai, non sarai sicuro di riuscire a ottenerne una eguale." È quasi superfluo rilevare che *tanajjuh* di Kahle va corretto, coll'edizione linea 16, in *tabajjuhuhu*.

[4] *Kitāb al-ghadab*. Nell'edizione *al-ghash* è evidente errore tipografico, ripetuto peraltro nell'indice p. 40b.

ἀοργησίας (*De ira cohibenda*), 13 (p. 146 C), peraltro in forma alquanto più breve e, circostanza notevole, senza menzione del cristallo come materia del padiglione. [1]

Il periodo che segue [2] è stato fraiteso da Kahle (Haschmi non lo traduce): un al-Khātam al-Ismā'ilī autore di un racconto non è mai esistito, e *khātam* deve intendersi come nome comune, „anello"; *Ismā'ilī*, o anche *Ismā'il*, è il nome che fu dato a uno smeraldo di straordinaria grandezza e purezza donato dal califfo al-Mahdī a suo figlio Hārūn (al-Rashīd), mentre donava all'altro figlio Mūsā (al-Hādī) un rubino altrettanto splendido nominato *al-Jabal*, „la Montagna." *Man ṭāla'a ḥadīth al-khātam al-ismā'ilī* significa dunque „chi consideri attentamente la storia dell'anello *ismā'ilī*," ossia la storia che al-Bīrūnī ha narrata in un luogo precedente del suo libro (p. 61, linea 18-62 penult.): al-Hādī, succeduto al padre nel califfato, manda ordine perentorio a Hārūn di consegnargli l'Ismā'ilī, ed egli, fingendo di consentire e di voler portarglielo in persona, giunto a metà del ponte sul Tigri a Bagdad lo getta nel fiume. Divenuto poi califfo egli stesso, comanda di ripescarlo; dopo molti tentativi riusciti vani, uno dei sommozzatori (*ghawwāṣūn*) suggerisce che dal punto preciso del ponte donde Hārūn aveva gettato l'anello si getti una pallottola di argilla delle stesse dimensioni e dello stesso peso di questo, e si segua l'inclinazione che essa compirà affondando nella corrente: nel punto del fondo dove andò a posarsi fu effettivamente ritrovato l'Ismā'ilī (cf. anche p. 165, linea 8). L'intento di al-Bīrūnī è dunque quello di far notare come, poiché fu possibile determinare il luogo preciso dell'affondamento di un oggetto così minuto come l'anello di al-Rashīd, è da stupirsi che a Nerone non sia riuscito di recuperare il padiglione, di dimensioni tanto maggiori; e ciò benché avesse presso di sé (è questo il significato di *ma'a mā kāna ma'ahu*, p. 186, linea 1, e non già „zusammen mit denen, die bei ihm waren") i più provetti ingegneri e maestri di artifici meccanici.

Da questa osservazione sull'alto grado delle cognizioni di meccanica idraulica degli antichi al-Bīrūnī è indotto a raccontare (p. 187, linea 2-7, Kahle p. 338-9, Haschmi p. 37-8) la nota storia dell'accorgimento

[1] Della presenza dell'aneddoto in altre fonti letterarie arabe e siriache e delle questioni che ne sorgono sarà detto più avanti.

[2] „Und wer den Bericht von al-Khātam al-Ismā'ilī studiert, der wundert sich über die Unfähigkeit des Nero, die Kuppel herauszubringen, zusammen mit denen, die bei ihm waren von den hervorragendsten der Ingenieure und der Kenner der Tricke, die bekannt sind als die mechanischen."

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usato da Archimede per determinare la proporzione di oro e di argento nella corona di Hierone di Siracusa,[1] storia che altrimenti non si vedrebbe in che relazione potesse stare coll'argomento di cui sta discorrendo: si tratta dunque di una digressione strettamente tecnica, che interrompe la serie degli aneddoti relativi al cristallo di rocca. Questa serie riprende ora con un secondo aneddoto (p. 187, linea 7-11, Kahle p. 339) desunto anch'esso dalla tradizione della antichità classica, senza tuttavia che ne sia indicata la fonte:

> Da un dolore simile a quello di Nerone si guardò Alessandro[2] quando gli furono donati dei vasi di cristallo preziosi: li ammirò, ma poi ordinò che fossero spezzati. Essendoglisi fatta osservazione su ciò, rispose: 'io sapevo che essi sarebbero stati rotti uno dopo l'altro per mano dei miei servi, e ogni volta l'ira mi avrebbe sconvolto: così in una volta sola ho sollevato me stesso da (ciò che mi sarebbe occorso) tutte quelle volte, e ho sollevato essi (ossia i servi) da me (ossia dagli effetti della mia ira)'.[3]

Di questo aneddoto[4] Kahle afferma che né egli stesso né il classicista K. Kalbfleisch da lui consultato hanno potuto trovare la fonte;

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[1] Non è qui il luogo di discutere se abbia o no fondamento l'attribuzione che al-Bīrūnī fa di questa storia a Menelao (di Alessandria) in un suo libro sul peso specifico che è perduto nell'originale ma che gli Arabi conobbero in traduzione.

[2] *'an mithl asaf Iyār'n* (l. *Nērōn*) *ihtarasa al-Iskandar*. La traduzione di Kahle: „Als Parallele zum Kummer des Nero: Alexander nahm sich in Acht" non rende esattamente il senso del testo.

[3] Che i servi colpevoli della rottura di stoviglie e cristallerie corrano grave pericolo di subire dolorosamente le conseguenze dell'ira dei loro padroni era senza dubbio già noto anche prima che l'affermasse autorevolmente Alessandro Magno, e ha continuato a esser noto fino ai nostri giorni; che talora si sia provveduto a proteggerli contro quel pericolo risulta, almeno per l'Oriente islamico del secolo VIII/XIV (né è improbabile che alcunché di simile si riscontri in altri luoghi e tempi), da ciò che Ibn Baṭṭūṭa racconta di un waqf istituito a Damasco per ripagare il prezzo del vasellame rotto inavvertitamente dagli schiavi (I, 238-39, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti; I, 75, Cairo, 1322 H.; I, 149, trad. H. A. R. Gibb; pp. 29-30 della traduzione antologica di F. Gabrieli, Firenze 1961, il quale ha avuto la bontà di segnalarmi il passo).

[4] Si tralasciano, perché non pertinenti all'oggetto del presente studio, gli aneddoti che seguono. Sia peraltro consentito osservare che nel primo di essi (p. 187, linea 11-12, Kahle, p. 399) „al-'Ibādī" non è, come parrebbe dalla traduzione, un appellativo individuale, bensì è la designazione generica di uno tra gli 'Ibād, ossia i cristiani nestoriani di al-Ḥīra sull'Eufrate, capitale in età preislamica del regno dei Banū Lakhm, i quali dopo l'avvento dell'Islam emigrarono in massima parte nella vicina Kūfa. Sembra che si attribuissero loro atti e detti improntati sia a stupida goffaggine sia ad astuzia buffonesca analoghi a quelli attribuiti a Juḥā, Naṣruddīn Khōja e simili (cf. in generale F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Early Islam* (Leiden, 1956), dove tuttavia non è menzione degli 'Ibād). In un inedito frammento pergamenaceo del University Museum di Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, contenente parte di una raccolta di *nawādir* distribuite secondo

né essa era nota all'informatissimo R. Walzer allorché lo definiva „storiella sconosciuta" (p. 32[4] dello scritto citato più avanti, p. 414[1]). Eppure essa è presente in uno scritto attribuito, a ragione o a torto che sia, proprio a quello stesso Plutarco cui è fatto risalire l'aneddoto sul padiglione di Nerone: negli ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*), p. 174 D si legge che Kotys re degli Odrysii [1] „avendogli un ospite straniero portato del vasellame di ceramica fragile e sottile, lavorato con somma abilità a incisione e a cesello, fece sì doni all'ospite, ma spezzò tutto il vasellame 'affinché' disse 'non mi avvenga per ira di punire troppo acerbamente coloro che lo rompessero.'" [2]

Nonostante alcune differenze formali, non può esservi dubbio sulla perfetta corrispondenza dei due racconti. La priorità di Kotys su Alessandro nell'impersonare il re saggio sembra assicurata dal criterio metodologico che si esprime nel detto „on ne prête qu'aux riches": mentre riuscirebbe difficile rendersi conto della degradazione fino all'oscuro sovrano di un popolo barbaro di una storia che sarebbe stata narrata originariamente del Macedone che ha riempito della propria fama la storia e la leggenda, l'opposto appare ovvio, specialmente se si tenga presente che nella tarda grecità (e ancor più nel mondo arabo) Alessandro ha finito coll'assumere la figura del „re filosofo." [3]

È da escludersi che al-Bīrūni abbia desunto l'aneddoto direttamante dagli *Apophthegmata*. Pur prescindendo da ogni discussione (che sarebbe fuori di luogo e alla quale non sono preparato) intorno alla composizione e alla trasmissione di quest'opera, sembra certo che soltanto un esiguo numero di scritti „morali" di Plutarco, o a lui

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categorie etnico-geografiche, un capitolo acefalo conserva nella parte superstite tredici *nādira* aventi ciascuna un 'Ibādi come protagonista. A p. 342 (p. 189, linea 11, dell'edizione) deve leggersi, come nell'edizione, *idh ṣummu 'l-ḥijārati ruṭbatun*, e il senso è, naturalmente, „quando le pietre (che ora sono) dure erano (come) erba tenera."

[1] Popolazione della Tracia che ebbe un proprio regno indipendente venuto poi sotto l'egemonia della Macedonia e durato fino all'età romana. Il re Kotys, che sostenne lunghe lotte contro gli Ateniesi, morì nel 360 a.C.

[2] . . . . σκεύῃ ποτὲ κεραμεᾷ ξένου κομίσαντος εὔθραυστα καὶ λεπτά, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ περιττῶς ἐργασμένα γλυφαῖς τισὶ καὶ τορείαις, τῷ μὲν ξένῳ ἔδωκε δῶρα, τὰ δὲ σκεύη πάντα συνέτριψε, 'ὅπως' εἰπὼ 'μὴ δι' ὀργὴν πικρότερον κολάκω τοὺς συντρίβοντας· -- Perché non mi si attribuisca una conoscenza degli autori classici che purtroppo non posseggo avverto che mi sono imbattuto nella storia del re Kotys negli *Essais* di Michel de Montaigne, dove essa è narrata nel libro iii, capitolo 10. Benché ivi la fonte non sia segnalata, non è stato difficile rintracciarla.

[3] R. Walzer nello scritto citato a p. 414[1], p. 23.

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attribuiti, è stato tradotto in arabo. Prima che agli Arabi, almeno tre opuscoli plutarchei sono stati noti ai Siri e sono giunti fino a noi in veste siriaca, alquanto compendiata rispetto all' originale: *De ira cohibenda* (col titolo semplificato „Intorno all'ira"); *De exercitatione* (περὶ ἀσκήσεως), non conservato in greco e di dubbia autenticità; *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate* (πῶς ἄν τις ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο);[1] di tutti tre il *Fihrist*, p. 254, linea 5-8 registra la traduzione araba (del secondo attesta esplicitamente che esiste in siriaco), e vi aggiunge quella di uno scritto sull'anima (di quello che verosimilmente ne era l'originale greco, περὶ ψυχῆς, *De anima*, non rimangono se non frammenti) e inoltre, dandole anzi il primo posto nella serie, quella dello pseudepigrafico *Placita philosophorum*;[2] altrove, p. 301, linea 5, cf. 246, linea 18-19, registra il commento di al-Rāzī al περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας (*De animae procreatione in Timaeo*), sul quale v. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, p. 69, 73, 90 no. 7 (e cf. 90[1]). Non può naturalmente escludersi *a priori* che altri scritti plutarchei oltre a quelli registrati nel *Fihrist* siano giunti agli Arabi, ma la cosa appare poco verosimile.

D'altra parte non è possibile che fonte di al-Bīrūnī per la storia del padiglione di Nerone sia stato il testo del *De ira cohibenda* quale lo possediamo, testo che la traduzione siriaca ricalca da vicino,[3] giacché il racconto di al-Bīrūnī è molto più diffuso: ciò non è sfuggito a Kahle, il quale (p. 339[1]) propone l'ipotesi che esso dipenda da un altro degli opuscoli morali di Plutarco, περὶ ὀργῆς (*De ira*), che è perduto nell'originale, salvo un unico frammento, mentre al-Bīrūnī lo avrebbe conosciuto integralmente in traduzione araba.[4] Poco dopo

[1] R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, 3me éd. (Paris, 1907), 264-267; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 169 e note 6, 7, 8.

[2] Che per il suo contenuto doxografico ebbe larghissima diffusione tra gli Arabi (v. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, II [Le Caire, 1942], 331-39 [Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte, XLV]) ed è giunto fino a noi nella traduzione di Qusṭā b. Lūqā, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī in *Arisṭū fī 'l-nafs* . . . [Cairo, 1954; Dirāsāt islāmīya, 16], che purtroppo non ho potuto vedere). Anche il pseudepigrafico *De fluviis* (περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν ἐπονυμίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρισκομένων) era noto agli Arabi come opera di „un altro Plutarco" (*Fihrist*, 254, linea 17-18, cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, II, 71, linea 1).

[3] Sola differenza notevole è che il padiglione è esagono anziché ottagono (v. anche più avanti p. 414[2]).

[4] In questo caso il *Kitāb al-ghaḍab* del *Fihrist*, p. 254 linea 5 si riferirebbe a esso e non al *De ira cohibenda*. Senonché il *Fihrist* nel luogo citato lo registra insieme con altri due scritti dei quali esiste la traduzione siriaca, e in effetto il siriaco „Intorno all'ira" è traduzione, peraltro compendiosa, proprio del *De ira cohibenda*. Ciò senza dubbio costituisce una difficoltà ad accogliere l'ipotesi di Kahle, tuttavia non insuperabile.

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l'apparizione dell'articolo di Kahle la pubblicazione di un opuscolo di al-Kindī intorno all'arte di allontanare la tristezza scoperto da H. Ritter in un manoscritto d'Istanbul [1] rivelava un'altra versione (testo p. 40-41, traduzione p. 56) dell'aneddoto neroniano, stilizzata con ampiezza molto maggiore che il testo greco-siriaco e molto vicina al testo di al-Bīrūnī, col quale in alcuni punti coincide letteralmente (in particolare nel descrivere il padiglione come fatto di cristallo). Ciò indusse Walzer a respingere l'ipotesi di Kahle e a supporre (p. 237) che „al-Bīrūnī, conoscendo tanto lo scritto di al-Kindī quanto una versione orientale del trattato di Plutarco, abbia contaminato tutte e due le cose."

Ma un siffatto procedimento eclettico non sembra conforme alla abitudine di al-Bīrūnī, il quale generalmente riproduce con esattezza, dettata da scrupolo scientifico, i testi che cita; e inoltre il testo di al-Bīrūnī contiene qualche tratto che non trova riscontro né in al-Kindī né nel *De ira cohibenda* così nel testo greco come nella traduzione siriaca. [2] D'altra parte, poiché Walzer ha reso molto verosimile che l'opuscolo di al-Kindī rappresenti una traduzione appena leggermente modificata di un opuscolo di Themistio perduto, forse il περὶ ἀλυπίας, e poiché Themistio, vissuto più di due secoli e mezzo dopo Plutarco, non di rado „riproduce pensieri ed esempi già usati da altri filosofi" (Walzer p. 24), non è punto impossibile che egli si sia valso, per l'aneddoto su Nerone, del *De ira* plutarcheo, copiandone il testo con appena qualche variazione stilistica, mentre lo stesso testo (naturalmente in traduzione araba) sarebbe stato usato direttamente da al-Bīrūnī. [3] L'ipotesi di Kahle rimane dunque valida; e se piuttosto che il *De ira cohibenda* è stato il perduto *De ira* la fonte immediata di al-Bīrūnī per la storia del padiglione di Nerone (che dunque Plutarco

[1] H. Ritter e R. Walzer, „Studi su al-Kindī II. Uno scritto morale inedito di al-Kindī", *Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Cl. sc. mor., ser. vi, vol. viii. 1 (1938).

[2] Con quest'ultima al-Bīrūnī concorda soltanto, in contrasto colle altre versioni, nel dare al padiglione forma esagonale (*musaddasa*) anziché ottagonale quale la dà il greco. Al-Kindī tace il particolare della forma, a meno che *thamina* di p. 40 linea 14 non sia da emendarsi in *muthammana*, nel qual caso concorderebbe col greco contro il siriaco e al-Bīrūnī; ma è più probabile che corrisponda a *ghāliyat al-thaman* di al-Bīrūnī, πολυτελεία(ι) del greco.

[3] Non vi è motivo di sorprendersi delle concordanze verbali tra al-Kindī e al-Bīrūnī, giacché le traduzioni dal greco che essi riproducono provengono senza dubbio da un medesimo ambiente, la scuola dei traduttori nestoriani del sec. III/IX, dove ovviamente si aveva uniformità di lessico e di stile. Non è neppure da escludersi che lo stesso traduttore abbia tradotto tanto Themistio (se di lui si tratta) quanto Plutarco.

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avrebbe ripetuta, con qualche variante, in due scritti diversi, il che non è punto inaudito), è molto verosimile che nel *De ira* fosse narrata anche la storia di Kotys/Alessandro, che al-Bīrūnī colloca immediatamente di seguito a quella di Nerone (si è veduto sopra che tutto ciò che sta in mezzo non è se non una digressione tecnica) ricollegando esplicitamente l'una all'altra storia. Anche l'omissione di ogni indicazione di fonte per la seconda è indizio che la fonte è la stessa della storia precedente. Si noti infine che tanto nel greco quanto nell'arabo si fa esplicito riferimento all' „ira" della quale Kotys/Alessandro dichiara di temere gli effetti funesti: sicché la storia trova luogo opportuno in uno scritto dedicato alla descrizione e all'esame di questa passione.

Nulla di strano, invero, che un racconto inserito nel *De ira* si trovi riprodotto negli *Apophthegmata*: questi infatti, secondo l'opinione prevalente tra i filologi classici, non sono se non una raccolta di *excerpta* da vari scritti plutarchei, probabilmente messa insieme da altri che lo stesso Plutarco. Anche nel *De ira*, naturalmente, protagonista dell'aneddoto sarà stato Kotys l'Odrysio e non Alessandro il Macedone, e questi sarà stato sostituito a quello soltanto nel processo di traduzione. [1] È curioso come nemmeno in questo secondo racconto l'originale greco faccia menzione del cristallo: il prezioso vasellame offerto al re Kotys è di ceramica. È senz' altro da escludersi, nell'uno e nell'altro caso, che si tratti di un' intrusione arbitraria dello stesso al-Bīrūnī, non soltanto perché essa sarebbe in contrasto colla ben nota onestà e serietà del suo spirito scientifico, [1] ma anche perché, come si è veduto, la menzione del cristallo, in relazione al padiglione di Nerone, si trova già nello scritto di al-Kindī (Walzer, p. 40, linea 14): se in ambedue i racconti il cristallo sia una novità della quale dovrebbe tenersi responsabile il traduttore arabo o se esso fosse già menzionato nell'originale greco del *De ira* è naturalmente impossibile decidere.

[1] Gli esempi di scambi di attribuzioni, dovuti a cause varie, non ignoti alla letteratura aneddotica greca (di che m'informa amichevolmente il collega R. Cantarella), sono numerosi nella trasmissione agli Arabi della materia gnomica greca: alcuni ne cita Walzer, p. 25.

[2] Di esse egli dà prova anche qui (p. 186, linea 15-18, Kahle, p. 337) nello osservare, a proposito del padiglione di cristallo di Nerone, che l'autore ha omesso d'indicarne le dimensioni, e se fosse di un sol pezzo (il che doveva sembrare sommamente inverosimile ad al-Bīrūnī) oppure risultasse dal montaggio di vari pezzi (*qiṭa'an tuhandam waqt^a naṣbihā*).

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NAZARETH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, ACCORDING TO THE OTTOMAN *TAPU* REGISTERS

BY

BERNARD LEWIS

The *tapu* series in the Ottoman state archives in Istanbul contains four detailed registers of the Sanjak of Safed, of the type known as *Mufaṣṣal taḥrīr defteri.* [1] They are

n° 427	ca.	932/1525-26
n° 1038	ca.	940-45/1533-39
n° 300		963/1555-56
n° 559 reign of Selim II (974-82/1566-74). [2]		

These registers, representing the results of four separate surveys conducted at intervals during the first half-century or so of Ottoman rule in Palestine, contain extensive information on the population and revenues of the towns and villages, and thus provide material for a detailed and documented study of change and development. As an example of this type of material I have chosen the village of Nazareth, in the *nāḥiye* of Tiberias. The descriptions of Nazareth in the four registers are as follows:

I Register no. 427

قريه ناصرا [sic] تابع م [3]
[names]
خانه ٤٣
جماعت يهوديان

[1] On the tapu series, see Ö. L. Barkan, "Les grands recensements de la population et du territoire de l'Empire ottoman", *Revue de la faculté des sciences économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, II (1940), 21-34, 168-179; *idem*, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire ottoman au XVième et XVIième siècles", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (1957), 36-39; *idem*, "Daftar-i Khāḳānī", *EI*². On the material relating to Palestine, see B. Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands," *JRAS* (1951), 139-155; *idem*, *Notes and documents from the Turkish Archives* (Jerusalem, 1952); *idem*, "Studies in the Ottoman Archives — I," *BSOAS*, XVI (1954), 469-501. For parallel material on other areas, see L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* (Budapest, 1955); S. Jikia, *Gurjistanis vilaiethis didi davthari* (Tbilisi, 1941-47) (with the full text of a *mufaṣṣal* register of the vilayet of Gurjistān). For archive material on Palestine of another type, see U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615* (Oxford, 1960).

[2] On these registers, see Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives", 154; "Studies", 471.

[3] An abbreviation for *mazbūr*, above-mentioned.

[names]
خانه ٦

حصل

المشاهره بر وجه مقطوع ١٠٠٠٠

حنطه	شعير	قطن	سمسم	دراه [sic]	فول	اشجار
١٥ غ	٦ غ	٤ ق	١ غ	١ غ	٢ كيله	زيتون رومانى مع معصره ٦٠٠
١٥٠٠	٤٢٠					

مال سلطان ٤٠٠ — رسم المعز ٧٠٠ — جزيه يهوديان بهر نفر ق ٨٠ ٤٨٠

The village of Nazareth, dependent on the above-mentioned
[names of inhabitants]
households 43
Community of Jews [1]
[names]
households 6

Yield of the monthly payment (*mushāhere*), as fixed by *maqṭu'* [2] 10,000

wheat	barley	cotton	sesame	durra	beans	*Rūmānī* olive trees with press 600
15 *ghirāra* 1500	6 *ghirāra* 420	4 *qinṭār*	1 *ghirāra*	1 *ghirāra*	2 *kaila*	

money of the Sultan 400 — goat tax 700 — *jizye* on Jews, at the rate of 80 per person 480

II Register n° 1038

خاص ميرلوا

قريه ناصره تابع طبريه
[names]
نصارى در قريهء م
[names]
خانه مسلمين ٩٥ امام ١
خانه نصارى ٦

[1] An error for Christians. See below.
[2] See below, p. 422, n. 2.

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حاصل

قسم من الربع

حنطه	شعير	قطن	سمسم	خراج زيتون
٥٠ غ	٢٠ غ	٥٠ قنطار	٥ غ	ورسم معصره
٦٥٠٠	١٤٠٠	٣٨٠٠	١٨٠٠	٢٠٠

رسم يكون جزيه نصارى ٦ نفرا بهر

معز ١٣٨٠٠ نفر ف ٨٠

١٠٠ ٤٨٠ [1]

The village of Nazareth, dependent on Tiberias.

Khāṣṣ of the Sanjak Bey.

[names]

Christians in the said village

[names]

Muslim households 95 Imam 1

Christian households 6

Yield: share of a quarter

wheat	barley	cotton	sesame	*kharāj* on olives
50 *ghirāra*	20 *ghirāra*	15 *qinṭār*	5 *ghirāra*	with press
6500	1400	3800	1800	200

goat tax	total	*jizye* on Christians 6 persons
100	13,800	at the rate of 80 per person
		480

III Register n° 300

قريه ناصره تابع م خاص ميرلوا

[names]

خانه ٢٠٠ مجرد ١١ اعمى ٢ مكنح ٢

امام ١ مؤذن ١ خطيب ١

جماعت نصارا [sic] در قريهء مزبوره

[names]

خانه ١٧

حصل

قريه مزبوره قسم من الربع

حنطه	شعير وغيره	قطن	خراج	رسم
٨٢١/٢ غراره	٢٤ غ	قنطار ٥	اشجار وغيره	معصره
١٠٧٢٥	١٦٨٠	١٠٠٠	١٢٠٠	وزيتون رومانى
				١٠٠

[1] The figures are given in *siyāqat* numerals. On this form of writing, see L. Fekete, *op. cit.*; Mahmud Yazır, *Siyakat yazısı* (Istanbul, 1941); *idem*, *Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı* (Istanbul, 1942); on the numerals, see Salâheddin Elker, *Divan rakamları* (Ankara, 1953).

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رسم معز ونحل ٥٠٠ رسم عروس وبادهوا ٥٠٠ يكون ١٥٧٠٥ جزيهء نصارا در قريه مزبوره خانه ١٧ ق ٨٠ ق سنه ١٣٦٠

The village of Nazareth, dependent on the above-mentioned.
Khāṣṣ of the Sanjak Bey.
[names]
Households 200 bachelors 11 blind 2 crippled 2
Imam 1 muezzin 1 *khaṭīb* 1
Community of Christians in the said village
[names]
Households 17
Yield of the said village; share of a quarter

wheat	barley etc.	cotton	*kharāj* on trees etc.	tax on the press and Rūmānī olives
82½ *ghirāra*	24 *ghirāra*	5 *qinṭār*		
10725	1680	1000	1200	100

goat and bee tax	bride-tax and *bād-i havā*	total	*jizye* on Christians in the said village 17 households at 80 each in the year 1360
500	500	15,705	

IV Register n° 559

قريهء ناصره تابع م خاص ميرلوا
[names]
خانه ٢١٥
جماعت نصارا در قريهء مزبوره
[names]
خانه ١٧

حصل
قسم من الربع

حنطه	شعير	قطن	خراج اشجار وغيره
غراره	غراره	قنطار	
٩٠	٢٥	٦	٥٠٠
قيمت [?]	قيمت	قيمت	
١٢٦٠٠	٢٠٠٠	١٣٨٠	

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رسم معصره ٢٤ رسم معز ونحل ١٩٦ رسم عروس وبادهوا ٨٠٠ يكون مع الرسوم ١٧٥٠٠

جزيه نصارى در قريهٔ م
نفرا ١٧
ق ٨٥
١٤٤٥

The village of Nazareth, dependent on the above-mentioned.

Khāṣṣ of the Sanjak Bey

[names]
Households 215

Community of Christians in the said village

[names]
Households 17

Yield: share of a quarter

wheat	barley etc.	cotton	*kharāj* on trees etc.
ghirāra	*ghirāra*	*qinṭār*	
90	25	6	500
value	value	value	
12,600	2000	1380	

Tax on the press 24 — goat and bee tax 196 — bride-tax and *bād-i havā* 800

Total with taxes 17500

jizye on Christians in the said village 17 persons at 85 1445

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Population.

The population figures for the village, at the dates of the four surveys, are given as follows:

	I	II	III	IV
Muslims	43	95 + 1	200 + 11 + 7	215
Christians	6	6	17	17

The basic unit is the *khāne* or household, consisting of the taxpayer and his dependent family –probably an average of 5-7 persons. In general, bachelors (*mūjerred*), who paid a lower rate of tax, are indicated in the registers. [1] In Nazareth they are shown only in the third register.

Two categories of persons were exempt from taxation and are usually noted as such. They are: 1) Muslim religious functionaries, such as the Imam, *khaṭīb*, and muezzin 2) disabled persons. In Nazareth these are shown only in the third register; a single Imam appears in the second register. [2]

Besides the Muslims, there was also a small Christian minority in Nazareth. The mention of Jews in the first register is certainly an error, as can be seen from the list of names, several of which are followed by the designation Naṣrānī--Christian.

Destination of revenues.

In the last three registers, the revenues accruing from Nazareth are shown as belonging to the appanage (*khāṣṣ*) of the governor of the province (*mīr-i livā* or, in Turkish, Sanjak Bey). In the first register, there is no indication of the recipient of the tax revenues, which are collected in the form of a *mushāhere*. The *jizye*, belonging by law to the *Bayt al-Māl*, or public treasury, is not included in the revenues assigned to the governor, and is listed separately. [3]

Assessment and collection of taxes.

Details on the methods and rates of assessment of taxes are given in the *qānūnnāmes*, containing the fiscal regulations of the provinces.

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[1] See *EI*², s.v. "Çift Resmi," (H. Inalcık).
[2] Compare Lewis, "Studies," 473 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, 480 ff.

Only one of the four registers of Safed, n° 300 of 963/1555-56, contains the text of a *qānūnnāme*. [1]

In the first register, the taxes are stated as a lump sum. This represents a fixed amount, agreed between the parties, and usually collected by a salaried government commissioner (*emīn*). In Nazareth, the sum was fixed on the basis of a monthly rate (*mushāhere*). [2]

This system was of brief duration. It appears only in the first register, and was soon abolished by imperial order, on the grounds that it was a blameworthy and harmful innovation. [3] In the three later registers, it has disappeared, and is replaced by a *qasm* or *qism*, an Ottoman form of the classical Islamic *muqāsama*. In this system, the tax is assessed as a proportion of the crop, varying from place to place. In Nazareth, the rate is one quarter. [4] Besides the taxes on the main crops, assessed in this way, there are certain other taxes assessed in money.

The quantity collected from each of the *qasm* crops is indicated, with a statement of its monetary value in aspers, probably at conventional prices fixed for purposes of accountancy. [5] The quantities are stated in *ghirāras* of wheat, barley, sesame and durra, in *qinṭārs* of cotton, and in *kailas* of beans. Other revenues are stated in money. The *ghirāra* of Damascus, which was used in the Sanjak of Safed, was of about 250 litres. The Syrian *qinṭār* was equal to about 4 Egyptian

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[1] The Turkish text of this *qānūnnāme* was published by Ö. L. Barkan in his *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda osmanlı imparator luğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esaslari*, I, *Kanunlar* (Istanbul, 1943), 229-230; French translation in R. Mantran and J. Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans* (Paris, 1951), 47-52, with additions from an unpublished Paris manuscript. A German translation from a manuscript version was given by J. von Hammer in his *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, I (Vienna, 1815), 225-226.

[2] *Maqṭūʿ* is a technical term for the payment of taxes in the form of a fixed lump sum, without separate assessments. Thus, the *jizye* was at times paid collectively, *ber vejh-i maqṭūʿ*, by the *dhimmi* communities, at a total figure agreed with the tax authorities (compare Heyd, 121-122, Lewis, *Notes*, 11); in the same way, certain remote or privileged provinces, liable only to a fixed annual tribute, were said to be *maqṭūʿa merbūṭ*. Here, the term relates to a fixed annual tax, stated in money, and based, no doubt, on the area cultivated, as opposed to the more variable *muqāsama* systems, based on a share of the crops. The term *mushāhere* indicates monthly payments. On *maqṭūʿ* arrangements, see Fekete, 741 ff., 757; B. Durdev et al., *Kanuni i Kanun-name* (Sarajevo, 1957), 153-154; R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich* (Istanbul, 1943-44), 184, 309, 317-318.

[3] Mantran-Sauvaget, 52, following the Paris manuscript. This passage does not occur in the *qānūnnāme* of 963/1555, published by Barkan.

[4] Cf. *EI*, s.v. "Dariba" (H. Inalcık); Lewis, "Studies", 483-484.

[5] "Studies", 492.

qinṭārs, that is, about 180 kg. The value of the *kaila* is less certain. The *kaila* of Istanbul was about 1/25 of a Damascene *ghirāra*, or 10 litres; that of Egypt, about 7.5 litres. Possibly the Damascene *kaila* (1/12 of a *ghirāra*) is meant. [1]

The revenues of the four main *qasm* crops are shown in the four registers as follows:

	I	II	III	IV	
wheat	15	50	82½	90	*ghirāra*
	1500	6500	10,725	12,600	value in aspers
	100	130	130	140	price per *ghirāra* in aspers.
barley	6	20	24	25	*ghirāra*
	420	1400	1680	2000	value in aspers
	70	70	70	80	price per *ghirāra*
cotton	4	15	5	6	*qinṭār*
	—	3800 [sic]	1000	1380	value in aspers
	[100] [2]	200 [3]	200	230	price per *qinṭār*
sesame	1	5	—	—	*ghirāra*
	—	1800	—	—	value in aspers
	[300] [4]	360	—	—	price per *ghirāra*

In addition to these, durra (at this date, probably sorghum) and beans are mentioned in the first, but not in subsequent registers. The first register also records the receipt of 400 aspers as *māl-i sulṭān*, a term the meaning of which is not known to me. In the *qānūnnāme*, it is mentioned only as something that has already been abolished. [5]

The taxes on trees, olives and presses appear in several different forms. The first three registers record the revenues from "Rūmānī" olive trees, together with the tax on presses. The fourth register lists the press separately, and makes no mention of olives. The third and fourth registers include a separate item, the "*kharāj* on trees", which is absent from the first two.

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[1] Notes, 16-17, 40; W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1955), 37-38.

[2] The monetary equivalent of the tax on cotton is not stated here in the register. The price per *qinṭār* is taken from other parts of the same register.

[3] This is the price given elsewhere in the same register. The figure 3,800 is probably an error for 3000.

[4] The monetary equivalent is not stated. The price is taken from other parts of the same register.

[5] Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 230; Mantran-Sauvaget, 49-50.

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These discrepancies can be explained by reference to the *qānūnnāme* and to parallel material on other places. In all the *qānūnnāmes* of Syria and Palestine (though not, as far as I am aware, of anywhere else), a distinction is made between Islamic olives on the one hand, and Roman, or infidel, olives (*zaitūn-i Rūmānī* or *zaitūn-i kāfirī*), on the other. According to the *qānūnnāme* of Safed, Roman olives pay a *qasm* of half the crop; Islamic olives pay a money tax of 1/2 asper per tree. [1] The rates on other trees are also given in the *qānūnnāme* —fruit trees, 2 aspers on 5 trees; dates, mulberries, and full-grown nuts, 2 aspers per tree; young nut-trees, 1 asper per tree. The presses paid a fixed money tax of 12 aspers per press. [2]

The taxes on goats and bees are mentioned in all four registers, and were levied, according to the *qānūnnāme*, at the rate of 1/2 asper per goat or per hive. The combined yields of the two taxes show some fluctuation:

I	II	III	IV
700	100	500	196

The third and fourth registers list a figure, of 500 and 800 aspers respectively, as the combined yield of the bride tax and the *bād-i havā*. The bride tax (*resm-i 'arūs*, *'arūs resmi*, *gerdek resmi*) was a tax on marriages. It is not mentioned in the *qānūnnāme* of Safed, but is well known from other parts of the Ottoman Empire. It was usually levied at the rate of 60 aspers on girls, and 30 or 40 on widows and divorced women. Sometimes a lower rate was accepted from poor families. The term *bad-i havā*, literally "wind of the air" (compare English "windfall"), is a general term, in Ottoman fiscal usage, for irregular, occasional revenues from fees, fines, confiscations, registration charges, lost property, and other casual and unpredictable sources of income. Unlike the other taxes mentioned, which probably represent a continuance of pre-Ottoman fiscal practice, the bride-tax and *bād-i havā* are characteristically Ottoman. In the early days of the conquest, it would seem, they were not collected; then, while certain

[1] Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 230; Mantran-Sauvaget, 48. The latter translate *zeytūn-i Islāmī* as "oliviers appartenant à un musulman." Hammer takes the distinction to be one between olives grown on Islamic or infidel feddans of land. These two are defined in the *qānūnnāme* of Damascus (Barkan, 220; Hammer, I, 220; Mantran-Sauvaget, 4-5).

[2] The *qānunnāme* says six para, at that date equal to 12 aspers. Mantran-Sauvaget translate 6 aspers.

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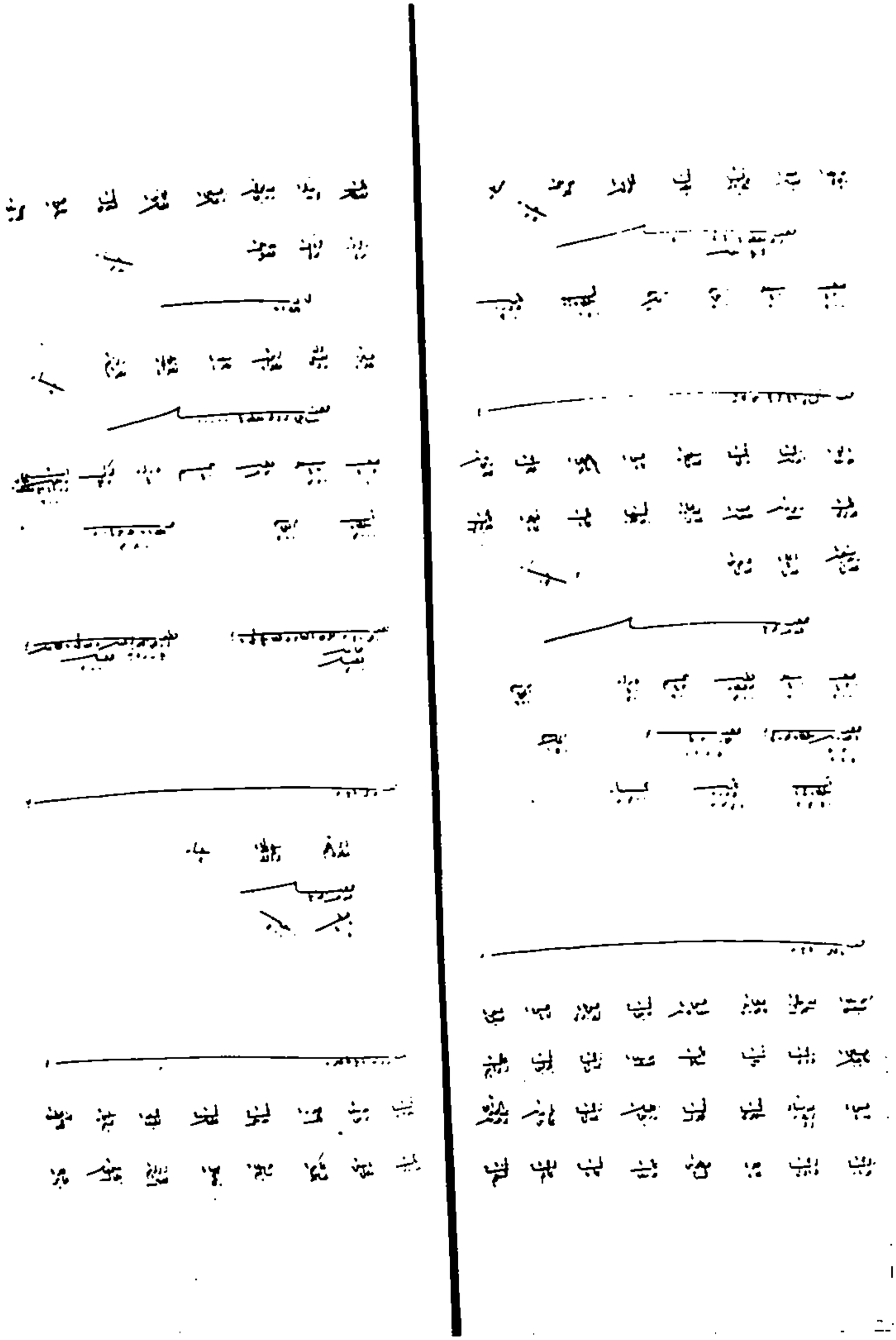

From register 427, showing the entry on Nazareth

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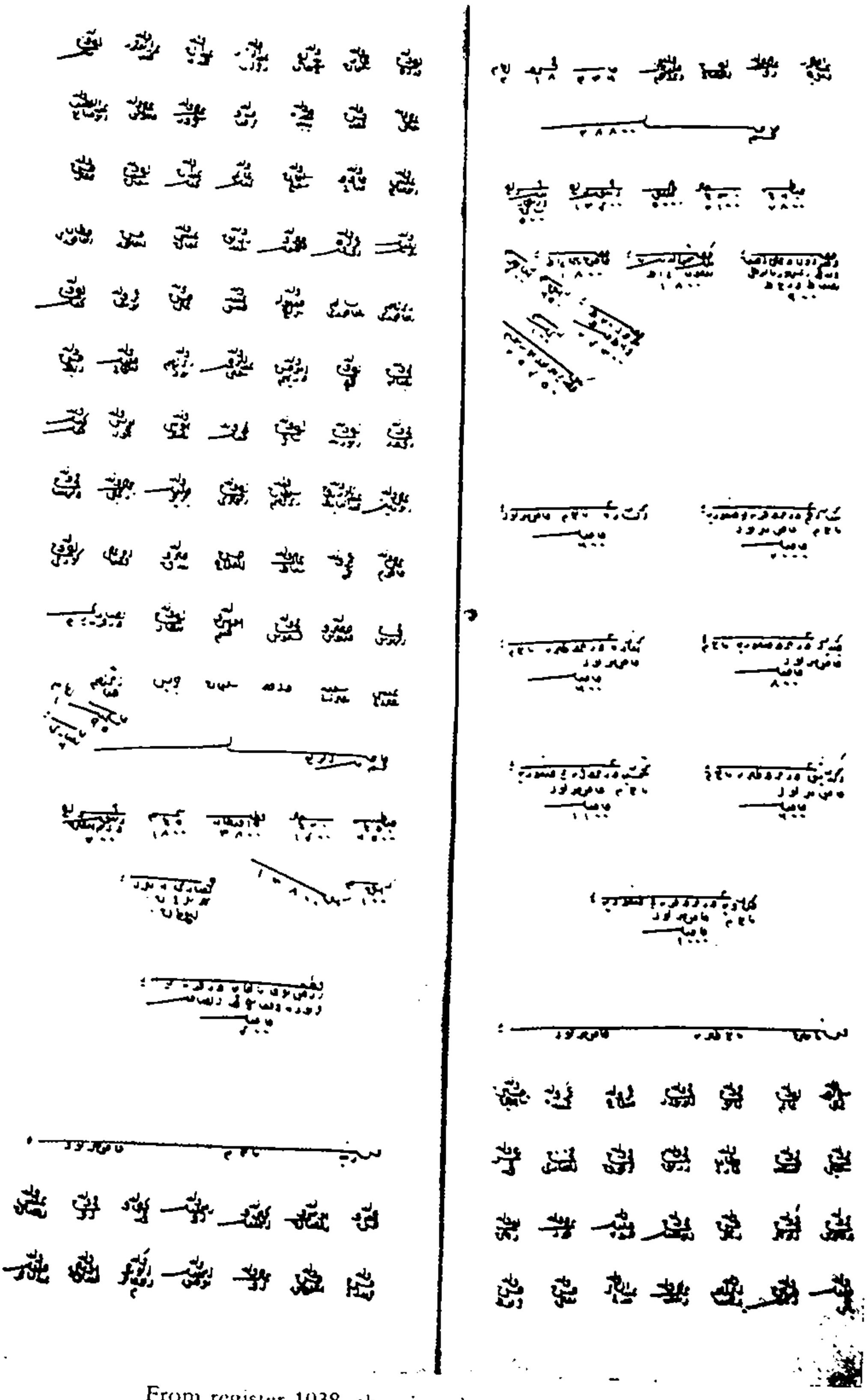

From register 1038, showing the entry on Nazareth

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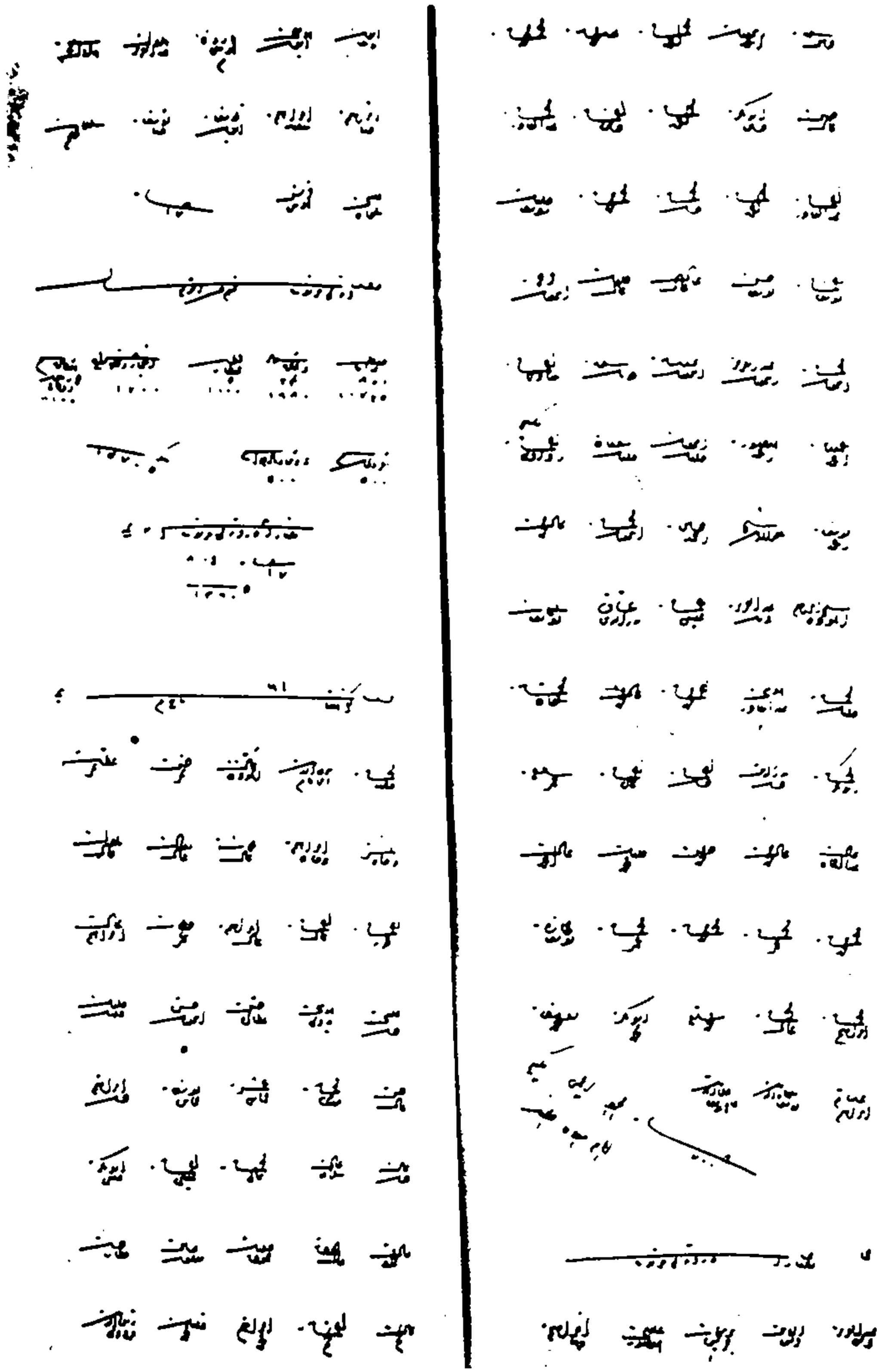

From register 300, showing the latter part of the entry on Nazareth (part of the Muslim population, the Christian population, the statement of revenues)

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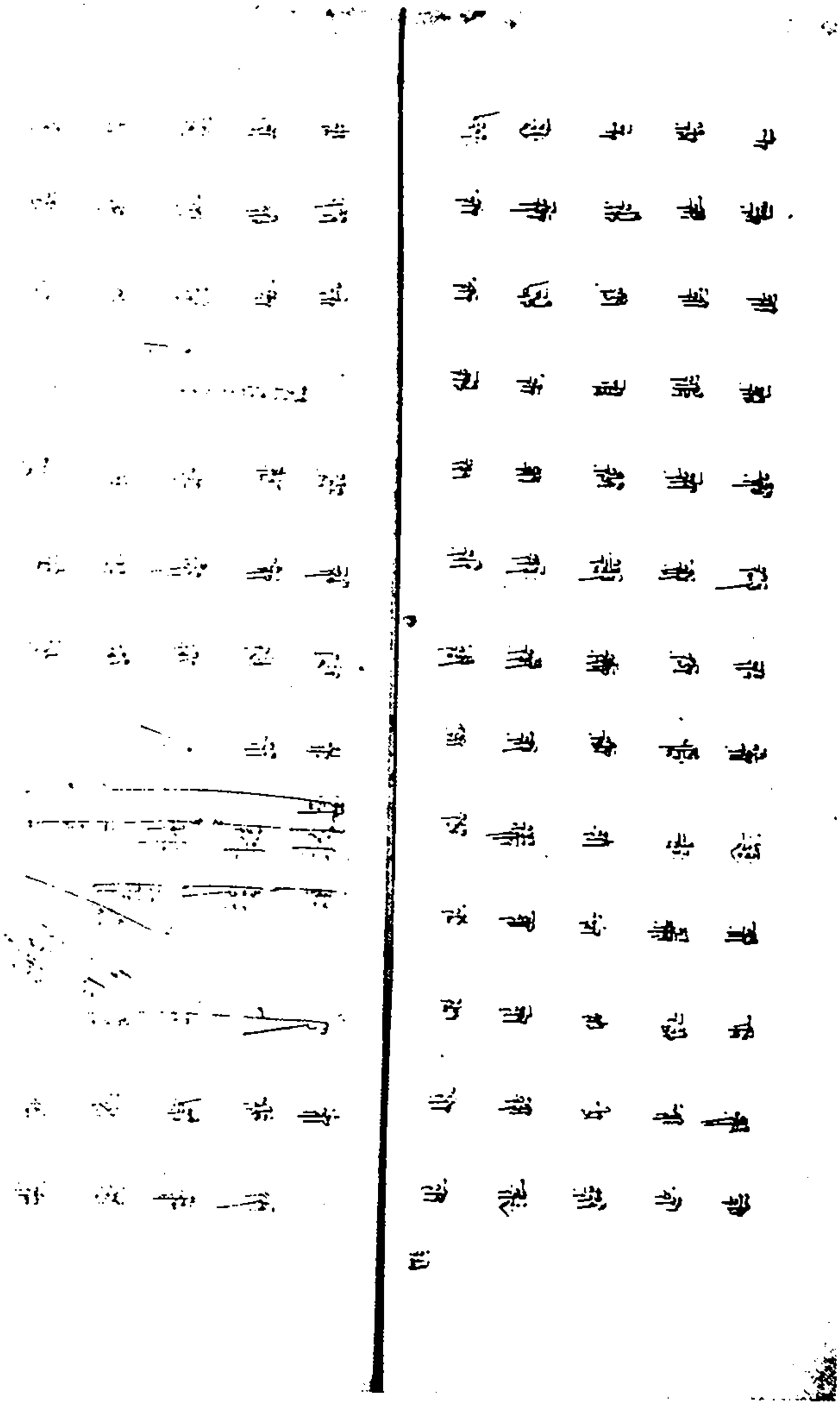

From register 559, showing the latter part of the entry on Nazareth (part of the Muslim population, the Christian population, the statement of revenues)

pre-Ottoman taxes were abolished, others, belonging to the Ottoman system, were introduced and imposed. [1]

The *jizye*—the poll-tax on Christians and Jews—was levied in Ottoman Palestine at the lowest only of the three rates allowed by the Shari'a—that is, at one gold piece. In the registers, the yield of the *jizye* is shown in aspers, at the current rate of silver to gold coin. This is 80 aspers to the gold piece in the first three registers, 85 in the fourth. [2] The fixity of the figures given for the Christian population suggests that the *jizye* may have been paid at an agreed collective rate, which, presumably, was changed between the second and third surveys.

[1] See *EI*², s.v. "'Arūs Resmi", "Bād-i Hawā" (B. Lewis).

[2] On the Ottoman *jizye*, see B. C. Nedkoff, *Die Gizya (Kopfsteuer) im osmanischen Reich* (Leipzig, 1942); *EI*², s.v. "Djizya ii" (H. Inalcık).

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ORIGIN AND INTERPRETATION OF SOME KORANIC SYMBOLS

BY

ILSE LICHTENSTADTER

The "healthy distrust of overneat hypotheses and explanations that leave nothing to be explained," that A. B. Cook advocates, [1] led me to continue my search for a deeper understanding of similes and symbols found in the Koran, a search that I began in a previous article. [2] The "irregular edges [that] should not be hastily trimmed off," [3] so abundantly found in early parts of the Holy Book, seem to hold a better clue to the inner meaning of early Koranic imagery than deceptively easy, and often hackneyed, interpretations provide. By tracing their origins step by step, motif by motif, I hope, eventually, to establish a consistent interpretation of the earliest stratum of Muhammad's religious ideas.

This approach has become even more necessary now that Muslim "modernists" have joined the ranks of rationalistic interpreters of Koranic passages and of those who attempt to establish either historical or scientific backgrounds for intricate, or hard to understand, Koranic verses. [4] These rationalizations, though motivated by a desire to make the Koran more "intelligible" and less subject to derision by Muslim skeptics and non-Muslim detractors, apart from often being contrived, overlook the importance of ancient myths and beliefs in the formation of religious thought, and their survival, even in highly developed religions, in the form of symbols, rites, and hymnic or poetic allusions.

In particular, the Mūsā--Dhū'l-Qarnain sequence of the *Sūrat al-Kahf* has been the subject of interpretation that claims to penetrate its complexity by means of allegory or homiletics. [5] Continuing the

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[1] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II (Cambridge, England, 1925-40), p. viii.

[2] This article is a continuation of a study published in *Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, II (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente n° 52, 2 vols., [Rome, 1956]), 58-80 (1-23 of the reprint). (Cited as *Studi LDV.*)

[3] Cook, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

[4] J. M. S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880-1960)* (Leiden, 1961); in the present context, see especially pp. 31 ff.

[5] Characteristic of this approach is the commentary by ʿAbd Allāh Yūsuf ʿAlī,

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previous analysis of three symbols that dominate that sequence,[1] this essay will try to unravel its meaning further by the methods of comparative religion. The sura itself attempts to clarify them:

> As for the bark, it belonged to poor people who toiled on the sea, and I wished to damage it, for behind it was a king who seized on every bark by force. And as for the youth, his parents were believers, and we feared lest he should impose upon them rebellion and misbelief. So we desired that their Lord would give them in exchange a better one than him in purity and nearer in affection. And as for the wall, it belonged to two orphan youths in the city and beneath it was a treasure belonging to them both and their father was a righteous man and their Lord desired that they should reach puberty and then take out their treasure from thy Lord; and I did it not on my own bidding. That is the interpretation of what thou couldst not have patience with. (Kor. 18, 78-81).

However, this "interpretation" itself needs to be interpreted to become meaningful for us, including those people who, like Mūsā's *'abd* addressed in it, do not understand its mythos.

The Two Youths. The King. The Treasure.

The previous article led to the conclusion that the three main motifs appearing in the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, namely "the city" (*qarya*), "the laden ship" (*fulk mashḥūn*), and "the fish" (*ḥūt*), are symbols for birth, death, and resurrection—as, indeed, the legend of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*, the legend of the Seven Sleepers, has always been acknowledged to be a myth of death and resurrection. Thus, we may expect the Koranic "interpretation" to show us the same idea, if in different images.

One of the most important findings of comparative study of religious thought is the fact that one religious idea is expressed in various ways, that a cumulation of diverse images is used to express the same religious concept, even when offered within the same presentation.[2] Thus, Mūsā's very statement, "I will give thee the interpretation of that which thou couldst not have patience" (Kor. 18, 77), is an indication of awareness that all the imagery used throughout the Mūsā —Dhū 'l-Qarnain passage of the sura has identical meaning.

The Holy Qur-an, Text, Translation and Commentary, II (New York, 1946), 747-757, and Appendix vii, 760-765.

[1] See *Studi LDV*, 63, and *ibid.*, n. 2.

[2] "Things equal to the same thing equal each other—axiom one of early, symbolism," Phyllis Ackerman in *Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China* (New York 1945), 71.

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Three basic motifs are used in this explanation: (1) the rebellious youth and the pure boy, the latter already previously mentioned in verse 73; or, a substitute, though identical in meaning, the two orphan youths; (2) the treasure buried under the wall; (3) the king who seized every bark by force. Intertwined with these three symbols are the already familiar ones of the city and the wall, of people toiling on the sea (not "in a city," as in the verse previously analyzed), and the bark. Aware, from my earlier study, of the lingering memory of Egyptian myth underlying the "ship," "city" and "fish" idea in the Koran, I again turned to Egyptian mythology for the key to these symbols. [1]

The search for the prototypes of the rebellious youth and his counterpart, the pure boy, was not difficult; for the concept of a pair of brothers, [2] especially one creating and representing good, the other, the cause of evil, destruction and disruption, is widespread in folklore and religious thought. [3] The best known in Western religious lore

[1] See below, p. 8 ff.

[2] Often twins, also sisters or twin sisters, see J. Rendell Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, England, 1906); Theodor H. Gaster, *Thespis, Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1950), 229, 231; Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods. A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago, 1948), 19, 350 n. 12.

[3] "Twins are both good and bad, restore or ruin cities, make or withhold rain, can be mild or extremely wrathful," Harris, *Cult*, 36; Gaster, *Thespis*, "The Poem of Dawn and Sunset," tr. n° viii, 255. See also Julius Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1897), 22 f.: "Der Name Ja'uq wird bei Jaqut 4 1022, 17ss. als Correlat zu Jaghuth aufgefasst: er hilft und er hindert." However, Wellhausen's doubt of the validity of this explanation: "Solche conträren Namen finden sich allerdings bei Zwillingen und Zwillingsgeschlechtern, wie Tugib und Turâghim b. Muâvia b. al-Sakun (Bakri, 37, 8), aber nicht bei Göttern. Jaghuth und Ja'uq waren keine Hälften, die erst zusammen ein Ganzes bildeten; der eine half nicht bloss immer und der andere hinderte nicht bloss immer," shows lack of understanding of mythological thought; and even if his own substitute "er gibt Acht, bewacht, bewahrt" is the correct meaning of the god's name, the two deities remain complementary. Indeed, twins are often identified as such by being "unlike" and complementary, see Harris, *Cult*, 46. In consequence of their contradictory nature, twins are believed to possess both good and evil influence on natural events and on agriculture; in particular, they can bring or withhold rain, see Harris, *op. cit.*, 24 ff.; *Sir James George Frazer, The New Golden Bough. A new Abridgement* . . . ed. with notes and foreword by Dr. Theodor H. Gaster (New York, 1959), 134. Their birth is considered a good or a bad omen, and almost invariably calls for an expiatory ritual or a purification ceremony for one or both of the parents, Harris, *op. cit.*, 16 f.; Frazer-Gaster, *op. cit.*, 89, 177. Cf. Olaf Petterson, *Chiefs and Gods. Religious and Social Elements in the South-Eastern Bantu Kingship* (Studia Theologica Lundensia, III) (Lund, 1953), 190 n. 56: "Among *Ganda* . . . the parents of twins have power to fertilize the gardens . . . and among *Zulus* twins are supposed . . . to foretell the weather . . .

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are, of course, the two Biblical pairs: Cain and Abel, and Jacob and Esau. Cain, the ploughman, was, in Jewish folklore, the symbol of all godless deeds. As the builder of a wall, [1] he was the destroyer of the simple life. This concept emphasizes the contrast between sophisticated civilization and the natural pastoral life, symbolized in his slaying of Abel, the prototype of the pure shepherd who tenderly cares for life. The softspoken Jacob "who dwelt in tents," representing nomadism, another simple, inoffensive way of life, is similarly contrasted with his twin Esau who already in the womb was rough, and who spent his life as a hunter in the fields. Throughout their lives, they were fighting with, and competing against, each other, and throughout history, rabbinical tradition pinned the name of Edom (= Esau) on any contemporary antagonist of Israel and Judaism.

In the search for the earliest relevant sources, one is inescapably led to the Egyptian pairs of gods- brothers (often considered twins), or antagonists: Osiris and Seth, and Horus and Seth. [2] In following their dramatic relationship, entanglement and fight, the key will be found to the hidden meaning of the cryptic Koranic "interpretation" and to enhanced understanding of the *Sūrat al-Kahf* as an essential part of Koranic religiosity.

As told in the ancient Egyptian sources, the myth of Osiris, Isis, Horus, Seth and Thot, as main protagonists (with a large number of other deities participating, though not essential to the unravelling of the Koranic problem), is very involved. The main line, however, is clear. Osiris and his brother Seth were contesting for power. [3] Seth, the prototype of violence, always connected with raging tempests,

Among the *Ronga* . . . women should try to make the rain of spring to fall . . . They have to visit the hut of one . . . who has given birth to twins . . . sometimes they pour water upon graves of twins, too." See also *ibid.*, in the text. Reference, at least, should also be made to the pairs of brothers or twins of Greek mythology, the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, and the Cabiri with their secret cult at Samothrace.

[1] See *Studi LDV*, II, 65 n. 1. It is exciting to note that Osiris, like Dhū 'l-Qarnain (= Alexander), is supposed to have built many cities, in Ethiopia as well as in India, see E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, I (London, 1911), 10 (referring to Diodorus Siculus, bk. i, chap. 25).

[2] Horus and Seth are often called "brothers," though in reality Seth was the brother of Osiris, Horus' father.

[3] See Budge, *Osiris*, I, 62 ff. (chap. iii); Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, Loeb Classical Library (= *Moralia*, V [Cambridge, Massachusetts/London, 1962]); R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1960), chaps. iii-vi, and pp. 186-217.

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earthquakes, lowering clouds, and all untoward events in nature, [1] mortally maimed his brother Osiris. The latter's consort Isis succeeded in reassembling the scattered pieces of his body; [2] though unable to restore him to full life, she was able to conceive a son by him, Horus. There followed a time of mourning and helplessness for nature until Horus was able to succeed his father as king. But Seth disputed Horus' right to the succession and a prolonged and bitter strife ensued between the two contestants. At the suggestion of Thot, the personification of order, the conflict was eventually brought before the company of gods:

> O Thoth! What has come to pass with the children of Nut?
> They have created strife, they have stirred up confusion,
> they have done evil, they have raised rebellion,
> they have indeed made the great into little
> and made a secret destruction in all that I have created. [3]

When the gods had decided in Horus' favor, and he had assumed his rightful place, Osiris was revived, the natural order in the world restored, and the land that had been dead returned to fertility.

Another element of the Osiris-Seth/Horus-Seth myth enters into the Koranic *āya*, the Eye of Horus, the symbol of his creative power. During the fight with Horus, Seth tore it out; but Horus regained

[1] Hermann Kees, "Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, XLV (Leipzig, 1941), 24; Clark, *Myth*, 115, 208. Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 49, p. 121: "But Typhon (= Seth) is that part of the soul which is impressionable, impulsive, irrational and truculent, and of the bodily parts, the destructable, diseased and disorderly, as evidenced by abnormal seasons and temperatures, and by obscurations of the sun and disappearance of the moon, outbursts, as it were, and unruly actions on the part of Typhon. And the name 'Seth' by which they call Typhon denotes that."

[2] Clark, *Myth*, 106, see also Frankfort, *Kingship*, 126; see also Samuel Mercer, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt* (Grafton, Massachusetts, 1942), 32. For a modern translation of the Ramesseum Papyrus, see Gaster, *Thespis*, 383 ff., especially 392-395. According to Plutarch, Osiris' phallus was swallowed by a fish, cf. also Hermann Kees, *Götterglaube*, 111, and *ibid.*, n. 4, and *idem*, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1926), 192f., 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1956), 134 f. However, Clark (*Myth*, 105) observes: "This is not attested by the native sources, although it is clear that the sexual organ is capable of revivification and is magically distinct from the other members." Cf. also Budge, *Osiris*, I, 65 who mentions this incident in the Tales of the Two Brothers, Bata and Anpu, in connection with Osiris' mutilation as told in Plutarch. This trait has some bearing on my interpretation of the whole Koranic legend, in context with the symbol of the *Hūt*, previously analyzed (see *Studi I.D.V*, II, 77 ff.).

[3] Clark, *Myth*, 110, Book of the Dead 175 A. See also Budge, *Osiris*, I, 312 ("the malefactor Seth"), see also *ibid.*, 87, 89, and Hermann Kees, "Horus und Seth," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft*, XXVIII (Leipzig, 1923), 28 ("Seth als Gottesfeind").

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it and recovered his full strength. Then he gave it to his father Osiris who, through its power, was revived in the Hereafter.[1] The Eye of Horus (and its mythological equivalent, the Crown)[2] signify power over life and death, and, as such, are symbolic of revival.[3] In another version, Seth buried Horus' eye and two trees grew upon the spot where it was buried.[4] The Koranic verse echoes this version and joins it to the wall, itself a symbol of resurrection and life after death, previously invoked (verse 76). The buried treasure had to be retrieved, as had Horus' eye,[5] so that the two youths "should reach puberty" that is, that they should gain, or regain, their full vitality.

But, as Seth overpowered his brother Osiris by his violence, and brought suffering to Isis by dismembering and mutilating her son,[6] the Koranic "rebellious youth" brought suffering to his parents. A "youth of greater purity and affection" was desired in exchange. That is, it was hoped that Horus should overcome Seth, or, as the mythos implies, good should overcome evil and life should conquer death.

Pursuing our attempt at interpretation further with the help of the Osiris-Isis-Horus myth, the identification of the Koranic youth's parents with Isis and Osiris is obvious. However, somewhat more difficult is the answer to the quest for the identity of the "king who seized every bark by force,"[7] and of the "poor people who toiled on the sea" to whom the ship belonged. In Egyptian myth, Osiris the

[1] See Mercer, *Horus*, 32, 80, 82; Frankfort, *Kingship*, 41 ff., 131, and *passim*; Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 51, pp. 123 f., § 55, p. 135; cf. also Budge, *Osiris*, I, 64.

[2] Frankfort, *Kingship*, 112, 131, 136.

[3] See Budge, *Osiris*, I, 81, 88 ff.: "Osiris ate the Eye and as a result became mighty and lived. His renewed life was the direct product of the absorption of the Eye of his son Horus and the strength of his brave avenger entered into him as the Eye was absorbed by his body." See also Clark, *Myth*, 172; J. Spiegel, *Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth als Literaturwerk* (*Papyrus Beatty I*, *Leipziger Aegyptologische Studien*, 9 [Gluckstadt, 1937]), 85.

[4] This version apparently is only referred to by Mercer, *Horus*, 35. The eye as a mythological symbol is discussed in Clark, *Myth*, chap. vii, § 1, pp. 218 ff.

[5] Others of his members were retrieved from the sea with a fishing net, see Budge, *Osiris*, I, 63; from Seth's hand, *ibid.*, 82; they had been torn into fragments, see *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Texts; transl. with introduction by Alexandre Piankoff; ed. N. Rambova. (Bollingen Series, XL, i [New York, 1954]), 38; cf. H. Kees, *Götterglauben*, 192; 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1956), 134 f.

[6] For a full recent account of the myth, see Clark, *Myth*, chaps. iii-vi.

[7] Compare "There is no ship on the waters that does not belong to Amun, for his is the sea"; see W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity. Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 2nd edn. (Baltimore, 1946), 164.

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king became, after his death, the lord of the netherworld. [1] He is the personification of the fright of death, [2] a trait found frequently in ancient Egypt, though not exclusively connected with Osiris. [3] The dead were ferried over the stream or river to the Island of Osiris by a ferryman; but only those who were "innocent and just before heaven and before earth and before the island of the earth" [4] accomplished the crossing. The dead pray that they might be rescued from the god who seizes the souls, swallows the hearts, feeds upon corpses.[5]

We remember the beautiful Koranic passage in which the sailors in the storm-tossed boat implore God to rescue them (Kor. 10, 23), and our interpretation of it [6] as symbolic for the fear of death and the certainty of resurrection. Quite clearly, the Koranic expression under discussion is another version of the same concept, cast into a form reminiscent of the passage of the dead to the netherworld in the bark of the god of death, in the Egyptian myth. In his quest for eternal life, for resurrection, Mūsā, who gives the "explanation" in the first person, "wishes to damage it (the boat)," that is, he desires to obliterate death.

Mūsā's intention in his "interpretation" of the troubling, mysterious events of his journey to the "confluence of the two seas" (*majma' al-baḥrain*) has now become perfectly clear. It is a reassertion of the

[1] Budge, *Osiris*, II, 306: "In the final stage of the cult of Osiris and Isis, the former was the symbol of Death and the latter the symbol of Life."

[2] Cf. *Studi LDV*, II, 73 ff., especially the seventh century Christian passage cited on p. 75; see also Cook, *Zeus*, II, 3: "The coward on a voyage 'pops his head and asks the steersman if he is half-way across and how the weather strikes him'. Only, where we translate the weather, the Greek has literally 'the things of the god,' that is of Zeus," with a reference to "R. C. Jebb, on Theophr. *loc. cit.*, τά τοῦ θεοῦ."

[3] See for example, Hugo Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik* (Preisschrift der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften [Berlin, 1915]), 23 f.

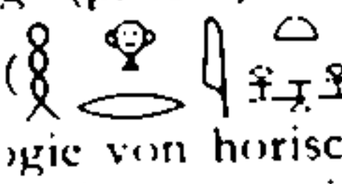
[4] See Budge, *Osiris*, I, 313.

[5] See *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Charles H. S. Davis (London, 1901), 147; chap. xvii, 82 line 73. See also Kees, *Totenglauben*, 430, 109 ff. (2nd edn., 288, 73ff.). Cf. also I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Upsala, 1943), 7: "The characteristic qualities of the high god as ordainer of fates, his double aspect as both evil and good are here clearly expressed. Pharao is described as a benevolent and gracious god, but also as a consuming god of wrath." The boat, with the god in it, is attacked, see Gaster, *Thespis*, 41: "I beat back those who attacked the Barque of Neshmet (note: i.e., Osiris), and I overthrew the foes of Osiris"; but, according to Mercer, *Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1949), 23, the dead in the underworld rejoice to see the sun and tow his boat. (Kees, *Götterglaube*, plate vii b shows the Sokar bark towed by the king.)

[6] See *Studi LDV*, II, 73 ff.

essential Koranic conviction that, though death is ordained for all mankind, resurrection is assured to all those who overcome evil. In the Egyptian myth, "Horus and Seth were the antagonists *per se* —the mythological symbols for all conflict. Seth is perennially subdued by Horus, but never destroyed."[1] In the Koranic context, this eternal conflict is sublimated from the sphere of physical strife into a spiritual struggle for faith, and eventually into faith itself, through the belief in God's omnipotence by which He creates, and recreates after death. Muhammad had to overcome the incredulity of the Meccans, for whom resurrection of man -never experienced in reality -was inconceivable. Again and again, Muhammad returned to that theme, trying to convince the Meccans of the possibility of this miracle, supporting his conviction by incontestable proofs: the creative power of nature, the wondrous revival after its seasonal "death" during the heat of summer, and especially, the greatest miracle of all, the very creation of man out of a blood drop, "created from nothing."[2]

A word may be added in justification of the attempt to interpret Koranic symbols through Egyptian, rather than Semitic, mythology, usually invoked in previous research. J. Horovitz, for instance, looked to Hebrew and Aramaic (Biblical and Rabbinic) and early Christian literature for the origin of Koranic legends; he also used

[1] See Frankfort, *Kingship*, 22; see *ibid.*, 351 n. 19 where Frankfort quotes W. B. Kristensen, *Het Leven uit den Dood* (Haarlem, 1926), 19-20: "that Horus and Seth represent the divine and demoniac powers in the world"; cf. *ibid.*, 351 n. 17. This polarity of the two gods is emphasized by Kees, *Horus and Seth*. Horus was the "Herr des Himmels" (p. 9), while "bei Seth war eine Verbindung mit Erde und Unterwelt nicht ungewöhnlich. Geb (Erde) und Nut (Himmel) gab ihm das heliopolitanische System zu Eltern, er gehörte also zu beiden Elementen; übrigens gerade bei ihm, zu dessen Wesen der Character als Herr des Windes, der Stürme und Unwetter gehört (cf. above, p. 430, n. 1), die aus der Wüste, wodas Sethtier hausen soll, über das Fruchtland hereinbrechen, keine schlechte Erklärung" (p. 45 f.). And further: "Das Binsengefilde [= Paradise], die horischen Statten () die sethischen Statten, Dir gehören sie insgesamt. Die Etymologie von horisch = himmlisch, erhaben. Sind aber die Statten des Horus am Himmel, so verweist der Gegensatz die des Seths entweder auf die Erde oder ins Reich unter der Erde, in die Unterwelt und in den Gegenhimmel." (*ibid.*, 44.) Cf. also Horus and Seth as representatives of West and East (*ibid.*, 26f.), that is, Hell and Paradise (p. 51). S. Mercer, *Horus*, 69, citing Kees, enumerates a long list of things of dual and polarized character, most of which pertain to Horus and Seth. And lastly, Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 43, p. 105, calls Horus "the terrestrial universe," which has to contend with the destructive activity of Typhon [Seth]; cf. also *ibid.*, § 49, p. 121.

[2] Kor. 52, 35.

Iranian mythology as a source. [1] I. Friedlander [2] made extensive use of similar material in his investigation and interpretation of the *Sūrat al-Kahf*. However, consciously or unconsciously, these attempts assumed dependence of the Koran on literary sources, even though orally transmitted.

This does not seem convincing, particularly in view of Muhammad's own assertion of his being "unlettered" and his conviction of being divinely inspired. This can only mean that he found his inspiration deep within himself, in knowledge that did not originate with any immediate, tangible source. He was unconsciously recreating ancient traditional heritage, not literary material--legends told and retold from generation to generation.

The Meccans recognized this fact. They taunted him with telling *asāṭīr al-auwalīn* "tales of the ancients." Horovitz maintains that the word *asāṭīr* implies "book, scripture," identical with other expressions in the Koran, [3] on the strength, in particular, of Kor. 25, 6: "They (the Meccans) say '*asāṭīr* of the ancients,' which he has written down for himself while they were being dictated to him mornings and evenings." Horovitz observes further that this term is only used in polemical remarks of the Meccans against Muhammad (Kor. 8, 31; 16, 26; 83, 13; 46, 16; 23, 85; 27, 70). The last mentioned are, however, striking, for they are a repudiation of the possibility of resurrection which Muhammad predicts with absolute certainty. The Meccans retort "When we have died and have become dust and bones, shall we then be resurrected (*mab'ūthūna*)? We have been promised this, and our fathers (too) before; this is only *asāṭīr* of the ancients." [4] This statement does not sound like a reference to books or written scrolls [5] which the Meccans might have read, or at least

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[1] *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1926).

[2] *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), cf. *Studi I.D.V*, II, 63 n. 1.

[3] *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 69 f., he agrees with Th. Noeldeke-F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, I (Leipzig, 1909), 16 n. 4, in considering it a loanword from the Aramic root *shetara* going back to the Babylonian. In support of this derivation, both Horovitz and Noeldeke-Schwally refer to South-Arabic inscriptions; Horovitz further adds that the root *str* occurs in pre-Islamic poetry (cf. I. Lichtenstadter, "Das *Nasib* der altarabischen *Qaṣīde*," *Islamica*, V [Leipzig, 1931], 31). Horovitz, however, declines to accept Schwally's preference for the derivation of the Koranic word *asāṭīr* from Greek ἱστορίαι.

[4] Kor. 23, 84 and 27, 69 f., with *mukhrajūna* instead of *mab'ūthūna*. Kor. 46, 16 expresses the same repudiation though in different words.

[5] Already Noeldeke-Schwally, *op. cit.*, I, 16 n. 4, reject Sprenger's assumption that Muhammad had read and studied the Books of the Jews and the Christians.

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have seen in the hands of learned men, but rather to resurrection myths and legends which they have heard, such as the Seven Sleepers' legend, or those of much more ancient times. That such legends had remained alive in Arabia as in other regions of the Near East, cannot be doubted in the light of the prolonged and far-flung survival of ancient myths.[1] For Arabia was never isolated from the rest of the Near Eastern world, since it was a transit station for its trade; Egypt was included in this from the most ancient times.[2]

Egyptologists point to contacts between ancient Egypt and West Asia, including Arabia, in particular Arabia Felix.[3] Mercer speaks of a seafaring people that came to Egypt in large boats and who "may have sailed around the Arabian Peninsula from the Persian Gulf, or may have crossed Arabia by land and the Red Sea by boats."[4] It was only natural that, on their return to their homelands by the same route, these sailors and traders should have brought with them a knowledge of Egyptian myths and rituals, and of the Egyptian gods.[5] And even if direct contact should have existed only between South Arabia and Egypt, indirect contact was established through the caravans which passed through North Arabia from the south and met with North Arabian traders in the northern trading posts,

[1] In order to trace individual motifs and symbols, one may consult Antti Aarne, *The Types of the Folk-tale*, tr. and enlarged by Stith Thompsen (Helsinki, 1928), and Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index to Folk Literature*, 6 vols., Indiana University Studies 106-112 (Helsinki-Bloomington 1932-1936). As an aside it may be mentioned that much new material came to light only after the publication of Noeldeke-Schwally's work and Horovitz's *Koranische Untersuchungen*. The latter frequently referred to Ditlev Nielsen's work in his book and his lectures; but, for example, the Ras Shamra tablets had just been discovered, but not yet been deciphered by the time of his death in 1931.

[2] For example, Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I (London, 1904), 334: "The city of Heliopolis appears always to have contained a mixed population and its situation made it a very convenient halting-place for travellers passing from Arabia and Syria into Egypt and vice versa . . ." See also Mercer, *Horus*, 9.

[3] Mercer, *op. cit.*, 32, 33; Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes, XVIII, 4 [Leipzig, 1930]), 14, 64, 66, for which compare also Frankfort, *Kingship*, 348 n. 4. See also Budge, *Gods*, I, 7, 8, 10.

[4] Mercer, *op. cit.*, 36.

[5] Budge, *Osiris*, II, 283: "And the foreign sailors and merchants who traded with Egypt in the Red Sea and Mediterranean Sea must also have carried back with them to their coasts and islands and homes accounts of their gods." Compare also Albright, *Stone Age*, 164 (continuing the passage referred to above, p. 431, n. 7): "The Canaanite is thus represented as admitting that Amun is supreme and observing that he taught and equipped Egypt first, so that Egypt was able to instruct the Canaanites in the arts of civilization."

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markets and depots. Thus knowledge, however distorted, of the Egyptian gods was spread, whether direct contacts between North Arabia and Egypt existed or not.

Only when we recognize the antiquity of this contact and assume that at least some of it still existed in Muhammad's time, can we understand why he sought a refuge for his persecuted followers in Abyssinia, across the Red Sea, and not in Syria, with the Ghassanids, or in Ḥīra on the Euphrates. Much has been made of the fact that Abyssinia was a Christian kingdom, and of the affinity which Muhammad felt for its king because of this religious factor. Yet the Christian settlements and tribes to the North of Mecca were far easier to reach and far closer to the Arab way of life to which the Muslim emigrants were accustomed. There must have been a compelling reason for the Prophet to turn rather to the Abyssinian haven, though it was far more difficult to reach; it must also have been in some way familiar to the fairly large number of Muslims who made the hard decision to emigrate across the Red Sea.

It is therefore not too daring to postulate a much closer relationship between Arabian and Egyptian ideas, and much closer continuous contact between them, than has so far been contemplated. Intensive archaeological research in the Peninsula, such as has so abundantly enriched our knowledge elsewhere in the Near East, might conceivably provide the answer for the problem discussed in these pages, as well as for many others.

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A NOTE ON THE ABŪDHĪYE

BY

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Professor Gibb has always shown a marked and fruitful interest in Arabic literature, both ancient and modern. As a very modest tribute to a great teacher and scholar, I offer him this little note on a contemporary song form which enjoys wide popularity in Iraq.

The abūdhiye (often shortened to būdhīye) is said to have originated in Kūt. Its real popularity, however, seems to date back about one hundred years and stems from the town of Sūq al-Shuyūkh in the liwa of Nāṣiriya. The language of the abūdhiyé is southern (tribal) dialect. In form it is made up of two verses, that is, four hemistichs. The first three hemistichs end in the same word, but in each case the meaning of this final word is different. The fourth hemistich always ends in the syllable "-ye" (-ya). The best explanation of the name abūdhīye seems to be that it is a contraction of abū 'l-adhīya, literally, the father of harm or injury, that is, one who has suffered some harm or injury. Another, and less likely, explanation is that the name is really abū dhī ye pronounced as a single word. In this case, the name would be derived from the fact that the last syllable of the fourth hemistich is always "-ye".

The abūdhiye is also known by the name ḥische. This seems to be a tribal pronunciation of *ḥasaka*, the *nomen unitatis* of *ḥasak*—prickles, thorns, etc. Both names are apt enough, since the theme of the abūdhīye, or ḥische, is usually that of painful love or sorrow, though other themes also occur. The name ḥische seems to refer to the form as a type, while abūdhīye refers to the form as sung. We may distinguish two kinds of abūdhiye: that which is a paraphrase or a development of some literary verse or verses, and that which is an original composition.

The best way to give the reader an idea of the abūdhīye is to give some examples. I shall transliterate the examples, since this is the easiest way to indicate (approximately) the pronunciation. The *fatḥa* is transliterated by "a" and by "e". In the latter case it is to be pronounced like the "e" in our English words: let, bet, get. Qāf is usually a hard "g" (as in: go), and kāf is very often pronounced like

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"ch" in "chin". I add rough translations and some necessary notes which may help the reader to appreciate the originals, but, unfortunately, I cannot indicate here the manner in which they are sung.

1. galbī mendires bihwāk 'āmir
   wene bshōgek ṣirit mejnūn 'āmir
   'asc 'l-bainī ū bainek yiẓill 'āmir
   ū kull in-nās khall tikhrab 'alaiye!

My heart has not been ruined, it is filled with
love for you!
And I, through yearning for you, have become [like]
the madman of 'Amir!
O that what is between me and thee may continue
to flourish,
And let all others be on bad terms with me!

Notes: This ḥische is a paraphrase of two verses of Abū Firās (meter: *ṭawīl*):

fa-laita 'lladhī bainī wa-bainaka 'āmirun
wa-bainī wa-baina 'l-'ālamīna kharābu!
idhā ṣaḥḥa minka 'l-wuddu fa 'l-kullu haiyinun
wa-kullu 'lladhī fauqa 'l-turābi turābu!

The literary form of *mendires* is *mā 'ndarasa*; *bihwāk*, *bi-hawāka*; and, in love poetry, the masculine or feminine may be used. The first *'āmir* means *full*; the second stands for the tribe 'Āmir, of which Lailā and her *majnūn*, Qais, were members; the third means *flourishing*. The literary form of *wene* is *wa-anā*; *bshōgek*: *bi-shauqika*; *ṣirit*: *ṣirtu*; *'asā*, in *'ase 'l-bainī*, has an optative sense, and the "l" is a contracted spoken form of *alladhī*; *khall*: *khallī*; the verb *tikhrab* has the meaning of *severing relations with*, or *being on bad terms with another*. The conjunction "wa" is elided before a vowel; before a consonant it is usually "ū".

2. yilūj il-galub bīhi jrūḥ māych
   'alā wilfi ttirekni w rāḥ mā ych
   'alā 'l-wādi bchait ū ḥiram māych —
   shlōn iḥill ū hū dem ṣār maiyeh ?

My heart is agitated, in it a hundred wounds,
Because of my beloved who has left me and gone
and not come [back].

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Over the valley I wept, and its water became illicit
[for me].
How could it be licit, when its water had become blood ?

Notes: This is a paraphrase of the literary verse:

bakaitu 'alā 'l-wādi wa-ḥarramtu mā'ahu
wa-kaifa yaḥillu 'l-mā'u khālaṭahu 'l-damu ?

lāj, yilūj: *to move to and fro in agitation*; the first *māyeh, a hundred*; the second, a dialect pronunciation of *mā jā* (*mā jā'a*); the third, mā'uhu; and the final *maiyeh* is another pronunciation of the third; *wilfī* is the literary *ilfī* (my friend, intimate, beloved); in *ttirekni*, the relative "l" is assimilated to "t" because of the initial "t" of the verb; *bchayt*: *bakaitu*; *shlōn* is the common word for "how" in Iraq and is really a contraction of *aiyu shai'in lann*; *iḥill* stands for *yiḥill*, the literary form being *yaḥillu*; *hū* stands for *huwa*.

3. tibessem wintifaḍ lilū besimhe
lejilhe lejra' il-ḥaiye bisimhe
yā būhe lā tiṣīḥilhe bisimhe
yikhiff 'aglī witkhelli jnūn bīye !

Her mouth [besimhe] smiled and pearls were shaken off.
Because of her I would assuredly drink the serpent
with its venom [bisimhe].
O you her father, do not call to her by her name
[bisimhe],
[or] my mind will become light [feeble] and you will
put madness in me !

Notes: *tibessem* is the dialect form of *tabassama*; *wintifaḍ*: *wa 'ntafaḍa*; *lilū* is the dialect form of *lu'lu'*; *lejilhe*: *li-ajlihā*; *lejra'*: *la-ajra'*; *bisimhe* (line 2): *bi-sammihā*; *tiṣīḥilhe*: *tiṣīḥ lahā*; *'aglī*: *'aqlī*.

4. ba'ad waiyāy māṣaddig wa'id lek
chithīr aẓhir imni'yūbek wa'idd lek
b'ajd il-giṣab lō ḥiṭṭak wa'idlek
sena w tiṭla' il-ḥanye dhīch hīye !

I shall no longer believe any promise of yours
to me!
I show many of your defects and enumerate [them]
to you.

Were I to put you in a cleft reed and straighten you,
After a year the bend [curve] would come out exactly
as it was!

Notes: *waiyāy* is another form of *wīyāy*; *wīya* (*wa-īyā*) is the common Iraqi word for *with*; *māṣaddig*: *mā uṣaddiq*; *chithīr*: *kathīr*; *imni'yūbek*: *min 'uyūbika*; *wa'idd*: *wa-a'uddu*; *'ajd il giṣab* (*qaṣab*), a piece of reed cut and stuck in the ground; *ḥiṭṭak*: *aḥuṭṭuka*; *wa'idlek*: *wa-a'iddilek*, the literary form being *wa-u'addiluka* (there is a popular proverb which says: *dhail ich-chelib khallōh bil-guṣba arba'īn yōm ū met'addel*, "they put the dog's tail in the reed for forty days and it did not become straight"); *dhīch* is the dialect form of the feminine demonstrative.

5. gulli shbellelek yā jifin wendāk
ghidau mā yisma'ūn ibchāk wendāk
lau en hemmi bjibel chā ṣākh wendāk
tishaẓẓa w kil kitir ṣār ibnuwīye !

Tell me, O eyelid, what has wetted and moistened you !
They no longer hear your weeping and calling.
Were my care on a mountain, it would have sunk down
and been leveled
And been splintered, and every part would have been
scattered to a corner [of the world] !

Notes: *gulli*: *qul lī*; *shbellelek*: "sh" (= *aiyu shai'*), a dialect form of the interrogative *mā* or *mādhā*; *wendāk*: the first *wendāk* stands for the dialect *wa-neddāk*, the second, for *wa-nidā'aka*, the third, for *wa 'ndekka*; *chā*, for *chān* (= *kāna*); *ṣākh*, for *sākh*; *kil*: *kull*; *kitir* is the dialect form of *quṭr*; *nuwīye* stands for *zuwīye*, in the sense of corner (direction).

6. sumur yā biḍ mi'jibnī shikilchen
tinūren mā tigillenlī shikilchen ?
lau en wāḥid 'ala ḥālī shikelchen —
ṭirīḥ ibshōgchen wislāl bīye !

Brown or white, your appearance pleases me.
You shine: won't you tell me what to say to you?
Should someone complain to you about my state —
[I am] prostrated by yearning for you and there is
consumption in me!

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Notes: This *bische* and the next go together. The present one is said by a young man to a group of young women, and the following one is their reply to him; *yā*, dialect for *or*; *mi'jibni*: *yi'jibni*; in *shikilchen*, *chen* is a tribal form of the feminine plural suffix *kunna*; the first *shikilchen*, *shaklakunna*, the second, a contraction of *shagullilchen* (*mā aqūlu lakunna*), the third, *shakā lakunna*; *tinūren* is tribal form of *tanurna*; *tigillenli* stands for *taqulna li*; *wislāl*: *wa-sill* (*silāl*, a dialect form).

7. shtibī minne tisāyilne shikilne ?
   warid jūri bwaṣiṭ jenne shikilne.
   lau en wāḥid 'alā ḥwālek shikelne
   'iṣarne z-zilif wisgaynāk maiyeh !

What do you want of us, asking about our appearance?
[We are] large roses planted in the midst of a
paradise.
Had someone complained to us about your state(s),
We would have squeezed the hair on our temples and
watered you with its water!

Notes: *shtibī*: *shtibtighī* (= *mādhā tabtaghī*); *shitrīd*: (*mādhā turīdu*); *tisāyilne* (or: *tisāyinne*): *tusā'ilunā*; *shikilne* (or: *shikinne*): the first, *shaklanā*, the second, said to be the equivalent of *inshitelne* (we have been planted), the third (*shikelne*, or *shikenne*): *shakā lanā*; *warid jūri* has been explained to me as meaning roses; *zilif* (plur *zlīf*): lock of hair of the temple; *wisgaināk*: *wa-saqaināk*.

8. tihezhez yā gabur wunfuḍ tarābīk
   ḥabīb ir-rūḥ hen-nāyim tarāh bīk
   lifāni 'l-'īd wa'yūni arāh bīk
   tihenne bil-liḥid wāni ḍ-ḍiḥīye !

Shake, O grave, and throw off your earth!
You see, this one sleeping in you is the beloved
of my spirit.
The feast has come to me, and my eyes see him in you.
The happy feast [to thee] in the grave, and I am
the sacrificial victim!

Notes: The background of this *bische* is contained in a pathetic story, the authenticity of which is attested by witnesses who are still alive. Briefly, the story is this. A boy and a girl were very much in love,

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but because their fathers were at enmity with each other they were prevented from seeing each other by their families. The boy sickened and felt death approaching. He managed to send a message to his sweetheart, and she set out secretly to visit him. On her arrival she learned that he had died, and that his body had just been carried off for burial in a distant place. She sold her trinkets to obtain the means of following, and arrived just after the body of her dead lover had been laid in the grave. The time was just before the Feast of the Sacrifices (*'īd al-aḍḥā*). She recited the *ḥische* at the grave, then collapsed and died. Her father, meanwhile, had followed her. When he arrived, she was dead, and he allowed those whom he had kept apart in life to be joined in the tomb. *ǧabur*: *qabr*; *tarābīk*: the first, for *turābaka*, the second, *tarā bīk* - *tarā*, literally *you see*, is used often as a parenthetical phrase equivalent to our *you know*, the third, *tarāhu bika*, [*my eyes*] *see him in you*; *hen-nāyim*: *hādha 'l-nā'im*; *life*, *yilfī*: *alfā*, *yulfī*; *tihenne*: expression of congratulation used on a feast; *ḍiḥīye*: *ḍaḥīya* —recall that the Feast of the Sacrifices (*aḍḥā*) was at hand.

9. 'alaih ti'tib ū dem' il-'ain minṣāb
tigulle g'ud yiẓill il-ḥaram minṣāb
mā tidri bdilīle bsehim minṣāb
lau en sālim nihaḍ rā'i l-ḥamīye !

She [Zainab] reproaches him [al-Ḥusain] while the tears of the eye are poured forth.
She says to him: "Arise! The ḥaram is still being attacked!"
She knows not that he has been hit by an arrow in his heart:
Were he unhurt the zealous protector would have risen!

Notes: This is a part of the *abūdhīye al-Ḥusainīye* by Shaikh Khalaf al-Shawāy, which is a collection of thirteen *ḥisches* commemorating some of the circumstances surrounding the death of al-Ḥusain;— *minṣāb*: the first, a dialectical form of *munṣabb*, the second, *attacked* or *afflicted*, the third, *hit* or *struck*; *tigulle g'ud*: *taqūlu lahu 'q'ud*; *bdilīle*: *bi-dilīlihi* (*dilīl*: heart).]

10. tiwessa' jariḥ galbī w zād 'irḍah
ū ṣirit lishām hādhe d-dehar 'irḍah

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ir-rejul lō mā dines bil-li'um 'irḍah
jemil ishmā yiṣil wishmā bziyeh !

The wound of my heart has become enlarged and its
width has increased,
And I have become a target for the arrows of this
time [fate, destiny].
If a man's honor be not stained by baseness,
Whatever he bestows is beautiful, and beautiful
whatever he wears!

Notes: This *hische*, which belongs to the gnomic (*hikam*) type, is a paraphrase of the verse of al-Samau'al:

idhā 'l-mar'u lam yadnas mina 'l-lu'mi 'irḍuhu
fa-kullu ridā'in yartadīhi jamīlu.

'irḍah: the first, *'arḍuhu*, the second, *'urḍa*, the third, *'irḍuhu*; *lishām*: *lisihām*; *ishmā*: *ayyu shai'in mā*, that is, *whatever*; *yiṣil*: (*waṣala*) here in the sense of *give* or *bestow*, the nuance being *whatever he does*, or *is*; *bziyeh*: *bi ziyihi*.

11. 'alaiye frāg ḥubbī ṣa'ib yō 'an
id-diwāris min winīnī 'alaih yō'an
is-sibā' itmūt fi'l-ghābāt yō'an
ū laḥm iḍ-ḍān lichlāb il-wuṭiye !

The parting of my love is hard upon me when it occurs.
The [very] ruins, because of my moaning for him, awake
[become conscious, alert].
Lions die of hunger in the forests,
While the flesh of sheep is for the dogs of the earth!

Notes: this *hische*, also classed as gnomic, is based on the verse

tamūtu 'l-usdu fī 'l-ghābāti jū'an
wa-laḥmu 'l-ḍa'nī ta'kuluhu 'l-kilābu

frāg: *firāq*; *yō'an*: the first, *lau 'anna*, or *matā 'anna*, the second, the dialect form of the third person feminine plural of the imperfect of *wa'ā* (*ya'īna*), the third, the tribal pronunciation of *jū'an*; *lichlāb*: *li-kilāb*; *il-wuṭiye* (*al-waṭī'a*): *lowland*, *earth*, *land*.

12. 'iyūnī hāy min rabhe wa'adhe
is-sehar mā burah 'an ḥadhe wa'adhe

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chithīr ikhwān min ag'ud wa'idhe
lāchin bin-nāyibe shaḥḥau 'alaiye !

My eyes—this is their promise [lot] from their Lord:
Wakefulness did not leave their boundaries nor go
beyond them.
Many are the friends [brothers] when I sit [start]
counting them,
But in time of misfortune they dwindle for me [are few] !

Notes: Another gnomic *ḥische* based on the verse

wa-mā akthara 'l-ikhwāna ḥīna ta'udduhum
wa-lākinnahum fī 'l-nā'ibāti qalīlu

hāy: the dialectic form of *hādhā* and *hādhihi*; *rabhe*: *rabbihā*; *wa'ad-he*: the first, *wa'dihā*, the second, for *wa-'adāhā*, the third, *wa-a'udduhā* (the change of the vowel after the *'ain* is allowed); *buraḥ*: *bariḥa*; *ḥad-he*: *ḥaddihā*; *shaḥḥau*: *shaḥḥū* (the third person masculine plural of the perfect ends in *au* in the dialect).

13. min al-bāri bḥaqqine ktāb munzal
'an il-ḥaqq wabed haihāt menzil
ich-chān in-nōm shāf il-muqal menzil
menāzilne maḥall il-mejid hīye !

From the Creator a Book concerning us has been sent down.
Never —far from it!—will we veer from the Truth!
If sleep has seen [found] the eyes a dwelling,
Then our dwellings are the abode of glory!

Notes: This abūdhīye belongs to the class known as *fakhr* (glory, boasting). It is based on the verse

lā yanzilu 'l-majdu illā fī manāzilinā
ka-'l-naumi laisa lahu ma'wā siwā 'l-muqali

ktāb: the reference, of course, is to the Koran; *munzal*: a literary form (such forms occur occasionally in what is otherwise pure dialect); *wabed*: *wa-abadan* (the conjunction is really superfluous); *menzil*: in line 2, *mā nazillu*, in line 3, the ordinary word for dwelling; *ich-chān*: for *idhā kāna*.

14. minū mithli bhawa l-yihwāh khāṭar
ti'anna w mā kisar lil-wilif khāṭir

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si'alt ir-rīḥ 'ankum ḥīn khāṭar
ū ghairak bil-galub mā khiṭar liye !

Who, like me, has risked so much for the love of him
whom he loves,
[And] has endured hardship and has never disappointed
his beloved?
I asked the wind about you when it strutted by,
And no one but you has ever occurred to my heart!

Notes: This *hische*, of the very common amatory (*ghazal*) type, is based on the verse

wa-as'alu 'l-rīḥa 'ankum kulla-mā khaṭarat
wa-ghairukum fī fu'ādī qaṭṭu mā khaṭarā

minū: *man* (*man huwa*); *l-yihwāb*: *alladhī yahwābu*; *kisar . . . khāṭir*: the idiomatic *kasara khāṭirahu*, meaning to *disappoint*, *offend*; *khāṭar* (line 3): really *khaṭar*, with the first *fatḥa* lengthened by poetic license; *liye*: *li*.

It would be easy to multiply examples of the abūdhiye, or *hische*, since many hundreds of them have been composed. Many have also appeared in print. An interesting collection is that chosen by Hāshim Muḥammad al-Rajab and published about a year ago (1962) in Baghdad under the title: *Mukhtārat al-abūdhiya 'l-'irāqiya*. This collection contains more than two hundred examples, but it has no notes and is, therefore, almost unintelligible to readers (even Iraqi) who are not familiar with the dialect used in the abūdhiye. The examples I have given (most of them taken down from dictation) are, I think, sufficient to acquaint the reader with this interesting popular song form. To get the full effect, he would have to hear them sung. Though the abūdhiye is relatively short, the singing of it, according to one of the few standard melodies, lasts about ten minutes.

There is still much interesting work to be done on the dialect poetry and song of Iraq. I hope to be able to discuss the subject at greater length in a book devoted to the very lively and vivid spoken Arabic of Iraq.

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IBN TAIMĪYA'S AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT ON *ISTIḤSĀN*: MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF ISLAMIC LEGAL THOUGHT

BY

GEORGE MAKDISI

The principle of *istiḥsān*, usually translated as juristic or personal preference, and compared with equity in Western law, is discussed by Islamic legal theorists in connection with the principle of qiyas, or analogical deduction. The mutual relationship of these principles, however, has often been confused by the theorists, and this confusion has been noted by Western scholarship. [1]

Istiḥsān, in its relationship with qiyas and *takhṣīṣ al-'illa*, or the limitation of the cause, forms the subject of Ibn Taimiya's treatise which we are publishing in these pages for the first time. Ibn Taimiya (d. 728/1328), celebrated hanbali theologian and jurisconsult, and unquestionably one of the foremost doctors whose thought continues to have its influence on modern Islam, shows at the outset that he was very much aware of this confusion. It was, in fact, the very reason for which he wrote the treatise. "These are principles", he says in reference to the three principles just mentioned, "concerning which there has been great confusion on the part of jurists, and there is urgent need for examining them with respect to many questions of the sacred law, its fundamental principles as well as its general applications." [2]

It is not my intention, on this occasion, to go into a study of the author's thought as set forth in this treatise. Rather I shall confine myself for the present to the description of the manuscript and to the editing of its text, reserving the study of its contents for another occasion, to be presented along with a translation of the text. Suffice it to say, at the present time, that this work on *istiḥsān* is closely related to another one on qiyas [3] by the same author. In the latter

[1] See *EI*, Supplement, s.v. "istiḥsān" (by R. Paret).

[2] See Arabic text, paragraph 2.

[3] The full title is: *al-Qiyās fī 'l-shar' al-islāmī wa-ithbāt annahu lam yarid fī 'l-islām naṣṣ yukhālif al-qiyās al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd edn. (Cairo,

work, the author's thesis was that there is nothing in the sacred law which could be contrary to a sound analogy.[1] He had been asked the question whether a correct analogical reasoning could possibly contradict an authoritative text, that is, the Koran or hadith. In the present work on *istiḥsān*, his thesis is an extension of that of the former work. In refutation of the view that *istiḥsān* is contrary to strict analogy, the present work propounds the thesis that a sound *istiḥsān* does not constitute a breach of a sound analogy, and that it is not lawful to deviate from a sound analogy in any case whatsoever.[2]

Heretofore, the only known reference to *istiḥsān* by Ibn Taimiya has been in connection with his discussion of the doctrine of utility or public interests (*masāliḥ mursala*).[3] Elsewhere it is dealt with somewhat more at length in a work on legal theory authored by three jurists of the Taimiya family,[4] preserved in manuscript in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo.[5] The present treatise of Ibn Taimiya is therefore the only known full-length work on the subject of *istiḥsān*, the study of which he considered to be of great importance.

The manuscript is written in the author's own handwriting, and is the only copy of this work known to exist. It is preserved in the Ẓāhiriya Library of Damascus which houses, among other works, the richest public collection of hanbali works. In addition to the individual volumes to be found in this library, there are, if my memory serves me well, 158 volumes referred to as *majāmiʿ* (sing. *majmūʿ*), each of which contains a number of works by various authors, bound together for convenience, and each individual work, for one reason or another, not considered to justify a separate binding. It is at the end of one of these volumes of miscellaneous collected works that the present one is found: *Majmūʿ* 91, folios 325a to 333b, 9 folios in all.

The marginal and interlinear notations are all those of the author himself, with the exception of those found on the first page: (a) the

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Salafiya Press, 1375/1955-1956); trans. into French by H. Laoust, in *Contribution à une étude de méthodologie canonique d' . . . Ibn Taimiya* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939), 113-216.

[1] *Qiyās*, 7: *laisā fī 'l-sharīʿati mā yakhālifu qiyāsan ṣaḥīḥan.*

[2] Cf. paragraph 47 of the Arabic text.

[3] Ibn Taimiya, *Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa 'l-masāʾil*, V (5 vols., Cairo, 1341-49/1923-31), 22 ff.; see bibliography, *EI*, Supplement, s.v. "istiḥsān".

[4] Ibn Taimiya's grandfather, Majd al-Dīn Abū 'l-Barakāt (590-652 H.); his father, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (627-683 H.), and Ibn Taimiya himself (661-728 H.). Father and son, each in turn, had added to the original draft (*musawwada*) of the grandfather.

[5] Dār al-Kutub, MS *uṣūl al-fiqh* 150; see folios 178b-180a.

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improvised title (٩ ورقات) في الاستحسان والقياس, (b) the two notes in the left margin يقاس and يقيسون, and (c) the note in the right margin لا أقيس على. The first represents a title chosen by a reader to describe the contents: "On *istihsān* and qiyas". This modern hand may have been that of a librarian or cataloger, who added "9 folios" next to the title. The other two notations were made to clarify places in the text which had become blotted with ink.

Ibn Kathīr, in writing about the works of his teacher, Ibn Taimiya, divides them into three categories: one category of works completed and left by the author in the stage of fair copy, another which was left incomplete, and a third, completed, but left in the stage of rough copy. [1]

It is to this third category that the present treatise of Ibn Taimiya on *istihsān* quite obviously belongs. At first glance, one gets the impression that it is nothing more than rough notes which have yet to be reworked into a treatise. The absence of the title page with the author's name, the crossing out of words throughout the treatise, and the marginal notes written in all possible directions and on all sides of certain pages, the absence of a colophon and date, all contribute to this general impression.

But as soon as one struggles successfully through the reading of certain parts of the manuscript, he realizes that there is here a complete work, and, of course, a work in that unmistakable hand of Ibn Taimīya. [2] Though we can neither give the date of the treatise nor the place in which it was written, we can say with certainty that it was written after the author wrote his treatise on qiyas. This becomes evident from a statement of his referring to the treatise on qiyas not by title but by a restatement of the thesis he propounded in that treatise. Thus in paragraph 48 of the present treatise, he refers to his treatise on qiyas by stating that the opinion he has just stated is the right one, and that he had propounded it in a separate work wherein he had established that there is nothing at all in the sacred law which is contrary to a sound analogy. [3] Written after the treatise

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[1] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fi 'l-tārikh*, XIV (Cairo, 1358/1939), 137.

[2] Cf. Khair al-Din al-Zarkalī, *al-A'lām* (2nd edn.), plates 100, 101 and 102, between pages 128-129, where there are specimens of Ibn Taimiya's handwriting and signature. His handwriting on plates 100 and 101 is clear and the words are, for the most part, supplied with diacritical points; that of plate 102 is exactly the type of rough copy handwriting found in the present manuscript.

[3] Cf. paragraphs 47-48 of the present text with Ibn Taimiya, *Qiyās*, 7 (see n. 1, p. 447 above).

on qiyas, this work on *istiḥsān*, which is, as already mentioned, the only known one by Ibn Taimiya on the subject, comes as an important addition to his ideas on the rational element in the methodology of Islamic law.

We have already said that the author brought the present work to completion, albeit as a rough copy. Whether he ever made a fair copy of it or not we do not know. Quite likely, if he had done so, he would have destroyed the present copy. If one may judge from his handwriting, and from the statement of his disciple Ibn Kathir regarding the writing of his works, [1] one could venture to say that he preferred writing his works to dictating them, but that, being a prolific writer, he had neither the time nor the inclination to make fair copies of all of his rough ones.

An autograph manuscript is, of course, always welcome. It saves its editor all the time and effort which must go into the study of the genealogy of the manuscripts, or the hazardous guesswork that goes into the study of a unique manuscript not that of the author himself, or a group of manuscripts none of which is that of the author.

But an autograph manuscript by Ibn Taimiya is a mixed blessing. Whereas it does away with the problems just mentioned, it is all but illegible. Such works—and there are others which Ibn Taimiya has left in rough copy—present great difficulties of decipherment. This famous author's handwriting is difficult enough in fair copy; in rough copy he is well-nigh impossible to read. And this may be one of the reasons why this work of Ibn Taimiya has remained unpublished to this day.

One need only glance at the plates furnished with these introductory pages, and which represent the first and last folios of the manuscript, together with some of the intervening folios with full marginal notes, in order to see that the author had not meant his treatise to be presented to the public in its present state. It is obviously one of those works referred to in Ibn Kathir's above mentioned third category of rough copy.

The critical notes appended to a manuscript such as the present one must, in some ways, part company with those of more ordinary manuscripts. For example, it would be impractical to note those words which have no diacritical points, a practice followed for manuscripts in general, where the lack of diacritical points is not the

[1] See above.

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rule. To do so in the present case would amount to repeating in the apparatus criticus almost every word of the text. It would be easier for the reader to assume that all words are without diacritical points and to consider himself free to try all other possible combinations as alternatives to those chosen in the edited text, in those cases where there may be reason to suspect a misreading.

The handwriting is hurried and heedless, and, as a result, complicated throughout. Though diacritical points are rarely used--a time-saving practice—the complicated character of Ibn Taimiya's script is not due to this fact alone; it is due also to two other practices followed by him, no doubt also to save time: he does not always clearly or completely trace out the letters of his words, and he frequently skips letters altogether. [1] In some cases, he is consistent; as, for instance, when he skips the letter *mīm* after an initial letter such as *lām* or *yā'* (cf. الا for الآنسة), in compensation for which he slants the initial letter slightly to the left, nothing more.

Arabists familiar with manuscripts wherein diacritical points are lacking resign themselves to the fact that what appears to be the letter *bā'* in the initial or medial position, may also be one of four other letters: *tā'*, *thā'*, *nūn*, or *yā'*, and in the final position, it may be confused with *tā'* or *thā'*. With Ibn Taimīya, one must be prepared for a wider variety of possibilities. Thus, an initial *bā'*, in addition to those letters already mentioned, may also be *fā'*, *qāf*, or *mīm*; a medial *bā'*, a *fā'* or *qāf*; and a final *nūn*, a *qāf*. The prepositions *min* and *fī* are in many places indistinguishable, the decision being made in favor of one rather than the other thanks alone to the law of context. Quite often the medial letters *bā'*, *tā'*, etc. not only do not appear with diacritical points, they are among those which do not appear at all. As an example of the *fā'* written as an initial *bā'* or *yā'* and a *yā'* being skipped altogether, see the note in paragraph 94 where فيعطى is described as فعطا in the MS. In reality, like many other notes, it is my "interpretation" of Ibn Taimīya's actual script: فعطا.

Setting up a special alphabet for such a manuscript solves many but not all of the editor's problems, for the simple reason that the author is not consistent about the letters which he suppresses or slurs. In addition to the alphabet, a familiarity with the style of the author, with the literature on the subject and the technical terminology

[1] Compare the case of Ibn al-Bannā' in G. Makdisi, "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdad" in *BSOAS*, XVIII, (1956-57), plates I-III between pp. 16-17.

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used, and especially a translation of the text, are the greatest insurance against misreadings, though these are perhaps never lacking in an edition of a manuscript such as this one.

It would take many pages to describe the peculiarities of Ibn Taimīya's handwriting, and many of these peculiarities cannot be adequately described. Thus we leave the rest to be seen by the reader himself, who may compare our text with the plates furnished. But there are other features of the manuscript which should be mentioned. Being a rough copy, the manuscript contains many individual words and groups of words crossed out by the author. Some were crossed out and replaced with others immediately afterwards on the same line, the author having modified his thought or his manner of expression while in the process of writing. Other words were crossed out and replaced by others written above the line, the modification having been made after the line or lines were written. Sometimes, when the words crossed out amounted to a line or so of writing, the last word *before* those crossed out appears again *after* them. Rather than a lapse on the part of the author, this may well be a deliberate repetition to show what words are in effect crossed out, namely, those found between the two identical words, the original one and its repetition. For there are words crossed out which bear only a faint trace of the pen across the word or any part thereof. Sometimes the author replaced some words without crossing these out (compare paragraph 93 of the Arabic text); and it is not always certain whether a given word or group of words was meant to be crossed out or not (compare paragraph 91). And finally, there are words which may be referred to as abbreviations; such as the letter *mīm* or the group of letters *māl* (where the *lām* is written as an initial, not a final letter), both standing for the name of Mālik.

On folio 331a, two-thirds of the way down, the author inserts a very lengthy marginal note into the text, an addition which he thought of making only after he had finished writing that page or, perhaps, the whole treatise. He begins this insertion on the left margin and continues it all around that page and the preceding one (not, as one would expect, the following one), ending it on the second preceding page with the final line written between lines 11 and 12, on folio 330a. In order to distinguish this final line from the text of that page, he wrote it upside down, as he did when writing at the top of the other two pages. This is to say, therefore, that the marginal notes on folios 330a, 330b and 331a constitute one lengthy addition to be

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inserted into the text of folio 331a, and that they have nothing to do with 330a or 330b. It would be well to keep this in mind for possibly similar cases, where much time could otherwise be spent in an attempt to locate the place where the marginal note should be inserted in the text. When referring to these marginal notations in the apparatus criticus, the position of the text and the direction of the writing were described.

This fact alone, aside from showing that the treatise was not ready for the reading public, could also explain the absence of a title page, and a colophon giving the date and the author's signature.

The ultimate object in editing a text is to arrive at a result which comes as close as possible to the author's original. In the present case, we have the author's very own manuscript; all that we would normally need to do is reproduce it as it stands. Yet this is not what I have done, the reason being that the author himself would not have done it. I have therefore brought to the text all of those emendations I believe the author himself would have brought to it, had he made a fair copy of the manuscript at hand. This rough copy of Ibn Taimīya contains errors and lapses which he undoubtedly would have corrected in the process of making a fair copy. Therefore, my modifications have been made in the text itself, the lapses being relegated to the critical notes; as, for instance, لفظًا شرعيًّا عامًّا instead of لفظ سرعى عام. The only changes made in the text itself which the author would not have made are those of an orthographical nature: مالك instead of ملك ; واجراه / وإجراؤه ; ماحروا / متأخرو ; مسله / مسألة ; صلوبه / صلاته ; whereas I have allowed the word الفهمه, written as such several times (plus diacritical points), to stand as it is, indicating the more usual form القهقهة in the notes. When the author caught his own errors and corrected them, I have indicated these in the notes with the abbreviation "mod." (modified); as, for instance, لم يقيس being changed to the correct لم يقس. Where the author has left out some obvious words these were restored between brackets; as, for instance [صلى الله عليه وسلم] (see paragraph 76) and the reverse case, [صلى الله عليه وسلم] (see paragraph 8). It is not entirely certain that the omissions here were not intentional, for the purpose of saving time, especially in a formula as well known as this one. (Ibn 'Aqīl, among others, makes consistent use of صلى الله عليه which formula, though it leaves out وسلم, amounts to a complete, meaningful sentence). A question mark indicates uncertain readings, and an ellipse, one or more words which could not be read or where I did not care to risk a reading.

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No attempt was made to point out those places where words were crossed out, or what they were (in places where they were left in a legible state); nor was an attempt made to point out where words were written above or below the lines. Such cases occurred only too frequently in this rough copy, and to take cognizance of each and every one of them would unduly encumber the apparatus criticus. No doubt this particular manuscript of Ibn Taimiya affords us an excellent opportunity to study the author's writing as exemplified in one of his treatises in the making. But no description given in the apparatus criticus can take the place of a comparison of the manuscript itself (a third of which is represented in the plates furnished) with the edited text.

As in the case of two previous works,[1] my primary interest in the present one stemmed from a desire to collect all materials having a bearing on the thought of Ibn 'Aqil (d. 513/1119).[2] Since many of the works of this eminent doctor of Islam are still lost, those of such of his successors as Ibn Taimiya become indispensable both as a supplementary source on Ibn 'Aqil's thought and a possible guide to its place in the currents of thought which followed his period. From a more general point of view, Ibn Taimiya's works are indispensable for the study of the development of Islamic religious thought up to the fourteenth century; and this is due both to the fact that he stands among the greatest scholars of Islam, as well as to the progress which had been made in the methods and techniques of scholarship by the time he had begun to make his contributions.[3]

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[1] Ibn al-Bannā'ʾ's autograph diary (see previous note) and Ibn Qudāma's refutation of Ibn 'Aqil (see G. Makdisi, *Ibn Qudāma's Censure of Speculative Theology* [London, 1962]).

[2] On Ibn 'Aqil, see my recent work, *Ibn 'Aqil et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionnaliste au XI° siècle* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1963).

[3] In the apparatus criticus I have used the abbreviation "mod." to designate those words which the author himself modified by rewriting them; I have used "w.p." to indicate that the words singled out for comment in the footnotes are as they appear in the MS except for the absence of diacritical points ("without points").

The title chosen for this treatise of Ibn Taimiya, namely الاستحسان مسألة, is written several times by a later hand on folio 340a of *Majmū'* 91. I chose it for its appropriateness. The treatise itself ends several folios before; the intervening folios are blank.

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[مسألة الاستحسان]

1. [f° 325a] | الحمد لله نستعينه ونستغفره ، ونعوذ بالله من شرور أنفسنا ومن سيّئات أعمالنا ؛ من يهده الله فلا مضلّ له ، ومن يضلل فلا هادي له ؛ ونشهد أن لا إله إلّا الله وحده لا شريك له ، ونشهد أنّ محمّداً عبده ورسوله ، صلّى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلّم تسليماً .

2. فصل في الاستحسان ، وتخصيص العلّة ، وموضع الاستحسان هل يُقاس عليه أم لا ، وما يرد من الأحكام الثابتة بالنصّ والإجماع ويُقال إنّها مخالفة للقياس . فإنّ هذه قواعد كثر اضطراب الناس فيها ؛ والحاجة ماسّة الى تحقيقها في كثير من مسائل الشريعة أصولها وفروعها .

* * *

3. أمّا الاستحسان فالمشهور من معانيه أنّه مخالفة القياس لدليل . وقد يُراد به غير ذلك . والعلماء في لفظه ومعناه المذكور على ثلاثة أقوال . منهم من ينكر هذا اللفظ مطلقاً ؛ وهم نفاة القياس كداود وأصحابه ، وكثير من أهل الكلام من المعتزلة والشيعة وغيرهم . فليس عندهم في أدلّة الشرع لا قياس ولا استحسان .

4. ومنهم من يقرّ به بهذا المعنى ، ويجوّز مخالفة القياس للاستحسان ، ويعمل بالقياس فيما عدا صورة الاستحسان . وهذا هو المعروف عن أبي حنيفة وأصحابه .

5. ومنهم من ذمّ الاستحسان تارةً ، وقال به تارةً ، كالشافعيّ وأحمد بن حنبل ومالك[1] وغيرهم . ففي كتب مالك وأصحابه ذكر لفظ الاستحسان في مواضع . والشافعيّ قال : من استحسن فقد شرع . وتكلّم في إبطال الاستحسان ، وبسط القول في ذلك . وكان من أعظم الأئمّة إنكاراً له . وصنّف (؟) و . . . (؟) بلفظ الاستحسان كما قال . وهو الذي عليه أصحابه في أصول الفقه . ومع هذا فقد قال : أستحسن أن تكون المتعة ثلاثين درهماً . ولهذا حُكي للشافعيّ في الاستحسان قولان : قديم وجديد .

6. وكذلك أحمد بن حنبل نقل عنه أبو طالب أنّه قال : أصحاب أبي حنيفة إذا قالوا شيئاً خلاف القياس قالوا : نستحسن هذا وندع القياس . فيدعون الذي يزعمون أنّه الحقّ بالاستحسان . قال : وأنا أذهب الى كلّ حديث جاء ولا أقيس عليه .

7. قال القاضي أبو يعلى : وظاهر هذا يقتضي إبطال القول بالاستحسان ، وأنّه لا

[1] ومالك : ومال MS; author's abbreviation for Mālik. Cf. below, paragraph 21.

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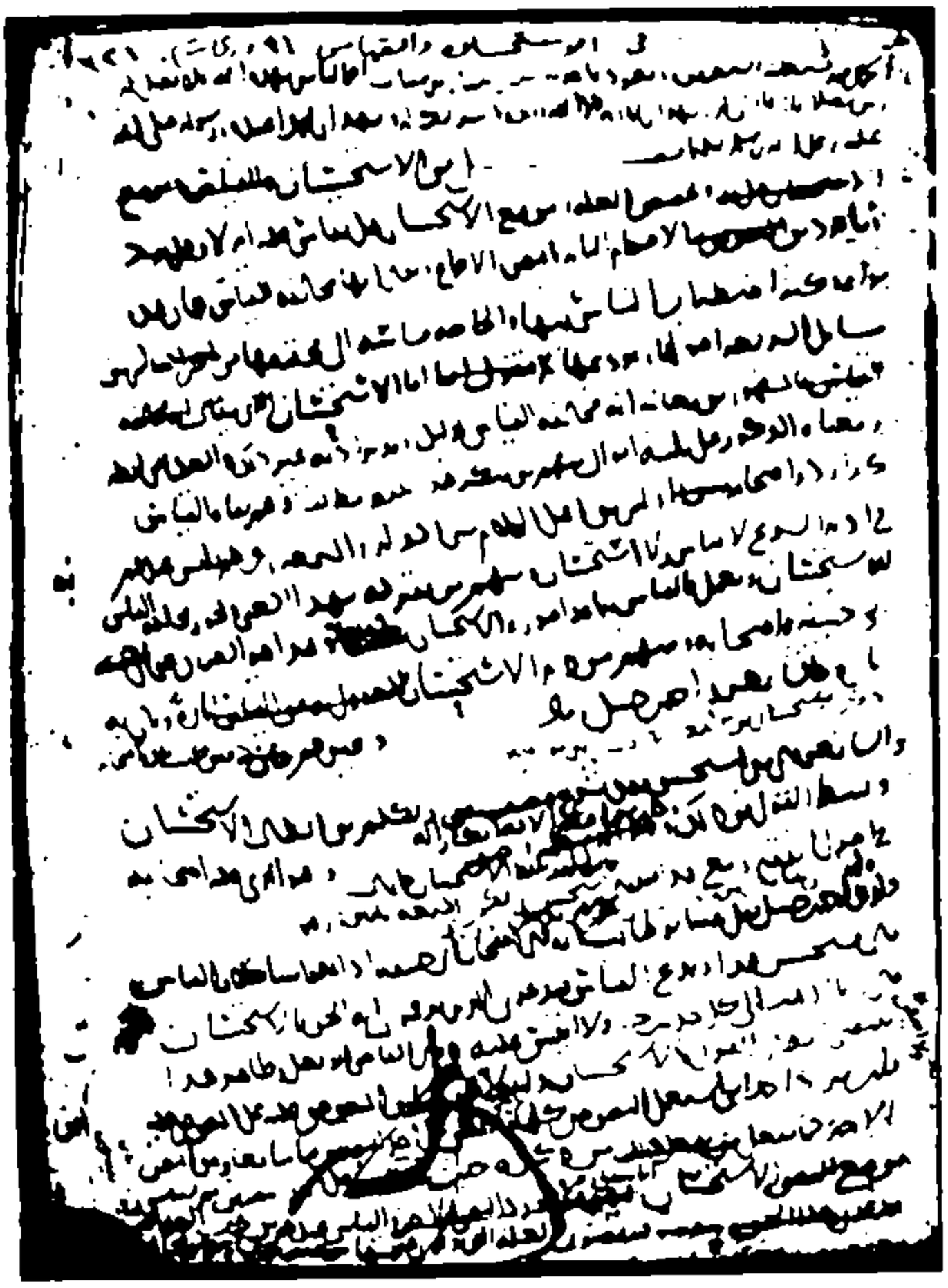

Incipit, f° 325a (Zahiriya, *Majmu'* 91)

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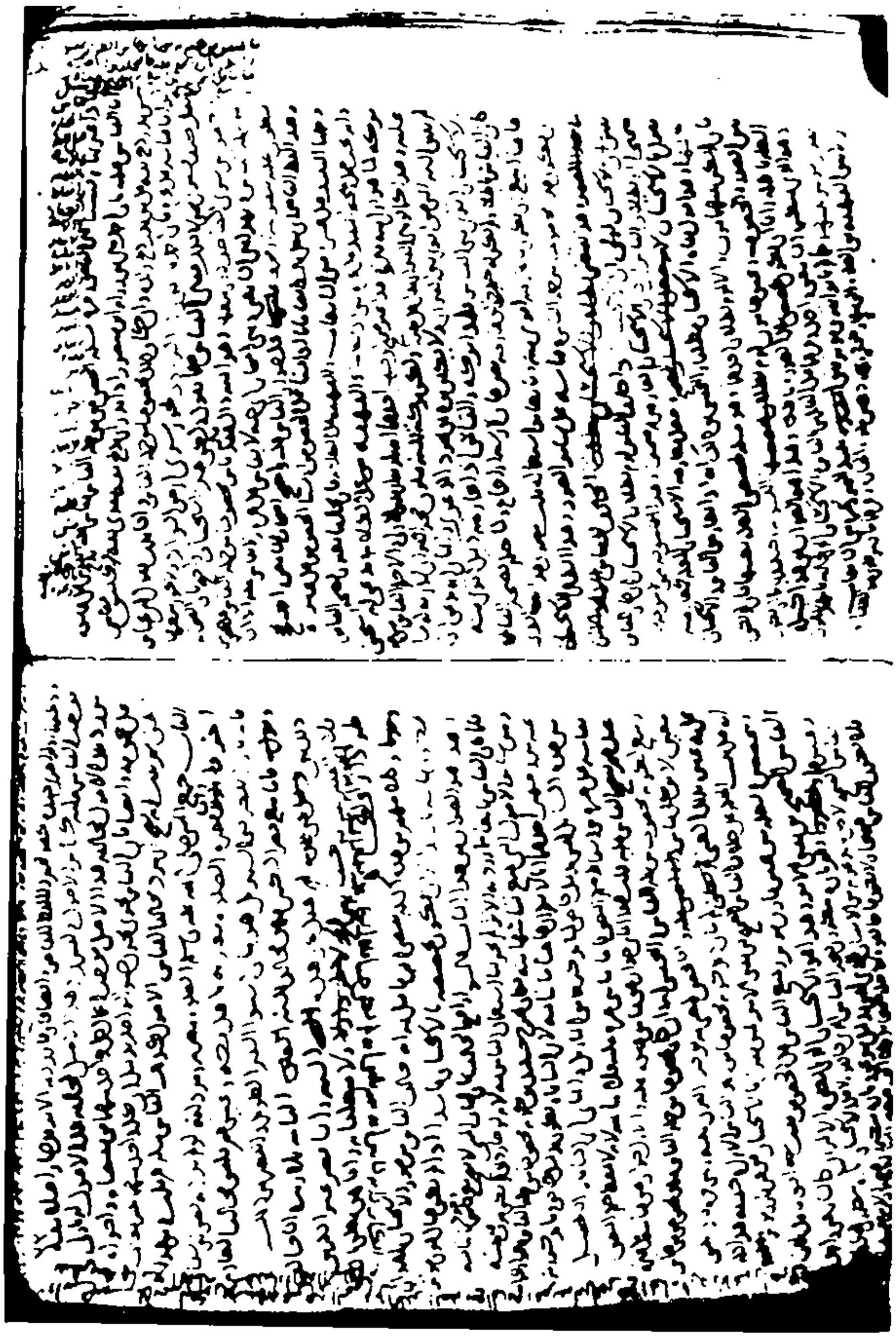

fos. 329b-330a (Zāhiriya, Damascus 91)

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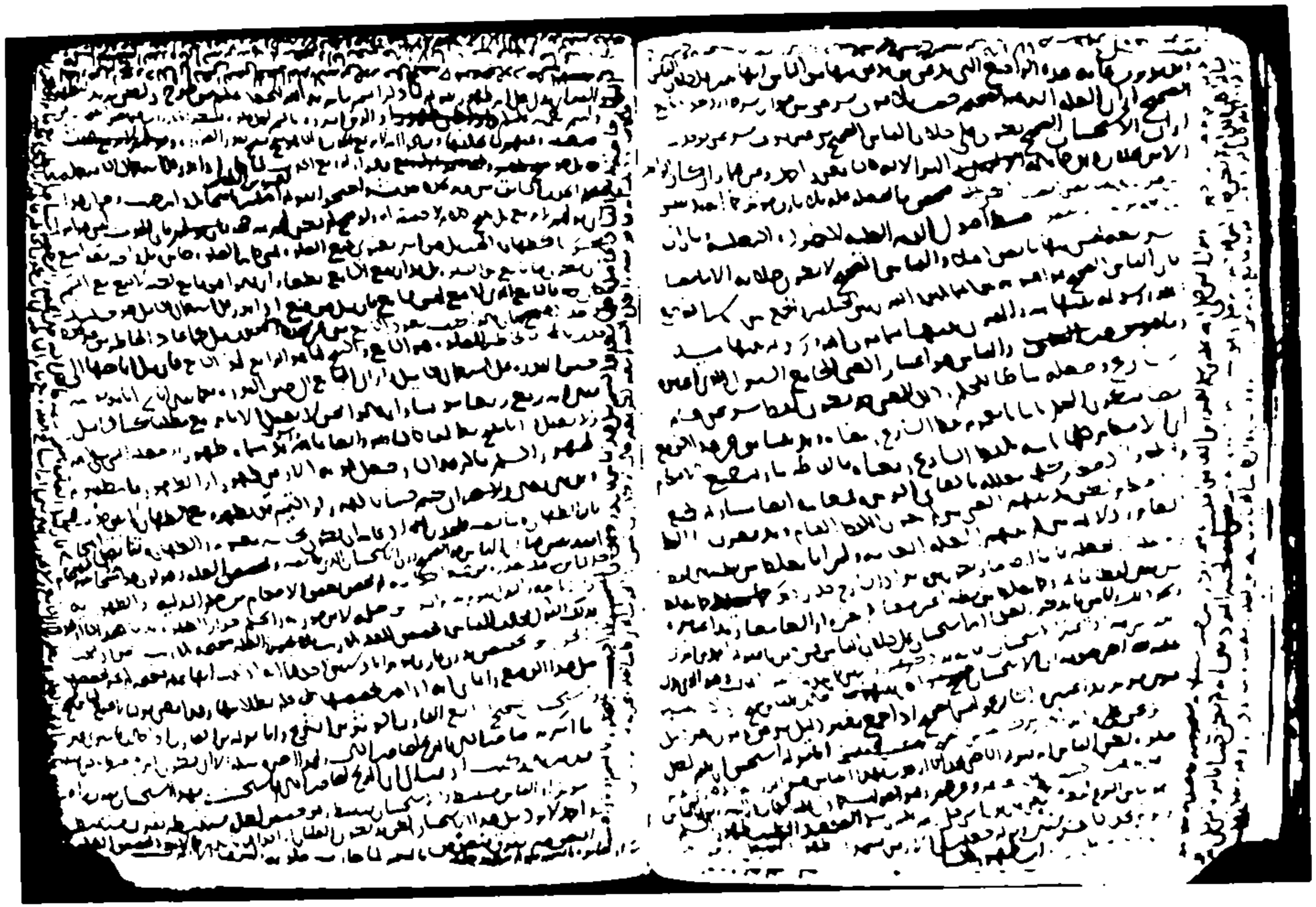

Photo Marfat

Ms. 330b-331a - Zilurya, Morocco

Explicit, f° 333b (Ẓāhiriya, *Majmūʿ* 91)

يُقاس[1] المنصوص عليه على المنصوص عليه . قلت : مراد أحمد : إنّي استعمل النصوص كلّها، ولا أقيس على[2] أحد النصّين قياساً يعارض النصّ الآخر. كما يفعل من ذكره حيث يقيسون[3] على أحد[4] النصّين ثمّ يقيسون موضع الاستحسان إمّا لنصّ أو غيره . والقياس عندهم يوجب العلّة الصحيحة . فينقضون العلّة التي يدّعون صحّتها مع تساويها في محالّها .

8 وهذا من أحمد يبيّن أنّه يوجب طرد العلّة الصحيحة ، وأنّ انتقاضها مع [325b] تساويها في محالّها يوجب فسادها . ولهذا قال : لا أقيس على أحد النصّين قياساً ينقض النصّ[5] الآخر. فإنّ ذلك يدلّ على فساد القياس . وهو يستعمل مثل هذا في مواضع مثل حديث أبي سلمة عنه وفيه قوله صلّعم : إذا أراد أحدكم أن يضحّي ودخل العشر فلا يأخذ من شعره ولا من بشرته شيئاً ، مع حديث عائشة : كنت أفتل قلائد هدي رسول الله [صلّى الله] عليه وسلّم، ثمّ يبعث به وهو يقيم ، فلا يُحرَم عليه شيء ممّا يُحرَم على المحرم .

9. والناس في هذا على ثلاثة أقوال . منهم من يرى بين الهدي والأضحيّة في المنع ويقول : إذا أرسل المحرم هدياً لم يحلّ حتّى يُنحَر، كما يُروَى عن ابن عبّاس وغيره . ومنهم من يرى بينهما في الإذن ويقول : بل المضحّي لا يُمنَع عن شيء كما لا يُمنَع المهدي . فيقيسون على أحد النصّين ما يعارض الآخر .

10. وفقهاء الحديث كيحيى بن سعيد والشافعيّ وأحمد بن حنبل وغيرهم عملوا بالنصّين ، ولم يقيسوا أحدهما على الآخر : كما أنّ الله لمّا أحلّ البيع وحرّم الربا لم يقس[6] المسلمون أحدهما على الآخر؛ وإنّما هذا قياس المشركين . وكذلك لمّا أحلّ الذكيّ وحرّم

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[1] يقاس: written in left margin without points or vocalization.

[2] ولا أقيس على: partly blotted out with ink, written by another hand in the right margin, vertical upward position.

[3] Blotted out except for the unpointed first letter (*yā'*) and the sign (ᵛ) for the letter *sīn*; the word is written by another hand in the left margin, vertical upward position.

[4] Partly blotted out; not written in margin.

[5] ينقض النصّ: نقضه النصه MS; lapsus calami, the final letter of both words being superfluous; could also be read ينقضه النصّ with no violence done to the meaning of the sentence; but compare similar sentences in paragraphs 7 and 9.

[6] يقس: mod.

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الميتة لم يقيسوا أحدهما على الآخر؛ بل هذا قياس المشركين. وكذلك لمّا جاء[1] الكتاب والسنّة بالقرعة وجاءا[2] بتحريم القمار لم يقيسوا هذا على هذا، بل أجازوا القرعة وحرّموا الميسر والاستقسام بالأزلام، بخلاف من جعل القرعة من القمار أو من الاستقسام بالأزلام[3] ولم يعلّق بها حكماً. وأحمد أكثر الفقهاء عملاً بالقرعة لما كان عنده فيها من النصوص والآثار.

11. وكذلك عند أحمد وغيره من فقهاء الحديث، لمّا أمر النبيّ صلّعم الناس إذا صلّى الإمام قاعداً أن يصلّوا قعوداً أجمعين، ثم لمّا افتتحوا الصلاة قياماً أنهى[4] بهم قياماً؛ عمل بالحديثين، ولم يقس[5] على أحدهما قياساً يناقض الآخر ويجعله منسوخاً، كما فعل طائفة من الفقهاء كالشافعيّ والحميديّ وغيرهما.[6] واستدلّ هو وغيره بأنّ الصحابة بعده لمّا صلّوا جلوساً أمروا مَنْ خَلْفَهم بالجلوس. وقد شهدوا صلاته[7] في آخر عمره، مثل أُسَيْد بن الحُضَيْر وهو من أفضل السابقين الأوّلين من الأنصار. وذلك في عهد أبي بكر فإنّه قُتل في قتال المرتدّين من حنيفة أتباع مسيلمة الكذّاب.

12. [f° 326a] | وقد قال أحمد بالاستحسان المخالف للقياس في مواضع، كقوله في رواية صالح[8] في المضارب: إذا خالف فاشترى غير ما أمر به صاحب المال فالربح لصاحب المال ولهذا أجرة مثله، إلّا أن يكون الربح يحيط بأجرة مثله، فيذهب. قال: وكنت أذهب الى أنّ الربح لصاحب المال، ثمّ استحسنت.

13. وقال في رواية الميمونيّ: أستحسن أن يتيمّم لكلّ صلاة، ولكنّ القياس أنّه بمنزلة الماء حتّى يحدث أو يجد الماء.

14. وقال في رواية المروذيّ: يجوز شرى أرض السواد ولا يجوز بيعها. فقيل له:

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[1] جاء: حات MS. The author's original sentence was جاءت السّنة بالقرعة; he then crossed out the second and third words, replacing them with الكتاب والسّنة بالقرعة but forgetting to change the verb from جاءت to جاء to re-establish agreement between verb and subject.

[2] وجاءا: وحا MS.

[3] بالأزلام: بالارلارم MS.

[4] أنهى: انها MS.

[5] Mod.

[6] وغيرهما: وغيره MS. w.p.

[7] صلاته: صلوبه MS.

[8] صالح: صلح MS.

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كتف يُشترى ممّن لا يملك؟ فقال : القياس كما تقول ولكن هو استحسان. واحتجّ بأنّ أصحاب النبيّ صلّعم رخّصوا في شرى المصاحف وكرّهوا بيعها. وهذا يشبه ذاك.

15. وقال في رواية بكر بن محمّد فيمن غصب أرضاً وزرعها : الزرع لربّ الأرض وعليه النفقة ؛ وليس هذا شيئاً يوافق القياس ، [ولكن [1] أستحسن أن يدفع إليه نفقته.

16. وقد جعل القاضي أبو يعلى المسألة على روايتين. ونصر هو وأتباعه كأبي الخطّاب وابن عقيل وابن [الزاغونيّ؟] [2] القول بالاستحسان كقول أصحاب أبي حنيفة. وفسّر هؤلاء وهؤلاء الاستحسان الذي يقولون به بأنّه ترك الحكم الى حكم هو أولى منه. وقيل : هو أولى القياسين. قالوا – وهذا لفظ القاضي – : والحجّة التي نرجع إليها في الاستحسان فهي الكتاب تارة والسنّة أخرى والإجماع ثالثة. والاستدلال يترجّح شبه بعض الأصول على بعض. كما قلنا بالاستحسان لأجل الكتاب في شهادة أهل الكتاب على المسلمين في الوصيّة في السفر إذا لم نجد مسلماً.

17. قال : وممّا قلنا فيه بالاستحسان للسنّة فيمن غصب أرضاً وزرعها ، فالزرع لربّ الأرض وعلى صاحب الأرض النفقة لصاحب الزرع ؛ لحديث رافع بن خديج عن النبيّ صلّعم : من زرع في أرض قوم فالزرع لربّ الأرض وله نفقته. وقد كان القياس أن يكون الزرع لزارعه.

18. قال : وممّا قلنا فيه بذلك للإجماع جواز سلم الدراهم والدنانير في الموزونات. وكان القياس أن لا يجوز ذلك لوجود الصفة المضمومة الى الجنس وهي الوزن ، إلاّ أنّهم استحسنوا فيه للإجماع.

19. قلت : ومن ذلك أنّ نفقة الصغير وأجرة مرضعه على أبيه دون أمّه بالنصّ والإجماع. والقياس ، عند من يجعل النفقة على كلّ وارث بفرض أو تعصيب أو على كلّ ذي [3] رحم محرم أو على عمودي النسب مطلقاً، أن يكون على الأبوين. وكذلك يقولون

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[1] The context requires the addition of this word, corroborated in the same quotation cited in the MS on *uṣūl al-fiqh* attributed to the Taimiya family, Dār al-Kutub Library, Cairo, *Uṣūl al-fiqh* 150, f° 179a, line 5 from botton of page.

[2] كأبي الخطّاب وابن عقيل وابن : this insert is written by the author above the line, between وأتباعه and كقول. See Ibn Taimiya, *Minhāj al-sunna*, 4 vols. (Cairo: Būlāq, 1321-22/1903-04), *passim*, where this trio of Hanbali jurisconsults is frequently mentioned among the disciples of Qadi Abū Ya'lā.

[3] كلّ ذي : دى كل MS.

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جواز إجارة الظئر بأنّه بالنصّ والإجماع على خلاف القياس ؛ بل وقد يقولون بجواز الإجارة ، بل وجواز القرض والقراض وغير ذلك ، على خلاف القياس للإجماع .

20. لكن إذا أيّدوا معنىً يقتضي التخصيص مثل الحاجة قيل : هذا يقول به جميع الأئمّة ، بل جميع علماء السنّة ، مثل إباحة الميتة للمضطرّ للضرورة ، وصلاة المريض قاعداً للحاجة ، ونحو ذلك . وإنّما يتنازعون إذا لم يظهر في إحدى الصورتين معنىً يوجب الفرق .

21. [f° 326b] ولهذا فسّر غير واحد الاستحسان بتخصيص العلّة ، كما ذكر ذلك أبو الحسين البصريّ والرازيّ وغيرهما . وكذلك هو . فإنّ غاية الاستحسان الذي يُقال فيه إنّه يخالف القياس حقيقة تخصيص العلّة . والمشهور عن أصحاب الشافعيّ منع تخصيص العلّة ، وعن أصحاب أبي حنيفة القول بتخصيصها ، كالمشهور عنهما في منع الاستحسان وإجازته . ولكن في مذهب الشافعيّ خلاف في جواز تخصيص العلّة ، كما في مذهب مالك وأحمد . ومن الناس من حكى قول الأئمّة الأربعة جواز تخصيص العلّة . وقد ذكر أبو إسحاق[1] بن شاقلا عن أصحاب أحمد في تخصيص العلّة وجهين . ومن الناس من يحكي ذلك روايتين عن أحمد . والقاضي أبو يعلى وأكثر أتباعه كابن عقيل [وغيره][2] يمنعون تخصيص العلّة مع قولهم بالاستحسان ، وكذلك أصحاب مالك .[3]

22. وأمّا أبو الخطّاب فيختار تخصيص العلّة موافقة لأصحاب أبي حنيفة . فإن هذا هو الاستحسان كما تقدّم . وهؤلاء يجوّزون تخصيصها بمجرّد دليل يدلّ على التخصيص ، وإن لم يبيّن اختصاص صورة النقض فقدان شرط أو وجود مانع . وهذا حقيقة ما ذكره القاضي وهؤلاء في الاستحسان ، كما ذكره في الأمثلة .

23. ولكنّ القاضي وغيره ممّن يقول بالاستحسان ومنع تخصيص العلّة فرّقوا بينهما . فقالوا – واللفظ للقاضي – : لا يجوز تخصيص العلّة الشرعيّة ، وتخصيصها نقضها . قال : وقد قال أحمد في رواية الحسين بن حسّان : القياس أن يُقاس الشيء على الشيء إذا كان مثله في كلّ أحواله ، فأمّا إذا أشبهه في حال وخالفه في حال فهذا خطأ . قال : وهذا الكلام يمنع من تخصيصها . قال : وقد ذكر أبو إسحاق[4] – يعني ابن شاقلا – في شرح الخرقيّ فقال :

[1] إسحاق : اسحق MS.

[2] وغيره : added for the context. The author had begun to write something after the word عقيل, but crossed it out.

[3] مالك : مـ (initial *mīm*); another abbreviation by the author for Mālik; compare his abbreviation for the same name in paragraph 5.

[4] إسحاق : اسحق MS.

أصحابنا على وجهين : منهم من يرى تخصيص العلّة ، ومنهم من لا يرى ذلك . قال : وقد ذكرها أبو الحسن الخرزيّ في جزء فيه مسائل من الأصول : لا يجوز تخصيصها . قال : وقول أحمد " القياس كان يقتضي أن لا يجوز شرى أرض السواد لأنّه لا يجوز بيعها " ليس بموجب لتخصيص العلّة ، فإنّها في حكم خاصّ . وما ذكر أحمد إنّما هو اعتراض النصّ على قياس الأصول في الحكم العامّ . وقد يُترَك قياس الأصول للخبر .

24. ولذلك أجاب من احتجّ على جواز تخصيصها بالاستحسان فقال : فإن قيل : أليس قد قال أحمد في رواية المروذيّ – ‹ وقد قيل : كيف يُشترى ممّن لا يملك ؟ فقال – : القياس كما تقول وإنّما هو استحسان ؟ واحتجّ بقول الصحابة في المصاحف . ثمّ قال في الجواب : قيل : ›[1] تخصيص العلّة ما منع من جريها في حكم خاصّ .

25. وما ذكره أحمد إنّما هو اعتراض النصّ على قياس الأصول . ولأنّهم قد يقولون في الاستحسان عن قياس وعن غير قياس فامتنع أن يكون معناه تخصيص بدليل . ‹ وقد ناقضه أبو الخطّاب . ›[2]

26 [وهذا الذي ذكره القاضي قد ذكره كثير من العلماء فيما إذا عارض النصّ قياس [f° 327a] الأصول ، فقالوا بقدم النصّ . واختلفوا فيما إذا عارض خبر الواحد قياس الأصول ، كخبر المصرّاة ونحوه . وأمّا الأوّل فمثل حمل العاقلة . فإنّهم يقولون : هو خلاف قياس الأصول . وهو ثابت بالنصّ والإجماع . وهذا يذكره بعض الناس قولاً ثالثاً في تخصيص العلّة . ويذكرون قولاً رابعاً . وهو أنّه يجوز [تخصيص][3] المنصوصة دون المستنبطة . وأكثر الناس في التخصيص من أصحاب الشافعيّ وأحمد ، كابن حامد وأبي الطيّب والقاضي أبي يعلى وابن عقيل وغيرهم ، يقولون : إذا خُصّت المنصوصة تبيّنّا أنّها نقض العلّة وإلاّ فلا يجوز تخصيصها بحال .

27. وهذا النزاع إنّما هو في علّة قام على صحّتها دليل كالتأثير والمناسبة . وأمّا إذا اكتُفي فيها بمجرّد الطرد الذي لا يُعلَم خلوّه عن التأثّر والسلامة عن المفسدات فهذه تبطل بالتخصيص باتّفاقهم . وأمّا الطرد المختصّ الذي يُعلَم خلوّه عن المعاني المعبرّة فذاك لا يُحتَجّ به عند أحد من العلماء ولا المعبّرين .

[1] Right margin, one line, vertical upward position.

[2] Right margin, bottom of page, horizontal position; added later by the author; meant to follow the last line of f° 326b.

[3] تخصيص: added because of the context. The author had written تخصيصها which he then crossed out, without replacing it with تخصيص.

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28. وأمّا النزاع في الطرد الشبهيّ ، كالمجوّزات الشبهيّة التي يحتجّ بها كثير من الطوائف الأربعة لا سيّما قدماء أصحاب الشافعيّ ، فإنّها كثيرة في حججهم أكثر من غيرهم.

29. | والتحقيق في هذا الباب أنّ العلّة تُقاس على العلّة التامّة، وهي المستلزمة لمعلولها. [f° 327b] فهذه متى انتقضت بطلت بالاتّفاق. وتُقاس على العلّة المقتضية أدلّاء وتُسمّى المؤثّرة، ويُسمّى السبب دالاًّ ودليل العلّة ونحو ذلك. فهذه إذا انتقضت لفرق مؤثّر يفرّق فيه بين صورة النقض وغيرها من الصور لم تفسد. ثمّ إذا كانت صورة الفرع التي هي صورة النزاع في معنى صورة النقض أُلحقت بها. وإن كانت في معنى صورة الأصل أُلحقت بها. فمن قال "إنّ العلّة لا يجوز تخصيصها مطلقاً لا لفوات شرط ولا لوجود مانع" فهذا مخطىء قطعاً ، وقوله مخالف لإجماع السلف كلّهم : الأئمّة الأربعة وغيرهم. فإنّهم كلّهم يقولون بتخصيص العلّة لمعنى يوجب الفرق. وكلامهم في ذلك أكثر من أن يُحصر. وهذا معنى قول من قال : يخصّصها مذهب الأئمّة الأربعة.

30. والقول بالاستحسان المخالف للقياس لا يمكن إلّا مع القول بتخصيص العلّة. وما ذكروه من اعتراض النصّ على قياس الأصول فهو أحد أنواع تخصيص العلّة. . . . [1] لكون العلّة تقبل[2] التخصيص في الجملة. وأمّا من جوّز تخصيص العلّة بمجرّد دليل لا يبيّن الفرق بين صورة التخصيص وغيرها فهذا مورد النزاع في الاستحسان المخالف للقياس وغيره.

31. ثمّ هذه العلّة إن كانت مستنبطة وخُصّت بنصّ ولم تبيّن الفرق المعنويّ بين صورة التخصيص وغيرها فهذا أضعف ما يكون. وهذا هو الذي كان ينكره كثيراً الشافعيّ وأحمد وغيرهما على من يفعله من أصحاب أبي حنيفة وغيرهم. وكلام أحمد في ما تقدّم أراد به هذا. فإنّ العلّة المبيّنة لم تُعلَم صحّتها إلّا بالرأي ، فإذا عارضها النصّ كان مبطلاً لها. والنصّ إذا عارض العلّة دلّ على فسادها ، كما أنّه إذا عارض الحكم الثابت بالقياس دلّ على فساده بالإجماع.

32. وأمّا إذا كانت العلّة المنصوصة وقد جاء نصّ بتخصيص بعض صور العلّة فهذا ممّا لا ينكره أحمد ، بل ولا الشافعيّ وغيرهما. كما إذا جاء نصّ في صورة ونصّ يخالفه في صورة أخرى لكن بينهما شبه لم يقم دليل على أنّه مناط الحكم فهؤلاء يقرّون النصوص ولا يقيسون منصوصاً على منصوص يخالف حكمه. بل هذا من جنس الذين قالوا : إنّما البيع مثل الربا.

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[1] Two or three words which remain illegible for me.
[2] Mod.

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وهذا هو الذي قال أحمد فيه : أنا أذهب الى كلّ حديث كما جاء ولا أقيس عليه – أي لا يقيس عليه صورة الحديث الآخر – فأجعل الأحاديث متناقضة وأدفع بعضها ببعض ، بل استعملها كلّها .

33. | والذين يدفعون بعض النصوص ببعض يقولون : الصورتان سواء لا فرق بينهما . فيكون [f°328a] أحد النصّين ناسخاً للآخر . ومثل هذا كثيراً ما يتنازع فيه فقهاء الحديث ومن ينازعهم[1] ممّن يقيس منصوصاً على منصوص ويجعل أحد النصّين منسوخاً لمخالفته قياس النصّ الآخر في طيّ هذا القياس .

34. وبقي الأمر دائراً هل دلّ الشرع على التسوية بين الصورتين حتّى يُجعل حكمهما سواء ويُجعل الحكم الوارد في إحداهما منسوخاً بالحكم المضادّ له الوارد في الأخرى ، كما يقوله من يجعل القرعة منسوخة بآية الميسر . وأمر المأمومين بأن يتبعوا الإمام ، فإذا كبّر كبّروا ، وإذا ركع ركعوا ، وإذا صلّى جالساً صلّوا جلوساً ، أُحمل منسوخاً بدوام قيامهم في الصلاة التي صلّوا بعضها خلف إمام قائم وباقيها خلف إمام قاعد ؟ ويجعلون[2] حديث الأضحيّة والهدي أحدهما منسوخاً بالآخر . «ويجعلون قطع جاحد العارية منسوخاً[3] – إذا سلّموا أنّه قطعها لذلك – منسوخاً[3] بقوله : ليس على المختلس ولا المنتهب ولا الخائن قطع[4] . » ويجعلون[5] العقوبة المالية منسوخة بالنهي عن إضاعة المال . ويجعلون[5] تضعيف الغرم على من ذُرّي عنه القطع منسوخاً بقوله : «وجزاء سيّئة سيّئة مثلها» .[6] ويجعلون[7] تقضية ما شرطه النبيّ صلّعم بينه وبين المشركين في الهدنة منسوخاً بقوله : من اشترط شرطاً ليس في كتاب الله فهو باطل . وكثير ممّا يدّعونه في الناسخ لا يعلمون أنّه قيل بعد المنسوخ .

35. فهذا ونحوه من دفع النصوص البيّنة الصريحة بلفظ مجمل أو قياس هو ممّا كان

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[1] ينازعهم: followed by من at the end of the line, then by ممّن at the beginning of the next line.

[2] ويجعلون: ويحمل MS; this verb is repeated by the author more than once in this section, first in the singular then modified to the plural in order to put them in agreement with the same verb in the marginal note; this is one of those he failed to modify; see others below.

[3] منسوخاً: author's repetition.

[4] Left margin, three lines, vertical upward position.

[5] ويجعلون: modified by the author to agree with the same verb in the marginal note.

[6] Kor. XLII, 40.

[7] ويجعلون: ويحمل MS, written twice, once at the end of the line, and again at the beginning of the next line; the author failed to modify this one.

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ينكره أحمد وغيره. وكان أحمد يقول: أكثر ما يخطىء الناس من جهة التأويل والقياس. وقال: ينبغي للمتكلّم في الفقه أن يجتنب هذين الأصلين المجمل والقياس. ومراده أنّه لا يُعارَض بهما ما ثبت بنصّ خاصّ ولا يُعمَل بمجرّدهما قبل النظر في النصوص والأدلّة الخاصّة المقيّدة. والعامّ والمطلق يدخل في معنى كلامه وكلام غيره من الأئمّة كالشافعيّ وغيره، في المجمل. لا يريدون بالمجمل ما لا يُفهَم معناه، كما يظنّه بعض الناس، ولا ما يستقلّ بالدلالة. فإنّ هذا لا يجوز الاحتجاج به بحال. وأمّا إذا جاء نصّان بحكمين مختلفين في صورتين وثَمّ صور مسكوت عنها فهل يُقاس القياس هو مقتضى أحد النصّين، فما سُكت عنه نلحقه به وإن لم نعرف المعنى الفارق بينه وبين الآخر.

36. فهذا هو الاستحسان الذى نتورّع منه فكثير من الفقهاء يقول[1] به كأصحاب أبي حنيفة وكثير من أصحاب أحمد وغيرهم[2]. وهذا هو الذي ذكره القاضي بقوله: اعترض النصّ على قياس الأصول. وهو في الحقيقة قول بتخصيص العلّة، كما تقدّم. ومن لم يجوّز تخصيصها إلّا بفارق بين صورة التخصيص وغيرها يقول: لا بدّ أن يُعلَم الجامع أو الفارق، فليس إلحاق المسكوت [عنه] بأحد النصّين بأولى من إلحاقه بالآخر. وإذا عُلم المعنى في أحد النصّين ولم يُعلَم في الآخر وجاز أن يكون المسكوت عنه في معنى هذا ومعنى هذا لم يُلحَق بواحد منهما إلّا بدليل. وإذا عُلم المعنى في أحد النصّين ووجوده في المسكوت عنه ولم يُعلَم المعنى في الآخر فهذا أقوى من الذي قبله. فإنّه هنا قد عُلم مقتضى القياس الصحيح وشموله لصورة السكوت. وأمّا وجود الفارق فيه فمشكوك فيه. وهذا نظير أخذ أحد بالنصوص الواردة في سجود سهو. فما كان فيها قبل السلام[3] أخذ به، وما [كا]ن بعد السلام[3] أخذ [به]، وما لم يجيء فيه نصّ ألحقه بما قبل السلام[3] لأنّه القياس عنده.

37. | وتحقيق هذا الباب أنّه إمّا أن يُعلَم استواء الصورتين في الصفات المؤثّرة في [f° 328b] الشرع، وإمّا أن يُعلَم افتراقهما، وإمّا أن لا يُعلَم واحد منهما. ونعني بالعلم ما يسمّيه الفقهاء علماً، وهو أن يقوم الدليل على التماثل والاستواء، أو الاختلاف والافتراق، أو لا يقوم على واحد منهما.

[1] يقول: sic MS (instead of the plural).

[2] Words crossed out by the author leave a certain awkwardness in the text (repetition of the conjunction *fā*').

[3] السلام: used three times in the passage, written السلم the first two, السلام the third.

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38. فالأول متى ثبت الحكم في بعض الصور دون بعض عُلم أنّ العلّة باطلة. وهذا مثل دعوى من يدّعي أنّ الموجب للنفقة نفس الإيلاد، أو نفس الرحم المحرم، أو مطلق الإرث بفرض أو تعصيب. ونقول: إذا اجتمع الجدّ والجدّة كانت النفقة عليهما. فإنّه لمّا ثبت بالنصّ والإجماع أنّه إذا اجتمع الأبوان كانت النفقة على الأب فعُلم أنّ العصبة في ذلك يُقدّم على غيره وإن كان وارثاً بفرض.

39. وهذا إحدى الروايتين عن أحمد. وعُلم أنّ قوله: «وَعَلَى ٱلْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَٰلِكَ»[1] هو الوارث المطلق، وهو العاصب إن كان موجوداً، لأنّ عمر جبر بني عمّ منفوس على نفقته. وهذه الآية صريحة في إيجاب نفقة الصغير على الوارث العاصب. وقال بها جمهور السلف. وليس لمن خالفها حجّة أصلاً. ولكن ادّعى[2] بعضهم أنّها منسوخة. وقيل ذلك عن مالك. وبعضهم قال: علّته أن لا يُضارّ. فتركها بدعوى النسخ أو تأويل هو من نوع تحريف الكلم عن مواضعه لغير معارض لها أصلاً، ممّا يعلم بطلانه كلّ من يدبّر ذلك.

40. وإذا كانت الأمّ أقرب الناس إليه لا نفقة عليها مع الأب. ومن يجوّز الثلث منعه بأن لا يجب على الجدّة مع الجدّ. ومن يجوّز السدس أولى وأقوى.

41. والقائلون بذلك يقولون: القياس يقتضي وجوب ثلثها على الأمّ، لكن تُرك ذلك للنصّ. فيُقال: أيّ قياس معكم؟ إنّما يكون قياساً لو[3] كان معهم نصّ يتناول هذه الصورة بلفظه أو بمعناه. وليس معهم ذلك. ولو كان ذلك لكان مجيء هذا النصّ بهذا[4] يوجب إلحاق نظائره به. فيُقاس كلّ عاصب معه فرض أوجبه من وُرّاث الفرض على الأب مع الأمّ.

42. وكذلك إسلام النقدين في الموزونات يقدح في كون العلّة الوزن. ولم يثبت ذلك بنصّ بيّن، بل بعلّة مستنبطة قد عارضها ما هو أقوى منها. فإن لم تبيّن الفرق بين النقدين وغيرهما، وإلّا كان انتقاضها مبطلاً لها. فانتقاض العلّة يوجب بطلانها قطعاً إذا لم تختصّ صورة النقض بفرق معنويّ قطعاً. فإنّ الشارع حكيم بما دلّ لا يفرّق بين المتماثلين. فلا تكون الصورتان متماثلتين ثمّ يخالف بين حكميهما، بل اختلاف الحكمين دليل على اختلاف الصورتين في نفس الأمر. فإن عُلم أنّه فرّق بينهما كان ذلك دليلاً على

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[1] Kor. II, 233.

[2] ادّعى : mod.

[3] لو : mod.

[4] بهذا : بهد MS.

افتراقهما في نفس الأمر، وإن لم يُعلَم بمجيء الفرق. وإن عُلم أنّه سوّى بينهما كان ذلك دليلاً على استوائهما. وإن لم يُعلَم هذا ولا هذا لم يجز أن يُجمَع ويُسوّى إلاّ بدليل يقتضي ذلك.

43. <وهذا معنى قول إياس بن معاوية في القضايا: استقام القياس، فإذا فسد فاستحسن. فأمر بمخالفة القياس إذا تغيّر الأمر بحصول مفاسد تمنع القياس.>[1]

[f° 329a] 44. |وأحمد قال بالاستحسان لأجل الفارق بين صورة الاستحسان وغيرها. وهذا من باب تخصيص العلّة للفارق المؤثّر. وهذا حقّ. وأنكر الاستحسان إذا خُصّت العلّة من غير فارق مؤثّر. ولهذا قال: يدعون القياس الذي هو حقّ عندهم الاستحسان. وهذا أيضاً هو الاستحسان الذي أنكره الشافعيّ وغيره. وهو منكر كما أنكروه. فإنّ هذا الاستحسان وما عُدل عنه من القياس المخالف له يقتضي فرقاً وجمعاً بين الصورتين بلا دليل شرعيّ، بل بالرأي الذي لا يستند الى بيان الله ورسوله وأمر الله ورسوله. فهو ليس له وضع الشرع أبداً. وقد قال تع: ﴿أَمْ لَهُمْ شُرَكَاءُ شَرَعُوا لَهُمْ مِنَ الدِّينِ مَا لَمْ يَأْذَنْ بِهِ اللَّهُ﴾.[2]

45. وذلك أنّه إذا كان القياس لم ينصّ الشارع على علّته ولا دلّ لفظ الشرع على عموم المعنى فيه، ولكن رأى الرائي ذلك لمناسبة أو لمشابهة ظنّها مناط الحكم ثمّ خصّ من ذلك المعنى صوراً بنصّ يعارضه، كان معذوراً من عمله بالنصّ. لكن مجيء النصّ بخلاف تلك العلّة في بعض الصور دليل على أنّها ليست علّة تامّة قطعاً. فإنّ العلّة التامّة لا تقبل الانتقاض. فإن لم يعلم أن مورد النصّ مختصّ بمعنًى يوجب الفرق لم يطمئنّ قلبه الى أنّ ذلك المعنى هو العلّة، بل يجوز أن تكون العلّة معنًى آخر، أو أن يكون ذلك المعنى بعض العلّة وحينئذ[3] فلا يفترق الحكم من جميع موارد ما ظنّه علّة.

46. وإن كان مورد الاستحسان موافقاً معنى ظنّه مناسباً أو مشابهاً فإنّه يحتاج[4] حينئذ الى أن يثبت ذلك بالأدلّة الدالّة على تأثير ذلك الوصف. فلا يكون قد ترك القياس إلاّ لقياس أقوى منه، ولاختصاص صورة الاستحسان بما يوجب الفرق بينها وبين غيرها. فلا يكون حينئذ لنا استحسان يخرج عن نصّ أو قياس.

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[1] Right margin, two lines, vertical upward position.
[2] Kor. XLII, 21.
[3] حينئذ: written twice, with words crossed out in between.
[4] يحتاج: يحح MS.

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47. وهذا هو الذي أنكره الشافعيّ وأحمد وغيرهما في الاستحسان. وما قالا به فإنّما هو عدول عن أنّه قياس لاختصاص تلك الصورة بما يوجب الفرق. وحينئذ فلا يكون الاستحسان الصحيح عدولاً عن قياس صحيح. والقياس الصحيح لا يجوز العدول عنه بحال.

48. وهذا هو الصواب، كما قد بسطناه في مصنّف مفرد بمناسبة أنه ليس في الشرع شيء بخلاف القياس الصحيح أصلاً. وعلى هذا فصُوَر الاستحسان المعدول بها عن سنن القياس يُقاس عليها عند أصحاب مالك والشافعيّ وأحمد وغيرهم إذا عُرف المعنى الذي لأجله ثبت الحكم فيها.

49. وذكروا عن أصحاب أبي حنيفة أنّه لا يُقاس عليها، وهو من جنس تخصيص العلّة والاستحسان. فإنّ من جوّز التخصيص والاستحسان من غير فارق معنويّ قال: المعدول به عن سنن القياس لا يجب أن يكون لفارق معنويّ، فلا يُقاس عليه، لأنّ من شرط القياس وجود العلّة وتفريقها. ومن قاس قال: بل لا يكون إلّا لفارق، [329b] فإذا عرفناه قسنا.

50. قال القاضي وغيره: مسألة: المخصوص من جملة القياس يُقاس عليه ويُقاس على غيره. أمّا القياس عليه فإنّ أحمد قال في رواية ابن منصور: إذا نذر أن يذبح نفسه ففدى نفسه بذبح كبش فيُقاس من نذر ذبح نفسه على من نذر ذبح ولده وإن كان ذلك مخصوصاً من جملة القياس، وإنّما ثبت بقول ابن عبّاس.

51. وأمّا قياسه على غيره فإنّ أحمد قال في رواية المروذيّ: يجوز شرى ارض السواد، ولا يجوز بيعها. فقيل: كيف يُشترى ممّن لا يملك؟ فقال: القياس كما[1] تقول، ولكن هذا استحسان. واحتجّ بأنّ الصحابة رخّصوا في شرى المصاحف دون بيعها. وهذا يشبه ذاك. قال: فقد قاس مخصوصاً من جملة القياس على مخصوص من جملة القياس. وبهذا قال الشافعيّ.

52. وقال أصحاب أبي حنيفة: لا يُقاس على غيره ولا يُقاس عليه إلّا أن تكون علّته منصوصة، أو مجمعاً على جواز القياس عليه. ‹فالمنصوص كقوله: إنّها من الطوّافين عليكم والطوّافات. والمجمع عليه كالتحالف في الإجارة قياساً على التحالف في البيع، لاتّفاق من أوجب التحالف في البيع أنّ حكمهما سواء. والممنوع مثل قياس الجنازة على الصلاة في الإسقاط بالقهقه[2] وإسقاط الكفّارة في الاستقاءة لا يُقاس عليه الأكل، والوضوء بنبيذ التمر لا

[1] كما: mod.

[2] بالقهقه: MS w.p., instead of بالقهقهة.

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يُقاس عليه غيره من الأنبذة ، وجواز البناء على صلاته إذا أحدث لا يُقاس عليه من أمنى بالاحتلام ، ونحوه . >[1]

.53 واحتجّ أصحاب الشافعيّ وأحمد بحجج . وهذا لفظ القاضي أبي يعلى ، قال : وأيضاً فإنّا إذا قسنا على المخصوص أو قسنا المخصوص على غيره وحملنا النبيذ على غيره من المائعات والقهقه[2] على الكلام فإنّ مخالفنا يعترف بصحّة القياس ، وأنّه يجب حمل النبيذ على غيره من المائعات والقهقه[3] على الكلام ، ويدّعي أنّه استحسن تركه لما هو أولى منه .

.54 قالوا :[4] وهذا غير صحيح لوجهين . أحدهما أنّه يلزمه أن يبيّن الأولى ، وإلاّ حكم القياس متوجّه عليه . وهذا كما لو قال : القرآن يدلّ على كذا ، ولكن تركته للسنّة . فتكون حجّة القرآن لازمة له ، ما لم يبيّن السنّة التي هي أقوى من القرآن . ولا يكفي في ذلك مجرّد الدعوى .

.55 والثاني أنّه يدّعي أنّ الاستحسان أقوى من القياس ، فلهذا تركه . والقياس إذا عارضه دليل أقوى منه كان القياس باطلاً ولم يكن له حكم . كما لو عارضه نصّ كتاب أو سنّة أو إجماع . ولمّا حُكم بصحّة القياس ههنا[5] امتنع أن يكون ما عارضه أقوى منه ومانعاً من استعماله .

56 قلت : مضمون هذا إبطال أن يكون هذا مخصوصاً من جملة القياس ، وقياسه على سائر الصور .[6] وهذا يقتضي أنّ الاستحسان إذا خالف القياس لزم بطلان الاستحسان إن كان القياس صحيحاً ، أو بطلان القياس إن كان الاستحسان المعارض له صحيحاً . وهذا لا يتوجّه فيمن يقول بالاستحسان ، ويجعل[7] معارضة الاستحسان للعلّة كمعارضته لحكمها . وهذا قول نفاة الاستحسان مطلقاً .

.57 والتحقيق في ذلك أنّه إذا تعارض القياس والاستحسان فإن لم يكن بينهما فرق ،

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[1] Right margin, four lines, and top of page, 29 lines (mostly single words); all in vertical upward position.

[2] بالقهقه : MS w.p., instead of بالقهقهة.

[3] والقهقـه : MS w.p., instead of والقهقهة.

[4] قالوا : mod.

[5] ههنا : ها ها MS.

[6] Three words follow (وهذا إبطال للاستحسان) which should have been crossed out by the author who crossed out much of the following line, but failed to cross out these three words. The sentence which follows includes their meaning.

[7] ويجعل : حمل MS.; preceded by the words: لأنه جعل الاستحسان الصحيح—crossed out.

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وإلّا لزم بطلان أحدهما. وهو مسألة تخصيص العلّة بعينها. فإن لم يكن بين الصورة المخصوصة وغيرها فرق لزم التسوية. وحينئذ فإمّا أن تكون العلة باطلة، وإمّا أن يكون تخصيص تلك الصورة باطلاً.

58. وهذا هو الصواب في هذا كلّه. وهو الذي ينكره الشافعيّ وأحمد وغيرهما على القائلين بالقياس والاستحسان الذي يخالفه. فإنّهم لا يأتون بفرق مؤثّر بينهما، كما لم يأتوا بفرق مؤثّر بين نبيذ التمر وغيره من المائعات، ولا بين القهقه[1] في الصلاة التي فيها ركوع وسجود وبين صلاة الجنازة وغيرهما ممّا يشترطون فيه الطهارة.

59. | وذكروا أدلّة أخرى جيّدة كقولهم – واللفظ للقاضي: وأيضاً فإنّ ما ورد به الأثر [f° 330a] قد صار أصلاً بنفسه، فوجب القياس عليه كسائر الأصول. وليس ردّ هذا الأصل لمخالفة تلك الأصول له بأولى من ردّ تلك الأصول لمخالفة هذا الأصل. فوجب إعمال كلّ واحد منهما في مقتضاه، وإجراؤه على عمومه. وأيضاً فإنّ القياس يجري مجرى خبر الواحد، بدليل أنّ كلّ واحد منهما يثبت بغالب الظنّ. ثمّ ثبت أنّه يصحّ أن يرد مخالفاً لقياس الأصول. كذلك القياس مثله.

60. قلتُ: ومن هذا الباب جمع النبيّ صلّعم الصلاة بعرفة ومزدلفة، لو لم يرد به نصّ في أسفار أُخر. وأمّا قصره الصلاة بعرفة بأهل مكّة وغيرهم فليس مخالفاً لعادته. فإنّه ما زال يقصر في السفر، بل هو بيان استواء السفر الطويل والقصير في ذلك. فأمّا منع قصر المكّيّين فهو مخالف للسنّة الثابتة بلا ريب. وإنّما خالف ذلك من غفل عن هذه السنّة. وأمّا قصر غير المكّيّين فلأنّ القصر ليس من خصائص الحجّ ولا متعلّقاً به. وإنّما هو متعلّق بالسفر طرداً وعكساً.

61. وكلامهم في هذه المسألة يقتضي أنّ[2] ما قيل فيه إنّه خالف القياس في صور الاستحسان فلا بدّ أن يكون قياسه فاسداً، أو أن يكون تخصيصه بالاستحسان فاسداً، إذا لم يكن هناك فرق مؤثّر. وهذا هو الصواب في هذا الباب.

62. قالوا: واحتجّ المخالف بأنّ إثبات الشيء لا يصحّ مع وجود ما ينافيه. فلمّا كان القياس مانعاً ممّا ورد به الأثر لم يجز لنا استعمال القياس فيه، لأنّه لو جاز ذلك لم يكن فرق بينه وبين سائر الأصول التي يُمنَع قياسها منه. فكان يخرج حينئذ من كونه مخصوصاً من جملة القياس.

[1] القهقه: MS w.p., instead of القهقهة.

[2] أنّ: mod.

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63. قالوا : والجواب عنه من وجهين . أحدهما أنّا لا نسلّم أنّ ههنا[1] ما ينافيه ، لأنّ المنافاة تكون بدليل خاصّ . وما يذكرونه في هذه المسائل ليس بدليل خاصّ لما نذكره من التأويل . والثاني أنّ المنافاة إنّما تحصل بقياسه على غيره في إسقاط حكم النّص . فأمّا قياس غيره عليه فلا ينافيه ، لأنّه لا يسقط حكم النّص عندهم فيصحّ القياس عليه .

64. قلتُ : هذا الثاني جواب عن قياس غيره عليه . والأوّل جواب عن قياسه على غيره . ومُنع لكونه مخصوصاً من جملة القياس . والتحقيق أنّه وإن كان مخصوصاً من جملة القياس فهو مخصوص من قياس معيّن ، لا من كلّ قياس . وإنّما يُخصّ لمعنى فيه يوجب الفرق بينه وبين غيره . فإذا قيس عليه غيره بذلك المعنى لم يتأتّ ذلك كونه مخصوصاً من ذلك القياس الأوّل .

65. وحقيقة هذا كلّه أنّه قد يثبت الحكم على خلاف القياس الصحيح في نفس الأمر . فمن يقول بالاستحسان من غير فارق مؤثّر ، وبتخصيص العلّة من غير فارق مؤثّر ، وبمنع القياس على المخصوص ، يثبت أحكاماً على خلاف القياس الصحيح في نفس الأمر .

66. وهذا هو الاستحسان الذي أنكره الأكثرون ، كالشافعيّ وأحمد وغيرهما . وهم تارة ينكرون صحّة القياس الذي خالفوه لأجل الاستحسان ؛ وتارة ينكرون مخالفة القياس الصحيح لأجل ما يدّعونه من الاستحسان[2] الذي ليس بدليل شرعيّ ؛ وتارة ينكرون صحّة الاثنين ، فلا يكون القياس صحيحاً ، ولا يكون ما خالفوه لأجله صحيحاً ، بل كلا الحجّتين ضعيفة . وإنكار هذا كثير في كلام هؤلاء .[3]

67. [f° 330b] | فصل . وقد تدبّرتُ عامّة هذه المواضيع التي يدّعي من يدّعي فيها من الناس أنّها تثبت على خلاف القياس الصحيح ، أو أنّ العلّة الشرعيّة الصحيحة خُصّت بلا فرق شرعيّ من فوات شرط أو وجود مانع ، أو أنّ الاستحسان الصحيح يكون على خلاف القياس الصحيح من غير فرق شرعيّ ، فوجدتُ الأمر بخلاف ذلك ؛ كما قاله أكثر الأئمّة كالشافعيّ وأحمد وغيرهما ، وإن كان الواحد من هؤلاء قد يتناقض أيضاً فيخصّ ما يجعله علّة بلا فارق مؤثّر ، كما أنّه قد يقيس بلا علّة مؤثّرة .

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[1] ها هنا : ههنا MS.

[2] الاستحسان : الاحسان MS.

[3] The marginal note on this folio (330a) does not belong to this folio; it is the conclusion of a note begun on the left margin of folio 331a.

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68. فالمقصود ضبط أصول الفقه الكلّيّة المطّردة المنعكسة ، وبيان أنّ الشريعة ليس فيها تناقض أصلاً . والقياس الصحيح لا يكون خلافه إلّا تناقضاً . فإنّ القياس الصحيح هو التسوية بين المتماثلَيْن ، والفرق بين المختلفَيْن ، والجمع بين الأشياء فيما جمع الله ورسوله بينها فيه والفرق بينها فيما فرّق الله ورسوله بينها فيه .

69. والقياس هو اعتبار المعنى الجامع المشترك الذي اعتبره الشارع وجعله مناطاً للحكم . وذلك المعنى قد يكون لفظاً شرعيّاً عامّاً[1] أيضاً فيكون الحكم ما يتأتّى[2] بعمومه لفظ الشارع ومعناه . وقد بيّنّا في غير هذا الموضع أنّ الأحكام كلّها ثابتة بلفظ الشارع ومعناه . فألفاظه تناولت جميع الأحكام . والأحكام كلّها معلّلة بالمعاني المؤثّرة . فمعانيه أيضا متناولة لجميع الأحكام . لكن قد يفهم المعنى من لم يعرف اللفظ العامّ ، وقد يعرف اللفظ العامّ ودلالته من لم يفهم العلّة العامّة . وكثيراً ما يغلط من يظنّه قال لفظاً ولم يقله ، أو يجعله عامّاً أو خاصّاً ويكون مراد الشارع خلاف ذلك ، كما يغلط من ينفي لفظاً قاله ؛ وكما يغلط من يظنّه اعتبر معنًى لم يعتبره ، أو ألغى معنًى[3] وقد اعتبره ، ونحو ذلك .

70. ولنأتينّ بما يذكر العلماء أنّه استحسان على خلاف القياس . فمن ذلك ما يقوله أحمد في إحدى الروايتين عنه إذا اعتبر الاستحسان . فإنّه قد ذُكر عنه روايتان[4] كما تقدّم . والقول الثالث وهو الذي يدلّ عليه أكثر تصويبه أنّ الاستحسان المخالف للقياس صحيح إذا كان بينهما فرق مؤثّر قد اعتبره الشارع ، وليس بصحيح إذا جُمع بغير دليل شرعيّ وفُرّق بغير دليل شرعيّ ، وأنّه لا يجوز ترك القياس الصحيح .

71. أمّا قوله " أستحسن أن يتيمّم لكلّ صلاة ، لكنّ القياس أنّه بمنزلة الماء حتّى يجد الماء أو يحدث" فهذا القياس هو الرواية الأخرى عنه ؛ وهو مذهب أبي حنيفة وأهل الظاهر وغيرهم ؛ وهو الصواب ، كما دلّ عليه الكتاب والسنّة .

72. وقوله " القياس هو قياس الشرع لفظاً ومعنىً " فإنّ قول النبيّ صلّعم " الصعيد

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1 لفظاً شرعيّاً عامّاً : لفظ سرعى عام MS.

2 يتأتّى : ساما MS.

3 ألغى معنًى : العا معا MS.

4 روايتان : روايتين MS.

الطيّب طهور المسلم ولو لم يجد الماء عشر سنين" ، وقوله "جعلت لي الارض مسجداً وطهوراً"، ونحو ذلك، ألفاظ دالّة على أنّ التراب طهور كالماء [1] .

73. | والقرآن يدلّ على أنّه طهور بقوله لمّا ذكر التيمّم: ﴿ما يُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ لِيَجْعَلَ عَلَيْكُم مِّنْ حَرَجٍ وَلَٰكِن يُرِيدُ لِيُطَهِّرَكُمْ وَلِيُتِمَّ نِعْمَتَهُۥ عَلَيْكُمْ﴾.[2] والذين أمروه بالتيمّم لكلّ صلاة . . . .[3] [f° 331a]
ورأيت عن بعض الصحابة : هي ضعيفة . وعنهم ما يخالفها . وقالوا : إنّه لا يرفع الحدث ، وإنّما هو مبيح ، فيبيح بقدر الضرورة . قالوا : ولو رفع الحدث لما كان إذا قدر على استعمال الماء يستعمله بحكم الحدث السابق من غير تجدّد حدث . واحتجّوا بقوله لعمرو بن العاصّ : أصلّيت بأصحابك وأنت جنب ؟

74. وجواب هذا أنّ قولهم "لا يرفع بل يبيح" كلام لا حقيقة له . ولو صحّ لم يكن لهم فيه حجّة . فإنّ الحدث ليس هو أمراً محسوساً كطهارة الجنب ، بل هو أمر معنويّ يمنع الصلاة . فتى كانت الصلاة جائزة ، بل واجبة معه ، امتنع أن يكون هنا مانع من الصلاة ، بل قد ارتفع المانع قطعاً .

75. وإن قالوا "هو مانع ، لكنّه لا يمنع مع التيمّم" ، فالمانع الذي لا يمنع ليس بمانع . فإن قيل : هو يمنع إذا قدر على استعمال الماء ، قيل : هو حينئذ يوجد المانع . فإن قالوا : كيف يعود المانع من غير تجدّد حدث ؟ ، قيل : كما عاد الحاظر من غير تجدّد حدث . فالحاظر للصلاة هو المانع ، والمبيح لها هو الرافع لهذا المانع . فإن قيل : أباحها الى حين القدرة على استعمال الماء ، قيل : وأزال المانع الى حين القدرة . فكما يُقال "أباح إباحة موقّتة" ، يقال إنّه رفع رفعاً موقّتاً .

76. وإن قالوا : نحن لا نقبل إلّا ما يرفع مطلقاً كالماء ، قيل : ولا نقبل إلّا ما يبيح مطلقاً كالماء . وأيضاً فالله ورسوله قد سمّياه[4] طهوراً . وجعله النبيّ – صلّى الله [عليه وسلّم] – طهور المسلم ما لم يجد الماء . وجعل تربة الأرض طهوراً . والطهور ما يُتطهّر به .

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[1] The note on the right margin and top of this folio (330b) does not belong to this folio; it is the continuation of a note begun on the left margin of folio 331a and concluded on the left margin of folio 330a.

[2] Kor. V, 7.

[3] Two words (?) which remain illegible for me.

[4] سمّياه : سماه MS. The author had originally written فالله قد سمّاه w.p., then he added ورسوله above the line, but failed to change the verb from the singular to the dual in order to agree with the two subjects preceding it.

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وقد قال تع : ﴿وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ جُنُباً فَاطَّهَّرُوا﴾.[1] والتيمّم قد يطهّر، ومع الطهارة لا يبقى حدث. فإنّ الطهارة مناقضة للحدث، إذ غايته أن يكون نجاسة معنويّة. والطهارة تناقض النجاسة.

77. ‹فإن قيل : الصلاة بالتيمّم رخصة كأكل الميتة على المخمصة. والرخصة استباحة المحظور مع قيام الحاظر ومنـ[ع][2] المانع. فلو بقي مانعاً لم تجز الصلاة. فعُلم زوال المنع. ولا يجوز أن يُقال هنا إنّه استباح الصلاة مع قيام الحاظر لها. فإنّ كون الحاظر حاظراً زائل من الميتة[3]› ‹لمتعارض راجح. وذلك أنّ المعنى المقتضي للحظر القائم بالميتة موجود حال المخمصة، كما هو موجود في حال القدرة. فإنّ الميتة في نفسها لم تتغيّر. وإنّما تغيّر حال الإنسان : كان غنيًّا عنها ثمّ صار محتاجاً إليها ....[4] حظر[5] (؟) فهذا ينكر دعواه في الميتة ولا ينكر دعواه هنا، لأنّه لا يحصل (؟) له إلّا الموت (؟) وقد تتغيّر حاجته[6] (؟)› ‹إليها. وحاجته تدفع الفساد الحاصل بأصلها. فكذلك التيمّم.

78. قيل : هذا قياس فاسد. وذلك أنّه صاد ميتة وأكل. والميتة لم تتغيّر، لكن تغيّر حال الأكل. وهنا ليس إلّا المحدث الذى كانت الصلاة محرّمة عليه، ثمّ صارت واجبة عليه[7]› ‹أو جائزة بالتيمّم. فلو لم تتغيّر حاله[8]› ‹في الشرع فأُبيحت له الصلاة في حال وحُرّمت عليه في حال منع تسميته في حال الإباحة متطهّراً. وجعل التراب[9]› ‹طهوراً، كما جعل الماء طهوراً.

79. وقول النبيّ صلّعم لعمرو بن العاصّ "أصلّيت بأصحابك وأنت جنب؟" استفهام. فسأله : أكان ذلك أم لم يكن؟ وليس هو خبراً أنّه صلّى وهو جنب. فلمّا أخبره أنّه تيمّم لخشية البرد تبيّن أنّه لم يكن جنباً، فأقرّه النبيّ صلّعم. وإلّا فلو كان المراد

[1] Kor. V, 7.

[2] ومنع: last letter cut off either by binder's scissors or through natural wear of folio's edge.

[3] Left margin, beginning at line 17 of the folio (331a), two lines, vertical upward position.

[4] Two or three words (?) cut off by binder's scissors or through natural wear of folio's edge.

[5] Partly cut off.

[6] Top of folio 331a, three lines, horizontal position, upside down.

[7] Right margin of folio 331a, two lines, vertical downward position.

[8] Right margin and lower part of folio 331a, one line, horizontal position, tucked under last line of the page.

[9] Top of folio 330b, one line, horizontal position, upside down.

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الخبر ، وهو قد صلّى مع الجنابة صلاة جائزة ، لم يسأله . وإن كانت الجنابة مانعة من الصلاة مطلقاً لم يقبل عذره . وهو لم يقل "أصلّيت[1] ‹وأنت جنب بلا تيمّم" ليكون قد استفهمه عن حال التحريم ، بل أطلق الصلاة مع الجنابة . وهم يقولون : يجوز مع الجنابة تارة ، ولا يجوز أخرى . وكلام الرسول يقتضي منعها مع الجنابة مطلقاً . وإنّ هذا استفهام[2] ‹إنكار . وإنّه لمّا تبيّن أنّه تيمّم تبيّن أنّه لم يكن جنباً . فلا إنكار عليه بهذا أبداً . – والله أعلم[3] .›

80. فقد[4] تبيّن هنا أنّ القياس هو الصحيح دون الاستحسان الذى يناقضة . وتخصيص العلّة وهو كون هذا بدلًا طهوراً مبيحاً يقوم مقام الماء عند تعذّره في جميع أحكامه لم يخصّ بعض الأحكام من حكم البدليّة والطهوريّة والأباحة . والبدل يقوم مقام المبدل في حكمه لا في صورته . والحكم جواز الصلاة به ما لم يجد الماء أو يحدث .

81. فذلك القول مخالف للقياس وتخصيص للعلّة بلا ريب . والعلّة صحيحة بلا ريب . ونحن إذاً قلنا : لا يجوز تخصيص بدون فارق مؤثّر إيثار[5] سببين . أحدهما أنّه إذا ثبت أنّها علّة صحيحة لم يجز تخصيصها كل هذا الموضع . والثانى أنّه إذا ثبت تخصيصها عُلم بطلانها . وهذا معنى قولنا : لا يجتمع قياس صحيح واستحسان صحيح إلّا مع الفارق المؤثّر في الشرع .

82. وأمّا قوله في المضارب إذا خالف فاشترى غير ما أمر به صاحب المال فالربح لصاحب المال ولهذا أجرة مثله إلّا أن يكون الربح يحيط بأجرة مثله فيذهب – قال : وكنت أذهب الى أنّ الربح لصاحب المال فاستحسنت – فهذا استحسان بفرق رآه مؤثّراً . والقياس مستنبط والاستحسان مستنبط . وهو تخصيص لعلّة مستنبطة بفرق مستنبط . وأحد لا يردّ مثل هذا الاستحسان ، لكن قد تكون العلّتان أو إحداهما فاسدة ، كما لا يردّ تخصيص العلّة المنصوصة لفرق منصوص بالسنّة لمّا جازت صلاته . وليس هنا إلّا الحدث .

83. | والفرق أنّ المضارب مأمور لا يعمل بجعل ، بل هو شريك في الربح ، وعمله له [f° 331b]

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[1] Right margin of folio 330b, three lines, vertical downward position.
[2] Left margin of folio 330a, two lines, vertical downward position.
[3] Written between lines 11 and 12 of folio 330a, one line, horizontal position, upside down; conclusion of lengthy marginal note begun on folio 331a, left margin.
[4] This paragraph begins on line 18 of folio 331a.
[5] Uncertain reading; if a cognate accusative, then it should have been تأثير, verbal form II rather than IV.

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ولصاحب المال جميعاً . ولهذا كان للعلماء فيما يستحقّه في المضاربة الفاسدة ونحو ذلك قولان : هل يستحقّ ربح قسط مثله في الربح ، أو أجرة مقدّرة تكون أجرة مثله ؟ والقول الأوّل هو الصواب قطعاً . وهذا قياس مذهب أحمد . فإنّ من أصله أنّ هذه المعاملات مشاركة ، لا مؤاجرة بأجرة معلومة . والقياس عندنا[1] صحّتها .

84. وإنّما يقول أجرة المثل من يجعلها من باب الإجارة . ونقول القياس يقتضي فسادها . والمأجور فيها مأجور للحاجة . وبكلّ حال فهو يعمل لنفسه لاستحقاق القسط أو الأجر ، ويعمل لربّ المال . فليس هو بمنزلة الغاصب الذي جُعل عمله لصاحب المال كالمتبرّع . فإنّ هذا إنّما قبض المال ليعمل فيه بالعوض . وهو بالمخالفة لا يخرج عن كون المال بيده قبضه ليعمل فيه بالعوض . ولكن عمل غير ما أُمر به ، فيكون ضامناً لتعدّيه . ولكن ليس إذا كان ضامناً يكون وجود عمله كعدمه ؛ مع أنّه مأذون له في التجارة به في الجملة ، ليس منكراً[2] لم يُؤذَن له في ذلك .

85. وهو أيضاً من أصل آخر . وهو أنّه إذا تصرّف بغير أمره كان فضولياً ، فيكون المعقود موقوفاً . وهذا إحدى الروايتين عن أحمد ، وقول أكثر العلماء . وهي التي ذكرها الخرقيّ في مختصره أنّ بيع الفضوليّ وشراءه ليس باطلاً بل موقوفاً . فإن باع أو اشترى بعين المال فهو موقوف . وإن اشترى في الذمّة فهو موقوف . فإن أجازه المشتري له ، وإلّا لزم المشتري .

86. وأمّا القاضي وأتباعه فاختاروا أنّ تصرّفه مردّد ، إلّا إذا اشترى في الذمّة . والذي ذكره الخرقيّ أصحّ . لكنّه قرن هذه المسألة في مواضع من مختصره بالعامل إذا خالف كان متصرّفاً له بغير إذنه . فإذا أجازه وطلب نصيبه من الربح صار مجيزاً له ، وصار العامل مأذوناً له . والعامل إنّما عمل لأجل نصيبه من الربح ، فيستحقّ نصيبه من الربح .

87. وقول أحمد "كنت أذهب الى أنّ الربح لصاحب المال ثمّ استحسنت" رجوع منه الى هذا . وجعله الربح في جميع الصور للمالك يقتضي أنّه يصحّح تصرّف الفضوليّ إذا أُجيز ، وإلّا كان البيع باطلاً .

88. وكذلك الشرى بعين المال ، كما يقوله الشافعيّ ومن نصر الرواية الأخرى . ويكون عليه ضمان ما صرفه من ماله فقط ، ليس للمالك غير هذا . ولا يكون للعامل اقتضاء ربح ، لأنّه لم يعمل شيئاً .

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[1] عندنا : mod.

[2] منكراً : مكر MS.

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.89 والآثار المأثورة عن الصحابة والتابعين في باب البيع والنكاح والطلاق وغير ذلك يدلّ على أنّهم كانوا يقولون بوقف المعقود ، لا سيّما حيث تعذّر استئذان المالك .

.90 ولهذا أحمد يقول بوقفها هنا كما في مسألة[1] المعقود ، اتّباعاً للصحابة في ذلك . وإنّما ادّعى[2] أنّها خلاف القياس من لم يتفطّن لما فيها من وقف المعقود ، كما في اللقطة . وتكلّم السلف فيمن يجيز مال غيره في الربح دليل على صحّة التصرّف عندهم إذ أجازه المالك .

.91 <ولهذا ظهر ما استحسنه أحمد ورجع إليه أخيراً ، لأنّه إذا صار بالإجازة كالمأذون له وهو لم يعمل إلّا بجعل برضا المالك[3] فلا يجوز منعه حقّه . وهذا بناءً على أنّه إذا تصرّف ابتداءً فالربح كلّه للمالك . وهو أحد الأقوال في المسألة .[4] وقيل : يتصدّقان به ؛ وهو رواية عن أحمد . وقيل : هو للعامل ؛ كقول الشافعيّ . وقيل : هما شريكان فيه ؛ وهو أصحّ الأقوال ؛ وهو المأثور عن عمر في المضاربة .>[5]

.92 | وهو المأثور عن عمر ، لأنّ[6] المالك لمّا أذن فيه صار كالمضارب . وهو لم يعمل [f° 332a] ليكون الربح للمالك كالمبضع . فإنّه لو فعل ذلك لكان الربح للمالك . وإنّما اتّجر ليكون الربح له أو بينهما . والمالك قد أجاز بيعه . ولم يجزه ليكون الربح كلّه له . فيكون النماء حاصلاً بمال هذا وبيع هذا ، والتصرّف صحيحاً مأذوناً فيه ، فيكون الربح بينهما . ومن قال " يتصدّقان به " جعله كغير المأذون فيه ، فيكون خبيثاً . وهو متعدٍّ ، لأنّ الحقّ لهما لا يعدوهما . فإذا أجاز المالك التصرّف جاز .

.93 وكذلك في جميع تصرّف الغاصب ، لا سيّما من لم يُعلَم أنّه غاصب ، إذا تصرّف في المغصوب بما أزال اسمه ، كطحن الحبّ ونسيج الثوب ونحو ذلك ، ففيه ثلاثة[7] أقوال

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[1] مسألة : مسله MS.

[2] ادّعى : ادعا MS.

[3] برضا المالك : MS w.p., written above the line; the preceding word بجعل (= بجُعْل) was evidently meant to be crossed out.

[4] المسألة : المسله MS.

[5] Right margin, three lines, vertical upward position. It is possible that the last sentence was meant to be crossed out; compare the beginning of the next paragraph.

[6] لأنّ : mod.

[7] ثلاثة : ثله MS.

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في مذهب أحمد وغيره. قيل: كلّ ذلك للمالك دون الغاصب وعليه ضمان النقص، كقول الشافعيّ. وقيل: يملكه الغاصب وعليه بدله، كقول أبي حنيفة. وقيل: يُخيَّر المالك بينهما، كقول مالك. وهذا أصحّ،[1] بناءً على وقف التصرّفات. فإن شاء المالك أجاز تصرّفه وطالبه بالنقص، كما في العامل المخالف. وإن شاء طالبه بالبدل لإفساده عليه وبأخذه ذلك لأدائه عوضه. فيُخيَّر على المعاوضة لحقّ المالك.

94. وإذا رضي المالك به فهل يكون الغاصب شريكاً لما في عمله، فيه وجهان. والأظهر في الجميع أنّ[2] أثر عمله له. وكونه ظالماً يظهر في تضمينه له، لا في أن يُؤخَذ أثر عمله فيُعطَى[3] لغيره بلا عوض. فإنّ هذا ظلم له. والواجب إزالة الظلم بالعدل، لا بظلم آخر. وجزاء سيّئة سيّئة مثلها،[4] لا زيادة عليها.

95. وأمّا قوله فيمن غصب أرضاً فزرعها "الزرع لربّ الأرض وعليه النفقة وليس هذا شيئاً يوافق القياس [ولكن] أستحسن أن يدفع إليه نفقته" فهذا قاله بالنصّ، كما تقدّم لحديث رافع بن خديج. فيجب أن يكون القياس المخالف لهذا النصّ فاسداً إن لم يدلّ نصّ على صحّته ويظهر الفارق المؤثّر، وإلّا فالقياس إذا خالف النصّ كان فاسداً.

96. أمّا فساد الحكم المخالف للنصّ فبالاتّفاق، وفساد العلّة على قول الجمهور الذين لا يرون[5] تخصيص العلّة إلّا بفارق مؤثّر. وهذا نصّ قد خالف القياس. وقولهم "القياس أنّ الزرع لزارعه" ليس معهم بذلك نصّ ولا نظير، بل القياس أنّ الزرع إمّا أن يكون بينهما كالمزارعة أو يكون لربّ الأرض؛ لأنّ الزرع في الأرض كالحمل في البطن، وإلقاء البذر كإلقاء المني. ولو وطئ ذكر أنثى كان الحمل لمالك الأنثى دون مالك الذكر. وهذا اختيار ابن عقيل وغيره. لكنّ المني لا يقوم، بخلاف الزرع. فلهذا جعل له نفقته. فإنّ الزرع عامّته في الأرض، في ترابها ومائها وهوائها وشمسها، كما أنّ الحمل في البطن عامّته في الأمّ. وماء الأب قليل، كما أنّ الحبّ قليل. [وكذلك الشجر إذا لُقّح أنثاه [f° 332b] بذكر فإنّ الثمر لصاحب الأنثى، لا لصاحب اللقاح. والحبّ كاللقاح.

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[1] وهذا أصحّ: MS w.p., should be وهذا الأصحّ or better still وهذا أصحّ الأقوال since a superlative, not a comparative, is needed.

[2] أنّ: mod. [3] فيُعطَى: فعطا MS.

[4] Cf. Kor. XLII, 40.

[5] الجمهور الذين لا يرون: MS w.p., written above the line; the preceding words (من لا رى) were evidently meant to be crossed out.

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.97 وقول أحمد "عليه نفقته" يقتضي مثل البذر، ويقتضي أجرة عمله وعمل فدّانه. فقوله "ليس هذا شيئاً يوافق القياس" كقوله في العامل المخالف "ثمّ استحسنت أن يعطيه الأجرة". فكان قياسه على ما نراه في الغاصب أن لا يكون له أجرة عمله وعمل فدّانه. فهو مخالف للقياس في هذه الحجّة، لأنّه إنّما عمل ليأخذ العوض، لم يعمل مجّاناً كالعامل في المضاربة؛ ولأنّ البذر له فليس غاصباً محضاً.

.98 وقد اختلفت الرواية عن أحمد هل يُعطَى ما أنفق أو أجرة مثله. والنصّ ورد بالأوّل بقوله: فليس له في الزرع شيءٌ وله نفقته. والقياس يقتضي الثاني. فقد يكون قوله على خلاف القياس من هذا الوجه. وما ورد به النصّ قد يكون ما أنفق وأجرة مثله فيه سواء.

.99 وأمّا شرى المصاحف والسواد فإنّما فرّق فيهما بين الشرى والبيع، لأنّ العلّة موجودة في البيع دون الشرى. فإنّ المشتري راغب في المصحف، معظّم له، باذل فيه ماله. والبائع معتاض عنه بالمال. والشرع يفرّق بين هذا وهذا، كما فرّق في إعطاء المؤلّفة قلوبهم بين المعطي والآخذ؛ وكذلك في افتداء الأسير، وغير ذلك.

.100 ومعلوم أنّه لو أعطاه المصحف والأرض الخراجيّة بلا عوض جاز، وقام منه مقامه؛ بخلاف ما لا يجوز تملّكه، كالخمر وغيرها. فإذا بذل له . . .[1] العوض لم يكن تصرّفه إلّا على البائع.

.101 فإن قيل: فإذا لم يحصل للإنسان كلب معلّم إلّا بثمن فينبغي أن يجوز بذله، وإن لم يجز أخذه. قيل: إن لم يكن بينهما فرق مؤثّر في الشرع فهكذا[2] هو. وإن قيل: هناك يجب عليه إعطاء الكلب بلا عوض بخلاف الأرض والمصحف فهذا فرق.

.102 مع أنّ الثابت عن الصحابة كراهة بيع المصحف. وابن عبّاس كان يكرّهه. وكان أيضاً يجوّزه ويقول: إنّما هو مصوّر وله أجرة تصويره. فدلّ على أنّها كراهة تنزيه. ورُوي عن غيره: وددت أنّ الأيدي تُقطَع في بيع المصاحف. وهذا تغليظ تحريم. ولهذا اختلفت الرواية عن أحمد هل هو نهي تنزيه أو تحريم. وأمّا شراه ومبادلته هل هو مباح أو مكروه على روايتين. وعن ابن عبّاس يجوز أن يبيعه ويشتري بثمنه مصحفاً آخر. وليس في المبادلة والشرى استبدال به غرضاً من الدنيا. فالأظهر جواز ذلك، فلا كراهة.

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[1] One or two words.
[2] فهكذا : فها كدى MS.

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وإنّ البيع أيضاً لا يُحرّم ، بل يُكرّه تعظيماً لكتاب الله ، إذ ليس عن التحريم دليل شرعيّ .

103. وكذلك الأرض الخراجيّة ليس في منع بيعها دليل شرعيّ أصلاً . فإنّ الذين منعوها من الفقهاء قالوا : إنّها وقف وبيع الوقف لا يجوز . وهذا إنّما هو من الوقف الذي يبطل حقّ أهل الوقف ببيعه . وهو الذي لا يُورَث ولا يُوهَب . والأرض الخراجيّة تُورَث وتُوهَب . والوقف الذي لا يُباع لا يُورَث ولا يُوهَب . وذلك أنّ المشتري لها يقوم مقام البائع ، لا يبطل حقّ أهل الوقف .

104. وأحمد بن حنبل مذهبه يجوّز بيع المُكاتَب لهذا المعنى ، لأنّ ذلك لا يبطل [333a] حقّه من الكتابة ، بل يكون عند المشتري كما كان عند البائع . وهو يُورَث بالاتّفاق . ولكن لمّا انعقد فيه سبب الحرّيّة تخيّل من منع بيعه أنّه مباع حرّ ، كما تخيّل أولئك أنّه مباع وقف . وليس الأمر كما تخيّلوه ، بل بيع الحرّ هو أن يُتعبّد فيصير بخلاف ما كان حرّاً ، وبيع الوقف هو أن يُجعل طلقاً ويُصرف فعله الى غير مستحقّيه .

105. والأرض الخراجيّة فعلها هو فعلها لم يتغيّر . وهو الخراج المصروف عليها ، سواء كان ضريبة ، كخراج عمر ، أو صار مقاسمة ، كما فعله متأخّرو[1] الخلفاء بأرض السواد وغيرها ، كما فعله المنصور . فعلى التقديرين حقّ المسلمين باقٍ ، كما ينتفي مع الموت والهبة . والصحابة الذين كرّهوا شراها إنّما كرّهوه لدخول المسلمين في خراج أهل الذمة ، أو إبطال حقّ المسلمين به . فإنّ المشتري إن أدّى الخراج وهو جزية فقد التزم الصّغار وإن لم يؤدّه أبطل حقّ المسلمين . فلذا كرّه ذلك عمر وغيره من الصحابة . وهم نهوا عن الشرى .

106. وأمّا البيع فإنّما كان يبيعها أهل الذمّة ، لأنّ الأرض الخراجيّة إنّما كانت بأيدى أهل الذمّة . وكان ذلك أيضاً لئلّا يشتغل المسلمون بالفلاحة والصّغار عن الجهاد . فلمّا كثر المسلمون ، وصار أكثرهم غير مجاهدين ، وصار أداؤهم الخراج أنفع لعموم المسلمين من كونها بأيدي الذمّة : لم يصر من الذمّيّ الصّغار ما كان يكون في أوّل الإسلام ، إلّا لمن يشتغل بعمارة الأرض عن الجهاد . وهذا لا يختصّ بالخراجيّة ، بل قد رأى النبيّ صلّعم سلمة فقال : ما دخلت هذه دار قوم إلّا دخلها الذلّ ، رواه البخاريّ . مع أنّ الأنصار كانوا هم الفلّاحين لأرضهم . فهذا على الاشتغال بعمارة الدنيا عن الجهاد . وهذا لا يختصّ بالخراجيّة .

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[1] MS. ماحروا : متأخّرو

107. وأمّا ما ذكره القاضي من قبول شهادة أهل الذمّة في الوصيّة في السفر فلا ريب أنّ الفرق هنا ظاهر. وهذا من الاستحسان وتخصيص العلّة التي ظهر فيها الفرق. والمنع من شهادتهم على المسلمين ثبت بالنصّ. والإذن فيها هنا ثبت بالنصّ أيضاً للحاجة. وهل يُقرَن هذا الى جميع مواضع الحاجة فيه عن أحمد روايتان، بناءً على أنّ العلّة معلومة. وهي موجودة | في [f° 333b] غير هذا الموضع. هذا وجه القول بالجواز.

108. وأمّا وجه المنع فإمّا أن نقول: لم نعلم العلّة وإنّها مشتركة، أو علمنا اختصاصها بهذه الصورة للضرورة العامّة فيها. هذا إذا ثبت عموم المنع في غير هذه الصورة، إمّا لفظاً وإمّا معنًى. وألفاظ القرآن لا عموم فيها بالمنع. وكذلك السنّة ليس فيها لفظ عامّ بالمنع. لم يبقَ إلّا القياس. وتلك المواضع أُمر فيها بإشهاد المسلمَين.

109. ومعلوم أنّ ذلك إنّما هو عند القدرة على إشهادهما. وهذا واجب في الوصيّة في السفر. وأمّا إذا تعذّر إشهادهما على الذين في السفر أو على الرجعة فليس في القرآن ما يدلّ على المنع من ذلك. وإذا لم يكن في الكتاب والسنّة منع من إشهاد أهل الذمّة عند تعذّر إشهاد المسلمَين لم يكن هنا قياس يخالف هذه الآية. وقد عمل بها الصحابة وجمهور التابعين. والذين لم يعملوا بها ليس معهم في خلافها لا نصّ ولا إجماع ولا قياس. وقد تأوّلوها ناجزين من غير أصل يُسلَّم. وقال[1] بعضهم: هي منسوخة. وقال بعضهم: الشهادة اليمين. والأقوال الثلاثة باطلة من وجوه كثيرة.

110. وقول من قال "لا يجوز شهادة أهل الذمّة على المسلمين بحال" ليس معهم بذلك لا نصّ ولا قياس. ولكن كثير من الناس يغلطون، لأنّهم يجعلون الخاصّ من الشارع عامّاً. والله أمر بإشهاد المسلمين على المسلمين إذا أمكن. فظنّ من ظنّ أنّ هذا يقتضي أنّه لا يُشهَد غيرهم ولو لم يُوجَد مسلم.

111. وباب الشهادات مبناها على الفرق بين حال القدرة وحال العجز. ولهذا قُبلت شهادة النساء فيما لا يطّلع عليه الرجال. وقد نصّ أحمد على شهادتهنّ في الجراح وغيرها إذا اجتمعن ولم يكن عندهنّ رجال، مثل اجتماعهنّ في الحمّامات والأعراس ونحو ذلك. وهذا هو الصواب. فإنّه لا نصّ ولا إجماع ولا قياس يمنع شهادة النساء في مثل ذلك. وليس في الكتاب والسنّة ما يمنع شهادة النساء في العقوبات مطلقاً.

112. ‹وأمّا إذا نذر ذبح ولده أو نفسه فأحمد اتّبع ما ثبت عن ابن عبّاس، وهو بمقتضى

[1] وقال: mod.

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القياس والنصّ . فإن كان قادراً كان عليه كبش . وإن سلّف فيه بمال فعليه كفّارة كبش . وهذا أصحّ الروايات عن أحمد . وهو الذى أُصرّح به في مواضع . وقيل : عليه كفّارة كبش في الجميع . وقيل : كبشين في الجميع . وقيل : لا شيء عليه . وذلك لأنّ من نذر نذراً فعليه المنذور أو بدله في الشرع . وهنا لمّا تعذّر المنذور انتقل الى[1] « البدل الشرعيّ وهو الكبش ، كما في نظائره . فليس هنا ما يخالف القياس الصحيح[2] . »

113. وهذا الباب – باب يدبّر العموم والخصوص من ألفاظ الشرع ومعانيه التي هي علل الأحكام – هو الأصل الذى تُعرَف منه شرائع الاسلام . – والله أعلم . والحمد لله وصلّى الله على محمّد وآله .

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[1] Right margin, three lines, vertical upward position.
[2] Right margin, four lines, vertical downward position.

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THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN *SIRR AL-ASRĀR* AND THREE OXFORD THINKERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

MAHMOUD MANZALAOUI

A long and rich chapter in the history of cultural influences was opened when the Arabic pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrār* [1] was translated into Latin, -the medical portions in all probability in the second quarter of the twelfth century, and the entire text in the first half of the thirteenth. [2] The many manuscripts of the Latin version [3] and of vernacular translations in the languages of Western and Eastern Europe attest to this. The extraordinary variety of uses (sometimes of a very unexpected kind) which were made of the text, in the literature and thought of the later middle ages, and of the sixteenth century, form one of the most fascinating items in the account of the penetration of Arabic influences into Europe. [4] In its direct effect, for its role as a catalyst, and for its citation as an authority, the book has an importance well above that of its own intellectual stature.

No country showed greater interest in *Sirr al-asrār* than England, where some five dozen Latin manuscripts, and some fifteen English translations or adaptations, attest to its status as a medieval classic. While hoping to demonstrate this fact more fully elsewhere, I should like in this paper to study the particular use of the text by three English thinkers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, all three of them members of the University of Oxford: Roger Bacon, Thomas Bradwardine, and John Wycliffe. Extending from the 1240s, at about the time of the first appearance of Philippus Tripolitanus' full translation of the *Sirr*, to the 1380s, the writings of these three Oxford

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[1] Ed. A. Badawī, vol. i (the only volume so far) of *Al-uṣūl al-Yūnāniya li 'l-naẓariyāt al-siyāsīya fī 'l-Islām* (Cairo, 1954), hereafter referred to as: Badawī.

[2] For these dates, see Robert Steele, introduction (pp. xvi-xx) to the *Secretum secretorum*, in *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi* (Oxford, England; fascicule v, 1920), hereafter referred to as: Steele.

[3] For a list, see R. Förster, "Handschriften und Ausgaben des pseudo-aristotelischen Secretum secretorum," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekwesen*, VI (1889).

[4] M. Manzalaoui, "The *Secreta secretorum*: the Mediaeval European Version of '*Kitāb Sirr ul-Asrār*," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University*, XV (1961).

thinkers have in common one paradoxical feature: that they spring fully out of the medieval scholastic synthesis, but, at the same time, initiate a move which was to contribute to its disintegration. For that is what can be argued that each in his way did: the philosopher of science, the theologian of grace, and the precursor of the ecclesiastical reformers.

In the thought of each, the *Sirr* occupies a position which varies in significance. In Bacon alone does it appear of truly central importance. In his case, the role of the book has already been very fully assessed in Dr. Stewart Easton's study, [1] which the bulk of what I say can merely echo, supplement, and, to a minor degree only, venture to reassess.

I know of no other tradition in Europe where three thinkers of the standing of these Englishmen make use of the *Kitāb Sirr al-asrār*. Even in Arabic, the mystic *rifacimento* by Ibn 'Arabī, *Kitāb al-tadbīrāt al-ilāhīya fī iṣlāḥ al-mamlaka al-insānīya*, [2] is a unique instance of a more than marginal use of the book by a major writer. The interesting evolution in the Arabic tradition is rather the other way round: it is the manner in which the Long (and, in my judgement, later) Form of the *Sirr* appears to have assimilated passages from the *Ikhwān al-ṣafā*, as the earlier Short Form assimilated passages from the medical and gnomic works of the later-hellenistic tradition. One is impelled to ask the unanswerable question, whether the popularity of the *Sirr* in England was not, at least, partly due to its use by the three thinkers at whose works we are now to glance?

Bacon produced his own annotated version of the *Secretum Secretorum* with a proem written by him. The evidence suggests that he came to know the *Sirr al-asrār* around the middle of the century, not very long after the full translation by Philippus Tripolitanus had been carried out. [3] There is no reference to the *Sirr* in Bacon's *Quaestiones* (circa 1245), and the contents of one gloss to the *Secretum* seem to refer to an event in 1252. That he knew the Arabic text by hearsay only, and that his own knowledge of Arabic was nil, [4] is clear beyond doubt by the nature of his glosses, particularly those

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[1] *Roger Bacon and his Search for a Universal Science* (Oxford, 1952), hereafter referred to as: Easton.

[2] In H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-Arabi* (Leiden, 1919).

[3] Easton, 3, 24, n. 2: Easton's factual data are to be found dispersed throughout his monograph.

[4] Cf. Easton, 26 (and n. 2), 86, n. 1, 105.

upon *materia medica*, where his Latin transliteration of Arabic words is usually wrong; for example *eleorongan* [1] for *al-raiḥān*. [2] Bacon habitually adds, despairingly, such a gloss as "*nomina Arabica, querantur a medicis*," [3] "*nomen arabicum, vel pocius corruptum*" [4] or "*nomen arabicum corruptum, ideo querantur a sapientibus et libris*". [5] Sometimes Bacon's attempt at emendation is erroneous: *ṭabāshīr* [6] having become *rabarir* in the Latin manuscript tradition, Bacon glosses it "*id est, reubarbare*". [7]

Easton places the writing of the glosses early in Bacon's career, and, of course, well before the Grammars [8] which were to show his eventual applying of his energies to the acquisition of languages.

Early though Bacon came to know Tripolitanus' *Secretum secretorum*, it had already had its Discourse on the Occult docked. Discourse X of the Long Form, *al-maqāla al-'āshira fī 'ulūmin khāṣṣīya*, begins with a theoretical proem, then deals with the planets, talismans, and the philosopher's stone, and finally gives the Emerald Table, a lapidary, a herbal, and an onomantic calculation of victory in battle, based upon the numerical value of the ruler's name. The proem in the Long Form is an expansion upon the proem as found in the Short Form, which also lacks the Emerald Table and the account of the philosopher's stone. In the Latin tradition, the onomantic passage is omitted, and the remainder of the section, interrupted by some minor passages not occurring in the Arabic, is placed immediately after Hygiene (Discourse II), the Physiognomy *bāb* replacing it at the end of the work, to form a new Discourse X. (Bacon divides his version in a different way, making four Books out of the ten discourses, but the order of the material is the same).

The onomantic passage was almost certainly translated into Latin, then omitted from the textus receptus, or Vulgate form of the *Secretum*, because its contents were a form of goety, and therefore constituted forbidden information. [9] The evidence in favor of the view that

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[1] Steele, 99.
[2] Badawī, 108.
[3] Steele, 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, 84.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Badawī, 109.
[7] Steele, 100.
[8] E. Nolan and S. Hirsch, *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon, and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar* (Cambridge, 1902).
[9] Steele is somewhat misleading when (p. xxii), following Bacon's own words, he writes that "the *magical* element" in the Xth discourse has been omitted, since the entire discourse deals with what we would call magic. Bacon accepts

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Tripolitanus' version of Discourse X was a complete one is a fragmentary English version of around 1400, combining the Physiognomy and the Onomancy of Discourse X of the *Sirr* in a brief text which forms part of a collection of medical and other texts in the British Museum manuscript, Sloane 213.

Furthermore [1] some manuscripts retain the original position of the *dictio decima* in their tables of contents, while presenting it in its new position; at least two even retain the Physiognomy in its original position, while others do so only in their table of contents. [2]

Although Bacon knows that the text of the *Sirr* which has come down to him is not a complete one, it is not clear at any point that he is aware of the exact extent and nature of the censoring; with his characteristic blend of scholarly indignation and personal braggadocchio, he fulminates [3] against the persons he describes as *stulti*, by whom he knows that the text has been foreshortened. If it is likely that he had, as he says, seen fuller and more correct manuscripts than those in the vulgate tradition, it seems nevertheless that these were not available when he settled down to compile his own recension.

If indeed the glosses to the *Secretum* and the tract *De retardatione accidentium senectutis* (or *Epistola de accidentibus senectutis*) [4] both belong to the mid-century, they are Bacon's first scientific texts, and show him at the turning point of his development, moving away from an aprioristic scholasticism, but not yet having ordered his new scientific thought into the synthesis he was to achieve in his major works. The *De retardatione* contains many quotations from the *Secretum*; although these are of a technical nature, they are not all from the twelfth-century translation of the Hygiene section of the *Sirr*, carried out by Johannes Hispalensis. [5] Tripolitanus' translation must already have been available.

Nevertheless, the fragmentary translation of the medical Discourse must, after a century's existence, have associated the *Sirr* specifically

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as "true mathematics" and not "magic," teachings that would, in modern terminology, be classified as "magical," in the general sense of the word. This is mainly due to his unquestioning acceptance of astral influence as a scientific fact.

[1] Steele, xxiii.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxvi.

[3] *Ibid.*, 39.

[4] Ed. A. G. Little and E. Withington, as fasc. ix of *Opera hactenus inedita* (Oxford, 1928). For the argument that the *De retardatione* was not written as early in the century as the editors suggest, see Easton, 24, n. 4.

[5] See Easton, 73, n. 3. Johannes Hispalensis is John of *Seville* (Hispalensis = al-Ishbili) and not, as Easton and others translate the name, John of Spain.

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with the medical tradition, in the European mind. Although Easton is no doubt right to emphasize the role of the *Sirr* in fixing Bacon's attention upon science [1] in general, it is thus not unlikely that he first thought of turning to the work because he had already developed some interest in medicine. Easton himself [2] considers that medicine was Bacon's first scientific interest, and that other branches came later; the very contention that the *De retardatione* belongs to those years seems to me to require that this argument should at least be stated. Certainly, however, Easton rightly estimates the bulk of the glosses when he writes [3] that most of them are "the immature comments of a recent convert [to the scientific point of view]."

Easton's comments on some of the more important glosses [4] may be regrouped under two heads: those which show Bacon laying emphasis upon the teachings of the *Sirr*, reinforcing them, in their true form, with further arguments, and those which show him making reservations, or hesitating. To these I would add those which show him ostensibly supporting, and expatiating upon, details in the *Sirr*, but, in fact, deflecting the reader, perhaps wilfully, away from their true meaning.

Bacon will, like Bradwardine after him, recognize with pleasure that Muslims and pagan philosophers, share some of the beliefs of Christians: the horror of the sin of murder, the hope in the resurrection. [5] There is in fact a fine Pentateuchal ring (in spite of the reference to Hermetic authority) in the passage which has moved Bacon's sense of a shared indignation against unrighteousness:

يا اسكندر ، أوكد أمر أوصيك به وطالما اوصيتك به ، فبامتثاله يصح امرك ويدوم ملكك ، هو التعفف عن الدماء في غير حق ، وإقامة حد ، فإنها قضية نهى الخالق عنها . وأنت انما تُقدم في ذلك على شبهة لست تدرى باطنها . فتحفظ عن هذا جهدك فقد صح عن هرمس الاكبر أنه قال " إن المخلوق إذا قتل مخلوق مثله بغير حق ضجت الملائكة الى بارئها ينادون : تشبّه عبدك هذا فلان بك ! " فان كان قتله في قصاص قال الله تعالى لهم : " قتل فقُتل " . وإن كان قُتل لبغى اهل الدنيا او ظن كاذب قال الله لهم جل جلاله : " وعزتي وقدرتي إني هدرت دم عبدي " – فلا تزال الملائكة تدعو عليه عند كل تسبيح واستغفار حتى يؤخذ بدمه.[6]

[1] Easton, *passim*, especially p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, 91.
[3] *Ibid.*, 84.
[4] *Ibid.*, 83 ff.
[5] Steele, 37, 56; Easton, 83.
[6] Badawī, 82; cf. Steele, 55-56.

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The comfort and riches offered as a prospect to Alexander by the text are reinterpreted [1] as minimal necessary riches; the claims of physiognomy [2] are tempered by a reminder that a Christian will realize that since the grace of God can conquer disposition, the science is limited in its application.

Elsewhere—and perhaps this is an earlier stratum of his notes—Bacon will rationalize the obscurity of the text doggedly, even if he is unwittingly defending an erroneous translation. Of the eightfold Circle of Justice, the *Sirr* [3] makes Aristotle say: "*qassamtuhā qismatan dauriyatan falakiya.*" The Latin *Secretum*, by following a bad text, or mistranslating a good one, [4] has intruded the dual (*qismataini*), and speaks of the eightfold circle as divided "*in duas divisiones circulares.*" Bacon's note, attempting to give sense to this, seems to me to balance precariously on the edge of meaningfulness. Again, Bacon is not balked by the fact that an alleged work by Aristotle quotes 'Aristo', [5] that is, arguably, the author himself: he points out that there are classical testimonies to there having been three teachers with the name Aristotle. [6] Ironically, Bacon is here being more Aristotelian than the Pseudo-Aristotle, for the Arabic *Sirr* reads, not *Aristū*, but *Ūmirs* (var.. lect.: *Amirūwās*, *Amīrūbās*, etc.). [7]

At other such moments, Bacon abandons the subtle workings of his over-credulity. We find him [8] very understandably attempting to reinterpret a misreading in which Tripolitanus shows a preoccupation with courtly romance which has led him astray: the Arabic [9] speaks of a king who

> *istashāra wuzarā'ahu fī sirrin 'azīmin kānat 'alaihi a'midatu mulkihi mutawarrika,*

and the translator has read *mulkihi* as *malika*, to produce the delightful but inapposite

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[1] Steele, 95.

[2] Badawī, 117-124; Steele, 165 f.

[3] Badawī, 126.

[4] Steele, 124. From Mr. William Ryan of Oriel College, Oxford, I learn that the Russian version, ed. Speranski, St. Petersburg, 1908, which almost certainly derives from Harīzī's Hebrew translation of the Short Form) has a similar mistranslation. M. Gaster's edition of the Hebrew (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1907-8]) does not show such a mistranslation in any of the manuscripts read. The Russian translator attempts a rationalization somewhat similar to Bacon's.

[5] *Ibid.*, 93.

[6] Easton, 82.

[7] Badawī, 102 and n. 4; see also, for example, MS Gotha 1869, f° 28.

[8] Steele, 138.

[9] Badawī, 136.

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quesivit concilium a bajulis suis super quodam secreto valde quod fuit revelatum regine cuidam dilecte ab eo.

More seriously, whether it is, as he says, [1] out of Christian piety, or in fact out of scientific scepticism, Bacon cannot pass, without questioning it, the remark that Aristotle was carried to heaven in a column of fire (the Arabic [2] has *fī 'amūdin min nūr*, and not *nār*). Easton [3] attributes to Bacon's interest in the *Secretum* his awareness of the importance of textual accuracy. Yet Bacon's comparative innocence of this modern tool prevents him from surmising that the apotheosis of Aristotle was granted to the philosopher, in all probability, by a reviser of the proem of the *Sirr* who, one suspects, inserted the passage on the supernatural qualities of Aristotle, [4] which interrupts a sentence upon the role of Aristotle as political adviser. In view of Bacon's interest in medicine, and his theorizing upon the scientific wisdom granted to the prophets, as discussed below, it is ironic to note that the apotheosis apparently derives from an earlier and non-rationalistic respect for the medical tradition. The ascension of Asclepius to Heaven in a column of fire is described in words very close to those in the *Sirr* by the later Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, [5] who gives "Hippocrates" as his source; and there are references earlier than this to the apotheosis of Asclepius. [6]

An interesting misinterpretation of the *Sirr* occurs in one of Bacon's glosses to the Plotinian passage in Discourse IV, which is one of several reproduced verbatim from *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā*. [7] The First Intelligence and other emanational entities are referred to, in the Latin, as virtues and intelligences proceeding one out of the other—the author is not, pace Easton, [1] speaking "carelessly," but

[1] Steele, 36.

[2] Badawī, 37.

[3] P. 86, n. 1.

[4] Badawī, 67/10 to 68/3; Steele, 36/22-31. For a discussion of this and other textual matters concerning the formation of the *Sirr* by a process of accretion, see chapter i of my unpublished thesis, *The 'Secreta Secretorum' in English Thought and Literature from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century, with a Preliminary Survey of the Origins of the 'Secreta'* (Oxford, 1954).

[5] *'Uyūn al-anbā'*, ed. Müller, 1882-4, 16.

[6] E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1945) testimonials 233 (Tertullian) and 236; cf. also no. 604 (Aristides).

[7] M. Manzalaoui, *'Secreta secretorum' in English Thought and Literature*, chap. 1; *idem.*, *Mediaeval European Version*, 86; A. Verdenius, preface to the edition of J. Van Maerlant, *Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheden* (Amsterdam, 1917). For details in question here, see *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā*, ed. K. D. Zarkalī (Cairo, 1928), I, 28; II, 123, 189 ff.; III, 195 ff.; VI, 29 f.; Badawī, 129-32; Steele, 119-132.

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elaborating a consistent cosmogony. Bacon, in spite of the reference made to the First Intelligence in the singular, identifies it with the angels [2] and attempts, in a series of interesting glosses, to convert the Plotinian pattern into an orthodox one of the actions of God, of His angels, and of created nature.

In the same passage, he gives a distorted explanation of a reference to the preexistence of the *anima sensibilis*. [3] There are two possible explanations of this. One, that Bacon, in his confused overconfidence, is trying to wrest a conventional meaning out of an obscure passage which derives from an unfamiliar cosmogony. Another, that Bacon is willfully confusing the issue, seeking to conceal the fact that he realizes that the passage, if properly understood, would imply an "Averroist" belief in the unity of the active intellect. [4] The second possibility would be more likely, if the date of the writing of the notes to this portion of the *Secretum* were in the 1270s, when Averroism was being condemned. This would bring it closer to the date posited by Easton for Bacon's introduction to the *Secretum*.

As a linguistic parallel to Bacon's move towards the study of the world of physical phenomena, it is worth noting a shift of meaning which one of his glosses gives to the word *natura*. The *Sirr* comments, in its Discourse on *Warfare*, [5] on the "natural" or *normal* tendency of rulers to become rivals, and to seek each other's destruction: فوالله لا اجتمع ملك بآخر إلا ودبر أحدهما الغدر بصاحبه وهذا موجود فى الطبيعة . وتفكر فيما صنع قابيل بهابيل أخيه .

(for *ṭabī'a*, the Short Form [6] has: *al-khilqa allatī tanāsala minhā 'l-'ālam*.

Bacon's gloss runs:

> Scilicet, in regibus apum, quia reges apum exeunt cum examinibus suis sive exercitibus in pugnam et fortissime pugnant donec unus exercitus vincatur, et ita est in multis aliis animalibus.

Bacon has thus shifted the sense of *natura* from "inherent quality of human beings" to "the non-human world," anticipating a modern shift of meaning; the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives 1662 as the date of the earliest use in English of the word *nature* in a sense implying this altered conception. [7]

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[1] Easton, 83.
[2] Easton, as above; Steele, 127-28; Badawī, 129-31.
[3] Cf. Easton, 84.
[4] Cf. Easton, 197. [5] Badawī, 149; Steele, 152.
[6] For example, Suhāj MS f° 63 and, substantially, MS Vienna 1827, 33b-34a.
[7] For the different meanings of φυσις and *natura*, and their implications for

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To turn from the glosses to Bacon's Introduction to the *Secretum* is indeed to turn from the fragmentary and immature to a work which takes a synthesizing view, and regards the *Secretum* purposefully as a work which can play a major part in a new instauration of learning and civil activity. The dating of this brief companion to the major synthesizing works of Bacon's mature thought, as not earlier than 1264, [1] by a reference in it to an event of that year, seems unimpeachable; its "completeness" is undoubted, and its revealing of the germinal role of the *Sirr* in Bacon's thought has been persuasively demonstrated by Easton. [2] The secondary ways in which the *Sirr* has influenced the English thinker are interesting. In the *Opus Tertium*, he seems to adopt something of the secrecy of tone which the *Sirr* affects. [3] In various works, he identifies himself with the figure of Aristotle, the sage addressing his learning to one who wields political power. To Easton's remarks upon this, [4] it may be added that this same identification will be noted in very many of the translators and adapters of the *Secretum*: Gower addressing Richard II in *Confessio Amantis* VII, Occleve addressing the future Henry V in the *Regement of Princes*, Sir William Forrest in his manual for Edward VI, *The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practice*, and others. The stressing of the occult element is a general tendency in the tradition of the study of the work; Tripolitanus himself emphasizes it by speaking of it in his proem in these terms:

> Qui postulavit ab eo, ut ad ipsum veniret, et secretum quarundum artium fideliter revelaret, videlicet, motum, operacionem, et potestatem astrorum in astronomia et artem alkimie in natura, et artem cognoscendi naturas, et operandi incantaciones, et celimanciam, et geomanciam. [5]

This is in spite of the fact that there is no "celimancia" or geomancy in the book. (The intrusion of these terms here may partly account for Bacon's apparent belief that the vulgate recension omits more than it really does.)

But the main impact of the *Sirr* upon Bacon's mind seems to lie in its picture of the oneness both of the world and of knowledge, its

the study of the history of thought, see C. S. Lewis, *Studies in Words* (Cambridge, England, 1960), chapter ii.

[1] Easton, 82.

[2] See pages referred to in his index, s.v. "Aristotle, Pseudo-", especially pp. 85f.

[3] Badawi, 69-71; Steele, 39-42; *Opus Tertium*, ed. A. G. Little (Aberdeen 1912), 80; Easton, 82.

[4] Pp. 82, n. 1, 85, n. 2, 114, 127.

[5] Steele, 26.

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philosophy of correspondences between supralunary and sublunary substances, which causes Bacon to equate the study of the occult - with the omission from this of false 'magic' with the grasp of practical science and worldly power, adopting, as he did, the two axioms that the author of this work speaks authoritatively, and that his doctrine of consubstantialities is correct. The main purport of the move towards the rehabilitation of *Discourse X* seems to be a rehabilitation of the validity albeit with reservations of astrology and divination which were being attacked in some currents of contemporary thought.

The apologia for astrology, in Discourse II, and the parallel passage in Claudius Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblon* [1] show that the belief in astrology had to be defended, in Hellenistic and Arabic writings, against the more rationalist theistic philosophies, and against those who saw in it a denial of free-will. In his introductory tract, Bacon reasserts the astrologer's apologia with greater force and in more detail. He evolves an image of a learned man who, by the true use of "mathematics" and medicine, can open the way both to knowledge and to moral improvement. The combination of *astrological* mathematics and medicine is in fact one which is specified in the *Sirr* itself, in the introduction to the *bāb* on Hygiene. [2]

Bacon emphasizes the value of the *Sirr*'s apologia for astrology —which had never been omitted- -and of the section he is "rehabilitating." The title of the fourth chapter of the introductory tract [3] is as follows:

> Capitulum quartum de dictis et factis verorum mathematicorum et que mirabilia possunt facere cum adjutorio artis medicine: quomodo videlicet alterantur complexiones et meliorantur, tam in moribus quam in sapientia: et *tangit ultima secreta ad que solus sapiens medicus poterit pervenire.*

It seems clear that Bacon was evolving a philosophy in which the study of medicine and the sciences, together with a knowledge of the stars, was to be pursued, partly on the basis of authority (mainly in Arabic sources) and partly on quasi-empirical lines. His belief in the theory of correspondences must owe much to the proem to the Occult Discourse, a passage containing a great deal which is also found verbatim in the *Ikhwān*.

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[1] I, 2f.
[2] Badawī, 85.
[3] Steele, 1.

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Bacon's philosophy seems to have had as its main aims the expansion of knowledge and a moral control, a new ethical efficiency, which he did not think possible by any other means. He thus believed that a certain partially preconditioned element in human affairs could, through expert knowledge and application, be used by a humanity in which he did not deny free will. There is no reason to suppose that he did not place Christianity above scientific philosophy, but it is clear that he held that the immense new possibilities, the *mirabilia*, lay in a direction in which specifically Christian beliefs were not in the focal position. To him, "Aristotelianism" meant, to a considerable extent, the pseudo-Aristotelianism of the *Sirr*, the combination of physical, medical, and occult studies for the purposes of ethics, wisdom, and worldly consolidation. The extremely large part which the *Sirr* and the physical works of Aristotle play in his conception of Aristotelianism may, hence, be partly due to the fact that Bacon was greatly influenced by the philosophy of the anonymous writer of the theoretical introduction to the discourses of the Long Form *Sirr*; that is, to the final reviser—himself, as I believe, a wholesale borrower of passages from the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā*.

The "sage" (as represented by Aristotle) is uppermost in Bacon's mind, but this no doubt combines with the notion of the powerful "prince," the latter-day counterpart of the Alexander for whom the *Sirr* claimed to have been written. For his ideal seems to have been a philosopher-mathematician of immense *practical* power; and it is in this approach that he saw the *secretum* of all things. The lengthy incipit which has been affixed to the introductory tract sums up this philosophy:

> Quem tractatum si sapiens intueatur et bene omnia discuciat, . . . inveniet ultima nature secreta ad que homo sive humana invencio in hac vita poterit pervenire, ad que quiscunque posset pertingere, vere princeps mundi poterit nominari. Nec desperet quis propter difficultatem, quoniam si naturas rerum cognoverit, scienciam perspective, et astronomiam, ista secreta non poterunt eum latere. [1]

This, is, I believe, the most ambitious method of interpreting the *Sirr* that is expressed in the whole tradition.

Continuing to accompany Easton in his commentary, we find it illuminating to note how his analysis [2] makes the *Sirr* the methodological center out of which Bacon's interests radiate, as though his own

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Easton, 109-111.

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studies were themselves a microcosm of the vast conception of which his Introduction to the *Secretum* is a blueprint. Even in his mature thought, however, Bacon, particularly if we follow the emphases of Easton, seems wilful in his distortion of texts to suit his thesis.

In the *Sirr*, Aristotle tells Alexander that since he cannot change the waters and airs of a country he has conquered, he should try to win over the hearts of its inhabitants:

إن كنت عازما على قتلهم جميعا وقادرا على ذلك بملكك اياهم ، فلست بقادر على تغيير هوائهم ومائهم وبلدهم . فملكهم بالاحسان إليهم والمبرة بهم ، وتظفر بالمحبة منهم .[1]

The reference to waters and airs is not an arbitrary rhetorical one, but an echo of the psychological aspect of Hippocratean medicine. The Hippocratean *Airs, Waters and Places*, in its opening words speaks of "the effect of water" (on the health) and of that of "the warm and the cold winds, both those which are common to every country and those peculiar to a particular locality."[2] "Aristotle" is therefore declaring that the regional characteristics of men cannot be altered. If the Latin version does not make it so unambiguous that the suggestion of changing the airs and waters was an impossible "counsel of perfection",[3] the English translations from the Latin show that the general medieval understanding of the text did not misapply it. Thus the *Governance of Lordschipes* of soon after 1400:

> If thou may chaunge the eir and the watir of that lond, and also the ordinancez of citeez, do thy purpos, and ellys governe hem with goodness.[4]

But Bacon in his gloss takes the "changing of air and water" as a possibility, and defends the passage against the charge of interference with freedom of the will, by distinguishing between "complexion" and will. Later, in the *Opus Majus*, we find him again speaking of it as a possibility to be wished for, together with the methods of winning battles by *magia* which he had learned from the lapidary of *Discourse X*. In evolving this point of view, Bacon is conflating the Hippocratean passage with another[5] in which the notion of "revealed medicine" is put forward by the *Sirr*. Speaking of the need to reach a balance

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[1] Badawi, 69.

[2] J. Chadwick and W. Mann, *Medical Works of Hippocrates* (Oxford, 1950), 90 ff.

[3] Steele, 38: Si non potes illius terre mutare aerem et aquam, insuper et disposicionem civitatum, imple tuum propositum. Si potes dominari super eos cum bonitate, exaudies eos cum benignitate.

[4] Ed. R. Steele, *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 74), 1898, p. 48.

[5] Badawi, 86; Steele, 64.

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of the "complexions" (إعتدال المزاجات), it says of God — أعلم عباده بهذا انبياؤه المصطفون -- صلى الله عليهم أجمعين – وغير ذلك مما ألهم إليهم من التجربة.

The exact reverse of this tendency can be seen in Bacon's failure to press the concept of "revealed science." *In spite of* the unrevealed nature of scientific studies, the wisdom they require is supplemented by a measure of divine enlightenment, and this was only granted to those with a pure enough moral character. [1] Bacon had rejoiced [2] to learn from the *Secretum* and from Josephus, that scientific knowledge had been held by the prophets of old: Enoch can be identified with the Hermes of the Greeks, [3] Seth was the founder of astronomy, Abraham had transmitted arithmetic to the Egyptians.

Although Bacon makes his own use of this information, he stops short of accepting the idea that Aristotle possessed the gift of prophecy. Interestingly, this is a move away from an opportunity afforded by the opening passages of the *Sirr*, but clearly not amenable to being assimilated into Christian orthodoxy. Easton writes: [4] "Neither in Josephus nor in the *Secretum* . . . are to be found specific statements that the knowledge itself was revealed by God." True, this claim is not made, but the possible prophetic status of Aristotle is suggested: the Long Form, followed by the Latin, [5] states: عده كثير من العلماء في عديد الانبياء. The Short Form reading is even more interesting: the Suhāj manuscript [6] reads: عده كثير من العلماء في عداد الانبياء الذين لم يرسل اليهم كتاب

This reading would perhaps have made it possible for some Muslim followers of the *falāsifa* to have regarded Aristotle as holding prophetic status, while clearly excluding his works from the canon of prophetic texts. One can only wonder what theory of knowledge Bacon might have built up, had the five-word clause which ends this sentence not been omitted from the Long Form, and hence not entered the Western Latin tradition. For he would surely have related this to the phrase ألهم إليهم من التجربة and it is not illegitimate to wonder what the deductions might have been.

When we turn to Thomas Bradwardine's use of the *Sirr*, we do not

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[1] Easton, 74 f., based upon *Opus Majus*, II, 170 f., *Opus Tertium* 31, 64-5, and *Compendium studii philosophiae*, ed. J. S. Brewen in *Opera Fr. Baconis* (1859), 408 ff.

[2] Easton, 73, n. 3, 79.

[3] Badawī, 86 (as quoted above), and 108 (this portion of the Hygiene is not in the Short Form); Steele, 69, 99; Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 2 and 8; *Opus Tertium* 4.

[4] Page 74.

[5] Badawī, 67; Steele, 36.

[6] Folio 3.

leave Bacon behind. For the "Doctor profundus," who was a mathematician and astronomer, and an adviser at Edward III's court, shares some of Bacon's emphases, and sometimes extracts the same teaching from the text as Bacon did, although his main purpose, different from the latter's, is that of defending his Augustinian doctrine of Grace. Alone in the English tradition of the *Sirr*, Bradwardine can be definitely shown to be following Bacon's redaction of the text. Where he refers to the *Sirr*, he gives the numbers of the four-book division of Bacon's text, and of the chapters into which this is subdivided.[1] No other known form of the *Sirr* coincides in its divisions with this redaction: we can therefore feel confident of Bradwardine's indebtedness to his English precursor. It is in Book I of the *De Causa dei contra Pelagium*[2] that we find the theologian making extensive use of the *Sirr*, and in this section of his work he attempts to prove—as we have seen Bacon also doing—how much closer to Christian faith are the beliefs of ancient philosophy, than some of his own contemporaries would allow. In doing so, he draws upon evidence from all the different strata of the Long Form of the *Sirr*. Without realizing it, he is adducing in his favor not only the hellenistic and post-hellenistic philosophy of Plotinians and neo-Aristotelians, who might be classed as philosophers of "pagan" theism, but also the syncretic theology of the *Ikhwān*, as well as expressions of orthodox Muslim piety. The seventeenth-century editor classes the *Sirr* with "apocryphal books" made use of by Bradwardine,[3] who himself finds it necessary, in the first half of the fourteenth century, to defend the authenticity of the work against sceptics. In so doing, he allows us a glimpse at interesting stylistic arguments which had arisen since Bacon's days, and uses, in favor of his own position, the fact that the *Sirr* had come into Latin through Arabic. He echoes the Latin translator's own description of his method of translating the general sense of a sentence, rather than giving a word-for-word rendering, and also, curiously, uses the obscurity of some passages as an argument for authenticity:

> Nec quisquam obmurmuret illum famosum Aristotelem non scripsisse hunc librum . . . Hoc idem insuper celebris fama tenet; nec obviat stili planicies, aut diversitas a stilo Aristotelis consueto: Regi namque multis de causis plane fuit scribendum; & fortassis translatio non de Graeco, sed de Arabico in Latinum, facit sententiam planiorem,

[1] See below, p. 494, n. 6.
[2] Ed. Henry Savile, 1617.
[3] Savile, *Lectori*, sig. A 4.

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sicut in quibusdam alijis libris suis, quod & posset contingere propter prudentiam translatoris, non verba semper, sed sensum potius transferentis; sicus haec ambo ex prologo 1° patent. Nec textus iste aut stilus est planissimus omniquaque: Quis enim plane faciliterque exponit eiusdem tertiae partis primum capitulum, de lapide Philosophorum non lapide . . . ac caetera verba abstrusissima ibi scripta? [1]

Bradwardine consciously adduces the arguments of Islamic philosophers: Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sīnā and Ghazzālī are used to support the "proof" which the "Aristotelian" *Sirr* gives Bradwardine of the philosophical belief in prophecy. [2] But he unconsciously uses Muslim formulas when, later in the argument, in his Book II, he tries to show that even the heathen Aristotle used prayer to ask for God's blessing, and compares this to the use of the Paternoster. The passages he quotes, [3] "Dominus custodiat te ab omni opere inhonesto," is thoroughly Islamic in sentiment.

The anti-semitic anecdote of the Magus and the Jew, of apparently Sassanian origin, is used by the Ikhwān [4] to illustrate their argument that moral reactions will follow the pattern of the faith of one's upbringing: they will be good or bad according as one's faith encourages good or bad. The Long Form *Sirr* takes over this anecdote [5] to illustrate the precept (an Islamic one) that you should not take counsel from a man who holds a faith different from your own. Bradwardine finds a new use for it: for (with its prayer for vengeance) it illustrates a belief in the efficacy of prayer. [6]

In one single section, [7] Bradwardine refers to the Plotinian hierarchy, as found in the *Ikhwān*, to the nature of plants and stones, to the threefold nature of justice– justice owed to the ruler, justice owed to oneself, and justice owed to fellowcitizens, [8] as well as to the great seminal commonplace of Reason as King of the Human

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[1] *Ibid.*, 138 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, 32.

[3] *Ibid.*, 480 D. Another reference to the *Sirr* in Bradwardine's *Book II* (Savile 469) mentions the letters exchanged between Aristotle and Alexander, which form the Proem to the tract.

[4] I, 237 ff.

[5] Badawī, 140 ff.; Steele, 144 ff.

[6] Savile 39. This is one of the passages in which Bradwardine refers to the sections of Bacon's recension; he mentions III, 14 (Steele, 144 ff.), IV, 1 (the reference is to Steele, 165), and III, 1 (Steele, 115 f.), other references are on p. 42, to Bacon I, 22 (Steele, 60 ff.), and p. 100, to Bacon III, 7 (Steele, 131 f.). On p. 254, the reference to I, 23 is an error for I, 22, the final chapter of this section.

[7] *Ibid.*, 138.

[8] Badawī, 126; Steele, 125.

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body, a statement which [1] occurs on its own in the Short Form, but which in the Long Form, stands immersed among passages from the *Ikhwān*. Bradwardine finds [2] an analogue to the Christian belief in eternal punishment and reward in the conclusion to the Plotinian passage. Here, however, only one half of the argument is in fact in the Arabic at all:

فان تكن النفس قد تمت واستكملت قبل مفارقة الجسد زلت قوة النفس الكلية ورقيت بها الى الملأ الأعلى. [3]

This is a parallel to, and apparently a borrowing from, a passage in the *Ikhwān* which uses a more specifically Islamic terminology:

فان تكن النفس قد تمت واستكملت قبل مفارقة الجسد زلت قوة المعراج فرقت بها الى الملأ الأعلى. [4]

The punishment of evildoers, on the other hand, is an addition made in the Latin only, and its intrusion of orthodox ethical values shows that Tripolitanus (or a very early reviser) has, deliberately or accidentally, misinterpreted the mystic theology:

> Si vero non, anima dilabitur usque ad abyssum inferium: deinde recepit eam regimen sine spe placendi Deo. [5]

Coupled with these passages, as an illustration of the same belief, is the passage in condemnation of slaying. [6] Thus Bradwardine returns to passages which we have seen to have held a particular significance in Bacon's thought. I have already mentioned Bradwardine's reference to philosophical teachings concerning prophecy: more interesting is the fact that Bradwardine's central debate upon predestination and freewill makes use of the passages Bacon had singled out. Again, relying upon these passages, he shows that a fundamentally predestined pattern is consonant with a reliance upon the efficacy of prayer (and of fasting); [7] with a more exact use of the text than Bacon's, the Hippocratean moral of Aristotle's reply to Alexander's letter is used to help define the limits of the efficacy of will. [8] The authority of Aristotle, in reference to cosmic order, [9] is twice confirmed [10] by reference to the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

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[1] Savile, 132; Suhāj MS, f° 40; Steele, 132.
[2] Savile 100 (wrongly numbered "p. 110" in the copy which I have used).
[3] Badawi, 131-132.
[4] III, 197.
[5] Steele, 132.
[6] Savile, 114.
[7] *Ibid.*, 42.
[8] *Ibid.*, 469 C-D.
[9] Steele, 60 ff.
[10] Savile, 254 D, 428c.

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Yet, although "operator miraculorum unus & solus Deus est, a quo descendit omnis operatio mirabilis," [1] the Baconian concept of the "scientist" is not absent, for miracles can be brought about by the means of

> aliquis magnus homo, aliquis sanctus homo, quod & isti Astrologi confitentur, quod & videtur Arist. dicere in Secreto Secretorum vlt. Part I. [2]

While Bradwardine's use of scripture in the *De causa dei*, to confirm an argument based upon reason and philosophical authority, is only occasional, it is the regular method employed in the Wycliffian *Tractatus de officio regis*. In this text, [3] seven passages can be singled out as containing arguments in which the *Sirr* is used either as the basis, or in support, of the author's contention. With this tract, the *Sirr* is brought to the threshold of that topic which was to provide English vernacular literature, both polemic and imaginative, with one of its principal themes for the next two centuries: the conduct and status of kings and their subjects, and of priests and counselors.

To Wycliffe— for I take the attribution of the work to him to be correct the *Sirr* is an exemplar of natural law, [4] and is used as such, even though elsewhere he does not speak in the same tone of the authoritativeness of Aristotle's works.

One passage in the English works of Wycliffe [5] shows contempt for clergy who study Aristotle to the exclusion of religious duties, [6] and another, a questioning of the physiognomical authority of Aristotle. The latter presumably refers to the *Sirr* itself:

> heere seyen trewe men in god more hardily than they weren wont that this is a lewid skile, yif the pope approue this thing must nedis be trewe, for herby the contrarye is the more licly. For sith the pope is more tempted than othere men & more led bi the fend, it sewyth bi the popis confermyng that this is the fendis werk. & *heere is more coloure in this resoun than in resouns that aristotle tellith that yif a man haue a kempt hed thanne he is a leccherous man. sumtyme it may falle so & sumtyme the contrarye* may falle, as the pope may sumtyme falle on the sothe & sumtyme discorde therfro. [7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 39, quoting Latin *Sirr* (as in Steele, 116), which claims to be quoting Hermogenes (Hurmus al-akbar). [2] *Ibid.*, 42.

[3] Ed. A. W. Pollard and Ch. Sayle, 1887.

[4] For example, *De officio* 262.

[5] *The English Works of Wyclif hitherto Unpublished*, ed. F. D. Matthew, Early English Text Society, O. S. 74, 1880.

[6] "Of the Leaven of the Pharisees," *English Works*, p. 6.

[7] "De officio pastorali," *English Works*, 426.

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I do not think that either passage is, in itself, proof that these works and the *De officio regis* are not by the same man. The *De officio* does not erect Aristotle into an exclusive authority, and makes no use of physiognomy a subject which Sir William Forrest was specifically to reject as spurious, from his refashioned version of the *Secretum*.[1]

Wycliffe's main concern in the *De officio regis* is to argue the primacy of the temporal power over that of the Church visible, and to describe the king and his rule as being above human law, but obliged to seek out and correct spiritual abuses.[2] It is most convenient to summarize the uses made of the *Sirr* in this proto-Protestant work, in the order in which the seven passages in question occur.

(1 --pp. 53-54.) These pages deal with the king's domestic clergy, and the qualities they should show. Wycliffe equates this category of men with the counselors (*wuzarā'*) of Discourse IV of the *Sirr*, and applies to them the list of qualities set out in the Long Form.[3] This is the most interesting use of the *Sirr* by Wycliffe, for in it he is unconsciously echoing the description of the philosopher-king by Socrates in Plato's *Republic*.[4] A complex network of summary forms of this, adapted to suit later attitudes, has provided the Long Form with its catalogue. Al-Fārābī has one form of the list in his *Taḥṣīl al-sa'āda*,[5] where it represents the qualities essential for a speculative *philosopher*. He has another form of it in his *Ārā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*,[6] as the qualities of a *ruler*. The list in the Short Form of the *Sirr*[7] closely resembles this version. The *Ikhwān*[8] use Fārābī's qualities of a ruler, as their qualities of a *prophet*. The Long Form of the *Sirr* seems to be an emended and lengthened version of the Short Form list, as conflated with the list in the *Ikhwān*. Some of the qualities seem to reflect the ideals of a Persian, or persianized, court. Of the three qualities which Wycliffe singles out for special consideration, two are common to Plato and to all the Arabic derivatives: indifference to wealth, and the love of truth; the third, eloquence, is in the Arabic lists and not in Plato.[9]

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[1] *The Pleasant Poesye of Princelie Practice*, Br. Mus. MS *Roy* 17 *D* 3 *ff*. 10b-11a.

[2] For a summary of the work, relating it to Wycliffe's life and general teachings, see K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (1952), 92 f.

[3] Badawī, 138f.; Steele, 141ff.

[4] *Republic* VI, ii (485, 486, 487 A).

[5] Hyderabad edn., 1345 A. H., 44.

[6] Ed. F. Dieterici (Leyden, 1895), 59.

[7] For example, Suhāj MS, f°s 46-50.

[8] IV, 182 f.

[9] Another Arabic version of this list is in Ibn Rushd; see *Commentary on Plato's*

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Wycliffe combines this passage with the injunction against the breaking of faith, which he found in Discourse II of the *Secretum*.[1] The topical application which he makes of the pseudo-Aristotelian teachings, so relating them to fourteenth-century England, is to make of them an attack upon simony, and an argument that lying ministers discredit a king.

(2—pp. 57-58.) A king should not subordinate Faith to the exigencies of ruling, and he should observe his religion inwardly as well as outwardly. In other words:

أى ملك أخدم ملكه دينه فهو مستحق الرياسة . وأى ملك جعل دينه خادما لملكه فهو مستخف بناموسه . ومن استخف بالناموس قتله الناموس . وانا اقول . . . أن أول مايجب على الملك ان يحذر نفسه به رعاية جميع حدود الله . . . وأن يظهر للعامة التقشف مع اعتقاد لذلك لأنه متى أظهر خلاف ما يضمر لم تجمل جبلته .[2]

Again, the threat here seems to be a distant echo, or rather, a summing-up, of the words of Socrates at the end of the *Crito*:[3] this passage, which is in both Forms of the *Sirr*, is also found independently in the *Ikhwān*,[4] and is in fact described by them as a remark made by Socrates.

(3—p. 59.) Wycliffe puts forward his theory that the clergy should live on money from secular hands, that is, on alms, and tithes collected by the secular authorities. No civil possessions should be in the hands of the clergy. The *Sirr* is here introduced, in a somewhat tenuous argument, to show that, concomitantly, a king is expected to support and honor the clergy. The passage referred to is the sentence from Discourse II ("*Insuper decet reges legiferos honorare, religiosos venerari*," etc.) . . . which follows almost immediately upon the words quoted in the passage above:

وما يقترن بهذا تعظيم من تدور اعباء الملك عليهم كالقضاة الصالحين العاملين والفقهاء المتدينين والأئمة .

(4—pp. 73-74.) Wycliffe uses the injunction in Discourse II on the encouragement of learning: وآمر فى أهل بلادك بقراءة العلوم ومطالعة الفنون ;[5] but he applies it exclusively to the study of theology. This occurs as part of a criticism of the ignorance and simony of the English

Republic, ed. E. I. J. Rosenthal (Cambridge, England, 1956). The English translation of the extant Hebrew text is on pp. 180 ff.

[1] Badawī 83; Steele 56.

[2] Badawī, 77; cf. Steele, 47, where misreading or corruption of the Arabic text has made the medieval Latin more Machiavellian in tone than the Arabic.

[3] Especially section 54 I..

[4] IV, 134.

[5] Badawī, 84; Steele, 58.

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clergy, and their tendency, which Wycliffe deplores, to apply to Rome for benefices, and to feel little loyalty to the English authorities.

(5—pp. 77-78.) The introduction to the Discourse on Justice [1] is here used to define the nature of the king as vice-gerent of God. Here, the *Sirr* is used at the very core of Wycliffe's teaching. Wycliffe derives from the passage in the *Sirr* the thesis that the king alone is the representative of Divine justice, and that it is through him that faith reaches his subjects. Yet, at the same time, the king is bound to the duties of rule, as laid upon him by God.

(6—pp. 96-97.) The king, as the *Sirr* lays down, must win the obedience of his subjects through his generosity, and his fulfilling of his duty to protect them. [2] Again, an injunction to reward merit is quoted, but this time from the definition of true largesse. [3] Wycliffe goes on, however, to remark that the charity of a king does not conflict with his right to take, at need, but with discretion, from the wealth both of his lay and of his clerical subjects.

(7—pp. 261-263.) This passage is in the latter portion of the book, thought by the editors to be a later addition but perhaps more likely to constitute "a series of postscripts which seek to forestall the obvious objections." [4] Wycliffe argues that warfare is lawful only if undertaken for the love of God, and should not be permitted within the fold of Christendom. The passage here used is that on slaying, already used for their own purposes by Bacon and Bradwardine. The application of it to warfare is Wycliffe's own. When he goes on to cite the words "*Noli ergo attribuere tibi divinum officium*," he is laying down a limit or reservation to his concept of the vice-gerency of the king. Impressed, as others have been, with the "Hermetic" passage concerning the angels who demand vengeance against a slayer, he quotes the passage for his reader's benefit.

It is clear from all this that Wycliffe's use, though it is part of a new, theologically-based, political theory, seeks support mainly in the ethical sections of the *Sirr*, which seem, indeed, to constitute the nucleus around which the book took shape. Wycliffe's use has little to do with the arcane reaches of Bacon, and the speculations of Bradwardine. His essentially practical and moralizing outlook, perhaps a particularly English one, may have done more than any

[1] Badawi, 125; Steele, 123.
[2] Badawi, 79; Steele, 50.
[3] Badawi, 74; Steele, 43.
[4] McFarlane, *loc. cit.*

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other to make of the *Secretum*, for the generations that were to ensue, a book looked to both for guidance and support, a source of notions and of phrases, standing half-way in status between a classic and a dictionary of quotations.

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BASIC CONCEPTS OF JAVANESE CULTURE AND THE PREACHERS OF ISLAM

BY

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It is well known that the Hindu religion spread in Indonesia about the end of the third century A.D., while the process of popularization reached its culmination in the Puranic age (A.D. 300-750). The early Hindus from India, who grew rich by trade, settled in Java and set up a regal splendor, were undoubtedly men of knowledge, enterprise and great energy. The Hindu priests, in their courts, also found in Java a land which offered them all that was needed for the tranquility of both body and soul. They acted as wise counselors to their kings; they fostered and educated a line of rulers who built temples, a stupendous achievement for all ages; they also took care to establish a Hindu civilization and culture in Java. In India, during this Puranic period, three developments took place in the proces of the systematization of Hinduism: (1) the composition of the Puranas, (2) the organization of the worship of the Mother goddess (Saktism), and (3) the production of the philosophical sutras of six orthodox schools [1] of Hinduism, the religion of the learned classes. The Puranas are sectarian in spirit, laying emphasis on the doctrines of incarnation. They are full of fantastic stories, incredible legends, and adventures of Gods and demons which are intended, while providing entertainment, to instruct the illiterate masses in the Hindu views of life—Hindu dharma, ideals and codes of manners. In the same way, the worshippers of the Mother goddess also had their own scriptures. But this sect developed on the basis of the pre-Aryan cult of the Mother goddess. As the Vedic religion spread in the Tamil country, there took place a fusion of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements. The Dravidian cult of Ellammā (all-mother) was incorporated into the Vedic religion; she was called Durgā; she was spiritualized and Vedanta philosophy was gradually imported into it. This process was developed into a sect as important as the Vaishnava and Saiva sects, and the Mother goddess came to be worshipped by a class of people known as Sakta. There developed, by degrees, a literature in which

[1] Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Sankhya, Yoga, Mimamsa and Vedanta.

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the goddess is identified with the Absolute as Vishnu and Siva, and a whole system of philosophy, theology and ritual came into existence. The sectarian scriptures of the three sects, Saivism and Vaishnavism and Saktism, are known as the Agamas or Tantras, the two names being used indiscriminately. The worshippers of Siva composed 28 Agamas, of Vishnu 108 Agamas and of the Mother goddess (Sakti) 77 Agamas. The culmination of the Agama way is bhakti, while the culmination of the Veda is the Vedanta, and of (Vaidika) karma is Jnana. The means of reaching immortality is knowledge. According to the Agama way, the means of reaching immortality is *ananya chinta*, "uninterrupted mediation of the Deity alone." The *carya* and *kriya* parts of the Agamas describe the means of worship of Siva or Vishnu, but as the discipline of bhakti has in many cases to be supplemented by some psychological discipline in the form of yoga practice, every Agama text deals with yoga, and then jnana, in the sense of the exposition of the philosophical principles underlying the Agama teaching. This philosophy is absolutely different from the Vedanta; for the latter posits only one reality behind the Universe– Brahma— while the former assumes a threefold reality, Īśvara, the individual, and the matter. Thus the Agamas are primarily the scriptures of the bhakti-marga, as the Upanishads are the scriptures of jnana-marga. The former is an easy path, and the latter, a difficult one.

Owing to these fundamental differences, there was much animosity in the early period between the followers of the Vedic religion and of the Agamas in India. But slowly, very slowly, the Vedanta and the Agama schools gravitated towards each other from the ninth century onwards. A series of intellectual giants in India from the ninth to the thirteenth century have given shape to the philosophical thought of the whole subcontinent of India. The two aspects of religious life, bhakti and jnana, were harmoniously blended, and ultimately led to the developments of various schools of philosophy, methods of divine worship and spiritual discipline.

During the time Brahmanism in India expanded into Hinduism, developing several features, only one feature became popular in Java, that is the Agamas– the sectarian beliefs and practices of the Vaishnavas, Saivas and Saktas. The religion of the Agamas developed through two channels, one exoteric and the other esoteric. The former was kept up as pure Saivism, with greater emphasis on the devotional aspect of the worship of Śiva-paśupati with a view to attaining salvation; the latter was maintained as Saktism, with greater emphasis on the various sakti

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cults, not so much to attain salvation, but to gain sway over the forces of nature. In due course, the Tantras known as Sakta Agamas, the manuals of the worshippers of Sakti the Divine Mother or the Supreme Godhead - became more and more popular in Java.

In Indonesia, as in India, Sakti, the Mother goddess conceived as power, both destructive and creative, has been an object of worship from ancient times. Ring stones of a peculiar shape and rude female figurines are found in Batushankar, central Sumatra, and in Minahasa, north Sulavesi. Such evidences lead to the conclusion that the worship of the Mother-Deity was popular in India, as well as in Indonesia, before the Vedic religion spread in India. The pre-Vedic concepts are blended with the Vedic and later beliefs concerning the Mother goddess; the Vedic and Agamic ideas altered the old forms of worship in India and Indonesia. The religious thought of the Tantra of Saktas is an instance of a synthetic religious philosophy blending together, in a harmonious way, different religions and philosophies. In the Tantra, the supreme God is conceived as one, universal spiritual power (Sakti) and is hailed as the Divine Mother. She is called by different names: Kālī, Tārā, Durgā, Chandikā. Of her own free will, and for the purpose of creation, she divided herself into the dual aspects of male and female. Of these, Siva is the male principle and the supreme cosmic consciousness (purusha), and Sakti is the female principle and the supreme primordial energy (prakriti). Siva and Sakti again are each divided according to whether they are with or without attribute. The supreme attributeless Sakti is full of luster; so also is the supreme attributeless Siva. As attributeless self-shining Sakti, she is of the essence of Brahman and is above the world of maya or of objects. In her state with attributes, she gives birth to Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Maheśvara the destroyer of the world. It is with this attribute of maya that she gives birth to the three worlds, consisting of moving and unmoving things.

This creative power of the Divine Mother has as its substance the three gunas of sattva (balance or wisdom), rajas (activity or restlessness) and tamas (inertia or dullness), and it constitutes the vast and variegated world of objects. The Divine Mother pervades the whole world, giving birth to all things, from the highest to the lowest, and manifesting her majesty both as mind and matter. That is the way in which she plays the cosmic game. Mind and matter are not two diametrically opposed substances, of which one is conscious and the other unconscious; rather, they are the forms in which the same

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divine energy figures in its playful cosmic activity. As such, they are held like two children in the embrace of the same mother.

The tantras say that Siva and Sakti, the supreme male and female principles, are inseparably connected. One does not exist independent of the other. United with Sakti, the cosmic consciousness becomes Siva; and united with Siva, the supreme primordial energy becomes Sakti. Apart from Sakti, the supreme self is a corpse; and apart from Siva the supreme primordial energy is blind force. Thus Siva and Sakti are inseparably connected; the one cannot be without the other. The man who worships the wisdom aspect of reality, commonly called the male principle, is a Saiva; and he who worships the power aspect or the female principle is called a Sakta. This Sakti worship became very popular in Java since the time of Air Langga, the king of East Java. As Siva and Sakti are inseparably connected, when Siva is worshipped, his consort (Sakti) is also worshipped. For the same reason, when Sakti is worshipped, Siva is also worshipped. In short, the Divine Mother, with her two inseparable aspects of Siva and Sakti, of Motionlessness and Motion, is the true supreme God (Parambrahma).

To some minds, the Vishnu, or pervasive aspect of Reality, appeals as the proper way to realize the supreme Brahman. The rituals of Saiva and Vaishnava worship differ. Sakti is worshipped as Sarasvati, the queen of speech. As such, in the enumeration of saktis, she is given the first place, and is the source from which all mantras emanate; she has different aspects with different mantras. Other aspects of Sakti are sri or Lakshmī, Bhuvanesvarī, Durgī and Kālī.

Individual selves (jivas) are created by the force of the will of the Divine Mother, who creates and destroys the world by her will. Thus the individual selves are the children of the Divine Mother; they live, move and have their being in her; but under the spell of the Divine maya, they forget their mother and live in separation from her. With this they come under bondage to the world and live a life of sin and misery. Deliverance from bondage is to be attained through knowledge of Sakti as the Supreme Deity. But it is sheer folly to think that the truth about the Divine Mother can be known by mere logical reasoning or metaphysical thinking. (Here this is entirely opposed to the Upanishad teaching.) To know this truth, one must go through a long course of spiritual training (sadhana) extending over many lives. Customs, principles, rules and regulations, spiritual practices, worship, mantras and tantras are all required in order to know the truth about the Divine Mother. One must place

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oneself under the guidance of a qualified spiritual preceptor (guru) for attaining success in spiritual life.

For the Hindus of Java, success in the spiritual life meant the realization of the Divine Mother as the spiritual power (Sakti) which pervades every being, every atom and molecule of the universe. One who realizes this supreme truth is no longer bound by maya to mundane life. He lives and moves in the world and yet remains unsoiled in the mud of worldly actions. The Tantras taught them that, by following the rules laid down by the Tantras, the aspirant, though living the life of a householder, may yet achieve high attainments. He knew that the mere study of the Sastras may give him some idea of the sabda Brahman, but it is only by a discriminative knowledge of the essentials (*viveka*) that the supreme Brahman can be experienced. The illumination comes to him alone who, through practice in the manner enjoined by the Tantra, has acquired jnana, which teaches him that Brahma the creator, Vishnu the protector, and Siva the destroyer are all perishable, and it is the supreme truth alone which endures for all times. The man who has realized that truth has no necessity to know any scriptures, just as a man who has tasted nectar to his heart's content has no necessity for food.

This brief survey of religious thought in Java shows that the faith of the Javanese in the unity of God was real and live, and not pretended. Their ambition was to realize the unity of the inner self by struggling against passions. It is very difficult to determine whether this conviction was the result of Hindu-Javanese culture or Javanese-Hindu culture. Perhaps it is the result of the original Javanese culture which has its basis in the shadow play, the vehicle of Javanese education from time immemorial, as it was also in South India, before the advent of Aryan culture. It is this conviction that helped them to appreciate and adopt Hinduism, the Agamas of Vishnu, the Siva and Sakta cults; but they assimilated them in a very original manner, although they freely borrowed symbols and expressions of Hinduism. The basic conception of the Javanese culture was responsible for the catholic and comprehensive spirit that recognized the essential unity of different cults as being simply so many approaches to the same goal, freedom from sin and misery. Thus, at all times, broadmindedness was the chief characteristic feature of the Javanese, and it still continues up to this day. They welcome whatever value they find in other civilizations, and adroitly assimilate all that they admire without, at the same time, ceasing to be Javanese or losing their national identity.

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When Islam made its appearance in Java, it was this same conviction that moved them to welcome it as a new mode to give expression to their ancient belief in *one* supreme God, a belief which has been modified by the Hindu-Javanese culture in the many past centuries. Islam, in the fourteenth century, was also eminently suited to the temperament of the Javanese. They noticed the unity of purpose between Islam and Hinduism and their interaction upon one another. The Sufi preachers of Islam in Indonesia, who fully comprehended the mental make-up of the Javanese, did not fall into the error of offending their sentiment by showing any hostility to the prevailing religion. When the Muslim teachers came to understand the ecstatic state of mind of the Javanese, they looked upon it as a philosophy that could be regarded as a preparation for the preaching and promulgation of the doctrines of Islam. They advocated and followed a pattern of radical adaptation to Indonesian Hindu culture. Muslim terminology, teachings and rites were adapted to Indonesian Hindu thought and practice as far as possible. Such methods of propaganda differed from those of the orthodox institutions. The main point of difference between the two was that the orthodox leaders always distrusted the mystical and gnostic currents which were flowing into sufism from older Asian religions--the theosophical claims to union with the Divine. But the spiritual vitality of the Sufi movement was permeating everywhere. In all countries, the Sufi preachers founded monasteries in cities and countrysides, simultaneously with madrasas. Their activity was based on its popular appeal, and its new structure of religious unity was built on popular foundations. They established a close, personal relationship between the Sufi Shaikh and his disciples, and imbued them with its missionary spirit. Regular colleges were founded with the aid of benefactions and alms (in the Far East, these came mostly from merchants) by particular Shaikhs (themselves merchants in some cases), who commissioned their disciples, after training, to organize daughter colleges in other centers and regions.

The preachers of Islam in Java were generally of the type described above. Maulana Mālik Ibrāhīm, most prominent of these, must have been a merchant prince turned Shaikh, investing his wherewithal in the way of God for the propagation of Islam in East Java.

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COSMOGRAPHIE EN L'IRAN PRÉ-ISLAMIQUE ET ISLAMIQUE, LE PROBLÈME DE LA CONTINUITÉ DANS LA CIVILISATION IRANIENNE

PAR

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR

Une civilisation trouve sa cohérence et continuité en restant fidèle aux principes spirituels qui la gouverne. Continuité n'est essentiellement que l'attachement aux principes transcendants et immuables qui forment la base de toute société traditionnelle. Ainsi donc, chercher la continuité dans une civilisation est poser ses principes en même temps que leur application au domaine de la contingence. De ce point de vue l'histoire de l'Iran est caractérisée par sa continuité aussi bien que par sa discontinuité. Cette histoire est discontinue parce qu'elle est marquée par deux périodes distinctes, dont chacune est dominée par un assemblage particulier de principes spirituels. On peut considérer la première période comme s'étendant du temps de la migration des tribus iraniennes dans le plateau iranien jusqu'à l'époque de la propagation de l'Islam; et la deuxième, comme le temps de l'intégration de l'Iran dans le monde musulman jusqu'à présent. D'ailleurs, chacune de ces périodes est marquée par des phases distinctes dans lesquelles des forces spirituelles différentes ont été dominantes.

La période pré-islamique a commencé avec la religion primitive aryenne, pré-zoroastrienne qui présente beaucoup de similitudes avec l'hindouisme védique. Elle a été, d'autre part, suivie par la réforme du Zoroastre historique et l'établissement de sa foi. Cette phase a été suivie à tour de rôle par le mithraïsme, le rétablissement du zoroastrisme comme religion d'État par les Sassanides, l'ascension du manichéisme, et enfin l'intégration des idées zurvanites dans la religion sassanide. [1] De même, l'époque islamique peut être divisée en deux périodes; celle qui va de la domination du sunnisme jusqu'à

[1] Cf. H. S. Nyberg, „Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéenne", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXIX (1929), 2ff.; A. V. Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies* (New York, 1928), chap. I. Concernant la religion des Sassanides, Nyberg écrit: „La religion sassanide vivante est le résultat d'une fusion précoce entre le mazdéisme et le zervanism" (*op. cit.*, 125).

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l'invasion mogole,[1] et celle qui commence avec l'ascension du shī'isme, marquée par la conversion de Shah Muḥammad Khudā-bandih, cette période atteignit son apogée avec l'établissement du shī'isme comme religion d'État sous les Safavides. D'ailleurs, chacune de ces périodes, pré-islamique ou islamique, était en elle--même une unité et une totalité. Le mithraïsme, le manichéisme et le zurvanisme, ont tous surgi du même fond zoroastrien ou, plus généralement, du même fond aryen matinal; le sunnisme et le shī'isme sont également deux interprétations différentes de la même vérité et ne détruisent en aucune façon l'unité intérieure de l'Islam.

Mais en dépit de cette discontinuité évidente entre les deux périodes, on trouve aussi des éléments fondamentaux d'une continuité: le premier étant la continuité „horizontale" et „substantielle" du peuple du plateau iranien durant les millénaires de son histoire et tout ce que cette continuité éthnique implique comme traits caractéristiques raciaux, langue, effets du climat, etc.;[2] et le second, la continuité „verticale" et „essentielle" de la Perse zoroastrienne et islamique due au fait que toutes ces traditions dérivent de la même source transcendante et possèdent donc des principes spirituels communs. En outre, l'Islam, venant à la fin du cycle présent de l'humanité, était destiné à affirmer plutôt que de nier les révélations antérieures, c'est-à dire à rétablir ce qui „a existé" primordialement et qui se trouve dans la nature même des choses. L'Islam avait donc un grand pouvoir d'absorption et de synthèse, qui lui a permis d'intégrer dans sa perspective la sagesse alexandrienne et hindoue, aussi bien qu'un grand nombre des éléments de l'Iran pré-islamique. On peut voir très clairement comment les motifs pré-islamiques de l'art persan ont été islamisés et de quelle façon l'élément politique le plus important de la continuité iranienne, à savoir la monarchie, a été intégré dans la théorie politique shī'ite. De ce point de vue, la monarchie est considérée comme la meilleure forme possible du

[1] Il faut exclure de cette période de la domination sunnite, le quatrième siècle islamique où la plus grande partie de la Perse était gouvernée par la famille shī'ite zaidites des Buwaihides.

[2] Il va de soi qu'avec la propagation de l'Islam, la Perse était certainement „arabisée" dans une certaine mesure comme l'Europe était „hébraïsée" à un certain degré en devenant chrétien. De plus, l'Islam amena de nombreux arabes qui s'établirent en tant que colons en Perse. On ne peut toutefois sous-estimer le grand rôle qu'ont joué les descendants du Prophète dans la vie intellectuelle et sociale de la Perse islamique. Cependant, malgré ce fait la continuité ethnique des peuples iraniens, reste incontestable, même si les immigrants matinaux ariens devaient être à leur tour envahis par les grecs, les arabes, les turcs et les mongols.

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gouvernement pour la protection et la préservation de la loi sacrée, ou *sharī'a*, jusqu'à l'avènement du Mahdi.

Le pouvoir synthétique de l'Islam d'une part, et les archétypes célestes, source commune de toute révélation, d'autre part, forment les liens spirituels les plus essentiels de l'unité des deux périodes de l'histoire persane. Plus d'une fois, la spiritualité islamique a été, pour citer M. Massignon, la lumière dans laquelle l'Iran „contemple l'univers visible à travers le prisme illuminé de ses anciens mythes." [1] On peut ajouter aussi que les sciences cosmologiques ou „les petits mystères" d'Alexandrie et de la Perse zoroastrienne ont été revivifiés encore une fois à la lumière des „grands mystères" de la gnose islamique.

Parmi les nombreux liens qui unissent l'Iran zoroastrien à la Perse islamique, nous avons choisi à discuter la cosmographie, c'est-à-dire, la représentation du cosmos manifesté dans ses niveaux multiples, allant du monde angélique au monde matériel. Pour cela nous avons choisi quelques recueils du grand réservoir des idées qui concernent ce sujet, afin d'illustrer non pas seulement des idées empruntées historiquement et intégrées dans la perspective islamique, mais aussi pour faire connaitre certains archétypes transcendants qui se manifestent n'importe quand et n'importe où, lorsque les conditions de leur apparition sont favorables. Le cosmos possède une réalité dans ses aspects visibles et invisibles indépendamment de toute subjectivation individuelle. Toute cosmographie traditionnelle doit donc essentiellement tenir compte de la hiérarchie de l'existence de la même manière; bien que chacune, prise à part, puisse employer un langage différent, de même que chaque civilisation a adopté un nom pour le soleil simplement parce que le soleil existe et resplendit partout dans le monde.

En plus, il y a des nombres [2] archétypiques, qui, étant les polarisa-

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[1] L. Massignon, *Salmân Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien* (Paris, 1934), 11; cité aussi conjointement avec les œuvres de Suhrawardī par H. Corbin dans son prolégomène à Suhrawardī, *Œuvres philolophiques et mystiques* (Téhéran-Paris, 1952), 98.

[2] Il faut entendre ici le nombre dans le sens pythagoricien, c'est-à-dire, comme une „personalité" et „qualité", et non pas seulement comme quantité pure des mathématiques modernes. „Tandis qu'on obtient le nombre ordinaire par addition, le nombre qualitatif résulte, au contraire, d'une différentiation interne ou intrinsèque de l'unité principielle; il ne s'ajoute à rien et ne sort pas de l'unité, elles s'excluent les unes les autres, ou plutôt, elles marquent des qualités principielles différentes . . ." (F. Schuon, *Sentiers de gnose* [Paris, 1957], 116). Cf. aussi H. Keyser, *Akroasis* (Stuttgart, 1947), 17 s. et Fabre d'Olivet, *Les vers dorés de Pythagore* (Paris, 1813), 187 s.

tions necéssaires de l'Unité, se manifestent dans toutes les traditions. Ainsi, nous voyons les nombres des douze signes du zodiaque, les sept planètes et archanges et les quatre éléments du zoroastrisme et la pentade de la cosmographie manichéenne, répétés tour à tour dans les douze imams du shi'isme duodécimain, les sept imams des ismaéliens, les cinq imams des zaïdis et les quatre califes des sunnites. [1] Ces nombres archétypiques aussi bien que les autres symboles cosmologiques jouent un rôle important dans la création des similitudes entre la cosmographie zoroastrienne et islamique. [2]

II

Les sources de la cosmographie zoroastrienne consistent, pour la plupart, en des textes pahlavis sassanides, dans lesquels des éléments distinctement zurvanites sont présents. L'*Avesta* est elle-même pour la plupart liturgique, et ce n'est que seulements dans les *Yashts* qu'on trouve des références aux éléments divers, le ciel et la terre. Les plus importants traités cosmologiques zoroastriens qui nous sont parvenus sont le *Bundahishn*, [3] assemblé pendant la période sassanide et tiré du texte plus matinal de *Damdāt Nask*, disparu aujourd'hui, le *Menoke Xrat* qui est la source essentielle du zurvanisme, le *Rivāyāt* et enfin le *Dēnkart* qui contient quelques aspects des idées grecques, tels que les quatre éléments et natures d'Empédocle, c'est-à-dire, la chaleur, l'humidité, la sécheresse et le froid, lesquels furent tous intégrés dans le mazdéisme. [4]

L'idée zoroastrienne de la création postule une période de douze mille ans de lutte entre Ormuzd et Ahriman, dont chaque millénaire est présidé par un signe du zodiaque. Pendant les premiers trois mille ans le monde spirituel est créé, et pendant la seconde période

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[1] Depuis que la cosmologie islamique est liée étroitement à l'angélologie, et dans le cas du shi'isme à l'imamologie, ces nombres jouent aussi un rôle important dans la cosmographie.

[2] Puisque le zoroastrisme était la principale religion de la Perse pré-islamique, nous nous sommes plutôt concentré sur celle-ci que sur le mithraisme et le manichéisme.

[3] Il y a deux *Bundahishns*, connus comme l'indien et le grand ou le *Bundahishn iranien*, pour lequel le *Zātspram* est comme un guide qui éclaircit certains points obscurs. Cf. R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955), 81. Le *Grand Bundahishn* était traduit en anglais par B. T. Ankelesaria, *Zand-Akāsīh, Iranian or Greater Bundahišn* (Bombay, 1956); et le *Bundahishn indien* par E. W. West dans *Sacred Books of the East*.

[4] Pour les sources de la cosmologie et la cosmographie mazdéenne, cf. H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, 5 s.

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de trois mille ans qui suit, le monde matériel aussi bien que les pouvoirs maléfiques d'Ahriman sont créés. Les trois mille ans qui suivent marquent l'éruption du pouvoir d'Ahriman, et les derniers trois mille ans, la révélation de Zoroastre et le triomphe final des pouvoirs de la lumière, au moment de la résurrection générale du monde. [1]

Dans les textes pahlavis comme le *Grand Bundahishn*, où les doctrines zurvanites jouent un rôle important, le monde est né du Zurvān, le Temps Infini ou Illimité, et de Vay, l'Espace Infini, Zurvān et Vāy étant tous les deux au-dessus de la dualité du bien et du mal. [2] Du Zurvān Infini se produisent Ormuzd et Ahriman, et par eux „le Zurvān de la longue domination" où le temps cosmique, aussi bien que Spihr, ou l'espace fini. [3] De la fusion de la volonté d'Ormuzd avec la Forme Sans Fin, c'est-à-dire, la création spirituelle, et le prototype de la Nature, le cosmos matériel est produit.

Selon le premier chapitre du *Grand Bundahishn*, Ormuzd, après la conclusion d'un pacte avec Ahriman, créa le cosmos; il produisit d'abord le monde spirituel ou angélique, et ensuite l'Univers visible. [4] Ahriman en voyant que son adversaire a créé un monde, produisit à son tour une hiérarchie de démons, mais il ne créa pas un autre monde matériel. L'Univers consiste donc en trois domaines: ceux des anges, des démons et de la matière.

Au sommet de la hiérarchie des êtres cosmiques, et les premiers dans l'ordre de la création, sont les archanges, Amashaspands (*Amesha*

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[1] Cf. A. V. Jackson, *op. cit.*, 110-115, et H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, 29 s.

[2] Pour une étude détaillée de la cosmologie et la cosmographie zurvanite, cf. R. C. Zachner, *op. cit.*, 106 s.; et son *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (New York, 1961), chaps. dix et onze. La figure de Zurvān, qui est d'une grande antiquité, est essentiellement une quadriforme, dont certains exemples les plus importants sont le Soleil, la Lune, les signes du zodiaque et Zurvān, ou la quadriforme manichéenne zurvānite de Zurvān, la lumière, le pouvoir et la sagesse auxquels Ibn Nadīm fait allusion dans son *al-Fihrist*, éd. G. Flügel, I (Leipzig, 1871-72), 333, comme *Allāh*, *nūruhu*, *qūwatuhu*, et *hikmatuhu*; les quatre éléments étaient considérés aussi comme la réflexion de Zurvān. Dans cette quadriforme, Zurvān apparait comme un nombre de ses parties. Ce fait découle d'une ingénieuse habitude iranienne d'inclure toute chose comme un nombre qui compléterait ses propres parties. Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, 55, et M. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), 154 s.

[3] Comme Zaehner a mentionné, dans le *Zātspram*, Zurvān est incarné dans Spihr qui est considéré comme le corps de l'Univers. Spihr est le „Vāy à la longue dominion" lequel est à Vāy ce que le temps cosmique est à Zurvān.

[4] Dans les doctrines zoroastriennes, comme dans la sagesse *ishrāqī* en Islam, la frontière entre les mondes spirituel et matériel est établie au ciel des étoiles fixes, c'est-à-dire, la frontière entre le visible et l'invisible, et non pas au ciel de la Lune comme dans la cosmologie aristotélicienne.

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spentas), qui sont des êtres purement spirituels au-dessus de l'Univers matériel. Ils sont dans l'ordre descendant: Vohuman, Artvahisht, Shaθrevar, Spendarmat, Khurdāt et Amurdāt qui avec Ormuzd lui-même, forment une heptade. [1] Ormuzd a créé aussi un ordre des anges au-dessous des Ameshaspands nommés les *Yazatas* dont le nombre selon les *Yashts* fait légion. Ils sont spirituels aussi bien que matériels; chaque jour du mois est consacré à l'un d'eux, et ils gardent et préservent l'ordre du monde. [2] L'ordre des archdémons comprend Akōman, Indar, Sāvul, Naghaiθ, Tarič and Zērič qui forment avec Ahriman une heptade opposée à la hiérarchie céleste. De plus, Ahriman a créé aussi une armée de démons inférieurs qui s'opposent aux pouvoirs de la lumière dans ce monde.

Au-dessous du monde angélique et au-dessus du monde démoniaque est située la création matérielle, qui, en raison de sa matérialité, préserve une certaine neutralité vis-à-vis des pouvoirs du bien et du mal, bien qu'elle soit essentiellement bonne, étant la création d'Ormuzd. La première création matérielle était le ciel qui consiste en des stations des Ameshaspands, le Soleil, la Lune, les étoiles fixes, les planètes et les nuages, lesquels, avec la station de la Lumière sans Fin — la place d'Ormuzd, forment une autre heptade. [3] Le ciel, qui a la forme d'un œuf, contient toute la création; il est fait d'un cristal d'où l'eau est générée. Après l'eau, la terre est créée, ronde mais avec une surface plate; [4] et ensuite vient la création de la première plante dont sont produites toutes les autres plantes. Après les plantes, les animaux naissent du taureau primordial qui était la première création animale, et après les animaux, vient Gayomārth, l'homme primordial, dont la semence produisit toute l'humanité. Cet ordre sextuple de la création consistant en le ciel, l'eau, la terre, les plantes, les animaux

[1] Cf. R. C. Zaehner, *op. cit.*, 135; A. V. Jackson, *op. cit.*, 42 s.; B. Geiger, *Die Ameša Spentas ihr wesen und ihr ursprüngliche Bedeutung* (Wien, 1916); et I. Pour-Davoud, *Adabiyāt-i mazdayasnā, Yashthā*, I (Bombay, 1926), 69-96.

[2] Parmi les plus importants des *Yazatas*, on peut citer les Fravashis, une grande armée d'esprits, qui sont les anges gardiens des âmes humaines. Ils existent dans le ciel avant la naissance et s'unissent avec l'âme après la mort. Le dix-neuvième jour du mois et le premier mois de l'année leur sont consacrés.

[3] Cet ordre, certes, place le Soleil et la Lune au-dessus du ciel des signes du zodiaque. Cette erreur apparente en astronomie est probablement due au symbolisme de la lumière, si important dans le zoroastrisme. Les stations descendantes célestes symbolisent les degrés de diminution de la lumière originelle en intensité. C'est donc naturel si on place le Soleil et la Lune, qui sont les plus lumineux, au-dessus des astres.

[4] En partant des divers textes du Zoroastrisme on peut arriver à une figure ronde pareille au disque du monde.

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et les hommes, fut complété par la création du feu „dont la brillance est de la Lumière Sans Fin, la place d'Ormuzd." [1]

A côté de ce récit de la création et de l'ordre du cosmos dans le *Grand Bundahishn*, il y a un autre récit dans les *Rivāyāt* qui est d'un grand intérêt. Selon cette dernière source, la création vient de l'homme macrocosmique, le Spihr, qui est aussi l'archétype de l'homme. Le ciel est créé de sa tête, la terre de ses pieds, l'eau de ses larmes, les plantes de ses cheveux, le taureau, le symbole, du règne animal, de sa main droite, le feu de son esprit et le premier homme, Gayomārth, de sa semence. [2]

Le monde dans lequel l'homme habite, c'est-à-dire la terre et ses environs, est composé des quatre éléments: le feu, l'air, l'eau et la terre, le feu étant la présence directe du monde spirituel dans le matériel. Les zoroastriens ont considéré les éléments comme sacrés, et les ont utilisés extensivement dans leurs rites d'adoration. En effet, plusieurs *Yashts* sont consacrés aux éléments. [3]

En ce qui concerne la terre, l'*Avesta* divise la terre, qu'il considère comme ronde, en six régions ou *kishvars* qui forment une heptade avec la région centrale, [4] toute la *terra firma* étant entourée par un vaste océan appellé *Frakhakrat*, le ὠκεανός des grecs. Les sept *kishvars* qui forment un cercle autour du centre sont présentés de la manière suivante: [5]

E

	Vourubarδshti	Savahī		
N		Xvaniraθa	Fraδatfshū	S
	Viδatfshū	Arzahī	Vouruǰarδshti	

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[1] R. C. Zaehner, *op. cit.*, 135.

[2] *Ibid.*, 136. Ce récit a une ressemblance saisissante avec le récit dans le Rig-Veda (X. 90) de la création de l'Univers à partir du corps de Purūsha et comme nous le demontrerons plus tard, avec la conception soufie de l'homme universel (*al-insān al-kāmil*).

[3] Par exemple, l'*Ābān Yasht* est écrit à la louange de l'eau et *Rām Yasht* à celle de l'air.

[4] Les sept *kishvars* sont mentionnés dans le *Tīr Yasht*, I. Pour-Davoud, *op. cit.*, 361.

[5] Cf. E. Hertzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World* (Princeton, 1947), 680. L'idée d'une terre ronde engloutie dans un océan est ancienne, et elle était acceptée par les branches diverses des aryens. Les *kishvars* sont définis de cette manière: „Auf der ostlichen Seite [von Qavirâç] ist das Keshvar Çavai, im Westen das Kishvar Arzai — zwei Teile — auf der Südseite die Keshvars Fradatafsh und Vidadafsh – 2 Teile – auf der Nord-seite die Keshvars Vorhast und Vorjarst — 2 Teile; das in der Mitte ist Qavirâç und Qavirâç begreuzt das Meer, denn

Le monde se concentre autour de la montagne cosmique appelé *Harā*, plus tard *Alburz*, qui était la première montagne créée. [1] Les étoiles, le Soleil et la Lune tournent autour d'elle, et du sommet de cette montagne le Soleil brille sur tous les pays de l'Orient et de l'Occident. Aussi, le trône de Mithra est situé sur cette cime où il n'y a ni nuit ni obscurité. [2] Elle symbolise donc la totalité du cosmos comme son centre aussi bien que comme l'*axia mundi*.

Dans ce cosmos, dont nous avons cherché à décrire l'anatomie, il existe une relation intime entre le visible et l'invisible; chaque être terrestre (*getīk*) a sa contre-partie transcendente (*mēnōk*) dans le monde spirituel dont il est la théurgie et la réflexion sur la terre. [3] Chaque espèce dans ce monde a son propre ange et sa contre-partie céleste, de même que chaque homme a son propre *frahvarti*. Parmi les archanges, Vohumen est l'ange des bestiaux, Artvahisht du feu, Sadhisht des métaux, Spandarmat de la terre, Khurdāt de l'eau et Amurdāt des plantes. De même, parmi les anges inférieurs ou les *Yazatas*, chacun est le gardien de quelque ordre de l'existence terrestre, *Ābān*, de l'eau, *Drvāspā*, de la création animale, *Rāma Ilvāstra*, de l'air, *Sroasha*, du monde dormant, *Māh*, de la Lune, et *Ilvarekh shaeta*, du Soleil. [4] Le cosmos malgré sa division entre les domaines spirituel et physique est donc essentiellement une unité, le visible étant la réfléxion et la théurgie de sa contre-partie transcendante et immuable. Celle-ci est en somme la réalité spirituelle ou idée platonicienne identifiée dans le zoroastrisme à l'ordre angélique.

III

Dans la cosmographie islamique, l'anatomie de l'univers présente la même esquisse fondamentale que celle à laquelle nous avons déjà fait allusion, mais elle y est exprimée par le langage de la révélation coranique et dans la perspective unitaire de l'Islam. L'Islam a révélé ce qui était toujours le mystère des mystères, c'est-à-dire, l'unité

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ein Theil dieses Meeres . . . Ferakhkant ist herungeschlungen zwischen Vorharst und Vorjarst ist ein hohen Berg gewachsen, denn von einerm Keshvar in's andre kann man nicht geben." (F. Justi, *Handbuch der Zensprache* [Leipzig, 1864], p. 81.)

[1] I. Pour-Davoud, *Adabiyāt-i mazdayasnā*, II (Bombay, 1931), 324 s.

[2] I. Pour-Davoud, *op. cit.*, I, 429, 451, 577. La montagne cosmique est un symbole universel qui apparait dans presque toutes les traditions. C'est le Mt. Meru des Hindous, l'Olympus des Grecs et le *Qāf* des Musulmans.

[3] Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, 29 s.

[4] Pour le nom de certains de ces anges et leurs théurgies, cf. A. V. Jackson. *op. cit.*, chap. v.

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transcendente du Principe et l'unicité et l'interdépendance conséquente de tous les ordres de l'existence cosmique. Dans son essence, la perspective islamique absorbe toute l'existence finie dans l'Infini, toute multiplicité dans l'Unité, si bien que dire *lā ilāha illā 'llāh* c'est dire qu'il n'y a aucune réalité sauf la Réalité Absolue. Pourtant, du point de vue de la contingence, on peut parler légitimement d'un cosmos qui, tout en n'étant autre chose que l'ombre du Principe et le Souffle de la Compassion (*nafas al-raḥmān*), est aussi une image de la source divine dont il réfléchit l'unité sur son propre plan. Comme le maître de la gnose islamique, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. 'Arabī écrit dans les *Futūḥāt al-makkiya*, „le monde consiste dans l'unité de l'unifié, tandis que l'indépendence divine réside dans l'unité de l'Unique." [1] En revenant aux ouvrages des penseurs musulmans, et en nous limitant à la Perse et à ses territoires limitrophes, nous constatons la réapparition des conceptions plus matinales et la répétition des mêmes idées ou archétypes inhérents à la nature des choses, lesquels sont tous envisagés du point de vue unitaire de l'Islam.

En Islam la création est considéré comme l'effet du verbe divin, *kun*, soit; Dieu a dit „soit" et le monde fut. L'Univers est donc la conséquence directe de l'acte divin. Il est unifié à son principe par son être aussi bien que par l'intelligence manifestée dans le domaine cosmique. Tous les penseurs islamiques, se basant sur le Coran, ont insisté sur ce point, bien que chacun d'eux se soit concentré sur un certain aspect de la question de la génération et de l'effusion de la multiplicité de l'Unité. Par exemple, Mas'ūdī, l'historien célèbre du quatrième/dixième siècle, utilise les images plus matinales quand il écrit:

> Lorsque Dieu voulut entreprendre l'œuvre de la création, il fit sortir de l'eau une vapeur qui s'éleva au dessus d'elle et forma le ciel; puis il dessécha la masse liquide et la transforma en une terre qu'il partagea ensuite en sept. [2]

Le soufi célèbre du huitième/quatorzième siècle, 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, l'auteur du traité bien connu *al-Insān al-kāmil*, *De l'homme universel*, amplifie le même symbolisme en parlant de la création:

> Avant la création Dieu était en Lui-même, et les objets de l'existence étaient engloutis en Lui, car il n'était pas manifesté en aucune chose. Ceci est l'état d'être un trésor caché ou, comme le Prophète l'a exprimé, 'le brouillard obscur au-dessus duquel il y a un vide et

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[1] Cf. T. Burckhardt, *Clé spirituelle de l'astrologie musulmane* (Paris, 1950), 47.

[2] Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, trad. C. Barbier de Maynard et Panet de Couteveille (Paris, 1861), I, 47.

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au-dessous duquel il y a un vide', parce que l'Idée des Idées est au-delà de toute altercation. Dans une autre tradition cette Idée des Idées est appelée 'la chrysolithe blanche' dans laquelle Dieu était avant qu'il ait créé les créatures. Quand Dieu voulut donner l'existence au monde, Il regarda l'Idée des Idées (ou la chrysolithe blanche) avec le regard de la perfection, par suite de quoi elle fut dissoute et devint liquide, et ceci parce que rien dans l'existence ne peut soutenir la manifestation parfaite de Dieu. Ensuite, Dieu la regarda avec le regard de la grandeur, et elle s'enfla en des vagues comme la mer lancée par le vent et les éléments plus grossiers se répandirent en des couches comme l'écume, et de cette masse Dieu créa les sept terres avec ses habitants. Les éléments subtils de l'eau montèrent comme la vapeur de la mer, et d'eux, Dieu créa les sept ciels avec les anges de chaque ciel. Ensuite, Dieu fit de l'eau sept mers qui embrassent le monde. C'est ainsi que la totalité de l'existence fut créée. [1]

Jīlī considère la création de l'Univers aussi par rapport à l'homme universel qui est à la fois l'archétype et le but final de la création. Comme il écrit: „L'homme universel est le pôle autour duquel évoluent les sphères de l'existence, de la première à la dernière; il est unique tant que l'existence dure . . . Cependant, il revêt différentes formes et se révèle par les divers cultes, en sorte qu'il reçoit des noms multiples . . ."

Sache que l'Homme universel comporte en lui-même des correspondances avec toutes les réalités de l'existence. Il correspond aux réalités supérieures par sa propre nature subtile, et il correspond aux réalités inférieures par sa nature grossière . . . Son coeur correspond au Trône divin; et d'ailleurs, le Prophète dit que le coeur du croyant est le Trône de Dieu; son Moi correspond au Piédestal divin, son état spirituel à l'Arbre de Lotus de l'extrême Limite, son intellect au Calame suprême, son âme à la Table Gardée, son physique aux éléments, sa réceptivité à la Hylé . . . etc. [2]

Les réalités supérieures et inférieures auxquelles Jīlī se réfère sont en effet les divers ordres: angélique, subtil et physique. Pareil à Jīlī, qui emploie la terminologie coranique dans les expressions comme le piédestal divin et l'arbre de lotus de l'extrême limite, les auteurs musulmans qui ont écrit au sujet du monde angélique ont aussi tiré la plupart de leur terminologie du Coran. [3] Les réalités cosmiques sont

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[1] R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921), 121-122.

[2] 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, *De l'Homme universel*, trad. T. Burckhardt (Lyons, 1953), 23. La correspondance avec le récit des *Rivāyāt*, déjà mentionné, est assez claire.

[3] Ce n'est pas, bien entendu, toujours le cas. Par exemple, Shaikh al-Ishrāq Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, le fondateur de l'école *ishrāqī* en Islam, emploie l'angélologie zoroastrienne, en considérant le premier archange comme Bahman, qui est le premier Ameshaspand des zoroastriens. Cf. le prolégomène

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essentiellement les mêmes que dans le zoroastrisme parce que, étant un aspect intrinsèque de la vérité totale, cette réalité doit se manifester de différentes façons dans chaque tradition. Mais les symboles utilisés par les musulmans, surtout par les soufis, tel que la plume (*qalam*), la table gardée (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), le piédestal (*'arsh*), le trône (*kursī*), et l'ordre angélique, sont dérivés du langage coranique.[1]

Un récit populaire de l'angélologie islamique paraît dans l'œuvre cosmographique bien connue d'Abū Yaḥyā al-Qazwīnī, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*.[2] Selon Qazwīnī, au sommet de la hiérarchie angélique se trouve l'esprit (*rūḥ*), le moteur de tous les ciels, entouré par les quatre archanges, *Isrāfīl*, *Jibrā'īl*, *Mīkā'īl*, et *'Izrā'īl*. Isrāfīl porte le commandement divin, la vie aux êtres, et gouverne les éléments et les composés. La table gardée est posée entre ses yeux. *Jibrā'īl* est l'ange de la révélation, et dirige le pouvoir de la colère (*ghaḍab*), à l'aide duquel tous les êtres repoussent leurs ennemis. *Mīkā'īl* est le dispensateur de la bonté et l'ange qui dirige la croissance des créatures vers leur perfection. Enfin, *'Izrā'īl* est l'ange de la mort qui mène le mouvement au repos et qui prend les âmes après leur mort et les porte à leur demeure originelle.[3]

Au-dessous des archanges qui se trouvent au-delà du cosmos visible, il y a les sept anges des ciels qui comprennent, dans l'ordre descendant: *Ismā'īl* symbolisé par la figure d'une vache, *Shamā'īl* par un vautour, *Salsāfīl* par un cheval, *Kalkā'īl* par une belle fille, *Samkhā'īl* par un oiseau avec une tête humaine, et *Barmā'īl* par la figure humaine. Au-dessous de cet ordre, il y a l'ordre des anges gardiens qui dirigent la vie des êtres terrestres. Chaque homme a deux anges, un à droite et l'autre à gauche; ces deux anges forment un lien entre ce monde-ci et le monde angélique.

La hiérarchie invisible se présente sous une forme un peu différente dans les œuvres du philosophe et poète soufi ismaélien du sixième/douzième siècle, Nāṣir-i Khusrau. En partant du principe que tout ce qui existe dans le monde visible est l'effet de quelque réalité dans

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de H. Corbin à Suhrawardī, *Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques*. Mais une grande partie de la cosmologie, et de l'angélologie, dont dépend cette cosmologie, est dérivée directement du Coran.

[1] Cf. Ibn 'Arabī, *La sagesse des prophètes*, trad. T. Burckhardt (Paris, 1955), 37, 108.

[2] Cette œuvre a été publiée plusieurs fois en arabe et en persan; elle l'a été aussi en Allemand par F. Wüstenfeld sous le titre *Cosmographie* (Göttingen, 1848-49). Nos références concernent l'édition lithographiée de Téhéran (1283 H.).

[3] al-Qazwīnī, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, 33-41.

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l'invisible, il arrive à la conclusion qu'il doit y avoir sept ordres d'anges en correspondance avec les sept planètes. [1] Ces ordres sont, selon lui, le principe (*ibdā'*), la substance intellectuelle (*jauhar-i 'aql*), la collection des intellects (*majmū'-i 'aql*); l'âme (*nafs*), la majesté (*iadd*) indentifiée à *Jibrā'īl*, la victoire (*fatḥ*) à *Mīkā'īl* et l'imagination (*khayāl*) à *Isrāfīl*. [2] Cet ordre, à son tour, est mis en correspondance avec les septs prophètes, Adam, Noé, Abraham, Moïse, Jésus, Muhammad et le Maitre du Jour du jugement (*khudāwand-i qiyāmat*). [3]

La hiérarchie de l'être parait encore sous une autre lumière dans le *Kitāb al-mujlī* du soufi et docteur shī'ite du neuvième/quinzième siècle, Ibn Abī Jumhūr, qui est une des plus grandes figures de la gnose shī'ite. [4] Selon ce gnostique shī'ite, la chaine de l'être consiste essentiellement en six degrés, correspondant aux six jours de la création; ces degrés sont: l'essence divine (*dhāt*), le monde de l'unicité ou la première détermination positive de l'essence (*wāḥidīya*), le monde des esprits séparés (*al-arwāḥ al-mujarrada*), les âmes intellectuelles (*al-nufūs al-'āqila*), ou (*'ālam al-malakūt*), le monde visible (*'ālam al-shahāda*) ou (*'ālam al-mulk*) et la totalité de l'existence (*al-kaun al-jāmi'*) qui est l'homme universel. [5]

De plus le monde visible consiste en onze ciels; le *primum mobile* (*al-falak al-aṭlas*), le ciel des étoiles fixes, Saturne, Jupiter, Mars, le Soleil, Vénus, Mercure, la Lune et les sphères du feu, de l'air, de l'eau et de la terre. Le Soleil occupe la position centrale comme le cœur de l'univers. [6] Les actes de Dieu passent de l'essence divine à l'esprit, de l'esprit au cœur, du cœur à l'imagination et de l'imagination au

[1] Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Kitāb-i jāmi' al-ḥikmatain*, éd. H. Corbin et M. Mo'in (Téhéran-Paris, 1953), 109.

[2] Ainsi que déjà signalé par H. Corbin dans les études préliminaires (pp. 93-94), cette pentade est très similaire à la pentade de la cosmogonie manichéenne.

[3] *Ibid.*, 112. Comme toute révélation porte un aspect cosmique aussi bien que social, l'apparition de l'Islam a impliqué aussi une islamisation du cosmos dans lequel l'Islam était destiné à s'épanouir. Nous trouvons donc Nāṣir-i Khusrau faire une comparaison entre l'ordre angélique et les prophètes de la tradition abrahamique, ou Jīlī, dans son *al-Insān al-kāmil*, établir une correspondance entre les prophètes et les planètes, commençant avec Adam dont le domicile est le ciel de la Lune. Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 122-123.

[4] Ibn Abī Jumhūr a surtout contribué à l'introduction des doctrines d'Ibn 'Arabī dans le cadre du shī'isme.

[5] *Kitāb al-mujlī*, éd. lith. (Shiraz, 1329 H.), 171.

[6] Ibn Abī Jumhūr suit étroitement la cosmographie d'Ibn 'Arabī. Cf. T. Burckhardt, *La Clé spirituelle*, 8 s. Les onze ciels dont parle Ibn Abī Jumhūr commencent apparemment au-dessus de la sphère de l'eau et excluent les sphères de l'eau et de la terre.

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domaine sensible. De même, dans le microcosme chaque acte passe à travers les mêmes degrés, à savoir de l'esprit à l'âme, de l'âme à l'imagination cosmique, de celle-ci aux idées des ciels et de la terre (*ṣuwar rūḥāniya*), et enfin de cette dernière au monde des éléments. [1] Le *'arsh* ou le piédestal divin est comme le cerveau humain, l'âme universelle (*al-nafs al-kulliya*) comme le cœur intérieur et le monde visible de l'homme. C'est ainsi que le Soleil, le cœur de l'univers, est le dispensateur de la vie cosmique, de même que le cœur est le siège de la vie dans le corps humain. Et c'est ainsi que le Christ, dont le miracle spécifique était la revivification des morts, est identifié symboliquement avec le quatrième ciel qui est le ciel du Soleil.

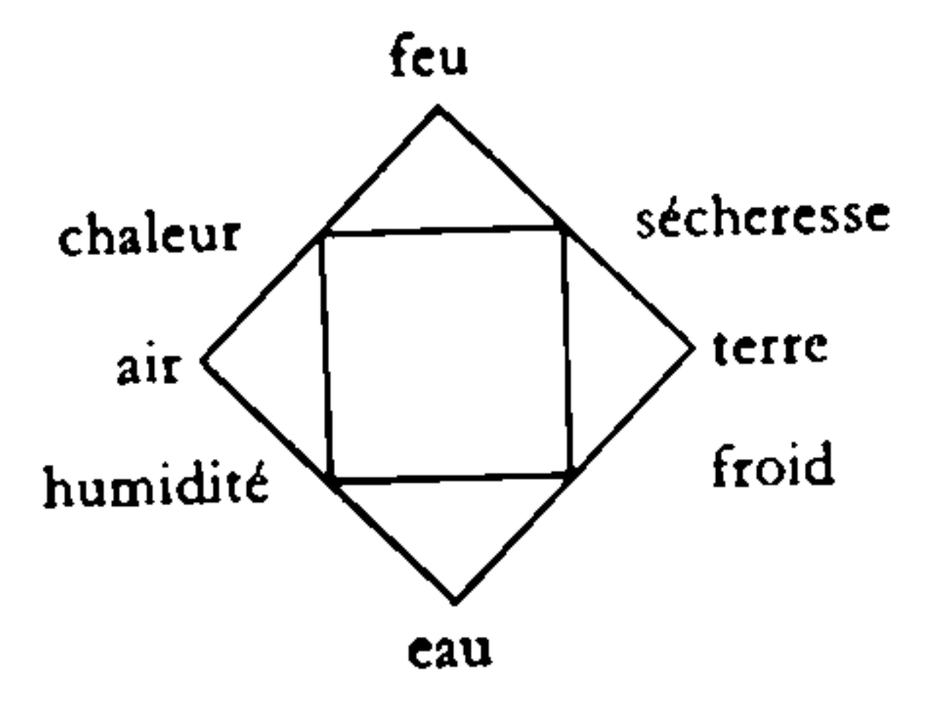

fig. 1

Ibn Abī Jumhūr, comme la majorité des sages musulmans, s'appuie sur le symbole du trône et du piédestal, de la plume et de la table gardée, dérivés tous de la terminologie coranique. Il identifie le trône à la plume, aussi bien qu'à l'intellect universel et au *primum mobile*. De même, il identifie le piédestal à la table gardée, aussi bien qu'à l'âme universelle et au ciel des étoiles fixes. Il ajoute en outre que, d'une autre point de vue, l'intellect universel est l'encre, l'âme universelle la plume, et les éléments et les corps dans le cosmos le papier sur lequel la plume trace le contour de tous les êtres. [2] La nature (*ṭabī'a*) est elle-même une des facultés de l'âme universelle, une faculté qui gouverne et contrôle le monde dans toute son intégrité, du ciel le plus élevé jusqu'au centre de la terre. Elle gouverne les quatre natures qui, à leur tour, règnent sur les éléments. (Cf. fig. 1). [3]

[1] *Kitāb al-mujlī*, 473.

[2] Il ne faut pas être surpris si les divers auteurs musulmans, ou précisément le même auteur, fournissent parfois des interprétations diverses du même mot. La cosmologie n'est pas la logique, et les entités diverses cosmiques ont des sens différents qui dépendent du contexte et du point de vue où on se place pour les étudier, sans toutefois créer une contradiction fondamentale.

[3] *Kitāb al-mujlī*, 475. Ibn Abī Jumhūr suit la tradition de l'alchimie jabirienne

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Nous allons prendre en considération une fois de plus, comme un autre exemple de la cosmographie islamique, un auteur shī'ite persan, Saiyid Ja'far Kashfī, un sage et ascète de la période qājār. Dans sa *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, Kashfī analyse l'anatomie de l'univers sous la forme de deux hiérarchies des anges et des démons, dérivés respectivement de la compassion (*raḥmat*) et de la colère (*ghaḍab*) divine, alors que le point de vue unitaire est préservé malgré la dualité cosmique des deux forces opposantes. [1] Toute la compassion divine descend vers l'univers à travers l'intellect universel, identifié à l'esprit du sceau de la prophétie (*rūḥ-i khātam al-nabīyīn*), c'est-à-dire, le Prophète Muhammad (que la paix soit sur lui); tandis que toute la colère divine descend à travers l'ignorance (*iahl*) qui est identifié à l'esprit du sceau de la vilénie (*rūḥ-i khātam al-shaqīyīn*), c'est-à-dire, le diable. Il y a dix-sept ordres dans la hiérarchie de la lumière et de l'obscurité, qui sont les suivants:

le monde de l'intellect	*le monde de l'ignorance*
intellect universel (*'aql-i kull*)	ignorance universelle (*jahl-i kull*)
esprit universel (*rūḥ-i kull*)	*ṭanṭām* [2]
âme universelle (*nafs-i kull*)	l'enfer (*iahannam*)
nature universelle (*ṭabī'at-i kull*)	le vent stérile (*rīḥ-i 'aqīm*)
materia prima (*iauhar-i habā'*)	la poussière (*tharā*)
la forme universelle (*shakl-i kull*)	la mer de *'aqbūs* (*baḥr-i 'aqbūs*)
le corps universel (*iism-i kull*)	le poisson (*ḥūt*)
le trône (*'arsh*)	le rocher (*ṣakhra*) [3]
le piédestal (*kursī*)	le taureau (*thaur*)
les sept ciels [4]	les sept terres
la sphère du feu	la sphère de la terre
la sphère de l'air	la sphère de l'eau

Entre ces deux hiérarchies il y a la sphère du Zéphyr où sont générés l'homme, les animaux, les plantes et les minéraux; ils sont

où les natures sont les principes des éléments, beaucoup plus que l'école aristotélicienne où les natures ne sont que les qualités des éléments et dépendent d'eux pour leur subsistance.

[1] Saiyid Ja'far Kashfī, *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, éd. lith. (Tabriz, 1273 H.), chap. ii (*al-ṭabaq al-thānī*).

[2] Ce nom et les noms propres suivants sont les désignations traditionelles islamiques des mondes et des pouvoirs divers du mal.

[3] *Ṣakhra* est aussi le nom du génie diabolique qui vola l'anneau de Salomon.

[4] La conception des sept ciels et des sept terres sont dérivés directement du Coran. Cf. Coran, 64, 12.

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donc tous situés entre les deux mondes de la lumière et de l'obscurité.[1] Ces êtres qui symbolisent la totalité de l'existence terrestre forment, par conséquent, le troisième ordre des êtres dans l'univers; cet ordre est situé entre les deux hiérarchies cosmiques opposantes.

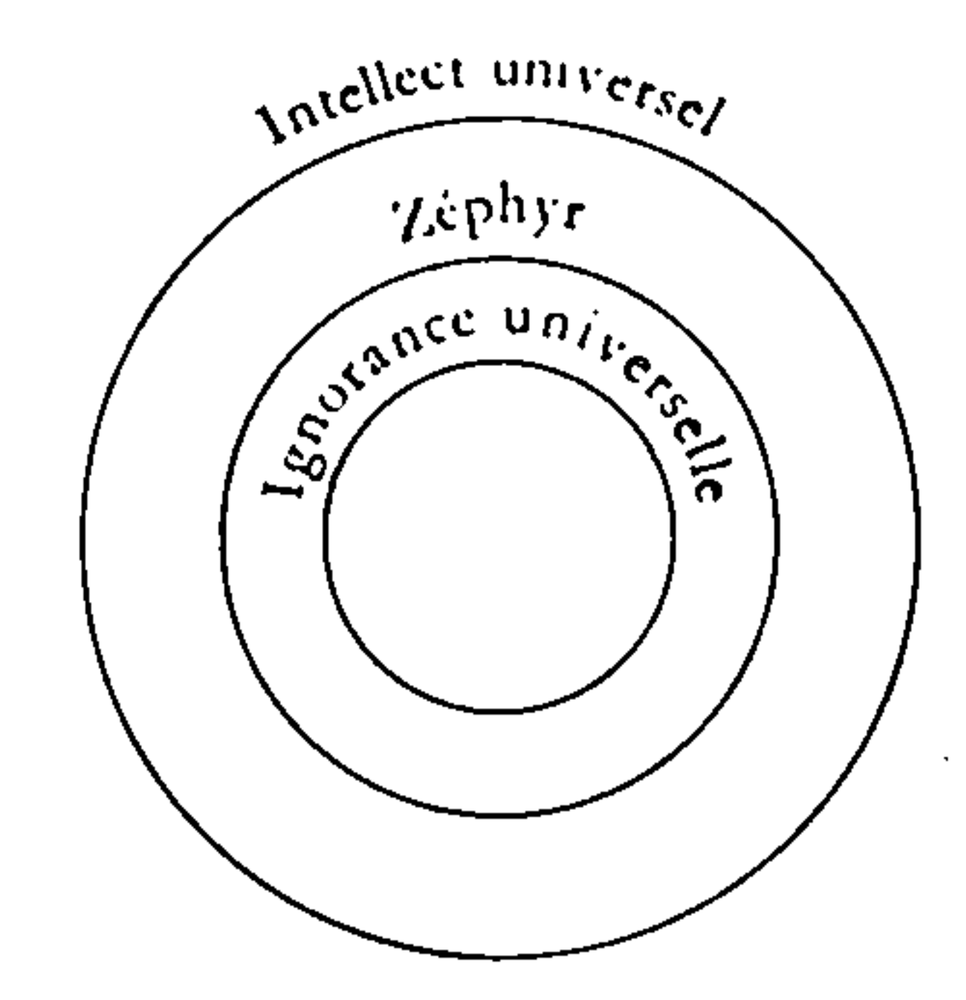

fig. 2

Avant de terminer notre étude à propos de la cosmographie islamique, il serait utile de considérer aussi la division terrestre et „horizontale" du monde envisagé par les géographes musulmans. Dès le début, les auteurs musulmans, sous l'influence des géographes grecs tels que Ptolémée, et peut-être encore plus directement sous celle des conceptions iraniennes pré-islamiques du monde, ont divisé la terre en sept régions ou climats et sept mers, lesquelles sont entourées par un océan qui englobe le monde dans un cercle. En plus, suivant l'exemple des Iraniens et des anciens Grecs, et indirectement celui des Babyloniens, ces géographes ont mis en correspondance les climats avec les sept planètes et les douze signes du zodiaque unifiant, par là, le ciel et la terre, et ainsi démontrant que toute chose ici-bas est l'image de sa contre-partie céleste.

Nous trouvons cette division climatique entièrement developpée par *Mas'ūdī*; ainsi écrit-il:

> Voici la division des sept climats. Premier climat: le pays de Babel, le Khoraçan, el-Ahwaz, Moçul et le Djebal; ce climat a pour signe du Zodiaque le Bélier et le Sagittaire; pour planète Jupiter. Second climat: le Sind, l'Inde et le Soudan; signe du Zodiaque, le Capricorne;

[1] La similitude de ce plan, dans son contour général, avec la cosmographie de Dante est evidente quoique les détails en soient différents.

pour planète, Saturne. Troisième climat: la Mecque, Médine, le Yémen, le Taif, le Hédjaz et les pays intermédiaires; signe du Zodiaque, le Scorpion; planète, Vénus l'heureuse. Quatrième climat: l'Egypte, l'Ifrikiyah, le pays des Berbers, l'Espagne et les provinces comprises dans ces limites; signe du Zodiaque, les Gémaux; planète, Mercure. Cinquième climat: la Syrie, le pays de Roum; la Mésopotamie (el-Djezireh); signe du Zodiaque, le Verseau; planète, Mars. Septième climat: le pays de Daïl et la Chine; signe du Zodiaque, la Balance; planète, le Soleil. [1]

Une image du monde, plus saisissante encore que la division latitudinale en bandes, et suivie par les géographes musulmans, serait le dessein présenté par Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī, le célèbre savant et compilateur du quatrième/dixième siècle, dans son *Kitāb taḥdīd nihāyat al-amākin.* [2] Ce dessein pourvu d'une province centrale et de six régions circonvoisines (cf. fig. 3) a une saisissante ressemblance avec les sept *kishvars* des anciens Iraniens déjà mentionnés, et dont, peut-être, il serait dérivé. Bīrūnī a utilisé les connaissances des géographes grecs et musulmans, ses prédécesseurs en cette matière, mais il les a intégrées dans le schéma dérivé des sources sassanides.

Les sept climats, les sept mers et les créatures qui habitent sur la terre sont liés intimement au monde angélique, parce que chaque être dans ce monde-ci est guidé par un être angélique, pour lequel il est une théurgie,[3] ainsi que Mīr Abū 'l-Qāsim Findiriskī, le remarquable soufi de la période safavide, a écrit dans sa *qaṣīda* bien connue:

Le ciel avec ces étoiles est clair, plaisant et beau,
Tout ce qui est au-delà a ici-bas une forme.
Si par l'échelle de la gnose, la forme ici-bas
Monte en haut, elle devient identique à son principe. [4]

Ainsi, pour les persans musulmans aussi bien que pour les persans pré-islamiques, l'ordre terrestre est une image de l'ordre céleste par lequel il est gouverné et dont il réfléchit la réalité. Que ce soit dans le langage philosophique de la nature ou dans le langage religieux de l'ange, presque tous les penseurs islamiques considèrent l'ordre

[1] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, 181-182.

[2] Cf. A. Z. Validi Togan, „Biruni's Picture of the World," *Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India*, LIII (1937-38), 61; aussi W. Jwaideh, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Leiden, 1959), 41.

[3] Cette idée, qui ressemble étroitement aux croyances zoroastriennes est acceptée par les sages *ishrāqīs* postérieurs à Suhrawardī, et a été discutée depuis par bien des auteurs de l'époque safavide comme Mulla Ṣadrā et Mīr Dāmād.

[4] Cf. R. Q. Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-'ārifīn* (Téhéran, 1316 H.), 277.

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du monde comme dérivé d'un pouvoir ou d'une série de pouvoirs qui descendent du domaine céleste et dont dépend toute la vie terrestre.

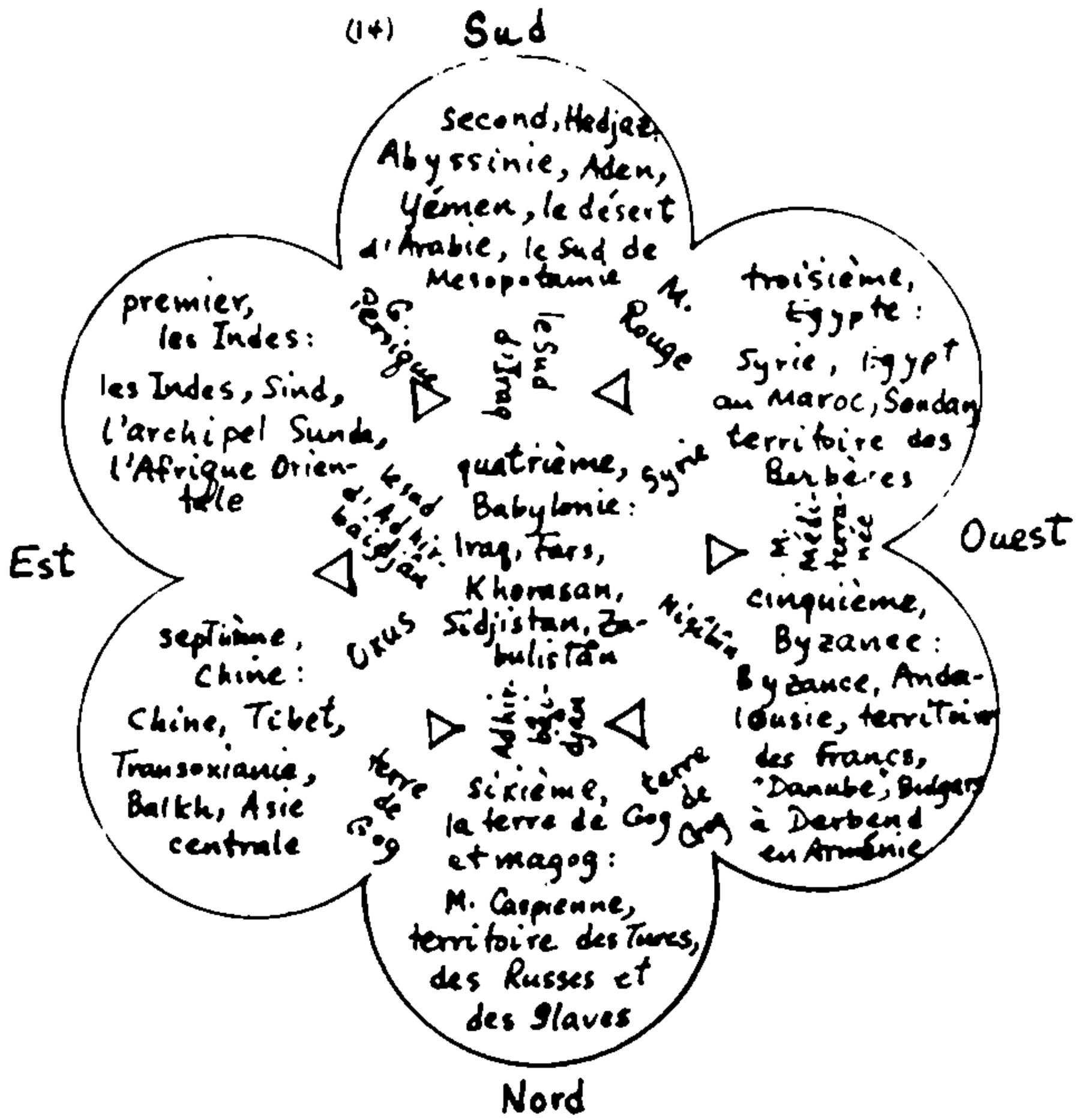

fig. 3

IV

Dans ce bref exposé de la cosmographie iranienne des deux périodes pré-islamique et islamique, nous avons choisi quelques idées qui montrent la continuité „verticale" aussi bien qu'„horizontale" des deux périodes. Nous avons vu comment dans l'angélologie, malgré la différence des terminologies, les réalités décrites dans les deux traditions sont presque identiques, et nous avons aussi constaté que dans certains cas on trouve presque des ressemblances formelles. [1] Il va

[1] Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, on n'a même pas discuter l'angélologie

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sans dire que le fonds métaphysique dans lequel les sciences cosmologiques sont intégrés n'est pas le même pour les deux traditions. Le point de vue de l'Islam met particulièrement l'accent sur l'Unité divine qui absorbe toute contingence, de la particule de poussière à l'archange le plus élevé, tandis que le point de vue du zoroastrisme insiste sur la dualité cosmique du bien et du mal, ou de la lumière et des ténèbres.

Il y a des cas ou les musulmans ont fait des emprunts aux sources plus anciennes, comme la division heptaire du monde en les sept *kishvars*, et les motifs multiples, empruntés par les sages de l'école de l'illumination (*ishrāq*) à leurs vieux compatriotes qu'ils ont appelés les sages pahlavis (*ḥukamā' fahlawīyūn*). Il y a aussi des cas ou les mêmes archétypes sont répétés, tels que les nombres sept et douze, la montagne cosmique *Qāf*, et enfin l'idée que le monde terrestre est gouverné par les substances angéliques. En plus, dans certains cas comme celui de Kashfī, la division tripartite zoroastrienne de la réalité cosmique, en le monde de la lumière ou des anges, en celui de l'obscurité ou des démons, et en le monde neutre de l'existence terrestre, situé entre les deux, à savoir la lumière et l'obscurité, est répétée directement, encore qu'il n'y ait ici aucune implication de dualité, les deux ordres opposants étant tous les deux des attributs divins.

En Perse, où l'Islam était déstiné providentiellement à remplacer la religion sassanide, comme ailleurs dans le monde, cette révélation finale du cycle présent de l'humanité est venue, non pour nier, mais pour affirmer plutôt et absorber, dans son point de vue unitaire, tout ce qui est susceptible d'être absorbé. C'est ainsi que les persans pourraient contempler, dans le cosmos islamique, bien des mythes et symboles zoroastriens, à la lumière de l'Unité divine et dans une universalité qui a le pouvoir d'embrasser, dans sa perspective, tous les éléments de la Verité de quelque origine qu'elle puisse bien être.

de Suhrawardī, qui est une adaptation directe de l'angélologie zoroastrienne, car ce sujet a été amplement traité ailleurs par H. Corbin.

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ENTWICKLUNGSPHASEN UND METAMORPHOSEN IN DER GESCHICHTE DES ISLAM

VON

RUDI PARET

Der Islam, die jüngste der grossen Weltreligionen, hat sich in den Jahrhunderten seines Bestehens aus ersten Anfängen zu einem allumfassenden Glaubens- und Rechtssystem entwickelt. Wer ihn als ein geschichtliches Phänomen zu würdigen weiss, wird immer wieder versuchen, in seinem Entwicklungsgang einzelne historisch bedeutsame Etappen und Übergänge nachzuweisen. Vielleicht lohnt es sich, die Geschichte des Islam einmal im Ganzen in aller Kürze, sozusagen mit dem Zeitraffer, eben mit der Blickrichtung auf diese Etappen und Übergänge zu überdenken und dabei auch die Krisensituation einzubeziehen, die für den heutigen Islam kennzeichnend ist, und in der es — wohl zum ersten Mal seit seinem Bestehen — um Sein oder Nichtsein geht. Im folgenden soll dies versucht werden. Wir beschränken uns bei unserer Betrachtung auf den Gesamtkomplex der islamischen Glaubenslehre und Rechtsordnung und gehen am besten chronologisch vor, indem wir zuerst Muhammad und seine Zeit ins Auge fassen, anschliessend die Jahrzehnte und Jahrhunderte, in denen die Autoritäten auf dem Gebiet der islamischen Theologie und des islamischen Rechtes gelebt haben, also etwa das achte bis elfte Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung — die Grenzen sind fliessend —, schliesslich die späteren Jahrhunderte bis herunter auf unsere Zeit.

Einen ersten Höhepunkt hat der Islam zweifelsohne schon unter Muhammad erreicht. Die Verkündigung, die der arabische Prophet seinen Landsleuten vortrug, sowie die Tatsache, dass er sich im Laufe der Jahre allen Widerständen zum Trotz durchsetzen konnte, hatten, zum mindesten in der damaligen arabischen Welt, eine vollständige Neuorientierung zur Folge. Die kämpferische Glaubensgemeinschaft, die Muhammad nach der Emigration nach Medina in dieser seiner neuen Heimat um sich scharte, bildete den Kern eines neuen Staatswesens theokratischer Natur und damit die Voraussetzung für die Schaffung des späteren weltweiten Kalifenreiches. Alles, was im Lauf der späteren Jahrzehnte und Jahrhunderte etwa neu (oder scheinbar

neu) hinzukam, hatte seine Daseinsberechtigung nachträglich dadurch zu erweisen, dass es sich mit der Verkündigung des Propheten und mit der von ihm praktizierten Gemeindeordnung in Übereinstimmung bringen liess. Diesem Zweck dienten unter anderem die vielen Überlieferungen, *Hadīthe*, die zwar zu einem grossen Teil aus späterer Zeit stammen, aber durch entsprechende Überliefererketten, *Isnāde*, bis in die Zeit Muhammads und der ersten Gläubigen zurückgeführt, beziehungsweise zurückdatiert wurden. Was vom Propheten im Koran als Gottes Wort bekannt gegeben worden war, und was er und die Angehörigen der Urgemeinde im Alltag vorgelebt hatten, galt den späteren Generationen als letzte, entscheidende Instanz. Alles andere wurde als Neuerung, *Bid'a*, gebrandmarkt und ausgemerzt.

Es ist nun aber gar nicht so einfach, den Inhalt von Muhammads Verkündigung und Lehre eindeutig zu umreissen. Bei näherem Zusehen stellen wir fest, dass der Prophet in den verschiedenen Abschnitten seines öffentlichen Wirkens, vorsichtig ausgedrückt, die Akzente verschieden gesetzt hat. Anscheinend stand zu Beginn seiner prophetischen Tätigkeit der eine Wesenszug des Islam, die Lehre von dem alleinigen Gott und – als Gegenstück dazu — die Polemik gegen die Vielgötterei nicht so ausschliesslich im Vordergrund, wie man das aufgrund einer späteren Entwicklungsphase vermuten möchte. In den frühesten koranischen Offenbarungen nahmen vielmehr zwei andere Leitgedanken die erste Stelle ein: einmal die Erwartung des nahe bevorstehenden Gerichts, zum andern die Lobpreisung des Schöpfergottes, der den Menschen von jeher wohlgetan hat und daher von ihnen Dank und Anerkennung beanspruchen darf. Der 1952 verstorbene Edinburgher Arabist Richard Bell hat mit besonderem Nachdruck auf den an zweiter Stelle genannten Leitgedanken hingewiesen und die These verfochten, dass ihm die Priorität gegenüber dem Gerichtsgedanken zukomme. Der Osloer Semitist Harris Birkeland hat sich ihm im wesentlichen angeschlossen. In meinem kleinen Buch *Mohammed und der Koran* habe ich meinerseits die Meinung vertreten — ich halte sie auch heute noch aufrecht —, dass die beiden genannten Leitgedanken sich nicht gegenseitig auszuschliessen brauchen, mit anderen Worten, dass Muhammad von Anfang an sowohl von Gott als dem Schöpfer und Wohltäter der Menschheit als auch von Gott als dem Herrn des Gerichts gepredigt haben mag. Wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls hat Muhammad auch in der Folgezeit immer wieder mit Nachdruck von Gott als dem Schöpfer

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und Wohltäter der Menschheit gepredigt, desgleichen von seiner Eigenschaft als Herr des Gerichts. Beide Leitgedanken sind zu einem festen Bestandteil der islamischen Glaubenslehre geworden.

Allerdings hat die Vorstellung vom Gericht schon zu Muhammads Lebzeiten eine beachtliche Wandlung durchgemacht. Ursprünglich dachte er bei seiner Gerichtserwartung wohl an eine Katastrophe, die – in nicht allzu ferner Zeit – zum Untergang der ganzen Welt führen und zugleich das Endgericht einleiten würde, wobei jeder einzelne Mensch vor Gott über sein Erdenleben Rechenschaft abzulegen hätte. Im Laufe der Zeit, und zwar noch lange vor der Hidschra, trat dann aber in seiner Vorstellung der Gedanke in den Vordergrund, dass über einzelne Völker und Generationen jeweils ein zeitliches Strafgericht hereingebrochen sei, wobei er voraussetzte, dass auch seine eigene Vaterstadt Mekka wegen der Gottlosigkeit ihrer Bewohner ein solches Strafgericht erleben werde. In diesem Zusammenhang bekamen für ihn Nachrichten von früheren Gerichtskatastrophen besondere Bedeutung. Er entnahm sie zum Teil der biblischen Überlieferung, zum Beispiel die Geschichten von Noah und der Sintflut und von Lot und dem Untergang von Sodom und Gomorrha, zum Teil der Überlieferung aus der altarabischen Vorzeit, zum Beispiel die Geschichten von dem Volk der ʿĀd und ihrem Gottesgesandten Hūd oder von dem Volk der Thamūd und ihrem Gottesgesandten Ṣāliḥ. Diese verschiedenen Straflegenden wurden von ihm in einer mehr oder weniger typisierten Form wiederholt zitiert und vorgetragen, und zwar bezeichnenderweise innerhalb des Zeitraums, in dem er mit seinen mekkanischen Landsleuten eine erbitterte Auseinandersetzung durchzustehen hatte und je länger je mehr die Hoffnung aufgeben musste, sie für seine Glaubensbotschaft gewinnen zu können. Es war ihm sichtlich ein Trost, dass auch schon in früheren Zeiten ganze Völker und Generationen im Unglauben verharrt hatten und zur Strafe dafür von einer vernichtenden Katastrophe heimgesucht worden waren, während die zu ihnen entstandten Gottesmänner und deren Anhang mit dem Leben davonkamen.

Es ist nun interessant festzustellen, dass diese Straflegenden nach der Emigration nach Medina in Muhammads Verkündigung kaum mehr eine Rolle spielten. Nachdem der Prophet in Medina eine neue Wirkungsstätte gefunden hatte, stellte er mit seinen Glaubensgenossen keine in ihrer Existenz gefährdete Minderheit mehr dar, sondern den Kern eines aufstrebenden, entwicklungsfähigen Gemeinwesens. Mekka blieb vorläufig abseits und wurde in späteren Jahren in den

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Machtbereich des medinischen Stadtstaates einbezogen, ohne dabei seine Lebensfähigkeit einzubüssen. In der koranischen Verkündigung war von da ab nur noch von einem allgemeinen Gericht die Rede, dem am Ende aller Tage die ganze Menschheit ausgesetzt sein würde. Die Berichte über zeitliche, örtlich begrenzte Strafgerichte wurden deshalb nicht etwa ausgemerzt. Sie dienten, auch in den späteren Jahrhunderten, den frommen Gläubigen zur Erbauung. Aber der Sache nach waren sie antiquiert.

In diesem Zusammenhang muss — wenigstens im Vorbeigehen — doch auch die Frage aufgeworfen werden, ob nicht die Emigration nach Medina und die daraus sich ergebende Möglichkeit, politisch aktiv zu werden, in der inneren Haltung Muhammads einen Bruch herbeigeführt hat. Besonders in Kreisen der christlichen Mission wird diese Frage bejaht. Man lässt den arabischen Propheten wohl noch gelten, solange er, von einer kleinen Schar von Gesinnungsgenossen umgeben, die grosse Masse seiner heidnischen Landsleute mit dem Mittel der Belehrung und Überredung für den Glauben an den alleinigen Gott zu gewinnen suchte, meint aber, er sei in der neuen Umgebung von Medina der Verlockung zur Gewaltanwendung erlegen und so seiner eigentlichen Sendung untreu geworden. Wenn man den Sachverhalt unvoreingenommen betrachtet, wird man sich dieser Meinung nicht anschliessen können. Es mag hier genügen, das als eine blosse Feststellung auszusprechen, ohne auf das Für und Wider näher einzugehen. Gewiss, Muhammad hat, nachdem er in Medina an die Macht gekommen war, die sich ihm bietenden Möglichkeiten wahrgenommen und staatsmännische Fähigkeiten entwickelt, wie sie wohl auch seine mekkanischen Landsleute ihm bis dahin nicht zugetraut hatten. Aber das bedeutet keinen inneren Bruch. Auch nach der Machtergreifung in Medina blieb er im Grunde genommen dasselbe, was er bisher gewesen war: ein von einem hohen Sendungsbewusstsein erfüllter, tief religiöser, seinem Gott demütig ergebener Mensch. An der Moral der Bergpredigt darf man seine persönliche Integrität freilich so wenig messen wie das Milieu, in das er hineingeboren war, und in dem sich zu bewähren und durchzusetzen er als seine Pflicht betrachten musste.

Von einem inneren Wandel können wir eher sprechen, wenn wir Muhammads Stellung zu den älteren Schwesterreligionen des Islam, dem Judentum und dem Christentum, ins Auge fassen. Ursprünglich hatte der Prophet die Meinung vertreten, dass alle Offenbarungsreligionen im wesentlichen denselben Inhalt haben und

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sich nur hinsichtlich der zeitgeschichtlichen Umstände ihrer Verkündigung und der völkischen und sprachlichen Zugehörigkeit ihrer Anhänger voneinander unterscheiden. Als er nach der Hidschra mit den Juden von Medina in nähere Berührung kam, war er davon überrascht und enttäuscht, dass zwischen seiner eigenen Verkündigung und dem, was die Juden (und Christen) als Offenbarungswissen besassen, doch auch sachliche Differenzen bestanden. Er musste sich notgedrungen damit abfinden, dass weder das zeitgenössische Judentum noch das zeitgenösische Christentum der Sache nach blosse Varianten des Islam darstellten. Sie hatten untereinander wie auch dem Islam gegenüber ihre eigene Individualität und würden diese auch in Zukunft beibehalten. Interessant ist nun seine ideologische und darüber hinaus seine politische Reaktion auf diesen objektiv von ihm erfassten Sachverhalt. Einerseits warf er den Juden und Christen vor, im Lauf der Zeit die ursprünglich einheitliche Offenbarungsreligion verfälscht zu haben. Er war nun moralisch berechtigt, gegen sie — auch mit Gewaltanwendung — vorzugehen. Seine Expeditionen gegen die jüdischen Stämme von Medina und später gegen die byzantinischen Streitkräfte im arabisch-palästinischen Grenzgebiet fielen unter die Kategorie des heiligen Krieges, des Kampfes gegen die Feinde des Islam. Andererseits wirkte seine These von der Einheitlichkeit der Offenbarungsreligionen in seinen Auseinandersetzungen mit den jüdischen und christlichen Gegnern insofern nach, als er diesen den heidnischen Arabern gegenüber eine Vorzugsstellung einräumte. Sie wurden nur zur politischen Unterwerfung und zur Bezahlung einer Sondersteuer gezwungen, nicht aber wie die heidnischen Araber zur Annahme des Islam. Diese Stellungnahme Muhammads ist auch für die späteren Jahrzehnte und Jahrhunderte massgebend geblieben. Sie machte, nebenbei bemerkt, die arabischen Eroberungen von riesigen Gebieten mit vorwiegend christlicher und vereinzelt jüdischer Bevölkerung überhaupt erst möglich. Man könnte darüber streiten, ob der arabische Prophet hier konsequent verfahren ist. Sollten Juden und Christen, die seiner Meinung nach die heilige Schrift verfälscht und dadurch gegen Gott ein unverzeihliches Verbrechen begangen hatten, wirklich ihrem ketzerischen Glauben treu bleiben dürfen, während die heidnischen Araber nur zwischen der Annahme des Islam und dem Tod zu wählen hatten? Aber das ist eine müssige Frage. Entscheidend ist, dass Muhammad die genannte Differenzierung zugunsten der Juden und Christen vorgenommen hat. Sie hat kraft der Autorität seiner Person den

Charakter einer endgültigen Entscheidung erhalten und ist so in der Geschichte wirksam geworden.

Eine bedeutsame Metamorphose hat der Islam im Hinblick auf seinen Geltungsbereich durchgemacht, insofern er sich von einer auf das Arabertum beschränkten Nationalreligion zu einer übernationalen Weltreligion entwickelt hat. Diese Metamorphose nahm allerdings zu Lebzeiten des Propheten erst ihren Anfang. Ihren Abschluss hat sie um die Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts, zu Beginn der Abbasidenzeit, gefunden.

Wie gesagt, hatte Muhammad ursprünglich die Meinung vertreten, dass alle Offenbarungsreligionen im wesentlichen denselben Inhalt haben. Danach waren die Juden und Christen im göttlichen Heilsplan schon früher mit einer in der sprachlichen Formulierung speziell auf sie abgestellten, dem Inhalt nach aber identischen Offenbarung bedacht worden. Er selber sollte nun nachträglich auch den Arabern, die bisher leer ausgegangen waren, eine entsprechende Offenbarung in ihrer, der arabischen Sprache, überbringen. Sein Sendungsauftrag war also vorerst einmal auf die arabische Welt beschränkt, national, nicht universal. Wiederholt ist in Offenbarungstexten, die auf seine Sendung Bezug haben, vom arabischen Koran die Rede, den er — eben für die Araber — vorzutragen hat. Es versteht sich nun von selbst, dass die Enttäuschung, die Muhammad nach der Hidschra mit den Juden von Medina erlebte, eine gewisse Korrektur seines ursprünglichen Sendungsbewusstseins nach sich zog. Da Juden und Christen anscheinend nicht dasselbe glaubten, wie er, musste er versuchen, sie ebenfalls für seine spezifisch arabische Verkündigung zu gewinnen. Allerdings hat er die letzten Konsequenzen noch nicht selber gezogen. Vordringlich war und blieb bis an sein Lebensende die Vertiefung und Ausweitung der von ihm geschaffenen Theokratie innerhalb der arabischen Halbinsel. Auch nach seinem Tod war der Islam noch gut drei Generationen lang im Grunde genommen eine arabische Angelegenheit. Unter den vier ersten Kalifen und anschliessend unter den Omaiyaden begründeten die Araber nicht nur ihren Herrschaftsanspruch über nichtarabische Gebiete damit, dass sie die alleinseligmachende Religion des Islam vertraten. Sie betrachteten diese ihre Religion auch als eine Art nationalarabisches Privileg und verlangten von ausserarabischen Konvertiten, dass sie sich als Beisassen, Mawāli, an einen arabischen Stamm angliederten. Im übrigen hatten die Nichtaraber die Aufgabe, den Arabern, die zugleich Muslime und Herren waren, durch ausgiebige Steuerleistungen eine

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Art Rentnerdasein zu ermöglichen. Erst mit dem Beginn der Abbasidenzeit setzte sich in dieser Hinsicht ein grundsätzlicher Wandel durch. Die nichtarabischen Volkerschaften traten den Arabern als gleichberechtigte Mitbürger und Träger eines übernationalen islamischen Staatswesens zur Seite. Wenn man die geschichtliche Entwicklung vom Endergebnis her überblickt, wird man im arabisch-islamischen Nationalstaat der Omaiyadenzeit eine begreifliche, aber auf die Dauer unhaltbare Zwischenlösung sehen und sich der Ansicht nicht verschliessen können, dass das übernationale islamische Staatswesen der frühen Abbasidenzeit und die übernationale, über die Grenzen der Einzelstaaten hinausgreifende islamische Gesellschaft der späteren Jahrhunderte die einzig sinnvolle Weiterentwicklung dessen darstellt, was Muhammad mit seiner heilsgeschichtlichen Konzeption im Ansatz vertreten hatte. Die Metamorphose vom arabischen Nationalismus zum Universalismus war, man kann sagen, naturgegeben.

Wir sind bei unserer Betrachtung bedeutsamer Etappen und Übergänge in der Geschichte des Islam bereits in der Zeit angelangt, in der die von Muhammad gestiftete Religion und Theokratie ihren anfänglichen Rahmen gesprengt und sich zu einer universalen Religion beziehungweise zu einem Weltreich ausgeweitet hatte. Nun ist es natürlich nicht möglich, diese zweite grosse Entwicklungsphase, die nach dem Tod des Propheten einsetzte und sich über ganze Jahrhunderte einer zum Teil wechselvollen Geschichte hinzog, in ein paar Worte einzufangen und in ihren Wesenszügen zu bestimmen. Aber ganz allgemein wird man doch folgende Feststellung treffen dürfen: Aus einer emotionalen, mit Wärme und Pathos vorgetragenen prophetischen Verkündigung ist der Islam in der Zeit seiner weltweiten Entfaltung zu einem Glaubens- und Rechtssystem geworden. Und es erhebt sich ganz von selber die Frage, ob er bei einer so tiefgreifenden Veränderung nicht in seiner Substanz gelitten hat, ob er dabei nicht sich selber untreu geworden ist.

Werfen wir einen kurzen Blick auf die beiden grossen Teilgebiete: die islamische Glaubenslehre und das islamische Recht!

In der Generation nach Muhammad hat man sich über die theologischen Konsequenzen der koranischen Verkündigungen Gedanken gemacht und versucht, etwa über die Frage Klarheit zu gewinnen, ob der Mensch in seinem Handeln frei oder vorherbestimmt ist. Später, von der zweiten Hälfte des achten Jahrhunderts an, glaubten die sogenannten Mu'taziliten, Gott und dessen Eigen-

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schaften aufgrund einiger weniger Postulate beurteilen und bestimmen zu können. Aus dem Postulat der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit wurde die These abgeleitet, dass der Mensch, der ja für sein Handeln verantwortlich gemacht wird, eben deshalb auch frei darüber müsse entscheiden können. Aus dem Postulat der Einheit Gottes folgerte man, dass die Attribute Gottes nicht schon von Ewigkeit her als eigene Wesenheiten neben Gott existiert haben können, woraus sich unter anderem die weitere Folgerung ergab, dass der Koran als das Wort Gottes nicht ewig, sondern in der Zeit geschaffen sei. Auf Einzelheiten kann nicht näher eingegangen werden. Wichtig ist hier das Endergebnis, nämlich der Umstand, dass die mu'tazilitische Glaubensrichtung sich nicht lange behaupten konnte. Nach einem kurzen, heftig geführten Kulturkampf (der Kürze halber sei diese Bezeichnung erlaubt) musste sie das Feld den Vertretern einer Glaubensrichtung räumen, für die koranische Formulierungen und traditionelle Bindungen mehr bedeuteten als rationale Überlegungen. Das war zugleich die Geburtsstunde der islamischen Orthodoxie, so wie sie im wesentlichen heute noch weiterlebt. Man mag die Folgerichtigkeit der mu'tazilitischen Deduktionen noch so hoch veranschlagen. Die Tatsache, dass die koranische Verkündigung in der Orthodoxie ihre geradlinige, adäquate Fortsetzung gefunden hat, wird man kaum bestreiten können. Gewiss, das Glaubensgut, das der Prophet seinerzeit (um seine eigenen Worte zu gebrauchen) „als Verkünder froher Botschaft und als Warner" seinen Landsleuten vorgetragen hat, ist später von der Orthodoxie systematisiert und dabei nicht nur zu Ende, sondern teilweise auch zurechtgedacht worden. Es hat im Lauf dieses gedanklich klärenden Prozesses manches von seiner ursprünglichen Unmittelbarkeit eingebüsst. Aber eine solche Entwicklung war unvermeidbar. Jede prophetische Verkündigung, die über ihre eigene Zeit hinaus wirksam bleibt, tritt irgendeinmal in das Stadium der theologischen Spekulation ein. Wenn wir in einem solchen Zusammenhang von geradliniger Entwicklung sprechen, meinen wir damit, dass das Endergebnis, eine systematisierte Glaubenslehre, der Sache nach denselben Ideen und Forderungen gerecht wird, für die der betreffende Prophet oder Religionsstifter sich zu seinen Lebzeiten eingesetzt hat.

Was hier über die islamische Glaubenslehre ausgesagt worden ist, gilt im grossen und ganzen auch für das islamische Recht, wenn wir von der Sonderentwicklung auf einem gewissen Sektor des islamischen Staatsrechts absehen. Mann sollte die Diskrepanz zwischen

der prophetischen, die Menschen unmittelbar ansprechenden Verkündigung Muhammads und dem ausgeklügelten islamischen Rechtssystem späterer Jahrhunderte nicht überbetonen. Auch schon im Koran finden sich Abschnitte mit ausgesprochen juristischem Inhalt. Man denke an die bis ins einzelne gehenden Vorschriften, die das Erbrecht betreffen, oder an die vielen Regelungen im Bereich des Eherechts. Muhammad war nicht nur Prophet und Verkünder des wahren Glaubens, sondern auch Gesetzgeber. Die Zugehörigkeit zum Islam schloss schon zu seinen Lebzeiten die Anerkennung einer ganz bestimmten, wir würden sagen, bürgerlichen Lebensordnung mit ein. Kein Wunder, dass die Fragen der rechtlichen Ordnung im weitesten Sinn des Wortes in den Jahrzehnten und Jahrhunderten nach seinem Tod bis in die letzten Feinheiten durchdacht und durchdiskutiert worden sind. Auch hier liegt also eine geradlinige Entwicklung vor, keine Metamorphose, geschweige denn eine Veruntreuung des Erbes der Prophetie.

Wir können auch die spätere Entwicklung auf dem Gebiet des islamischen Staatsrechts in diese Feststellung mit einbeziehen, obwohl gerade hier verhältnismässig wenig greifbare Ansätze aus Muhammads eigener Zeit vorlagen und deshalb gewisse grundlegende Regelungen erstmals getroffen werden mussten. Das gilt vor allem für die Lehre vom Kalifat. Die Institution des Kalifats, der Vertretung und Nachfolge Muhammads in seiner Eigenschaft als politischer Führer des arabisch-islamischen Stadtstaates von Medina, war von ihm nicht vorgeplant worden. Sie wurde erst nach seinem Ableben als Aufgabe erkannt. Diese Aufgabe wurde aber so gelöst, wie er es nicht besser hätte wünschen können, wenn er die Nachfolgeregelung selber noch erlebt hätte. Wir dürfen uns die hohe Bewertung zu eigen machen, die man später in der Geschichtsschreibung und in der Rechtstheorie den vier „rechtgeleiteten" Kalifen, insbesondere den beiden ersten, Abū Bakr und 'Umar, zuerkannt hat. Abū Bakr und 'Umar haben das politische Erbe des Propheten wirklich in der ihm gemässen Art weitergeführt. Bei den späteren Kalifen war die Eignung zum Amt zwar nicht immer in derselben Weise erwiesen. Aber die Institution als solche hatte bereits allgemeine Anerkennung gefunden und blieb so Jahrhunderte lang am Leben. Ihre Verquickung mit dynastischen Interessen — denen der Omaiyaden, später der Abbasiden — tat ihr keinen Abbruch, zumal die dynastische Erbfolge in formaler Hinsicht jeweils durch eine Art Wahlakt ergänzt und legitimiert wurde.

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Bedenklich wurde die Entwicklung erst mit dem Aufkommen der spezifisch schiitischen Herrschaftsansprüche. Die Anfänge dieser Sonderentwicklung lassen sich schwer fassen. Jedenfalls lagen dem Kampf, den der vierte Kalif 'Alī gegen Mu'āwiya, den Begründer der Omaiyadendynastie führte, noch keine im engeren Sinn des Wortes schiitischen Tendenzen zugrunde. Die Schī'a als eine religiös-politische Bewegung trat erst spät in Erscheinung, und es dauerte geraume Zeit, bis daraus eine staatsrechtliche Theorie und ein eigener Glaube geworden war. Wie dem auch sein mag, im Endergebnis führte die Schī'a zu einer Umwertung grundlegender Konzeptionen, und es ist nicht zu verwundern, dass sie von den Sunniten, die den altüberkommenen Anschauungen huldigten, als Ketzerei gebrandmarkt worden ist und im Grunde genommen auch heute noch gebrandmarkt wird. Das Legitimitätsprinzip in der Nachfolge des Propheten ist in der Schī'a nicht nur auf die direkten Nachkommen von Muhammads Schwiegersohn 'Alī eingeengt, sondern zugleich kosmologisch überhöht. Eine Lichtsubstanz göttlichen Ursprungs wandert sozusagen automatisch von einem Imām zum andern und verleiht einem jeden die Grundlage für eine absolute Lehrautorität. Auffallend ist ausserdem, dass — im Hinblick auf das Martyrium schiitischer Prätendenten — der Gedanke der Passion, des stellvertretenden Leidens, aufgegriffen und in seinem sittlich-religiösen Wert gewürdigt wird. Auch dies widerspricht durchaus dem Empfinden der grossen, die Sunna repräsentierenden Mehrheit. Selbstverständlich ist es entscheidend, dass die Schiiten ihrerseits überzeugt sind, Muslime, ja sogar die einzig wahren Muslime zu sein. Jedenfalls haben sie ein Recht darauf, als Muslime zu gelten. Auch ist zu beachten, dass sie abgesehen von ihrer eigenartigen Imamatstheorie und dem damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungskomplex in der Glaubenslehre, im Kultus und im Recht zum grossen Teil mit ihren sunnitischen Glaubensgenossen übereinstimmen. Trotzdem wird man, wenn man den Sachverhalt als Historiker beurteilt, die Auffassung vertreten dürfen, dass die Schī'a eine recht merkwürdige Abart des Islam darstellt. Hier ist die Bezeichnung Metamorphose am Platz.

Überblicken wir die Geschichte des Islam vom Tod des Propheten bis — sagen wir — zum Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, so können wir zusammenfassend feststellen, dass nur zwei wirkliche Metamorphosen stattgefunden haben: eine allgemeine, in der die arabische Nationalreligion zu einer übernationalen Weltreligion wurde, und eine partielle, die zu der Entstehung der Schī'a als einer

religiös-politischen Sekte führte. Zum Schluss haben wir uns nun noch mit einer weiteren Metamorphose zu befassen, genauer gesagt mit der Möglichkeit einer weiteren Metamorphose. Denn sie ist erst im Werden. Mit ihren Anfängen reicht sie zwar um Jahrhunderte zurück. Aber mit ihrem Ende ruht sie noch im Schoss der Zukunft. Es geht bei ihr — das sei gleich vorweggenommen — um den Geltungsbereich des islamischen Rechts.

Zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte erfuhr der Geltungsbereich des islamischen Rechts eine Einschränkung, als die Normannen gegen Ende des elften Jahrhunderts, kurz vor dem ersten Kreuzzug, der muslimischen Herrschaft auf Sizilien ein Ende gesetzt hatten. Für die Muslime, die auf der Insel wohnen blieben, erhob sich damals die Frage, ob Sizilien infolge der Besetzung durch die Normannen aufgehört habe, sogenanntes islamisches Gebiet zu sein, oder ob die von den neuen, nicht-muslimischen Herrschern ernannten Kadis immer noch gültige richterliche Entscheidungen würden treffen können. Ein bekannter mālikitischer Jurist — er stammte, wie sein Name al-Māzarī besagt, selber von der Insel — entschied diese Frage in positivem Sinn. Grundsätzlich wurde damit die These aufgegeben, dass ein Muslim nur unter muslimischer Herrschaft den Vorschriften seines Glaubens gerecht werden könne und daher beim Aufkommen einer fremden Herrschaft auf muslimisches Gebiet emigrieren müsse. Nachdem später immer mehr islamische Länder unter europäische Kolonialherrschaft geraten waren, wurde die genannte These sogar so weit aufgeweicht, dass man sich von muslimischer Seite aus damit zufrieden gab, wenn in einem Kolonialgebiet der einzelne Untertan die Möglichkeit behielt, seinem Glauben zu leben und seinen kultischen Pflichten nachzukommen. Unter dem Einfluss der Ideen, die im Anschluss an die französische Revolution und in immer stärkerem Mass seit Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts von Europa her in die Welt des Islam einströmten und unter Gebildeten Anklang fanden, wurde der Geltungsbereich des islamischen Rechts noch weiter eingeengt. Wenn man die früheren Konzessionen damit rechtfertigen konnte, dass sich aufgrund eines von aussen her erfolgten Eingriffs in den Bereich der islamischen Welt eine Zwangslage ergeben hatte — der Begriff der Zwangslage (*ḍarūra*) ist dem islamischen Recht nicht fremd, — wurde der Geltungsbereich der islamischen Rechts- und Lebensordnung nunmehr sozusagen intern und aus eigener Initiative eingeengt, und das in einem besorgniserregenden Ausmass.

Wir brauchen nur einige der letzten Etappen ins Auge zu fassen,

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um zu erkennen, was alles in Frage gestellt wurde und weiter in Frage gestellt zu werden droht. Im Jahre 1916 wurde in der Türkei das islamische Familienrecht zugunsten der Frau modernisiert, hauptsächlich in der Frage der Polygamie und der Scheidung beziehungsweise Verstossung. Im Jahre 1919 machte zwar die damalige türkische Sultanatsregierung in Istanbul diese neue Regelung wieder rückgängig. Aber nach der nationalistischen Revolution schaffte die Türkische Nationalversammlung in Ankara das islamische Personenrecht überhaupt ab und führte an seiner Stelle das Schweizer Zivilrecht ein (1926). Im März 1924 wurde das altehrwürdige Kalifat abgeschafft. Ein gesamt-islamischer Kongress, der 1926 eben deshalb in Kairo tagte, kam zu dem Ergebnis, dass diese Institution unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen nicht mehr realisierbar sei. Im Jahr 1928 wurde — wieder in der Türkei — die Bestimmung aufgehoben, wonach der Islam zur Staatsreligion erklärt worden war. Nur nebenbei sei bemerkt, dass 1931 der Laizismus proklamiert und die Religion zur Privatsache erklärt wurde, und dass in den Jahren 1935-1948 der Religionsunterricht geradezu verboten war. Die hier angeführten Beispiele betreffen speziell die Türkei. In der Zwischenzeit ist jedoch auch in anderen islamischen Ländern besonders das Eherecht in Anlehnung an europäische Verhältnisse stark modernisiert worden. Am weitesten ist man in Tunesien gegangen, wo seit 1958 die Polygamie verboten ist. Aber auch in Ägypten ist das Familienrecht neuerdings weitgehend an europäische Vorbilder angeglichen und dementsprechend seines islamischen Charakters entkleidet. Nur in Pakistan sucht man seit der Gründung dieses eigenartigen Staates umgekehrt altislamische Rechtsformen neu zu beleben. Ob mit Erfolg, ist eine andere Frage.

Wie soll der Historiker diesen Sachverhalt deuten? Das eine ist wohl klar: Es handelt sich nicht nur um harmlose, auf das Gebiet der neuen Türkei beschränkte Randerscheinungen. Der Geltungsbereich der islamischen Rechts- und Lebensordnung ist in neuerer Zeit auch in einem grossen Teil der arabisch-islamischen Länder immer mehr eingeengt worden. Und gerade im Familienrecht greifen die gesetzgeberischen Reformen auf althergebrachte Regelungen über, die sogar durch koranische Formulierungen sanktioniert sind. Die islamische Theologie ist aufgerufen, dazu Stellung zu nehmen. Sie kann das meines Erachtens auf zweierlei Weise tun. Entweder hält man unentwegt am Alten fest und erklärt die Neuerungen für rechtswidrig. Das ist dann allerdings ein papierener Protest, der den

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Gang der Entwicklung nicht mehr aufhalten kann. Oder aber, man nimmt den Sachverhalt als gegeben hin und zieht auch in der Theorie die Konsequenzen daraus, indem man bewusst darauf verzichtet, rechtliche Regelungen, die zur Zeit des Propheten und der ersten Kalifen sinnvoll und nötig gewesen sein mögen, als unabdingbare Bestandteile des islamischen Glaubens zu betrachten. Der Islam müsste, falls es zu einer solchen Umorientierung kommen sollte, noch einmal eine tiefgreifende Metamorphose durchmachen, konnte aber auf diese Weise den Kern seiner Substanz in die Zukunft hinüberretten.

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A PROPOS DU *KITĀB AL-FUTYĀ* DE JĀḤIẒ

PAR

CHARLES PELLAT

Parmi les œuvres si nombreuses qui ont survécu à Jāḥiẓ pendant une période de durée fort variable, figure un *Kitāb al-Futyā* ou *Kitāb Uṣūl al-futyā wa 'l-aḥkām*, qui est antérieur à l'année 233/848 puisqu'il est cité dans l'introduction du *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* [1]. Le titre de ce livre révèle un nouvel aspect de l'activité de l'auteur qui se manifeste par une série d'écrits consacrés — ainsi qu'il le dit lui-même à la fin de la *risāla* ici publiée — au Livre et à la Sunna, et non plus aux questions théologiques habituellement débattues par les Mu'tazilites, la *ṭafra*, la *mudākhala*, la substance et l'accident. Il s'agit en effet, fondamentalement, d'un ouvrage de caractère juridique dans lequel Jāḥiẓ avait réuni, selon ses propres termes, les divergences qui se faisaient jour à propos des *uṣūl*, non pas exactement du *fiqh* — et le mot n'est pas employé — mais des consultations juridiques et des jugements rendus par les cadis de diverses tendances. Le *Kitāb al-Futyā* devait donc représenter une ébauche de doctrine juridique, évidemment mu'tazilite, et tendre, malgré l'affirmation de Baghdādī qui le déclare « farci d'attaques de son maître al-Naẓẓām contre les plus éminents des Compagnons du Prophète», à l'unification qu'avait prônée un siècle plus tôt Ibn al-Muqaffa' dans la *Risālat al-Ṣaḥāba*. Bien que les *fuqahā'* postérieurs ne fussent guère enclins à laisser subsister un vestige, sans doute désordonné et dépourvu d'esprit de système, d'un âge révolu, cet ouvrage était encore accessible au cinquième/onzième siècle, mais les copistes avaient dû cesser de bonne heure de le copier, en dépit du nom prestigieux de son auteur, et il faut certainement abandonner l'espoir d'en retrouver un manuscrit.

Il était moins dangereux, en revanche, de conserver la lettre annonçant l'envoi du livre, lettre qui n'est nullement compromettante et possède une valeur littéraire suffisante pour inciter les anthologues à ne pas la laisser tomber dans l'oubli, si bien qu'on en possède deux copies: la première, qui prend place dans un manuscrit autrefois

[1] I, 9; il est également cité par Ibn al-Nadīm (= A. J. Arberry, « New Material on the Kitāb al-Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm », *Isl. Research Association*, I, 1948 [1949], 42), Baghdādī, *Farq*, 162, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 76 (= *Udabā'*, XVI, 107), Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-tawārīkh*, MS Paris 1588, f° 154b.

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conservé à Mossoul, a été exploitée par D. Çelebi et publiée dans la revue du P. Anastase [1]; la seconde figure dans le manuscrit 949 de Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pāshā, qui contient un choix de *rasā'il* de Jāḥiẓ. Aucun doute ne pèse sur l'authenticité de ce texte, qu'Ibn al-Nadīm [2] connaissait et qui correspond parfaitement à la manière de notre auteur.

Alors qu'un écrit semblable annonçant, sous une forme bien plus développée, l'achèvement d'un *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā 'l Madhāhibiha* [3] (également perdu), était adressé à Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, cette *risāla* a pour destinataire le grand-cadi en personne, ce que l'on pourrait interpréter comme l'indice d'une évolution dans les rapports entre les deux hommes, Jāḥiẓ osant maintenant s'adresser directement à l'une des principales personnalités du régime 'abbāside et des plus farouches adversaires d'Ibn al-Zaiyāt, sans passer par le truchement de son fils; il convient cependant d'user de prudence, car Jāḥiẓ dut encore se servir de Muḥammad comme intermédiaire, même après la mort d'Ibn al-Zaiyāt [4]. Pour le reste, cette épître ne fournit guère d'indications sur le contenu de l'ouvrage qu'elle accompagne, mais on y rencontre quelques idées que Jāḥiẓ, à notre connaissance, n'a pas exprimées ailleurs; à ce titre, elle mérite certainement d'être publiée à nouveau, d'autant que la première édition est difficilement accessible.

Pour une fois, il est possible d'y distinguer sinon un plan à proprement parler, du moins plusieurs mouvements.

La haute position d'Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād dans l'empire 'abbāside et le rôle éminent qu'il joue en sa qualité de grand-cadi font de lui le destinataire le plus qualifié d'un ouvrage de droit. Jāḥiẓ annonce donc l'achèvement de son livre dans lequel il s'est proposé de présenter un exposé exhaustif de la question des consultations juridiques (car les juristes, simplement désignés sous l'appellation de *ṣāḥib* ou *ahl al-qaul*, sont loin d'en connaître tous les aspects), de faire état des divergences qui apparaissent et de combattre toutes les opinions fausses. Une idée intéressante est émise à propos de l'expression écrite de la pensée, et surtout de la pensée polémique, à laquelle Jāḥiẓ attribue plus de valeur car elle oblige l'auteur à s'entourer de précautions à l'égard de ses adversaires, à envisager tous les aspects des problèmes et à prouver la fausseté des opinions qu'il combat, alors

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[1] *Lughat al-'Arab*, VIII, 686-690. [2] Ap. Arberry, *op. cit.*, 44.
[3] Ed. Ch. Pellat, dans *Machriq* (1953).
[4] Voir par exemple la *Nābita*, dans *Annales de l'Institut des Études Orientales, Alger*, X (1952), 303.

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que dans une discussion orale interviennent des facteurs tels que la fierté, l'entêtement, le désir de l'emporter par tous les moyens, qui faussent les données et éloignent de la recherche de la stricte vérité. Aussi se déclare-t-il en faveur du livre, dont il fait l'éloge, non sans remarquer au passage que c'est grâce aux écrits que l'humanité progresse, le patrimoine s'enrichissant à chaque génération.

Dans une deuxième partie, Jāḥiẓ proclame d'une façon assez inattendue que les livres les plus précieux sont les *kutub Allāh*, expression qui semble bien désigner ici les ouvrages de caractère religieux et moral. Or, ajoute-t-il en faisant allusion à la liberté de pensée et d'expression qui règne à son époque, les savants ont le devoir de publier la vérité, maintenant qu'il est possible de parler, que la *taqīya* a pris fin (mais c'est une clause de style), qu'à l'ignorance et à l'aveuglement ont succédé la science et le *bayān*, c'est-à-dire, sans doute, la possibilité de s'exprimer, et avec talent. Il ne s'en fait pas moins tout petit devant Ibn Abī Du'ād: «Ce livre, même s'il est beau à mes yeux et agréable à mon cœur, je ne suis pas sûr de ne pas le juger inexactement en le regardant comme un père regarde son fils et un poète, son œuvre. Ce qui m'a incité à l'écrire en dépit de mes appréhensions et de la crainte révérencielle que je ressens à l'idée que tu vas le feuilleter, c'est que je sais que ta volonté est dominée et ta conduite dictée par le désir d'attirer les savants et d'éloigner les ignorants». Ainsi s'amorce une louange du grand-cadi, fort savant mais indulgent, maître «d'un marché où ne prospèrent que l'établissement de la *sunna* et la destruction de la *bid'a*, la lutte contre l'injustice et le soin du bien public».

C'est alors que Jāḥiẓ glisse habilement une allusion à ses autres livres également consacrés au Coran et à la Sunna et dont toute la communauté a le plus grand besoin. Il ne les envoie cependant pas au grand-cadi, pour ne point l'importuner, et sans doute aussi parce qu'il attend sa réaction à la lecture du *Kitāb al-Futyā* et peut-être la récompense qu'il est en droit d'en espérer.

Ces tentatives de rapprochement se placent à une époque où Jāḥiẓ entretient des relations amicales avec Ibn al-Zaiyāt, mais là n'est certainement pas le plus intéressant. Ce qui importe en effet c'est l'existence même de ce *Kitāb al-Futyā*, sorte d'avant-projet de codification de la *sharī'a* et non simple traité d'*ikhtilāf* comme tant d'autres. Il est regrettable qu'on ne puisse en dire davantage sur les aptitudes juridiques d'un homme qui a brillé dans tant d'autres domaines et sur les résultats, sans doute éphémères, de ses efforts en vue de faire

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réduire par les «autorités compétentes» des divergences qui heurtaient sa raison et son sens de la justice.

الجاحظ وكتاب الفتيا

بقلم

CHARLES PELLAT (باريس)

لقد سبق لى أن نشرتُ فى مجلّة المشرق الغرّاء ١ رسالة للجاحظ يخبر فيها أبا الوليد محمد ابن أحمد بن أبى دؤاد الإيادى بكتابه فى الردّ على المشبّهة ويطلب إليه بصفة غير مباشرة ان يبلغه أباه القاضى أحمد بن ابى دؤاد ؛ فكذلك وجّه إلى ابى الوليد رسالته فى النابتة ٢ وغيرها من الرسائل التى يطرق فيها باب الدين والسياسة ويحلّل الأحوال ويشير ارباب الأمر والنهى إلى ما عليهم أن يتّخذوه من أنواع التدابير .

فيبدو أن الجاحظ لم يلبث ان تقرّب إلى قاضى القضاة ، بعد وفاة الوزير ابن الزيّات لأنّه أهدى إليه مباشرةً كتاب البيان والتبيين ومؤلفات أخرى منها كتابه فى الاحتجاج لنظم القرآن إذ يذكر ابن النديم من بين آثار الجاحظ " رسالة إلى ابن أبى دؤاد فى كتاب نظم القرآن " ٣ ، ومنها كتاب الفتيا .

فقد وصلت إلينا من الرسائل المذكورة رسالتان أو ثلاث لاعجاب النقّاد بجزالة لفظها وبراعة معناها ، وأمّا الكتب نفسها فقد ضاع منها الكثير لأسباب مفهومة لأن الدهر أكل عليها وشرب وشاركه الإنسان فى إتلافها بعد تغلّب السنة على الاعتزال ؛ فعلينا أن نكتفى بما لدينا من النصوص .

كان الدكتور داود چلبى قد نشر فى المجلة البغدادية المشهورة بلغة العرب عدّة رسائل جاحظية عثر عليها فى مخطوطة محفوظة بالموصل ، منها الرسالة التى يخبر فيها الجاحظ أحمد بن أبى دؤاد بكتاب الفتيا ٤ ؛ فلا تقوم هذه الرسالة مقام الكتاب الأصلى أى كتاب أصول الفتيا والاحكام الذى يذكره الجاحظ ٥ ويقول البغدادى ٦ إنه " مشحون بطعن أستاذه النظّام على

١ عدد ايار – حزيران ١٩٥٣ ، ص ٢٨١ – ٣٠٣

٢ انظر مجلة معهد الدراسات الشرقية فى الجزائر ، سنة ١٩٥٢

٣ انظر A. J. Arberry, «New Material on the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm», *Isl. Res. Ass.*, I (1948 [1949]), 44.

٤ لغة العرب (لع) ، ج ٨ ص ٦٨٦ – ٦٩٠

٥ كتاب الحيوان ، ج ١ ص ٩

٦ الفرق بين الفرق ، ص ١٦٢

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[كذا] أعلام الصحابة" ، ولا يبدى المؤلف فى النصّ الموجود بآرائه فيما يخص الفتاوى والأحكام ، ومع ذلك فقد رأيت أن أعيد نشره معتمدا على مخطوطة محفوظة فى مكتبة داماد إبراهيم باشا ١ وعلى طبعة داود چلبى التى أمست بعيدة المنال نادرة الوجود حتى فى المكتبات الكبرى إلى حدّ أنّى اضطررت إلى استعمال شريط مصغّر ٢ ؛ فللرسالة قيمة أدبية لا تنكر ولها فائدة إنسانية لا تردّ ، ولست بحاجة ألى بيان ذلك لوضوح النص وسهولته .

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[لع ٦٨٦] رسالة إلى أبى عبدالله أحمد بن أبى دؤاد الإيادى

[خط ١١٥ و] من كلام أبى عثمان عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ

كتبها إليه يخبره فيها ٣ بكتاب الفتيا

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[خط ١١٥ ظ] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أطال الله بقاءك وأعزّك وأصلح على يديك . كان يقال : "السلطان سُوق" ، فإنّما يُجلَب إلى كلّ سوق ما ينفق فيها ؛ وأنت ، أيّها العالم معلّم الخير وطالبه والداعى إليه وحامل الناس عليه ، من موضع ٤ السلطان بأرفع المكان؟ لأنّ من جعل الله إليه مظالم العباد ومصالح البلاد وجعله متصفّحاً ٥ على القضاة وعتاداً ٦ على الولاة ، ثمّ جعله الله مَنْزَع العلماء ومفزع الضعفاء ومستراح الحكماء ، فقد وضعه بأرفع المنازل وأسنى المراتب ؛ وقد قال أهل العلم وأهل التجربة والفهم : "لما يَزَع الله بالسلطان أكثر ممّا يزع بالقرآن" ؛ وقد كان يقال : "شيئان متباينان ، إن صلح أحدهما صلح الآخر : السلطان والرعيّة" ؛ فقد صلح السلطان وعلى الله تمام النعمة فى صلاح الرعيّة حتّى يُحقّق الأثر وتصدّق الشهادة فى الخبر ؛ فنسأل الذى منحك حسن الرعاية أن يمنحنا حسن الطاعة .

وقد نظرت فى التجارة التى اخترتُها ٧ والسوق التى أقمتها ، فلم أرَ فيها شيئا ينفق إلاّ العلم والبيان عنه ، وإلاّ العمل الصالح والدعاء إليه ، وإلاّ التعاون على مصلحة العباد ونفى

١ رقم ٩٤٩ ، من ص ١١٥ و الى ص ١١٧ ظ
٢ أغتنم هذه الفرصة لأشكر صديقي الدكتور سعيد البستاني الذي تفضل فبحث عن المجلة وصور الصفحات المحتاج اليها
٣ خط : فيه
٤ سقط من لع
٥ اقتراح لع : متفحصا ، ولكن الجاحظ كثيرا ما يستعمل "تصفح" بهذا المعنى
٦ خط : وعمادا ، ولعل الصواب : وعيارا
٧ كذا فى خط ويبدو ان الصواب فتح التاء

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الفساد عن البلاد ؛ وأنا - مدّ الله فى عمرك - رجل من أهل النظر ومن حمّال الأثر ، ولا أكمل لكلّ ذلك ولا أنى ، إلّا أنى فى سبيل أهله وعلى منهاج أصحابه ؛ والمرء مع من أحب وله ما اكتسب .

وعندى - أبقاك الله - كتاب جامع لاختلاف الناس فى أصول الفتيا التى عليها [لع ٦٨٧] اختلفت الفروع وتضادّت الأحكام ، وقد جمعتُ فيه جميع الدعاوى ١ مع جميع العلل ؛ وليس يكون الكتاب تامّا ولحاجة الناس إليه جامعا حتّى يجنح ٢ لكلّ قول بما * لا يُصاب عند صاحبه ولا يبلغه أهله ٣ وحتّى لا يُرضى بكشف قناع الباطل دون تجريده ولا بتوهينه دون إبطاله ؛ وقد قال رسول ربّ العالمين وخاتم النبيّين محمّد - صلّى الله عليه وآله ؛ وسلّم - : " تهادوا تحابّوا " ، زخعط ١١٦ و ؛ فحثّ على الهديّة وإن كان كراعا وشيئا ٥ يسيرا ؛ وإذا دعا إلى اليسير الحقير فهو إلى الثمين الخطير أدعى وبه أرضى ، ولا أعلم شيئا أدعى إلى التحابّ وأوجب فى التهادى وأعلى منزلة وأشرف مرتبة من العلم الذى جعل الله العمل له تبعا والجنّة له ثوابا .

ولا عذر لمن كتب كتابا وقد غاب عنه خصمه وقد تكفّل بالإخبار عنه ، فى ترك الحيطة له والقيام بكلّ ما احتمله قوله ، كما أنّه لا عذر له فى التقصير عن فساد كلّ قول خالف عليه ٦ وضادّ مذهبه عند من قرأ كتابه وتفهّم أدخاله . لأنّ أقلّ ما يزيل ٧ عذره ويزيح علّته أنّ قول خصمه قد استهدف لخصمه وأصحر لسانه ومكّنه من نفسه وسلّطه على إظهار عورته ؛ فإذا استراح واضع الكتاب من شغب خصمه ومداراة جليسه فلم يبق إلّا أن يقوى على كسر الباطل أو يعجز عنه ؛ ومن شكر المعرفة بمغاوى الناس ومراشدهم ومضارّهم ومنافعهم أن يُحتمل ثقل مؤونتهم فى تعريفهم وأن يتوخّى إرشادهم ، وإن جهلوا فضل ما يُسدى إليهم ؛ ولم يُضن العلم بمثل بذله ولم يُستبق ٨ بمثل نشره ؛ على انّ قراءة الكتب أبلغ فى إرشادهم من تلاقيهم إذ كان مع التلاقى يكثر التظالم وتفرط النصرة وتشتدّ الحميّة ، وعند المواجهة يفرط حبّ الغلبة

١ خط : الدعوى
٢ خط : نجنح
٣ قراءة لع : لا يعاب عنده صاحبه ولا تنقصه امله ؛ والصواب ما اثبت لان الجاحظ يريد : الاقوال التى لا يعرفها اهل هذا العلم اي الفقهاء والمحدثون
٤ سقط من لع
٥ لع : او شيئا
٦ خط : علمه ولعل الصواب : علّته
٧ خط : نريد ، لع : يؤيد
٨ كذا

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وشهوة المباهاة والرئاسة مع الاستحياء من الرجوع والأنفة من الخضوع ؛ وعند جميع ذلك تحدث الضغائن ويظهر التباين ؛ وإذا كانت القلوب على هذه الصفة وبهذه الحلْية ١ امتنعت من المعرفة وعميت عن الدلالة ؛ وليست فى الكتب علّة تمنع من درك البغية وإصابة الحجّة ٢ لأنّ المتوحّد بقرائنها والمتفرّد بفهم ٣ معانيها لا يباهى نفسه [لع ٦٨٨] ولا يغالب عقله ؛ والكتاب قد يفضل صاحبه ويرجح ٤ على واضعه بأمور منها أنّه يؤخذ مع كلّ زمان على تفاوت الأعصار وبُعد ما بين الأمصار وذلك [خط ١١٦ظ] أمر يستحيل فى واضع الكتاب والمنازع بالمسألة والجواب ؛ وقد يذهب العالم وتبقى كتبه ويفنى العقب ويبقى أثره ؛ ولو لا ما رسمت لنا الأوائل فى كتبها وخلّدت من عجيب حكمها ودوّنت من أنواع سيرها حتّى شاهدنا بها ما غاب عنّا وفتحنا بها المستغلق علينا ، فجمعنا إلى قليلنا كثيرهم وأدركنا ما لم نكن ندركه إلا بهم ، لقد خسّ حظّنا فى الحكمة وانقطع سببنا من المعرفة وقصرت الهمّة وذهبت انيّة ، فاعتقم الرأى وماتت الخواطر ونبا العقل .

وأكثر كتبهم ٥ نفعا وأحسن ما ٦ تكلّموا به موقعا كتب الله التى فيها الهدى والرحمة والإخبار عن كلّ عبرة ٧ وتصريف كلّ سيئة وحسنة ؛ فينبغى أن يكون سبيلنا فى من بعدنا كسبيل من قبلنا فينا ، على أنّا قد وجدنا من العبرة أكثر ممّا وجدوا ، كما أنّ من بعدنا يجد من العبرة أكثر ممّا وجدنا .

فما ينتظر ٨ العالم بإظهار ما عنده والناشر ٩ للحق من القيام بما يلزمه ؟ فقد أمكن القول وصلح الدهر وخوى نجم التقيّة وهبّت ريح العلماء وكسد الجهل والعمى وقامت سوق العلم والبيان .

وهذا الكتاب – أرشدك الله – وإن حسن فى عينى وحلا فى صدرى فلست آمن أن يعترينى فيه من الغلط ما يعترى الأب فى ابنه والشاعر فى قريضه ؛ والذى دعانى إلى وضعه مع إشفاق

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١ اقتراح لع : وهذه الحالة ، والصواب ما اثبت
٢ اقتراح لع : المحجة ، والصواب ما اثبت
٣ لع : يفهم
٤ خط : ورجع
٥ خط ولع : من كتبهم
٦ لع : مما
٧ لع : كل شيء وعبرة
٨ لع : ينتظره
٩ لع : والناسي

منه وهيبتى لتصفّحك له أنّى حين علمت أن الغالب على إرادتك والمستولى على مذهبك تقريب العالم وإقصاء الجاهل ، وأنّك متى قرأت كتابا أو سمعت كلاما كنت من وراء ما فيه من نقص أو فضل باتّساع الفهم وصحة العلم ، وأنّك متى رأيت زللا غفرته وقوّمت صاحبه ولم تقرعه به ولم تحرمه ١ له ، ومتى رأيت صوابا أعلنته ورعيته فدعوت إليه وأثنيت ٢ عليه ، لأنّى حين أمنت عقاب الإساءة وثقت بثواب الإحسان كان ذلك موجبا لوضعه ولم أستكره نفسى عليه [خط ١١٧ و] مستر ذلك [لع ٦٨٩] موجبا لنظمه وموجب [خط ١١٧ و] للتقرّب به ؛ والسبب أحقّ بالتفضيل من المسبّب لأنّ العمل محمول على سببه ومضاف إليه وعيال عليه ومضمّن ٣ به ؛ وإحسانى — مدّ الله فى عمرك — فى كتابى هذا ، إن كنت محسنا ، صغير فى جنب إحسانك إذ كنت المثير له من مراقبه والباعث له من مراقده ؛ فلذلك صار أوفر النصيبين لك وأمتن السببين مضافا إليك ؛ وإن كنت قد قصّرت عن الغاية فأنا المضيع دونك ، وإن كنت قد بلغتها ففضلك أظهر وحظّك أوفر ، لأنّى لم أنشط له إلّا بك ولا اعتمدت فيه إلّا عليك ؛ ولو لا سوقك التى لاينفق فيها إلّا إقامة السنّة وإماتة البدعة ودفع الظلامة والنظر فى صلاح الأمّة ، لكانت هذه السلعة بائرة ٤ وهذا الجلب مدفوعا وهذا العلق خسيسا .

فالحمد لله الذى عمّر الدنيا بك وأخذ لمظلومها على يديك وأيّد هذا الملك بمنك ٥ وصدّق فراسة الإمام فيك ! وأيّة منزلة أرفع وأيّة حالة أحمد ممن ليس على ظهرها عالم إلّا وهو يحنّ إليه أو قد رحل إليه أو قد صار إلى كنفه وتحت جناحه ، وليس على ظهرها ظالم إلّا وهو يتّقيه ولا مظلوم إلّا وهو يستعديه ؟ ومن يقف على قدر ثواب من هذا قدره وهذه حاله ؟

وعندى — مدّ الله فى عمرك — كتب سوى هذا الكتاب ، وليس يمنعنى من أن أهديها إليك معا إلّا ما أعرف من كثرة شغلك وكثرة ما يلزمك من التدبير فى ليلك ونهارك ؛ والعلم ، وإن كان حياة العقل كما أنّ العقل حياة الروح والروح حياة البدن ؛ فإنّ حكمه حكم الماء وجميع الغذاء الذى إذا فضل عن مقدار الحاجة عاد ذلك ضررا ؛ وإنّما يسوغ الشراب ويستمرىء الطعام الأوّل فالأوّل ؛ فكذلك العلم يجرى مجراه ويذهب مذهبه ؛ ومن [خط ١١٧ ظ] شأن النفوس الملالة لما طال عليها وكثر عندها ؛ فليس لنا أن نكون من الأعوان على ذلك

١ خط : تحزمه ؛ لع : تخرمه ، والصواب ما اثبت
٢ خط : واثبت ، والتصحيح عن لع
٣ لع : ومضمون
٤ خط : بدون نقط
٥ كذا فى خط ؛ لع : بيمينك

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ومن الجاهلين بما عليه طبائع البشر ، فإنّ أقواهم ضعيف وأنشطهم سؤوم ، وإن كانت حالاتهم ١ متفاوتة ، فإنّ الضعف لهم شامل وعليهم غالب .

فاذ قرىء عليك – أيّدك الله – هذا الكتاب التمسنا أوقات الجمام وساعات الفراغ بقدر ما يمكن من ذلك ويتهيّأ ، والله الموفّق لذلك والمهيّىء له ؛ ثم أتبعنا كلّ كتاب بما يليه إن شاء الله ؛ وليست – بحمد الله – من باب الطّفرة [لع ٦٩٠] والمداخلة ولا من باب الجوهر والعرض! بل كلّها فى الكتاب والسنّة وبجميع الأمّة إليها أعظم الحاجة .

ثمّ نسأل الذى عرّفنا فضلك أن يصل حبلنا بحبلك وأن يجعلنا من صالحى أعوانك المستمعين منك والناظرين معك ، وأن يحسّن فى عينك ويزيّن فى سمعك ما تقرّبنا ٢ به إليك والتمسنا الدنو منك ، إنّه قريب مجيب فعّال لما يريد .

أطال الله بقاءك وأتمّ نعمته عليك وكرامته لك فى الدنيا والآخرة .

– تمت الرسالة –

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١ لع : خلاتهم
٢ لع : يقربنا

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THE DIPTOTE DECLENSION

BY

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Arabic nouns in the singular or broken plural are declined in two different ways when in the absolute or indeterminate state, but in one way only when they are determined by the article or in the construct state:

	Indeterminate		Determinate-Construct
	Triptote	Diptote	
Nominative	*-un*	*-u*	*-u*
Genitive	*-in*	*-a*	*-i*
Accusative	*-an*	*-a*	*-a*

In pause, all these endings become zero, except for the ending *-an*, which becomes *-ā*. Hence this ending is spelled with an *alif* in context.

It is often said that diptote nouns become triptote in the determinate-construct state. Apart from ignoring the difference in the pausal form of the accusative, this formulation presupposes that *-n*, in the triptote declension, is a separate formal element, an "indefinite article". Since such a morpheme should be syntactically or semantically conditioned, not connected with a certain type of declension, it seems preferable not to attribute it the role of a separate morpheme in this case, especially as the *-n* also commonly occurs with proper names, where it certainly cannot express indetermination. [1] Taking the *-n*, or "nunation", as part of the forms of the triptote declension avoids the curiosity of nouns "passing" from one declension to another, and sets into proper relief the phenomenon, found in poetry, of treating diptote nouns in the indeterminate state as triptotes when this suits the meter.

A system of two cases is also found with sound masculine and feminine plurals, and these, too, are often referred to as "diptote". However, though the designation is logically correct, it would be

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[1] Cf. I. J. Gelb, "La mimazione e la nunazione nelle lingue semitiche," *RSO*, XII (1930), 244; G. Kampffmeyer, "Südarabisches," *ZDMG*, LIV (1900), 631; Cf. also the "emphatic" forms with nunation, H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leiden, 1895-98), 163-164.

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better to avoid it, since the sound plural forms have not *-a*, but *i* (short or long), in the genitive-accusative, and possess either a proper nunation (*-ātun/-ātin*) or an *n* of a slightly different type (*-ūna/-īna*), with a determinate declension lacking this *n*, as in the singular.

Another phenomenon which has a certain formal similarity with the diptote declension are the adverbs in *-u* and *-a*. While the former may indeed represent a separate locative case, words like *saufa*, *sahara*, etc., must be accusatives, and are parallel to *-an* accusatives like *ghadan*, *lailan*. [1] It is striking how often the form without *-n* occurs with nouns with feminine ending; for example, *bukrata*, *ghudwata*, *'ashiyata*. With regard to *fainatu*, *fainata* "at the proper time", Reckendorf [2] speaks of "the appearance of diptosy". As with nominal diptotes, substitution of nunated forms is not unusual. [3] Reckendorf [4] includes, as proper diptotes, the decimal digit of the numbers 11-19, *'ashrata* and *'ashara*; diptotes are, of course, also the numerals when used without reference to nouns, and the distributive numerals. [5] Similar in form to diptotes are also the nouns dependent on the generic *lā* and the vocative with its two endings, *-u* and *-a*. It may be noted that among all these forms which are, so to say, outside normal declension (*mabnī*), only one, *amsi*, ends in a vowel not connected with the diptote declension. [6]

Diptosy in the proper sense is tied in Arabic to certain types of noun. These form a rather motley collection: some are semantic, others grammatical, others purely formal (certain patterns and suffixes), others again conditioned by being masculines or feminines of certain other forms, and there is one isolated word (pl. *ashyā'u*). Remarks in grammars and dictionaries suggest that some Arabs also treated other isolated nouns as diptotes. On the whole, however, diptosy is predictable; that is to say that nouns belonging to the types mentioned are really diptotes, except sometimes in poetry. This may or may not be the result of standardization.

Little material is available on the history of the phenomenon

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[1] Note *auwalan*, from the diptote adjective *auwalu*, cf. Reckendorf, *op. cit.*, 107.

[2] P. 109, n. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] P. 268. See, however, J. Kurylowicz, "Le diptotisme et la construction des noms de nombre en arabe," *Word*, VII (1951), 225-226.

[5] W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd. edn., I (1896), 241; Reckendorf, *op. cit.*, 268.

[6] For the forms *amsu*, *amsa* and diptote *amsu* in dialects, see C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian* (London, 1951), 156.

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within North-Arabian. The traditions of Arab philologists about the ancient dialects very rarely concern this phenomenon. For instance, nouns of the type *qatāli* were diptote in the east, indeclinable in Hijaz;[1] the Asad treated all *qatlānu* as triptotes (using at the same time *qatlānatun*, and not *qatlā*, as feminine);[2] compound proper names, mostly treated as diptotes, are by some Arabs handled as indeclinables.[3] The most remarkable statement is that of Suyūṭī: "Some say that the treatment of diptote nouns in prose as triptotes is the dialect of some Arabs."[4] However, apart from the geographical vagueness and the problem as to how reliable are statements of this late philologist, the sentence here quoted is followed by a discussion which makes it rather questionable.[5]

Th. Nöldeke's statement of 1885,[6] made on the basis of rather scanty material, on the diptosy of Arabic *aqtal* names in Nabataean inscriptions has often been quoted and invariably been taken to indicate that diptosy arose only after the Nabataean period.[7] This is first of all a misquotation of Nöldeke, who included *aqtal* among several other forms he believed to be diptote, but cited two cases of *aqtal* which were in his view triptote. His criterion was the element *-w*, frequently written at the end of Arabic names in Nabataean, which he somehow connected with the *i'rāb*. This view has been rejected by J. Cantineau.[8] It remains remarkable, however, that the types of names which most frequently, according to Nöldeke's list, lack *-w*, are such as are diptote in Arabic: names with feminine ending (except *Mnwtw*), names ending in *-n* (that is, probably *-ānu*), compound and foreign names, and names of the form *aqtal*. With regard to the last-named type, the facts, as established by a count of all such names listed in Cantineau's *Lexique*,[9] are as follows: out of 19 names that

[1] *Ibid.*, 155.

[2] H. Kofler, *WZKM*, XLIX (1942), 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, 29, from *Lisān al-'Arab*, II (Būlāq), 210 (s.v. "krb"), where the statement is, however, not in general terms, but refers only to the name *Ma'dīkarib*. No authority is quoted in *Lisān*.

[4] *Ham' al-hawāmi' fī sharḥ jam' al-jawāmi' fī 'ilm al-'arabīya*, I (Cairo, 1327 H.), 37.

[5] Cf. Rabin, *op. cit.*, 10.

[6] T. Nöldeke, "Noten zu den nabatäischen Inschriften," in J. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien* (Berlin, 1885), 73-74.

[7] Cf. O. E. Ravn, *Om nominernes bøjning i babylonisk-assyrisk* (København, 1909), 19; H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen* (Oslo, 1940), 48.

[8] J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* (Paris, 1930-32), II, 166-68; cf. also S. Moscati, "Sulla flessione nominale dell'arabo classico," *RSO* XXIX (1954), 4.

[9] Cantineau, *op. cit.*, II, 55-69.

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belong with some certainty to this type, 5 are without -*w*, 4 have both -*w* and absence of it, and 11 have always -*w*. It seems to me that the forms with -*w* appear more frequently in Sinaitic inscriptions than in Nabataean inscriptions from elsewhere. The forms with -*w* include two feminine names, which of course would anyway be diptote in Arabic. Of the form *'qtwl-* (that is, *aqtāl?*), there are two cases, one with -*w*, the other without. [1]

Explanations of the phenomenon of diptosy fall into various groups. The first we may call the historical school, which sees diptosy as a stage in the development of Arabic nominal inflection, triptosy being considered the one form of inflection most characteristic for Arabic. There are those who think the diptote declension the older, more primitive type. The basic principle was first formulated by Th. Nöldeke [2] when he surmised that Arabic declension, and Semitic declension in general, arose gradually from a single case, the adverbial accusative; though I am not aware that Nöldeke specifically applied this theory to the problem of diptotes. This was done by F. W. M. Philippi, [3] who claimed that diptosy was a remnant of a stage when there were only two cases, nominative and accusative. This state of affairs remained in force with proper names, because in them the possibilities of nominal inflection were in any case not fully exploited. J. Kuryłowicz, in 1950, [4] considered the diptote declension to be very old, and, in fact, evidence for an older indefinite state, before the introduction of the article had made nunation a sign of the indeterminate.

As against this, H. Dérenbourg [5] and, following him, K. U. Nylander [6] thought that diptosy was a stage in the gradual disappear-

[1] Without *w*: *'glh*, *'tls*, *'n'm*, *'fth*, *'tlg*; with and without *w*: *'bgr(w)*, *'drm(w)*, *'ṣlḥ(w)*, *'šwd(w)*; with *w*: *'bṣrw*, *'hwzw*, *'hršw*, *'kbrw*, *'ltmw*, *'š'dw*, *'šbtw*, *'šybw*, and the feminines: *'ftyw*, *'šnmw*; with middle *w*: *'lkwf*, *'klwšw*.

[2] T. Nöldeke, Review of J. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, *Orient und Occident*, I (1860-62), 758-759. I have not seen *Gottinger Gelehrt. Anzeiger* (1871), 886, where Nöldeke is said to have partly retracted his views, cf. K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan* (Uppsala, 1882), 50.

[3] F. W. M. Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des status constructus im Hebräischen* (Weimar, 1871), 164-166.

[4] J. Kuryłowicz, "La mimation et l'article en arabe," *Archiv Orientální* 18, I (1950) 327-328.

[5] H. Dérenbourg, "Quelques observations sur l'antiquité de la déclinaison dans les langues sémitiques," *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Déc., 1867, 382: "un premier pas vers l'abandon complet des terminaisons."

[6] P. 50. Nylander calls it "the beginning of the dissolution (en begynnande upplösning) of the complete three-case declension."

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ance of the normal triptote declension towards the absence of any declension (except for some remnants of the adverbial accusative) in colloquial Arabic. H. Birkeland [1] refined this view by giving it a geographical slant: proper names and other "prestige" words were borrowed from a dialect which had already lost final *-i* in pause. To the same class of solutions belongs the statement of W. Wright, [2] that in the diptote type the accusative had, at an early stage, supplanted the genitive.

The other school sees diptosy not as a stage in the development of Arabic in general, but, while starting with the assumptions that triptosy is normal and original, and diptosy a purely Arabic phenomenon, [3] seeks the causes which brought about this peculiarity just in those types of noun which have it. J. Barth [4] believed that the inflection of pronouns (masc. *-ū*, fem. *-ī*) influenced in a roundabout way the declension of some nouns. P. Jensen, [5] H. Reckendorf [6] and, following him, C. Brockelmann [7] sought its origin in proper names of the types *yaqtulu* and *qatala*, [8] with *-u* and *-a* being originally verbal endings [9] which were reinterpreted as case endings. From there the feature spread by processes of analogy. Brockelmann admits that this theory does not account for the diptosy of the proper names of feminine form or gender. Also J. Kuryłowicz, in 1951,[10] starts out with the proper names, deriving their diptosy from the fact that they form their plurals according to the two-case sound plural, in contrast

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[1] H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen* (Oslo, 1940), 48-52.

[2] W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (London, 1890), 140.

[3] Cf. also C. Tagliavini, "Alcuni osservazioni sul primitivo valore della mimazione e nunazione nelle lingue semitiche," *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929), 257, n. 1: "puramente fenomeno arabo settentrionale."

[4] J. Barth, "Vergleichende Studien, IV: Die diptotische Flexion," *ZDMG*, XLVI (1892), 684-708. He cites the fact that the Ethiopic pronouns developed an accusative in *-a*, for example, *we'etū*, acc. *we'eta*.

[5] P. Jensen, *apud* H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* I (Leiden, 1895), p. III (at end of volume).

[6] P. 171.

[7] I, 461.

[8] It should be noted, however, that *yaqtul* names are very rare in Classical Arabic. With regard to Nabataean, Nöldeke, *op. cit.* (p. 549, n. 6), 74 states that *yqtl* names are not diptote, that is, they have *-w*. This was based on the material at his disposal. A check on such names in J. Cantineau, *op. cit.*, II, 102-105 shows six names with final *-w*, and eleven without it.

[9] According to Jensen, they were the endings of the imperfect indicative and subjunctive; according to Reckendorf those of imperfect indicative and perfect.

[10] Kuryłowicz, *op. cit.* (p. 548, n. 4), 222.

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to the common nouns from which they are derived, which have triptote broken plurals: the two-case system was transferred to the singular forms of the n. pr., but with *a* for *i* by polarization, and before the general spread of nunation. On the other hand, H. Bauer, [1] H. S. Nyberg, [2] and H. Wehr [3] derive all diptotes from the *aqtalu* adjectives, the origin of which they explain in different ways: Bauer as the first singular imperfect; Nyberg as *a-ḥsan* "possessor of beauty" plus the enclitic copulas *-hū* and *-ā*; Wehr, following Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, [4] *ā ḥasanu/a* "O what beauty". Already Nyberg adds a further reason for the absence of nunation (which he identifies as the indefinite article), namely, the inherent determination of the *aqtalu* form. [5] The neutrality of proper names as to determination and indetermination was also taken to be the cause of their diptosy by Ch. Pellat. [6]

I am not aware of any attempt having been undertaken so far to account for the phenomena of diptosy by relating them to phenomena of nominal status in other Semitic languages. We are certainly entitled to do so, because a) the triptote declension has undoubtable parallels in other Semitic idioms, b) so has the two-case declension of the sound plurals, c) as has long been realized, the Arabic nunation corresponds to a mimation [7] in Old South-Arabian, Akkadian, and Amorite, d) there are certain indications of the use of *-a* outside the accusative in languages having otherwise a triptote declension. [8] For the purpose of our investigation, we shall separate between the absence of mimation and the *-a* ending, and shall, for reasons which will emerge as we go on, include some other status phenomena in languages which have (at least as we know them) neither grammatical

[1] H. Bauer, "Zur Entstehung des arabischen Elativs," *ZDMG*, LXV (1911), 422-424.

[2] H. Nyberg, "Wortbildungen mit Präfixen in den semitischen Sprachen," *Monde Oriental*, XIV (1920), 248, 268-269.

[3] H. Wehr, "Der arabische Elativ," Ak. d. W. u. d. Lit. in Mainz, Abhandl. d. geistes- und sozialwiss. Kl., 1952, No. 7, p. 573.

[4] Note, however, that Ben Ḥayyim, "On the origin of the *afʿalu* pattern and its suppletive forms" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiṣ*, VIII (1936-37), 113-118, does not take the *aqtalu* forms as the origin of the diptote declension, but believes they were attracted to the existing diptote group on account of their similarity to proper names and their vocative character.

[5] ". . . dem streng determinierten Charakter derjenigen Nomina, die diptotisch flektiert werden."

[6] Ch. Pellat, *Comptes Rendus du GLECS*, V (1948-1951), 90.

[7] Cf. especially D. H. Müller, "Die Nunation und die Mimation," *ZDMG*, XXXII (1878), 542-551; Gelb, *op. cit.*; Tagliavini, *op. cit.*

[8] The material is collected and discussed in G. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-ovest* (Napoli, 1960), 117-119.

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mimation [1] nor case declension. We shall proceed from languages more similar to Arabic, in these matters, to those that resemble it least with regard to nominal status.

South-Arabian had a mimation with a grammatical function closely resembling that of Arabic nunation; that is, it appeared with indeterminate nouns, and did not appear with nouns determined by the *-n* article. [2] It probably also possessed a case system, though the script expresses only the genitive in the construct state, and that only in one dialect. Nouns without the *-n* article can be either mimated or without consonant ending. In Minaean, these seem to alternate without any discernible principle. For Sabaean, R. Schneider [3] notes the existence of non-mimated forms, but is inclined to treat it as a sign of decay of the status system. A. F. L. Beeston [4] states that the non-mimated status appears, as an alternative to the determinate form, with:

1. points of the compass
2. names of seasons
3. nouns denoting materials ("mass words").

A fuller list is given by Gelb, [5] including

4. proper names of the form *aqtal* [6]
5. nouns with the formative suffix *-n* [7]
6. certain broken plurals, for example, *qtlw* [8]
7. binary phrases such as *dth' wkhrf* "spring and autumn", *bḏr wslm* "in war and peace"
8. compound names

[1] As opposed to *-m* endings as formatives of nouns, which are said by some to represent former mimation; cf. especially Gelb, *op. cit.*, 229-30. Another matter is the hypothesis of A. Jirku, "Die Mimation in den nordsemitischen Sprachen," *Biblica*, XXXIV (1953), 78-80, according to which words were taken over with the mimation by Hebrew (which had no mimation) from a language which still possessed it.

[2] It was, however, not restricted to indeterminate nouns, cf. A. F. L. Beeston, "A Sabaean Penal Law," *Muséon*, LXIV (1951), 314.

[3] R. Schneider, *Comptes Rendus du GLECS*, V (1948-1951), 82.

[4] *A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian* (London, 1962), 31.

[5] I. J. Gelb, *op. cit.* (1930), 247-252; also cf. F. Hommel, *Süd-arabische Chrestomathie* (München, 1893), 40.

[6] A check on all names of this form listed in G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, II (Louvain, 1934), *Répertoire alphabétique*, 21-36, shows not a single one with mimation, while quite a few have final *-n*, probably the definite article (as in Arabic).

[7] It is noteworthy in this connection that, in Akkadian, the mimation tends to become a nunation in words containing a nasal or liquid; cf. Gelb, *op. cit.* (1930), 229; J. Lewy. "Zur Amoriterfrage," *ZA*, XXXVIII (1928-1929), 246.

[8] Cf. Hommel, *op. cit.*, 45.

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9. names of the form *yqtl*.

To these D. H. Müller adds [1]

10. epithets of gods and men.

In Akkadian, mimation is not grammatically significant, there being no opposition of determination. [2] There are two non-mimated states, one with three case vowels and the other without vowel ending, but in some forms of Akkadian with *-i* after final consonant cluster. In Old Akkadian and in private documents of the Hammurabi period, the mimated and non-mimated forms alternate according to as yet unknown principles; [3] while after the Hammurabi period, both mimation and case vowels become irregular, probably because case inflection had been lost in speech. Rules can thus be stated only for official Old Babylonian, and we may suspect that this standardization did not always rest on observation of actual usage. By then, the two non-mimated forms had lost whatever difference of function they may have had before. [4] The non-mimated status had well-defined syntactic functions, of which four correspond to Arabic non-nunated (but not all "diptote") constructions, namely construct, adverbial, generic negation, vocative; one, the predicative position, corresponds to an Arabic nunated form. Besides these, there are some semantic classes:

1. proper names, especially when compound or foreign [5]
2. names of months
3. numbers and measures
4. adverbial phrases, such as *ana dār* "for ever"
5. binary phrases such as *ṣekher rabi* "small and big", *ẕikar sinnish* "male and female", *mūshi u urri* "night and day".

All these classes are not very consistent in the appearance of

[1] D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

[2] Cf. W. v. Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Roma, 1952), 80. This appears to be the general view of Akkadian scholars today; cf. however, O. E. Ravn, "Babylonian Permansive and Status Indeterminatus," *Archiv Orientální* 17, II (1949), 300, who suggests that mimation is opposed to non-mimation as individualizing/generalizing.

[3] Gelb, *op. cit.* (1930), 219 calls these "errori grammaticali," and compares the well-known inconsistency in spelling. However, it seems to me inherently improbable that speakers of a living language would err in its meaningful oppositions.

[4] Cf. J. Nougayrol, "La détermination et l'indétermination du nom en accadien," *Comptes Rendus du GLECS*, V (1948-51), 75 and the lists in Ravn, *op. cit.* (p. 549, n. 7), 44-49.

[5] Gelb, *op. cit.* (1930), 222.

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non-mimated forms.[1] Two further contrasts to Arabic may be noted: mimation occurs in some prepositions in the so-called locative-adverbial ending *-mm*; in Neo-Babylonian, where mimation is largely absent, it occurs with the vast majority of nouns ending in feminine *-t*.[2]

Besides these non-mimated forms, there also occurs in some of the oldest forms of Akkadian a non-mimated ending *-u* which is not bound to the accusative case, but, according to those who describe it, can appear in all cases. In Old Akkadian, it is tied to certain words appearing as parts of names, such as *-laba* "lion", *-aba* "father", *-akha* "brother", *-ama* "father-in-law",[3] the supposedly West-Semitic loanword *kumra* "priest", the divine names *Labana*, *Khanata*, and the month name *Tammarta*.[4]

Amorite is known only from proper names, and we can therefore not decide whether the frequent mimation had a grammatical function or not. There are three cases. In the Akkadian texts from Mari, both mimation and cases follow pretty closely the general Akkadian pattern, except for some rare nouns denoting *realia*, and perhaps representing local usage, which lack mimation.[5] On the other hand, some nouns, apparently by the side of their triptote inflection, had both forms without vowel ending and forms in *-a*, in all cases; for example, *ilu*, *il*, *ila*; *zimru*, *zimra-*. There seems to be no visible classification of the words so affected.[6] The ending has been compared with the Aramaic emphatic state,[7] and even G. Garbini[8] and S. Moscati,[9] who are more cautious, and admit the absence of evidence for any

[1] For this and the list, see v. Soden, *op. cit.*, 79; R. Campbell Thompson, *On Traces of the Indefinite Article in Assyrian* (London, 1902); Nougayrol, *op. cit.*; Gelb, *op. cit.* (1930); Ravn, *op. cit.* (1909); A. Goetze, "Number Idioms in Old Babylonian," *JNES*, V (1946), 186-202.

[2] Cf. Gelb, *op. cit.* (1930), 228.

[3] I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, 1st edn. (Chicago, 1952), 190-191; in the second edn. (1961), much further material is added, and the feature connected mainly with the predicative status, though the existence of occurrences in other positions is noted.

[4] J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, 243-244, 267.

[5] A. Finet, *L'Accadien des lettres de Mari* (Bruxelles, 1956), 68-70, 82-85.

[6] C. F. Jean, "Les noms propres de personnes dans les lettres de Mari," *Studia Mariana*, ed. A. Parrot (Leiden, 1950), 71 and n. 33, 74; Gelb, "La lingua degli Amoriti," *Atti della Accad. nazionale dei Lincei, Serie VIII, Rendiconti Cl. di Sc. morali, storiche e filologiche*, XIII (1958), 154.

[7] C. F. Jean, *loc. cit.*; I have not seen C. F. Jean, *L'Ethnologie*, XXXVIII (1946), 37.

[8] P. 118.

[9] *I predecessori d'Israele* (Roma, 1956), 91.

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grammatical function, such as would be expected of the emphatic ending, state that there is no alternative possibility. A comparison with the Arabic diptote declension seems not to have been envisaged, in spite of the double similarity, *-a* outside the accusative and absence of mimation.

Ugaritic has a three-case system, but not mimation. [1] In Ugaritic script, the cases appear only in words ending in *aleph*, so that the material is too scanty to study more closely. In Ugaritic names written in Akkadian context, however, four cases have been noted (three within one letter) where the genitive ends in *-a*. These, curiously enough, fall all into types that can be paralleled from Arabic or, in one case, from Akkadian: [2]

1. name with feminine suffix: *u-ga-ri-ta*
2. name with the suffix *-ān*: *kha-di-ia-na*
3. name of the pattern *qutal*: *gu-pa-na*
4. divine name or epithet: $^{d}U^{la}$, read *Ba'la*.

C. H. Gordon points out the parallelism to the Arabic diptotes (though he does not note the similarity in types). Of course, the parallelism is only partial, since the absence of mimation is lacking; and it must also be envisaged as possible that the *-a* appeared not only in the genitive, but also, as in Akkadian and Amorite, in the nominative.

It is generally agreed that the Ethiopic declension, zero in nominative and genitive, *-a* or *-hā* in the accusative, really represents a three-case system, in which old nominative **-u* and old genitive **-i* have become neutral vowels and disappeared. As against this three-case declension in the absolute state, the construct state has *-a* in all cases. A. Dillmann [3] saw in this *-a* a relative particle, in keeping with the tendency of his time to identify all declension endings as particles or pronouns. Brockelmann [4] surmised that the accusative ending was transferred in this position also to the nominative and genitive, a suggestion reminiscent of that advanced by Wright concerning

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[1] There is a *-m* (*-ma?*) ending with adverbial and perhaps emphatic functions, but this seems to be unconnected with the mimation, cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, I (Roma, 1955), 84-85; H. Cazelles, *Comptes Rendus du GLECS*, V (1948-51), 79-81.

[2] Gordon, *op. cit.*, 45, with references.

[3] *Ethiopic Grammar* (London, 1907, = 2nd German edn. of 1899), § 144a.

[4] *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I (Berlin, 1908), 463. See also S. Moscati, *Lezioni di linguistica semitica* (Roma, 1959), 92.

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the Arabic diptotes. Others explain the *-a* as a svarabhakti vowel.[1]

Hebrew possesses neither grammatical mimation nor case inflection. The stressed *-i* and *-ō* added to words in the construct is not likely to represent remnants of former Hebrew cases, since other features point to a situation in which Hebrew still had case endings in the absolute status, but no final vowels in the construct. In any case, these endings have no syntactic function. Determination is expressed in poetry facultatively, in prose with fair consistency by *ha-*. There is, however, in poetry a curious unstressed *-a(h)*, quite distinct from the locative *-ah*, where we now know the *h* to be originally consonantal. The only certain cases are with nouns ending in feminine *-at*, where they coexist with the normal absolute status in *-a(h)*. There is no syntactic function: of the 15 cases, 6 are in the nominative, 5 in the accusative, and 4 in the genitive, syntactically speaking. It is, however, worth noting that the only two cases occurring in the book of Hosea[2] are both in the accusative position. There is a notable clustering round certain words: five instances concern *'aulathah* "injustice", three times each *'ezrathah* "help" and *yeshu'athah* "deliverance", that is, seventy-three percent of the total; the remaining four words are *eymatha* "terror", *'ephathah* "darkness", *suphathah* "storm wind", *ṣarathah* "trouble".[3] All these are words with strong emotional connotation. Both Gesenius-Kautzsch[4] and Bauer-Leander[5] identify this ending with the locative, but the latter admit also the possibility of the views: that we have here the old accusative;[6] in some cases, at least, the Aramaic emphatic state;[7] or a form corresponding to the Arabic *nudba*, that is, basically, the vocative. P. Joüon,[8] on the other hand, sees here a svarabhakti vowel, to avoid the meeting of two stressed syllables.

In Aramaic, the ending *-ā* (often written in older sources *-āh*,

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[1] It is correct that the svarabhakti vowel in Ethiopic is *a*, cf. C. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, 213.

[2] Which, of course, is known to show features of the North-Israelite dialect.

[3] References: Ex. 15:16, Ezek. 28:15, Hos. 8:7, 10:13, Jonah 2:10, Psalms 3:3, 44:27, 63:8, 80:3, 92:16, 94:17, 120:1, 125:3, Job 5:16, 10:22. It is doubtful whether *ha-mezimmathah*, Jer., 11:15 belongs here.

[4] *Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd English edn. (Oxford, 1910 = 28th German edn., 1909), § 90g.

[5] *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (Halle a.S., 1922), 528.

[6] So first Hupfeld, *ZFKM*, II (1839), 467; Nylander, *op. cit.*, 34; E. König, *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897), 219.

[7] So W. Gesenius, *Ausfuhrliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1817), 545.

[8] *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, 2nd edn. (Roma, 1947), 225.

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otherwise -*ā*') serves of course in some of the earlier dialects as a determinative element, with the absolute state opposed to it as an indeterminate form, and a separate construct state. In all later forms of Aramaic, the "emphatic" -*ā* form has no determinative force, but serves as the normal form of the noun, with the absolute form functioning mainly as a predicative. In Eastern Aramaic, the absolute state has functions closely resembling those which the non-mimated forms have in Akkadian. [1]

Since Hupfeld, [2] most scholars have taken this -*ā* to be a deictic or pronominal element; Philippi [3] identified it as the old accusative ending. As we have seen, occurrences of -*a* in Amorite and Hebrew have been connected with the Aramaic emphatic state. These occurrences carry no determinative function, and if related to the Aramaic morpheme would indicate that it, too, did not originally possess such a force. It is, indeed, difficult to understand that Aramaic should, in its development, have run counter to all tendencies of the Semitic group (and indeed of languages everywhere) [4] and given up the category of determination once acquired. The possibility should at least be examined that the determinative force of the -*a* ending was developed in Syrian Aramaic only, from which "Imperial Aramaic" later derived, and is due there to the influence of the existence of determination in the surrounding Canaanite and Proto-Arabic languages, but that it never penetrated properly into other Aramaic dialects. This can be illustrated from the uncertain handling of the feature in Targumic Aramaic, as if it were a category of another language.

The following table sums up the occurrences of both non-mimated and -*a* forms as far as they allow of any classification. For the latter reason, the table omits Amorite altogether, as well as the -*a* forms of Akkadian. It also omits Hebrew and Aramaic, which have each only one form in these categories. The sign "x" means that either a non-mimated or an -*a* form exists, the sign "-" that it is known not

[1] Cf. S. Moscati, "Lo stato assoluto dell'aramaico orientale," *Ist. Orient. di Napoli, Annali, Sezione linguistica*, IV (1962), 81. On substitutes for determination in Syriac, see A. Guillaumont, *Comptes Rendus du GLECS*, V, (1948-1951), 92-93.

[2] *ZFKM*, II (1839), 450; cf. also J. Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1913), 75-76, 133-134.

[3] F. W. M. Philippi, *op. cit.*, 198.

[4] The cases in which determination has been given up with incorporation of the article into the word, as in Creole, seem all to be due to substrate influence. True, Eastern Aramaic had a determination-less substrate, namely, Akkadian, but this could hardly apply to Western Aramaic.

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to exist, while a blank indicates that we have no information, either because of the system of writing or on account of the type of text at our disposal.

	Arabic (non-mim., -*a*)	S.-Arabian (non-mim.)	Akkadian (non-mim.)	Ugaritic (-*a*)	Ethiopic (-*a*)
SYNTACTICAL:					
Construct	×	×	×		
Predicative	—		×		
Adverbial	×	×	×		×
Vocative	×		×		
Generic negation	×		×		
DECLENSION:					
Fem. n. pr.	×	—	—	×	
Foreign n. pr.	×		×		
Compound n. pr.	×		×		
N. pr. of verbal form	×	×	—		
N. pr. qutal	×			×	
Nouns in -*ān*	×	×	—	×	
Adj. *aqtal*	×	×			
Numerals	×		×		
Points of compass	—	×	—		
Months and seasons	—	×	×		
Mass words	—	×	—		
Binary phrases	—	×	×		
Names and epithets	—	×	×	×	

The same impression as created by the above table, namely, that of an extensive background to the Arabic diptote declension, we also gain from a consideration of the geographical distribution of the two constituents involved. All languages which have grammatical mimation also possess a non-mimated type of noun. The distribution of -*a* forms of various function and importance is coextensive with the entire Semitic area, except for South-Arabian, where we have no information.

We can say with confidence that non-mimation in declension (which, in what follows, includes non-nunation) occurs over a wide area with the same mixture of semantic, formal, and formal-syntactical conditionings, though everywhere with less regularity than in Classical Arabic. Here, as in other respects, Arabic has systematized general Semitic grammatical features and tightened up their formal conditions. Comparison shows that Arabic diptosy in its application has reduced the semantic aspect and strengthened the purely formal one. On

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the other hand, it appears that the further we go back, the more prominent the semantic aspect becomes, so that we may surmise that in the Proto-Semitic stage it was the principal, if not the only, one. Now semantic categories are notoriously difficult to delimit and to verbalize. The original category in all probability included proper names. [1] It seems also to have included "non-countable" things, hence mass-words and the binary phrases, which really denote totality. To this group belongs also the generic negation, since it negates the existence of the total class, not of an individual. Here the semantic category borders upon the syntactic.

It is more difficult to get a clear idea about the *-a* form. The first question which arises is the following one: was this everywhere nominative *-u* and oblique case *-a*, as in Arabic, or were these words indeclinable, ending invariably in *-a*? The nature of the evidence is such that, in both Akkadian and Amorite, *-u* forms of this type, being identical with the nominative of the triptote non-mimated class, would pass unnoticed by us. Nevertheless, if we accept the Ethiopic, Aramaic, and Hebrew forms as belonging here, the weight of evidence is in the direction of original indeclinability. This would also confirm the impression of scholars that, in Akkadian and Amorite, *-a* appeared in all syntactic positions. Thus Proto-Semitic would have had three types of singular noun:

	I	II	III
Nominative	*-um*	*-u*	*-a*
Genitive	*-im*	*-i*	
Accusative	*-am*	*-a*	

No principle, semantic or otherwise, emerges from the evidence for classifying the nouns in *-a*. [2] It is possible that such vowel-ending nouns existed from the beginning, as opposed to nouns ending in consonant, and that suffix declension, when it came into being, could for phonetic reasons be applied only to nouns ending in a consonant. [3]

In various languages, however, the *-a* type seems to have been extended beyond its original limits, and, in the process, was given

[1] It is possible that the diptosy of *aqtalu* adjectives in Classical Arabic is due to the frequency of *aqtal* n. pr. in earlier types of Arabian speech.

[2] There appears to be some slight indication of a connection between the *-a* ending and feminine nouns in *-t*.

[3] Note that also Classical Arabic possesses a class of indeclinable nouns in *-ā* (*alif maqṣūra*) and that in Ethiopic the nouns ending in *ā-*, *ē-*, *ō-* are indeclinable.

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a function. In Hebrew, it may have become an emphatic form of certain grammatical word types. In Aramaic, it went into opposition with the non-mimated form, that is construct and predicative, and at least in Eastern Aramaic also of the semantic non mimated type, and finally – in one dialect or everywhere – this opposition turned into one of determinate/indeterminate. Exactly the opposite happened in three other cases. In Ethiopic, the *-a* form merged with one of the non-mimated grammatical forms, the construct. In Ugaritic (if we can judge on the strength of the four cases available), it took over entirely the role of the semantic non-mimated type, and a new opposition triptote/*-a* took the place of the former mimated non-mimated. We may reconstruct the process by assuming that first the two non-mimated declension types, the triptote and the indeclinable, merged, being both represented by the *-a* type; by the time the mimation disappeared, and a new triptote non-mimated declension arose, the opposite member of the opposition was already available. This, however, is exactly what happened in Arabic, except that, there mimation did not disappear: the *-a* form took over the functions of the non-mimated triptote declension and so became opposed to the mimated form. In the process of the merging of the two non-mimated declension types, the triptote type contributed the *-u* nominative, thus replacing the indeclinable noun type by the diptote we know. A pattern of two-case declension was already available in the sound plurals.

Our theory does not account for the three-case declension of diptote nouns with the article *al-* or in the construct state. The only other Semitic language which has an article coexisting with full declension and with mimation, and also the only one which inflects the construct, is Old South-Arabian. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the details of its case inflection, which no doubt would throw some light upon these Arabic phenomena.

The diptote declension thus remains a purely Arabic phenomenon, but its uniqueness derives from the mixture of elements existing singly in most other Semitic languages. It seems to me that this conclusion will stand even if some of our hypotheses regarding the distribution and development of the *-a* forms are not accepted.

Addendum

In an article which reached Jerusalem some months after the present paper had been sent to the Editor, M. Liverani discusses in

full the Ugaritic evidence with regard to names ending in *-ānu*, *-ēnu*, *-īnu*, and *-ūnu*, as well as recapitulating the discussion on diptosy in Arabic. In the light of the material assembled here, it is difficult to accept his conclusion that the diptote declension constitutes a specific Ugaritic-Arabic isogloss. Cf. M. Liverani, "Antecedenti del diptotismo arabo nei testi accadici di Ugarit," *RSO*, XXXVIII (1963), 131-60.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO KORANIC EXEGESIS

BY

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A fundamental chapter in the history of Arabic and Islamic studies is yet to be written: the analysis of the conflict between the Prophet of Islam and the poets of Arabia.

For the history of Muhammadan and Koranic studies, the record of this conflict has preserved material which throws light on a variety of such important problems as: the essence of prophethood and of poetry as conceived in seventh-century Arabia; the form of Koranic composition, particularly the transition from a style characterized by the employment of rhymed prose to a style more emancipated and less ornate; the genesis of such dogmas as the Inimitability and the Eternity of the Koran.

Set in the long perspective of Arabic Islamic culture, this conflict assumes basic importance. It emerges as the first in a series of crises which Arabic culture was to weather; but it is distinguished from the rest by the fact that it took place when that culture was still autochthonous, developing within the confines of its home-base, unlike the crises of Islamic times when non-Arab and non-Arabic factors and elements were involved. The conflict was paradoxical in that Muhammad, the Prophet of the Arabs, threw to his countrymen's most cherished and significant achievement—poetry- -a challenge whose reverberations remained audible in the literary annals of Islam. The paradox became more puzzling when this same poetry which was rejected by Muhammad began to play an important role in the science of exegesis (*tafsir*) as the key to unlocking Koranic lexical difficulties and literary devices, and later when it was linked with the Koran and with Koranic studies in the wider context of Islamic culture and thus established itself as one of the pillars of the Arabic humanities.

The conflict also forms a chapter in the history of the theme "Islam and the Arts", and in this theme its status is unique; while views on Muhammad's attitude to representational art and to music must, for obvious reasons, remain conjectural, views on his attitude to literary art are not. The evidence is available, however fragmentary

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and scattered, in sources of various orders and authenticity, but out of these sources Muhammad's attitude to poetry can be reconstructed with tolerable certainty. [1]

I

The most important source is, of course, the Koran itself. The last part of sura xxvi, entitled "The Poets", contains four [2] famous verses 224-227 which treat of poetry and poets. In spite of the fact that all the terms used in these verses are common Arabic words and express basic Koranic concepts, critical opinion, in medieval times, among the exegetes (*mufassirūn*), and in modern times, among the translators, has been divided on the exact meaning and the real significance of these four verses. As these four verses are the locus classicus for the theme "Muhammad and Poetery" in the most primary of all sources, the Koran itself, a thorough examination of these verses is essential for understanding the nature of the conflict between Muhammad and the poets of his time. [3] The verses in question read as follows: [4]

[1] Standard histories of Arabic literature give bibliographical orientation to some aspects of the struggle between Muhammad and poetry but they are inadequate.

[2] Sometimes considered five, when the last verse 227, a long one, is divided into two verses.

[3] Perhaps the most unsuccessful attempt at interpreting these verses was that of D. S. Margoliouth in his article on "The Origins of Arabic Poetry," in *JRAS* (1925). His exegetic effort was not only unsuccessful, but was also disastrous, in that it formed one of the bases upon which he rested his case against the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry. His conclusions have, of late, been subjected to a searching criticism by Professor A. J. Arberry and have probably been swept away beyond recall; see the latter's "Epilogue" in *The Seven Odes* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957). Although included in a volume of translations, this "Epilogue" is an important contribution to technical scholarship. The arguments for the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry advanced in the "Epilogue" should be supplemented by a crucial argument advanced by Sir Hamilton Gibb in his review of "The Seven Odes" in *WI*, n.s. V, 271-72; as it appears in a short review it is likely to be overlooked by students of pre-Islamic poetry and for this reason it is quoted here: "for the final argument is that it would be as impossible to 'reconstruct' the poetry of the Jahiliya from the poetry of the Umayyad period as it would be to 'reconstruct' Elizabethan from Caroline drama." A very substantial contribution to the problem of pre-Islamic poetry in its entirety was made by Dr. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad in *Maṣādir al-Shiʿr al-Jāhilī* (Cairo, 1956). One of the most valuable parts of the book, after the dismal problem of authenticity had been disposed of, is the constructive part which studies the *ruwāt* and lays a solid foundation for the most primary of all researches on pre-Islamic poetry; namely, the critical editing of the individual diwans which form the corpus of pre-Islamic poetry.

[4] *The Qur'ān*, tr. Richard Bell, II (Edinburgh, 1939), 362.

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224 - "And the poets them follow the beguiled,
225 Seest thou not that in every wadi they fall madly in love,
226 And that they say (in verse) what they do not do?
227 Except those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness, and made mention of God frequently; and vindicate themselves after they have been wronged; those who have done wrong will one day know what kind of turning upside down they will experience."

(224) وَالشُّعَرَاءُ يَتَّبِعُهُمُ الْغَاوُونَ (225) أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّهُمْ فِي كُلِّ وَادٍ يَهِيمُونَ . (226) وَأَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ مَا لَا يَفْعَلُونَ (227) إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَذَكَرُوا اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا وَانْتَصَرُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا ظُلِمُوا وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ .

The difficulty of arriving at a correct interpretation of these verses is posed by ambiguities which attend four words: (1) *al-ghāwūna*, in the first verse (224); (2) *wādin* and (3) *yahīmūna*, in the second verse (225); and (4) *intaṣarū*, in the fourth verse (227). In addition to these single words there are two whole sentences which bear more than one interpretation: (1) *wa-annahum yaqūlūna mā lā yaf'alūna*, the whole of the third verse (226); and (2) *wa-dhakarū 'Allāha kathīran*, in the fourth verse (227). Although the exegetes (*mufassirūn*) and the translators are divided on the interpretation of these terms, there is general agreement as to the *tenor* of the Koranic discourse on the poets, or the ground on which the poets are denounced. The term *al-ghāwūna* is interpreted to denote persons and to connote primarily their *ethical* attributes: they are "beguiled",[1] "perverse",[2] "deviators".[3] An ethical connotation is also given to the second and the third verses which state the ground upon which the Koran denounced the poets: the term *yahīmūna* is interpreted as "fall madly in love", "philander", "wander"; *wādin* as "valley", the scene of their philandering, or mad love, or wandering from the path of righteousness; an alternative interpretation is also given, based on a metaphorical understanding of the two terms, *yāhīmuna* and *wādin*; namely, that poets discourse on every subject without any scruples of conscience.

A close examination of these verses will reveal that these interpretations are open to some grave objections.

The basic term which dominates the whole discourse is *al-ghāwūna*.

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, II (London: Allen & Unwin, 1955), 75.
[3] Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān* (Lahore, Pakistan, 1951), 726.

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It will be argued that its interpretation as "perverse, or beguiled *persons*" cannot be accepted.

a) The denunciation of the poets is cast in the mould of a short declarative statement (verse 224), followed immediately by a strong rhetorical question vouching for the truth of the declarative statement (verses 225-226). The denunciation is effected through the inclusion of the term *al-ghāwūna*, which thus becomes the central word in these verses. But its inclusion in the first verse is rather startling, in that the denunciation of the poets which starts with the poets themselves, *al-shu'arā'u*, who are given the privileged position in the verse grammatically as the subject, is suddenly shifted from the poets to *al-ghāwūna*, and thus the accusation against the poets is not levelled frontally, but obliquely, through the mediation of another term in the sentence. For these verses to keep the intensity and crispness of their denunciation, the term *al-ghāwūna* needs to be a particularly strong term, as the immorality of the poets is now left implied; it is guilt by association and derivative from that of *al-ghāwūna* in the first verse. *Al-ghāwūna* needs to be a strong term for a second reason, namely, coherence of the second and third verses with the first. It is as a result of this association that the poets are driven to "wander in every valley"; and so *al-ghāwūna* needs to stand for an *active* agent who is effecting this wandering or straying. Otherwise there is no justification for the sudden shift from *al-shu'arā'u*, which was given prominence as the subject of the sentence, since this shift enfeebles rather than intensifies the denunciation. But most of the *mufassirūn* and the translators understand and render the term *al-ghāwūna* in such a way as to produce just this effect; they render it as the persons who *follow* rather than lead the poets to "wandering in every valley", as a *passive* group who are following the lead of the poets. This interpretation not only deprives the passage of its crispness, but also does not do justice to the structure of the two verses, that is, a declarative statement and a rhetorical question, a structure which requires a strong term for the effective working of this stylistic device.

The first verse is in antithetical parallelism with *illā 'l-ladhīna āmanū*, which opens the exceptive fourth verse in which the Koran approves of a certain type of poets as opposed to those who had just been denounced. This antithetical structure which obtains within this passage is a further key to understanding the real meaning of *al-ghāwūna*. The antonym of *īmān*, the abstract noun from *āmana*, is not *ghaiy*, the abstract noun from *ghawā*. *Ghaiy* is a serious enough

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pejorative in the Koran, but a more basic and serious pejorative is required to balance *imān*, and this suggests that the connotation and denotation given to the term *al-ghāwūna*, needs to be reexamined for a more satisfactory interpretation which would balance "Those who believe".

This formal argument has been advanced because it is called for by the form itself of these verses pulled together into a thematic unity by a declarative statement and a rhetorical question, and thus, the expectation of a rigorous logical sequence, not always possible in every section of a Holy Book, is fully justified in this instance. But a more cogent argument is available on the basic semantic level, and it turns around the two terms: *yahīmūna* and *wādin*.

b) One interpretation offered by the exegetes to the effect that the poets discourse on every subject, takes both *yahīmūna* and *wādin* metaphorically; but this interpretation lowers the tone of the denunciation voiced in the first verse, of which this second is intended to be a proof. More important is the fact that the two terms are *forced* to contribute to this interpretation by special connotations given to them; both are taken metaphorically: *yahīmūna* in the sense of wander about or ramble in discourse, *wādin* in the sense of field or type of discourse. This metaphorical interpretation of the two terms is not borne out by the Koranic or Arabic usage of the time. The more important term is *wādin*; it occurs many times in the Koran, and invariably in the literal sense of "valley". There is no evidence that in pre-Islamic or Muhammadan times the word was used metaphorically in the sense of type or kind. [1]

Another interpretation held by some translators gives the verse an erotic signification with emphasis on *yahīmūna* meaning "philander" "fall madly in love". Again, this interpretation of *yahīmūna* is open to serious objections. The meaning of *yahīmu* is "to wander about distraught or thirsty, or in love", but the semantic core of the word is the concept of distraught wandering, not love, and certainly not philandering. In erotic terminology *hiyām*, or *huyām*, expresses a peculiar kind of love which becomes commoner in Umayyad times, and the term is not necessarily pejorative. When used erotically, the verb is usually followed by *bi*, attached to the object of the *huyām*.

[1] The lexicographers' attempts to understand the term metaphorically only beg the question; they fail to adduce evidence from poetry or prose to support the metaphorical interpretation; the phrase *wa'llāh a'lam* (*Lisān*, XVI, 111) could reflect the despair of the lexicographer in solving the problem.

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In this verse, however, the verb is used not prepositionally, but absolutely, while the prepositional adverbial phrase, *fī kulli wādin*, "in every valley", clinches the point that the verb is used in the primary sense of "wandering", a sense amplified and fortified by the employment of *kulli*, "every". If the denunciation had been hurled on erotic grounds, then the Koran would have used a word with a clear and strong erotic signification like *yafsuqūna*, or *yafjurūna*, which would also have carried the required pejorative sense. Finally, the word *wādin*, "valley", ceases to have a real function if the verse is given an erotic connotation, since there is no *necessary* connection between valleys and love-making, except in a romanticized and idyllic Arabia.

The third verse presents difficulties of a different order, not in its separate lexical units, but in its entirety, as one syntactical whole. It is usually translated literally and correctly: "and that they say what they do not do", a rendering which faithfully reproduces the ambiguities of the original. Its interpretation is ethical, influenced by *al-ghāwūna*, and it is taken to be a condemnation of the poets on the grounds that poets are liars. [1] But the verse does not admit of being understood simply in terms of lying. [2]

A

In his commentary on the Koran, Ṭabarī gives a variety of denotations for the term *al-ghāwūna*. One of these denotations is *shayāṭīn* or jinn, [3] and it will be argued that this denotation offers the fairest chance for an adequate interpretation of these verses.

a) It is the desiderated strong term required by the central position of *al-ghāwūna* in the structure of the two verses related to each other as declarative statement and rhetorical question. It also restores the balance in the antithetical structure of the four verses; the association of the poets with *shayāṭīn* expresses a more basic denunciation than their association with erring persons, and this basic denunciation makes the verse *wa 'l-shu'arā'u yattabi'uhumu 'l-ghāwūna* adequately balance *illā 'l-ladhīna āmanū*.

b) It is perfectly consonant with the Koranic conception of

[1] Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XIX (Cairo, 1954), 128.

[2] This verse needs and deserves a separate treatment. I hope to take it up in a future publication.

[3] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, XIX, 127. On pp. 127-28, he includes, in the denotation, all the candidates: human beings, *shayāṭīn*, and jinn.

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shayāṭīn and their relation to human beings. In Koranic demonology, the *shayāṭīn* are rebellious jinn who went astray and who lead men astray; the notion of going astray and leading astray is expressed in the Koran through the verb *ghawā* or one of its derivatives. *al-ghāwūna* is one of them. It is commonly taken to be a *nomen agentis* of the verb *ghawā* used intransitively, "to go astray" but it can also be a *nomen agentis* of the same verb used transitively, "to lead astray." Examples for the use of *ghawā* rather than *aghwā*, the commoner transitive form, are not lacking, and the Koran uses *al-ghāwūna* in the sura, *al-ṣāffāt*, verse 32 in what is most probably its transitive sense. Thus *al-ghāwūna* can mean both those who go astray and those who lead astray. The transitive meaning which can be imparted to it favors a "satanic" rather than a human denotation, while the case for this "satanic" denotation is further strengthened by the fact that lexically and conceptually, *ghayy* in the Koran is mostly associated not with human beings but with the *shayāṭīn*. It is their main function.

c) The association of *shayāṭīn* with poets as the source of their poetic inspiration is established as an Arab and a Muhammadan conception.[1] It is not unknown to the Koran; verse 36 in the sura, *al-ṣāffāt* refers to the Meccans' description of Muhammad as a *shā'irun majnūnun*, "a poet possessed by a jinn." A Koranic verse which describes the poets as being followed or led by a group (*al-ghāwūna*) and addressed to a society which had a definite conception of the source of poetic inspiration cannot but bear an interpretation which involves *shayāṭīn* at least as a possibility. This is supported by the employment of the term *yattabi'uhum*. The inadequacy of understanding this verb to mean simply "follow" has already been discussed. A closer examination of its possible connotation in this context reveals that it was probably used not loosely but with technical accuracy. The terms *tābi'* and *matbū'* for *shaiṭān* and, *shā'ir* are established. In the Koran itself, one verse in the sura, *al-a'rāf*, verse 175, can be so construed as to fortify the argument for the technical use of *yattabi'uhum*, particularly as a poet was probably involved.[2]

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[1] Most illuminating on this point are lectures i and v in D. B. MacDonald's *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Chicago, 1909).

[2] The referent in the verse, according to some authorities, is the poet Umaiya; see Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, IX, 121-22; a variant reading for *atba'ahu 'l-shaiṭānu* is *ittaba'ahu 'l-shaiṭānu*; both verbs have the same signification.

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d) More important than all the preceding arguments is a recognition of the polemical nature of the sura, *al-shu'arā'* and a comprehension of its main theme, namely, the truth of Muhammad's prophethood. [1] The Meccans had accused Muhammad elsewhere in the Koran that he was, among other things, a poet (and in one verse that he was a poet possessed by a demon [Kor. 37, 36]), and that the Koran, too, was inspired by the same agent. These charges were answered by the affirmation that the Koran is inspired by God, is not the work of human beings, is inimitable, and sui generis. To prove its divine origin and uniqueness it became necessary to distinguish it from the discourse with which it had been confused by the Meccans, namely, poetry. The most effective way of demonstrating this contrast and the mutually exclusive essences of the two was by contrasting their respective sources: God, the source of the Koran, and the *shayāṭīn*, the source of poetry. This the sura does in strident terms. It was both natural and necessary in order to meet the challenge of the opposition on the very ground they had chosen, that of sources.

Two further observations are relevant in this connection: 1) the sura, *al-shu'arā'* is the longest and the most formally constructed sura among a group of suras which belong to the middle Meccan period, in which the problem of the Koran as Muhammad's *āya* and of its defense come to the foreground. It would have been startling if, in the course of a denunciation of the poets at whose hands Muhammad had suffered, the opportunity had been missed of a return thrust which went to the root of the problem—the very source of their poetic inspiration; 2) more important is a realization of the fact that this is the only verse in the whole of the Koran where the poets are expressly singled out and explicitly denounced. In a previous sura (*al-ṣāffat*, verse 36) Muhammad himself had been denounced as a *shā'irun majnūnun*, a poet possessed by a demon. Not to have denounced them on this basic ground would have left unanswered the charge levelled against Muhammad himself in an earlier sura. The verse has all the features of a riposte effectively administered by a paraphrase of the verse *shā'irun majnūnun* but applied to the poets themselves.

The exegetic gain in verse 224 as a whole may now be examined after *al-ghāwūna* and *yattabi'uhum* have been elucidated. The poets are not a group leading others who follow them but are themselves

[1] See part II, A, of this article.

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inspired and led by demons who "follow" them in the active sense of inspiring them. Set against this gain, the difficulties encountered above in the following verse "Have you not seen how they wander in every valley" can be easily resolved. As the protégés of these demons, the poets *yahīmūna*, "they wander distraught." A Koranic verse in the sura *al-an'ām*, verse 71, affords a good parallel. The verse speaks of how the *shayāṭīn* "lured" one, *istahwathu*, and left him "distraught or bewildered", *hairāna*. *Yahīmūna* in verse 225 must mean "wander" or "wander distraught," not "fall in love" or "philander". The "satanic" denomination of *al-ghāwūna* entails this, and the concepts of *ghaiy* and *hayām* are related. This signification given to *yahīmūna* will in turn unlock the secrets of the term *wādin* which admits of one of two explanations: 1) it may have been used in the literal sense of wadi. The valleys are one of the abodes of the jinn and the *shayāṭīn* in the consciousness of the Arabs both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. [1] To these valleys then, the poets repair for their poetic inspiration and in these haunts they wander distraught; 2) the term *wādin* may have been used metaphorically, a usage which could be justified by parallel and relevant Koranic metaphors. It could stand in a moral sense for the path of straying, in contrast to the straight path of truth and righteousness. Such a metaphorical us of *wādin* can be easily accounted for. As a depressed, crooked, and winding path, where the traveller can lose his bearings, the valley would be an appropriate metaphor for the abode of those straying morally. The Koran makes use of a cluster of words, related as topographical features, to express the concept of righteousness and truth, namely, *ṣirāṭ*, *sabīl*, *ṭarīqa*, *shir'a*, *minhāj*. These are mostly used to denote the path of righteousness. *Wādin* would be an obvious choice for the expression of the path of straying, *ghaiy*, and for contrast with the path of righteousness expressed so many times through a cluster of words related to *wādin* topographically. The word *kulli*, "every," in the verse is noteworthy. The path of righteousness is one, but evil has many paths. So is the plural *subul* used in opposition to the singular *sabīl* or *ṣirāṭ* in the sura *al-an'ām*, verse 153. Thus *kulli*, perhaps, gives the mataphorical interpretation of *wādin* a slight advantage over the literal one.

[1] On the relationship between the jinn and the poets see Abū 'l-'Alā', *Risālat al-malā'ika*, and *Risālat al-ghufrān*, as well as Ibn Shuhaid's *al-Tawābi' wa 'l-zawābi'* which describes his journey to *wādi 'l-jinn*, the valley of the jinn.

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The foregoing arguments for the "satanic" interpretation of the two Koranic verses receive considerable support from the facts of Arab literary history in the early Muslim period. The recitation and composition of poetry was avoided by many a literary figure as an act of piety, and poetry, *Qur'ān Iblīs*, was often sharply distinguished from and contrasted with the Koran. This argues that the early Muslim community understood the famous denunciation of poetry in the Koran to carry a very serious charge which even the exceptive verse was unable to lift. The early Muslims were in a better position to understand the real import of these Koranic verses than the exegetes of later times when some of the issues became obscure. The testimony of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ziba'rā is particularly relevant. Not only was he a contemporary of Muhammad but also a major Meccan poet who had opposed Muhammad. In one of his odes of repentance [1] he speaks of himself as having formerly walked "with Satan (*al-shaiṭān*) in the way (*sanan*) of *ghaiy*," and thus unites in one verse the three concepts of "Satan," "way" and "ghaiy" included in the two Koranic verses. These terms and concepts which the poet chose to use support the interpretation of the Koranic verses suggested in this article, because they come from a poet who must have been one of the referents in the famous Koranic verses which denounced the poets and whose repentance could not have been more accurately reflected than by his application, to his own former way of life, the same terms and concepts which the Koran had used in denouncing him and his fellow poets. These verses could very well have been a paraphrase of the Koranic ones, just as the Koranic verses themselves may have been a counterstroke which paraphrased an earlier Koranic verse *shā'irun majnūnun* which had been levelled at Muhammad.

B

The three verses in which the poets are denounced are followed

[1] *Sīra*, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, IV (Cairo, 1937), 39, line 2 of the poem. Ibn Hishām does not record any doubts about the authenticity of this poem as he does with others, nor does Ibn Sallām, one of the earliest critics who raised the question of the authenticity of *Sīra* poetry. He includes it in his selection of poems by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ziba'rā; see his *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. M. M. Shākir (Cairo, 1952), 202. Poetry of this type could not have served any Anṣārī or Shī'ite propaganda; see A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (London, 1955), pp. xxv-xxx. In *Ṭabaqāt*, the verse in question has *ujārī* instead of the *Sīra* reading *ubārī*. A close examination of this line in the context of the four lines of the poem shows that in using the word *shaiṭān*, the poet was not thinking of evil in the abstract but of its personification, Satan.

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by a long exceptive verse which lifts the sanction from Muslim poets; it reads "except those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness *and made mention of God frequently*; *and vindicate themselves* after they have been wronged; those who have done wrong will one day know what kind of turning upside down they will experience." [1]

a) The exegetes are not unanimous on what is meant by "and made mention of God frequently", *wa-dhakarū 'llāha kathīran*. After entertaining two possibilities, namely, the poets' mention of God either in speech or in poetry, Ṭabarī concludes that a correct interpretation must include both. [2] This is possible. But *wa-dhakarū 'llāha kathīran* is not a set phrase quite like the two preceding ones, *illā 'l-ladhīna āmanū wa-'amilū 'l-ṣāliḥāti*, whose meaning is crystal clear, and whose inclusion in an exceptive verse which describes a Muslim poet is perfectly understandable. A close examination of *wa-dhakarū 'llāha kathīran* is, therefore, necessary to justify its inclusion in the verse, bring out its significance, and discover its relevance.

Dhikr is one of the basic and profound rhythms which vibrate in the structure of Koranic and Muhammadan thought. Its inclusion in the exceptive verse is probably related to its place on this level of Koranic thought and not only to the mere verbalization of the name of the deity in speech or poetic composition. This interpretation is evidenced by the circumstances which attended Muhammad's decision to let Muslims compose poetry, and is consonant with what is established about the Arab conception of the source of poetic inspiration. After some thought on how Muslims could compose poetry against the Meccans, in spite of the Koran's denunciation of poetry and poets, Muhammad finally permits Ḥassān to compose and fortifies him with the assurance, or hope, that "the Holy Spirit" will be with him. [3] This assurance involved the transference of Muslim poets from the protection or jurisdiction of *shayāṭīn* and jinn to another category in the supernatural order. The source of poetic inspiration is no longer the vicious and malevolent *shaiṭān*, but is now associated with "the Holy Spirit" and so indirectly and ultimately with God. The Muslim poet ceases to be jinn-possessed (*majnūn*) and becomes God-possessed. For the poet, this transference entailed an effortful act during the creative process; namely, to see to it that his inspiration was coming not from the old, familiar source—the *shaiṭān*—but from God, and

[1] R. Bell's translation; the italics are mine.
[2] Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, XIX, 130.
[3] See *Aghānī*, IV (Beirut, 1955), 141, 147, 149-150.

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that it continued to flow from that source. Understood against this background, the *dhikr* mentioned in the Koranic verse takes on its deeper and clearer significance. Calling on God's name comes out not as a mechanical formula, but as a basic call necessary for the Muslim poet to repeat (frequently, *kathīran*) in order to keep firm his new affiliations, lest he should backslide or revert to more familiar wells of inspiration presided over by the *shayāṭīn*. The *dhikr* emerges as a form of *isti'ādha*, a taking refuge in God from the power or hold of the *shaiṭān*. [1] This interpretation is further fortified by the Koranic *isti'ādha* in verses which record an experience well known to Muhammad himself, [2] and thus the Koran was recommending *dhikr* for the poets who were going through the same transformational experience as that of the recipient of Divine Revelation.

b) The Arabic for "and vindicate themselves" [3] is *wa 'ntaṣarū*. An accurate translation of this verb, *intaṣarū*, is essential for extracting some valuable information on the Koranic regulations which governed the composition of poetry by Muslims.

Intaṣarū can have a number of significations which are made clearer by the prepositions which sometimes follow it. In this case it is not followed by one, and thus the precise signification of *intaṣarū* has to be inferred. The context affords a perfect guide for what the verb should signify in this case. The Muslim poets are said to have *intaṣarū* after they had been wronged, *ẓulimū*, and this gives the clue. The preposition to be understood with *intaṣarū* is *min*, [4] which gives the word *intaṣarū* the meaning of "revenged themselves". This interpretation of *intaṣarū* makes the two terms of the proposition, *intiṣār* and *ẓulm*, balance each other, and makes *ẓulm* the ground which explains and explains away their revenge, their *intiṣār*. They

[1] Very relevant in this connection is what *Aghānī* has to say on Umaiya b. Abī 'l-Salt, the famous poet of Thaqīf, although not a Muslim. While wandering in a wadi on his way to Syria, the phrase *bi'smika Allāhumma* is recommended to him as a prophylaxis against the power of a *jinniya*; see *Aghānī*, IV, 130.

[2] Sura xvi, 93; sura cxiv; vii, 200-201; xiii, 28; xxiii, 97; the most famous illustration of this experience is, of course, the "satanic verses" of sura liii, abrogated by verse 51 in sura xx. Relevant, also, is a report in *Aghānī* that Muhammad said of the famous pre-Islamic poet Zuhair, *Allāhumma a'idhnī min shaiṭānihi*, "God! give me refuge from his *shaiṭān*" (*Aghānī*, X, 301).

[3] Richard Bell, *The Qur'ān*, II, 362; A. J. Arberry, has "and help themselves" in *The Koran Interpreted*, II, 75, which is only the literal translation of the reflexive *grammatical* meaning of the verb *naṣara* in the *ifta'ala* form.

[4] The preposition *min* which follows it belongs to the phrase which *min* introduces, not to *intaṣarū*.

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did revenge themselves, but only after they had been wronged. This is consonant with the Koranic concept of revenge, punishment, and retaliation. The lex talionis is admitted in the Koran, and the phrase, "after they had been wronged", explains that the "revenge" of the Muslim poet was indulged in only in retaliation, a concept accepted in the Koran and applied here to the new field of poetic composition. Verse 41 in sura xlii is very relevant and appropriate as it uses the verb *intaṣara* after *ẓulm*. In this verse, the meaning is perfectly clear as "revenged himself", especially when contrasted with the preceding verse (40).

This interpretation is consonant with well-known facts about Muhammad and his poets. After the poets had been denounced in the Koran, it was difficult for Muslims to compose poetry as long as that sanction remained operative. Ali, the future caliph, had to ask permission (*idhn*) [1] from Muhammad in order that he might compose poetry, but was denied it. The exceptive verse, in its four parts, solved the problem, in that it allowed only such poets as were described therein to compose. This part which begins with *intaṣarū* deals with a particular type of poetry —the *hijā'*, the scathing satires which Muslim poets at Medina were allowed to compose. It is this type of poetry which needed especial justification, and its justification as *hijā'* was rested on the application of the lex talionis to it. Verse 148, in the sura *al-nisā'* (Kor. 4), amplifies the Koran's attitude to this problem. "God likes not the shouting of evil words unless a man has been wronged".

II

A

Koranic scholars have often discussed the composition of the Koran and have commented on its disjointedness. This negative attitude towards the structure of the Koranic sura admits of something being said for it, but it must be judged a dangerous attitude, as the presupposition of disjointedness prejudges the issue. Koranic suras should be regarded, at least tentatively, as units of composition; and it is only after the failure of the most intensive exegesis to discover compositional unity that any particular sura can be declared disjointed. A case in point is the sura of the poets, whose last part could present a problem for the structural analyst.

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[1] *Aghānī*, IV (Beirut, 1955), 142.

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The sura consists of 227 verses and is divisible into the following parts:

a) Verses 1-8, the sura's keynote; the issue is the prophethood of Muhammad validated by the Koran itself, the *āya*, the "sign" of his prophethood.

b) Verses 9-191 tell the narratives of seven religious figures, whose prophethood was also validated by various "signs" and whose missions parallel that of Muhammad to the Meccans.

c) Verses 192-227 again pick up the theme of the Koran as Muhammad's *āya* (sign), and amplifies it.

It is part c (verses 192-227) which seems to contain elements that militate against attributing to this third part, and consequently to the whole sura, a thematic homogeneity. [1] But a closer examination of these elements will show that they are really closely related to one another as various facets of one and the same theme. This third part (verses 192-227) is divisible into the following sections.

a) Verses 192-209 state, in *positive* terms, the divine nature of the Koran and its truthfulness as a "sign". The opening verses read: "And verily it is the Revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Lord of the Worlds, with which hath come down the Faithful Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*).

b) Verses 210-220 repeat the statement on the divine nature of the Koran but this time in *negative* terms. This part opens with the verse: "The satans have not come down with it (*wa-mā tanazzalat bihi 'l-shayāṭīn*)".

c) Verses 221-227, in positive terms, report on those upon whom the satans come down: "Shall I tell you upon whom the satans come down (*tanazzalu 'l-shayāṭīn*)?"

The three sections of this last part of the sura are perfectly well articulated. (Part c) is not a loose appendage to a finished argument, but a relevant complement and, what is more, a necessary riposte. As a complement to the argument, it reaffirms the nature of the Koran as God-inspired by contrasting it with the type of discourse that is *shaiṭān*-inspired. The strong interrogative, "shall I tell you on whom the satans come down?", introduces the two *shaiṭān*-inspired groups: (1) the *kuhhān*, the soothsayers of Arabia which the exegetes consider the referent in the verses 222-223, "they come down upon every

[1] Hirschfeld left this part out in his analysis of the sura, with the exception of verses 192-197, because they include a reference to the Koran as a "sign", an *āya*, which was his main concern. See H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qorān* (London, 1902), 60-62.

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liar guilty, they listen but most of them speak falsely"; (2) the poets, who are the referent of verses 223-227. But it is as a riposte that the third part c) is crucial for a better comprehension of the sura, because it reveals the deepest level in its structure, the substrate itself, which is polemical in nature. The Meccans had rejected the Koran as divine and had affirmed that it was the work of a *majnūn*, inspired by *shaiṭāns*. It is this twofold change that the Koran tries to disprove throughout the sura, starting from the opening verse: "Those are the signs of the Book which makes manifest." Verses 192-193 affirm the divine nature of the Koran in positive terms. Verses 210-211 affirm its divine nature in negative terms; that is, it was not brought down by the *shaiṭāns*. Verses 221-227 indicate who the protégés of the *shaiṭāns* were: the soothsayers and the poets.

The resolution of these difficulties restores to the sura its thematic unity, a unity which is tripartite in structure: (a) the first part (verses 1-8) affirms the character of the Koran as Muhammad's "sign" (*āya*); (b) the third part (verses 192-227) reaffirms it; (c) both these parts flank the second intermediate part (verses 9-191) which serves the important function of validating the main theme, the Koran as Muhammad's *āya*, by the parallels of the seven narratives.

The unity of the sura revealed by the preceding structural analysis contributes its share to the exegesis of the Koranic verses on the poets, and the corroboration of the "satanic" denomination given to the key word *al-ghāwūna*: a) verses 224-227 are complementary to the three preceding verses, 221-223, which read in Bell's translation: "Shall I tell you upon whom the satans come down? They come down upon every liar guilty. They listen but most of them speak falsely." The two groups of verses form two parts of one organic whole and are closely related to each other even stylistically through the employment of a rhetorical question in each of them. The term "*shayāṭīn*" in verse 221 creates the "satanic" atmosphere which pervades the rest of the verses and which necessitates that a "satanic" denomination be given to *al-ghāwūna* in verse 224: if the referent of "every liar guilty" in verse 222 is the *kuhhān*, the soothsayers, then a fortiori, the "followers" of the poets in verse 224 must also be the "satans" since Muhammad suffered even more from the poets than from the soothsayers; if the referent of "every liar guilty" is to the poets, then *al-ghāwūna* cannot be anything but "the satans" of verse 221, expressed through a new term. The employment of a new term, *al-ghāwūna*, to connote *shayāṭīn*, is perfectly intelligible, since the denunciation of

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the *shayāṭīn* is as important as the denunciation of their protégés, the poets, and this is effected through the employment of a term, *al-ghāwūna*, which, unlike *shayāṭīn*, is an indigenous Arabic word with a clear pejorative meaning; b) the ambiance of the sura taken as a whole is "satanic," indirectly in the stories of the various peoples who went astray and did not listen to their prophets, and directly in the part on Moses and his contest with the magicians, verses 10-68 and in the story of the "people of Abraham," verses 69-103; and "satanic" the ambiance remains till the very end.

B

The central position of exegesis (*tafsīr*) in Islamics, whether in medieval or in modern times, hardly needs any emphasis. [1] Koranic scholars continue to refine established techniques and to explore fresh approaches towards a better and fuller understanding of the Muslim Scripture. It is, therefore, only appropriate to summarize the principles which have guided the interpretation of the four verses from the sura of the poets, in order to reaffirm the soundness of some approaches already recommended by some of the exegetes (*mufassirūn*), and to emphasize one or two suggested by the structural analysis of the sura as a unit of composition.

a) On the most basic lexical level, the dangers of interpreting single words, without due attention to later semantic developments, have been noted in connection with such words as *yahīmūna* and *wādin* of verse 223. The safest guide for such difficulties is not the Arabic lexicon of Islamic times, but the Koran itself. Whenever the Koran is silent on such difficulties, pre-Islamic poetry may be drawn upon, but it has to be utilized with considerable care. Coherence with the lexicology of the Koran itself must remain the firmest of all supports for any interpretation on the lexical level.

b) Koranic doctrines and concepts unlock difficulties related to the lexical ones. They can decide in favor of one interpretation over another, when either can be supported by Koranic usage on the primary lexical level. Koranic demonology, for instance, supports the interpretation which favors a technical signification for the word *yattabi'uhum*, as well as the active force of *al-ghāwūna*, as a *nomen agentis*, in verse 224. Koranic concepts also resolve difficulties of a

[1] See I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920), supplemented by J. M. S. Bajalon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation* (Leiden, 1961).

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similar nature. Such, for instance, are the concepts of *dhikr* and *intiṣār*, in their relevance for the interpretation of verse 227.

c) As the Koran was revealed to the Arabs of the seventh century and as it insists on its *iblāgh* and its *ibāna*, the history of ideas with reference to seventh-century Arabia should be a valuable auxiliary to resolving exegetical difficulties. Such, for instance, is the Arab conception of poetic inspiration which corroborates the Koranic one, and thus lends support to the "metaphysical" ambiance against which the interpretation of the four verses on the poets is set.

d) A comprehension of certain *Muhammadan* problems is essential for following the sequence of thought in passages which are brief, ambiguous, or elliptical, because they imply knowledge of the problem or the situation on the part of the Koran's seventh-century audience in Mecca and Medina. Such is the theme "Muhammad and Poetry" which has to be constructed from the Koran and from extra-Koranic sources, such as the *Sīra*. It is only after comprehending this theme and its various facets in their entirety that the four verses on the poets can be fully and accurately understood.

e) Finally, the unity of the sura, if proven, should be a valuable guide in exegesis. Koranic exegesis has been plagued by what might be termed the microscopic approach which treats the single verse, not the whole sura, as a unit. [1] This approach has tended to obscure the significance or the amplitude of thought expressed in the sura, and it has also dimmed the light which the sura as one unit can shed on the interpretation of particular verses.

The structural analysis of the sura of the poets, which has been undertaken in this article, has disclosed the essential unity of its composition and has revealed the main thread of the argument which runs through it from beginning to end: verse 224 has been shown to belong to a cluster of three verses 224-226, all of which are related antithetically to verse 227 and symmetrically to verses 221-223; verses

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[1] Rāzī should be singled out as one of the few medieval exegetes (*mufassirūn*) who was aware of the problem of unity in the Koranic sura and of its importance in exegesis, as is clear from his *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib*. The late Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt has drawn attention to the importance of the unity of the sura for understanding the Koran, and has written his exegesis (*tafsir*) accordingly; see Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *Tafsir al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Cairo, 1960). For a successful exegetical attempt which has paid attention to the sura as a whole, see A. Guillaume, "The Meaning of *Amāniya* in *Sūrah* 2:73" in J. Kritzeck and B. Winder (edd.), *The World of Islam* (London, 1959), 41-46; see also H. Birkeland, "The Interpretation of Surah 107," *Studia Islamica* (1958), 13-29.

221-227 contrast with the preceding group of verses 192-220, and the whole, verses 192-227, balances the first part of the sura, verses 1-8. Set within this complex structure of the sura as a whole, the interpretation of the four verses and of the keyword *al-ghāwūna* in verse 224 comes out as consistent and coherent with the main thread of the argument in the sura and, consequently, derives considerable support from the analysis of the sura along structural lines.

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THE CONCEPT OF SHARI'A AMONG SOME MUTAKALLIMUN

BY

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Unquestionably, the idea of shari'a has come to play an important and indeed central role in Islamic religious life. Also, although more recently, it has become the fashion in Western Islamics scholarship to recognize the law as fundamental, and to insist that those who would understand Muslims' faith must understand this law and its religious significance, its centrality. Professor Gibb himself wrote in 1949, in a chapter that he entitled "The Shari'a" in his *Mohammedanism*: "It [that is, the shari'a] permeated almost every side of social life and every branch of Islamic literature, and it is no exaggeration to see in it, in the words of one of the most penetrating of modern students of the subject, 'the epitome of the true Islamic spirit, the most decisive expression of Islamic thought, the essential kernel of Islam'." [1] The quotation here is from Bergsträsser (1935), whose actual words were: "Das islamische Recht, in seinem weiteren, die Regelung des Kultes mit umfassenden Sinn, ist der Inbegriff des echt islamischen Geistes, die entscheidendste Ausprägung islamischen Denkens, der Wesenskern des Islam überhaupt". [2]

On the Muslim side, this new understanding has, I believe, met no criticism but rather has been welcomed, as an advance towards better understanding. I myself as a student have taken these suggestions to heart. I have increasingly come to feel, and to assert, [3] that in order better to understand the Islamic tradition and the faith of Muslims one must come to grips with this notion. Certainly I have found that I could understand many phenomena of Islamic history, and establish rapport with many currents in contemporary Islamic

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[1] H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism* (London, 1949), 106.

[2] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Joseph Schacht (Berlin & Leipzig, 1935), 1. Later in this present essay, it will become not without significance perhaps that actually Bergsträsser here is designating by *das Recht* not *al-shari'a*, but *al-fiqh*. *Fiqh* is originally a *maṣdar*, the subject of its verb being man (not God)—a point, we shall later see, of some consequence.

[3] For example, in my *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton, 1957), especially chap. 1.

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society, much more effectively since learning to view the tradition and the faith from this angle.

The present paper, accordingly, is offered not as in any way dissenting from the views set forth above; but rather as possibly carrying them further, with the suggestion of certain possible refinements. My inquiry will be seen to suggest that, at least for the earlier centuries, a closer understanding may involve a more personalized and moralized conception than "law".

For if this matter plays an important and central role in the total Islamic position, it would seem reasonable to imagine that we should find it profitable and illuminating to ascertain how the role of the (or a) shari'a has been formulated by those whose business it was to formulate, to conceptualize the Islamic scheme: namely, the men of kalam.

I am primarily concerned with the religious aspect of the inquiry. Of course, the historian of Islamic civilization is also involved. Since the law clearly has finally become quite central in Islamic society and thought, the historian can ask few more significant questions than how that law came into being, both actual and conceptual. Considerable work has been done of late, most notably by Schacht, on the historical evolution of the law from the inside, as it were: the development, step by step, of its content and to some degree also of its form. My attention here is turned rather to a view of the shari'a from, as it were, the outside: the development of the shari'a as a concept, its rise among Muslim religious thinkers into consciousness, and then self-consciousness. There is a process of its gradually becoming explicit.

Obviously, a thorough inquiry in this field would be a large undertaking. To deal adequately with the topic, even when restricting inquiry to kalam [1] writing, would require a comprehensive survey that could well involve producing another book on the scale of Wensinck's *Muslim Creed*. I leave that task to better qualified scholars, or to some later and more leisured time. Meanwhile, it is perhaps legitimate to use an opportunity such as the present to report in interim fashion on preliminary results, if only because these are surprising, and raise questions that I am happy to submit for criticism and comment.

[1] I here deliberately omit from consideration not only *fiqh* writing, another field altogether, but also *falsafa* and other groups.

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My initial idea was to collect a few major instances of how the mutakallimun thought about the shari'a, and to study and analyze such passages, as a first step. On preliminary investigation, however, it turned out that the problem is different. For apparently the mutakallimun did not think about it. The evidence that I have collected strongly suggests that a shari'a is not a major concept for classical Islamic thinkers.

My observations so far are based on the following materials (in chronological order):

From the second century of the hijra:

al-Fiqh al-akbar I [1]

From the third century of the hijra:

the Mu'tazila [2]
the *Waṣiya* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa [3]

From the fourth century of the hijra:

al-Ash'arī [4]
al-Fiqh al-akbar II [5]
the Hanbali, Ibn Baṭṭa [6]
al-Bāqillānī (*Kitāb al-tamhīd*) [7]
[the Shi'i Ibn Bābawaih, but this was available to me only in translation] [8]

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[1] Text in the Hyderabad edition (1321 H.). Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed: its genesis and historical development* (Cambridge, 1932), chap. vi.

[2] My method, in this instance, has been to look up the originals of the relevant references in Albert N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Mu'tazila (premiers penseurs de l'Islam)* (Beyrouth, 1956), especially I. I. iv. 4 and II. II. ii, where this author attributes a concept of law to them.

[3] Text in the Hyderabad edition (1321 H.). Cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

[4] Texts as follows: *Maqālāt al-islāmiyin*, ed. H. Ritter, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1929-1930); *Risāla fi 'stiḥsān al-khaud* (Hyderabad, 1323 H.), used for basic work; later checked, especially regarding indexes etc., with McCarthy; *Kitāb al-Luma'*, ed. Richard J. McCarthy (Beyrouth, 1953); *Kitāb al-Ibāna* (Hyderabad, 1321 H.), cf. Walter C. Klein, trans., . . . *al-Ash'ari's . . . Ibānah* (New Haven, 1940).

[5] Text in the Hyderabad edition (1321 H.).

[6] Ibn Baṭṭa al-'Ukbari, *Kitāb al-Sharḥ wa 'l-ibāna 'alā uṣūl al-sunna wa 'l-diyāna*, in Henri Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1958).

[7] Richard J. McCarthy, ed. (Beyrouth, 1957). Because of his apparently full *fihris al-iṣṭilāḥāt wa 'l-kalimāt*, pp. 408-438, I have contented myself with those passages to which this index refers under *shari'a* and *shari'at Mūsā*, without checking the remainder of the text for this term.

[8] *Risālat al-i'tiqādāt al-imāmīya*, by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawaih

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From the fifth century of the hijra:

al-Baghdādī (*Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn*) [1]
al-Juwainī (*Kitāb al-irshād*) [2]
al-Ghazzālī (the '*Aqīdat ahl al-sunna fī kalimatai al-shahāda*, in the *Iḥyā'*, [3] bk. ii, sect. 1: and *al-Iqtiṣād fī 'l-i'tiqād* [4])

From the sixth century of the hijra:

al-Nasafī [5]
al-Shahrastānī [6]

From the seventh century of the hijra:

the obscure poet Ibn al-Ḥanẓala [7]

From the eighth century of the hijra:

al-Taftāzānī on the *Aqā'id Nasafīya*, with super-commentaries thereon from later centuries by al-Khayālī, al-Siyālkūtī, and al-Isfarā'inī. [8]

It is evident that the material surveyed is not complete, and I am the first to recognize that more work is required. Yet perhaps it will

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al-Qummī. Translated by Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *A Shi'ite Creed* (London, Oxford University Press, Islamic Research Association Series, n° 9, 1942).

[1] Text in Istanbul edition (1928).

[2] *El-Irchad, par Imam el-Haramein*, éd. et trad. par J.-D. Luciani (Paris, 1938).

[3] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, bk. 2, sect. 1. I have used the Cairo edition of Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabīya al-Kubrā, n.d.; accompanied by works of al-'Irāqī, Ibn al-'Aidarūs, al-Suhrawardī, and the *Imlā'* of al-Ghazzālī).

[4] Text used: edition of Muṣṭafā al-Qubbānī al-Dimashqī (Cairo: al-Adabīya Press, n.d.).

[5] I have used the text in the Shākir edition of Taftāzānī, see below, n. 8.

[6] I have used the Badrān edition (Cairo) of *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*. The *Nihāyat al-iqdām*, ed. A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1934) is considered separately in pt. ii of this present essay, below.

[7] 'Alī b. Ḥanẓala b. Abī Sālim al-Wadā'ī, *Kitāb Simṭ al-ḥaqā'iq*, ed. 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1953). The inclusion of this writer on Isma'ili beliefs demonstrates the somwhat haphazard way in which I first went about collecting writings for this study (to be frank, my first method was to examine such works as were on a given day on the kalam shelves of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and not borrowed or misplaced). In a preliminary survey of this kind, there is perhaps some value in this sort of "random sampling," as the statisticians call it. I subsequently supplemented this selection, however, by reference to likely works cited on the topic of law in such standard studies of kalam as Wensinck, Gardet and Anawati, etc.

[8] Maḥmūd Shākir, ed., *Kitāb Sharḥ . . . Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī 'alā 'l-'aqā'id al-Nasafīya . . . li . . . Najm al-Dīn 'Umar al-Nasafī* (Cairo, 1331/1913).

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be agreed that neither is it unrepresentative, so that this interim report on results is perhaps not unjustified. I hope to follow up my investigations with fuller study, finding the avenues that have been opened up quite exciting; but also, I am hopeful that others may be stimulated to turning their attention to the problems raised.

My first observation is that to a considerable degree these thinkers do not use a concept shari'a at all. In the later centuries, they use the idea in passing, incidentally; or use other forms from the root *sh-r-'*. Yet I see no escaping from the main conclusion: that the shari'a is a concept with which Islamic thinkers in the formative and classical periods were not concerned.

I do not mean that the idea does not occur. The word is used now and then—though extremely seldom before the fifth century, and even from that time a great deal less frequently than one might suppose, and certainly, at all times, vastly less than other basic terms such as *'Allāh*, *kitāb*, *nabī*, *sunna*, *'aql*, *bid'a*, etc. (including also, in the realm with which we are concerned, *aḥkām*, *amr*, *wājib*, *taklīf*). The word shari'a occurs, but it is not an important concept in the sense that writers are found discussing it or analyzing it, or are concerned to get their readers to give attention to it. It is not treated as one of the Islamic issues.

Let us look at the matter more precisely.

First of all, we note that in the following cases the root *sh-r-'* does not even appear:

(i) *al-Fiqh al-akbar I* of (reputedly) Abū Ḥanīfa

(ii) al-Ash'arī's synopsis, in *al-Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn*, of the position of Ahl al-ḥadīth wa 'l-sunna. He calls this *jumlat mā 'alaihi ahl al-ḥadīth wa 'l-sunna*; *fa-hādhihi jumlat mā ya'murūna bihi wa-yasta'milūnah*; he ends by subscribing to it himself, saying *wa-yarauunah, wa bi-kulli mā dhakarnā min qaulihim, naqūl, wa ilaihi nadhhab.*[1] The synopsis takes the form of 63 articles as enumerated by McCarthy;[2] a shari'a is not mentioned.

(iii) *Waṣīyat Abī Ḥanīfa*

(iv) The tables of contents, or headings, or section names, of any of the works appearing up to the middle of the fifth century.[3]

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[1] Ritter edn., 290-297.

[2] Thirty-one articles in Klein, *op. cit.*, 31-35; but McCarthy, in *Kitāb al-Luma'*, edn. cited, Appendix IV, 233-254, with his 63, is more discriminating.

[3] The earliest case that I have discovered where the root appears in the wording of one of the topics for discussion is Ghazzālī's *al-Iqtiṣād fī 'l-i'tiqād*, where, of

Personally I cannot but find this paucity of reference significant. It might be objected that the concept does not have space devoted to it in these largely controversial works not because it was peripheral, but, quite on the contrary, because it was so central that everyone took it for granted without argument. This sounds plausible, perhaps, until one reflects that the same by no means applies to concepts such as God, prophethood, and so on, which were surely no less central. And a scrutiny of the rather elaborate and full list of headings of al-Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* [1] shows that he considers and names 401 topics, some of which are admittedly the various sects, the Baiyānīya, the Kaisānīya, and so on, but others include matters such as the following:

ikhtilāfuhum fī 'l-Qur'ān [2]
ikhtilāfuhum fī 'l-insān, mā huwa. [3]

If the Muslims of those times disputed in ways worth al-Ash'arī's noting, on what is man, I hardly see how one can argue that the existence of a shari'a was so taken for granted that it did not get discussed. On God there were explicit questions of great subtlety: not only *al-Qaul fī kalām Allāh, mā huwa,* [4] but also different sides taken on issues such as whether God knows things before they exist; [5] whether in addition to saying about Him *lam yazal samī'an* one may also say *lam yazal sāmi'an*; [6] whether He is powerful over what He knows will not exist; [7] whether the arrangement of the Koran, as well as its content, is a miracle; [8] and so on.

The only conclusion to which I am able to come is that within the range of al-Ash'arī's knowledge or interest (which were wide), a shari'a, as such, was not a topic of discussion or concern in the Islamic community of the first three centuries. [9]

In the fourth century one begins to find the concept coming into play. Al-Ash'arī himself, though not in this work, does make use of

his 52 headings, the term "shari'a" does not appear, but "shar'" (we shall consider these varying forms presently) occurs in two: *al-da'wā al-sādisa*, edn. cited, 85, and *al-bāb al-thānī*, 94.

[1] Ritter edn., I, pp. *alif* to *ṭā'*; II, pp. *kāf-ṭā'* to *lām-bā'*.
[2] Index, re p. 40.
[3] Pp. 60-61; cf. pp. 329-333.
[4] Pp. 191 ff.
[5] Pp. 158-163.
[6] Pp. 175-176.
[7] Pp. 203-206.
[8] Pp. 225-226.
[9] The phraseology of the heading for a section (pp. 474-477) in the Table of Contents would seem to be the modern editor's; in the text, the wording is different.

it in two others. Before we turn, however, to consider these and other instances that will help us to form a positive judgment as to the evolution of the concept and to elucidate its significance, let us go on to consider a few cases that show that it was possible, and continued to be possible, to state to oneself or to one's fellows the Islamic faith without making much of a shari'a concept, or resorting to it only incidentally.

In the Shi'i statement by Ibn Bābawaih al-Qummi (died 381 991), which Fyzee has translated, it is not stated that one should believe in, or conform to, the or a shari'a, although indirectly the term is introduced, in the plural, under the heading of the prophets, of whom it is affirmed that there have been 124,000, "and verily the leaders of the prophets are five in number round whom the heavens revolve, and they are *aṣḥāb al-sharā'i'*, namely . . . Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, on all of whom be peace". [1] In this case, one may infer that the shari'a concept is taken for granted, though it is not altogether clear from this passage itself whether the singular of *aṣḥāb al-sharā'i'* might not be *ṣāḥib al-sharā'i'* for each prophet, as admissibly as *ṣāḥib sharī'a*; nor whether the word might not mean "path" or "way", as a still non-technical term, which is indeed how Fyzee, himself both a Muslim and a lawyer, translates it. [2] However that may be, this is the only occurrence of the word in this creed of over a hundred pages. [3]

Our next theologian is Ibn Baṭṭa al-'Ukbarī, whose *profession de foi* has recently been published. [4] He died in 387 H., a few years after Ibn Bābawaih; and was a Hanbali, so that his concern with the law might be presumed to be striking. But not so. In approximately 25,000 words of text, derivatives of *sh-r-'* occur but twice; and in neither case is it "the" shari'a of Islam. In the opening doxology, God is praised for many mercies, and also: *al-ḥamdu li-llāh 'alā 'l-sharā'i' al-ṭāhira wa 'l-sunan al-zākiya wa 'l-akhlāq al-fāḍila.* [5] Clearly here, as the correlatives show, and the plural number, *sharā'i'* are,

[1] *Op. cit.*, (above, at note 8, page 583 of this article), 93. The English is from Fyzee's translation, except that where I have given "they are *aṣḥāb al-sharā'i'*, namely . . .," he writes: ". . . they are the masters of the religious paths (*aṣḥābu 'l-sharā'i'*), namely . . ."

[2] See preceding note.

[3] The text of the Arabic is, as I have indicated, not available to me, but no other passage in the English seems to be a translation of shari'a or its plural, or of shar' or a corresponding adjective.

[4] Note 6, page 583 above.

[5] Arabic, p 3; cf. French trans., p. 5.

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as in the Koran, "ways", not codes of law—a series of activities, not yet a system of incumbencies. The only [1] other use of the root, this time in the singular, is in a passage to explain the repugnant aberrations of the Zarathustrians:

> *wa-qīla innahu kāna li 'l-Majūs dīn wa kitāb. Fa-waqa' malik minhum 'alā ukhtihi . . . ḥattā baqā fī 'l-Majūs nikāḥ al-akhawāt wa 'l-ummahāt; wa-baṭalat sharī'atuhum al-ūlā.* [2]

Next we may turn to the most successful formulator of them all, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (died 537 H.), whose statement of the faith was quickly welcomed and remained accepted and virtually standard till almost yesterday. "Yes," said the community, "this is indeed what we believe". Now Nasafī does not, in fact, manage to explicate his faith without calling in the concept shari'a at all; but he comes very close to doing this. In his *'Aqīda*, I find the term once: not in his saying positively how, or even that, a good Muslim is involved with it, but in his objecting to the non-believer's jeering at it:

> *wa 'stiḥlāl al-ma'ṣīya, kufr. W'a 'l-istihāna bihā, kufr.*
> *wa 'l-istihzā' 'alā 'l-sharī'a, kufr.* [3]

This illustrates clearly enough that by this time (sixth century) the concept was established and accepted, "taken for granted" if one likes—but it was still not felt necessary as such to the Muslim's conceptualizing of his faith.

Another instance of a somewhat comparable kind, going farther than Nasafī in incorporating the notion into a statement of faith, making it quite clear that the concept was accepted and obvious, but still not quite either defining or explicating it, and certainly not emphasizing it, is al-Ghazzālī. In his summary of Muslim beliefs, *Qawā'id al-'aqā'id*, that he puts into Book Two of his great *Iḥyā'*, he again does not affirm it directly, but assumes it and asserts that to be a believing Muslim requires that one recognize that Muhammad's shari'a has abrogated the other ones:

> "*Ma'nā 'l-kalima 'l-thāniya*": *wa-hiya 'l-shahāda li 'l-rusul bi 'l-risāla, wa-annahu ba'atha 'l-nabī 'l-ummī 'l-Qurashī Muḥammad . . . fa-nasakha sharī'atuhu al-sharā'i', illā mā qarrarahu minhā.* [4]

Enough, then, on the negative side. It is time to turn to a construct-

[1] According to the apparently careful index.
[2] Arabic, p. 35; cf. trans., p. 60.
[3] Put together from the Shākir edition (cited above), pp. 493-494.
[4] Edn. cited, I, 81. I have not succeeded in checking this edition. Other editions read, . . . *fa-nasakha bi-sharī'atihi al-sharā'i'* . . .

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ive interpretation. I think that we have done enough to show that the shari'a, however important it may have been in fact, was not basic or central or emphasized as a concept in Islamic thought in these centuries. We have also seen, however, that while at the end of the third century it was apparently not a major idea at all, a few hundred years later it had become current as background in Islamic thinking, even if still not in the forefront of it.

This, then, is my first conclusion; a negative one. There are, however, numerous passages, especially in the writings of the fifth and sixth centuries, on which it is, I think, possible to base positive conclusions that will lead us out of the impasse into which my investigations thus far reported seem to have led us. Altogether I have collected about two hundred passages in which the root *sh-r-'* occurs, of which the chief are in al-Baghdādī (d. 429 H.),[1] Imām al-Ḥaramain (d. 478 H.), and al-Shahrastānī (d. 548 H.). I may say also that I have learned perhaps at least as much from the passages where the root does *not* occur. For the clue to much of the whole problem lies in considering those passages where modern authors speak of the law, whereas the classic Muslim ones, it turns out, did not.[2]

It would take too long to present here the detailed evidence on which my constructive conclusions are reached. Besides, my study is not yet complete; not nearly full enough. What I can do at this stage is, first, to give my count of distribution of the occurrences of the root in the sources that I have surveyed. Next, I will state summarily the most important observations to which I have come; these I propound here as hypotheses, formulated on the basis of careful study of empirical instances, but still waiting to be more widely tested, to be inductively proven or refined. Finally, I will consider a particular passage of Shahrastānī, deliberately chosen as one of the most difficult passages from the point of view that my other evidence has induced me to develop: this would seem one instance where, if anywhere, my thesis might be disproven, so that if this passage can be interpreted in the new way, then my thesis will have been at least elucidated, if not corroborated. And contrariwise, those unpersuaded will have their evidence ready to hand.

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[1] The fact that this begins with this particular writer is to be correlated, no doubt, with Wensinck's reference on him and his period, to "the increasingly intellectualist and systematizing tendencies that show themselves in several forms of the creed from al-Baghdādī's time onward" (*op. cit.*, 270).

[2] Cf. below, p. 591, n. 2.

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First, then, to supplement the instances already noted, up through the third century, where the root does not occur at all, the following table shows the usage where it does:

Table of Distribution

Concept *sh-r-ʿ* among the Mutakallimun

date of death	writer	*shariʿa* i. The Islamic shariʿa	*shariʿa* ii. other	*sharʿ* and *sharʿī*	*shirʿa*
324 H.	al-Ashʿarī	3	3	2	
381 H.	Ibn Bābawaih		1		
387 H.	Ibn Baṭṭa		2		
403 H.	al-Bāqillānī	4	14	6	
429 H.	al-Baghdādī	3	1	12	
478 H.	al-Juwainī, Imām al-Ḥaramain	1	4	79	
505 H.	al-Ghazzālī	1	1	12	
537 H.	al-Nasafī	1			
548 H.	al-Shahrastānī	1	4	14	2
626 H.	Ibn al-Ḥanẓala		1		
791 H.	al-Taftāzānī	1	4	2	
later centuries	his commentators	3	ca. 6	ca. 9	
		18	41	136	2

Total occurrences studied: 197

From this table, two matters deserve comment. First, insofar as the term shariʿa is concerned, it is used to refer to what we today (both Muslims and outside students) call "the" shariʿa of Islam less than one-third of the time; the concept is primarily used for other purposes. Secondly, in any case this term is used considerably less than sharʿ in its various forms. Much of our problem, therefore, turns on eliciting the meaning of this latter term where it occurs.

This distribution would seem to be in itself significant. Further study will, of course, uncover further usages, and new and possibly crucial passages will certainly turn up. It will be interesting to see whether the general ratio among the different forms is significantly modified by including a larger total number of instances. One weakness of the count that I have done is that I have included the adjectival form *sharʿī* along with sharʿ; after I had made the count, especially

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of Juwaini, I wished that I had discriminated between these two. Some will perhaps wish to argue that *shar'i* is, or is used as if it were, an adjectival form from shari'a, rather than or as well as from shar'. I would hardly wish to base my rebuttal of this argument on purely grammatical grounds; the matter is rather one of contextual usage, where at least in the earlier part of the period covered and to some significant degree throughout it, the meaning of the term in at least a majority of cases relates more naturally, as I read the texts, to shar'. To establish this point, however, or even to examine it, a separate grouping of adjectival instances would have been helpful, and in a more thorough study, will be necessary. However, we shall return to it below.

In any case, I shall now simply state, in summary form, the positive conclusions to which I have tentatively come. As previously remarked, I propound them as hypotheses. I begin the enumeration with number 2, counting as number 1 the negative conclusion, already set forth, that the shari'a was not a central concept.

I suggest, then:

2. That the term shari'a is used primarily in somewhat negative contexts: in reference to people who do not accept it, to situations in which the (or a) shari'a is rejected or abrogated or neglected or absent. This observation is an objective one, based on the inductive statistical study of the term in the passages where I have found it. It holds not in every case, but in a considerable majority. It may be correlated, moreover, with a general tendency in religious life, and the history of religious life, for reification to begin with that which one rejects, or which one defends and others have rejected. [1] It may be correlated also with the readiness of Western scholars to use the term (or "law") where, on turning up the references that they give, one finds that the original Muslims used rather terms that signify something more immediate, personal, and theistic. [2] I shall return to this point in conclusion 6 below.

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[1] This is a tendency that in general terms I have discerned and formulated in my exposition of a general theory: *The Meaning and End of Religion* (New York, 1963).

[2] It is instructive to compare Nader, himself Arabic-speaking, in various versions. In French, he speaks of "la volonté de Dieu" and "la Loi qu'elle ordonne" (*op. cit.*, [p. 583, n. 2 above], 94). In his earlier Arabic version of his book, *Falsafat al-Mu'tazila*, I [Alexandria, 1950], 97-98– however, though the Arabic was published earlier, it is itself a translation of a French thesis, written in Paris under Western guidance; the author is not a Muslim) he gives for these

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3. That shari'a and shar' are not interchangeable, in virtually any of the writing that I have studied, which means beyond the eighth century. Shari'a is concrete noun, specific; it can be particularized, and commonly is so, in phrases such as *sharī'atunā*, *sharī'atuhu*, *al-sharī'a al-nabawīya*, *hādhihi 'l-sharī'a*, *sharī'at Mūsā*, and once, *sharī'at al-islām*. Shar', on the other hand, has a distinctive and fundamental meaning of its own. In contrast to the particularity of shari'a, so far as I could discern, shar' is always absolute. [1] In many of the instances where it occurs, it is used adverbially, *shar'an*—especially as correlative with (contrasted to) *'aqlan*. In others, it appears in the form *al-shar'*. As is known, it does not have a plural; which is another aspect of its being absolute, not particular.

My submission is that it is always a maṣdar.

Schacht, in the article "Shari'ah" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, [2] remarks that it is originally a *maṣdar* but implies that it became synonymous with shari'a. This observation is obviously correct, in both its parts. The question that concerns us is the process by which it moved from the first meaning to the second. So far as kalam writing is concerned, the transition had not yet taken place during the period

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al-irāda and *al-sharī'a*, and uses both shari'a and shar' in this section. The original Arabic (Muslim) writer that he cites, however, Abū Hudhail, does not use this concept, but *amr*, *ḥukm*, and *khabar* in the passage instanced. More telling, in his chapter entitled "L'Homme et La Loi," he actually quotes Jāḥiẓ, Khaiyāṭ, and Thumāma as saying "on ne peut pas être soumis à Dieu si l'on ne connait pas sa loi," "ceux qui ont connu Dieu et sa Loi," "ceux qui n'ont pas connu Dieu ni sa Loi" (French, pp. 296, 297; in Nader's Arabic, II, 108-109, he uses the term shari'a), whereas the original Arabic here, if one looks up his references (the ref. for Jāḥiẓ should read "p. 95" rather than Nader's "87"), is rather: *al-'ilm bi-mā nahā 'anh, al-'ārifūn bi-mā umirū bihi wa-nuhau 'anh*, and so on. One may note also Wensinck, who for instance speaks of the orthodox thinking of God's imposing on man "either a different law or no law at all" (*op. cit.*, 261), with reference to al-Baghdādī, 213, line 10, whereas this actually reads: *qāla aṣḥābunā: jā'iz min Allāh ta'ālā an ya'mura bi-kulli mā warada amruhu bih; wa-lau nahā 'ammā amara bihi, jāz—wa-ka-dhālik, lau amara bi-mā nahā 'anhu, jāz.*

The differences are subtle, but germane to our later argument, and at a religious level, crucial.

[1] It would be moving from the realm of objective, empirical observation to that of interpretation to say that shar' is *never* found as a concrete noun. For certain passages may be seen as ambiguous, and there are doubtless borderline cases. I can report, however, that with only three exceptions, which are considered at some length in pt. ii below, I never found shar' particularized, as was often —indeed, normally—the case with sharī'a, by the addition of any qualification (such as *al-shar' al-islāmī*, or *shar'unā*, or *al-shar' al-Muḥammadī*, or *hādhā 'l-shar'*). The exceptions are all from Shahrastānī's *Nihāya* (cf. p. 594, n. 2 below).

[2] *EI*, s.v. "Sharī'ah".

covered here. The materials that I have investigated, I have come to feel, cannot be adequately understood unless this is grasped.

Shar' is a *maṣdar*, referring not to a system, a law, but to a process; not to an entity, but to an activity. Its subject is always God. It refers to the process of His assigning moral quality and moral responsibility to human life.

This point is quite crucial; I shall attempt to elaborate it in our consideration of the Shahrastāni passage with which we shall conclude below.

4. That *al-'aql* is a noun, the translation of the Greek νοῦς, for the rationalists, the Mu'tazila, and such groups; but that it is not a noun, but also a *maṣdar*, for their opponents, who became the orthodox Muslims. This, I think, is the difference between the two groups. That is, for the latter it meant not "reason" (certainly not "Reason" with a capital "R") but "reasoning". The subject of its verbalness is man. Therefore whereas for the Greek tradition, and its Muslim adherents, *al-'aql* is a transcendent ideal, for the others it is a human activity, an empirical (and very unideal) actuality.

In the dispute between those who were for and those who were against *al-'aql*, therefore, the word designated radically different things to the two sides. This is, indeed, the difference between them: that the former did, and the latter did not, see *al-'aql* as an hypostasized, universal, self-subsisting entity.

The constant correlation *'aqlan shar'an* is important, and can be adequately understood, I submit, only adverbially, dynamically.

5. That *shar'ī* means, primarily, not "legal", but "moral". Similarly *taklīf* means not "legal responsibility", as it has been often translated (for example, by Elder for Taftāzānī), but moral responsibility. The implication is that the concept of law is not prior to the concept of responsibility, but vice versa. That this is chronologically so can be proved from my documentation. That it is logically so is of extreme importance for the entire structure of Islamic faith.

I am suggesting, accordingly, that the adjective *shar'ī* relates primarily to shar', not primarily to shari'a. Particularly in such phrases as *al-aḥkām al-shar'īya*, the original significance, maintained for quite a good while, is that the *aḥkām* are each a divine command morally incumbent and immediately personal, for which men will be answerable on the Day of Judgment. Only later does this phrase become depersonalized and eventually de-transcendentalized to the point where it is equivalent to *aḥkām al-sharī'a*.

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6. That what has lately, both by modern Muslims and more recently by Western scholars, been conceived as obedience to, or transgression of, a law, was conceived *and felt* by the Muslim writers under survey as obedience or disobedience to God. [1] The difference, I submit, is altogether profound and crucial: no proper understanding of religious life is possible unless this difference is apprehended, and deeply felt. In the Islamic tradition, so far as its history now seems apparent, the idea of a law is the result, not the cause; and on the whole a rather late, and some would be prepared to argue a slightly dubious, result. At least, it would not be impossible to contend that historically the rise of a concept law as religiously absolute may be correlated with a decline, if not of Islamic civilization, anyway of the vigor of its intellectual and religious life. However this may be, less controversial is the point on which we have already lightly touched: that a concept shari'a as law is appropriate primarily in those cases where one's sense of God and His immediate intervention, and one's sense of *engagement*, of one's own immediate cosmic moral involvement, are weak or absent. Hence the uninvolved Western scholar's overreadiness to use the term in the Islamic case, the classical Muslim's use of it primarily for other people's *sharā'i'*, and the use by modern Muslims whose sense of the nearness of God and of their personal relation to Him is markedly less than was that of their ancestors.

II

An opportunity to check the above formulations (based on observation of other works) presents itself in the case of Shahrastānī's *Nihāyat al-iqdām*. [2] This treatise was not included in the survey reported above. It contains passages where the terms shari'a, shar', and other forms of the root occur rather frequently. Of particular significance, it would seem that some of these passages can be taken, as indeed they have been taken by the editor and translator Guillaume, in a way that contradicts my understanding, particularly the idea that "law" is not primary in Islamic ethics, but derivative. I conclude deliberately by presenting and considering the most crucial passages, since they are by far the most salient instances of any kalam writing that I have met that could be used *against* my suggested interpretations.

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[1] Cf. n. 2, pp. 591 f. above; there are countless other instances.
[2] Ed. A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1934).

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If Guillaume's interpretation of these passages is correct, or is the only correct one, it does not follow that my thesis falls to the ground. I admit readily enough that eventually there did obtain in the Islamic world the reified notion of "law" that modern Muslims and Western scholars have put forth. If that is the notion to be discerned here, then the process of reification among the mutakallimun began earlier and more clearly than I have above suggested. Besides, I admit also of course that transitions were gradual, that some usages are ambiguous, and that traces of later modes of thought, or tendencies towards them, can in fact be detected in earlier writings. Certainly these particular paragraphs gave me pause, after other passages had surprised me by pushing me to the unexpected hypotheses that I have propounded. All in all, however, my understanding of the issues will be shown weak if it does not seem to contribute at least something to illuminating these critical discussions.

First, let us consider the following passage: [1]

القاعدة السابعة عشر في التحسين والتقبيح وبيان ان لا يجب على الله تعالى شيء من قبيل ١ العقل ولا يجب على العبد شيء قبل ورود الشرع ٢ مذهب اهل الحق ان العقل لا يدل على حسن الشيء وقبحه في حكم التكليف من الله شرعاً على معنى ان افعال العباد ليست على صفات نفسية حسناً وقبحاً بحيث لو أقدم عليها ٣ مقدم او ٤ احجم عنها محجم استوجب على الله ثواباً او عقاباً وقد يحسن الشيء شرعاً ويقبح مثله المساوى له في جميع الصفات النفسية فمعنى الحسن ما ورد الشرع بالثناء على فاعله ومعنى القبيح ما ورد الشرع بذم فاعله ٥ واذا ورد الشرع بحسن وقبح لم يقتض قوله صفة للفعل ٦ وليس الفعل على صفة يخبر الشرع عنه بحسن وقبح ولا اذا حكم به البسه صفة فيوصف به حقيقة وكذا ان العلم لا يكسب المعلوم صفة ولا يكتسب عنه صفة كذلك القول الشرعي والامر الحكمي لا يكسبه صفة ولا يكتسب عنه صفة وليس لمتعلق ٧ القول من القول صفة كما ليس لمتعلق العلم من العلم صفة. [١) ف قبل – ٢) ب ف السمع (ولعله صواب) – ٣) ا – ٤) ا واحجم – ٥) ب ف ز ثم – ٦) ب ف الفعل – ٧) ف له تعلق]

At issue here is the fundamental divergence of ethical world-view between Greek and Semitic. Perhaps it is not too drastic an over-simplification to aphorize that the former tends to think in terms basically of good and bad, the latter in terms basically of right and

[1] *Op. cit.*, Arabic, 370-371.

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wrong: axiology over against deontology. For the one, morality derives from ontology, from (metaphysical) indicatives; for the other, from imperatives. A subsidiary (or corollary? or concomitant?) distinction is that the epistemology of the one is through reasoning, of the other through revelation. Yet for neither is an epistemology primary. On the one hand, reason precedes reasoning (ὁ λογος is eternal, man is adjectively λογικος—by participating, though imperfectly, in that preexisting absolute); on the other hand, God speaks to man because He has something (imperative) to say (apart from the fact that God's speaking to man presupposes God, the utterly primary).

It is the dispute between these two primary views that is reflected in Shahrastānī's paragraph before us. As is typical, when two seriously, radically, divergent positions meet, each side tends to neglect or to underplay the presuppositions of the other, each arguing against the corollaries of the opponent's position, while retaining the premises of its own. Each side can readily prove to its own satisfaction that the other's corollaries are illogical, because of its own passionate—or simply, quiet- -conviction about its own primary vision.

Crucial, it would seem to me, in this passage is Shahrastānī's word *fā'ilih*. As Sir W. David Ross has remarked, at a much lower level of divergence from the Greek view: "The essential defect of the... theory [of G. E. Moore, that duty is to act productively of good] is that it ignores, or at least does not do full justice to, the highly personal character of duty". [1] Shahrastānī is concerned to insist that morality is an attribute not of things but of persons. I must do A not because A is good, not because of any quality inherent in A, but because I, a human being, have been commanded to it by the living and imperious God. Shar' here, then, is a *maṣdar*, is God's imposing of obligations on mankind. Things are lifeless, are beneath us, are morally indifferent; duty comes not from them but from above us, from God. *Laisa 'l-fi'l 'alā ṣifa yukhbiru al-shar' 'anhu bi-ḥusn wa-qubḥ*: the deed is not characterized by some priorly given quality of its own that it is God's business to go about and discern, and once He has discovered it then to fashion injunctions to mankind in accord with it. No; rather, it is His assigning of injunctions directly to us that constitutes our moral obligation—that, and nothing more (nor less).

It may be noted that he has not fully understood the position that he is rejecting (just as his opponents, and their modern sympathizers

[1] W. D. Ross, *The Right and the Good* (Oxford, 1930), 22.

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like Guillaume, did not fully understand *his* position here). For he still seems to feel that even if deeds *did* have inherent qualities of vice and virtue, still man's duty to *do* them would be a function of God's enjoining that upon him, with rewards and punishments. This is a nice illustration of our general position that he was refuting the conclusions, but ignoring the premises, of his adversaries; and of Professor Gibb's remark that the Muslims "never appreciated the fundamental idea of justice in Greek philosophy".[1] Similarly when on the next page he presents his opponents' view (*al-af'āl 'alā ṣifa nafsiya min al-ḥasan wa 'l-qabīḥ, wa-idhā warada 'l-shar' bihā kāna mukhbiran 'anhā, la muthbitan lahā*), I would translate: "Deeds have an inherent quality of virtue and vice, and when there is an ordaining of moral obligation on men with regard to them this indicates what that quality is rather than establishing it"—and again I would imagine that the author here does not *feel* (as his opponents do) that man would have a personal sense of moral obligation directly to a mere mundane act, whatever its inherent characteristic of beauty or ugliness; that he merely feels that God, to Whom and to Whose activity of assigning incumbencies he *does* feel moral obligation, is here being reduced to serving simply as an agent making incumbent upon man what the universe has somehow made incumbent (*yajib*—p. 371, ll. 5-6) upon Him to vitalize moralistically. Of course, Shahrastānī resents this reduction. He still sees in this a universe in which God enjoins (*shara'a*) on man the doing of this and that, with concomitant rewards and punishments; but one in which the initiative lies not with God, but with His creation.

It will be noted that, thus far in this discussion, I have not mentioned revelation. So far as I can see, this is not relevant to the debate and is not mentioned. Revelation, of course, *does* give news about, rather than establishing, what is right and wrong; and no one feels this more strongly than a devout revelationist—for whom God determines what is right and wrong, and God alone.[2] This is irrelevant to the discussion, however, because it could play a role indifferently in either case. If good and bad were inherent in pre-existent qualities of things (or deeds), they could still be made known to man by revelation. And if right and wrong were the free ordaining

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[1] *Mohammedanism*, 111.

[2] See my article, "Law and Ijtihad in Islam: some considerations on their relation to each other and to ultimate and immediate problems," *International Islamic Colloquium Papers* (Lahore: Panjab University Press, 1960), pp. 111-114.

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of a living God, it would still be logically possible that they not be known to man by revelation. There could still conceivably be a shar' of God but no shari'a of Muhammad (a divine assigning of moral obligation, but no making known of its content, in explicit pattern). Contrariwise, there could conceivably be a shari'a of Muhammad with no shar' of God, if God did not determine right and wrong, yet did in His mercy send the prophets to mankind to make known to them the good and evil that was determined for them by the natures of things. (This last, indeed, is what orthodox Muslims tended to think that the Mu'tazila believed.)

Nothing is incumbent on man, I see Shahrastānī as maintaining, until God imposes moral obligation upon him. In fact, this is how I would translate the final clause of his heading to this chapter: *lā yajib 'alā 'l-'ibād shai' qabl wurūd al-shar'*. Guillaume, however, taking *shar'* as not different from shari'a, translates, "nothing was [sic] incumbent on men before the coming of the Sacred Law" (p. 119). (He translates the same phrase *qabl wurūd al-shar'*, of p. 374, ll. 3-4, as "before Islam", p. 120– presumably he intends, before the seventh century A.D.). Similarly he gives "the good is what the code approves", [1] which is certainly wrong insofar as it omits the personalistic emphasis (*fā'ilihi*) and which, anyway, might more truly be seen as: "the meaning of 'good' is that of which the divine enjoining of duty commends the doer".

Similarly, on p. 372, our author contends that a false sentence is not intrinsically better or worse, morally, than a true one. Some truths, he says, are not very pretty. [2] There are some who would agree with this, holding that it is not lies themselves, but the telling of lies, that is wrong. Our author goes further: for him, the telling of lies, even, is not intrinsically moral or immoral. What is wrong, hellishly so, is for *me* to tell a lie– or for you to do so. And the reason for this is that God has created us and has commanded us not to lie. The fact that God has enjoined certain things and prohibited certain things (for mankind) is what is called shar'.

Al-shar' is something that takes place in heaven, while *al-shari'a* is something that (does not take place since it is not an activity, but) exists (as a thing) on earth. *Al-shar'* is God's ordaining that man shall act thus-and-so; *al-shari'a* is the systematic formulation of the ordinances into an explicit (revealed) pattern or statement. *Al-shar'* is

[1] P. 119, translating Arabic p. 370, lines 9-10.
[2] Keats was inspired by an urn to remind us that this view is un-Grecian.

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that by which man becomes morally obligated to act thus-and-so; *al-shari'a* is that by which man knows that he is obligated. *al-shar'* is something that God does; *al-shari'a* is something that man hears (that a prophet "brings").

To the mind of a Muslim whose sense of the divine revelation is vivid, the distinction between these two, although significant, may not be clarified markedly. For the outside student, however, for whom the two are by no means interchangeable, and indeed have no inherent connection, to confuse the two can prove seriously misleading. Unlike the Muslim, he does not see (and feel) *al-shari'a* as divine; so that it becomes an intellectual blunder to conceive *al-shar'* as positive. [1]

Once again, the *Nihāya* provides the most searching test of this analysis of these two terms. I may cite passages that would serve most readily to challenge the distinction proposed, or as the earliest refutations of it for those inclined to reject. Above, I stated that, unlike shari'a, I had not found shar' particularized: its usage was always absolute (*al-shar'*), never indefinite (*shar'un*) or specific (like *sharī'atuhu*, *hādhihi 'l-sharī'a*, etc.). This was true of the material there surveyed, but I found two sets of exceptions in this present work, to which it is proper (and instructive) to call attention now. One is toward the end of the chapter already considered, where the phrases *fī shar' abīnā Adam* and *fī shar' nabiyinā Muhammad* occur (more fully *al-hukm . . . fī shar' . . .*). [2] Guillaume translates, "The law (of marriage) in the code of our father Adam" and "the law of our Prophet Muhammad" (p. 124). Again, towards the end of the book, in the discussion on abrogation, one finds *fī shar'ihim* [3] (*hum* refers to the prophets prior to Moses), which Guillaume renders as "their's [namely, their law]" (p. 158). His translations are natural enough (at least, at first blush), and undoubtedly if we do not have here instances where the eventual synonymity of shar' and shari'a begins to appear, at least one must confess that such usage as this must have facilitated the later transition. Nonetheless, after careful reflection I have concluded that even these passages may be seen as illustrating, rather than refuting, my thesis. I should feel less sanguine in urging this,

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[1] Even for Muslims, if an outsider may be allowed to express an opinion, there has been a danger of a subtle form of idolatry in confusing the two, as the Sufis have observed.

[2] Arabic, p. 389, lines 2, 3

[3] Arabic, p. 501, line 1.

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were it not that the total contexts where these usages occur read, to my mind, much more cogently and illumined, if they are read with the contrasting sense of the two words in mind. This is particularly true of the final section (Arabic, pp. 499-503; trans., pp. 158 f.).

We leave aside for the moment the one occasion where *shar'uhum* occurs, for later discussion. Otherwise, I think there can be no doubt that shari'a (used eleven times, ten of them either indefinite or particularized, plus three time in a particularized plural) designates the overt "code" of law, existent on earth, that both Guillaume and I see in it, while *ḥukm* (used almost twice that often) is not a system of law, but a concrete moral injunction, and shar' (used only four times: twice adverbially, and twice absolutely) designates God's activity of assigning moral color(s) to human life. The respective meanings come out well in the evolutionary claim *takhtimu 'l-shari'a bi-kamāl ḥāl al-shar' al-auwal* (p. 503 lines 8-9), meaning that the ostensible Islamic law code perfectly represents on earth the full pristine moral commands of God in heaven.

One may with confidence maintain that the adverbial *shar'an*, in both cases typically parallel to *'aqlan*, means "morally". In the following: *al-aḥkām rājiʿa ilā aqwāl al-shāriʿ, wa-tūṣaf al-afʿāl bihā qaulan lā fiʿlan, sharʿan lā ʿaqlan* (p. 502, lines 2-3), I would see the author as contending that moral injunctions derive from the decrees of Him who assigns obligations, and deeds are characterized by them through decree, not factually; morally, not rationally.

There remains, then, one question: whether the shar' of particular persons is anything other than their shari'a. In the three instances of this that I have found, all in Shahrastāni (enumerated above), [1] certainly this is a feasible way to take it. Nonetheless, it is meaningful even here to see the term as a *maṣdar*, with God as the subject of its verb and the pronoun as objective genitive. [2] Thus: [3]

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[1] In the two preceding notes.

[2] Those whose knowledge of Arabic is more meticulous than mine will know whether such construction forces too far the usage of a genitive following a *maṣdar*. W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II (Cambridge, 1933), 61, para. 28, would allow this "occasionally." Such a genitive is rare; but since any use of shar' with a genitive is rare, this fact might be adduced to support my interpretation, as well as to undermine it. One way of elucidating the point is to ask whether one would conceptualize (and linguistically express) *shar' Adam* and *shar' Muḥammad* together as *shar'uhumā* or as *al-shar'ān*. I know of no dual or plural for *shar'*, in any kalam writer. In any case, no doubt we have here, whatever the grammar, a case illustrating the transition that eventually did take place from absolute to particular.

[3] Arabic p. 389, lines 1-3.

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اليس الحكم فى نكاح الاخت للاب والام فى شرع ابينا ادم عليه السلم بخلاف الحكم فى الجمع بين الاختين المتباعدتين فى شرع نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

This might be taken as signifying the ordinance to marry a sister that was decided upon (that God decided upon) for Adam and imposed on him, over against the different injunction that was among those decreed as morally incumbent upon Muhammad. Thus, *dar' talāq* would signify "the moral dispensation laid upon" so-and-so. I certainly feel that Guillaume's translation ("The law of marriage in the code of our father Adam is in opposition to the law of marriage of our Prophet Muḥammad"), apart from missing the immediate force of *ḥukm*, impinging directly on one's conscience, also suffers from seeing the Islamic shari'a as too Muhammadan, as if he were its author. The transcendence is left out, while my apprehension of shar' retains it: my proposal amounts simply to the suggestion that there was something of it in the author's mind, prompting him to use this particular term here.

In the one remaining instance, the point is similar, though perhaps clearer. And indeed the verbal force of shar' is explicitly corroborated here, in that other forms of the verb occur freely: not only *shāri'*, which we have already noted once (it occurs again, p. 502, line 1, in a clause right along with shar', certainly helping to verbalize, *maṣdar*-ize the latter), but also *mashrū'* (five times, esp. p. 500, lines 17 ff.), which is found in a sentence with both shari'a (indefinite singular and particularized plural) and the *shar'uhum* that we must now examine. In all this, my analysis of these terms may be seen to be confirmed rather than rebutted.

In discussing *naskh*, Shahrastānī asks whether the pre-Mosaic prophets had been under some different moral obligations from Moses, or entirely the same ones: [1]

فنقول لا شك ان موسى عليه السلام تاخر وجوداً ٢ عن ادم ونوح وهود وصالح وابرهيم واسماعيل ويعقوب وجماعة من الانبياء والاسباط عليهم السلام اهل كان جميع ما ورد به موسى مشروعاً لهم او منها ما كان مشروعاً ومنها ما لم يكن ٣ مشروعاً فان كان كله ٤ مشروعاً لهم فلم يرد موسى بشريعة اصلاً بل قرر الشرايع الماضية وان ورد بحكم واحد ٥ غير ما ثبت فى شرعهم فقد تحقق ان الحكم الاول مرفوع بذلك الحكم او قد انتهى مدة الحكم الاول و٦ تجدد ٧ هذا الحكم

[1] Arabic p. 500, line 15 to p. 501, line 3.

فثبت النسخ . [٢) ا وجوده – ٣) ب ما كان ب ف غير مشروع – ٤) ب الجميع ف جميعه –
٥) ب ف ز مثلاً – ٦) ا ز قد – ٧) ا ز مدة]

This means: If all the injunctions of which Moses brought the revelation had been made morally incumbent already on his predecessors (had been laid upon them), then Moses did not "come with" a shari'a, a public statement of injunctions and of their obligatoriness —he was not the bearer of a revelation, but rather the confirmer of previous revelations. If, on the other hand, he "came with" (brought to mankind a statement of) a single imperative that had not been established in (God's) ordaining of moral injunctions on them (again, *maṣdar* with objective genitive), then it is proven that the first injunction has been lifted by that one . . . .

A new shar' involves, as a corollary (not as a synonym), a new shari'a.

I would conclude, then, with two final hypotheses. 7. That for kalam writers, during the centuries surveyed, the (or a) law does not determine right and wrong. Only God can, and only God does, do that. [1]

8. That the dictum that the central fact of Islam as a religion is the idea of law [2] should perhaps be modified in the direction of saying that the central Islamic fact religiously has been the idea of moral responsibility. The law is the result of that responsibility, not its cause; the sociological or mundane product, not its cosmic basis.

[1] The more conscious one is of God, or of His imperatives (*aḥkām*), the less one is conscious of, or concerned with, law (*sharī'a*). This remark may be seen either as a religious judgment, or as a statistical, empirical, report.

[2] Neither Bergsträsser nor Gibb has said just this (cf. p. 581, notes 1-2 above); but it is sometimes said.

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UNE LETTRE DU VIZIR ʿABBĀSIDE ḤĀMID B. AL-ʿABBĀS (306/918)

PAR

DOMINIQUE SOURDEL

La monumentale anthologie, restée inédite, d'Ibn Ḥamdūn (m. 562/1167), connue sous le nom de *Kitāb al-Tadhkira fī 'l-siyāsa*, comporte un chapitre traitant des actes de nomination (*ʿahūd*) où l'on relève quelques textes qui, tout en ayant été choisis surtout par l'auteur pour leur valeur stylistique, n'en présentent pas moins un réel intérêt historique. L'attention a déjà été attirée jadis par Amedroz sur l'acte de nomination d'un catholicos nestorien à Bagdad, qui constitue une pièce d'une importance exceptionnelle.[1] Mais, à la page précédente,[2] est également conservé le texte d'une lettre écrite par le vizir Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās au nom du calife ʿabbāside al-Muqtadir pour annoncer son accession au vizirat, laquelle eut lieu en jumādā II 306/novembre 918.[3] En dépit de son style rimé et de la répétition de formules qui ne font apparemment que reprendre des idées courantes à l'époque, cette lettre illustre l'attitude personnelle du nouveau vizir et fait écho aux difficultés qu'il rencontra aussitôt après son investiture. A ce titre, il nous a paru convenable de la présenter ici en hommage à un savant qui manifesta toujours le plus grand intérêt pour l'organisation gouvernementale classique des pays d'Islam.

Cette lettre, qui se présente comme une circulaire envoyée, selon un usage connu, aux diverses préfets et agents des provinces, comporte, après les déclarations liminaires, trois parties bien distinctes: 1° les raisons du choix et de la nomination de Ḥāmid au vizirat; 2° les attributions conférées à Ḥāmid; 3° l'ordre de lui obéir en tous points. En soi, pareille circulaire n'a rien que de très normal. Elle pose toutefois un petit problème, car les chroniqueurs nous apprennent que la circulaire annonçant la nomination de Ḥāmid avait été envoyée par les soins d'Ibn al-Ḥawārī et écrite par le secrétaire à la Chancel-

[1] Voir H. F. Amedroz, „Tales of official life from the 'tadhkira' of Ibn Hamdun" dans *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1908), 447.

[2] MS British Museum Or. 3179, f° 222a-b.

[3] Sur le vizirat de Ḥāmid, voir D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbaside*, II (Damas, 1960), 414-424.

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leric, Ibn Thawāba. Est-ce de cette lettre que nous avons ici le texte, attribué à Ḥāmid lui-même, ou bien s'agit-il d'une seconde circulaire envoyée pour préciser certains points? L'examen du contenu de la lettre milite plutôt en faveur de cette seconde hypothèse.

La première partie apparait en effet comme une réplique à tous ceux qui, à la Cour ou ailleurs, avaient dès les premiers jours critiqué le choix du calife et dénoncé l'incompétence de cet ancien „fermier", expert à mettre en valeur ses domaines et à faire rendre gorge à ses administrés, mais ignorant la marche de l'administration centrale et les habitudes de la Cour. La lettre souligne ici l'accord unanime qui s'est fait autour du nom de Ḥāmid lorsque le calife voulut remplacer Ibn al-Furāt.

En fait on sait que, si le calife avait à ce sujet largement consulté son entourage, les critiques n'avaient pas manqué lorsque le nom de Ḥāmid fut prononcé par certains. Il n'en est que plus intéressant de voir que le nouveau vizir justifie par l'évocation d'un véritable consensus le choix du calife, établissant qu'il tenait son pouvoir non seulement de la volonté du souverain, mais aussi de celle des principaux dignitaires et courtisans. L'opinion de ces importants personnages avait en effet de plus en plus de poids auprès d'un calife qui, monté très jeune sur le trône, avait été pourvu dans les premiers temps d'une sorte de conseil de régence et continua par la suite à subir fortement l'influence de son entourage.

On notera d'autre part les qualités prêtées au nouveau vizir; ce sont les qualités du vizir idéal sans doute, mais aussi et surtout les qualités qui manquaient à Ibn al-Furāt: piété et dévotion, bienveillance envers la population, esprit d'équité, détachement à l'égard des biens de ce monde. On sait en effet qu'Ibn al-Furāt fut révoqué en raison des difficultés financières auxquelles il s'était laissé acculer à la suite de ses nombreux détournements. En fait, Ḥāmid ne se montra guère plus intègre que son prédécesseur et son aptitude à conseiller et à „servir" le calife ne parait pas avoir été très grande. Mais, s'il n'est pas question de demander à un pareil texte de nous renseigner sur les qualités réelles de Ḥāmid, on peut en revanche y trouver, en quelque sorte, le „programme" d'un vizir et l'énoncé de tout ce qu'on attendait de lui dans l'entourage du calife.

La deuxième partie ne nous apprend rien de très nouveau sur la conception du vizirat au temps d'al-Muqtadir. Les expressions employées confirment toutefois que le vizirat apparaissait alors comme une fonction assez bien définie et obéissant à des usages suffisamment

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précis pour qu'on puisse parler de sa „gestion" (*tadbir*). Le vizir se présente comme l'homme de confiance du calife, donc son auxiliaire, son „serviteur" personnel, chargé d'une façon générale de veiller sur la situation des sujets et de défendre l'empire et, d'une façon plus particulière, de diriger l'ensemble des bureaux de l'administration centrale.

Enfin la troisième partie, où le calife exige de ses subordonnés une obéissance totale au vizir, insistant sur le fait que ce dernier est le seul intermédiaire entre le calife et ses agents, correspond à l'usage établi à l'époque d'al-Muqtadir. Mais le rappel de ce droit s'explique sans doute par le fait que Ḥāmid eut, dans les premiers temps, quelque difficulté à asseoir son autorité. Les affaires continuèrent, nous dit on, à être réglées par les anciens secrétaires d'Ibn al-Furāt et un certain Ibn al-Ḥawārī, qui n'exerçait aucune fonction administrative précise, avait conservé accès auprès du calife. Peu après, le contrôle de l'administration fut, on le sait, confié à l'ancien vizir 'Alī b. 'Īsā, qui devint peu à peu le vizir de fait. C'est apparemment pour réagir contre cette situation que Ḥāmid fit aussi catégoriquement affirmer ses droits. Mais le ton qu'il adopte — ou fait adopter au calife — n'est pas sans annoncer également les méthodes brutales qu'il emploiera au début de son vizirat, lors du jugement d'Ibn al-Furāt et de ses partisans, méthodes qui lui seront ensuite sévèrement reprochées.

Cette lettre, qui mérite, en tant que document, d'être rapprochée des lettres de même genre qui nous ont été conservées par les chroniques ou les ouvrages d'*adab*, [1] évoque les circonstances difficiles dans lesquelles Ḥāmid prit ses fonctions, mais emploie aussi des expressions qui rappellent très souvent les développements des ouvrages didactiques un peu postérieurs énumérant les qualités idéales du vizir. Cet exemple prouve une fois de plus les liens étroits existant entre les documents de chancellerie et les exposés didactiques, liens qui justifient le recours à une méthode analogue pour l'interprétation des uns et des autres: derrière des formules d'apparence banale et de portée surtout théorique l'historien se doit de chercher toujours les intentions profondes du texte et ses allusions à des situations concrètes précises.

[1] Voir notamment D. Sourdel, „Une lettre inédite de 'Alī b. 'Īsā" dans *Arabica*, III (1956), 80-90, et les lettres conservées par Hilāl al-Ṣābī et relevées par D Sourdel dans *Arabica*, V (1958), 292.

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Texte

كتاب عن المقتدر بتقليد حامد بن العباس الوزارة

أمّا بعد فإنّ أحمد الأمور ما رجى صلاحه ومنفعته وخير التدبير ما رجى سداده وإصابته وأدّى الأعمال ما وصل إلى الكافّة بمنّه وبركته وأفضل الولاة من العدل هجّيراه وسجيّته وأصلح الأعمال ما كان اتّباع الحق سبيله وعادته. وانّ الله قد جعل أمير المؤمنين من قلّده أمر المسلمين متحرّفاً للصلاح فيما يأتى ويذر متوضياً للصواب فيما بطن وظهر.

وأنكر من على بن محمد الفرات أموراً رأى معها صرفه والاستبدال به وإقامة من هو أرضى منه عنه فصعّد وصوّب فيمن بحضرته من كتّابه وبحث وسأل عن أكفى من على بابه فجتمعت أقوال خاصّته ونصحائه وشهادات ثقاته وأوليائه على أنّ حامد بن العباس من لا تحاجهم الشكوك فى فضل ورعه وديانته وكمال أدبه ونبل قدرته وهمّته وعزّة نفسه وسجيّته وخفّة وطأته على رعيّته وسحول عدله ونصفته وأنّه لم يزل منذ تصرّفه فى الأعمال متقدّماً على أكفائه من الرجال لم يسع منذ اكتهل فى أمور الدنيا لمباهاة ولا مكاثرة ولم يحرص عليها لمساواة ولا مفاخرة ولم يردها لزيادة فى نسب ولا ثروة ولم يخترها لانبساط يد بانتقام ولا سطوة لا يمنع الفضل إذا أرشده الحقّ إليه ولا يؤخّر الحزم إذا دلّه الرأى عليه واتّصافه ذلك وهو قول لم يدخله هوى ووصف لم يشبه بزال ولا دعوى إلى ما يعلم منه ويحمده له ويرتضيه من سلاف نصحه وقديم خدمته.

فأقدمه إلى حضرته وتلقاه بيسره وكرامته وقلّده تدبير وزارته وسربله سربال ثقته وفوّض إليه سياسة خاصّته وعامّته واعتمد عليه فى تدبير ملكه ودولته وردّ إليه الدواوين كلّها وحمّله أوقها وثقلها عالما لا يزول بها ساكناً إلى ركوبه لها واثقاً بأنّه لا يزول عمّا يحمد ولا يحول عمّا يعهد فى جهة نفسه ومرتبته وبذل وسعه وطاقته فى نصيحة أمير المؤمنين أدام الله سلطانه ومن وراء بابه من المسلمين.

فأعلمك بما يجدّد لحامد بن العباس عنده من المحل والمنزلة ويؤكّد لديه من الموضع والمرتبة لتعرف حقّه وتطيع أمره وتجريه على أفضل رسوم أمثاله وأكمل سنن أشكاله وإن كان عند أمير المؤمنين معدوم الشبه والمثل والنظير والعدل وأن تمتثل كتبه إذا وردت عليك وترتسم ما يصدّره إليك من أمير المؤمنين إذ كان السفير بينه وبينك ومن لا معدل لك فى كلّ الأمور عنه فاعلم ذلك واعمل به إن شاء الله وكتب حامد بن العباس.

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Traduction

Lettre au nom d'al-Muqtadir annonçant la nomination au vizirat de Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās

Certes la plus louable des actions est celle dont on espère le bien et l'utilité, la meilleure des organisations, celle dont on attend une direction droite et juste, l'acte le plus efficace, celui dont la faveur et la bénédiction s'étendent à l'ensemble des hommes, le meilleur des préfets, celui à qui la justice tient lieu d'habitude et de nature, l'activité la plus conforme au bien, celle qui a pour règle habituelle la poursuite du vrai. Et c'est au Prince des croyants que Dieu a choisi de confier le sort des Musulmans pour qu'il suive le bien en toute occasion et serve la justice aussi bien en secret qu'ouvertement.

Or le Prince des croyants réprouva chez 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt des actes qui lui parurent justifier sa révocation, son remplacement et la nomination d'une personnalité dont il serait plus satisfait. Il soumit alors à un examen attentif [1] les secrétaires qui se trouvaient à sa Cour et fit enquête sur la compétence de ceux qui se trouvaient à son service. Les réponses de ses intimes et de ses conseillers ainsi que les témoignages de ses hommes de confiance et de ses amis [2] s'accordèrent pour reconnaitre que Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās était un homme tel qu'aucun doute ne les agitait [3] touchant l'excellence de sa dévotion et de sa piété, la perfection de son savoir-vivre, la noblesse de son énergie et de son propos, la dignité de son âme et de son naturel, la bienveillance de son attitude envers les sujets, l'aisance de sa pratique de la justice et de l'équité". [Ces mêmes témoignages reconnurent] que, depuis qu'il exerçait des fonctions administratives, il s'était toujours montré supérieur à ses rivaux, que, depuis qu'il avait atteint l'âge mûr, il n'avait jamais poursuivi les biens de ce monde par orgueil ni vanité, ni fait preuve de la moindre avidité à leur égard par souci d'égaler les autres ou par désir de se vanter, qu'il n'avait jamais recherché ces biens pour accroitre sa gloire ni sa fortune personelle, qu'il ne les avait pas choisis comme moyen d'action pour exercer sa vengeance ni sa violence. [Ces témoignages reconnurent également] qu'il ne s'opposait pas au mérite lorsque la vérité le guidait

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[1] Sur l'expression *ṣa''ada wa-ṣauwaba fī*, voir les dictionnaires de Lane, s.v. (qui signale seulement la formule *ṣa''ada fīya al-naẓar wa-ṣauwaba-hu*) et Dozy (qui signale la formule abrégée employée ici).

[2] *Auliyā'*, qui signifie souvent dans les textes de cette époque „gardes", doit ici être pris dans un sens plus général.

[3] Le texte arabe emploie ici le verbe *ḫālaja* „carder".

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en ce sens, ni ne retardait la décision lorsque le jugement lui en montrait la nécessité. Tel est le portrait qu'on fait de lui et de sont là paroles sans passion, description que n'entachent ni erreur ni fausse prétention à des titres que le Prince des croyants connaît, loue et approuve en lui, titres tenant à l'ancienneté de son rôle de conseiller et de serviteur.

Le Prince des croyants le fit donc venir à la cour, le reçut avec bienveillance et générosité, l'investit de l'administration du vizirat, lui fit revêtir la tenue réservée à son homme de confiance, lui abandonna la direction de l'élite et du vulgaire, décida de s'en remettre à lui pour l'administration de son pouvoir et de son État, lui confia l'ensemble des Bureaux, lui en faisant supporter la charge et le poids, sachant qu'il s'adonnerait sans trêve à cette tâche, se reposant sur sa capacité et certain qu'il ne démentirait pas des qualités qu'on louait en lui ni ne se départirait de l'attitude qu'on lui connaissait, tant en ce qui concernait sa vie personnelle et officielle qu'en ce qui touchait l'activité et l'énergie qu'il avait déjà dépensées pour bien conseiller le Prince des croyants – que Dieu fasse durer son pouvoir — ainsi que ceux des Musulmans qui se tiennent auprès de lui.

Le Prince des croyants te fait donc savoir le nouveau rang et le nouvel honneur qu'il a conférés à Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās, la place et la situation qu'il lui a assurées, afin que tu connaisses ses droits, que tu obéisses à ses ordres et que tu t'y conformes selon le meilleur des usages et la plus parfaite des habitudes suivis pour des hommes tels que lui, bien qu'en réalité il n'existe auprès du Prince des croyants personne qui lui ressemble, le vaille, ni puisse lui être comparé ou opposé. Conforme-toi à ses lettres quand tu les recevras et suis les instructions qu'il t'enverra de la part du Prince des croyants, puisqu'il est l'intermédiaire [1] entre toi et lui, celui dont tu ne peux te passer en aucun domaine. Sache-le bien et observe cette consigne, si Dieu veut. — Ecrit par Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās.

[1] *Safir*: le MS porte السفر, qui ne paraît point offrir de sens.

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LE TESTAMENT POLITIQUE DU SHAIKH 'ALĪ AL-HARAWĪ

PAR

JANINE SOURDEL-THOMINE

Voici déjà plusieurs années que l'intérêt porté jadis à un *Kitāb al-ziyārāt* [1] qui se révéla être une œuvre concise et originale, à l'information exacte et de première main sur le monde musulman du sixième/douzième siècle et sur ses dévotions populaires, me conduisit parallèlement à découvrir l'étrange personnalité du Shaikh 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī, célèbre par ses nombreux voyages, mais encore plus digne sans doute de requérir l'attention pour sa curiosité d'esprit et pour son crypto-chiisme imparfaitement dissimulé. Sa *Tadhkira Harawīya*, conservée en quatre exemplaires dans des bibliothèques de Turquie où je pus en avoir communication pour l'éditer un peu plus tard, [2] devait ensuite me permettre de pénétrer plus avant dans la psychologie de cet ascète-pélerin, qui fut en même temps un envoyé politique aux missions plus ou moins secrètes et qui eut, entre autres prétentions, celle de rédiger un véritable „manuel de guerre et de gouvernement", situé dans la tradition classique des anciens „miroirs de princes" tout en reflétant, de manière assez réaliste, les conditions de vie particulières à la Syrie troublée de l'époque aiyūbide. C'est encore cet aspect de „conseiller des princes", mais avec un accent surtout moralisateur, que vient aujourd'hui nous révéler un nouvel écrit du même personnage, sa *Waṣīya Harawīya* que j'ai eu la bonne fortune de rencontrer récemment dans une bibliothèque d'Istanbul et qui méritait à son tour de s'ajouter à la série des deux œuvres précédemment publiées.

Certes il ne s'agit cette fois que d'un écrit mineur, reprenant avec une extrême brièveté des thèmes traités plus à loisir dans la *Tadhkira* avec laquelle il se trouve en rapport étroit. Mais cette identité même constitue un fait non dénué de signification, d'autant que le „testament" s'accompagne de quelques précisions sur le destinaire de

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[1] Al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, éd. et trad. fr. J. Sourdel-Thomine (Damas: Publications de l'Institut français de Damas, 1953 et 1957).

[2] J. Sourdel-Thomine, „Les conseils du šayḫ al-Harawī à un prince ayyūbide," dans *Bulletin d'études orientales* XVII (Damas, 1961-1962), 205-266.

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l'œuvre [1] et sur les circonstances de sa rédaction, qui manquaient dans la plus longue „épître". Surtout l'authentique valeur d'un document sociologique aussi bien que littéraire, touchant cet arrière-plan musulman de l'époque des Croisades que Sir Hamilton Gibb choisit lui-même bien souvent comme sujet de ses réflexions, semblait le désigner mieux que tout autre pour prendre place dans le volume d'hommages où il est aujourd'hui publié.

Le texte de cette *waṣīya* a pu être établi à partir d'un *unicum* occupant les folios 64b-65a d'un *majmūʿ* assez important qui porte lui-même, dans le fonds Mahmut Paşa, le n° 107 et qui appartient à la Bibliothèque Süleymaniye d'Istanbul. L'original se présente comme une copie lisible et pratiquement dépourvue de fautes, à l'écriture petite mais soignée, de 33 lignes seulement, mais serrées et sans espace blanc ni alinéa. Aucun renseignement touchant le lieu ni la date de la copie n'accompagne malheureusement la mention du copiste, dont il faut retenir, à défaut d'identification plus précise, qu'il était alépin et de rite hanafite.

Texte

الوصيّة الهرويّة أوصى بها العبد الفقير الضعيف على بن أبى بكر الهروى للملك المؤيّد الظاهر العادل العالم غياث الدنيا والدين الغازى بن يوسف بن أيوب نفعه الله بها وذلك عند وداعه إياه بقلعة حلب المحروسة وهى هذه :

بسملة

يقول العبد الفقير إلى رحمة الله تعّ المستغفر من ذنبه على بن ابى بكر الهروى غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المسلمين

الحمد لله حق حمده والصلاة على خير خلقه محمّد النبى الامّى وعلى آله وصحبه لما أزف الرحيل وبقى القليل وحرّكنى القضاء المقدّر والأمر المدبّر إلى ما ألفتُه من الأسفار والتغرب عن الديار

شعر

تجدّدت لى طربة إلى الصبا فذكرتنى عهده القديم
وكلّمتى أنشد البروق عن أهل الحمى وأسأل الرسوم
أهاهنا منازل تعوّدت منّى إذا شارفتها التسليم

[1] Il s'agit du fils de Saladin, qui fut souverain de la Syrie du nord, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, qui mourut peu après son conseiller, en 613/1215.

ورأيت أيها السلطان أدام الله أيامك وبلّغك آمالك وغفر لنا ولك ولجميع المسلمين أن الله تعّ قد آتاك من حسن الصورة وكمال العقل وشرف النفس ومكارم الأخلاق ما لم يُؤته إلّا الخواصّ من عباده والقليل من خلقه فله الحمد والمنّة على ما أولى من النعمة ورأيتُ أنّ للصحبة حقاً واجباً لا سيّما إذا كانت لله وفى الله ولك علىّ من النعمة ما يجب شكره والقيام به ولم أجد إلى ذلك سبيلاً إلّا بنصيحة أنصحك بها لتجعلها حرزاً وتتّخذها كنزاً وتستعين بها عند الشدائد وتستغنى بها عن مشورة خب جاهل والله يوفقك للعمل بها والأخذ بما فيها.

فأوّل ما أوصيك بتقوى الله فإنّها أساس ما بنى عليه من خاف الخراب والاعتصام بحبل الله فإنّه ما اعتصم به من خذله الناس ولزوم شريعة رسول الله صلّعم فمن تمسّك بها نجا واعلم أصلحك الله وإيّاى أنّ الله تعّ ولّاك أمر عباده وبلاده وأنّه يسألك عنهم فكن من الجواب على حذر وأصلح نيّتك فإنّ الأعمال بالنيّات.

وعليك بالعدل فيه ثبات الملك واجتنب الجور فيه زواله واحفظ أحكام الشريعة فمن أهان الشريعة صرعته واتّق الله فى الخلوة فأنّه ناظر اليك وجالس أهل العلم وخذ من علمهم وما عليك من عملهم إذا لم يكن موافقاً للعلم فإنّ التوفيق عزيز وقرّب أهل الخير والصلاح فإنّك تزرع فى قلوب الرعية خيراً وأكرم من التمس إلى الدين وإن لم يكن ممّن ينصحك فتنطوى عنك الأخبار ولا تستعمل الخائن فيضطرب عليك الملك.

وعليك بالسياسة لتعمر البلاد واستوص بالتجّار خيراً فأنّهم يشيعون خبرك ويسيّرون سيرتك وينقلون أفعالك واعلم أنّهم موادّ المنافع وجواسيس العالم فاحفظهم فى برّك وبحرك وإيّاك أن ينقلوا عنك إلّا خيراً ولا تهمل أمر العمّال فبهم صلاح الدولة وفسادها واعتبر حال أهل المناصب ومقدّمى دولتك فإن وجدت فيهم اعوجاجاً قوّمه أو زيغاً عدّله ولا تعط كلّك لبعض اصحابك فتلقى بينهم العداوة بل نزّلهم على أقدارهم فإنّك تستميل قلوبهم وتصلح ذات بينهم.

وعليك بإكرام أهل الدين فمن إكرمت من أهله فإنّ إكرامك لدين الله واعمل بالكتاب والسنّة فإنّ الكلمة تجتمع عليك وأقم الحدود يخشك الناس وجانب من لا دين فيه فإنّه يذيع سرّك ولا يريدك إلّا لدنياك وإيّاك وجليس السوء فإنّه يسىء سمعتك ولا تغترّ بعذب المنطق فالحيّة لمسها ليّن ومن نقل إليك كلاماً الزمه المقابلة فإن كان صادقاً فقد نصحك وإن كان كاذبا فالسياسة أولى به واعدل فى رعيّتك تجدهم عند الحاجة وباشر الأمور بنفسك فإنّ الناصح لك قليل وخف من صاحب سرّك فإنّه شاهد عليك ولا تثق إلى كل أحد فهو الحزم ولا تعرض وكلاهما أساس الملك واعلم أنّ الوفاء عدّة للملوك وذخيرة لهم عند الحاجة وإذا عن المال فهو

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يقوم مقامه ولا تكلّف من يرتجيك إلى أن يبذل وجهه فإنّ العطيّة لا تساوى ذلك واتبع قولك بالفعل فإنّك وتخاف وترجى ويعتمد الناس عليك وعليك بالعفر عند القدرة فإنّ الله أمر به وارحم الضعفاء والمساكين فإنّ دعاهم عند الله بمكان وهمهم لها تأثير ولا تغترّ بالدنيا فإنّك راحل عنهـا

شعر

عجبا لمن يغترّ بالدنيا ولياها دوام
عقبى مسّرتها الأسى وعقيب صحّتها السقام

والزم الطاعة وتحذّر المخالفة ولا تنزل على حصن إلّا وأنت تعلم أنّك قادر عليه فإنّ رحيلك بعد نزولك عليه عار وهزيمة واذا تضايقت عليك الأمور والتبست الأحوال فعليك بالصبر والالتجاء إلى الله تعّ فلا بدّ ممّا هو كائن أن يكون وإذا أتاك رسول فاهتمّ بجوابه وتعجيل سيره فإنّه إن طال مقامه وقف على حقائق الأحوال وعلم القوّة من الضعف وما فى أنفس الرعيّة وربّما استمال بعض جندك وهذا يؤدّى إلى وهن فى الدولة وفساد فى الملك واعلم أنه لا طريق إلى حفظ الملك إلّا بإحدى حالتين وهما حفظ الشريعة وسطوة السيف .

أما شهدتَ أباك تغمّده الله برحمته وأسكنه فى جنّته وقد فتح من البلاد ما تعذّر على الملوك المتقدّمين والجبابرة الأقدمين وكسر العساكر وفرق الغنائم وقتـل ملوك الإفرنج والروم وأخاف البحر ومن فيه والبرّ بساكنيه فما دفع عنه سكرة من سكرات الموت جيش جمعه ولا حصن شيّده ورفعه ولم ينفعه عند فراقه الدنيا إلّا عمل عمله وخير عند الله استودعه ولعلّه عند موته كان يتمنّى أن يراك ويتحسّر على لقائك وسكرات الموت تشغله وغصصه ترده وعاد بعد القدرة عاجزاً وبعد السطوة مطرحاً دعته المنايا فاستجاب لصوتها فللّه من داع دعا ومجيب فانظر إلى مصرعه واقتد بسنّته فإنّك صائر إلى ما صار إليه وقادم إلى ما قدم عليه وقد كان رحّه أصلك وأنت فرعه والفرع تابع للأصل وكلّ شبا أو جديد إلى البلى وكلّ امرء يوماً إلى الله صائر .

وهذه وصيّة محبّ صادق وناصح مشفق صحبك لله وفى الله ما استغاب عندك مخلوقاً ولا سألك فى مدّة صحبته ما تكره ولا أشار عليك إلّا بما فيه الصواب سليم الطويّة باقى الوفاء إذا غيّر القوم أو بدّلوا وسلام الله عليك ورحمته وبركاته وتحيّاته كلّ ما نصح محبّ ودود ورسح خبّ حسود .

تمّت الوصيّة بحمد الله تعّ على يد العبد الفقير المعترف بالذنب والتقصير خليل بن مقبل الحلبى الحنفى عامله الله بلطفه الجلى والخفى امين والحمد لله رب العالمين .

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Traduction

Dernières recommandations d'al-Harawi, celles que le pauvre et faible serviteur [de Dieu] 'Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Harawi laissa au souverain assisté [de Dieu] al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, le juste, le savant, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Din Ghāzi b. Yūsuf b. Aiyūb — que Dieu lui en fasse tirer profit! — au moment où il prit congé de lui en sa citadelle d'Alep — que Dieu garde! — et dont voici le texte.

Au nom de Dieu le Clément le Miséricordieux.

Le serviteur avide de la miséricorde de Dieu le Très Haut et implorant le pardon de ses fautes 'Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Harawi — que Dieu lui pardonne ainsi qu'à ses parents et à tous les musulmans! — a dit:

Louanges à Dieu qu'il est juste de louer et Ses bénédictions sur la meilleure de Ses créatures Muḥammad le Prophète de la Communauté ainsi que sur sa famille et sur ses Compagnons! Ceci, alors qu'est venu le moment du départ et qu'il ne nous reste plus qu'un bref délai, alors que le décret établi et que l'ordre fixé m'entraînent vers les voyages et l'exil auxquels je suis familier, car (citation poétique)

Une émotion m'a rendu présente ma jeunesse et m'a rappelé ses jours anciens.

Elle m'a parlé, et je demande aux éclairs les gens de la tribu, et j'interroge les traces.

Ne sont-elles point ici les demeures qui se sont éloignées de moi lorsque je leur préférai la soumission à Dieu.

J'estime en effet, ô sultan — que Dieu prolonge tes jours, qu'Il te fasse atteindre tes espoirs et qu'Il nous pardonne ainsi qu'à toi et à tous les musulmans! — que tu as reçu de Dieu une noblesse de l'apparence, une perfection de la raison, une élévation de l'âme et une générosité du caractère dont Il ne gratifie que l'élite de Ses serviteurs et le petit nombre de Ses créatures. Il faut donc Lui rendre louanges et grâces des faveurs qu'Il a accordées.

J'estime aussi que l'amitié a ses obligations impérieuses, surtout quand il s'est agi d'une amitié pour Dieu et en Dieu. Or tu m'as comblé de faveurs qui exigent le remerciement et l'attention et je n'ai trouvé d'autre moyen de m'en acquitter que de te dédier une exhortation où je t'exhorterais moi-même, pour que tu la conserves en lieu sûr et la considères comme un trésor, pour que tu t'en serves dans les difficultés et puisses te passer grâce à elle de l'avis du traître

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ignorant, pour que Dieu enfin t'accorde d'agir selon ses conseils et de te conformer à ce qui s'y trouve.

Mes premières recommandations seront: la piété envers Dieu, car c'est la base sur laquelle on bâtit pour ne point craindre la ruine, l'étroit attachement à Dieu, car c'est là le recours pour quiconque est abandonné des hommes, la fidélité à la Loi de l'Envoyé de Dieu, car est sauvé celui qui s'y tient. Sache aussi — ô toi que Dieu mène à la vertu ainsi que nous! – que Dieu t'a confié le sort de Ses serviteurs et de Ses territoires pour t'en demander compte: sois donc prêt à Lui en répondre et maintiens vers le bien ton intention, car les actes dépendent des intentions.

Veille à pratiquer la justice, car c'est elle qui affermit le pouvoir. Evite l'oppression, car c'est la fin de ce même pouvoir. Garde les commandements de la Loi religieuse, car quiconque méprise cette Loi sera renversé par elle. Crains Dieu dans la solitude, car Il ne cesse de t'observer. Entretiens-toi avec les dépositaires de la science religieuse; suis leur science et ne t'occupe pas de leurs actes quand ils ne sont pas en conformité avec elle, car le secours de Dieu est puissant. Rapproche de toi les gens de bien et de vertu, car ainsi tu sèmes le bien dans les cœurs de tes sujets. Honore quiconque s'occupe de religion, même s'il ne fait point partie de ceux qui te conseillent, car la nouvelle s'en répandra. Ne demande rien au traître, car il troublerait contre toi ton royaume.

Veille à pratiquer une bonne politique pour que le pays soit prospère. Traite bien les marchands, car ils font ta renommée, divulguent ta conduite et propagent le récit de tes actions. Sache en effet qu'ils sont les instruments des profits et les espions du monde; protège-les sur terre et sur mer dans tes territoires et prends garde surtout qu'ils ne parlent au loin de toi qu'en bien. Ne néglige point les préfets fiscaux, car d'eux dépend le salut de l'état ou sa perte. Surveille les gens pourvus de fonctions judiciaires et les officiers de ton gouvernement: si tu découvres chez eux la preuve d'une duplicité, corrige-la, ou s'ils ont commis une injustice, rétablis l'équité. Ne te livre tout entier à aucun de tes compagnons, car tu ferais naître entre eux l'animosité. Bien au contraire, accueille-les chacun selon son rang, car ainsi tu te les rendras favorables et les réconcilieras entre eux.

Veille à honorer les gens de religion, car lorsque tu te conduis ainsi avec eux, c'est la religion de Dieu que tu honores. Agis selon le Livre et la Tradition, car la renommé sera unanime en ta faveur.

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Fais observer les peines légales pour que les gens te craignent. Ecarte quiconque est sans religion, car il divulguerait les secrets et ne te rechercherait que pour des avantages matériels. Prends garde au mauvais compagnon, car il nuirait à ta réputation. Ne te laisse pas égarer par la douceur de la logique, car le serpent parait doux au toucher. A quiconque t'a tenu quelque discours, porte lui la contradiction: si c'est un discours sincère, tu y trouveras conseil; s'il est menteur, c'est de politique qu'il faut user.

Sois équitable envers tes sujets lorsqu'ils ont matière à se plaindre. Occupe-toi de tes affaires toi-même, car tu ne trouveras que peu de bons conseillers. Méfie-toi de qui détient tes secrets, car il peut témoigner contre toi. Ne fais confiance à personne, car c'est là la fermeté, et ne fais point connaitre tes pensées, ces deux principes étant la base du pouvoir.

Sache que la fidélité qu'on leur témoigne est un instrument aux mains des rois et leur est un trésor lorsqu'ils se trouvent en difficulté, même si c'est à prix d'argent, car celui-ci peut avoir son utilité; mais n'impose à personne qui espère en tes bontés de se dévouer à toi complètement, car les cadeaux ne paient pas ce sacrifice. Fais suivre d'actes tes paroles, car ainsi tu seras craint, on espérera en toi et l'on s'appuiera sur toi.

Veille à pratiquer le pardon après l'exercice de ta puissance, car Dieu en a ordonné ainsi. Sois miséricordieux avec les faibles et les pauvres, car leurs appels sont bien vus de Dieu et leurs désirs suivis d'effet. Ne te laisse pas séduire par ce monde, car tu le quitteras et (citation poétique):

C'est merveille que l'on puisse être séduit par ce monde et la suite de ses jours,

Alors que la tristesse y succède à la joie et les maladies à la santé.

Exige l'obéissance et crains l'opposition. Ne campe sous une place forte que si tu te sais assez puissant pour en triompher, car abandonner un siège équivaut à une honteuse déroute. En cas de situation difficile et confuse, arme-toi de constance et réfugie-toi en Dieu le Très Haut, car il n'est aucun moyen d'empêcher que soit ce qui doit être. Si tu reçois un envoyé, réfléchis bien à la réponse que tu lui donnes et hâte-toi de le renvoyer: à prolonger son séjour, il découvrirait en effet la réalité de ta situation, discernerait ce qui fait ta force et ta faiblesse et connaîtrait l'opinion de tes sujets; peut-

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être même se concilierait-il quelques éléments de ton armée, ce qui affaiblirait l'état et ruinerait ton pouvoir. Sache enfin qu'il n'est d'autre voie à suivre pour maintenir son pouvoir que de choisir un des deux moyens suivants: le respect de la Loi religieuse ou la violence du sabre.

N'as-tu pas été témoin du destin de ton père - que Dieu l'enveloppe de Sa miséricorde et le fasse entrer dans Son paradis ! Lui qui étendit ses conquêtes en des lieux inaccessibles aux rois ses prédécesseurs et aux héros du passé, lui qui tailla en pièces des armées, distribua des lots de butin, tua les princes des Francs et des Grecs, se fit craindre de la mer et de ce qu'elle renferme, de la terre et de ses habitants, ne fut sauvé des angoisses de la mort, ni par les troupes qu'il avait rassemblées, ni par les châteaux qu'il avait fortifiés, ni par ceux qu'il avait élevés. Rien d'autre ne lui a servi, au moment de quitter ce monde, que ses propres actions et le bien dont il avait fait un dépôt auprès de Dieu. Peut-être a-t-il, à son dernier moment, souhaité de te revoir. Peut-être a-t-il aspiré vainement à te rencontrer, alors que l'étreignaient les angoisses et les râles de la mort, alors qu'il connaissait l'impuissance après la force triomphante et qu'il gisait brisé dans son élan impétueux, alors qu'il en était à répondre aux appels du trépas, oh! par Dieu! quelles invocations et quelle réponse! Regarde donc le théâtre de sa lutte et prends-le pour modèle, car tu en viendras à ton tour où il en est venu et tu rencontreras ce qu'il a rencontré. Il fut en effet — que Dieu lui fasse miséricorde! — l'arbre solide dont tu n'es que la branche, et la branche connaitra le même sort que le tronc, chaque jeune et chaque être nouveau étant voué à l'épreuve et chaque homme destiné à retourner à Dieu un jour.

Telles sont les dernières recommandations de quelqu'un qui t'a aimé avec sincérité et t'a conseillé avec tendresse, qui t'a manifesté de l'amitié pour Dieu et en Dieu, qui n'a point calomnié près de toi de créature, qui ne t'a jamais demandé tout au long de cette amitié ce qui pouvait te déplaire et ne t'a jamais conseillé que ce qui était juste, qui n'a eu que des intentions pures et t'est demeuré fidèle au milieu des êtres changeants. Que le salut de Dieu soit sur toi, ainsi que Sa miséricorde et Ses bénédictions bienveillantes.

Tel est l'ensemble des conseils qu'a rédigés l'ami aimant, tandis que le traitre haineux s'adonnait aux plaisirs.

[La copie de] ce testament a été achevée — louanges en soient rendues à Dieu — par les soins du pauvre serviteur conscient de ses fautes

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et de ses insuffisances Khalīl b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī — que Dieu lui accorde ses faveurs ouvertement et en secret — Amen. Louanges à Dieu, le Seigneur des mondes.

* * *

A peine est-il besoin d'ajouter, en conclusion, que la limpidité de ce texte, à la fois dense et concis, se passe de longs commentaires. On y voit exprimées, avec une certaine recherche, mais sans que le balancement volontaire des phrases ni le goût des formules bien frappées entachent la clarté de la pensée, nombre d'idées communes à la morale de ce temps, celles qui s'étaient élaborées pendant la grande époque 'abbāside et avaient alors reçu dans les ouvrages d'*adab* une place de choix. Aussi bien y retrouvons-nous cette sagesse gnomique chère à l'ancien Orient, qui avait été adoptée par les plus anciens penseurs islamiques et s'accordait facilement avec le point de vue „réaliste" dont on a déjà souligné l'importance dans les premières conceptions codifiées de l'éthique musulmane classique. [1]

Il est seulement significatif que cet ensemble de réflexions peu originales sur la précarité de l'existence humaine et sur la nécessité d'obéir à la Loi religieuse soient ici transformées par des accents personnels où transparaissent le caractère et les opinions du Shaikh 'Alī al-Harawī. C'est un lyrisme qui lui est propre, avec l'évocation de ses expériences solitaires d'ascète et de voyageur, qui anime les premières et dernières phrases de son „testament", s'efforçant de le situer dans la ligne d'une existence essentiellement consacrée au service de Dieu et de ses „frères en Dieu". [2] C'est également le souvenir direct des événements qu'il a suivis et des combats auxquels il a participé [3] dans l'entourage du grand Saladin — fondateur de la dynastie aiyūbide et père du souverain à qui il aima prodiguer ses conseils — qui apparait dans un des paragraphes les plus volontairement oratoires de toute l'exhortation: celui où le sermonnaire cherche à toucher son royal disciple en lui rappelant la mort du vainqueur de Ḥittīn et du héros de la „reconquête" musulmane de la Syrie-

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[1] Cf. à ce propos la récente étude de M. Arkoun, „L'éthique musulmane d'après Māwardī," dans *Revue des études islamiques* (1963), 1-31.

[2] Noter en effet l'insistance avec laquelle al-Harawī, qui avait déjà composé sa *Tadhkira* à l'intention d'un „frère" qu'il souhaitait faire profiter de ses connaissances (cf. *Bulletin d'etudes orientales*, XVII [1961-1962], 217), évoque dans son testament la particulière qualité de l'amitié qui l'unissait au souverain d'Alep.

[3] Sur le rôle qu'il eut à jouer dans la „guerre sainte" menée par Saladin, voir J. Sourdel-Thomine, dans *Bulletin d'etudes orientales*, XVII (1961-1962), 209 n. 2.

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Palestine après les fragiles succès francs de la Première Croisade. C'est enfin le fruit de ses propres observations d'ordre politique et même stratégique que reflètent les passages les plus directement destinés à inspirer la conduite du souverain d'Alep, ceux où il lui conseille notamment d'adopter vis-à-vis des hommes de religion, des marchands et des ambassadeurs étrangers une attitude présentée de manière plus explicite dans certains chapitres de la *Tadhkira*. [1]

Ainsi peut-on déceler dans la teneur de ce dernier message d'al-Harawī le mélange de cynisme et de dévotion, d'habileté pratique et de sincérité qui semble avoir marqué le caractère du personnage tout au long de son obscure carrière et lui avoir permis de jouer les rôles d'agent plus ou moins secret et de conseiller écouté, rôles qu'il paraît avoir recherchés avec une particulière prédilection. Mais on doit encore apprécier dans la forme de cet écrit le réel talent de persuasion dont fait preuve al-Harawī, alliant des argument de tous ordres, sentimentaux aussi bien que logiques, pour emporter l'adhésion de son futur lecteur et prolongeant ainsi au delà de sa propre disparition l'emprise qu'il avait de son vivant si complètement exercée sur le fils de Saladin, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī. [2]

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[1] Cf. notamment les chapitres intitulés „Des qualités du messager qu'on envoie en mission," „Des qualités du messager que l'on reçoit et du stratagème à employer en cette occasion," „Du rôle des espions et des agents de renseignement" (*Tadhkira*, chapitres X, XI et XII, *Bulletin d'études orientales*, XVII [1961-1962], 224-226).

[2] C'est de cette emprise qu'Ibn Khallikān nous avait de son côté gardé témoignage tout en en fournissant une interprétation visiblement malveillante (cf. al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pelerinage*, traduction, p. xii, et *Tadhkira*, dans *Bulletin d'études orientales*, XVII [1961-1962], 206).

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REASON AND REVELATION

BY

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Several words mean "religious," *dīnī*, *sam'ī*, *shar'ī* and *naqlī*; but *shar'ī* may mean legal, *sam'ī* revealed, and *naqlī* reported in a tradition; so ambiguity is common. The antithesis *naqlī 'aqlī* asked to be used. Knowledge may be acquired by reasoning or be necessary; this latter may be intuitive; but facts like those of history and geography, which rest on general report (*tawātur*) where no conspiracy to deceive can be suspected, are known by necessary knowledge or by necessity, both phrases are used.

The Koran insists that man should use his reason to consider the marvels of creation and rise from knowledge of creation to knowledge of the creator. The orthodox view was that only revelation could make God known to men; Ibn al-Muqaffa' alludes to this belief. [1] Ḥasan al-Baṣri (d. 110 H.) wondered how God could make Himself known to men; since no form was like Him, He was not perceived by the senses and not to be measured by any human standard. [2] Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150 H.) is made to say, "Had no prophet been sent, men must have known God by their own intelligence" and that "Had there been no tradition, he would have accepted analogy." [3] The saying, "The law (*shar'*) is based on revelation and religion (*dīn*) on reason" [4] is attributed to Māturīdī (d. 333 H.) and his followers explained "to lead the people" (Koran VI, 76) to mean that the knowledge of God is obtained by reason. [5] Further, sound reason, when confronted by what is beyond reason, must wait for revelation and follow it. [6] Māturīdī is considered a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa and so is treated with him.

The Mu'tazila taught that man, by reason, could find out God, or that reason could teach him that it was his duty to know God, and

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[1] *Rasā'il al-bulaghā* (1946), 122.

[2] 'Alī b. Ḥusain, *al-Durar wa 'l-ghurar*, I (1907), 103.

[3] Al-Malaṭī, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-radd* (1936), 35; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* (1895), 28.

[4] British Museum Add. 27526 f° 19b. (Māturīdī).

[5] Al-Ghazzālī, *al-Qusṭās* (1900), 40, quoted by the editor.

[6] *Al-Fiqh al-akbar* (1903 ff.), 20. Māturīdī is usually considered a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa.

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that this needed no command from Him. Later, the Mu'tazila made some concessions to orthodoxy; al-Jubbā'ī (d. 303 H.) admitted that the eternity of rewards and punishments could be known only by revelation. Again, reason cannot discover the right form of worship; [1] reason admits that the world may end, revelation states that it will. [2] Others saw a moral element in these mental processes for reason comes from knowledge and knowledge from temperance (*zuhd*); consequently, there is no reason in an unbeliever. [3] The feet of Islam can stand only on the back of submission; if a man aims at something, the knowledge of which is refused him, and his understanding is not content with submission, his resolve keeps him back from sincere "unity" (knowledge that God is one) and pure knowledge. He wavers between belief and unbelief. [4] A tradition says, "He who grows in knowledge, but not in temperance, recedes from God. Wisdom stands on temperance." [5] Presumably, the emphasis was on the adjective when al-Jāḥiẓ condemned the exploration of mysteries by weak intelligences, [6] and al-Ash'arī mentions those who appealed to reasoning (*ahl al-naẓar*) and rejected an opinion because it was contrary to reason (*khilāf al-ma'qūl*). [7]

How is revelation known to be true? One answer is that the miracles worked by a prophet proved that he was a genuine messenger from God who could be trusted. Most agreed that a prophet could not lie in delivering his message. [8] An attempt to explain this is the statement that the truth of revelation depends on the reality of prophecy and its validity is known by reasoning and proof. [9] Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H.) said, "That the Koran is true is known from true premises founded on reason and sensation, the only true bases of knowledge. When God gives a revelation, He creates in the recipient knowledge of its truth." [10] Another view evades the problem by saying that knowledge about the Koran came from a general report, and so is necessary, not depending on reason.[11] On the other side, it was said

[1] Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Istiqṣā' al-naẓar* (1935), 18.
[2] Al-Rāzī, *al-Muḥaṣṣal* (1323 H.), 98 f.
[3] Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzaima, *al-Tauḥīd* (1937), 43, 35.
[4] Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *'Aqīdat al-imām* (1921), 120.
[5] *Rasā'il al-bulaghā*, 477.
[6] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Radd 'alā 'l-naṣārā*, ed. Finkel (1926), 17.
[7] *Maqālāt al-islāmiyīn* (1929), 593.
[8] For example, al-Dawwānī, *Sharḥ* (1879), 97.
[9] Al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* (1928), 114.
[10] *Al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, V (1317 H.), 17; *al-Iḥkām li-uṣūl al-aḥkām*, I (1927 ff.), 16.
[11] *Al-Tanbīh wa 'l-radd*, 22.

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that Koran, Sunna, agreement and analogy confirm the decisions of reason, apparently not seeing that analogy is reason. Al-Ash'ari said, "When new and specific questions pertaining to the basic dogmas arise, every Muslim ought to refer judgement on them to the sum of principles accepted on the ground of reason, sense experience, intuition, etc., not confounding the rational with the traditional (revealed), or the traditional (revealed) with the rational."[1]

Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255 H.) said that truth is self-evident and needs no proof from outside itself. No analogy can be based on the moral judgements of men till we can show from a divine ordinance that they are right and lawful.[2] The thought of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādi (d. 429 H.) is confused. Some assumptions are necessary for reasoning to be possible. Reason shows that the true is true and the impossible is impossible. Knowledge based on reason is of two kinds, rational and revealed, both acquired. It is known by reason that God is one and eternal, that men are under obligation to Him, and that the mission of Muhammad is authenticated by miracles. Knowledge of the clean and unclean, of what is commanded, approved or forbidden is revealed. Revealed knowledge is connected with reason because based on the truth of the mission of Muhammad, which is known by reason and proof. If this were known by the senses or intuition, none could doubt it. Laws that could be changed or abrogated during the lifetime of Muhammad were revealed; those that could not, were based on reason. If it were true that some laws were due to revelation without the need of reason, proofs for them were the Koran, Sunna, agreement and analogy. The way to know God is by reasoning, but the need for this is shown by revelation. The message is expressed in many fashions, and every aspect can be proved; some proofs are more striking than others.[3] Shāhfūr b. Ṭāhir (d. 471 H.) claimed to have established every detail of the creed by two proofs, one reasoned, one revealed (*shar'ī*).[4] A prophet is guaranteed by his miracles, acts contrary to nature, done while he is responsible, as a witness to his office, when he challenges others to do the like.[5] It cannot be imagined that anything acts out of character; therefore a miracle, which is a proof of truth, cannot be worked by a liar.[6] Reason cannot convince

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[1] *Istiḥsān al-khaud fi 'ilm al-kalām* (1953), 95 (text).
[2] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Dhamm al-kuttāb*, ed. Finkel, 56.
[3] *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 14, 16 ff., 202 f., 206.
[4] *Al-Tabṣir fi 'l-dīn* (1940), 164.
[5] *Ibid.*, 152.
[6] *Ibid.*, 153.

us that we have any duties or that God will either reward or punish us (Koran XVII, 16/15); it cannot know that anything is inevitable for, if it could, it would know the necessity of all that is inevitable, for necessity is one. No man could know all duties without the help of a prophet. [1]

Al-Bāqillānī (Muḥammad b. al-Ṭaiyib, d. 403 H.) said that miracles prove the worker of them to be genuine, and God, truthful. The Koran, Sunna, agreement and analogy confirm some conclusions of reason. An analogy based on a cause is based on revelation; arguments based on revelation are as strong as those based on reason. [2]

Al-Juwaini ('Abd al-Malik, d. 478 H.) repeats that revelation enjoins reasoning. [3] A miracle must be beyond the bounds of imagination. You cannot argue from a miracle as you can from cause or effect; it is a proof that a prophet is genuine only when coupled with the claim to be a prophet. [4] That men did not, rather than could not, rival the Koran is a more effective proof than a mere breach of custom.[5] Religions depend on promises and threats; if reason comprehends the general principles of beatitude, it cannot know it in detail. [6] The concept of the non-existent takes on an odd form; since knowledge can endure after reasoning is ended, it can exist without previous reasoning, for what has stopped is as if it had never been. [7]

The early philosophers, al-Kindī (alive in 256 H.) and al-Fārābī (d. 339 H.) assume that there is no conflict between reason and relevation. Al-Kindī (Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq) said that he who opposes the learning of external facts and calls it unbelief, has no religion; for knowing facts is knowledge of the Lordship, Unity and virtue. [8] All useful knowledge, the path to it, the avoidance of what is harmful--the mastering of all this is what the prophets brought, that is, to know the Lordship. Those who deny the need for philosophy must prove their case, and this involves the use of philosophy. [9] Referring to Koran XXXVI, 78 (LI, 42), he asked: "For pure enlightened intelligences, what proof is more concise, more evident than the bones?" [10]

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] *Al-Tamhīd fī 'l-radd* (1947), 39.
[3] Imām al-Ḥaramain, *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* (1960), 30.
[4] Imām al-Ḥaramain, *'Aqīda niẓāmīya* (1948), 5, 51.
[5] *Ibid.*, 55.
[6] *Ibid.*, 47.
[7] *al-Shāmil*, 24.
[8] Al-Kindī, *Philosophical Letters*, I (1950 f.), 104.
[9] Quoted in the preface of the letter to Mu'taṣim, 24 f.
[10] Al-Kindī, *Philosophical Letters*, II, 374.

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Al-Fārābī (Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān) said that the first principles of mathematics are the causes of our knowing the first principles of being.[1] Philosophy shows that there is a being most perfect, unique, self-existent; this is God who possesses all the attributes which can be ascribed to Him, the source of all that is, no evil or defect in Him.[2] Religions cannot be proved by rational arguments, but miracles do not lie; for only a real prophet can work them. Religions teach men, by revelation, what they could not reach by reason, including some things which reason rejects; for as the boy is to the man, so is man to the heavenly intelligences. There are those who say that reason cannot penetrate the divine secrets; if it could, there would be no need for revelation, which brings what unaided reason cannot apprehend.[3] Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, Ḥusain b. ʿAbdallāh, d. 428 H.) followed a line familiar in Muslim thought. The social life of men demanded a ruler who must be in touch with the eternal. This authority had to be a prophet and, at the same time, a man; but one with a combination of qualities rarely to be found together. Everything depended on his character, while God had no more, and no less, share in his mission than He had in others. This prophet had to teach men that there was one creator who must be obeyed, and his teaching was cast in such a form that the simple could grasp these essentials, while the learned made deductions which would have perplexed the ignorant. It was a crime to let the simple know that such refinements of belief existed. Divine providence meant that evil did not exist in its own right, but was a by-product of some good thing.[4] As a book has just been published about Averroes' attitude regarding religion, it is enough to summarize results. Averroes (Ibn Rushd, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, d. 595 H.) agreed with his predecessors that revelation commands the use of reason, that good character must come before learning, and that there is no conflict between reason and revelation. The surface meaning of what is revealed in the Koran or elsewhere is for the simple, the inner meaning, for the learned; but it is a refinement of the first, not opposed to it. It is a crime to expound the inner meaning to the simple. Knowledge, which the weakness of man's mind cannot grasp, may be revealed to him by God. Theologians understand only dialectical arguments, not the demonstrative proofs demanded by philosophers.

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[1] Al-Fārābī, *Taḥṣīl* (1926), 7.
[2] *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* (1931), 62.
[3] *Ibid.*, 71-74.
[4] *al-Najāt* (1331 H.), 498 ff.

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It seemed better to keep the philosophers together; and now to return to the theologians. Al-Ghazzālī (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, d. 505 H.) speaks with several voices. As a plain man, he notes that Muhammad accepted the faith of the rude Arabs, without asking them to know the reasons for it. [1] The "balance" is the standard learned from prophets, who learned it from angels. Should anyone ask if what can only be learned from apostles is known by reason or reasoning, the answer is that it is learned from the teacher, Muhammad. [2] He glorified reason. The universal reason was the first creation, and man's reason is to it as light to the sun; by it alone can bliss be attained, and without it there is no religion; for a man without reason can have no religion. It is the most noble power of the soul (self), and by it man reaches the paradise of safety. [3] Religious (?revealed) knowledge depends on reason and this judgment cannot be inverted. [4] To come to details, men know by reason that the world is created and its creator possesses power, knowledge and other attributes; it makes known what is to be avoided, and that the prophet speaks truth. [5] Knowledge is derived from reason, which God has named spirit, revelation and life. [6] Revelation depends on this knowledge, which is mental speech; if the existence of this is not confirmed, revelation is not confirmed. [7] The supremacy of knowledge and reason is apprehended by the necessities of reason, revelation and the senses. [8] Some knowledge comes man knows not how; for example, the influx of necessary knowledge into the growing mind. [9] Revelations, which reason cannot accept, must be explained as allegories. [10]

Elsewhere, reason and revelation are set side by side. God has given guidance to all: by reason to some, to others by the tongues of prophets. [1] Reason and revelation (*shar'*) fix the standard of the golden mean; man believes by nature, prophets bring knowledge of the one

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[1] *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn*, I (1312 H.), 10 (chap. 2).
[2] al-Ghazzālī, *al-Qusṭās al-mustaqīm* (1900), 22.
[3] *Mīzān al-'amal* (1910), 139 f.
[4] *Ibid.*, 146.
[5] *al-Iqtiṣād fī 'l-i'tiqād* (1902), 88.
[6] *Iḥyā al-'ulūm*, I, 63 (chap. 7).
[7] *al-Iqtiṣād*, 95.
[8] *Mīzān*, 139.
[9] *Ibid.*, 145.
[10] *al-Iqtiṣād*, 95 f.
[11] *Mīzān*, 115.

God.[1] Religious knowledge is like food, and that based on reason, like medicine.[2] Reason upholds an idea not from itself, but by a revelation through a prophet; he received it from God, and is only a reporter whose veracity is attested by miracles; and a miracle is a witness only when it has been attested by reason.[3]

Revelation is put above reason. Man is warned against making the rational the foundation, and the revealed (reported), the superstructure.[4] What a man ought to know is "details which can only be apprehended in the light of instruction caught from illumination from the world of prophecy."[5] Statements in the Koran show that ideas approved by reason may be wrong; it is wrong to argue from the creature to the nature of the creator.[6] Without revelation, men would not need to know God and be grateful to Him. Reason does not know what ought to be approved, except by revelation, and, when instructed, profits by it.[7] Reason cannot tell if a man is a believer; it can decide on his sincerity or ignorance; but revelation alone can decide if he is a believer.[8] The Koran leads to the Sunna, the Sunna leads to agreement, agreement to analogy: so all is revealed.[9]

An objector is allowed to speak. "If it is argued that man does not apprehend that judgments of reason are necessary, that leads to silencing the messenger. When he comes with a miracle and says, "Test it," the addressee may say "If reasoning is not necessary, I shall avoid it." If it is necessary, what perceives it? Not reason, for reason does not create necessity. The percipient cannot be revelation, for that is confirmed only by reasoning from miracle. Reasoning is not necessary till revelation is confirmed. So the conclusion is that the reality of prophecy is not established."[10] The same objection is quoted by al-Rāzī.

Al-Rāzī (Muḥammad b. 'Umar, d. 606 H.) recognized that without some assumptions, which cannot be proved, reasoning and knowledge are impossible.[11] Reason is not the only guide to God, for an infallible

[1] *Ibid.*, 88, 143.
[2] *Ibid.*, 146.
[3] *al-Iqtiṣād*, 88.
[4] al-Ghazzālī, *al-Qusṭās*, 111.
[5] *Ibid.*, 20.
[6] *Ibid.*, 101.
[7] *al-Iqtiṣād*, 87 ff.
[8] *Ibid.*, 111.
[9] *al-Mustaṣfā*, II, (1904), 386.
[10] *al-Iqtiṣād*, 87.
[11] al-Rāzī, *Ma'ālim uṣūl al-dīn* (margin of *al-Muḥaṣṣal*), 5.

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imam or mystic inspiration may serve the same purpose. [1] Unaided reason can show that the world had to have a creator; reason and revelation joined to show that a prophet brings help to men, enabling them to distinguish food, medicine and poison. (Some taught that prophets had brought all medical knowledge.) Reason shows that God must be obeyed and prophets expound this duty in detail. Mere knowledge of right and wrong does not drive men to do the one, and avoid the other. [2] It is a duty to know God, and for this, reasoning is required, as revelation proves: "We do not punish till We have sent messengers" (Koran XVII, 16/15). God does not distribute rewards and punishments arbitrarily, though reason cannot prove either that they will be given or that they are necessary; but it confirms revelation, because a sinner is blamed, on rational grounds, for his sin. A man may refuse to use his reason, and so remain ignorant that revelation is true; but this is equivalent to silencing the prophets. [3] Men know that the prophet is truthful, whether or not they know that God speaks; for no liar can work miracles. [4] Reason cannot establish those things which prove the veracity of a prophet; facts of history, which reason cannot show to be essential, must depend on report; in other words, are necessary knowledge. A general report is on the same footing as custom, while the Koran and Sunna are a special report. [5] Relying on revelation, "if there were gods beside God, both would go to ruin" (Koran XXI, 22), Muslims affirm that God and His attributes are the only eternals; but the text does not say that an inert, impotent eternal cannot exist. [6] Decision as to what is most suitable (*al-aṣlaḥ*) depends on revelation, and nothing can pass judgement on that. [7]

Some of the reasoning is hard to follow. Thus, unbelief is to deny what is known, by necessary knowledge, to have been the prophet's message; therefore we call no Muslim an unbeliever because his denial of the message cannot be the object of necessary knowledge, but only the product of reasoning. [8] How can necessary knowledge be rejected! Both proof and symbol (*amāra*) may be rational, revealed,

[1] *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, 150-157.
[3] *Ibid.*, 27 f.; cf. Imām al-Ḥaramain, *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*, 27
[4] *Ibid.*, 126.
[5] *Ibid.*, 31 f.
[6] *Ibid.*, 56.
[7] *Ibid.*, 148.
[8] *Ibid.*, 175.

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or a compound of both; but if revelation is allowed to override reason, that is a criticism of reason, and implies criticism of revelation which is dependent on reason. Symbols produce only opinion. [1] Some who condemned unquestioning submission to authority (*taqlid*) said that the arguments for it took its place, and so discredited it; "he who follows blindly is as a led animal." [2] Al Rāzī asked, "Can power, without special guidance, produce some effects, but not others of the same sort?" Those who believe this can prove the existence of will only by revelation; those who do not believe this can prove the existence of will by reason and revelation. [3] The statement that failure in argument with an atheist (*dahrī*) can lead to loss of religion shows the old fear of philosophy. [4] Al-Ṭūsī (Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, d. 672 H.) in his commentary on *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, accepts the common view that a general report produces necessary knowledge instancing the five daily prayers. Trust in the prophet's truthfulness is based on the belief in one God, the infallibility of prophets and general report; this should suffice both for those who believe and for those who do not. The Koran and Sunna have value only for believers. Questions about words and rational objections cannot create doubts about the meaning of the Koran; only uncertainty about metaphor, limitation and abrogation is possible. [5] In a conflict of duties, reason must decide. [6]

In some branches of knowledge, revelation follows reason and confirms it; in others, reason follows revelation and confirms it (Ibrahīm b. Isḥāq al-Bukhārī, d. 534 H.). [7] The message of a prophet when confirmed by a miracle gives rise to knowledge which is on the same footing as that which is necessary ('Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, d. 537 H.). [8] Al-Baiḍāwī ('Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, d. ca. 685 H.) says that true reasoning leads to knowledge, and is a duty because enjoined in the Koran. [9] In his commentary on the Koran, it is implied, though not stated, that revelation comes before reason; but he is not consistent. Koran XVII, 16/15 shows that there can be

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[1] *Ibid.*, 31.
[2] Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān sal-'ilm*, II (n.d.), 116, 114.
[3] *Al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 125.
[4] *Ibid.*, 27.
[5] *Ibid.*, 31.
[6] *Ibid.*, 148.
[7] British Museum Add. 27526, f° 20b.
[8] Al-Nasafī, *'Aqīda* (1335 H.), 34.
[9] al-Baiḍāwī, *Ṭawāli' al-anẓār*, 71, 75.

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no moral necessity before revelation; II, 164/169, "(the devil) only enjoineth you evil and wickedness," shows that evil is what reason condemns, and revelation calls bad; and according to VI, 76. Abraham wished to argue his father out of idolatry. Mathematicians say that, as the essence of God cannot be apprehended, no judgement can be passed on Him. [1] The orthodox view is that there is no place for reason in discussing God's decrees, for revelation has established them. [2]

For al-Ījī ('Aḍud al-Dīn, d 756 H.), the possibility of knowing God is a special case of the rule that reasoning begets knowledge; to put revelation above reasoning is to abolish a general rule for a special case. [3] If reason and revelation conflict, reason is to be preferred; and revelation, if it is *mutashābih*, must be allegorized. [4] He who knows the true premises which agree with knowledge of God, in a form absolutely necessary, attains that knowledge certainly. [5] Knowledge based on a report must be confirmed by reason, even if the reporter is reliable. [6] Knowledge can be obtained by reasoning alone or by inspiration; the inspiration of a prophet differs from that of a common man. Contrary to the Shi'a, it was held that reasoning was necessary to recognize the imam. [7] Some said that knowledge obtained by reason alone, like that received from one who was not a prophet, did not guarantee salvation. [8]

Ibn Taimiya (Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalim, d. 728 H.) believed that there could be no contradiction between revelation and reason.

For al-Taftāzānī (Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar, d. 791 or 797 H.), the sources of knowledge are sensations, true reports, and reason. [9] Philosophy is hardly to be distinguished from theology, except that the latter included revelation,[10] and is built on decisive arguments most of which are supported by revelation.[11] Inspiration (*ilhām*) does not produce knowledge binding on others.[12] The mission of a

[1] *Ibid.*, 73.
[2] British Museum MS Or. 12106 (Ibn Jamā'a) f° 95b.
[3] Al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām*, I (1325 H. f.), 253, II, 54.
[4] *Al-Hiba wa 'l-'aṭā*, quoted p. 40.
[5] Al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif*, I, 239.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 247.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 257.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 246.
[9] al-Nasafī, *'Aqida* (margin), 25.
[10] *Ibid.*, 14.
[11] *Ibid.*, 11, 14.
[12] *Ibid.*, 71.

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prophet is confirmed by miracles.[1] Reason allows that God may be seen.[2]

Al-Sanūsī (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, d. 892 H.) believed that all men can get to know the creator by sound reasoning, and to know the prophet by the two paths of what is reasoned and what is revealed.[3] There are four classes of what is believed:

1. What can be confirmed only by reasoned proof; that is everything on which depends the probative value of miracles; for example, the existence of God.

2. What is a matter of doubt whether reason or revelation is the more effective proof; for example, the *wahdāniya* of God.

3. What is proved by both reason and revelation, but the latter is the more effective.

4. What can be known only by revelation; for example, the facts of the afterlife.[4]

Miracles confirm the prophet's veracity; there is no need of words or report. (The place of speech in prophecy was a subject of debate; one view was that the prophet's message was the cumulative effect of his life.)[5] Through one who claimed to be a prophet, God created miracles which were in harmony with his claim, and his challenge to others, with their failure to meet the challenge, all combine to form a reasoned argument for the trustworthiness of the prophet.[6] If it could be proved by reason that God must do something, for example, reward piety. He would need that something to carry out His purpose; He would not be self-sufficient.[7] Ḥājji Khalīfa (d. 1068 H.) thought that prophets must be sent, and that reason has no place in revelation, except to deduce details from first principles.[8]

Al-Tahānawī (Muḥammad Ṣābir, d. 1158 H.) is not consistent in his ideas. Theology has principles which are not evident in any other branch of knowledge, religious or otherwise, and rest on investigations by reason. The proofs of it are certain; sound reason judges according to them, and they are strengthened by revelation

[1] *Ibid.*, 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, 91.
[3] al-Sanūsī, *al-Hiba wa 'l-'aṭā* (1921), 2 f.
[4] *Ibid.*, 13.
[5] Khiḍr Beg, *al-Qaṣīda al-nūniya al-tauḥīdiya* (1880), 36; *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 151.
[6] Al-Sanūsī, *al-Hiba wa 'l-'atā* (*Sharḥ 'aqīdat al-Sanūsī*), 102.
[7] Al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn* (1937), 17.
[8] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, (1835 ff.), 64, 94.

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(? report, *naql*). [1] When knowledge of God depends on reasoning it is a duty. [2] Reason cannot grasp the order of things as they are, does not know except by the light of belief, and is the means by which the holy revelation comes to the soul (self), of whatever sort the soul may be. God is not apprehended by the practical reason (*'aql al-ma'āsh*). [3] Reason is the foundation for religious duties; but the soul can receive knowledge direct from the Primal One (*al-mabda'*), and such knowledge is free from the fancies due to sensations, which form a screen in front of the Primal One. [4] Revelation may come to man from without or from within. That from without may come from the Koran, suggestion which the Holy Spirit breathes into the soul, and inspiration which is other than that granted to saints. That from within is obtained by independent thinking. [5]

There is no straight line of development of ideas about the connection between reason and the Koran, the instrument of revelation. The one constant is that miracles guarantee the message, and the Koran is one of them. (The nature of this miracle is not part of this problem.) Some ideas were expressed, to be rejected or ignored Abū Hāshim (d. 322 H.) said that religion began in doubt, but the idea was scouted. [6] Al-Taftāzānī argued that a general report guaranteed only the words of the Koran and Sunna, while the meaning was determined by reasoning. [7] The argument was ignored. The claims made by Muḥammad 'Abduh that reason can prove that there is a God, can test the genuineness of a prophet, can interpret the dictates of religion, and decide what is beyond man's comprehension had all been made before, though hardly by one man.

[1] *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (1854 ff.), 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, 26.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1028.
[4] *Ibid.*, 33.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1028.
[6] *Al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 28 (some words have dropped out of the print).
[7] Al-Nasafī, *'Aqida*, 35.

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THE FORM OF THE DEFINITE ARTICLE IN ARABIC AND OTHER SEMITIC LANGUAGES

BY

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Is *'al* the form in which the definite article appears in classical Arabic?[1] Before endeavoring to answer this (by no means very novel) question I ought to explain what I am *not* setting out to do in the ensuing observations: I am not surveying the various means, current in some Semitic languages, of rendering a noun definite; I shall not deal with the syntactical periphrasis of the article common in Aramaic and Ethiopic, nor with mimation and nunation[2] and the question of a prefixed or suffixed article. I shall instead try to ascertain the earliest form of *ta'rīf* in Arabic and see whether the considerations valid for Arabic might not apply to some other Semitic languages as well.

The definite article in classical Arabic may appear in four different forms:

(1) *'al* - at the beginning of an utterance (*'al-baytu*)

(2) *l*—in any position—except as at (1) (*fī l-bayti*)

(3) *'a* plus first consonant of following noun, that is, at the beginning of an utterance (*'ar-rajulu*)

(4) a sound identical with the first consonant of following noun, that is, in any position—except as at (3) (*ḏahaba r-rajulu*)

[1] The principal arguments contained in this paper were first advanced by me, some 25 years ago, in an unpublished M.A. thesis. It was only after the completion of that dissertation that I gained access to A. J. Wensinck's "The article of determination in Arabic" in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* 71, serie A, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1931). As I still find myself in substantial agreement with several of the points made in Wensinck's excellent paper (which appears to have been overlooked in nearly all subsequent discussion of this subject), it might not come amiss to restate the position briefly in contemporary terms.

[2] Cf. I. J. Gelb, "La mimazione e la nunazione nelle lingue semitiche" in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XII (1929-30); J. Kurylowicz, "La mimation et l'article en arabe," *Ar. Or.*, XVIII (1950), 1-2. Unhappily, I find it difficult in this case to accept the conclusions reached by this distinguished linguist. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-Ovest*, 117 ff.; A. F. L. Beeston, *A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian*, 30-31; etc. See also *GLECS*, V (1948-51), 79 ff.

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Statistically speaking, forms (1) and (3) are rare, while the sandhi forms under (2) and (4) are of roughly equal frequency. This state of affairs is confirmed not only by frequency sampling, [1] but also by these considerations: (a) contextual forms heavily outnumber cases where the noun with definite article happens to occur in initial position; (b) in Arabic sentence structure, an utterance usually begins with a verb; (c) cases under (2) and (4) are of roughly equal frequency, because the consonants which determine the distinction between (2) and (4) are, in each case, fourteen. It must be emphasized from the outset that this analysis is based on phonetic reality and not on the graphic fiction which the conventional modes of spelling have brought about: as far as the purely consonantal graphic picture is concerned, there is no visual difference between the four pronunciation patterns outlined above. The *letters* ʾ and *l* appear in each one of these four instances, although--as in case (4)--they represent no actual discernible *sound*.

The fact that the two groups of consonants, which determine the character of the Arabic definite article, contain each fourteen sounds might by itself suggest an arbitrary and artificial distribution:

ʾal-ḥurūfu l-qamarīya: *ʾ b j ḥ ḫ ʿ ġ f q k m h w y*

ʾal-ḥurūfu š-šamsīya: *t ṯ d ḏ r z s š ṣ ḍ ṭ ẓ l n*

The position in classical Arabic is described by Zamakhshari (*al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, 193; Cairo edn. 1323 H., 399):

واللام إن كانت المعرفة فهى لازم ادغامها فى مثلها وفى الطاء والدال والتاء والظاء والذال والثاء والصاد والسين والزاى والشين والضاد والنون والراء. . . [2]

The opinions of Arab grammarians on the original form of *ḥarf al-taʿrīf* [3] are divided (*al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, p. 153, Cairo edn. p. 326):

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[1] For this sampling, I have used 10 pages of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* and several columns of the newspaper *Al-Ahrām*.

[2] It is interesting to note that the sequence of consonants here differs from the usual alphabetical order (which is largely dictated by resemblances in the shape of characters) and appears to be inspired by phonetic considerations (cf. Ibn Yaʿīš, *Sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal*, ed. Jahn [Leipzig, 1882-86], 1479). Arab grammarians were aware of phonetic factors, and the arrangement in the present case may well throw some light on the pronunciation of certain consonants; for example, *ḍ* which follows *š* and may thus be taken as a lateral (so also Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* [Strasbourg, 1906], 13, and especially C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 33; Rabin, *ibid.*, also offers further bibliographical indications). The distribution of consonants in this *al-Mufaṣṣal* passage is as follows: dentals (*ṭ d t*); interdentals (*ẓ ḏ ṯ*); sibilants (*ṣ s z*); laterals (*š ḍ*); liquids (*n r* [and *l*, if account is taken of *fī miṯlihā*]).

[3] This is itself, of course, a transliteration (as suggested by the editor of this

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وهذه اللام وحدها هي حرف التعريف عند سيبويه والهمزة قبلها همزة وصل مجلوبة للابتداء بها كهمزة ابن واسم وعند الخليل إن حرف التعريف أل كهل وبل وانما استمر بها التخفيف للكثرة.

In accordance with their view, Khalil and his school call the Arabic article الالف واللام, whereas Sibawaihi and other Arab grammarians refer to it as لام التعريف. Khalil's opinion is somewhat more consistent insofar as he considers exclusively the graphic picture, while Sibawaihi takes some account also of pronunciation - though without being able to rid himself of the compelling impact of the spelling pattern.

Thus far the rules of classical Arabic which are, however, unlikely to have reflected the true position in an actual speech community. Study of the spoken literary language and a few of the modern dialects reveals a somewhat different situation: In Egyptian Arabic *k* and *g* are included among the "sun letters": *ikkitāb* "the book", *iggamal* "the camel".[1] *j* is similarly treated in Syria and Palestine,[2] the Sudan,[3] Libya and other parts of North Africa,[4] and in Central Arabia.[5] In the dialect of Dhofar, Rhodokanakis[6] found that the range of the "sun letters" had been extended to embrace *q* as well as the labials:[7] for example, *eb-bint*, *ef-ferāš* ("butterfly"), etc. Modern Arabic dialects thus show a remarkable lack of uniformity with regard to the form of the definite article. Since doubling[8] of the first consonant of a noun (for the purpose of definiteness) occurs also in connection with *k*, *g*, (*j*), *q*, *b*, *f*, and *m*, only the following "moon letters" remain constant in all circumstances: *' ḥ ḫ ' ġ h w y*. The last two are semivowels and may, therefore, be neglected in the present context. It will be noticed at once that the remaining six consonants are all laryngals or pharyngals.

volume in his notes to contributors) and *not* a transcription, that is, a representation of the spelling pattern and not of actual sound features.

[1] Nallino, *L'arabo parlato in Egitto*, 10; T. F. Mitchell, *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*, 15.

[2] Haddad and Irany, *Standard Colloquial Arabic* (Jerusalem, 1955), 36; Bergsträsser, *Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus* (Hanover, 1924).

[3] J. S. Trimingham, *Sudan Colloquial Arabic*, 12.

[4] E. Panetta, *L'arabo parlato a Bengasi*, II (Rome, 1943), 53; Marçais, *Le dialecte de Tlemcen*, 116; Stumme, *Märchen und Gedichte aus der Stadt Tripolis*, 206; *idem*, *Grammatik des tunesischen Arabisch*.

[5] Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*; Vollers, *op. cit.*, 10, 27; Rabin, *op. cit.*, 31, 126.

[6] *Der vulgararabische Dialekt im Dhofar*, II, 110.

[7] Landberg (*Études* II, Daṯinah, 281 ff.): "La prononciation *em-bareḥ* (class. البارح), seule usitée en Syrie, Palestine et en Égypte, ne renferme pas l'article sudarabique, mais c'est une assimilation sous l'influence du *b*."

[8] I avoid the expression "assimilation" for the time being, as this term implies a definite view as to the origin of this process.

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The significance of this fact is evident and recalls the special position of laryngals [1] in Hebrew and certain other Semitic languages (see below). Doubling or lengthening [2] of the initial consonant of the "definite" noun can take place in connection with all sounds—except laryngals. An explanation of the form of the Arabic definite article, based on statistical reality, ought to proceed from this position. It is not, therefore, *l* (let alone *ʾl*) and its assimilation to the "sun letters" that constitutes the original mark of definiteness in Arabic; it is, in fact, the doubling or lengthening of the initial consonant of a noun which connotes "determination" (though doubling was suspended in a minority of cases, that is with laryngals, thus leading to the appearance of *l* as a *dissimilatory* phenomenon). It seems to me, therefore, that the true explanation of the genesis of the Arabic definite article is diametrically opposed to that generally canvassed. Such lengthening of the initial consonant did not, of course, occasion any difficulty in the normal flow of speech; in the relatively small number of instances where it occurred at the beginning of an utterance we witness the emergence of a prosthetic vowel (*hamzat al-waṣl*).

It is not difficult to gauge why *ʾ* rather than initial consonant lengthening came, in the course of time, to be regarded as the mark of the definite article: *l* is, in both visual and acoustic terms, a much more conspicuous element than mere consonant duration or doubling. This is also likely to have been the reason for extending the sphere of *l* from the laryngals to other consonants where the perception of duration might conceivably have been imperfect—thus excluding dentals, interdentals, sibilants, and liquids. To these factors we have to add the systematizing tendencies of Arab grammarians who introduced a measure of numerical symmetry into the distribution of these consonants.

Both *l* and *n* are attested as dissimilatory elements in various Semitic languages, and not infrequently in connection with laryngals. The cogent evidence of the Proto-Arabic languages will be mustered presently, but one need only recall such well-known cases as Aramaic **ha''ēl>han'ēl*, **haslāqā>*hassāqā>hansāqā*, Akkadian *inazziq>inanziq*. In Biblical Aramaic, gemination was often dissolved by the insertion

[1] In the following, the term "laryngals" is meant to include pharyngals as well.

[2] I am thinking here of consonant-length in very much the same way in which this term is more commonly applied to vowels (see D. Jones, *The Phoneme*, chap. xxii). Wensinck, *op. cit.*, preferred the term "reinforcement" (Dutch "versterking"), that is, a sound produced with greater vigor and for additional duration.

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of *n*;[1] the same is true of the Aramaic papyri. The close phonetic relationship between *n* and *l* was known already to Arab philologists.[2]

Support for this view of the origin of the Arabic definite article comes from the Proto-Arabic inscriptions, particularly from Lihyanite. In these inscriptions, the usual form of the article is *h*[3] as in the Canaanite languages. That the consonant following this *h* was doubled (again as in Canaanite) may be safely deduced from a number of instances in which the first consonant of the noun is a laryngal: and in all these cases doubling had to be dissolved by the insertion of *n* or, less commonly, *l*.

With non-laryngals, we have *h*- in Lihyanite: *hmṯhr* (Caskel,[4] 16, 3); *hslmn*[5] (Caskel, 19, 3-4; 32, 1, etc.); *hsn'* (Caskel, 20, 5); *hmsfr* (Caskel, 28, 2), etc.

But:

hn'fklt (Caskel 12, 3 = Jaussen[6] No. 64)
hn'ẓy (Caskel 13, 3)
hnqbr[7] (Caskel 17, 2-3 = Jaussen No. 81)
hn'mn (Caskel 31, 8 = Müller[8] xiv, 8)
hjbl[9] *hn''ly* (Caskel 77, 6 = Müller xxiii, 6)
hjbl hn'sfl (Caskel 77, 7 = Müller xxiii, 7)
hn'sl (Caskel 85, 2 = Jaussen No. 63)
hn'nk (Caskel 75, 3 = Müller, iv, 3)

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[1] Details in Bauer-Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 13; F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, 16.

[2] اللام والنون اخوان (Bukhārī, *Tafsir*, sura 11, *bāb* 2). Cf. also, among modern European works, Dieth, *Vademekum der Phonetik*, and Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*.

For the different types of *l* in Arabic, cf. K. Petraček, "Zur Artikulation des sogenannten emphatischen *l* im Arabischen," *Ar. Or.*, XX (1952); C. A. Ferguson, "The Emphatic *l* in Arabic," *Language* (July-September, 1956).

[3] Or, in a few rare cases, also ʾ, but both ʾ and *h* may not have been more than graphic carriers for prosthetic vowel elements.

[4] W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch* (Cologne, 1954). Caskel's treatment of the definite article (p. 68) cannot be considered satisfactory; see also my review of Caskel's work in *Orientalia* (1955), 428-433.

[5] The final *-n* is of particular interest in view of the prefixed article and shows that it has lost all significance.

[6] Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (Paris, 1909-22).

[7] But *hqbr* in Caskel, 45, 2. As for the treatment of the emphatic velar plosive *q*, cf. Aramaic *ʾarʿā* and *ʾarqā* (Jeremiah, X, 11), Talmudic *ʾaṯliz* = Greek κατάλυσις or the spirantized *q* in Tigrinya which is pronounced like *ġ* in Arabic.

[8] D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien* (Vienna, 1889).

[9] Also *hljbl* (Caskel, 91, 8).

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Doubling is resolved by *l* in *blhjr* (Caskel 91, 5), *hlḥmq*, *hlḥmy* (Jaussen II, 474, No. 158). These latter forms not only demonstrate the transition from *hn* to *hl*, that is the suspension of gemination by *l* rather than *n*, but they also prove that the explanation of forms like *hn'ṣl*, etc, as *nif'al* [1] participles is farfetched: no *nif'al* conjugation has been attested in Proto-Arabic, and it would indeed be odd to suppose that such forms were used exclusively with verbs *primae laryngalis*.

In the Yemenite dialect and in West-Arabian, the definite article was prefixed *(a)m-*. The documentation is ample and has recently been marshalled and carefully interpreted by C. Rabin in his *Ancient West-Arabian*, 34-36.

Since the situation with regard to the definite article shows such divergent facets in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Ethiopic, on one hand, and in the Arabian [2] and Canaanite languages, on the other, it has long been held, rightly, that Proto-Semitic is unlikely to have possessed a clearly circumscribed means of expressing the definite article. It is, however, the purpose of these lines to suggest that those Semitic languages [3] which have evolved *ʾa* prefix-article have done so in essentially the same manner.

The Hebrew article *ha-* is characterized by the doubling of the following consonant, except in connection with a few consonants, largely of the laryngal group. In the latter cases, gemination is dissolved not by the insertion of *n* or *l* but by the lengthening of the vowel element of the article. The same probably applied to Phoenician and Moabite. In later Punic, the form *ʾ-* prevails over *h-*; gemination is attested in such "vulgar" spellings as אבבנם "the sons" or עממקם "the place". [4] The alternation between *ʾ* and *h* shows that—as in Proto-Arabic—the "consonantal" element merely served as a graphic device or vowel carrier à la *hamzat al-waṣl*.

It appears to me that the basic feature of definiteness in early Hebrew (and Canaanite) [5] and early Arabic consisted of the apportionment of stress or prominence, additional length or intensity, to the first consonant of the noun to be defined. As a contextual pheno-

[1] This had been suggested by D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, but has long since been discarded.

[2] Though excluding Epigraphic South Arabian.

[3] I am excluding here modern developments in the neo-Ethiopian languages and elsewhere.

[4] J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 49-50.

[5] Excluding Ugaritic—as far as can be seen.

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menon, prosthetic or glide vowels were inextricably allied to this process, but only later on did these vowel elements combine with dissimilatory consonantal inserts to establish a new definite particle. While no one would wish to deny that the orthographic form of the Arabic article is ʾ/, in actual speech definiteness can be discerned, in 50% of all cases, only by added duration and intensity lent to some relevant sound-feature. That much seems to me to be outside the realm of speculation and to afford a secure basis for a reassessment of the early form of the definite article *common* to Arabic and Hebrew.

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THE REAPPRAISAL OF ABBASID SHI'ISM

BY

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

A reappraisal of the nature of Shi'ism in the first century and a half of the Abbasid caliphate has been made possible, and indeed desirable, by a clearer awareness among scholars of the nature of the methods employed by the heresiographers, and of the different strands in the heresiographical tradition. Aspects of the subject have already been dealt with by the writer, [1] and the present article aims at carrying further the line of thought opened up elsewhere. One of the features of the early Abbasid period was that intellectual discussions on religious and political subjects took the form of arguments about the precise character of events in the nearer or more distant past. Many of the statements about what happened from twenty-five to two hundred years earlier must have been sheer inventions—the contradictions are sufficient to assure us of this. The heresiographers, however, have taken most of these statements as if they were historical fact, and have tried to fit them into a chronological framework. They have also assumed that views first propounded long after an event were held by men who lived at the time or shortly after. Further, in a civilization where oral communications are thought more highly of than written documents, once a false assertion has been made a mere denial is ineffectual, and it has to be countered by a contrary positive assertion. This naturally increases the confusion.

In dealing with material about early Shi'ism two questions are specially important: who held this view? and what did it mean to him, practically, in the particular circumstances of his life? By endeavoring to find answers to these questions —which is not always easy —doubt is thrown on several current assumptions, and an alternative conception of the nature of Shi'ism under the Abbasids is made to seem plausible. One of the main points of this alternative view is that, during their lifetime, there was little or no recognition of the

[1] "Shī'ism under the Umayyads," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1960), 158-172; "Political Attitudes of the Mu'tazilah," *ibid.* (1963); "The Rāfidites," *Oriens*, XV (1962); *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1962), especially chap. 6; *Muslim Intellectual* (Edinburgh, 1963), especially chap. 4; "The Muslim Yearning for a Saviour," *E. O. James Presentation Volume* (1963).

twelve imams of the Imamis as such; there was no organized party of followers and no underground revolutionary activities with the aim of making them caliphs. Insofar as this is the case, it follows that the Imami form of Shi'ism, and probably also the Ismā'īlī, did not receive the definite character familiar to scholars until shortly before 900. The immediate purpose of this article is to take the statements about the period subsequent to 750, found in *Firaq al-Shī'a*, and to show that they can be interpreted and explained in a way that is compatible with the general thesis just outlined. This Imami work, *Firaq al-Shī'a*, has hitherto usually been ascribed to al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Naubakhti, but is now regarded as probably by his contemporary, Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qummī.[1] Both men died about 912, and the book was presumably written between 900 and that date.[2]

§ 1. *6.14 - 7.6* Some members of these sects of the Murji'a belong to the early years of the Abbasids: Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767); al-Thauri (d. 778); Sharīk (d. 793); Ibn Abī Lailā (d. 765); al-Shāfi'i (d. 820); Mālik (d. 795). Therefore, some of the views in § 2 probably belong to this period. (For the use of the term "Murji'ite" by Shi'ites, cf. § 8.)

§ 2. *7.7 - 8.11* Some early Murji'ite traditionists held the view accepted by modern historians - that Muhammad died without leaving a successor. The absence of a precedent meant that Muslims were free to advance opinions about the proper way of appointing a caliph. The view (7.13ff.) that it should be done by the exercise of judgment (*ijtihād al-ra'y*) sounds like that of Abū Ḥanīfa and his followers. Those who said it should be by reason might be members of the secretary class attracted to philosophy. The view of some later Mu'tazilites that Muhammad designated the imam by description, that is, said what qualities he ought to have, was similar to the view of Abū 'l-Jārūd (as reported in Ash., 67). It may have been a concession to the believers in "designation", that is, the Shi'ites, or else an argument against them. An instance of an anti-Shi'ite argument is the following view that Abū Bakr was "designated" by being appointed to lead the worship.

The "neglecters" (*ahl al-ihmāl*) are doubtless those who said

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[1] Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 319 f.; *Oriens*, VII, 204; *Der Islam*, XXXVII (1961), 43n.

[2] Abbreviations used: Ash. — Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1929). Friedlaender — I. Friedlaender, "The Heterodoxies of the Shī'ites . . .," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXVIII (1907), 1-80; XXIX (1909), 1-183 (referred to respectively as I and II). *Intiṣār* — Al-Khaiyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. H. S. Nyberg (Cairo, 1925). Lewis, *Ismā'īlism* — Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism* (Cambridge, 1940).

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Muhammad made no arrangements, and the name would be given by their opponents, the "designators" (*aṣḥab al-naṣṣ*). The discussion of *fāḍil* and *mafḍūl* belongs to the circle of ideas of the Zaidis. The phrase "imamate of the inferior (*mafḍūl*)" is apparently not used in *Firaq al-Shī'a*. Doubtless, this is because it was a mocking way of referring to the Zaidi recognition of Abū Bakr, and one used only by opponents. Its absence in § 3 and § 7 is noteworthy.

§ 3. *8.15 - 9.5* The Butriya (§ 7), a sect of the Zaidis, are trying to achieve a compromise between the Shi'ites and their opponents by saying 'Ali is best (*afḍal*), but the imamate of Abū Bakr is not a mistake, since 'Ali "entrusted that to the two of them" (namely, Abū Bakr and 'Umar). (Compare below 18.1-16.)

§ 4. *9.6 - 9* Sulaimān b. Jarīr, who probably flourished in the first half of the ninth century (compare *Intiṣār*. 89 and Ash., 70-73), was also a Zaidi, but, according to this passage (and Ash., 68.5-7), seems to have been moving away from the usual Zaidi view.

§ 5. *9.10 - 13* Ibn al-Tammār is 'Alī (b. Ismā'īl) b. Mītham, and must have lived well into the first half of the ninth century (Friedlaender, II. 60; *Intiṣār*, 99). The puzzling thing is that he is included among the shaikhs of the Rāfiḍites (*Intiṣār*, 6; etc.), for the views expressed here are apparently Zaidi, and almost identical with those in the previous paragraph ascribed to the Zaidi Sulaimān b. Jarīr. Ibn al-Nadīm, in the *Fihrist* (175), describes him as "the first who theologized about the doctrine of the imamate" (*takallama fī madhhab al-imāma*). Clearly, the Shi'ite theologians of this period, as listed in *Intiṣār*, 6, were not all of one mind, for the *Fihrist* records refutations of several by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. So Ibn al-Tammār may have belonged to the group who were working out the Rāfiḍite position, although he himself, as an early member of the group, may have held views on this point that were close to the Zaidis. It is also noteworthy that he is not said to have accepted the Zaidi principle of "the imamate of the inferior". Perhaps the question to be asked is rather how Sulaimān b. Jarīr managed to combine the various views ascribed to him. Whatever the exact truth, this paragraph tends to confirm the view that, in the early ninth century, the Shi'ite position was very fluid. (Compare also Friedlaender, II. 60.)

§ 6. *10.10 - 12.9* The views here ascribed to the Mu'tazilites in general probably belong to the late eighth century and may be described as utilitarian. 'Amr b. 'Ubaid is closer to the Shi'ites than

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other members of the sect, since he allows that 'Alī had the best right to the imamate.

§ 7. *12.10 - 16* While al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 785) seems to have been the most prominent member of the Butriya (§ 3), it received its name from Kathir al-Nawwā' al-Abtar, who was presumably earlier. Of the men named, dates are available for al-Ḥakam (d. 732) and Salma (d. 740). Thus the sect belongs partly to the Umayyad period. This is doubtless why it fully accepts the imamate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, unlike, for example, Sulaimān b. Jarir (§ 4), who thinks the recognition of these men mistaken.

§ 8. *15.13f.* This is a most important sentence, since it shows how Shi'ites looked on the Islamic community about the year 900. There are four sects, Shi'ites, Mu'tazilites, Murji'ites and Kharijites; and this is intended to be an exhaustive division of the community. Where then are the Sunnites? They cannot be taken for granted as "orthodox", since the Shi'ites considered themselves the true Muslims. The Sunnites must therefore be divided between the other sects, especially the Mu'tazilites and Murji'ites. From the Shi'ite point of view, they themselves were the true community, because they followed the true imam. All the others put the revealed scriptures first, and did not consider the imam inspired. The Kharijites restricted the scriptures to the Koran, but the others included also traditions, and, in varying degrees, permitted the use of reason. The three sects also varied in their attitude to 'Uthmān. The Kharijites insisted he was an unbeliever because of his sins. The Murji'ites held he should be accepted as a believer, and the judgment on his sins left to God. The Mu'tazilites said he was in an "intermediate position". From the Shi'ite standpoint of 900, then, most contemporary Muslims must have been Murji'ites, in the sense of recognizing 'Uthmān's caliphate; this does not mean they held those Murji'ite views, on the nature of faith, later considered heretical by the main body of Sunnites. In 900, too, it must be remembered, Ash'arism had not appeared, and all that was visible was a variety of strands in the traditionist movement.

§ 9. *15.15 - 17.16* The opening part of this section, especially 16.1f., shows how later conditions are written back into the past. The author names four men known as supporters of 'Alī. Then he goes on to say that, on the death of the Prophet, this "sect of the Shi'a" split into three sects. The first is not named, but its views are basically those of the Imamis, namely, that 'Alī had a right to the

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imamate and the position of the Prophet since he had been expressly "designated" by name, had been preserved from sin and error, had precedence (in conversion to Islam) and was of Muhammad's family. That the division into three sects is not historical is shown by looking at the other two. The second (18.1 - 16) is the Butrīya, who flourished in the later Umayyad and early Abbasid period. The third is the Jārūdīya, who sprang from Zaid (d. 740); and the point in which they differ from the first sect is that, after the death of al-Ḥusain, they considered there was a *shūrā* or council of the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. Such a view could hardly have been held before the death of al-Ḥasan about 669, but was probably not propounded till much later, since the Jārūdīya were active under the Abbasids (Ash., 67, 12-16).

§ 10. *19.1 - 7* The Jārūdīya insisted that the rightful imam must not remain hidden, but must come forward publicly at the head of an army. The point mentioned above about the *shūrā*, and the alternative (Ash., 67, 9-11) that Muhammad designated 'Alī and his two sons, belong to a period before the Imami doctrine of a succession of imams was generally accepted. These were presumably two ways of justifying Zaid's claim to be imam. If the only designations were those by Muhammad of 'Alī and his two sons, this ruled out the Abbasid claim to be designated in succession from Ibn al-Ḥanafīya. Had a series of designations to Zaid's father been generally accepted, Zaid would have based his claim on this. Silence, and the absence of counterclaims for Zaid, argues that no such claim was being made for Zaid's father 'Alī (d. 713) or his brother Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 732), as late as 740.

§ 11. *19.8 - 20.9* The views ascribed to the Saba'īya must belong to the early Abbasid period (compare Lewis, *Ismā'īlism*, 25; etc.) Those who regarded 'Alī as the hidden imam cannot have accepted any succession of imams after him, nor can they have accepted any of his descendants as hidden imam.

§ 12. *20 - 37* The following pages deal mainly with the Umayyad period, and need not be commented on.

§ 13. *37.15 - 41.12* This important account of the Khaṭṭābīya has been carefully examined by Bernard Lewis in *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, 32-37. In the present context, the vital questions have to do with the interpretation of the material. First of all, it must be noticed that some of the reports—especially those (38.7 ff., 39.14 ff.) which speak of their making adultery and theft lawful—must come from opponents.

It is therefore possible that some of the more heterodox statements, for example, that they considered Ja'far was God, are hostile deductions from less extravagant beliefs, perhaps beliefs about the inherence of light in men. Secondly, it must be noted carefully that there is nothing about a series of imams in which each was designated by his predecessor. The nearest to this is the belief (40.10ff.) that there was a series of men in whom Light inhered, each of whom "sent" his successor. The men named are 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Ṭālib, Muhammad, 'Ali; then there is a jump to Ja'far and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb. It is strange that no one is named between 'Ali and Ja'far. It would seem, either that no great importance was attached to the series as a series, or else that the names in the series were different from those later recognized by Imamis and Isma'ilites. The transfer of allegiance (27.7f.) by al-Saiyid al-Ḥimyari (d. 789) from Ibn al-Ḥanafiya as hidden imam to Ja'far (d. 765)—presumably also as hidden imam—suggests that Ibn al-Ḥanafiya may have been one of the links. Thirdly, the connection with Ja'far is puzzling, for Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb probably was executed in 755 (Lewis, 33), whereas the views ascribed to him look as if they came after Ja'far's death. Bazigh and the other men mentioned are doubtless a little after Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb. Whatever the explanation of the puzzle, it would seem that Ja'far must have had some connection with these men. Fourthly, the ideas held are "extremist"—identification of Light with God, reincarnation, strange interpretations of the Koran, etc. Some of these ideas were taken up by the later Isma'ilites, but it must remain doubtful if there was any organizational connection. ("Extremist" is used, in this article, to describe all such ideas; it roughly corresponds to the Arabic "Ghulāt" or "Ghāliya".)

§ 14. *41.13 - 47.9* This long section is about the 'Abbāsiya and Rāwandiya, and is chiefly interesting as showing how Shi'ite ideas were applied to other than the descendants of 'Ali and Fāṭima. The original view of the Abbasid family was that the imamate was passed by testamentary disposition (*auṣā*) from the son of Ibn al-Ḥanafiya to the family of al-'Abbās (42, 11-43 etc.). Under al-Mahdi (775-85), the Abbasid family felt this view unsatisfactory, and claimed instead that, on Muhammad's death, the imamate had gone to his uncle, al-'Abbās. The attempts to regard the general Abū Muslim as the hidden imam, and the caliph al-Manṣūr as God, may be noted, but need not be commented on.

§ 15. *47.10 - 48.2* This report of a "sect" which recognized the

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imamate of 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn, from his father's death in 680 until his own in 712, contains nothing which is not simply part of the assumption that there was a continuing series of imams. No contemporary names or facts are mentioned.

§ 16. *48.3 - 6* This report of a "sect" which held that there was no imam after al-Ḥusain (d. 680) may be taken as an admission not that there was a clearly defined sect with this view but that this was the general view even among people of Shi'ite sympathies. The view of the Jārūdiya (§ 10), who flourished round about 750, that after 680 there was a *shūrā*, implies that there was no widely accepted imam between 680 and 750.

§ 17. *48.7 - 52.2* This further material about the Zaidis is mainly repetition. The most interesting part is the discussion whether the Alids require to learn or have knowledge without learning (44.7 - 50.12). Such a discussion implies that those taking part had no thought of a recognized series of imams. The author points out that, despite the theory that all Alids have perfect knowledge, traditions are accepted from only four of them (50.1 - 3). (Compare § 29; 74.14 - 76.7.)

§ 18. *52.6 - 53.8* The story of how 'Umar b. Riyāḥ received contrary answers from al-Bāqir, and eventually attached himself to the Butrīya, reflects a series of arguments between the Butrīya (a section of the Zaidis) and their opponents. When it is argued that al-Bāqir cannot be imam because he gave contradictory answers, the reply is made that one was due to *taqīya* (prudent concealment of one's true belief). To this it is retorted that there was no need for *taqīya* in either case, since no one else was present. In short, it was not a properly considered reply; and a person who acts in this way, and does not come forward openly, cannot be imam. Now there is no reason to doubt that these were real arguments between the Butrīya and their opponents. What is doubtful is an actual contact between 'Umar and al-Bāqir. For one thing, al-Bāqir died about 733 (or, perhaps, not till 737), but the Butrīya were probably not active until after 750. Again, the real conflict in the story is between 'Umar and Muḥammad b. Qais (who appears to be otherwise unknown). Nothing is said about the precise point on which al-Bāqir's replies varied; and this suggests that it may have been a hypothetical instance, and that originally no actual imam may have been named. A later scholar, who assumed the existence of the series of imams, could have introduced al-Bāqir as the appropriate name in view of 'Umar's date.

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If al-Bāqir was involved in a real argument, why does he not try to say more about the matter? These dubious points in this story mean that it does not, by itself, necessitate a recognized series of imams by 750.

§ 19. *53.9 - 55.6* "The rest of the associates of (al-Bāqir) continued to believe in his imamate until his death . . . then his sect divided into two sects." One of these recognized, as imam, a descendant of al-Hasan b. 'Ali, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiya ("the pure soul"). These statements show how Imami views are subtly read back into the past. It is assumed that there is a large party which recognizes the imamate of al-Bāqir, of whom a few have deserted to the Butriya. Now, after his death, some others are found who turn to al-Nafs al-Zakiya. One asks on what grounds the large party recognized al-Bāqir as imam. Was it by designation? If so, how did they abandon the theory of designation so easily? If not, can one say they recognized his imamate and were not merely "men of Shi'ite sympathies"? There is nothing here to support the view that, about 750, there was a series of recognized imams.

§ 20. *55.7 - 57.2* This section on the imamate of Ja'far is, in fact, a continuation of the argument between Zaidis and their opponents, already noticed in § 18. There is here, in addition to the attack on *taqiya*, one on *badā'*, the doctrine that God changes his will for man. It is indicated that, with these two conceptions, the imams of the opponents (called "Rāfiḍites") can never be caught out. Since Sulaimān b. Jarīr flourished in the first half of the ninth century, and Ja'far died in 765, the argument was taking place half a century, or more, after the events. The alleged mistake of Ja'far about Ismā'il was thus being used merely as an example. The most solid fact emerging from the story is that, by the time of Sulaimān (say 825-40), the Rāfiḍites were discussing whether Ja'far had "pointed to" (*ashāra*) Ismā'il; it perhaps shows that this is early, since the term "designated" (*naṣṣa*) is not used. It is possible that the Rāfiḍites were countering an Isma'ili claim that Ja'far had appointed Ismā'il by asserting that Ismā'il died before Ja'far. (The doctrine of *badā'* was much discussed about the middle of the ninth century in connection with predestination; Ibn Qutaiba, *Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, 7; *Intiṣār*, 127-30; compare article "Badā'" in *EI*². One may also wonder whether the objections to the doctrines of *taqiya* and *badā'* were linked with objections to secretive and inconsistent policies of the Abbasid regime.)

§ 21. *57.3 - 15* The belief that Ja'far was still alive and would

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return can only have been held after his death. It implies that those who held it did not recognize any successor to him. They probably also did not recognize the series of designated predecessors. (Compare § 13.)

§ 21a. *57.16 - 58.8* The views here described as being of the "pure" Ismā'īlīya are similar to those mentioned in § 20, except that the death of Ismā'īl is denied. From what was said in the comment on § 20, it would seem that these views need not have been held before 825-840.

§ 22. *58.9 - 16* This report about the Mubārakīya presents a new argument; namely, that after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, the imamate cannot pass from brother to brother, but must pass from father to son. This means that it cannot pass from Ismā'īl to any of his brothers. A corollary is that the imamate did not pass from al-Ḥusain to Ibn al-Ḥanafīya. The nerve of the argument– the practical consequence in which those who argued thus were interested– -is the denial of the imamate of Ismā'īl's brothers. Few were now interested in the imamate of Ibn al-Ḥanafīya. The Abbasids abandoned the claim through him between 775 and 785. The believers in hidden imams, who had probably regarded him as the link between al-Ḥusain and Ja'far al-Sādiq, were now turning to Ja'far and others. So the rejection of Ibn al-Ḥanafīya had no serious consequences. The corresponding assertion of the imamate of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain was also an academic matter—something which (on our hypothesis) had not been asserted previously, but which no one was interested in denying. While the nature and implications of the argument are thus clear, the date at which it was put forward is unfortunately obscure. Nothing is known about Mubārak, the man who gave his name to the sect. At what time was the imamate of Ja'far's sons, especially Mūsā, asserted? It has been suggested that there was some discussion, at least by the period 825-840, of the fact that Ismā'īl had died before Ja'far. If this was coupled with the assertion that another son of Ja'far was imam, that would belong to about the same period. This suggests that, first of all, some "pure Isma'ilis" asserted that Ismā'īl had succeeded Ja'far. Next, the Rāfiḍites replied that Ismā'īl had died before Ja'far (and if there was a possibility of doubt about this point, the presumption is that it was some time after Ja'far's death); the Rāfiḍite reply laid them open to Zaidi attack. They probably also asserted that Ja'far was succeeded by his son, Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The Isma'ilis countered this by their theory that the imamate could not pass from

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brother to brother, and thereby implicitly put forward the view that there must be a series of imams. (The argument about brothers is also relevant to the succession to al-Ḥasan al-'Askari in 874; compare § 27 below.)

§ 23. *58.17 - 60.16* This is a report of the actual rising of the Khaṭṭābiya about 755. The problem is to know why a man who died in 755 held views about what happened after Ja'far's death in 765.

§ 24. *61.1 - 64.14* The Qarmatians are here described as having introduced the idea of *seven* imams; but their "extremist" ideas need not be discussed. The phrase about the denial of the imamate of Mūsā b. Ja'far (d. 799), and his descendants, suggests that he is already dead.

§ 25. *64.15 - 65.7* The sect who claimed Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far as imam is very obscure. That it should have existed, if it really did, shows that there was no general recognition of any of Ja'far's sons immediately after his death.

§ 26. *65.8 - 66.8* The sect who took Ja'far's son 'Abd Allāh as imam is also obscure. Their argument that the imam should be succeeded by his eldest son is a move towards recognition of the series of imams, but does not go so far as the Mubārakiya. Some of the arguments about 'Abd Allāh are clearly dated after 874, since 'Abd Allāh b. Bukair made them precedents for his view of the succession to al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī. The sect is also connected with 'Ammār b. Mūsā (Ash., I, 28), who is found holding similar views to 'Abd Allāh b. Bukair (67.3; § 27), and may be a contemporary. It is thus not impossible that little was heard of the imamate of 'Abd Allāh till after 874.

§ 27. *66.9 - 67.7* The view that Mūsā was imam after his father Ja'far is described as being held by the leading Shi'ite scholars. Unfortunately, it is not clear at what dates these men held this view. Abān is said to have died in 758 before Ja'far (Index, *s.v.*), so that something must be wrong here. Jamīl is said to have died in the days of al-Riḍā, that is, probably shortly before his death in 818. The two Hishāms probably flourished from about 800 to 825. It is not improbable that the event which set most of these theories of the imamate in motion was the caliph al-Ma'mūn's choice of 'Alī al-Riḍā as heir-apparent in 816. Up to this point, there was possibly no generally recognized head of the Alids. This event, however, forced men of Shi'ite sympathies to decide for or against 'Alī. The list in the present section may be based on the presumption that men who

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approved of al-Ma'mūn's choice of 'Alī must have accepted also his father Mūsā as imam. Actually, it seems just as likely that al-Ma'mūn's choice of 'Alī contributed to fixing the choice of the Shi'ites on this particular line, and may also have made the opposition choose Ismā'īl. It is noteworthy that 'Abd Allāh b. Bukair, who is mentioned in the closing part of the section, is also said (p. 93 below) to have used the succession to 'Abd Allāh of his brother Mūsā as a precedent for a succession of brothers in 874. Thus the imamate of 'Abd Allāh (who is said to have died in 765) was being discussed in 874; and one cannot help wondering if it had ever been discussed before that time.

§ 28. *67.8 - 72.6* The succession to Mūsā (d. 799) is chiefly interesting because it shows considerable messianic interest. Apart from the sect which accepts the imamate of 'Alī al-Riḍā, the sects mentioned are messianic. Most seem to be politically quietist, but one (68. 3-6) claims to have leaders in contact with the hidden imam, and this could mean revolutionary activity. It may be that Mūsā was imprisoned because he was in touch with revolutionary groups. It is possible that some of these views were held shortly after the death of Mūsā—one of the men named, Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (69.2), is said to have died in 823. It is also possible, however, that some of the views continued for a longer time. The last group mentioned (70.5 - 71.10) are "extremists" who held transmigration and similar views. All those who believed in Mūsā as *al-qā'im al-mahdī* must have held that the series of imams ended with him, and need not have believed in the usual series prior to Mūsā. The suggestion that his successors should be called "caliphs" (68.15) is perhaps an attempt to show approval of the appointment of 'Alī as heir apparent.

§ 29. *72.7 - 77.4* This section deals with the position after the death of 'Alī al-Riḍā in 818. He left a son, Muhammad, who was only seven. Some are said to have recognized his imamate; but only three lines are devoted to this, so that it would seem to be merely a deduction from the conception of a series of imams. The view that 'Alī was succeeded by his brother Aḥmad (72.11-13) seems to be part of the argument about the succession of brothers which was developed after 874 (compare § 26). Some of those who had been looking for a return of Mūsā had apparently accepted 'Alī, but after 'Alī's death went back to their expectation of Mūsā (72.14-16). Similarly, some Zaidis accepted 'Alī, presumably after he became heir apparent, but went back to Zaidism after his death (73.4-7). The youth of Muhammad became the occasion for a discussion (74.14-76.7) of how the

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imam came to have his infallible knowledge (compare § 17). This is probably part of an argument between Shi'ites and their opponents, where the latter were trying to show that the claim that the imams had infallible knowledge was ridiculous (compare § 18); the date of the argument may be quite late.

§ 30. *77.5 - 78.12* There is so little reported of 'Ali al-Hādi (or al-Naqi), who is alleged to have been recognized as imam from 835 to 868, that we are justified in assuming there was little activity round him. The second part of the report describes the origin of the Nusairi movement, and shows how "extremist" ideas could be applied to an Alid leader.

§ 31. *78.13 - 79.15* The next imam is reckoned to have been al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 874). Rivals were his brother Muḥammad, who died before his father, but was expected by some return as the Mahdi, and Ja'far. Both the latter and his father were kept under surveillance by the Abbasids.

§ 32. *79.16 - 94.3* The remainder of the book may conveniently be dealt with as a single section. It describes thirteen sects which appeared after the death of al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī in 874. (There are said to have been fourteen, but, if there were, the description of the fourteenth has been lost; it could not have been the Isma'ilis, since the fourteen sects come from those who are reckoned as having accepted the imamate of al-'Askarī.) This is, in some ways, the most valuable part of the book, since it is dealing with roughly contemporary material. The author's preference is for the twelfth sect which he calls "the true Imami Shi'a". The distinctive features of the sects may be briefly indicated:

(1) Al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī is not dead, but absent, and is *al-qā'im al-mahdī*. They claim to differ from those who held that Mūsā was similarly absent (69.8 - 70.4, etc.), through the fact that al-'Askarī died without leaving an heir. (2) Al-'Askarī died but has been raised to life, and is *al-qā'im al-mahdī*, because the world cannot be without a *ḥujja* and *qā'im*. (3) The imam, by the testament of al-'Askarī, is his brother Ja'far. The apparent hostility between them was only *ẓāhir*; the *bāṭin* was mutual amity. (4) Ja'far is imam in succession to his father 'Alī al-Hādī. The claim of al-'Askarī is invalid, since he died without leaving a successor (an argument which suggests he had little recognition in his lifetime). (5) Since al-'Askarī died without an heir, and since Ja'far was of a blameworthy character, the imam after 'Alī al-Hādī, and the *qā'im* and *mahdī*, must be their brother

Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who died before his father. (6) The imam is Muḥammad, the son of al-'Askarī, who was born two years before his father's death; he is in concealment. (7) The imam (in concealment) is Muḥammad, but he was born eight months after his father's death. (8) Al-'Askarī had no son, and arguments about a hidden son are to be rejected (some having apparently implied a pregnancy of longer than nine months). (9) Al-'Askarī has died and for the moment there is no imam; but the *qā'im* will come. (10) The eleventh imam was Muḥammad b. 'Alī (as in the fifth sect), but he made a man called Nafīs his *waṣī*, or agent, and the latter handed on the imamate to Ja'far. (11) Al-'Askarī has died, and the position is not clear; but the earth cannot be without a *ḥujja*. (12) There is a *ḥujja* and *waṣī* who is a son of al-'Askarī, since the imamate cannot pass from brother to brother after al-Ḥusain, cannot fall to a man whose father was not imam (possibly an argument against the Isma'ilis) and cannot be transmitted by the *ḥujja* of one who died in his father's lifetime (against the tenth sect, or the Isma'ilis). This *ḥujja* is in concealment, for the world cannot exist without such a person; but it is forbidden to seek him out before he manifests himself (thus making clear that the sect is not engaged in revolutionary activity). (13) The imam is al-'Askarī's brother, Ja'far. The saying about the imamate not falling to brothers only applies when the elder has no son.

The most important feature of this list is the all-pervasive, messianic interest and the basic belief in the necessity, to ensure the existence of the world, that there should be an imam, even if he is not manifest and is not known. The exceptions are the sects which acknowledged Ja'far, who must have been born after 847 and may have lived into the tenth century. Within the messianists, one may distinguish those who are concerned to leave the matter vague, especially the ninth and eleventh sects, and those who are trying to find arguments to show that a particular person is imam. Some of the arguments about the past series of imams are attempts to establish some view in the present, for example, either to assert or to deny the imamate of Ja'far. Just why anyone wanted to assert the imamate of Ja'far is not clear. It seems unlikely that they wanted him as an actual leader. So the probability is that they were using this assertion as a way of countering some view of their opponents that they disliked. Perhaps what they disliked was the conception of an imam in concealment. The use of *bāṭin* (82.2) makes one wonder if they were attracted to some form of Isma'ilism.

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Concluding remarks. It remains to try to sketch, in outline, the picture of developments that is dimly glimpsed through all this mass of details. Despite the hypothetical character of many of the arguments, certain points seem to be relatively certain.

Firstly, then, there is the presence of messianism, in the sense of an expectation of a semidivine, or inspired, deliverer. This was found in the Umayyad period and was still strong when *Firaq al Shi'a* was written about 900. It was essentially religious, springing from a need for assurance that man's life in the world was meaningful; the assurance came from the firm belief that one day a deliverer would come and set all wrongs right. Normally, messianism was politically quietist, but occasionally a strong leader would claim that he was the imam or the imam's emissary, and would call for revolutionary action. This transition to political activism was achieved by saying that the hidden imam had come, or was about to come, out of concealment. The activism was on the whole exceptional, and seems to have been as much connected with moderate messianic views as with the "extremist" view, later characteristic of Isma'ilism, which included such conceptions as those of the transmigration of souls and divine inherence in men. It should be noted that messianism, except when it becomes activist, implies that there is no active imam recognized by contemporaries. Where messianists assert that a definite person is the imam in concealment, they may justify this by speaking of a series of imams of which he is the last; but ex hypothesi this series cannot be continued into the historical present.

Secondly, there were pure activists, that is, actual leaders of revolts and their followers. All that was necessary was that a man should be an effective leader, and either be a member of "the family" or make a claim to be an agent of such a person. Until the Fatimids, there was little mention of theological ideas, and little interest in showing that the leader came as latest in a recognized series of imams. After the failure of a revolt, there might be some resort to messianism to explain the failure and give fresh hope (as in the case of the Zaidi sect of Jārūdiya in Ash., I, 67. 12-16).

Thirdly, there is the question whether there were moderates who were neither messianists nor activists, yet recognized a series of imams, of whom the latest was alive and not hidden. Common sense suggests that, under the Abbasids, it must have been impossible to recognise a living man as imam, unless within an underground activist movement. Apart from this, it might be possible to recognize

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a man as head of the Alids (or the Husainid branch of the Alid family), but this is far from what is usually meant by recognizing an imam. Careful examination of the statements in *Firaq al-Shi'a* shows a complete absence of any decisive evidence for widespread recognition of the imams during their lifetime. Such recognition, then, cannot be the distinguishing mark of any moderate Shi'ites.

Yet there appear to have been a number of scholars who might be described as "moderates". One such was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who flourished about the first quarter of the ninth century. Al-Ash'arī and others tell us many of the views he held on theological questions, and how he discussed various points with Mu'tazilites; but very little is reported about his views on the imamate. The chief point seems to be that most of the Companions were in error in not recognizing 'Alī in 632. Associated with this point is the view that the text of the Koran had been corrupted and was not reliable (*Intiṣār*, 41,139). Now these two points both imply attacks on the Sunni traditionists and jurists; their views rested mainly on Koran and Traditions, and if the Koran was corrupt and the first transmitters of Traditions unreliable, little was left. Such a political attitude further implied acceptance of the Abbasid regime, since the chief interest was to maintain and improve one's place within the existing structure. Scholars, then, who held such views, cannot have been activist in the sense of working to overthrow the regime.

The chief remaining possibility seems to be that they were messianists, but in a vague and indefinite way, that is, not expecting the return of one particular person. The ninth and eleventh sects, in § 32, are indefinite messianists in this sense; and indeed the twelfth set of "true Imamis" is less definite than the Imamis later became, merely saying the imam must be a son of the last imam. There is thus some justification for thinking that there was a body of people who subscribed, in a vague way, to the doctrine of the coming of the Mahdi, but did not identify him with any particular person, and probably did not attach undue importance to the doctrine. These probably constituted a large part of those claimed by later Imamis as followers of the imams during their lifetime; but this claim is, almost entirely, later propaganda.

The Zaidis began as activists and opponents of the conception of the hidden imam; but after failures, some of them, at least, accepted that conception. Their distinguishing feature, however, came to be the acceptance of the caliphates of Abū Bakr abd 'Umar; and this

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had the implication that the Sunni Traditions were to be accepted as sound. Perhaps most of the Zaidis continued to be activist, in the sense of supporting the Abbasid dynasty and its policy of compromise, at least until the change of policy in 849.

Another question, and a very difficult one, is that of how and when the series of imams came to be recognized. From *Firaq al-Shi'a* it may be seen that, of the twelve imams, those to whom the messianists were most attracted were Ja'far (VI), Mūsā (VII), al-Ḥasan al-'Askari (XI) and his son Muḥammad (XII). The reason for the attraction may have been uncertainty in the case of VII (alleged to have been killed in prison) and XII (whose very existence was questioned). In the case of XI, it was doubtless the absence of an obvious successor. Only in the case of VI (Ja'far) was there, perhaps, some genuine following based on personal contacts. Prior to Ja'far, the chief center of messianic interest was Ibn al-Ḥanafiya. It seems to have been in the process of justifying the belief that a particular person was the Mahdi that the series of imams gradually gained recognition. Details are uncertain. It was noted, above, that the succession of Ismā'il to Ja'far had been denied before about 840, doubtless by partisans of the Mahdi-ship of Mūsā (§ 20). Discussions before this date may also have aimed at excluding Ibn al-Ḥanafiya and his descendants.

The need—or perhaps rather the opportunity—for further discussion came after the death of al-Ḥasan al-'Askari in 874. The reports in *Firaq al-Shi'a* show that there was still no generally accepted view on the succession to the imamate. Most of the differences between the "sects" described probably went back to personal reasons—various men, each wanting to improve his position by having his views accepted. It is therefore remarkable that, early in the tenth century, most of these groups of messianists and others had been brought together on the basis of a common Imami doctrine. By insisting that the hidden imam must not be searched for, but allowed to choose his own time for manifesting himself, they in effect declared against revolutionary activity (but it would be interesting to look into their relations with the Buwayhids during the rise to power of the latter). They were not altogether quietists, but accepted the existing regime and functioned as a party in it, and did not even gain any undue advantages under the Imami Buwayhids.

Finally, there are the Isma'ilis, about whom an Imami book, like *Firaq al-Shi'a*, has relatively little information. In the early decades of the Abbasids, there were groups who combined messianism with

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"extremist" views. In the light of what has been said, it is almost certain that these messianist groups, even when interested in Ismā'il, did not at first recognize any series of imams. It is also very doubtful whether there was any underground activism; certainly, it should not be assumed that there was any continuous organized movement. The "extremist" ideas, of course, were propagated in various ways, but this process need not require much organizational continuity. It seems by no means impossible that most of the groups which came into the Fatimid and Isma'ili movement were messianist and quietist until towards the end of the ninth century. It was probably this transition to activism, together with the consolidation of their rivals, the Imamis, that made it necessary to have a definite Isma'ili theory of the imamate.

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DEUX OBJETS D'ART RETROUVÉS

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La coupe d'Amīrānshāh (Pl. I)

Max van Berchem signala le premier une petite coupe en cuivre, ayant appartenu à la collection Peytel, de Paris, inscrite au nom d'un certain Amīrānshāh, que ses titres protocolaires semblaient désigner comme un personnage important du Khorassan. Cette coupe, ajoutait-il, qui n'est ni signée ni datée, parait remonter au début du septième/treizième siècle. Van Berchem aboutissait à cette hypothèse par comparaison avec un bassin de la collection Sarre, dont l'inscription, au nom d'al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Maḥmūd b. Sandjarshāh, s'apparente étroitement au style des caractères de la coupe Peytel. Ce prince mésopotamien mourut en 639/1241. [1]

C'est d'après cette description sommaire que j'ai classé l'objet au début du septième/treizième siècle, [2] sans l'avoir vu, en ajoutant quelques références à des auteurs qui ne l'avaient pas eu davantage entre les mains. Plus récemment j'ai signalé une publication du regretté D. S. Rice, dont je désire fournir ici les explications: [3]

> A cup belonged to the Peytel collection was shown at the Exhibition of Islamic Art held at Munich in 1910. It has since changed hands, and I have been unable to trace its present owner. Judging by the only available photograph, this vessel has a lower footring and a shallower bowl. Its value lies in the historical inscription which constitutes its sole external decoration.

Après avoir procuré la partie lisible de l'inscription sur la photographie qu'il avait eue à sa disposition, D. S. Rice ajoute:

> The title of *ṣadr* claimed by Amiranshah and his father 'Ali probably indicates that they were religious leaders. The *nisba* al-Fāṭimī leaves no doubt that they were Shi'ites. Neither of them has so far been identified, but they would fit into the milieu of the Sarbadars of Sabzewar who ruled over a large part of Khurasan from 737-788/1337-1387. The Sarbadars, who rose to power after the downfall of

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[1] Van Berchem, „Notes d'archéologie" dans *Journal asiatique* I (1904), 28-30; *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, XI, n° 4203.

[2] *Répertoire*, IX, n° 3583 *bis*; XVI, n° 6152.

[3] *Ibid.*, XV, 261; D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum* (Paris, 1955), 13 et pl. xiv.

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the Ilkhans, were fanatical Shi'ites. The style of the inscription on the Peytel cup and the rather heavier and clumsier proportions which distinguish it from the cups reviewed so far, make an attribution to the fourteenth century plausible. It was almost certainly produced in Khurasan which was long famous for its fine metal work.

J'ai eu la bonne fortune de retrouver cette coupe à Paris dans la collection de M. Nicolas Landau. Non seulement elle a perdu son pied, mais deux trous importants viennent lui donner un aspect assez misérable. Heureusement l'inscription est sauve: je remercie M. Nicolas Landau de m'avoir procuré la photographie reproduite ici et de m'avoir autorisé d'en publier le texte.

L'inscription se déroule en haut du bol. Ce qui frappe d'abord, c'est l'alignement des hampes, lesquelles, partant à la base d'une forme pointue, s'élargissent régulièrement jusqu'au sommet. Sans doute l'inscription se détache sur un fond de délicats rinceaux, mais par leur cadence et leur symétrie, les caractères eux-mêmes sont traités comme des éléments décoratifs. Diamètre: 12.5 cm.

الصدر الاجل الاعز الاخص الاشرف الكبير علاء الدولة والدين نظام الاسلام والمسلمين
اختيار سلطان السلاطين فخر الانام مليك السادات فى العالمين [quatre mots]
جلال المعالى قوام الملك صدر خراسان اميرانشاه بن صدر الاجل الشهيد علاء الدين على ابن
الحسين الفاطمى.

L'éminence très illustre, très glorieuse, le notable, le très noble, le grand, 'Alā' al-Daula wa 'l-Dīn, l'ordonnance de l'Islam et des Musulmans, le choix du sultan des sultans, l'orgueil des hommes, le roi des seigneurs dans les mondes . . . (quatre mots indéchiffrables) . . . l'illustration des belles qualités, la solidité du royaume, l'éminence du Khorassan, Amīrānshāh, fils de l'éminence très illustre, le martyr 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, fils d'al-Ḥusain al-Fāṭimī.

Les quatre mots „indéchiffrables" sont, en fait, parfaitement clairs, mais je ne puis proposer aucune lecture.

Nous citons en note un certain nombre d'objets en cuivre dont les inscriptions procurent le même style de hampes minces à la base, qui s'élargissent au sommet. [1] L'exemple le plus ancien est le chaudron Bobrinsky, daté de 559/1163. [2]

[1] *Victoria and Albert Museum, 100 Masterpieces of Muhammedan Art*, pl. 15; *Catalogue coll. Homberg* (1908), nos 371, 373; Dimand, *Handbook of Muhammedan Art*, 2e éd., 151, fig. 90; Kühnel, *Kleinkunst*, 145, fig. 112; Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork*, pl. 9; Kühnel, *Islam. Kunst*, 438, fig. 448; *Survey of Persian Art*, VI, 1286, 1289, 1292, 1305, 1318, 1319, 1326, 1357; Glück et Diez, 446; *Mostra d'Arte iranica*, pl. lxvi.

[2] *Répertoire*, IX, no 3260.

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Si nous passons de la forme des caractères à la titulature du dédicataire, dont nous allons examiner les éléments, nous pourrons serrer la date d'assez près.

C'est précisément dans un texte du Khorassan, daté de 512/1118, qui relate une restauration du sanctuaire de Meshhed par ordre du sultan Sandjar, que nous rencontrons *ṣadr al-'ālam*, „l'éminence du monde": il concerne probablement un ministre du souverain. [1] Ce fut ensuite le vizir d'un prince Nisanide, qualifié de „grande eminence", [2] et encore un homme d'État seldjoukide. [3] La magnifique écritoire que Herzfeld nous a fait connaître fut dédiée en 607/1210 à „l'éminence du Khorassan". [4] A noter, au passage, un émir égyptien à la date de l'année 613/1216. [5] Par contre, dans des textes postérieurs de l'Asie centrale, „éminence des humains" semble bien concerner des dignitaires religieux. [6] Mais il s'agit d'un petit prince local du Caucase, surnommé „éminence bénie", [7] et un ministre iranien est qualifié, en 669/1271, „éminence magnifiée", sur un astrolabe. [8] L'expression reste encore assez rare et s'applique à des personnages subalternes dont l'épigraphie monumentale n'avait que faire. [9]

Pour une époque plus tardive, *ṣadr* est réservé aux négociants. La signification suppose qu'on s'adresse à celui qui occupe la place d'honneur dans une assemblée, donc au centre et il est flanqué à droite et à gauche de personnes d'un moindre rang social.[10]

L'aboutissement sera le titre d'*al-ṣadr al-a'ẓam*, apanage du grand vizir ottoman,[11] ce qui n'empêchera pas des fonctionnaires obscurs de se l'attribuer.[12]

Sans nous y arrêter plus que de raison, nous devons mentionner la série des quatre superlatifs suivis d'un adjectif: signalons toutefois leur emploi jusqu'au huitième/quatorzième siècle.[13]

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[1] *Ibid.*, VIII, n° 2978.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, n°s 3104, 3165.
[3] *Ibid.*, IX, n° 3370.
[4] *Ibid.*, X, n° 3671.
[5] *Ibid.*, X, n° 3788.
[6] *Ibid.*, X, n°s 3701, 3923; XI, n°s 4297, 4383. Voir une inscription de la même origine, datée de 608/1212, dans laquelle un imam porte le surnom de *ṣadr al-milla wa 'l-Dīn* (*ibid.*, X, n° 3797).
[7] *Ibid.*, XII, n° 4402.
[8] *Ibid.*, XII, n° 4628.
[9] Voir *ibid.*, XIII, n° 5182; XIV, n°s 5561, 5564; XV, n° 5955.
[10] Qalqashandi, VI, 18.
[11] *EI*, IV, 52.
[12] *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, *Égypte*, II, 44.
[13] *Répertoire*, VII, n°s 2417, 2502, 2508, 2511, 2513, 2610, 2632, 2648; VII,

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Si d'autres titres ne nous faisaient pas penser à l'Iran d'une façon explicite, le surnom honorifique en *daula* et *dīn* est un indice sérieux de localisation vers les régions orientales du monde musulman, [1] et c'est sous une influence iranienne que la formule trouvera droit de cité en Anatolie [2] et dans l'Inde. [3] En tout cas le titre est inférieur alors à celui qui groupe *dunyā* et *dīn*.

Le composé en *islām* et *muslimīn*- -ici, „l'ordonnance de l'Islam et des Musulmans" —apparait à Alep en 480/1087, avec les Grands Seldjoukides; [4] ce serait la première fois qu'une allusion serait faite à des visées panislamiques, auxquelles les monarques seldjoukides prétendaient.

Le problème du titre *sulṭān* reste confus, et, de toutes façons, le pluriel est étrange. Toutefois signalons que le sultan ghaznévide s'intitule le "seigneur des sultans" dans une inscription et sur ses monnaies. [5] De son côté, le sultan seldjoukide Sandjar assume le titre de „seigneur des sultans des Arabes et des Persans", [6] que la branche anatolienne ne dédaignera pas [7] et qui deviendra „le seigneur des sultans du monde". [8] Le titre *sulṭān al-salāṭīn*, le „sultan des sultans", fut inauguré par les Seldjoukides [9] et repris par les souverains de Dehli.[10]

Les surnoms composés en *al-anām*, les „hommes", ne sont pas extrêmement fréquents: on les localise en Syrie, en Mésopotamie et en Iran.[11] Nous n'insisterons pas davantage sur les surnoms en *al-ma'ālī*, les „belles qualités".[12]

Ṣadr Khurāsān, „l'éminence du Khorassan", est une formule assez rare, car je n'ai pu guère noter que les exemples suivants:

n° 3077; IX, n°s 3267, 3355, 3533, 3559; X, n°s 3700, 3701; XI, n°s 4021, 4327, 4336, 4383; XII, n°s 4502, 4729; XIII, n°s 4897, 4998.

[1] *Ibid.*, X, n°s 3671, 3703; XI, n°s 4231, 4250, 4252 et p. 256; XII, n°s 4328, 4794; XIII, n°s 4829, 4912, 5054.

[2] *Ibid.*, X, n° 3658; XI, n°s 4021, 4199, 4326, 4327; XII, n°s 4479, 4541, 4640, 4641, 4647.

[3] *Ibid.*, XIV, n° 5491.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII, n° 2764.

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII, n° 2872; Sourdel, *Inventaire des monnaies du Musée de Caboul*, 73-80.

[6] *Répertoire*, VIII, n° 2978.

[7] *Ibid.*, X, n°s 3757, 3775, 3896, 3941; XI, n°s 4148, 4311.

[8] *Ibid.*, X, n° 3761; XI, n° 4127.

[9] *Ibid.*, IX, n° 3379; XI, n°s 4158, 4159, 4239, 4263.

[10] *Ibid.*, XI, n°s 4091, 4106, 4294.

[11] *Ibid.*, VIII, n°s 3111, 3112, 3137; X, n°s 3271, 3272, 3351, 3383, 3408; X, n°s 3671, 3720, 3900.

[12] *Ibid.*, VI, n° 2118; VII, n°s 2728, 2742; VIII, n°s 2978, 3112. Il me parait inutile d'accumuler des exemples postérieurs.

le ministre (*dustūr*) du Khorassan; [1]
l'homme solide (*qawām*) de l'Azerbaidjan; [2]
le parangon (*bahlawān*) de la Syrie; [3]
le ministre (*dustūr*) de l'Iran, l'ordonnance (*nizām*) l'éminence (*ṣadr*) du Khorassan; [4]
l'illustration (*iftikhār*) du Khorassan; [5]
la distinction (*ikhtiyār*) de l'Iraq. [6]

Ce sont des titres d'honneur, non de fonctions administratives: ils s'insèrent entre les années 512/1118 et 641/1243.

La forme du nom *Amīrānshāh* est légèrement insolite, mais ce genre de noms se rencontre parfois, et nous connaissons Khārizmshāh, Irānshāh, Kirmānshāh, tous trois dans la seconde moitié du sixième/douzième siècle. [7]

L'ensemble des considérations précédentes nous invite à placer la coupe d'Amīrānshāh aux toutes premières années du septième/treizième siècle et de faire de l'intéressé un fonctionnaire ou un petit prince installé dans le Khorassan, avant l'invasion mongole de Djinkiz-khan.

Nous rejoignons donc, pour la date, l'hypothèse de Max van Berchem.

Chandelier signé Abū 'l-Qāsim Is'irdī (Pl. II-IV)

Ce chandelier qui, de la collection Martin, était passé entre les mains de Lamm, avait été exposé à Munich en 1910. Depuis cinquante ans, il avait disparu et le texte arabe de la signature de l'artisan n'avait jamais été publié. [8]

Je viens de le retrouver dans la collection de M. J. Acheroff, à Paris: il m'a fait tenir les photographies qui accompagnent cette notice et m'a autorisé à faire de nouveau paraître cette très belle pièce. Qu'il veuille bien agréer mes plus vifs remerciements.

Ce chandelier est de la taille moyenne des pièces similaires; sa hauteur est de 40 centimètres, et son diamètre à la base, de 36. Très finement décoré, il a conservé en grande partie, son incrustation d'argent.

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[1] *Ibid.*, VIII, n° 2978.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, n° 3135.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, n° 3146.
[4] *Ibid.*, X, n° 3671.
[5] *Ibid.*, XI, n° 4231.
[6] *Ibid.*, XI, n° 4372.
[7] *Ibid.*, IX, n°s 3207, 3586, 3589.
[8] Voir les sources citées dans *ibid.*, XI, n° 4249 *bis*; et Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers*, 26, n° III.

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Autour du corps se développe sur un fond de rinceaux une inscription votive aux hampes allongées et terminées par des têtes humaines; elle est divisée en six compartiments par six médaillons qui renferment un prince et cinq groupes de deux musiciens. Ces médaillons sont entourés d'un large bandeau lisse polylobé, se raccordant en haut et en bas à une bande horizontale qui encadre l'inscription. Au-dessus et au-dessous, deux bandes coufiques à petits caractères, avec des hampes à têtes humaines; elles sont interrompues par six et six médaillons polylobés, encadrant un petit personnage assis. Cet ensemble est circonscrit en haut et en bas par une bande étroite de fins rinceaux, et celle du bas repose sur une autre bande à motifs de tresses. Sur l'épaulement court une bande épigraphique que coupent de petites rosettes. La bobèche est décorée d'une inscription votive et de médaillons à figures, qu'encadrent des bandes circulaires enrichies de rinceaux.

La décoration générale, très soignée, au balancement bien calculé, est conforme à celle qu'on rencontre sur tous les beaux objets en cuivre du treizième siècle. Mais nous devons attirer l'attention sur une particularité moins fréquente, la présence de ces caractères à têtes humaines, „semblables à un jeu de jonchets". Paul Casanova y vit „la fantaisie d'un artiste, qui, commençant à calligraphier son inscription, se fait, sans préméditation, un jeu naïf et enfantin d'en transformer les traits supérieurs en formes humaines drolatiques." En ce domaine, les graveurs sont allés beaucoup plus loin, et nous avons des cous d'animaux surmontés de leurs têtes, et même de véritables caractères anthropomorphes. Rendons hommage à cette géniale invention figurant la ronde échevelée de petits bonshommes pleins de malice. [1]

Enfin, en bas du col, court une inscription en petits caractères cursifs, gravés à la pointe; sans points:

نقش ابو القاسم ابن سعد بن محمد الاسعردى

Gravure d'Abū 'l-Qāsim, fils de Sa'd, fils de Muḥammad, al-Is'irdī.

La *nisba* „Is'irdī" vise la localité actuelle de Sé'ert, située dans la

[1] Migeon, *Cuivres arabes*, 14-15; *Répertoire*, IX, n° 3260; XIII, n° 4970; Glück et Diez, 449; *Survey of Persian Art*, VI, 1314, 1316, 1325, 1328; Kühnel, *Kleinkunst*, 148, fig. 116; Dimand, *Handbook*, 2e éd., 143, fig. 84; Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork*, pls. vi-vii; Baltrusaitis, *Le Moyen âge fantastique*, 116; Grohmann „Bronzeschale," dans *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst*, 126, 133; D. S. Rice, *op. cit.*, 23-26, 28-29, 32-33, pls. i-ii, xii, xiv-xv, xix-xx; Zaki Hassan, *Atlas*, 155, 159.

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II

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région frontière entre l'Arménie et le Kurdistan. [1] Ce fait nous permet de rattacher l'artiste Abū 'l-Qāsim au groupe très important des dinandiers de Mossoul, dont l'éloge n'est plus à faire.

Deux autres pièces permettent de dater l'activité de l'artiste graveur, qui signa en 634/1237 une écritoire de la collection Harari, aujourd'hui au Musée d'Art Islamique du Caire; puis, en 643/1245, une autre écritoire de la collection Schefer, qui appartint à Raymond Koechlin, avant d'entrer au Musée du Louvre. [2]

Si le nom de l'artiste est amené ici par *naqsh*, „gravure", par contre, sur les deux écritoires, on lit *'amal*, „œuvre".

Il semble donc qu'il ne faut pas serrer de trop près l'importance du vocabulaire de métier. [3] Signalons toutefois, en terminant, deux cas illustres où de subtiles distinctions sont établies. Le célèbre seau du Musée de l'Hermitage mentionne le batteur de cuivre, *darb*, et donne au fabricant, *'amal*, le qualificatif de *naqqāsh*, „graveur". Et nous lisons sur un chandelier de la collection Harari, passé au Musée d'Art Islamique du Caire: „Œuvre (*'amal*) du pèlerin Ismā'īl. Gravure (*naqsh*) de Muḥammad b. Fattūḥ al-Mauṣilī, l'incrusteur (*muta''im*), salarié d'al-Shujā' al-Mauṣilī, le graveur (*naqqāsh*)." [4]

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[1] *EI*, IV, 211.

[2] *Répertoire*, XI, nos 4138, 4249; Marcel Guérin, „Les legs de Raymond Koechlin," *Bulletin des Musées de France* (1932), 12; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 26.

[3] Voir Mayer, *op. cit.*, 12.

[4] *Répertoire*, IX, no 3260; XI, no 4361; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 51, 61.

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THE TAKING OF AYDOS CASTLE: A GHAZI LEGEND AND ITS TRANSFORMATION

BY

PAUL WITTEK

Aydos Dagh is an impressive mountain, rising steeply from the shore of the Sea of Marmara, just to the North of the port of Pendik, to sixteen hundred feet. It is easily reached from Istanbul: having crossed over to Üsküdar, one travels twelve miles East along the main road to Samandra, a tiny village with a modest Byzantine ruin, whence it is a two hours' walk to the top of the mountain. Here, too, are some ruins —remains of buildings and even mosaic floors. But far more rewarding is the superb view over the sea from this windswept height, which the Greeks called *Aëtos*, "Eagle," a name still living on as "Aydos."

This is the scene of a story which tells us how in the early years of Orkhan's reign—later the date of 728/1328 was assigned to the event —daring Ghazis took possession of the castle which, in Byzantine times, stood here as part of the defense system guarding the approaches to the capital and protecting the seaports nearby. It is a romantic story, as will be seen, with the castellan's daughter letting in the Muslims, to become, at the end, the wife of their youthful leader.

The story is told by 'Āshiqpashazāde and also—depending on him, though making considerable alterations— by Neshrī. Both wrote under Bayezid II, towards the end of the 15th century. The manuscripts in which we possess 'Āshiqpashazāde's work all derive from the "History of the House of Osman" which the author, then well advanced in his eighties, started to compose, allegedly in spring 1484, on the day when Bayezid II left Istanbul for the conquest of the two Black Sea ports of Kilia and Akkerman, but probably only after the sultan's victorious return, and which, in any case, was finished not before August 1485. As Professor Halil Inalcik has convincingly pointed out, it was the sultan's intention, if not his wish or order, that Ottoman histories should be brought into circulation, which, so to say, culminated in his conquests of 1484.

'Āshiqpashazāde was not the only one to oblige. It is, however, obvious that a man of his age cannot have composed, especially at so

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short notice, a work of such scope and liveliness, without having already in hand a text which only needed to be revised and brought up to the prescribed date. Indeed, there are clear indications that there had existed a somewhat older "edition" finished in 1481, shortly before the death of Mohammed II, which lent itself easily for a continuation up to 1484. However, even this older "edition" is of much too late date to be regarded as having been composed then for the first time. Besides, amidst the narrative there occurs, at the end of Murad II's reign, a passage which looks like an ending and, above all, the work as a whole betrays clearly enough that it was composed in stages. Yet it remains doubtful, and is even improbable, that 'Āshiqpashazāde should have ever produced an "edition" earlier than that of 1481, and even this must have been restricted to a few copies, if not to a single one, since it has not survived. It needed a special motive, such as pressure from the highest place, to make the author abandon his restraint and release his History, by the "edition" of 1485, for wider circulation. All this suggests itself when we consider the author's career.

At a very early age, already then, as we shall see, imbued with stories of the past, 'Āshiqpashazāde had joined the Ghazis in the Balkans. As scion of a great and famous Anatolian family and especially as great-grandson of the celebrated poet and saint 'Āshiq Pasha, to whom he proudly refers by assuming the name of 'Āshiqi, the youth found no difficulty in entering the company of the Ghazi leaders, all the more so as he was able to entertain them, in their homes and headquarters, at rest and on campaign, with the history of the Ottomans, largely a history of the Ghazis. To be a narrator of history must soon have become his profession, a highly rewarding one, which he is likely to have continued after settling in Istanbul, a few years after its conquest, when he was already nearing the age of sixty. To uphold, amidst the monuments and still lingering traditions of a seductive alien world, the memories and the spirit of the Ottoman past was certainly a task in line with his vocation. By then he already possessed a *defter*, a notebook, in which he had written down the stories he used to tell his audiences; having been begun many years before, it had grown and grown in the course of his lifelong activity as a narrator. This book was, so to say, his "capital"; from it he recited to his audiences, and, to reserve for them the privilege of his lectures, he anxiously kept it to himself until, in 1485, he had to give it to the public. Still, in this "edition," the book shows clearly, by its

style, that it was meant to be read to an audience by the author himself.

'Āshiqpashazāde's History is based on what the author had seen and heard, but it also incorporates material from written sources—without acknowledgment, as was common usage, except in one case: the author tells us how, as a boy, when he was with the army which had set out to cross over into Rumeli, he fell ill and had to be left behind in Geyve (on the Sakaria) at the house of Yakhshi Faqīh, the son of Sultan Orkhan's imam, and how he found there a book, a *menāqibnāme*, written by his host, and recounting the gests of the Ottomans up to Bayezid I. It is hardly audacious to imagine that 'Āshiqpashazāde, then a boy of thirteen, feverish and excited by his first great adventure, fell under the spell of this book and retained for good every word of it, to make it later the nucleus of his own *menāqibnāme*, as he often enough calls his History. If he mentions this book, it is not simply as a source, but as something very near to his heart, which had kindled in him the love of history and thus probably determined the course of his life.

There is every reason to assume that those chapters in his book which come from Yakhshi Faqīh were already part of the very first notes which 'Āshiqpashazāde put down as an aid when addressing his audiences, and that he reproduced faithfully what he had retained from his boyhood readings at Geyve. Thus those chapters in the "edition" of 1485 go back perhaps fifty years to the author's first notes, another forty years to Yakhshi Faqīh and still at least thirty years more to Orkhan's imam, who had told those stories to his son—thus right back to the middle of the fourteenth century. The Aydos story is just one of those parts which can be safely regarded as belonging to this ancient nucleus.

Shortly after 'Āshiqpashazāde, Neshrī also joined the company of obliging historians by producing an Ottoman history terminating its narrative with the conquests of 1484. He, too, was in the fortunate position of having such a work just ready: the last part of a Universal History, easily severed from the whole to be presented separately. Yet it retains characteristic features which are due to its origin. The author of a Universal History is by necessity foremost a compiler, and so Neshrī's Ottoman History is a compilation in which the author added practically nothing to what he, rather cleverly and thoughtfully, brought together from various sources. The main source is 'Āshiqpashazāde's work of 1485 which, of course, just like Neshrī's other

sources, is never mentioned. On the contrary, great care is taken to efface every trace of 'Ashiqpashazāde's speaking of himself. Otherwise, however, Neshri reproduces the text of this source with pratically no changes. But the Aydos story is the great exception. The comparison of his version with that of 'Ashiqpashazāde will show how in Neshri's hands the entire character of the story has changed.

In the following two translations, a number in brackets refers to the corresponding point in the parallel version, and will also be used later in the discussion of the divergencies.

'Āshiqpashazāde (ed. F. Giese, 31-33).

(The preceding chapter had dealt with the exploits of the Ghazi leaders Qonur Alp and Aqcha Qoja, and especially with the latter's conquest of Samandra. From there, he harassed the *tekfur* (lord) of Aydos. He had also to fight with the *tekfur* of Istanbul who, anxious to drive the Turks away from the castle, ceaselessly intervened. With the villages around, Aqcha Qoja had made truce.)

This chapter tells how Aydos Castle was taken.

It happened that one night the daughter of the *tekfur* saw in her dream the exalted Prophet (1), God bless him and give him peace. The girl sees herself in a pit. A lovely-faced friendly person comes, raises her out of the pit, takes from her the clothes she had been wearing and throws them away, washes her body and on her puts clothes of silk. The girl awakes and ponders in amazement over the dream she has had. But the image of that person she had seen takes possession of her mind; day and night his image does not leave her eyes and heart.

(Couplets)

Who has seen that friend with the eye of the soul,
The moment she saw him she surrendered her whole being to the friend.

Nothing but that friend remained in the city of the heart,
Thought dispersed, she gave her reason to the winds.
Hey friends, be not astonished by this:
Him she did not see (with her eyes), the eye of the soul saw.
'Āshiqī, there are two meanings of love—
The obvious one and that which means the FRIEND.

After this dream, the girl says to herself: What has happened with me that he raised me out of the pit, put on me clothes of another kind, and also came for me here where I remain? It is a warning that things with me are also going to change. Thus she said. Then, while

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she was wandering about with this matter in her mind as always, suddenly the Turks fell once more upon the castle (2) and fought with its people. The girl says: I too shall go and fight (3). As soon as she arrived there she saw--that holy man (4) of her dream was the leader of this host. The girl says: Hey, I see what it all meant. She hastened home, wrote a letter in Greek telling what had happened in her dream (5), and added: Withdraw from this castle and retreat. She appointed a night when they should send a few trusted men. I shall put the castle into your hands. Thus she said, and fixed the letter to a stone. As if taking part in the fight, she flung (6) the stone. It arrived and fell just at the feet of Ghazi Raḥmān (7). He saw it was a stone with a letter wrapped around it. Immediately he took the stone and brought it to Aqcha Qoja. They found someone who could read Greek, learned what the letter said, and they believed it. Aqcha Qoja said: Ghazis! Who is going to set his head on this errand so that he sets an example of warring for God? I shall be with him myself. So he spoke. Forward stepped Ghazi Raḥmān and said: I am ready. Qonur Alp speaks up: Let us do something more. They asked: What? And he: Let us set fire to the castle where we have installed ourselves. They agreed and straightway they went and burnt down Samandra (8), withdrew and were gone. The Infidels of Aydos Castle were overjoyed and started feasting. When the time set by the girl was fulfilled, on that appointed night, Ghazi Raḥmān and a few Ghazis came to the spot the girl had indicated. The girl was waiting. As she saw Ghazi Raḥmān, she fastened a rope to the battlement and let it hang down. Ghazi Raḥmān grasped it at once, climbed up and was face to face with the girl. They went to the gate of the castle, hewed the doorkeeper to pieces, opened the gate and let in the Ghazis who were waiting there. Straight they went to the mansion of the *tekfur* who, in his joy, had feasted and was lying drunk. They gripped his throat. Towards dawn Aqcha Qoja also arrived and they occupied the castle (9).

(Couplets)

He burnt down Samandra, behold this man of deeds!
What deeds he ordered! behold this man of deeds!
They shed blood, they made heads jump of,
Behold those Ghazi heroes and their commanders!
They came straight into the world and straight they left it.
Those who go straight forward like the arrow, behold them!
Where the arrow hits, it leaves someone wounded.
Behold those shooters of arrows and their commanders!

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They are men of zeal, those who shoot and those who order them to shoot.

Behold the spectacles shown among those men!

Chapter telling what they did with the *tekfur* and his daughter.

When, by virtue of God, the castle had been taken, they committed the *tekfur* and his daughter to Ghazi Raḥmān, and sent them to Orkhan Ghazi. Ghazi Raḥmān then arrived, finding Orkhan in Yenishehir, reported what had happened and handed over the *tekfur*, his daughter and his treasures. Orkhan Ghazi then gave the girl to Ghazi Raḥmān, and gave him also a good share of the treasures he had brought. Nowadays there is again a Qaraja Raḥmān (10) talked about, who is a descendant of that Ghazi Raḥmān. He caused a lot of trouble to Istanbul, so that in his time they used to say in Istanbul, when little children were crying: Sh! Qaraja Raḥmān is here.

Hey friends, of everything in this story which I have written down, by God, I have obtained full knowledge of it. From this knowledge I wrote. Do not think I wrote out of imagination.

Neshri

(edd. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, I, 138-142)

Story of the conquest of Aydos.

It is related that the *tekfur* of Aydos had a lovely daughter, one of the most beautiful of girls. One night she dreamed that she had fallen into a pit. She cannot get out. There comes towards her a youth (1) of comely face. He raises her out of the pit, then takes from her the clothes she had been wearing, washes her body and on her puts clothes of silk. Forthwith she starts up, awakes and is amazed. But the image of the youth she had seen in her dream never leaves her, she is always with this thought. She says to herself: So much is clear, that things with me will change. While she was pondering over this matter, one day the Turks fell on the castle, besieged (2) it and started fighting. The fighting went on for some days (2), up to and down from (the walls). One day the girl advances to the parapet of the tower to view how the Turks are fighting (3). As she looks down, it happens that her eyes fall on 'Abdurraḥmān Ghazi (7) and she sees that this is the youth (4) of her dream. She understands what the situation is, goes without delay and writes a letter in Greek, fastens it to a stone and lets it fall down (6). It happens that the stone falls at the feet of 'Abdurraḥmān. He sees there is a letter fastened to the

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stone, he takes it and brings it to Aqcha Qoja. They have it read by somebody who knows Greek. There was written (5): Withdraw from the castle and retreat. But on that and that night, to that and that place, send some trusted men and I shall procure you the castle. When they had learned the contents of the letter, they trusted it. At once Aqcha Qoja said: Who will go that night to undertake this? Said 'Abdurraḥmān Ghazi: I shall set my head on this errand. Qonur Alp said: Now we must make a ruse for the withdrawal. On the spot they set the castle (8) on fire and decamped—the fire, mind you, having done no damage to the castle. The Infidels of Aydos were overjoyed by this state of affairs and started eating and drinking. When the appointed time had come, 'Abdurraḥmān Ghazi, with a few valiant Ghazis, arrived at midnight at the place the girl had fixed. The girl was looking out for them, waiting for them. When the girl perceived Ghazi 'Abdurraḥmān, she quickly fastened the rope to the battlements and let it down. And Ghazi 'Abdurraḥmān, putting his trust in God the Exalted, grasped the end of the rope, climbed the wall, like a spider, in the twinkling of an eye, and was face to face with the fair one. He came to the gate, killed the doorkeeper, opened the gate, and in went the Ghazis. They came straight to the mansion of the *tekfur*, found him as he was lying drunk, and gripped his throat. Then, when dawn came, Aqcha Qoja arrived with more Ghazis. He saw that the castle had been taken (9). They repaired it and attended thoroughly to everything necessary. (11)

Story

When the castle had been taken, they committed the *tekfur* and that girl, with all their belongings, to Ghazi 'Abdurraḥmān and sent them to Orkhan. 'Abdurraḥmān Ghazi appeared in Yenishehir before Orkhan, announced the good tidings and handed over the booty, the *tekfur* and his daughter. Orkhan gave the girl to 'Abdurraḥmān Ghazi and gave him also a huge share of the booty. Those two lovers (12) came together and thus attained their wishes. There lives still nowadays a descendant of his called Qara Raḥmān (10). He did many high feats against Istanbul. In his time, when Istanbul was still infidel (13), its people even used to frighten their little children when they cried with a "Sh! Qara Raḥmān is here," and they would stop crying. But HE knows best.

The comparison of the two versions must here be limited strictly

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to the contents, although to examine the differences of style would also be rewarding. But this would necessitate the confrontation of the two versions in the original Turkish, and even to rely on the printed texts, as we do here, would still not be sufficient. The 1485 "edition" of 'Ashiqpashazāde is represented by manuscripts copied either directly from the author's notebook or deriving indirectly from it, being copies of such copies. In both cases, the copyists took great liberties. Even from the all too meager apparatus of Giese's edition it can be perceived that some of Neshrī's (= N) deviations from Giese's 'Ashiqpashazāde (= 'Āpz) text are not to be attributed to N but are already found in one or other 'Āpz MS (for example, the metaphorical spider). Even for our purpose here, it would be desirable to use the 'Āpz MS which, in its readings, is nearest to N; we shall see, when discussing point (8), where N seems to have grossly misunderstood his source, that he was induced into his error by the defective reading of the 'Āpz MS he used.

Among the alterations to which N subjected his source, one which is crucial, and changes the entire character of the story, is to be found right at the beginning: the substitution of a youth for the Prophet (1). In 'Āpz the girl's dream stands for a real apparition of the Prophet who hereby brings about the conquest of a castle which his Ghazis could not have otherwise achieved, and also receives the girl, who is to be the instrument of his intervention, into the faith. His cleansing her from the dirt of a false creed and robing her with the shining "clothes of Islam" are by no means purely symbolic, but very real actions. With N all this is reduced to a girl's dream which, through the transfer of the Prophet's actions to the youth and hereby divesting them of their religious significance, receives a strong erotic flavor.

Accordingly, it has to be this youth (4) whom the girl discovers among the attackers. Evidently, N does not understand that when Ghazis go into battle, the Prophet walks or rides at their head– just as he is present at each Friday service, sitting high up on his minbar, while, standing on one of its lower steps, his *khaṭīb* delivers the homily. In 'Āpz, as soon as the girl perceives the holy man of her dream at the head of the Ghazis, she knows with whom she has to side. If she decides to betray her people, she does it out of loyalty for her new faith; and she dispatches her message to the Muslims as a whole (6). In N, her betrayal is for the sake of the youth, and it is certainly not by mere chance that her message falls at his feet (7). The love motif, called to mind again at the end of the story (12), necessi-

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tates the suppression of an essential part of the message: the dream is now of too intimate a nature to be revealed (5). In 'Āpz, it is precisely the girl's reference to her dream—and surely also to her recognizing its holy man in their leader—which compels the Ghazis to trust her and to agree to her plans; they knew at once that it was their Prophet the girl had seen, and so did also 'Āshiqpashazāde's listeners.

And what has Neshri made of that vigorous girl, daughter of dour borderers, the Akritai, who hastens out to join her menfolk in the fighting (3), capable of hurling a stone into the midst of the enemy (6)? He presents her as a lovesick maid merely daring, driven by curiosity, to trip to the parapet in order to view the attackers, whence she then drops—daintily, as would a townsgirl—her message to the youth of her infatuation.

As this latter detail shows, the Turks are supposed to be close to the foot of the walls. Indeed, for Neshri, they have already been besieging the castle for several days (2). Obviously he attributes here methods of warfare of a not too remote time (though no firearms yet!) to the early fourteenth century, when, however, the Ottomans lacked every means of besieging a fortified place. If they succeeded in taking such a place, it was by a long blockade, forcing surrender by starvation, or by a surprise attack, by ruse, or by treason. 'Āshiqpashazāde's version corresponds perfectly to those conditions. For Ghazis, who had just begun harrying the district, blockade was out of the question. When they suddenly fell upon a castle, they did it in the hope of taking it by surprise, while its garrison was heedlessly dispersed in the vineyards and orchards, or exercizing the horses, or hunting in the woods, and with its gates unguarded, perhaps even open. This they had tried at Aydos several times already, and they tried it now again; but, once more, the garrison had gathered in time and gone out into the open to chase them off. There remained only treason and ruse. Treason was secured by the girl, owing to the Prophet's intervention. Ruse was added by the feigned withdrawal, made to appear definitive by the burning down of the headquarters, Samandra (8). This latter point was completely misunderstood by Neshri, who, however, was led into error here by his source. Dr. Ménage kindly showed me that in a recently discovered 'Āpz MS which is nearer to Neshri than any one of the others, the specific mention of "Samandra" is omitted. Thus "the castle where we have installed ourselves" (that is, Samandra) was understood as

"the castle before which we are lying" (that is, Aydos), the Turkish text allowing both interpretations, as long as the castle is not named. Though Neshri assures us that the castle did not suffer damage (it had to remain intact for the rest of the story!), we have to ask how the Turks managed at all to set fire to a castle which they had been unable to take. Since, for Neshri, the castle had been invested for a considerable time, he sees it surrounded by all the paraphernalia of siege, its ditches filled with tree-trunks and branches. That, at a withdrawal, all this woodwork should be burned, so that for a while the castle was enveloped by flames, is normal enough; so normal, indeed, that there now remains hardly an element of ruse. With this fire in mind, Neshri will say later (11) that after the conquest the castle was repaired.

To extol the hero, Neshri makes him conquer the castle almost singlehanded: when at dawn Aqcha Qoja arrives, he sees that all has been done (9). In 'Āpz, however, Ghazi Raḥmān and his companions are credited only with the opening of the gate and the gagging of the *tekfur*, who is thus prevented from raising the alarm; the unsuspecting garrison is overwhelmed, later, by the main force led by Aqcha Qoja. Neshri changes also the name of the hero into the more correct 'Abdurraḥmān (10), though he leaves the rather unorthodox name of Raḥmān to the hero's descendant, the Qara Raḥmān "of our times." The latter indication is carried over from 'Āshiqpashazāde (who, by the way, writes Qaraja Raḥmān), but Neshri has already to qualify it as meaning "when Istanbul was still in Christian hands" (13).

Most significant of the spirit in which each of the two authors has written down the story are their final remarks: Neshri's short "but God knows best" betrays his scepticism, whereas 'Āshiqpashazāde assures his listeners earnestly that he had reached sure knowledge of the story and its every detail.

'Āshiqpashazāde's story recommends itself as a genuine document of the earliest Ottoman times by the lack of any anachronism. Though it is, of course, much more of a legend than a historical account, we can accept, almost without reservation, what it reveals of the life of the Ghazis; how they raided and conquered, how they took the enemy's daughters to wife, how, though undertaking their exploits quite independently, they sent to the Ottoman overlord his share of their booty, and how intensely they felt the presence of the Prophet in their midst. With all this, 'Āshiqpashazāde was well acquainted, owing to his long association with the Ghazis at the now so distant

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frontiers, where life and spirit of the earlier times continued. Almost nothing of it was known any more in the great centers of the empire, the toils of the Ghazis being overshadowed by the spectacular campaigns of the sultan's armies. Thus Neshri, writing in the security of one of those big towns (Brusa?), when in his source, which otherwise he always followed faithfully, he finds the Aydos story, cannot regard it as anything but a fairy tale and, treating it as such, takes with it every liberty. Above all, the Prophet had to be eliminated, probably because Neshri felt it shocking that he should figure in the story at all, and probably also because he could not understand how the Prophet should be seen at the head of the Ghazis. Thus, as a rationalist, he turns the pious legend into a love story and, as something of a pedant, transforms the entire scene according to his "knowing better."

Needless to say, it was Neshrī whom the later writers followed. Thus Sa'deddīn, in his classic "Crown of the Histories" (last quarter of the sixteenth century), although he also had 'Āshiqpashazāde's History before him, reproduces Neshrī's account, robed in the rich silk of superb prose, but otherwise faithfully; except for one single factual change, slight but noteworthy: the girl's letter is written in "Frankish," obviously because *rūmja* no longer denoted, unequivocally, "Greek," but could also be understood as "language of Rūm," that is, Ottoman Turkish (as opposed to *Turkī*, that is, Eastern Turkish)—a misunderstanding which, indeed, would considerably damage the story.

The Aydos story assumes here, in this volume of homage, a further significance which I should like to disclose to the reader, though it will not have escaped the admired scholar and friend to whom this study is dedicated: for at a perilous juncture of my life, when reality was dream and dream reality, it was he who came as a friendly helper and raised me out of the pit of dire distress—something never to be dismissed from my mind.

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MU'AMMAR'S THEORY OF MA'NĀ

BY

HARRY A. WOLFSON

The Muslim doctrine of attributes, being a development of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity,[1] is ultimately a development, through Philo's Logos, of the Platonic theory of ideas. The orthodox affirmation of the reality of attributes represents the orthodox Christian conception of the Trinity, and hence the orthodox Christian modification of the Philonic interpretation of the Platonic ideas. The Mu'tazilite denial of the reality of attributes represents the Sabellian conception of the Trinity and hence the Albinian interpretation of the Platonic ideas.[2] But while all these are Platonic ideas by heredity, they are not always so by function. In Plato, the function of ideas were that of exemplar and also that of cause. The attributes and preexistent Koran are not exactly exemplars, nor are they exactly causes of creation, though they are perhaps not altogether devoid of these functions. Still they are traceable to Platonic ideas. They are descendants of those denizens of a world beyond ours which, in Plato, were called ideas, and which, among the interpreters of Plato, Aristotle, Philo, Albinus, and Plotinus, became an object of discussion as to whether they were within God or outside of God, and, if the latter, whether they were coexistent with God or brought into existence by Him.

In Islam, so far, these descendants of the Platonic ideas knew not their father nor those who quarreled among themselves about their patrimony. Whatever reflection of the Platonic ideas that may be discerned in the discussions about attributes, or about the Koran, during the early part of the eighth century comes not directly from Greek philosophy but from the Church Fathers. But in the latter part of the eighth century, Greek philosophic works began to be translated. Plato's *Timaeus* was translated before 806, the *Republic* before 873, and the *Sophist* before 911. Other early sources of Platonism accessible to the Muslims were Porphyry's *Isagoge*, which was

[1] Cf. my paper "The Muslim Attributes and the Christian Trinity," *Harvard Theological Review*, XLIX (1956), 1-18.

[2] Cf. "Extradeical and Intradeical Interpretations of Platonic Ideas" in my *Religious Philosophy* (1961), 27-68.

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translated before 763; an abridgment of Plotinus' *Enneads*, known as the *Theology of Aristotle*, which was translated in 840; Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which was translated before 911, probably together with Alexander's Commentary on it; and Pseudo-Plutarch's *De Placitis Philosophorum*, which was translated before 912. Undoubtedly, philosophic knowledge was transmitted orally to Muslim theologians even before philosophic works were translated, and it continued to be transmitted orally even after the work of translation had begun, as all this may be seen from the appearance of philosophic terms and phrases and apothegms and excerpts in the reports of the Muslim teachers of the eighth century. This new philosophic knowledge, in its earliest appearance in the eighth century, and even for some time afterwards, was not as yet differentiated according to the various opposing schools of Greek philosophy to which it belonged. Statements of philosophers, however diverse in origin, were all treated as segments of a uniform system of thought called philosophy, as distinguished from another system of thought based upon the Koran and Tradition. It was an eclecticism due at first to a lack of knowledge, which in the course of time grew into a conscious attempt at harmonization, such as found in Al-Fārābī's work entitled *Kitāb al-Jam' bain ra'y al-ḥakīmain Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī wa-Arisṭūṭālīs* (Book of the Agreement between the Opinions of Two Philosophers, the Divine Plato and Aristotle).

The influence of this complexity of new philosophic knowledge upon the kalam begins to appear in the ninth century in its discussion of various problems. In this paper I shall try to unfold the processes of reasoning by which, under the influence of this new philosophic knowledge derived from a variety of sources, Mu'ammar arrived at his theory of *ma'nā*.

The oldest reports of Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā* are in Khaiyāṭ's *Intiṣār* nad Ash'arī's *Maqālāt*.

In the *Intiṣār*, after quoting Rāwandī as saying that Mu'ammar "maintains that no act is produced in the world but that there are produced simultaneously with it a thousand times thousand acts; yea, an infinity of other acts," [1] Khaiyāṭ goes on to say: "Know—and may God teach you what is good—that this view, which the author of the book [namely, Rāwandī] reports as being that of Mu'ammar, is what is known as the theory of *ma'nā*. The meaning of this

[1] *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, ed. A. N. Nader (1957), 34, p. 46, lines 11-12.

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theory may be explained as follows: Having observed that of two contiguous bodies at rest one began to move, while the other did not, Mu'ammar inferred that a *ma'nā* must inevitably abide in the one and not in the other, and it is on account of that *ma'nā* that the former is moved, for were it not so, then the one would not be more capable of motion than the other. Mu'ammar further said: If this reasoning is sound, there must inevitably also be another *ma'nā* on account of which the motion abides in one of the bodies rather than in the other. He again said: Were it not so, then the abiding of the motion in one of the bodies would not be more appropriate than the abiding of it in the other. So also, he went on to say, if I were asked concerning the [second] *ma'nā* why it was the cause of the abiding of the motion in one of the bodies and not in the other, my answer would be: It is on account of another *ma'nā*. He finally said: So also, if I were further asked [the same question] concerning this [third] *ma'nā*, my answer would be with regard to this *ma'nā* like my answer with regard to the preceding *ma'nā*." [1]

More fully is the same theory reported by Ash'arī. It reads as follows: "Some say that a body, when it is moved, is moved only on account of a *ma'nā*, which is the [cause of the] motion. Were it not for this, there would be no reason for this body, rather than for another body, to be moved, nor would there be any reason for this body to be moved at the time at which it is moved rather than to have been moved at some prior time. Since this is so, it may similarly be reasoned with regard to the motion that, if there was no *ma'nā* on account of which it was the motion of the body moved, there would be no reason for it to be the motion of that body rather than the motion of some other body. And so this *ma'nā* is a *ma'nā* of the motion of the body moved on account of still another *ma'nā*, but there is no totality and sum to the *ma'ānī*; and they take place at a single time. The same holds true of black and white, that is, of the fact that it is the black of one body rather than of another, and that it is the white of one body rather than that of another. The same holds of the difference (*mukhālafa*) between blackness and whiteness and similarly, according to them, does it hold true of other genera

[1] *Ibid.*, lines 16-24. An allusion to his theory of *ma'nā* is to be found in Mu'ammar's statement, quoted by Khaiyāṭ from Rāwandī, that "the destruction of a thing comes about by means of another thing" (*Intiṣār* 9, p. 22, line 19; cf. p. 23, lines 4-6).

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and accidents,[1] that is to say, when two accidents are different (*ikhtalafā*) or are the same (*ittifaqā*), inevitably one must assume the existence of *ma'ānī* to which there is no totality. It is also their claim that the *ma'ānī* to which there is no totality are produced by an act of the place in which they abide. The same similarly holds true of the predicates "living" and "dead," for when we predicate of a person that he is living or dead, we must inevitably assume an infinite number of *ma'ānī*, which abide in him, for life cannot be life to him rather than to another except on account of a *ma'nā*, and that *ma'nā* [cannot be the *ma'nā* of that life rather than of another life except] on account of a *ma'nā*, and so on to infinity. This is the view of Mu'ammar."[2]

The same view is variously reported in the name of Mu'ammar by

[1] In the expression here "of other genera (*al-ajnās*) and accidents," the other accidents quite evidently mean accidents in addition to "blackness and whiteness" mentioned before. As for the other genera, it refers to "same" which is mentioned thereafter as in addition to "difference" mentioned before, for "same" and "other" are described by Plato, in *Sophist* 254E, as "genera" (γένη). But, while the term "genera" as a description of "difference" and "same" are undoubtedly borrowed here from the *Sophist*, the terms meant to be included here under "genera" are not taken from the *Sophist*. To begin with, one of the genera here is "difference" (*mukhālafa*), for which the Greek would be διαφορά, whereas the corresponding one of the genera in the *Sophist* is "other" (θάτερον). Then, the expression "other genera" here quite evidently alludes to some genera in addition to the single other genus "same" mentioned thereafter, but among the five genera enumerated in the *Sophist*, namely, being, motion, rest, same, other, there is none which could be added here to "same". The allusion to several genera here in the expression "other genera" is to the terms "same," "other," "different," "like," "contrary" discussed by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* V, 9-10. The Arabic translation of these chapters in the *Metaphysics* are missing in Bouyges' edition of *Averroes: Tafsīr mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a* (1938-48), but in other parts of the *Metaphysics*, of which Bouyges' edition contains the Arabic translations, we get the Arabic for the following Greek terms:

(1) αἱ αὐταί, *muttafiqa*, the same (III, 4, 1000a, 21, text 15).
(2) τὸ ὅμοιον, *al-mithl*, the like (V, 15, 1021a, 10, text. 20).
(3) διαφορά, *al-ikhtilāf*, difference (X, 3, 1054b, 23, text. 12).
(4) ἑτερότης, *al-ghairiya*, otherness (*ibid.*).
(5) ἡ ἐναντίωσις, *al-ḍiddiya*, contrariety (*ibid.*, 32, text. 13).

The Arabic terms, it will be noticed, are the same as those used here by Ash'arī, and later by Shahrastānī and Rāzī (cf. below at p. 678, n. 2, and p. 679, n. 1).

[2] *Maqālāt*, 372, line 2-373, line 2, ed. H. Ritter (1929-1933). Again, an allusion to his theory of *ma'nā* is to be found in Mu'ammar's statement, quoted by Ash'arī, that "God creates a creation by a cause and there is a cause to that cause, but there is no limit and totality to the causes" (*Maqālāt*, 253, lines 3-4; cf. *ibid.*, 364, lines 12-13, and 511, lines 8-9) and also in his statement, again, quoted by Ash'arī, that "to that which ceases to exist there is a destruction, and to this destruction there is another destruction, and so on without limit" (*Maqālāt*, 367, lines 5-6).

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later authors, such as Baghdādi, Ibn Ḥazm, and Shahrastāni. Baghdādi reproduces Mu'ammar's view in two places in his *Farq*, and in one of the places his reproduction bears a resemblance to that which occurs later in Shahrastāni's *Milal*, which would make it seem that either Shahrastāni drew upon Baghdādi or both Baghdādi and Shahrastāni drew upon a common source.

Both Baghdādi and Shahrastāni start with a general restatement of the main conclusion of Mu'ammar's view, which in Baghdādi reads that "every species of accidents existing in bodies is infinite in number" [1] and in Shahrastāni reads that "accidents are infinite in every species." [2] The author of this restatement would seem to have substituted for the term *ma'nā*, originally used by Mu'ammar, the term "accident," evidently reasoning that, inasmuch as *ma'nā* is assumed to exist in a subject, it amounts to what philosophers in their technical language would call accident, and he thus rephrased the original statement of Mu'ammar with regard to *ma'āni*, that they are infinite in number, to read that accidents are infinite in number. [3]

Then both Baghdādi and Shahrastāni restate the reasoning by which Mu'ammar was led to his conclusion. In Baghdādi, Mu'ammar is represented as trying to show how motion, color, taste, smell, and any other accident require the existence of an infinite chain of *ma'āni* in the abode of the motion and of the color and taste and smell as well as of any other accident. [4] In Shahrastāni, he is represented simply as saying something to the effect that every accident requires the existence of a *ma'nā* in the abode of the accident, and that this leads to an uninterrupted concatination. In Shahrastāni, however, there is the additional statement that "on account of this view, Mu'ammar and his followers were called the partisans of *ma'āni* (*aṣḥāb al-ma'āni*)."[5]

Finally, Baghdādi reproduces from a work by al-Ka'bi a restatement of Mu'ammar's argument to how motion and rest require an infinite series of *ma'āni*. [6] The same argument, introduced by the words "and he added to it," is reproduced by Shahrastāni without mentioning the name of al-Ka'bi, but he then adds that, "by the same token, the otherness (*mughāyara*) between two like things and their

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[1] *Farq*, 137, lines 16-17, ed. M. Badr (Cairo, 1328 H.).
[2] *Milal*, 46, line 15, ed. William Cureton (London, 1846).
[3] So did al-Ṭūsi (cf. below p. 679, at n. 2).
[4] *Farq*, 137, line 17-138, line 4.
[5] *Milal*, 46, lines 16-17.
[6] *Farq*, 138, lines 4-8.

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likeness (*mumāthala*) and the contrariety (*taḍādd*) of two contrary things are all, according to his opinion, due to a *ma'nā*." [1]

In the other place in his *Farq*, Baghdādi represents Mu'ammar as trying to show how the assumption of the existence of an infinite series of *ma'ānī* is required in order to explain why one person rather than another possesses a certain special kind of knowledge. [2]

Ibn Ḥazm reproduces Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā* in two places in his *Fiṣal*. In one of these places he represents Mu'ammar as arguing from motion and rest, and from the differences between accidents, for the existence of *ma'ānī*; but, in the course of his exposition, he remarks that the *ma'ānī* are "existent things" (*ashyā' maujūda*), and hence he says that, from this, Mu'ammar and his followers "conclude the existence in the world of an infinite number of things (*ashyā'*) at any given time." [3] In the other place in his *Fiṣal*, he merely reports Mu'ammar as saying that "in the world there are existent things (*ashyā' maujūda*) to which there is no limit . . . and to which there is no measure and no number." [4] In both these places, he thus substitutes the term *ashyā'*, "things," for the term *ma'ānī*. In other places of his *Fiṣal*, it may be remarked, he similarly substitutes *ashyā'* for *ma'ānī*. Thus the persons of the Christian Trinity which, as I have shown, were called by Abucara, in his lost Arabic work, *ma'ānī*, [5] are called by Ibn Ḥazm *ashyā'*. [6] So also Ash'arī is quoted by Ibn Ḥazm as calling the attributes *ashyā'*, [7] though the common name for them, besides *ṣifāt*, is *ma'ānī* and, in Shahrastānī, Ash'arī is quoted as calling them *ma'ānī*. [8]

Drawing upon all these sources, Rāzī (d. 1209) presents the theory of *ma'nā* as follows: "Some of them maintain that two things, which are mutually other (*al-ghairāni*), are mutually other by means of a *ma'nā*, and the same holds true of two like things (*al-mathalān*) or two contrary things (*al-ḍiddān*) or two different things (*al-mukhtalifān*). In proof of this, they argue that the statement that black and white are black and white does not mean the same as the statement that they are mutually other and different and contrary; and in proof

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[1] *Milal*, 46, lines 17-19.
[2] *Farq*, 181, lines 12-17.
[3] *Fiṣal*, V, 56, lines 15-22 (Cairo, 1317-27 H.).
[4] *Ibid.*, IV, 194, lines 2-4.
[5] Cf. *art. cit.* (n. 1 above), 5.
[6] *Fiṣal*, I, 49, line 1; cf. IV, 207, line 22.
[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 107, line 13.
[8] *Nihāya*, 181, line 4, ed. A. Guillaume (1934).

that the two statements are not the same, they argue from the fact that otherness and difference and contrariety occur also in other things [besides blackness and whiteness]. It is thus evident that otherness is not something negative: it is rather something positive; and so it has been established that two things which are mutually other (*al-mutaghāyirān*) are mutually other by means of a *ma'nā*. By the same token two things which are alike correspond to each other (*muqābilān*) by means of a *ma'nā*. They then argue that this *ma'nā* must inevitably be other than anything else, whence it follows that its otherness from anything else is [due to] a [second] *ma'nā* existing by means of the [first] *ma'nā*. Now this [second] *ma'nā* must inevitably be either like another *ma'nā* or other than it and different from it. But [as shown before] its likeness as well as its otherness and difference is [due to] a [third] *ma'nā* existing by means of the [second] *ma'nā*. And the same reasoning is to be applied to this *ma'nā* as it was to the one before it, which then results the assertion of an infinite number of *ma'ānī*." [1] Ṭūsī (d. 1273) in his comment upon this passage of Rāzī identifies the view described therein as that of "Mu'ammar and others" and restates Rāzī's concluding statement as a view which maintains that "accidents exist by means of accidents up to infinity," in which the *ma'ānī* are thus called "accidents." [2]

From all this, we gather that Mu'ammar was troubled by the question why things differ from each other. The differences between things mentioned by him, according to the two earliest reports of his view, are motion and rest, blackness and whiteness, and life and death. According to one of these earliest reports, he was troubled also by the question as to what accounts for the difference between accidents and the sameness of accidents, mentioning especially the accidents of blackness and whiteness. The answer given by him is that things differ and accidents both differ and are the same because of what he calls *ma'nā*. This *ma'nā* is described by him as abiding in bodies, from within which it acts as the cause of motion and rest and all the other accidents of the bodies in which it abides. Mu'ammar is further reported to have said that at any given moment that an accident is produced in a body by a *ma'nā* there is, behind that *ma'nā*, an infinite chain of *ma'ānī*. In later reports, the *ma'ānī* are also called *ashyā'*, "things," and, evidently because they exist in bodies as their subject, they are also called "accidents."

[1] *Muḥaṣṣal*, 104, lines 2-8 (Cairo, 1323 H.).
[2] Ṭūsī on *Muḥaṣṣal*, 104, n. 2, lines 1-2.

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We thus find that Mu'ammar has raised a question, the like of which was not raised by any other of his contemporary mutakallimun, and this question is answered by him through an elaborate theory, which is couched in language bristling with terms easily recognizable as reflecting Greek philosophic terminology.

The first thing we should like to know, then, is how it happened that, of all of his contemporaries, Mu'ammar alone was troubled by the question of why things are different or the same. All his contemporaries, we imagine, would simply say that this is how they are made by God. Why then did not Mu'ammar say the same thing?

In attempting to explain this peculiarity about the question raised by Mu'ammar, let us assemble all the bits of information that we have of Mu'ammar's philosophy and see whether we cannot find among them something which impelled him to raise his question.

We know that Mu'ammar, like all mutakallimun, with the exception of some, was an atomist. In fact, he is reported to have believed that the atom itself is not a body, [1] but that eight atoms make up a body. [2] How atoms came into existence we are told, in his name, that they were created by God. [3] We are similarly told, in his name, how bodies come into existence: they are also created. [4] Accidents, however, we are told, in his name, are not created by God, [5] but that "when the atoms are aggregated, accidents follow by necessity; the atoms produce them by the necessity of [their] nature, each atom by its own self, producing whatever accident that resides in it," [6] or that accidents are "the action of substances (that is, atoms) by their nature," [7] or that "any accident of a body comes from the action of the body by its nature." [8] From the combination of these passages we may gather that in every atom there reside accidents, but these accidents become manifest only when substances are aggregated and form a body. Elsewhere, he says, in effect, that bodies are perceptible only through their accidents. [9] Among the accidents mentioned as being

[1] *Maqālāt*, 307, lines 10-12.
[2] *Ibid.*, 303, line 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, 548, lines 9-10.
[4] *Milal*, 46, lines 4-5.
[5] *Maqālāt*, 548, line 10; *Fiṣāl*, IV, 194, lines 9-13; *Farq*, 136, line 18-137, line 1; *Milal*, 46, lines 3-4.
[6] *Maqālāt*, 303, lines 10-11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 548, line 12.
[8] *Farq*, 136, line 15; cf. *Milal*, 46, line 4; *Fiṣal*, IV, 194, lines 12-13.
[9] *Maqālāt*, 362, lines 7-8: "Only accidents of a body are perceived; as for body, it cannot be perceived."

produced by the atoms when they are formed into a body, or as being produced by the body formed out of atoms, are "life," "death," "color," "taste," and "smell." [1] It can similarly be shown that "motion" is also an act of the body in accordance with its nature, for it is reported of him that, in opposition to those who said that the motion in a moving body is produced by God, he maintained that "the moving body produces it within itself," [2] by which he quite evidently means that it produces it within itself in accordance with its nature, though, in the case of living beings, he says that their "motion and rest and aggregation and segregation" are "of the creations of bodies" not "by nature" (*tab'an*) but "by choice" (*ikhtiyāran*). [3] It is to be noted, however, that, while in these passages, as well as in the passages quoted above, Mu'ammar speaks of both the motion and the rest of bodies, there is another passage where, evidently in opposition to the view current in kalām that "the modes of being (*al-akwān*) are motion and rest and aggregation and segregation," [4] he says that "all modes of being (*al-akwān*) consist of rest and that some of them are called motions only in language and not in truth." [5] It may be remarked that this denial of motion and its description as being only in language and not in truth reflect the statement in pseudo-Plutarch's *Placita* that "Parmenides, Melissus, and Zeno deny that there are any such things as generation and corruption, for they suppose that the All is immovable," [6] plus the distinction said to have been made by Parmenides between one part of philosophy which deals with "truth" and another which deals with "opinion." [7]

We thus know that, according to his own philosophy, no accident,

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[1] *Ibid.*, 548, lines 11-12; *Fiṣal*, IV, 194, lines 9-12.

[2] *Maqālāt*, 409, lines 7-9.

[3] *Milal*, 46, lines 4-6. So also the statement that Mu'ammar "was accustomed to say that man has no action other than will (*al-irāda*) and that all the other accidents are the actions of bodies by nature" (*Farq*, 138, lines 16-17) is to be understood to mean that, in man, accidents are the work of the body by will, whereas in inanimate things accidents are the work of the body by nature.

[4] Cf. Juwaini, *Irshād*, ed. J. D. Luciani (1938), 10, lines 9-10; also Maimonides, *Moreh Nebukim*, I, 73, Proposition 1, and M. Schreiner, *Der Kalam in der jüdischen Literatur* (1895), 45, n. 3.

[5] *Maqālāt*, 347, lines 9-10; cf. *ibid.*, 355, lines 1-2; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, IV, 204, lines 4-5.

[6] Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, I, 24, 1, 320a, lines 11-13; Arabic translation in *Aristotelis De Anima et Plutarci De Placitis Philosophorum*, ed. Badawi (1954), 120, lines 14-15.

[7] Diogenes Laërtius, *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*, IX, 22.

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whether motion or rest or color or taste or smell or life or death, is produced in bodies by God; all accidents are produced by the nature of the atoms which make up bodies or, as he loosely also says, by the nature of the bodies. With this being his view as to the origin of accidents, the question, as was to be expected, occurred to him, What is that "nature" which, in bodies formed of atoms, produces such a variety of accidents?

This is why Mu'ammar was troubled by the question as to the origin of differences and likenesses in things occasioned by the variety of accidents. [1]

The answer to this question, we shall now try to show, he found in the new philosophic knowledge which he had acquired either by reading or by hearsay.

From various statements in Aristotle, we may assume, Mu'ammar gathered that "nature" in the sense of "form" or definition" is the cause of motion and rest in a thing, and so also are the "genera" (γένη) of a definition, that is, the genus and specific differences out of which a definition is composed, the causes of motion and rest of a thing. [2] Then from Porphyry, we may also assume, he learned of the question raised as to whether genera and species have substantive existence apart and separable from objects of sense, or whether they have substantive existence in and along with objects of sense, or whether they have no substantive existence at all, but subsist merely in naked mental conceptions. [3] Of these three alternative views, which represent, respectively, the views of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, Mu'ammar, we may further assume, adopted the view of Aristotle which, to him, meant that genera and species, and hence ultimately nature, are real things existing only in bodies and acting from within bodies as the causes of the motion and rest of the bodies in which they exist.

With all this in the back of his mind, Mu'ammar decided, for a

[1] A similar question was also raised by Naẓẓām, who, like Mu'ammar, denied continuous creation and affirmed that things have a nature (cf. my paper "The Controversy over Causality within the Kalam," *Mélanges Alexandre Koyré*, II [1965], 602-618). His answer to the question, as I will show in my work *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, is the theory of *kumūn*.

[2] *Phys.* II, 1, 192b, lines 21-23: "Nature is the principle and cause of motion and rest to that in which it is primarily inherent, essentially and not accidentally;" *ibid.*, 193a, lines 30-31: "Nature is the shape or form which is according to definition"; *ibid.*, 3, 194b, lines 26-27: "Cause is form or shape, that is to say, the definition of the essence and its genera."

[3] *Isagoge*, 1, lines 9-12, ed. Ad. Busse (1888).

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reason soon to be explained, to use the term *ma'nā* for Aristotle's term "nature"; and so *ma'nā* is described by him, after the conception he formed of genera and species, and hence also of nature, as a real being existing in bodies and acting from within bodies as the cause of the motion and rest of the bodies in which it exists. But inasmuch as in kalam the term accidents is used as a description of all the changing events in the world, he added the term accidents, or an enumeration of certain accidents, to Aristotle's terms motion and rest, as those changes occurring in bodies and producing differences between them which are to be explained by the assumption of the existence of a *ma'nā*. Then, by a kind of reasoning like that by which Aristotle arrived at the view that motion and time and the generation of man form an infinite series culminating at an unmoved mover,[1] Mu'ammar arrived at the view that the *ma'ānī* form an infinite series in a body created by an uncreated creator.

This conception of an infinite series of *ma'ānī* in the world would imply a belief in an eternal world after the analogy of Aristotle's conception of an eternal world in which abides the infinite series of motions. As to whether Mu'ammar actually held such a conception of the world, Rāwandī, as quoted by Khaiyāṭ, does indeed testify that Mu'ammar, together with some other Mu'tazilites, held that "it is conceivable that the body [of the world] is in motion from eternity and that its motion is created."[2] Khaiyāṭ himself, however, denies the truth of this testimony.[3] Evidently aware of Khaiyāṭ's denial of Rāwandī's testimony, later authors are cautious about directly attributing to Mu'ammar the belief in the eternity of the world. Thus Baghdādī only argues that the logical inference of Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā* is "the belief in the eternity of accidents —which is heresy,"[4] without actually saying that this was the view of Mu'ammar. Similarly, Ibn Ḥazm only says that "that those who believe in the eternity of the world (*al-dahrīya*) agree with Mu'ammar in asserting the existence of an infinite number of things [namely, *ma'ānī*],"[5] without, again, actually attributing such a view to Mu'ammar.

Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā* is thus an interpretation of Aristotle's

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[1] *Phys.* III, 6; VIII, 5.
[2] *Intiṣār* 7, p. 21, lines 11-12.
[3] *Ibid.*, 7, p. 21, lines 13 ff.
[4] *Farq*, 139, lines 14-18.
[5] *Fiṣal*, IV, 194, line 7.

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theory of nature as the cause of motion and rest with the addition of his identification of nature with form and definition and the genera of a definition and with the further addition of Porphyry's formulation of Aristotle's conception of genera and species as having substantive existence in and along with objects of sense. But why did Mu'ammar use the term *ma'nā*? Why did he not follow Aristotle in using the term "nature" or "form"? The answer to this is quite evident. Neither of these terms carried to the mind of students versed in the philosophic literature of the time the meaning of something that has real existence in the subjects in which they reside. The term nature neither in Plato nor in Aristotle had that meaning, and the Arabic term for form, *ṣūra*, as a translation of the Greek εἶδος or ἰδέα lent itself either to its Platonic meaning or to its Aristotelian meaning. What Mu'ammar needed was an Arabic term which had already established itself as meaning something which has real existence, but a real existence which is in and along with something else. Such a term he found in *ma'nā*. Ever since the rise of the problem of attributes the term *ma'nā*, as a translation of the Greek term πρᾶγμα, "thing," and along with it the term *ṣifa*, as a translation of the Greek term τὸ χαρακτηριστικόν, had been used in the sense of something which had real existence, in that case a real existence which was only in and along with God. [1] It is from the vocabulary of the problem of attributes that Mu'ammar borrowed the term *ma'nā* and used it for his own purpose. As a result of this, the two terms *ṣifa* and *ma'nā*, which had started together on their technical career in Arabic philosophy, parted company and each of them carved out for itself a new career as a technical term. The term *ṣifa* formed part of the expression *aṣḥāb al-ṣifāt*, [2] "partisans of attributes," used as the equivalent of *al-ṣifātīya*, [3] "Attributists," whereas the term *ma'nā* formed part of the expression *aṣḥāb al-ma'ānī*, "partisans of the *ma'ānī*," [4] used as a description of Mu'ammar and those who agreed with him in this particular theory.

Though the term *ma'nā*, as we have tried to show, stands for Aristotle's term "nature" and represents his conception of nature as the cause of motion and rest, still through the identification of "nature" with "definition" and its "genera" in those passages in

[1] Cf. *art. cit.*, p. 673, n. 1 above.
[2] *Maqālāt*, 171, lines 12, 16.
[3] *Milal*, 64, line 5.
[4] *Ibid.*, 46, line 17.

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Aristotle upon which Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā* is based, the theory of *ma'nā* became with Mu'ammar a theory of universals, and hence also of predication. It means that whenever a term is predicated of a subject, that term, being a universal term, tells us that, in some respect, the subject is like other things and, in some respect, it differs from other things, and that consequently, corresponding to that universal predicative term, there exists in the subject a real universal called *ma'nā*, and that *ma'nā* is the cause of the likeness of the subject to other things and its difference from other things.

But here a question arises. Does this theory of predication apply to terms predicated of any subject whatsoever, including God, or are divine predications to be excluded from this theory?

On this we have two conflicting reports.

According to Ash'arī, Mu'ammar held a view with regard to divine predications which is only a modified form of the orthodox Muslim view. His statement reads: "It is reported of Mu'ammar that he said that God is knowing in virtue of knowledge, and that His knowledge is knowledge to Him in virtue of a *ma'nā*, and that there is a *ma'nā* to a *ma'nā* to infinity. And so was also his view with regard to the other attributes." But evidently being in doubt as to the authenticity of the report, Ash'arī adds: "Concerning this I was told by Abū 'Amr al-Furātī in the name of Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Ṣairafī that this is what Mu'ammar said." [1]

According to Baghdādī, however, Mu'ammar "denied the eternal attributes of God, just as the rest of the Mu'tazilites denied them," [2] and similarly, according to Shahrastānī, he was "the greatest" among those who argued for "the remotion of attributes." [3]

This is what seems to me to be the origin and meaning of Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā*. It started as a theory based upon Aristotle's conception of nature as the cause of motion and rest, and it developed into a theory based upon Aristotle's conception of forms as over against Plato's conception of ideas.

Let me now consider two other interpretations, that of Horovitz [4] and that of Horten. [5]

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[1] *Maqālāt*, 168, lines 9-12.

[2] *Farq*, 137, lines 5-6. [3] *Milal*, 46, lines 1-2.

[4] S. Horovitz, *Ueber den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam* (1909), 44-54.

[5] M. Horten, "Die sogenannte Ideenlehre des Muammar," *Archiv für systematische Philosophie*, XV (1909), 469-483; *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam* (1912), 277-278.

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Horovitz finds that Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā* is based sole upon Plato's theory of ideas as represented in *Sophist* 254B-256 We shall reproduce here his arguments in support of his interpretatio and comment upon each of these arguments.

First, basing his interpretation on the reports in Shahrastā Baghdādī, and Ibn Ḥazm, for Khaiyāṭ's *Intiṣār* and Ash'arī's *Maqāl* had not as yet been published, Horovitz takes the terms "motion, "rest," "otherness," "likeness," and "contrariety," used in Shahra tānī's restatement of Mu'ammar's argument for *ma'nā*, to reflect th last four of the terms "being," "motion," "rest," "same" and "other used in the *Sophist* in the argument for ideas.

That Mu'ammar knew the *Sophist* we have shown (compare p. 67 n. 1 above) by his use, in Ash'arī's reproduction of his theory, of th term "genera" as a description of "same" and "difference." But, the same time, we have also shown how his use of the term "diffe ence" rather than the term "other," and how also his use of th plural "genera" in the expression "and other genera," when it followed by only one genus, indicate that what he really had in min was a list of terms enumerated by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*, an that only the designation of these terms as "genera" was borrowe from the *Sophist*. To this list of terms in the *Metaphisycs*, we hav further shown, belong also the terms "otherness," "likeness," an "contrariety" used by Shahrastānī. We have similarly shown a Aristotelian origin for the terms "motion" and "rest" used b Mu'ammar, according to all the restatements of his theory. Finall the use of the term "accidents" in Ash'arī's restatement of Mu'an mar's theory, as well as in later restatements, is definitely of a Aristotelian, and not of a Platonic, origin.

Second, quoting from Shahrastānī the statement that "acciden are infinite in every species," Horovitz takes it to reflect the statemen in *Sophist* 256 E that "in (literally: about) each of the species being many and not-being is infinite in multitude" and interprets the ter "accidents" in Shahrastānī's statement to mean the same as the ter "not-being" in Plato's statement, and this on the basis of a statemen by Maimonides to the effect that, according to kalam, the negatio of an accident is an accident, [1] whence, presumably, Plato's "no being" was changed by Mu'ammar to "accidents."

Perhaps one would have had to resort to this explanation if th

[1] *Moreh Nebukim*, I, 73, Proposition 4.

statement, as phrased by Shahrastāni, had actually been used by Mu'ammar and if, moreover, it had been used by him in addition to, and as something different from, his statement that the *ma'āni* are infinite in number. But, as we have seen, the statement about the infinity of accidents occurs in neither of the two oldest reports of Mu'ammar's theory, namely, those by Khaiyāṭ and Ash'ari. As I have suggested above, the statement about the infinity of accidents both in Shahrastāni and Baghdādi, just as the similar statement in Ṭūsi, represents a later substitution for the original Mu'ammar statement about the infinity of *ma'āni*.

Third, Horovitz takes the expression *aṣḥāb al-ma'āni*, which, according to Shahrastāni, was applied to Mu'ammar and his followers, to reflect the expression of εἰδῶν φίλοι, "the friends of ideas," in *Sophist* 248A.

There is nothing peculiar about *aṣḥāb al-ma'āni* to have to be explained by οἱ εἰδῶν φίλοι, of which, by the way, it is not a literal translation. The use of *aṣḥāb* in combination with some other term as a description of partisans or followers of some theory is common in Arabic, and in Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* there occur seventeen such combinations. [1]

Finally, the problem here is not solely the origin of certain terms or expressions used by Mu'ammar in the exposition of his theory of *ma'nā*; the problem is the origin and meaning of the theory itself. With regard to this, quite definitely, his theory of *ma'nā* is not the same as the theory of ideas in the *Sophist*. *Ma'nā* is represented by Mu'ammar as existing only in bodies; the ideas have an existence apart from bodies—a criticism already raised by Horten against Horovitz' interpretation of the *ma'nā* theory.

Now for Horten's own interpretation of Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā*. He takes it to have been formed under the influence of what he described as the Vaisesika category of inherence in Indian philosophy.

Horten, it may be remarked, while claiming an Indian origin for Mu'ammar's theory, does not claim that any of the terms used by Mu'ammar in the exposition of his theory reflects some term in any of the languages through which the Vaisesika theory could have been transmitted to him. In contradistinction to this, as we have seen, every term used in connection with Mu'ammar's theory can be shown

[1] Cf. Index to *Maqālāt*, 55-56.

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to have come from the Greek. Consequently, unless it is absolutely impossible to explain the theory of *ma'nā* on the basis of a Greek origin, there is no need of resorting to the assumption of an Indian origin.

Since the time of Horovitz and Horten, two other scholars, Tritton and Nader, as far as I know, have dealt with Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā*. Tritton refers to both Horovitz and Horten. The interpretation of Horovitz is dismissed by him as follows: "This is ingenious and meets the case; there is no evidence for it and it must stand on its own merits." [1] The interpretation of Horten is approved of by him as follows: "Indian influence in other branches of knowledge is certain so it is not surprising to find it in philosophy, even if undigested." [2] Nader interprets Mu'ammar's theory of *ma'nā* as a sort of Leibnizian principle of sufficient reason. [3]

[1] A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology* (1947), 101, n. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 100.

[3] Albert N. Nader, *Le Système Philosophique des Mu'tazila* (1956), 208-210, under the chapter heading: "Le Principe de Raison Suffisante."

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