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PREFACE

The present volume contains the second part of selected papers that were presented at the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS) held in Budapest between 1-7 July 1997, and organized by the Csoma de Kőrös Society of Hungarian Orientalists and the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.

The Congress has attracted nearly a thousand scholars from all over the world, whose interests in the Asian and North African area cover a much wider scope of subjects and disciplines than could be dealt with within the limits of *The Arabist.*

The first part of the Proceedings (Vols. 19-20 of *The Arabist*) contained papers on Arabic Linguistics, Literature and History.

This part is devoted to papers dealing with various aspects of Islam, popular religion and culture, Islamic law, the history of Arabic studies, and the history of Islamic art.

From the altogether 28 papers nine treat subjects related to Islam in very different ways. Accordingly, Islam is approached from such dimensions as the history of several notions basic to the understanding of the origins of Islam, interrelationships between Islam and Christianity, the connection between Sufism and linguistics, theology and philosophy and finally Muslim communities outside Dār al-Islām. In addition to these, two papers are expressly concerned with Islamic legal matters.

The section on "Popular religion and culture" is represented by seven papers the majority of which is centred on magic and popular customs while one examines the problems of aesthetics in folk art and another one exposes an important aspect of human life in the light of literary sources.

Contributions about the "History of Arabic Studies" including six papers are related to the main subject of ICANAS, "the state of the art" since they partly review and evaluate the oeuvre and importance of some outstanding figures in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies, partly deal with general questions of a whole period or signal trends.

The four papers under the heading of the "History of Islamic Art" examine different questions of Islamic textiles, metalwork and the life and activities of an eminent Hungarian architect who played a paramount role in the creation of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.

Naturally, this panorama outlined above does not give a complete picture of the many sided work going on in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies but at least it reflects a small segment of it.

Budapest, 23 October 1999 The Editor

I. ISLAM

EARLY ORIGINS OF THE TERM *ŠIRK*: ABOUT AN EQUALITARIAN CONCEPTION DURING THE *ĞĀHILIYYA*

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The present paper is devoted to the origins of the term *širk* within *ğāhilī* and early Islamic conceptual milieu. We shall constrain the scope of the inquiry within this term's evolution as a terminological unit depicting the early islamic view upon certain pre-Islamic concepts of devotion, without proceeding further to its subsequent meanings associated with the advance of Islamic theology and philosophy.

1. The meaning of *širk* within the traditional concept

The holy book of Islam, the Qur'ān, contains many verses that evidently refer to an important world-view category that is depicted either by the term *širk* or by a number of derivatives of the three consonant root *"š-r-k"*. Ancient Arabs are said to have performed *širk*, described as a main point of faith of the early Muslims' precursors:

"Or they shall say: «Certainly, our parents were performing *širk* aforetime»" (Q.7.173)

Early Arab society, or Muḥammad and his followers at least, seem to have been so familiar with the notion of *širk*, that many Qur'ānic passages do not contain any detail out of which one may elicit plausible information about this fascinating phenomenon[1]. Despite the obvious presumption that there was no need to acquaint Muḥammad's audience with a conception ever so embedded in their minds, the Holy Qur'ān is not empty in the least from conceptual patterns that may shed light upon the meaning, yet even genesis, of the term *širk*.

The first and plainly discernible connotation of the term bears an unassailable relation with another crucial early Islamic term: the divine name *Allāh*. In this respect, the Qur'ān states:

"God forgives not *a practice of «širk» in* Him; less than that He forgives to whomsoever He will. Whoso *performs «širk»* in God, has indeed forged a mighty sin"[2]

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[1] If one shall look through the Qur'ānic verses that comprise the derivatives of the root *"š-r-k"*, one should not be at surprise to find that many of these verses introduce the term without any positive implication of clues that may unveil the early content of *"širk"*. Thus, in a number of instances reference is made to *"alladīna ašrakū"*, i. e. "those, who perform *širk*", yet the type of *širk* practice is not expounded, save some caveats about their animosity towards adherents of Islam (cf. Q.2.96; 5.82; 6.88, 107, 148; 22.17).

[2] Q.4.48. This and following translations are taken from Arberry 1983. All words in italics are changed by me. Cf. 16.1-3; 20.31.

The adduced Qur'ānic verse evinces one of the main relational peculiarities of the term *širk* establishing its interaction with the semantic field of Allāh. Furthermore, some of the revelations make an obvious emphasis on an important trait within the meaning of the term, which comes to be related with Allāh not in its own right, but rather through its revealing a connection between Allāh and other objects of devotion in early Islamic Arabia who are called *šurakā'*:

> "And when *those who performed «širk»* behold their *«šurakā'»*, they shall say «Our Lord, these are our *«šurakā'»*, on whom we called apart from Thee" (Q. 16.86; cf. 6.22, 137; 10.28, 66; 13.16; 35.40)

Given that old Arabs were appealing to some objects that are depicted by another derivative of the root *"š-r-k"* — *šurakā'*, one approximates the question: what is the real denotation of this term and, perhaps, what kind of conceptual structures does it refer to. It seems not fortuitous that the Qur'ān affords certain instructive passages that prompt, or even unequivocally state, that those recondite *šurakā'* were, indeed, idols of the heathen era:

> "«Do you indeed testify that there are other gods with God?» Say: «I do not testify» Say: «He is only One God, and I am quit of that *you perform of «širk»*" (6.19; cf. 15.94-96; 27.63; 28.87-88; 52.43; 59.23, obliquely in 11.53-54)

It is significant to point that the idol/Allāh related meaning of *širk* is not the only one within the somewhat prevailing quantity of additional meanings dissipated in the Qur'ān.

The other concepts that function within the semantic field of *širk* bear upon certain pre-Islamic and early Islamic notions that lie notably aloof from the traditional vision of the Arabic heathenism as a system of divine pantheon in which the great bulk of deities is subordinate to one high god, namely, Allāh. Thus, there are Qur'ānic verses that present the frightful desert dwellers, the *ǧinn*, as being bound with the relation of *širk* to Allāh (Q.6.100), and, moreover, the star worship or the solar and lunar cults are premeditated by the Islamic revelation as being a substantial fragment of the *širk* tradition (Q.6.75-79, obliquely in 35.13-14). There is a notable relation too between the *širk* conception and Muḥammad's stance towards the question of Jesus Christ's nature: a problem that was perplexing minds during that age even beyond Christendom (Q.5.72; cf. 5.73; 9.30-31; 17.111; 25.2).

Given that the term *širk* is distinguished for its notional heterogeneity, it may seem mere coincidence that only separate terminological meaning was proclaimed exemplary during the ensuing ages.

One should not immerse into scrupulous source review in order to find how Islamic authors construe the term *širk*. The somewhat later commentator Ibn Kaṯīr (d. 774 A.H.) does not hesitate to contend, while encountering verses where the

meaning of *širk* is not so evident, that the term is but a reference to the pre-Islamic belief in *al-aṣnām*, *al-awṯān* and *al-andād*, all standing for the heathen idols[3].

The traditional Islamic conception of *širk* was easily swallowed by contemporary western scholars. According to W. Björkman, *širk* is the act of "honouring another [deity, P.P.] besides God, polytheism" (Björkman 1913-36: 378). T. Izutsu remarks that "in the Koran the word *ḥanīf* — which is used many times, particularly in the Medinan Sūras — means «monotheist» in a sharp contradistinction to the «polytheists» or «idol-worshippers» (*mušrikīn*)" (Izutsu, T. 1964: 112).

With the meaning of "*poly*-theism" conjectured for the original conception underpinning the terminological unfolding of *širk*, some authors prefer to introduce yet another rendering: "association"[4]. This term's significance stems out of its particular connotation which lends to furnish a clue for understanding the real meaning of the historically neutral and, indeed, typologically inapt to the pre-Islamic era, term "polytheism".

The "association" is, seemingly, ushered in as a complementary unit designed to convey the construction of *širk* as advocated by the Islamic authors; they give emphasis to its implication of the phenomenon of associating other, and by assumption lesser, deities to almighty Allāh, who is said to have been the midpoint of Arabs' faith long before the rise of Islam.

Evidently, the efforts to spell the term *širk* out of its interpretations by the Islamic authors lead to an obvious impasse. It occurs, perhaps, because the other meanings of the term presented by the Qur'ān were easily cast aside; yet because the fundamental relational traits that make the essence of the term *širk* were discounted at all.

2. The relational aspect of the *širk* concept

The analysis of the term *širk* has, up to now, shown that the problematic shift in its meaning increased with the dilatation of the temporal span between the period of its actual inception and any of the ensuing explanative efforts. Therefore the earliest stages of the terminological germination of the term *širk* should be examined as a necessary onset for the proper understanding of its content.

We have already discussed Qur'ānic applications of the term and its derivatives, yet the description based upon the subsequent definitions has omitted the relational side. For the term *širk* implies an important connotation which should become plain

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[3] Ibn Kaṯīr, *Tafsīr* II, 619; cf. the comments on 10.66 (III, 206); 13.16, 33 (III, 332, 345); 27.59 (IV, 357); 28.68 (IV, 395); 35.40 (V, 55).

[4] Björkman 1913-36: 378; Glase 1976: 370; Arberry 1983: 123, 125, 128, 130, (Q.6.19, 41, 64, 78, 80) etc. The same pattern is frequently employed by Kratshkovsky 1990: 118, 120, 122, 124 (Q.6.19, 41, 64, 78, 80) etc.

out of the appropriate Qur'ānic passages. Thus, in many instances Allāh refers in his Book to the pre-Islamic idols with the compound word *šurakā'* i.e. "the *šurakā'* of Mine" (Q.18.52; cf. 16.27; 28.62, 74; 91.47) — a structure that leaves little room for uncertainty that those *šurakā'* have definitely been connected with Allāh.

Moreover, the *širk* relation is not by any chance restricted within the hypothetical divine hierarchy of the pre-Islamic pantheon. There are luminous indications in the Qur'ān that the relation between god and man during the age of *ǧāhiliyya* have been evolving as well under the sway of the *širk* conception. The Islamic revelation speaks about man's *šurakā'* who are designated by the compound *šurakā'ukum* — "the *šurakā'* of yours" (Q.6.22; cf. 10.28), whereupon the notion of relation between god and man is clearly introduced.

With its rich network of connotations, *širk* comes out to be a refined concept of relations between Allāh, the *šurakā'*, and man. It is apparent now that those *šurakā'* have positively been man's idols, who were interrelated with man by the bond of worship; yet they were related with Allāh too, although this relation remains of a rather cryptic nature. Notwithstanding he great significance of the relational quality of the term *širk* having been determinedly established, a question still remains about the intrinsic aspects of this phenomenon. In other words, were the *širk* affiliated sides subordinated as the Islamic authors would prefer to assert, or there was another kind of coherence between man and objects of his faith in a manner consorting to a farther extent with the most intimate traits of the pre-Islamic habit.

It seems, the apposite answers may be found if we look at the beliefs of the pre-Islamic Arabs and the social practices of heathenism, that encompass relations both between the deities themselves and those deities and man.

3. *Širk* and the relation between the heathen deities

At the opening of this section, it is worth evoking once again the traditional postulate that *širk* fundamentally stands for the pre-Islamic type of religion, and, more precisely, it grasps the essence of it as profession of faith in one supreme God, to wit Allāh, with adjoining to him a swarm of less influential deities over whom he was higher in rank. The inception of this vision may be traced back to the sacred utterance that heathen worshippers are said to have been exclaiming during their circumambulation of the *Kaʿba*:

> "We hail Thee, Allāh, we hail Thee. We hail Thee, Thou hast no *šarīk*. Save the *šarīk* who is Thy. Thou holdest him an he does not hold."[5]

The conception of Allāh's supremacy over idols has always been viewed an historically established fact, perfect in its structural cohesion with the pre-Islamic

[5] Ibn Hišām, *Sīra* I, 82; al-Azraqī, *Aḫbār* I, 194; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb* 7; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* X, 450.

cultural phenomena. As a result, no thorough discussion about the relations between the heathen deities was actually undertaken.

Yet, if one ventures to reexamine the primary sources, one should encounter significant cases sufficient to cast distinct light upon a complex of notions, attested up to now rather by the hallowed tradition. These sources contain somewhat scanty, yet quite appreciable, set of facts that can clarify the nature of relation between the heathen deities in pre-Muḥammad Arabia. Moreover, one of the most significant sources out of which one may adjudge upon the matter is the Holy Qur'ān itself. Contrary to the strongly endorsed traditional view, the Qur'ān propounds that *šurakā'* still might have been commensurate with Allāh sharing with him one of the most important divine prerogatives — the potency to create:

> "Say: «Who is the Lord of the heavens and of the earth?» Say: «God.» Say: «Then have you taken unto you others beside Him to be your protectors, even such as have no power to profit or hurt themselves?» Say: «Are the blind and the seeing man equal, or are the shadows and the light equal? Or have they ascribed to God «*šurakā'*», who created as He created, so that creation is all alike to them." (Q. 13.16)

The adduced verse is at obvious variance with the assertion of the Islamic commentators who have been unanimous in their opinion that pagans had not questioned by any means the supremacy of Allāh, while ascribing the creative power solely to him. The verse is rich in vivid metaphors that express the resentment of Islam at the equalization of the *šurakā'* and Allāh, for they are wide apart, as the blind is from the seeing, and any equalization would make the question of creation an altogether shadowy one.

Not only had the *šurakā'* been vested with the potency to create, but they encroached, indeed, upon another domain of activities that seemed reserved for the highest pre-Islamic divine authority: the legislation and promulgation of social habits and customs (Q.42.21).

At this point one approximates the inference that even if the theory of Allāh's supremacy should hold intact, for the sake of its traditional legacy as it may be, Allāh should be deemed at least *primus inter pares* within the huge assembly of pre-Islamic deities.

In many cases, Qur'ānic data may by upheld by non-Qur'ānic sources. One could arrive, for instance; at informative results if one takes over the case of Abraha al-Ašram and his expedition against Mecca sometime around the end of the third quarter of the 6th century A.D. It is known that Abraha, the Abyssinian ruler of Yemen at that time, set forth to destroy the Meccan sanctuary for religious and, perhaps, political reasons. Yet, what is interesting for us is a minute hint touching a detail secondary to the whole story, yet primordial for this analysis. Ibn Hišām relates, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, that when the Abyssinian soldiers encroached on the town of aṭ-Ṭā'if, one of the great cultic centres of the renown heathen goddess *al-Lāt*,

a delegation of local potentates headed by Masʿūd b. Muʿattab came to the Abyssinian commander and held conversation with him. The talks were, without a doubt, about Abraha's expedition and his determination to efface *"the sanctuary that all Arabs have been venerating"* (al-Azraqī, *Aḫbār* I, 132). Contrary to what one might anticipate, if, indeed, a presumption should be made that the *Kaʿba* was at that time *"the hallowed abode of Allāh"*, the highest pre-Islamic deity, the leaders of aṭ-Ṭā'if had not exhibited any sense of cordiality towards the shrine of Mecca, nor had they confronted Abraha's aims in whatsoever manner. They told the Abyssinians that the shrine of *al-Lāt* was not the one they wanted to lay waste, and, what is more, provided them with a skilled guide to alleviate their travel trough the desert[6]

The Qur'ānic content, as well as the extra-Qur'ānic accounts, encompass a lot of detail which entitles us to conjecture in a way that seems least gratuitous that the original make-up of the term *širk* was designed to stand for an intrinsically equalitarian conception of the *inter-divine* relations prior to the rise of Islam. The heathen deities had essentially been commensurate *šurakā'* and no one of them is established to had held exceptional sway over the others. One can observe also that other supernatural beings as *ǧinn* were also deemed a part of the *širk* relation, a belief that indicates that the whole realm of the somewhat heterogeneous pre-Islamic divine fabulization was subdued to the conception of *inter-divine equalitarianism.*

4. *Širk* and the equalitarian association between god and man during the *ǧāhiliyya*

An important question arises in the wake of the analysis of the term *širk* in its *inter-divine* aspect. If one should concede that the *širk* conception is an unambiguous proof of the equality among the pre-Islamic deities, is one, thereupon, entitled to widen the scope of one's assumptions as to make them encompass the divine-human relation. In other words is there any ground for the supposition that god and man during the *ǧāhiliyya* were equal partners as well?

As we have already seen, the relational meaning of *širk* is not confined within the divine realm, for idols are said to had been man's *šurakā'* too. If this relation is, indeed, depicted by the same term, it comes nigh unto mind that it should not differ in its quiddity from that relation. Yet, the speculation must be supported by empirical data in order to be undisputedly attested.

The primary sources contain a plenty of accounts that are relevant to the relation between god and man. Even a perfunctory glance at these accounts would evince certain details, unusual for the monotheistic beholder, of the connection between the idol and his worshippers.

Thus, in his famous "Book of idols", Ibn al-Kalbī relates an illustrious story about the tribal deity a of aṭ-Ṭayy, an idol called Fals. It happened once that a camel be-

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[6] For details see Ibn Hiṣām, *Sīra* I, 48, supra; al-Azraqī, *Aḫbār* 142, supra; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ* II, 132.

longing to a certain woman from Banū Kalb wandered in the desert and finally reached the sacred territory (*ḥarām*) of the idol. The settled tradition in such a case ultimately demanded that the camel be reckoned among the idol's property. Yet, a this time a certain Mālik b. Kulṯūm, a neighbour of that women, pledged to redeem the camel. When the man approached the place, and the priest of Fals knew of his intentions, he naturally tried to abet the deity against the offender. At this point Fals proved unable to unleash his divine vehemence, a trice of hesitation that dangerously curtailed his authority, for the worshippers who had already bestowed consecrations and gifts to the idol are said to have not wavered to have them revoked (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb* 60-61).

Further accounts may be adduced within the same conceptual framework, but the important observation here is that the relation between god and man during the *ǧāhiliyya* — a relation that the Qur'ān depicts by the term *širk* too — had been underlain by an ethical presumption that is at full variance with the later ethos of monotheism. Not only were god and man ontologically equal within the heathen realm; what is more, they were connected with each other by an unwritten covenant that we may call *"širka compact"*. Each of the sides was charged with palpable obligations, and if one man or, in all likelihood, the idol, was to deviate from the terms stipulated in *širka*, the other was considered entitled to recant the covenant.

The *širka* relation between god and man during the *ǧāhiliyya* had a principal flaw. Gravitating to its utmost towards the values of this world (*ḥayāt ad-dunyā*), it was rendering both the *ǧāhilī* individual and the authority of his deity quite vulnerable when exposed to the transitiveness of mundane affairs. It is that very network of values that Muḥammad and the early Muslims have vigorously attacked, after the prophet embarked on his ministry.

There is an instructive account to this effect, related by Ibn Hišām, about two Muslims who set out to desecrate idols in Mecca shortly after Muḥammad's flight to Medina. In one of the cases the two, Muᶜāḏ b. ᶜAmr and Muᶜāḏ b. Ǧabal, insisted on profaning the idol of ᶜAmr b. al-Ǧamūḥ, one of the potentates of Banū Salma clan. Things ended one day with ᶜAmr b. al-Ǧamūḥ finding his idol hanged in a well with a dead dog attached on his neck, whereupon he "knew that his religion was vanity", converted to Islam and said:

> "By Allāh I swear, if thou wert god, thou should not have been in a well with a dog to thee attached" (Ibn Hišām, *Sīra* II, 61-62; Ibn Kaṯīr, *Tafsīr* II, 620)

It is obvious that a tangible proof of the idol's incapability to abide by the terms of *širka* was sufficient to terminate the fragile relation between the *ǧāhilī* worshipper and his deity.

Hence we see that the relation between god and man during the *ǧāhiliyya* was of an equalitarian nature too. Therefore one may safely adjudge that the term *širk* as a twofold terminological unit, depicting the *inter-divine* as well as the *extra-divine*

relation, conveys the equalitarian quiddity of the pre-Islamic world-view, which obviously had not marshalled ontological phenomena in any subordinated levels.

5. Early genesis of the term *širk* within the opposition between Islam and *ǧāhiliyya*

After we have evinced the equalitarian nature of both the *inter-divine* and *extra-divine* relations during the *ǧāhiliyya*, we shall proceed with a succinct review of the genesis of the term *širk*, through which Islam formalized pre-Islamic equalitarian conceptions, crammed them into tangible terminological shape, and opposed them to the Islamic notion of *tawḥīd*: the belief in an authoritarian transcendent God.

Within the steadily developing new conception of God during the early stages of Islam, there was no place for the old pre-Islamic view attaching to god and man proportionate significance. Formally, the notion of the solitary and self-existent God was propounded in its general detail sometimes about the end of the earliest Meccan period of ministration when *Sūrat al-iḫlāṣ* was revealed:

> "Say: He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, Who has not begotten and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one" (Q.112)

Alongside its introducing the notion of the absolute existence of Allāh as a solitary, eternal and uncreated divine being, this short *sūra* propounds a new understanding of what we called the *inter-divine* and *extra-divine* relations during the *ǧāhiliyya*. Most notably Allāh is designated by the phrase "and equal to Him is not any one": a new conception that abolishes the pre-Islamic equalitarian ethos of the relation both amongst the divine phenomena and between them and man. Now there is ontological realm for only one Supreme Being that has not *šurakā'*, nor may be his relation with man based upon the *"širka compact"*.

The use of the term *kufu* — "peer" in *Sūrat al-iḫlāṣ* should be deemed as the earliest appearance of an Islamic endeavour to represent the *ǧāhilī* equalitarianism as a negative conception opposed to a correlative Islamic positive one. Within similar conceptual setting did the term *širk* appear for the very first time:

> "And it is He who originates creation, than brings it back again, and it is very easy for Him. His is the loftiest likeness in the heavens and the earth; He is the All-mighty, the All-wise. He has struck for you a similitude from yourselves; do you have, among that your right hands own [i.e. your slaves, P.P.], *šurakā'* in what We have provided for you so that you are equal in regard to it, you fearing them as you fear each other?..." (Q.30.27-28)

One can adjudge from the context of this example that the main conceptual content of the term essentially represents the *pre-Islamic equalitarianism* as a notion antagonistic to the *Islamic divine authoritarianism*. The main accent of the verse is upon the peerlessness of Allāh, for He cannot be commensurate (*sawā'*) with the presumed *šurakā'*, as no one of the Arabs could imagine a freeman being equal with his slave.

Last but not least, it is worth returning to the inception of this study, where the question has been raised about the appropriateness of the translation of the term *širk* as "polytheism" or "association". It may be safely concluded that the mechanical rendering of the term as "polytheism" shifts the main emphasis of the early Islamic message, whose intrinsic nature represented an opposition to the *ǧāhilī* equalitarianism in the relations both within and beyond the divine realm.

As for the term "association" which is not seldom used to stand for *širk*, it seems more apt with the original equalitarian conception of the *ǧāhiliyya*, although its predominant utilization as a notion complementary to "*poly*-theism" almost effaced its advantages, whereupon one can hardly discriminate it from any irrelevant quantitative connotations.

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THE NOTION OF STONE IN THE QUR'ĀN

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1. Introduction

The ideas, motifs and images of sacred texts have many faces. This feature of the scriptural poetics is well known. The notions, moving from one scripture to another, lose or acquire symbolic connotations. The comparative study of the Bible and the Qur'ān can reveal the stock of common motifs of the three monotheistic religions. The theme of this paper is the Qur'ānic treatment of the two closely related motifs of stone and stoning[1].

2. Statistical Data

Table 1 shows the distribution of the "stone" contexts in the Qur'ān. The chronological division of the *sūras* accepted in this paper is a modification of the classical scheme of Weil-Nöldeke-Blachère-Krachkovsky. The Qur'ānic *sūras* are divided into three groups:

1) Early Meccan *sūras* (= Poetic *sūras*): their main topic is the assertion of the unity of God, or the exposition of the first part of the Muslim *šahāda*: "There is no God except Allāh", their external context is that of the Peninsula, allusions to the Biblical imagery being very scarce;
2) Late Meccan *sūras* (= *raḥmānic* + Prophetic *sūras*): their main topic is the outlining of the new faith in the perspective of the Near Eastern monotheistic tradition, or the exposition of the second part of the *šahāda*: "and Muḥammad is the messenger of God", as well as of the idea of the Qur'ān as the scripture of Islam; their external context is that of the Bible;
3) Medinese *sūras*: their main topic is the exposition of the Muslim Law revealed by Allāh, as well as the assertion of the autonomy of Islam within the previously established historical context.

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[1] The notion of stone in the Bible was the topic of my papers delivered at the conference devoted to the 80th Anniversary of Igor Diakonoff (Moscow, January 1995) and at the 12th World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, July-August 1997). This publication represents the text presented at the 35th ICANAS (Budapest, July 1997). A complete version of my study with necessary references will appear as part of the book about the notion of stone in the Bible and the Qur'ān which I am now writing.

Table 1. The Stone and Stoning in the Qur'ān

	Early Meccan *sūras*	Late Meccan *sūras*	Medinese *sūras*	Total
stoning (*rğm*)	81:25	11:91 15:17, 34 16:98 18:20 19:46 26:116 36:18 38:77 44:20 67:5	3:36	13
killing with stones (*ḥğr*) of clay	105:4	11:83 15:74 51:32-34	8:32	5
water out of stone (*ḥğr*)		7:160	2:60	2
resurrection of stone (*ḥğr*)		17:49-50		1
hearts of stone (*ḥğr*)			2:74	1
stones (*ḥğr*) as fuel in hell			2:24 66:6	2
Total	2	16	6	24

The first observation is that the stone motif in the Qur'ān is not as frequent as in the Bible. The total number of the contexts is 24 which is less than the number of "stone" contexts in the book of Exodus alone (28 occurrences).

The second observation is that most of the contexts occur in the Late Meccan *sūras* (16 contexts) and Medinese *sūras* (6 contexts), or 22 contexts out of 24. The

Early Meccan *sūra*s give only two "stone" context, both having to do with the motif of stoning (81:25; 105:4).

Such a distribution of contexts between the three periods cannot be considered accidental even from the point of view of statistics. This conclusion, which will be confirmed by further analysis, definitely places the Qur'ānic stone motif in the Biblical perspective.

The third observation is that the notion of stoning is prevalent in the Qur'ān (18 out of 24 are close to 80%). It is not unexpected, as the motif of stoning is also frequent in the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch[2], but the treatment of the motif, as will be shown, is different.

3. Stoning in the Qur'ān

The notion of stoning is rendered in the Qur'ān by two ways:

a) by a special verb *rağama* and its derivatives (*rağīm, marğūm, ruğūm*);
b) by verbal phrases with an object complement: the verbs used in such phrases are *amṭara* "to rain" (8:32; 11:82; 15:74), *arsala* (51:32), *ramā* "to throw" (105:4) and the object complement always is the plural form *ḥiğāra* "stones".

Let us begin with the brief exposition of the realization of this motif in the Bible. There are two points where the two scriptures meet.

First, the motif has in the Bible, like in the Qur'ān, two modes of verbal expression:

a) by one of the two special verbs (*rağam* and *ṣağal*) with or without the object complement;
b) by a phrase composed of a verb of general semantics ("to throw", "to kill" and the like) with an obligatory object complement "with stone" or "with stones".

Second, as far as semantics is concerned, the set of variants of the motif is basically the same in the two scriptures, see Table 2.

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[2] In the New Testament it occurs only as a reference to the practice of Judaism which is blamed and rejected (Matthew 23:37; Mark 12;4; Luke 13:34; 20:6; John 8:5; 8:59; 10:32; 10:33; 11:8; Acts 5:26; 7:58; 7:59; 14:5; 14:19; 2 Corinth 11:25; Hebr 11:37; 12:20).

Table 2. The Stoning in the Bible and the Qur'ān

Variant of the motif	The Bible	The Qur'ān	Qur'ānic reference to the Bible
Legal punishment	+	—	
Offence of God's messengers	+	+	+
Direct God's punishment of His enemies	+	+	+
God's curse of the Satan	—	+	+
Use of stones as a weapon	+	—	

3.1. The two first variants of the motif form in the Bible a kind of symbolic opposition as the positive and the negative versions of the same notion. On the one side, the stoning is a legal punishment enforced by men against the sinners in accordance with God's will for several grave sins such as sacrilege, worship of other gods, losing virginity, murder, etc. On the other hand, it is the threat (sometimes realized) to stone the prophet, coming from the unbelievers among the Gentiles, or sinners among the Jewish people, for what they consider to be a sacrilege or another sin, which means a rebellion against God's will.

The opposition between the positive and the negative variant of the motif is neutralized in the New Testament, where the punishment enforced according to the Law turns out to be a violation of God's will[3]. The Qur'ān went a different, though similar, way. Stoning as a legal punishment is never (sic!) mentioned in the text[4]. On the contrary, the motif of the threat of the stoning of a prophet by the people to whom he was sent and who did not believe him and considered his words a blas-

[3] See above, note 2. The most significant passage is John 8.3-11.

[4] We are not dealing here with the problem of *āyat ar-raǧm* which is transmitted through ᶜUmar and is considered one of the Qur'ānic verses which were abrogated (*mansūḫa*) and its contents remained valid for the law, as it is not present in the authorized text of the Qur'ān, see Nöldeke 1970: I, 248-249.

phemy is "amplified" or multiplied. Different peoples and communities, not only the Jews, are shown as practising it. In other words, the Qur'ān omitted the "positive" variant of the Biblical motif and kept its "negative" variant[5]. This fact can explain why one of the Biblical verbs (*raǧam*) occurs in the Qur'ān and the other (*saǧal*) does not, the latter being more closely related to the legal punishment.

The Biblical origin of this variant of the motif was carefully stressed, as three of the six relevant Qur'ānic contexts involve Biblical characters (Moses, Noah, Abraham). The bridge between the two scriptures seems to be the story of Moses and Pharaoh, which can be considered as the starting point of the unfolding of the motif in both of them. The Qur'ānic passage (44:17-20)[6] looks like a direct Biblical reminiscence (Ex 8.25-26)[7].

In general, the process of transformation of Biblical narratives in the Qur'ān aimed at the condensation and typification of them, in order to present them as a series of parables of a unified structure which reflect the circumstances of Muḥammad's own story: "a prophet comes to a people, the people do not accept him, threaten him, but God defends His messenger and punishes the people"[8]. The details which were alien to this scheme were omitted, and the details originally missing but fitting in the scheme were added.

The threat to stone a messenger turned to be in conformity with the pattern and was multiplied, the stories of several other prophets being added, even if this detail was missing from the Biblical text. At the same time, the chronological perspective into which the motif was placed was changed.

In the Bible, the unfolding of the motif moves onwards in time, as Mūsā is the earliest person in connection with whom stoning is mentioned and, consequently, the motif is totally absent from the book of Genesis. On the contrary, the Qur'ān shifted this motif backwards to the time of Biblical patriarchs who lived before Moses. They are Noah/Nūḥ (26:116), Abraham/Ibrāhīm (19:46).

Two other contexts of the group seem to have a Christian colouring and, consequently, move the motif to the time after the Old Testament narrative about the history of the people of Israel. The first is the context (36:18) which is part of the

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[5] The Qur'ānic treatment of stoning as the universal ritual is true to historical facts which show that it was practised all over the Near East from time immemorial. Thus, the Akkadians and the Egyptians used it.

[6] All commentators expressly state that the "noble messenger" was Mūsā.

[7] There is a significant discrepancy between the two versions of the story. Moses in the Bible is a prophet sent to the people of Israel, while Mūsā in the Qur'ān is God's messenger to two nations: the Jews and the Egyptians, the first of them accepting his guidance and the second refusing and being punished.

[8] This is a parable of rejected prophets. There is another parable which depict accepted prophets. Mūsā appears in both types of the Qur'ānic parables about prophets, see Frolov 1995.

story about "the people of the town", *aṣḥāb al-qarya* (36:13-29) who rejected two messengers, later "reinforced with a third", sent to them. All the commentators unanimously identify the town as Antioch and the messengers as Christians and supply various details mostly of a legendary character, see e.g. commentaries of aṭ-Ṭabarī, az-Zamaḫšarī, Ibn Kaṯīr, as-Suyūṭī. Several *tafsīr*s mention Paul in connection with this story. On this basis, I. Krachkovsky, e.g. assumes that this story is a recollection of an episode from Acts 11, 27-30 and 21,10ff, which is part of Paul's travels[9].

The fifth context of the group is the recollection of a Christian story, absent from the Bible, about "the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus", who are called in the Muslim tradition "the People of the Cave" (*aṣḥāb al-kahf*), see 18:20.

The last, sixth context of the group transfers the motif of stoning the prophet by unbelievers into the setting of the Arabian Peninsula, and makes it part of one of the Qur'ānic versions of the story of Šuʿayb, who was sent to the inhabitants of Maydan, see 11:91. It is significant in this relation that the Qur'ān establishes the link between this Arabian prophet and the Biblical ones by saying that Šuʿayb came after Nūḥ, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Lūṭ, see 11:89. Later commentators identified Šuʿayb, though without sufficient evidence, as the Old Testament Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses who lived in Maydan[10].

To sum up the analysis of this variant of the motif, always expressed by the verb *raǧama*, we can state that stoning is show as a habit known in Arabia before Islam which has a Biblical origin, and is more or less universally widespread in the Near East. The assertion of the Biblical origin of the motif goes side by side with another tendency: to place all the instances of the stoning either before the Exodus or after destruction of the Second Temple, in other words, to alienate the motif from the history of the people of Israel, with which it is closely related in the Bible.

3.2. The third Biblical variant of the motif represents the direct intervention of God in the course of events on side of the true believers, when He throws stones from the sky at His enemies or the enemies of Israel, see Joshua 10,11: And it came to pass, as they (= the Amorites) fled from Israel... that the Lord cast down great stones (*wa-ha-šem hišlich ʿaleyhem abanim gdolot*) from heaven upon them unto

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[9] The identification of this episode still remains somewhat uncertain, as several important details, missing from the Acts story, such as the changing number of messengers, the intercession of a man from the far side of the town, *raǧulun min aqṣā al-madīna* (36:20), the annihilation of the city by a single shout, *ṣayḥa wāḥida* (36:29), fit well the Old Testament story about the appearance of the Lord before Abraham in Mamre in the form of three angels, two of whom later went to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah, see Genesis, chs. 18 and 19.

[10] It can be added that Šuʿayb is regularly mentioned in the Qur'ān side by side with Lūṭ with whom he is closely associated.

Azekah, and they died: they were more who died with hailstones (*abney ha-barad*) than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword[11].

The great stones which God throws from the sky can easily be identified with falling or shooting stars, cf. the passage from the song of Deborah (Jud 5,20)[12].

The same motif can be found in the Qur'ān and is represented, as Table 1 shows, by five contexts. Three of them are parts of different Qur'ānic versions of the story of Abraham and Lot:

11:82-83: So when Our command came, We turned it upside down and rained on it stones of clay (*ḥiǧāra min siǧǧīl*), one on another (*manḍūd*), marked with thy Lord (*musawwama ʿinda rabbika*).

Cf. also 15:74.

51:32-34: They said: "We have been sent to a people of sinners to loose upon them stones of clay (*ḥiǧāra min ṭīn*) marked with thy Lord for the prodigal (*musawwama ʿinda rabbika li-l-musrifīn*).

The other two are connected with the story of Muḥammad:

105:3-4: (The story of the expedition of Abraha[13]) Did He not foil their stratagem and send against them flocks of birds which pelted them with stones of clay (*ḥiǧāra min siǧǧīl*)[14].

8:32: And when they said: "O God, if this be indeed the truth from Thee, then rain down upon us stones out of heaven (*ḥiǧāra min as-samā'*).

The Medieval commentaries also add the sixth context, taken from the story of Šuʿayb, although the word "stone" does not occur in it, see 26:187[15].

This motif, like the previous one, is placed in the Biblical setting, but some aspects are different. First, the direct link between the two scriptures in the form of an almost literally repeated passage is missing. Second, the important Qur'ānic detail, "stones of clay", absent from the relevant Biblical passage (Joshua 10,11), seems to be of a non-Biblical origin.

The opposition of stone as God's chosen matter which is the link between God and man, and clay as matter rejected by God as unfit for this role, is significant for the Biblical message, see the story of the tower of Babel (Gen 11,3); and the motif of

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[11] Cf. also the Deuterocanonical book of Jesus Son of Sirach 46,7.

[12] The same image of the shooting star appears in the apocalyptic visions in the Deuterocanonical 2 Esdras book, see 2 Esd 15,39-44; and the New Testament, see Mt 24,29; Mk 13,25; Rev 6,13; 8,10.

[13] The expedition against Mecca is dated 570 C.E., which is considered the year of Muḥammad's birth.

[14] It is noteworthy that birds as tools of God's wrath are mentioned only in this context, which is, accidentally, the earliest one.

[15] The word *kasf* "lump" in this context was explained by the commentators as part (*qiṭʿa*) of the sky, or its side (*ǧānib*), or simply a punishment (*ʿaḏāb*) from the sky.

"stones of clay" which invalidate the opposition seems to be incompatible with Biblical symbolism.

The word *siǧǧīl* (11:82-83; 15:74; 105:3-4), interchangeable with *ṭīn* (51:32-34), is interpreted by *mufassirīn* as a Persian (Pahlavi) loan-word synonymous with *ṭīn*[16] and the phrase "stones of clay" is explained either as dried clay which became hard as stone or as baked clay (= brick), see Ibn Kaṯīr,. commentary to 11:82-83.

The important feature of these "stones of clay", repeated twice (11:82-83; 51:32-34), is that they are marked (*musawwama*) by the Lord. The commentators are unanimous in their interpretation of this detail. They say that each stone bore the name of the person whom it was going to kill.

In a search of the origin of this detail we must turn eastward to the direction of Mesopotamia and Persia, not westward to the direction of Egypt and Palestine. Since Biblical times, Mesopotamia has been opposed to Egypt as the land of clay to the land of stone[17]. Up to present time, the Shumerians and Akkadians are associated first of all with clay tablets with words written on them. There is evidence that the ritual killing with stone seals which had inscriptions on them was practised in Mesopotamia very early[18].

This variant of the motif looks like an example of the "amalgamation" of heterogeneous. Biblical and non-Biblical, elements, which has a definite Muslim colouring. The resulting motif is once more consciously implanted into the Biblical context. The expansion of the motif is achieved in a way similar to the motif of stoning prophets. Again, the motif is simultaneously shifted from the story of Exodus, where it is located in the Bible, backwards to the time of Abraham, Lot (and Šuʿayb), and forwards, into the time of Muḥammad himself. Once more the direct link between the pre-Exodus time and post-Exodus time is established, which is in complete accordance with the historical perspective set up in the Qur'ān where the Islamic faith is

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[16] They mention that the word can also be pronounced as *siǧǧīn* with the same meaning.

[17] One of the main commentators of the Bible in the Jewish traditian, Rashi, comments on the passage (Gen 11,3) by saying: "they used bricks because there was no stone in that land (= Babel)". Cf. passage (Jer 43.8-11) where the opposition of clay as the symbol of Mesopotamia and stone as symbol of Egypt can be discerned: "Then came the word of the Lord unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, [9] Take great stones in thine hand and hide them in the clay in the brickkiln, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes, in the sight of the men of Judah. [10] And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will set his throne upon these stones that I have hid; and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them. [11] And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt...". Cf. also (Dan 2.32-45) where Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream about the stone which smate the image whose feet were part of iron and part of clay.

[18] I thank my colleague Galina Kalinina who brought my attention to the story about the death of Rimush, successor of Sargon of Akkad (2316-2261 B.C.E.), who was killed by plotters with the help of such seals.

depicted as the direct successor of the faith of Abraham which was "neither Judaism, nor Christianity".

3.3. The idea of shooting stars as means of God's punishment is also present in the Qur'ān, only the object of this punishment are the Satan (*Iblīs, Šayṭān*) and demons (*šayāṭīn*), see 67:5:

And We adorned the lower heaven with lamps, and made them things to stone Satans (*ruǧūman li-š-šayāṭīn*). (Cf. also 15:17.)

This idea is the origin of the original, definitely non-Biblical variant of the motif of stoning, which gave the most widespread Muslim epithet of the Satan, *raǧīm* "accursed" or "being stoned", according to the commentators, which is reflected in the ritual of Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.

The motif of the stoning of the Satan and his servants, demons or devils (*šayāṭīn*) is represented by seven Late Meccan and Medinese contexts (3:36; 15:17; 15:34; 16:98; 38:77; 67:5; 81:25)[19].

Once more the motif, which does not occur in the Bible, is consciously placed into a significant Biblical context, the story of the creation of the world and the human race, which originally does not contain any trace of the motif of stoning. The Qur'ānic version of this story contains an episode when Iblīs refused to bow before Adam, and was cursed and sent into exile[20]. The story of the creation of man, told three times in the Qur'ān (*sūras* 2, 15, 38), contains the relevant motif twice:

15:33-34: Said he (=Iblīs): "I would never bow myself before a mortal whom Thou hast created of a clay of mud moulded". [34] Said He: "Then go thou forth hence: thou art accursed (*raǧīm*). [35] Upon thee will rest the curse (*laʿna*), till the Day of Doom"[21].

C.f. the same wording of the motif in 38:77-78.

At the same time, the motif is moved onwards to the times of the origin of the Christian faith, and is implanted into the story of the birth of John the Baptist which originally does not contain the motif of stoning, see 3:36.

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[19] The only context which occurs in the Early Meccan *sūra* is 81:25 but the passage does not look like an early one. Krachkovsky in his commentary states that many scholars consider it as late and related to *sūra* 53 which is on the border between the Early Meccan and Late Meccan periods. Bell considers verses 81:15-29 a result of a Medinese redaction aimed at the co-ordinatian of this passage with *sūra* 53.

[20] This story contains a very significant detail. The Satan *was stoned* because he, being made ot fire, refused to bow before Man created of *clay*, see: 38:76. The Qur'ānic passage comes close to the idea expressed in the New Testament that there is no chosen material as such, like there is no people chosen for all the times; only this idea is related to the notion of stone in the New Testament, see Matt 3.9; while in the Qur'ān it is related to the notion of clay.

[21] The occurrence of *raǧīm* and *laʿna* in the same context strengthen the position of those Muslim commentators and European scholars who interpret these words as synonyms, like Arberry did in the passage we cited.

Further on, the motif of stoning the Satan, like the previous one, is moved until it reaches the time of Muḥammad and is related to the Qur'ān:

16:98: When thou recitest the Koran, seek refuge in God from the accursed (*raǧīm*) Satan.

81:25: And it (= the Qur'ān) is not the word of an accursed (*raǧīm*) Satan.

We can conclude that for a Muslim who reads the Qur'ān, this motif, which has a non-Biblical origin, appears as being related to the history of both Judaism and Christianity and to the Old as well as New Testament. The Qur'ānic innovation is presented as a continuation of the scriptural tradition of Near Eastern monotheism. Once more we see the tendency to achieve a synthesis of Biblical and non-Biblical elements accompanied by a conscious reinterpretation and transformation of the symbols involved[22].

3.4. Table 2 allows us to visualize the two-fold strategy of shaping up the Qur'ānic version of the motif of stoning as part of the Qur'ānic message as a whole.

First, the set of chosen variants of the motif, related to the Biblical imagery or to non-Biblical sources, shows that the motif is given a bi-polar structure. On the one side, the stoning is the result of the disobedience of God's will and is directed against His messengers. On the other side, the stoning is God's direct punishment of His enemies, be it man or devil. The opposition can also be traced in the Bible but the Qur'ān lays special accent on it by omitting everything which might shade it or make it less sharp and evident.

Second, the motif taken as a whole is an example of the creative synthesis of heterogenous, Biblical and non-Biblical, elements, but all variants of the motif, even those not attested in the Bible, are placed into the Biblical context. At the same time, significant temporal shifts were achieved, either backwards to the pre-Exodus times where the story of Abraham is the centre of the motif, or onwards to the times of the birth of the Christian faith, or to the "present time" of the Qur'ān, the time of Muḥammad himself.

As a result we get not a disordered set of contexts unrelated to each other, but a complex and unified motif which is an organic part of the teaching of Islam.

4. The Stone in the Qur'ān

Table 1 shows that the motif of stone as a substantive is only represented in the Qur'ān by six contexts, four of which are found in the Medinese *sūras*. In fact, the range turns even narrower, as three contexts come from the second *sūra* (2:24; 2:60; 2:74) and two others are almost literal repetitions of the images taken from this *sūra*

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[22] The fourth Biblical variant of the motif of stoning, frequent in the Bible, though not in the Pentateuch, is the use of stone as a weapon in a fight (Num 35,17 and 23) or war with the help of a sling, see e.g. Jud 20,16; 1 Sam 17,49-50 or "engines of war to throw fire and stones", see 1 Macc 6.51. This variant is not represented in the Qur'ānic text at all, see Table 2.

(7:160; 66:6)[23]. The only context which is not directly connected with this compact group is (17:50)[24].

Such a distribution of contexts directs our attention to the possibility of the existence of a common semantic dominant for the whole group. Indeed, such a common idea does exist. It is the conventional character of the opposition between life and death, between what is alive and what is dead, of the possibility of transgression across the border between the two extremes at the Lord's will and depending on the attitude of a creature towards its Creator.

The key-note is given by two contexts which are recollections of a well-known Biblical episode, when Moses struck the rock with his rod and water sprang from it, see Ex 17,5-6; Num 20,10-11:

2:60: And when Mūsā sought water for his people, so We said: "Strike with thy staff the stone (*ḥağar*)"[25], and there gushed forth from it twelve fountains, and all the people knew now their drinking-place[26].

The Qur'ānic story is placed in the same outer context as in the Bible, that of the wanderings in the desert. There is a significant substitution of the Biblical "rock" (*tzor* or *ṣelaʿ*) by the Qur'ānic "stone" (*ḥağar*), which makes more evident the opposition of stone as dead matter and water as matter which gives life, equally important also for the Old and the New Testament.

Medieval Muslim commentators have much to say about this stone of Mūsā. They supply colourful details, e.g. that the stone was a cube form and three fountains sprang from each side of it, or that it had the form of a bull's head and was carried on a bull (or a donkey) in order to get water from it each time the people stopped for rest, or that it was in the form of man's head and was brought down by Adam from Eden, and was passed down afterwards from generation to generation until it reached Šuʿayb (sic!) and then Mūsā, etc.

There is the third context which is also placed within Mūsā's story, which makes the opposition of alive and dead, and the possibility of their changing places because of the fear of God or the lack of it, even more clear. This context, which contains

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[23] The contrast between the Late Meccan period and the Medinese period as far as the stone motif is concerned is best exemplified by the comparison of the two *sūra*s where there is more than one "stone" context. The Late Meccan *sūra "al-Ḥiğr"* contains three stone contexts (15:17; 15:34; 15:74), and all of them are representations of the different variants of the motif of stoning. On the contrary, not a single context of the three occurrences found in the *sūra* "The Cow" is a realization of the motif of stoning.

[24] The existence of this compact group of contexts tied by the notion of stone has been noticed by Muslim commentators who were careful enough to mention the existing relations between them, see Ibn Kaṯīr's commentary of the relevant passages.

[25] The word *ḥağar* is used in the singular only in these two Qur'ānic contexts.

[26] Cf. also 7:160. The theme of the twelve fountains is barrowed from another context, see Ex 15,27: "And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water... and they encamped there by the waters".

the motif of hearts of stone, includes a recollection of the water coming out of the stone:

2:74: Then your hearts became hardened thereafter and are like stones, or even yet harder: for there are stones from which rivers come gushing, and others split, so that water issues from them, and others crush down in the fear of God.

The motif of hearts of stone is also attested in the Bible, though the combination of the two motifs in one context is definitely Qur'ānic. Cf. e.g.: 1 Sam 25,37; Job 41,24: Ez 11,19; Ez 36,26; Zecharia 7,12.

Two other contexts also vary the theme of the neutralization of the opposition of dead and alive at God's will:

2:24: (after the request to bring a *sūra* like the Qur'ān) And if you do not — and you will not —, then fear the Fire, whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for unbelievers.

66:6: Believers, guard yourselves and your families against a Fire whose fuel is men and stones...[27]

This motif might also be a recollection of the Biblical passage, though the symbolic meaning is changed. We mean the passage (1 Ring 18,31-38).

The sixth context also continues the theme of the dead brought back to life at the Lord's will, or the theme of resurrection:

17:49-51: They say: "What, when we are bones and broken bits, shall we really be raised up again in a new creation?" [50] Say: "Let you be stones, or iron, [51] or some creation yet more monstrous in your minds!". Then they will say: "Who will bring us back?" Say: "He who originated you the first time".

This last context also seems to be a recollection (and reinterpretation) of the Biblical image, attested both in the Old and the New Testaments:

Nehemiah 4.2: (the Samaritans said when they heard that the Jews were rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem) What do these feeble Jews?... will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burnt[28]?

Matt 3.9: (words of John the Baptist addressed to the Jews and already mentioned above) And think not to say within yourselves. We have Abraham to our father, for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham[29].

Once more we see the same method of the conscious assimilation of motifs and images of the earlier scriptures. Various themes are combined, condensed and reinterpreted, and, as a result, there emerges a binary opposition of the alive and the dead,

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[27] The stones in these contexts are most often interpreted by commentators as idols, see, e.g. *Tafsīr al-Ǧalālayn*.

[28] Note the implicit idea the stones were burnt also.

[29] Cf. the literal repetition in Lk 3,8.

which presupposes the possibility of each polar concept to turn into its opposite. This is characteristic of the *dialeqtique antinomique* of Arabic thought about which L. Massignon was speaking so much.

The notion of stone in its Qur'ānic interpretation turns into an important element of the Muslim conception of the relation of God to the World which He had created. Its foundations were laid down in the Qur'ān, and its further development in the history of Islamic thought brought forth the atomistic theory of *kalām* and the fatalistic outlook on history.

5. Summary

1) The set of "stone" contexts is characterized by the high degree of order, and represents a semantic field built upon the principle of binary oppositions which establish stoning as the means of solving the conflict between the Creator and its creatures and stress the conventional, not absolute character of the opposition of life and death in the eyes of facing the Lord. Two oppositions of the first order are subdivided into a number of secondary motifs combined together by associations.

2) The "stone" theme in the Qur'ān appears as a direct recollection of the Biblical texts, where images and motifs from the New Testament are superimposed upon the images of the Old Testament, with the addition of non-Biblical, Arabian and Mesopotamian, matter.

3) The true originality of the Qur'ānic message becomes visible when we analyze the process of combination and reinterpretation of the heterogeneous elements. The Qur'ānic poetics is in conformity with the thesis, repeated many times in the Qur'ānic text itself, that the new revelation is a "recollection" (*ḏikr*) of what has been revealed before.

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A ḤANBALĪ CRITIQUE OF ANTHROPOMORPHISM

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Our understanding of Ḥanbalism has undergone something of a revolution over the past half century thanks in part to the discovery and publication of new sources (bearing on the history of the school) and, in part, to advances in scholarship (represented in the work of H. Laoust, G. Makdisi and others). In contrast to the older view of Ḥanbalism, reflected in 19th century scholarship and based to a large extent on non-Ḥanbalī and frequently anti-Ḥanbalī sources, the school that has emerged, especially in the scholarship of the last several decades, is one characterized by significant diversity and, moreover, a school that continued to evolve throughout the medieval period. It is now clear that one of the hallmarks of medieval Ḥanbalism was precisely its diversity — including differences over a range of questions both juridical and theological.

In the remainder of this paper, I would like to focus on a hitherto unpublished work from the 12th century that not only confirms this diversity but suggests that intellectual differences within the school may well have run deeper than anyone has so far suspected. The work in question, Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Kitāb Aḫbār aṣ-ṣifāt*[1], is a vigorous critique of anthropomorphist tendencies within the Ḥanbalī school, and an equally vigorous defense of *ta'wīl* (metaphorical exegesis)[2] as the most effective antidote to these tendencies. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, the author of this work, was himself a Ḥanbalī[3].

The only surviving copy of the work, which belongs to the Sehid Ali Pasha Collection in Istanbul (MS. no. 1561), consists of 42 folios including a title page and a

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[1] For the sake of economy, I shall henceforth refer to the work simply as *Aḫbār*. I am presently engaged in preparing a critical edition of the Arabic text along with a translation and study of the work — which I hope to publish in the near future. The occasional reference to paragraph numbers in the notes that follow are to my critical edition of the Arabic text.

[2] An admittedly loose rendering of the term. Among the terms used most commonly in *Aḫbār* to refer to tropical language — i.e., the language for which *ta'wīl* is appropriate — are *maǧāz* and *istiʿāra*.

[3] He was born around 510 A.H. (A.D. 1116) and died on the 7th of Ramaḍān 597 (June 11, 1201). A convenient listing of the chief sources on Ibn al-Ǧawzī's life can be found in Kaḥḥāla, n.d.: V–VI. 157-158. For a brief but valuable account of his life, see the article on him by Laoust 1972; as well as his remarks in Laoust 1959; for a more detailed treatment, see Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Quṣṣāṣ* 15–38. Since the publication of these works a number of new studies on various facets of his life and work have appeared, among them *Miṣbāḥ* 17–39; and the important study by Hartmann 1986: 51–115. For a somewhat more popular treatment, see the short but interesting work by ʿAlī 1988.

colophon[4]. From all appearances, the manuscript is complete, and the internal evi dence points clearly to a Ǧawzian authorship[5]. Though I cannot get into a discussior of the date of the work's composition here, the internal evidence suggests that it wa: written sometime between 570/1174 and 590/1193, i.e., sometime during the last 2(years of Ibn al-Ǧawzī's public life[6].

It is difficult to classify the work in relation to the standard religious genres of the time. On the one hand, it is an intensely polemical work directed against three fellow Ḥanbalīs: Ibn Ḥāmid[7], Abū Yaʿlā[8] and Ibn Zāġūnī[9] — men whom Ibn al-Ǧawzī

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[4] Though the name of the copyist is not given, the copy appears to have been made in Damascus, and the copying, according to the colophon, was completed on the 17th of Raǧab in 890 (July 30, 1485). It is clear from the colophon that the genealogy of the manuscript consisted of several generations of manuscripts and that the oldest copy in this series was made by a certain Nūr ad-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ǧamāl ad-Dīn b. ʿAbdallāh aš-Šāfiʿī, a student of Šams ad-Dīn al-Muḥaddiṯ aš-Šāfiʿī, both of Damascus and possibly younger contemporaries of Ibn al-Ǧawzī.

[5] As it turns out, *Aḫbār* is a longer version of another of Ibn al-Ǧawzī's work, his *Dafʿ*. For reasons that are not entirely clear, *Dafʿ* has so far not attracted much attention from the scholarly community either in the West or in the Muslim world despite its publication already in 1926.

[6] He retired from public life in 590/1193, not willingly, of course, since in the summer of that year he was arrested and taken to Wāsiṭ where he remained under house arrest until the month of Šaʿbān 595/ June 1199. If *Aḫbār* was indeed written during the twenty-year period I have suggested, I am inclined toward a later rather than an earlier date, perhaps sometime in the 580s (i.e., between 1184 and 1193).

[7] Ḥasan b. Ḥāmid b. ʿAlī Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Warrāq (d. 403/1012), one of the most influential figures within the Ḥanbalī school of Baġdād during the first half of the Būyid period. Among the more important sources on Ibn Ḥāmid and his influence within the Ḥanbalī school, see Abū Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 171-177; al-Ḫaṭīb, *Tārīḫ Baġdād* VII, 303; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt* III, 166–67; Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya* XI, 373; Šaṭṭī, *Muḫtaṣar* 26; Ibn Badrān, *Madḫal* 206; and Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* IX, 242. For additional sources, see Sezgin 1967-84: I, 515; Laoust 1972; and Makdisi 1963: 227–232.

[8] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Farrāʾ, known to his contemporaries as Abū Yaʿlā or simply the *Qāḍī*, was born 380/990 and died in 458/14 August 1066. A man of immense learning and a prolific writer, Abū Yaʿlā was a complex and controversial figure. Ibn al-Ǧawzī was not the first to accuse him of anthropomorphist sympathies. Ibn al-Aṯīr reports that Abū Muḥammad at-Tamīmī, an important Ḥanbalī of the period, was deeply offended by the views of Abū Yaʿlā on the question of the *ṣifāt* (*Kāmil* X. 52). Judging from references in medieval sources (cf. *Kāmil* IX. 460), it is quite likely that the work by Abū Yaʿlā which occasioned the anthropomorphist charges brought against him was his *Ibṭāl at-taʾwīlāt li-aḫbār aṣ-ṣifāt*, sometimes referred to simply as *Kitāb aṣ-ṣifāt*, and its shorter version *Muḫtaṣar ibṭāl at-taʾwīlāt*. Unfortunately, these works have not survived, but we do have fragments of them quoted in other works. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā cites several lengthy passages from the *Ibṭāl* in *Ṭabaqāt* (II, 211–212) as does Ibn Taymiyya (e.g., *ʿAqīda*, 454–455), and others. It seems likely that the unnamed work which Ibn al-Ǧawzī has in mind in *Aḫbār* when he criticizes Abū Yaʿlā is the *Ibṭāl*. — In addition to the references cited above, see the notice in Abū Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 193–230 (where Abū Yaʿlā is presented in a sympathetic light); also Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Muntaẓam* VIII, 243–244; as well as his *Manāqib*, 520–521; al-Ḫaṭīb, *Tārīḫ Baġdād* II, 256; Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya* XII, 101; Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* X, 52; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt* III, 306-307; Brockelmann 1937–42: I. 502; Suppl. I. 686; Laoust 1972b: 765–766; Makdisi 1963: 232–234 (and index); and, above all, Abū Yaʿlā's *Muʿtamad*. For an interesting perspective on Abū Yaʿlā and the intellectual evolution of medieval Ḥanbalism, see Gimaret 1977: 157–178.

regards as champions of anthropomorphism and whom he accuses of leading the school away from its original teachings in the direction of an anthropomorphist outlook[10]. The views of his opponents are detailed at length in the work and rebutted. It is also clear, however, that in some respects *Aḫbār* is a *kalām*[11] style work, in the sense that it accepts most, if not all, of the operative assumptions of the *mutakallimūn*[12]. At the same time, *Aḫbār* was clearly not meant to be a manual on *kalām* comparable to the *Muʿtamad* of Abū Yaʿlā, for example, or the works of the great Aš^ʿarite and Muʿtazilite theologians of the 10th and 11th centuries, but it does assume *kalām* as its frame of reference, and many of the arguments employed in the work come straight out of medieval works on *kalām*[13].

The main body of *Aḫbār* is divided into two major parts:

1) In the first part (consisting of 11 folios) Ibn al-Ǧawzī sets forth a theory of knowledge (an epistemology) and lays out the general lines of his argument against anthropomorphism (*tašbīh/taǧsīm*). He argues consistently in this part (as he does throughout the work, in fact) that matters having to do with God's existence (*wuǧūd*), his essence (*ḏāt*) and his attributes (*ṣifāt*) must rest on peremptory evidence (*adilla qaṭʿiyya*), of which there are two kinds:

(a) the evidence supplied by reason (*ʿaql*) and

(b) the evidence contained in revelation.

Of these two, the evidence of reason enjoys a privileged position: it is the necessary starting-point for the establishment of God's existence, and it must be one's principal

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[9] ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Naṣr b. as-Sarī Abū l-Ḥasan b. Zāǧūnī (d. 527/1132), one of the most influential members of the school during the latter part of the 5th century (Makdisi 1963: 227). For a fuller account of this interesting figure, see especially the biographical notices on him in Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* X, 32; Ibn Raǧab, *Ḏayl* I, 180–184; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt* IV, 80–81; Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya* XII, 220; aš-Šaṭṭī, *Muḫtaṣar* 32; Makdisi 1963: 265–267, where a full list of sources may be found. For an interesting report on Ibn al-Ǧawzī's early study of *ḥadīṯ* under Ibn Zāǧūnī, see Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Mašyaḫa*, 79–80 (cf. his *Manāqib* 529).

[10] The three Ḥanbalīs singled out as the chief advocates of anthropomorphism within the school were men who in many ways dominated 11th-century Ḥanbalism. They were the authors of numerous works on law and theology, and it was precisely because they had aired their "anthropomorphist" views in their writings that they were partly, if not largely, responsible in Ibn al-Ǧawzī's view for the widespread perception that Ḥanbalis were *ipso facto* anthropomorphists.

[11] A technical term used in medieval sources to refer to the kind of theology done by the professional theologians *(mutakallimūn)*. Following J. van Ess and A. I. Sabra, the term is commonly rendered "dialectical theology" since its literary form presupposed the give-and-take of academic disputation. See especially van Ess 1976: 23–30; and Sabra 1994: 1–42.

[12] He accepted their understanding of reason, their cosmology, their view of God and their style of argumentation.

[13] These two features of the work (its polemical character and its *kalām* orientation) are blended in such a way so as to produce an integrated perspective.

guide in deciphering the meaning of scripture. Since the authority of revelation rests on the prior establishment of God's existence — through the proofs provided by reason — it is only at a secondary stage that revelation comes into play. However, even then the use of revelation in establishing the divine attributes is a complicated and delicate matter, and ultimately depends on a correct "reading" of the text — or, as we would say, on an adequate hermeneutic.

While the traditions of the Prophet (the *ḥadīṯ)* fall into the general category of revelation (along with the Quran), they have to be used with greater care because one cannot assume *a priori* that all *ḥadīṯs* are authentic. A critical analysis of the *ḥadīṯ* is therefore inescapable[14]. Ibn al-Ǧawzī's general operating principle is that only those traditions that rest on multiple authorities (i.e., those that are *mutawātir)* can be used to establish a divine attribute[15].

The other major issue taken up in part I is the question of *taqlīd* — which I shall return to later in the paper.

2) The second part of *Aḫbār*, which consists of 31 folios and represents the main body of the work, is devoted to an exegetical examination of a series of texts from the Quran and the *ḥadīṯ* which, according to Ibn al-Ǧawzī, had been used by his fellow Ḥanbalīs in defending their anthropomorphist views. It is in this part of the work that he details the charges against his Ḥanbalī colleagues. The two terms that he uses to characterize their views are *tašbīh* and *taǧsīm.* Although Ibn al-Ǧawzī does sometimes differentiate between the two terms, he frequently uses them interchangeably[16]. As used in *Aḫbār*, they mean taking finite bodies and, in particular, the human form (*ṣūra*), as the basis for conceiving the divine attributes — in short, conceiving the attributes in corporeal terms. In an effort to spell out the specifics of the charge against the three Ḥanbalīs, Ibn al-Ǧawzī quotes frequently, and sometimes at length, from their writings[17]. In the passages which he cites, his opponents are portrayed as ascribing to God a human-like form (*ṣūra*) consisting of numerous members: a face, eyes, a mouth, hands[18], thighs, feet, a front, a back, etc., etc. Moreover, they claim that each of these members constitutes an attribute (*ṣifa*) corresponding to something specific and real in the being of God. Consistent with this line of

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[14] In general, it can be said, Ibn al-Ǧawzī's analysis of the *ḥadīṯ* focused, primarily on the *isnād,* but he does not hesitate to scrutinize the *matn* when he believes it wananted. On the details of his approach to problematic *ḥadīṯ,* see especially his *Mawḍūʿāt* I, 29–104; and *ʿIlal.*

[15] Traditions that rest on a single authority (i.e., those labeled *āḥād*) are systematically set aside.

[16] Or, more precisely, he tends to assimilate *tašbīh* to *taǧsīm.*

[17] Unfortunately, he does not generally give the titles of the works of Ḥanbalīs from which he quotes. He does mention the *Muʿtamad* of Abū Yaʿlā, but this is an exception. We are thus left to speculate as to which of their writings Ibn al-Ǧawzī has in mind.

[18] Both of wich are "right" (*yamīn*).

reasoning, they maintain that God can both touch and be touched; that he occupies particular places (*amākin*) at particular points in time, that his existence in space (*taḥayyuz*) is defined by a particular orientation (*ǧiha*), and finally, that God's movements are spatially defined, i.e., they entail movement (*taḥarraka*) from one place to another. Throughout *Aḫbār*, Ibn al-Ǧawzī argues that the anthropomorphism of his opponents is problematic for a number of reasons which he details at some length. But the two criticisms he reiterates most often against anthropomorphism is that

1) it relies on a literalistic method (*ẓāhir*) of interpreting scripture (i.e., its rests on a flawed hermeneutic), *and*

2) it shows excessive and uncritical deference to the views of earlier authorities (i.e., it rests on an appeal to tradition (i.e., tradition with a small "*t*") — *viz.*, the problem of *taqlīd*.

Let me expand briefly on these two criticisms and note the solutions proposed by Ibn al-Ǧawzī:

1. Literalism (*tafsīr ʿalā ẓ-ẓāhir*)

Anthropomorphic conceptions of God arise, in the first instance, because it is naively assumed that scripture is to be taken in its literal sense, i.e., that the surface meaning of the text is the real meaning. Hence, when the Quran refers to God's "hands" it must mean that God has hands. Likewise with the many other Quranic attributions of bodily features to God. Why is it that a literalist method of interpretation seems to lead inevitably to the attribution of material, corporeal features to God? Ibn al-Ǧawzī's answer is straightforward: the reason it does is that it is based on a materialist epistemology, i.e., it takes sense experience as its point of departure. In one passage, Ibn al-Ǧawzī goes so far as to suggest that the epistemology of his opponents is not fundamentally different from that of the *Dahriyya* (materialists)[19]. Sense experience is inadequate as a basis for conceiving the divine attributes because it is limited to the perception of bodies located in time and space, i.e., to finite bodies.

Since reason (and revelation, rightly understood) demonstrates conclusively that God is beyond time and space, literalism as an exegetical method must be abandoned. On the basis of the arguments from contingency and design, Ibn al-Ǧawzī attempts to show that reason is the only human faculty[20] that has the capacity to rise above the world of finite bodies to a God who is the necessary cause of all that exists. To the extent that revelation is concerned with a knowledge of God, it follows, there-

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[19] They may draw different conclusions, but their starting point is the same.

[20] Together with the imagination, perhaps, since Ibn al-Ǧawzī does refer occasionally to it, though it is not clear that it is a distinct faculty separate from reason. More work needs to be done on this question.

fore, that reason must be one's principal guide in deciphering the meaning of revelation. Ibn al-Ǧawzī is able to show, at least to his own satisfaction, that if reason is applied to Scripture properly, it necessarily leads to a "metaphorical" interpretation of those texts that appear to ascribe corporeality to God[21]. In *Aḫbār*, Ibn al-Ǧawzī applies *ta'wīl* more or less across the board. Thus references to God's "face" (*waǧh*) are to be taken as referring to his essence (his *ḏāt*); his "hand" (*yad*) as referring to his power (*qudra*); his, "eyes" (*aʿyān*) to his "knowledge" (*ʿilm*), his "side" (*ǧanb*) to his authority/command (*amr*), etc[22]. The only scriptural texts pertaining to the divine attributes that may be taken "as they stand", without recourse to *ta'wīl*, are those that affirm the transcendence and oneness of God in clear, unequivocal terms — verses like sūra 42:11 (*laysa ka-miṯlihi šay'un*)[23].

2. Excessive Reliance on "Tradition" (*taqlīd*)

In the second place, Ibn al-Ǧawzī attributes the anthropomorphism of his opponents to *taqlīd*, that is, to an uncritical reliance on the views of the *salaf*. Although Ibn al-Ǧawzī appears to allow for the use of a limited kind of *taqlīd*[24], when it comes to matters such as the divine attributes, indeed, to all matters having to do with God, *taqlīd* is to be rejected out of hand. "*Taqlīd*, he says, is not allowable in matters having to do with the knowledge of God (*maʿrifat Allāh*)"[25]. In support of this position, he cites Ibn ʿAqīl[26] who maintained that in matters of faith "the only thing to be followed is the evidence (*dalīl*)"[27]. Since the knowledge of God must rest on peremptory evidence (*adilla qaṭʿiyya*) — by which he means the evidence provided by reason and revelation — it follows that the views of earlier authorities, while not irrelevant, are of limited importance. He makes this point in an interesting way in connection with an incident involving Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). When Aḥmad was once criticized for taking a position different from that of Ibn Mubārak

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[21] Reason is critical to Ibn al-Ǧawzī for it is precisely reason that makes possible the break between sense experience and the exegetical process.

[22] In suggesting these equivalences, Ibn al-Ǧawzī is not saying anything new, of course. He is following a path charted by Muʿtazilite theologians as well as by some of the later Aš'arite theologians like al-Ǧuwaynī, ʿAbdalqāhir al-Baġdādī and Ibn Fūrak.

[23] "There is nothing like him." Cf. S.112:4.

[24] Particularly in the area of applied jurisprudence.

[25] The Arabic makes the point even clearer: *lā yaǧūzu at-taqlīdu fī maʿrifat Allāh wa-d-dalīl ʿalā mā qulnā al-Qur'ān wa-n-nayl wa-l-maʿnā* (fol. 5b).

[26] The 11th century Ḥanbalī theologian who in many ways was Ibn al-Ǧawzī's principal mentor in matters theological.

[27] Presumably by "evidence", Ibn ʿAqīl means the teaching of Scripture (*naql*) and the conclusions derived from reason (*ʿaql*).

(d. 119/737), he replied: "The views of Ibn Mubārak did not come down from heaven". But if *taqlīd* is problematic because it weakens the influence of both reason and revelation, it is flawed also because it introduces an element of subjectivity into the quest for truth. Here Ibn al-Ǧawzī points to an unassailable fact: frequently the *salaf* differed among themselves and sometimes individual *salaf* changed their views on important questions. Thus, if one is to take the teaching of the *salaf* as one's guide, one must not only decide which of the *salaf* to follow, but which of the views of individual *salaf* are to be taken as correct. In short, then, if *taqlīd* is to be practiced at all, it requires some kind of prior judgment.

Ibn al-Ǧawzī's principal objection to *taqlīd*, however, is that it weakens the faculty of reason and, in the end, confuses the issue: it makes human beings the criterion of truth.

In concluding his discussion of *taqlīd* Ibn al-Ǧawzī argues that there is no escape from having recourse to *iǧtihād*, that is, to independent judgment based on a personal weighing of the evidence in the light of reason. He observes that this was the *modus operandi* of the prophets and, in one passage, even suggests that prophets are superior to others primarily because they used *iǧtihād* more rigorously and more consistently[28].

Although the *ẓāhir* method of exegesis and *taqlīd* are different[29], their use leads to similar results: *ẓāhir* (by taking sense experience as its point of reference) and *taqlīd* (by following the lead of tradition)[30] work together to diminish the role of reason (*ʿaql*). The Ibn al-Ǧawzī of *Aḫbār* is a rationalist to a very surprising degree — certainly more so than we are accustomed to expecting from a Ḥanbalī. While his Ḥanbalism was questioned by some within the school[31], he certainly regarded himself as a Ḥanbalī and, I believe, with some justification. He was a firm believer in the essential correctness of Aḥmad's views (e.g., his *Manāqib*, especially chapters 20–22) — thoroughly convinced that Aḥmad had avoided the anthropomorphist trap[32]. Ibn

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[28] Fol. 6a (critical edition, par. 21) — Ibn al-Ǧawzī would have found absurd any suggestion that the "gates of *iǧtihād*" had been closed.

[29] They entail two quite different operations and serve different purposes.

[30] Which ultimately means allowing other human beings (respected to be sure) to decide the issue.

[31] Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAlṯī (d. 634/1236) is perhaps the most notable example but there were certainly others. al-ʿAlṯī's challenge stands out, in part, because Ibn Raǧab documents it at some length (see his *Ḏayl*, II. 205ff.).

[32] Consider, e.g., the following statement: "Nothing has been attributed to Aḥmad in the sources that even remotely smacks of anthropomorphism (*tašbīh*), for his position was that the traditions of the Prophet should be allowed to stand just as they are (without comment) (*wa-lam yunqal ʿan al-imām Aḥmad šay'un min at-tašbīh wa-lā yuqāribuhu wa-innamā kāna ya'muru bi-imrāri l-aḥādīṯ kamā ǧā'at* [*Aḫbār*, fol. 6a]). The problem, for Ibn al-Ǧawzī, was that Ḥanbalism had been diverted from its founding principles by those who came later and who had strayed from the original teachings of the school. Ibn al-Ǧawzī

al-Ǧawzī accepted the authority of the *Sunna*, vigorously defended the doctrine of the uncreated Quran, and, finally, in matters of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) affirmed the principles laid down by the school's early formative thinkers[33].

Whatever else one may say about *Aḫbār*, it provides substantive evidence that Ibn al-Ǧawzī, far from being a die-hard traditionalist, was a vigorous proponent of the principles of *ta'wīl* and *iǧtihād*. Furthermore, the views advocated in *Aḫbār* are not those of an isolated, member of the Ḥanbalī school. Contemporary sources make it clear that Ibn al-Ǧawzī commanded a significant following within the school[34], particularly during the last several decades of his public life — i.e., up until 590/1193[35]. Through his efforts as an author, teacher and preacher, he provided a significant voice for the more "progressive" elements within the school. But it is also clear that the views expressed in *Aḫbār* made him a controversial figure among the more conservative elements of the school and it is not surprising that several Ḥanbalīs played a crucial role in eventually bringing about his banishment from Baġdād (590/1193). The sharpness of the cleavage between these two wings of the school is expressed rather graphically in a treatise written against Ibn al-Ǧawzī (and particularly against views expressed in *Aḫbār*) by Abū l-Faḍl al-ᶜAlṭī, a member of the traditionalist wing of the school[36]. In this treatise[37], al-ᶜAlṭī accuses Ibn al-Ǧawzī, in effect, of being a crypto-Muᶜtazilī and charges that he and his followers had abandoned the doctrines of the Fathers. However, despite the criticisms levelled against him and de-

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saw himself as calling them back to the principles on which the school was founded.

[33] Among the later varieties of Ḥanbalism, it was the strand represented by Ibn ᶜAqīl that Ibn al-Ǧawzī believed to be the most primitive and the truest. No other Ḥanbalī is quoted with approval more often in *Aḫbār*.

[34] Even those hostile to him acknowledge his influence within the school.

[35] Precisely the period during which *Aḫbār* was written.

[36] Ibn Raǧab gives his name as Isḥāq b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ġānim Abū l-Faḍl al-ᶜAlṭī and reports that he died in 634/1236 (H. Laoust and A. Hartmann read the *nisba* as al-ᶜUlṭī, though I have found no evidence in support of this reading in the sources). In addition to the substantial notice devoted to al-ᶜAlṭī in Ibn Raǧab's *Ḏayl* II, 205–211; see also aḏ-Ḏahabī, *Tāriḫ al-islām* fol. 102a; al-Mundirī, *Takmila* III, 441; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Šaḏarāt* V, 163. Cf. also Laoust 1959: 120; Hartmann 1975: 192–193, also index (under al-ᶜUlṭī). The author of numerous polemical tracts (*rasā'il kaṭīra*), he was known to his contemporaries as a staunch traditionalist and an outspoken critic of tendencies he regarded as deviating from the strict interpretation of Ḥanbalism.

[37] Preserved in Ibn Raǧab's *Ḏayl* II, 205–211. It is clear, however, that the text preserved by Ibn Raǧab represents only part of a longer work. On the basis of references in the portions cited by Ibn Raǧab it is possible to conclude that al-ᶜAlṭī's *Risāla* was written late in Ibn al-Ǧawzī's career but sometime prior to his banishment to Wāsiṭ in 590/1193. It seems most likely that he *Risāla* was composed sometime between 585/1189 and 590/1193.

spite the precedent set by Ibn ʿAqīl in the preceding century[38], there is no evidence that Ibn al-Ǧawzī ever recanted the views advocated in *Aḫbār*. From all that I can tell, *Aḫbār* stands as Ibn al-Ǧawzī's final word on the problem of anthropomorphism and the related issue of *ta'wīl*.

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[38] Who was forced to recant views similar to those championed by Ibn al-Ǧawzī.

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ON THE NOTION OF *IṢLĀḤ* IN IBN ᶜAĞĪBA'S ṢŪFĪ AND GRAMMATICAL COMMENTARY

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> "If the object is kept in view, duality vanishes. Duality characterises the branches: the root is one."
>
> (Rūmī, *Fīhi mā fihi*, 34.)

A Moroccan Ṣūfī of the 18 century, the Šāḏilite Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAğība (1747-1809)[1] set out, not long before his death, to put his doctrine of the necessary unity of the internal (*bāṭin*) and external (*ẓāhir*) sciences[2] into practice and made a double (linguistic and Ṣūfī) commentary to an introduction to Arabic grammar, the *Āğurrūmiyya*[3]. Ibn ᶜAğība completed in 1808 his lengthy commentary of more than 200 pages to Ibn al-Āğurrūm aṣ-Ṣanhāğī's grammatical compendium and divided it to grammatical (*ᶜibāra*) and mystical (*išāra*) interpretation of the text. So it can be considered the largest of all those undertakings which tried to build a Ṣūfī science on the pattern of Arabic grammar, using its terms and looking for their hidden meanings. However, it was not Ibn ᶜAğība who wrote the first ṣūfī commentary to the *Āğurrūmiyya*: four centuries earlier Ibn Maymūn, another Maġribī writer had done the same[4], and although there does not seem to be any direct connection between the two texts, Ibn ᶜAğība may have been influenced by the example of his predecessor, who was also of the Šāḏilite order. The special attraction of the *Āğurrūmiyya* may have been, beside its shortness and popularity, that its author was Maġribī and that he was said to have conceived the idea of writing the book when he had been in Mecca on pilgrimage (see later, the Arabic text, p. 45).

Arabic grammar (*naḥw*) had from its beginnings raised ambivalent feelings among those who had to have strict connections with it during their professional activities. From one part, its significance had always been clear - so when the first *madrasa*s were established in the 9-10th centuries, the main subject, *fiqh*, was coupled with Arabic grammar as the most important auxiliary subject. It is also supposed by some scholars that jurisprudence played an important part in the formation of *naḥw*[5]. Thus it is not very much surprising that Arabic grammar had gradually become the *par excellence* worldly science (*ᶜilm aẓ-ẓāhir*) in the eyes of mystics, themselves frequently either philologists or jurists. It is not known when the mystical science (*ᶜilm at-taṣawwuf*) was first compared to Arabic grammar, but according to later authors of Ṣūfī biographies already in the early part of the 9th century had made references to *naḥw*: "It was said to Ibn Adham that a certain person was learning Arabic grammar. He said: This person should rather

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[1] For his life see Ibn ᶜAğība, *Fahrasa*; Michon 1968-69; 1972; 1973; Ṣağīr 1988.

[2] For his views, see Ibn ᶜAğība, *Fahrasa*, 100-1 (Michon 1968-69, 147). Cf. id., *Waḥdat al-wuğūd* 31-32.

[3] See Ibn Āğurrūm, *Āğurrūmiyya*; cf. Troupeau 1972, Carter 1981.

[4] See Goldziher 1874; Michon 1973, 282.

[5] See Carter, 1973, speaking about Sībawayhi.

learnt silence. Ibn Adham was also told to say: We expressed ourselves clearly in language (*ʿarabnā*) and did not commit errors (*laḥn*), but we committed errors in our (mystical) practices and did not express ourselves clearly[6]. These and similar sayings aimed at emphasising that not the language but the heart was the real medium of communication. The first extant authentic Ṣūfī works built on the model of Arabic grammar are the 11th century al-Qušayrī's two epistles: *Naḥw al-qulūb aṣ-ṣaġīr* and the much more comprehensive and quite independent *Naḥw al-qulūb al-kabīr*, which brought into the public awareness the notion of the 'grammar of the heart' as the name of the Ṣūfī science, although it may have come into being in an earlier period. al-Qušayrī expresses his view on the two sciences in short at the beginning of the *Naḥw al-qulūb al-kabīr* (p. 37): "Grammar (*naḥw*) means pursuing that which is right (*ṣawāb*) in the (Arabic) language (*kalām*) ... while the grammar of the heart means pursuing that which is right (*ḥamīd*) in the speech of the heart. Speech of the heart is addressing the Real One (*al-Ḥaqq*) by the tongue of the heart". Two centuries later the persian Ṣūfī thinker, Ǧalāluddīn Rūmī put several stories and references into his *Maṯnawī* on grammarians. He used the figure of the grammarian mainly as a symbol for the vanities of futile knowledge, but in the story of the grammarian and the boatman he went further than that speculating on the connection between *naḥw* (grammar) and *maḥw* (effacement, said of worldly affiliations). So it came natural to aṣ-Ṣārī to insert al-Qušayrī's smaller mystical grammar in Arabic into the text of his commentary on Rūmī's story on the grammarian and the boatman (Ṣārī, *Maṯnawī* IV, 89-92)[7].

Ibn ʿAǧība's *Commentary* to the *Āǧurrūmiyya* begins, as is obligatory, with a eulogy to God and his Messenger. Even in this part there is a definite effort to make a strong case for the connection of linguistic and mystical sciences: "... the ancient Arabs were characterised by their rhetoric and by the purity of their tongue. Thus the Qur'ān was sent down in their tongue and their spoken (conversational) language. It paralysed by its rhetoric and its skill all the mankind and the Jinns and silenced the objections of the heroes of (linguistic) skilfulness, rhetoric and eloquence ... he [Muḥammad] was the most eloquent from among those who had ever spoken the truth and clear speech". Then Ibn ʿAǧība continues: "The most important of what man may be concerned with, after correcting (*iṣlāḥ*) his religion and accomplishing his faith in God, is the correction (*iṣlāḥ*) of his tongue from (grammatical) mistakes (*laḥn*) in (the Arabic) language. This is (to be achieved) by penetrating into the science of the *ʿarabiyya* and lexicography, since man becomes by this stronger for understanding his Mighty Book and the Customs of his prophet ... If it were not for this noble science [i.e. grammar], alteration and distortion entered into Muḥammad's Customs, and defectiveness occurred in the understanding of God's Wise Book. So it had been prescribed for every reasonable and intelligent man to preserve this science and to study it. Then it is incumbent on him after correcting his tongue to correct (*iṣlāḥ*) his intellect and his heart (*ǧanān*), after having it cleared from vices, and adorned with different kinds of virtues. In this way he may prepare his heart for the radiance of the lights of the true nature of the Unity of God and the secrets of isolation (for God alone). But correction of the tongue without correcting the heart is sinfulness and straying, while correction of the heart without correcting the tongue means perfection without (a higher level of) perfection. The correction of both of them means perfection of the perfection ... It is uglier than ugly to learn or to know the correction of the tongue but not to learn or know the correction of the heart, since it is the place where the Lord looks. Grammar divides into two parts: grammar of the tongue of the mouth and grammar of the heart, and the knowledge of the grammar of the heart for an intelligent man is more urgent and useful than the knowledge of the grammar of the tongue. Even so we find grammarians of the tongue of the mouth who are not well versed in the Book and *sunna*, and it is regarded blameworthy by God and by His Messenger".

In this censurable situation Ibn ʿAǧība tries to present a discipline which could achieve both praiseworthy aims (correction of the tongue and that of the heart) at once through his double commentary,

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[6] Quoted by Goldziher 1872, 778-9.

[7] Cf. Iványi 1995.

taking seriously this coupling of the worldly and mystical knowledge[8]. His work was therefore totally misunderstood by his contemporary ᶜAbdalqādir al-Kūhin, when he made a special recension from it[9], leaving out the grammatical commentary by saying: "because the poor Ṣūfī (*faqīr*) is not concerned with his tongue and his interest lies only in the correction (*iṣlāḥ*) of his heart (*ğanān*), I decided to remove from the above mentioned commentary everything connected with grammar" (Kūhin, *Tağrīd* 43)[10].

Three remarks may be made on the 'eulogy' of the text: (i) A great emphasis is laid on the divine origin of the 'eloquence of the tongue'; (ii) the commentary is basically a Ṣūfī textbook, as it is stated in the eulogy: "we confess ... by the confession of the people of the mystical taste and witnessing; and (iii) the Prophet Muḥammad had been the most perfect human cultivator of this sacral language.

The central idea, as can be seen from the above quotations, is *iṣlāḥ* in Ibn ᶜAğība's thinking. It raises two questions: (i) What links, if at all, Ibn ᶜAğība to the so called reform Ṣūfism of the 18th century, studied by many (in the West and in the Arab world as well) in the last two decades[11]? (ii) How can this key word, *iṣlāḥ*, be related to the same term used by religious reformers in the end of the 19th century and used by today's researchers for the 18th century as well[12]?

The term *iṣlāḥ* is the key word nowadays used in connection with many of the 18-19th century Ṣūfī movements, with the meaning "reform" loaned from Europe at the end of the 19th century. Even earlier Ṣūfīs are called *iṣlāḥī*, if they fit in the new picture of a moderate mystic. But in reality they themselves had never used this word, in spite of its significant (although different) meaning in the Qur'ān. Their key word in this relation had rather been *istiqāma* or *taqwīm* (also Qur'ānic in origin). These latter concepts had actually taken their origin from much older times and are mentioned in al-Qušayrī's *Risāla* (205-206)[13]. On the other hand, Ibn ᶜAğība turns to *iṣlāḥ* when defines the aim of his double commentary. Therefore it seems that his

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[8] He first expresses these views commenting the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ᶜAṭā', see *Īqāẓ*, 323.

[9] *Munyat al-faqīr al-mutağarrid wa-sīrat [*or: *samīr] al-murīd al-mutafarrid* = Kūhin, *Tağrīd*.

[10] Two excerpts of the Commentary are translated in Michon 1973, 115-119, the chapters on *mubtada'*, *ḫabar* and *maṣdar*, not of the original work but from al-Kūhin's *Tağrīd*, i.e., without the grammatical commentaries. Michon remarks: "Dans son commentaire de l'Ājurrūmiyya, 'selon l'allusion spirituelle', Ibn ᶜAjība interprète chaque éléments du discours arabe, sa fonction, ses relations avec les éléments voisins, etc., comme un symbole cosmogonique et théurgique jouant un rôle précis dans le processus de la manifestation divine. Ainsi, la langue arabe toute entière apparaît comme une théophanie, un ensemble cohérent de significations spirituelles où la Lumière du Maître des mondes s'irradie pour l'édification et la guidance des créatures".

[11] See, eg., Levtzion & Voll 1987, 3-20; ᶜAzūzī 1998, in many places.

[12] For the modern, though arbitrarily interpreted meaning of the term see Merad 1978.

[13] Where *taqwīm* dealt with as the first step to *istiqāma*, which is defined in Zarrūq, *ᶜUdda*, 275 as 'inducing the soul to accept the Qur'ān and the *sunna*'. See also id., *Qawāᶜid* 59; cf. Rāzī (also called al-Ḥanafī, d. 1262/3), *Ḥaqā'iq*, 211-12.

source may not be the customary Ṣūfī terminology, but he might have taken it from linguistics where *iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* or *iṣlāḥ al-lisān* had been in usage. Ibn ᶜAǧība had felt a strong attachment to the 15th century ṣūfī Zarrūq (d. 1494), considered nowadays by many the first reform ṣūfī in the Maġrib[14]. He, as his ideal, prepared commentary to the *Ḥikam* ("Wisdoms") of Ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh[15]. The essential difference, however, between the concepts *istiqāma* and *taqwīm* used by Zarrūq and *iṣlāḥ* as used by Ibn ᶜAǧība[16], on the one hand, and the way the terms *reform Ṣūfī* or *iṣlāḥ* and *iṣlāḥī* are used later on lies in the fact that while Zarrūq, Ibn ᶜAǧība and many others were considering the individuals and a very much personal religious feeling, those who have been using the latter notions are thinking in terms of Ṣūfī communities or the Islamic community as a whole. Therefore Ibn ᶜAǧība's *iṣlāḥ* (meaning the good of the individual) and the *iṣlāḥ* of the 19-20th centuries (meaning the good of the society) are two different notions called by the same name.

In the following the first part (20 of the 219 pages) of Ibn ᶜAǧība's MS (described as A.) of *al-Futūḥāt al-quddūsiya fī šarḥ al-Muqaddima al-āǧurrūmiyya bin-naḥw wal-išāra* is edited[17]. It contains the commendation, the introductory pages and the commentary written to the first three sentences of the original work. Although the whole work was edited in 1997 in Morocco by al-ᶜUmrānī al-Ḥālidī ᶜAbdassalām, himself a follower of the ᶜAǧībiyya branch of the Darqāwiyya, but either the editor made a very bad job or the MS in the editor's private collection is a poor one - the result is a very bad and corrupt text. Our partial edition relied on the following sources: A. The base of the edition is the complete, although later, MS in Rabaṭ (Ḥizāna, D 1004/1) (م); we have diverted from the text of this MS only in some places, where its readings have no sense; B. The above mentioned edition of al-ᶜUmrānī's own MS (ع); C. al-Kūhin's selective gloss of the *Šarḥ* (reprinted in Ṭuᶜmī 1996) (ك)[18]. All in all, the three sources are very near to each other and seem to have been copied from the same autograph copy.

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[14] Michon 1973 Bibl. no.24: *al-Lawā'iḥ al-quddūsiyya fī šarḥ al-Waẓīfa az-Zarrūqiyya* (The saint illuminations: Commentary of the 'Directives spiritual').

[15] Ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 1309) had been Ibn Taymiyya's main opponent, although he stood in great respect at the so called 'reform Ṣūfīs'. Ibn ᶜAǧība commented on the *Ḥikam* in his *Īqāẓ*.

[16] Ibn ᶜAǧība deals only with *istiqāma* of the three terms in his *Miᶜrāǧ*, p. 15 (= Michon 1973, 196).

[17] The MS does not mention the title. The whole text will be published in a separate volume with introduction and notes.

[18] The older Rabaṭ MS (Ḥizāna, K 2883) could not be considered here, since it lacks just the first about 25 pages. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 309 (238), no. 26, mentions another MS, Alger 169., but later sources (e.g., Michon 1969 & 1973) do not mention it and we could not see it either. Michon (1973, 282) makes mention of another MS in private collection, and there may be other, still unknown copies, too.

[شرح الفتوحات القدوسية في شرح المقدمة الآجرومية]

(١)[١] *بسم[٢] الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

الحمد لله الكريم المنان، الذي خلق الإنسان وعلمه البيان، وفضله بالعقل والمعرفة[٣] على سائر الأكوان، ثم خص العرب العاربة بالبلاغة[٤] وفصاحة اللسان، فأنزل على لسانها ومحاورة كلامها القرآن، أعجز[٥] ببلاغته وبراعته الإنس والجان، وأخرس عن معارضته[٦] فرسان البراعة والبلاغة والبيان، نحمده تعالى ونشكره على ما أولانا من سوابغ الإحسان، ونشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادة أهل الذوق والعيان، ونشهد أن سيدنا ومولانا[٧] محمدا عبده ورسوله قطب دائرة الزمان، وأفصح من نطق بالحق والتبيان صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وأصحابه، وعترته وأحزابه، الذين أظهر الله بهم منار الإسلام وأشرق بهم نور[٨] الإيمان وشموس العرفان،

وبعد فأهم ما يعتني به الإنسان بعد إصلاح دينه بتحقيق الإيمان والإسلام، إصلاح لسانه من اللحن في الكلام، وذلك بالتغلغل في علم العربية واللغة إذ بذلك يتقوى على فهم كتابه العزيز وسنة نبيه عليه أفضل الصلاة وأزكى التسليم، اللذان قام بهما[٩] الدين، واستمر[١٠] بقاؤه على المسلمين، فلولا هذا العلم الشريف، لدخل في السنة المحمدية التغيير والتحريف، ولوقع الخلل في فهم كتاب الله (٢) الحكيم، فتعين حفظ هذا العلم وتحصيله على كل عاقل لبيب*[١١]، ثم يجب عليه[١٢] بعد إصلاح لسانه[١٣] إصلاح جنانه[١٤] بتصفيته من الرذايل، وتحليته بأنواع الفضائل، ليتأهل بذلك قلبه لإشراق أنوار حقائق[١٥] التوحيد، وأسرار التفريد، فإصلاح اللسان، دون[١٦] إصلاح الجنان، فسوء[١٧] وضلال وإصلاح الجنان، دون[١٨] اللسان كمال دون كمال وإصلاحهما معا كمال الكمال ولله در سيبويه[١٩] حيث يقول

لسان فصيح معرب في كلامه فيا ليته[٢٠] من حسرة العرض يسلم
وما ينفع الإعراب إن لم[٢١] تُقى وما ضر ذا تقوى لسان معجم

وقال الشيخ الفقيه الصالح[٢٢] الميموني رضي الله[٢٣] عنه وأقبح من القبيح أن يتعلم الإنسان أو يعلم إصلاح اللسان ولا يتعلم أو يعلم إصلاح القلب[٢٤] الذي هو محل نظر[٢٥] الرب فالنحو[٢٦] على قسمين نحو لسان الفم ونحو القلب ومعرفة[٢٧] نحو القلب عند العقلاء آكد وأنفع من معرفة نحو[٢٨] اللسان بدليل أنا[٢٩] لا[٣٠] نجد من لا يحسن التلفظ بكلام العرب فيلحن[٣١] في كلامه[٣٢] برفع المنصوب ونصب[٣٣] المرفوع ويكون في حاله متخلقا[٣٤] بالكتاب والسنة والتخلق[٣٥] بالكتاب والسنة[٣٦] هو النحو القلبي فهذا مرضي[٣٧] عند الله وعند رسوله[٣٨] ويوجد[٣٩] نحوي[٤٠] لسان الفم غير متخلق بالكتاب والسنة وهذا هو الغالب في زماننا هذا وهو[٤١] مذموم عند الله ورسوله وقال[٤٢] صلى الله[٤٣] عليه وسلم فساق أمتي قراؤها[٤٤] وقال أيضا العلم علمان علم اللسان فذلك حجة الله على ابن آدم وعلم في القلب[٤٥] فذلك العلم النافع اهـ[٤٦] وعلم القلب هو اليقين الكبير ومعرفة الله بنعت العيان وهذا[٤٧] هو النحو القلبي وهو فرض عين على كل مسلم أعني علاج القلب من الأمراض كحب (٣) الدنيا الذي هو رأس

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[١] رقم الصفحة في المخطوط // [٢] البسملة والتصلية ساقطتان من ع؛ النص بين النجمتين مهمل في ك // [٣] ساقطة من ع // [٤] ع: بالبراعة والبلاغة // [٥] ع: فأعجز // [٦] م: اخرص، ع: معارفته // [٧] ع: ونبينا // [٨] ع: أنوار // [٩] ع: بهما قام // [١٠] ع: واستقر // [١١] انتهى النص المهمل في ك // [١٢] ك: على العاقل // [١٣] زيادة في ك: أن يسعى في // [١٤] ع :إصلاح عقله وجنانه؛ ك: وذلك // [١٥] ع: حقيقة // [١٦] من "دون إصلاح الجنان" إلى "دون اللسان" ساقطة من ع // [١٧] م: سو؛ ك: فسق // [١٨] زيادة في ك: إصلاح // [١٩] ع، ك: رضي الله عنه // [٢٠] ك: ليت // [٢١] ع، ك: يكن // [٢٢] ع: الصالح الفقيه // [٢٣] زيادة في ك: تعالى // [٢٤] ك: قلوب // [٢٥] ساقطة من ع // [٢٦] ك: والنحو // [٢٧] ك: فمعرفة // [٢٨] ساقطة من ع // [٢٩] ع: أننا // [٣٠] "لا" ساقطة من ع، ك // [٣١] ك: فلحن // [٣٢] ك: بكلامه // [٣٣] ك: وبنصب // [٣٤] ع: متخلفا // [٣٥] من "التخلق" إلى "غير متخلق بالكتاب والسنة" ساقطة من ع // [٣٦] ك: "فهذا" بدلا من "والتخلق بالكتاب والسنة" // [٣٧] ك: مرضي // [٣٨] ك: ورسوله // [٣٩] ك: يجد // [٤٠] ك: نحو // [٤١] ع، ك: هذا // [٤٢] ع، ك: ولذلك قال // [٤٣] زيادة في ك: تعالى // [٤٤] م: قراوها // [٤٥] ع، ك: وعلم القلب // [٤٦] انتهى (النقل) // [٤٧] "هذا" ساقطة من ع

الخطايا وهم الرزق وخوف الخلق وغير ذلك من الأمراض التي تعوق عن معرفة الحق وشهوده وهذا[1] النحو القلبي تسميه[2] الصوفية المحو بالميم لأنه يمحو[3] من القلب كل ما سوى الله وهذا العلم هو محط رحالهم ومجال أفكارهم قد استغنوا به عن جميع العلوم[4] قيل للولي الكبير سيدي أحمد بن موسى[5] رضي الله عنه[6] هل قرأت شيئا من النحو فقال[7] قرأت بيتين من الألفية قوله فما لنا إلا اتباع أحمد وقوله فما أبيح افعل ودع ما لم يبح وقال شيخ شيوخنا[8] ومادة طريقتنا[9] مولاي العربي رضي الله[10] عنه ما عرفت من النحو إلا إعراب قوله تعالى «إن يكونوا فقراء يغنهم[11] الله من فضله»[12] إن شرط ويغنهم[13] جواب[14] والمراد[15] بالغنى الغناء[16] الأكبر فيكون خطابا للمتوجهين على طريق أهل الإشارة *وأجل[17] ما صنف في علم النحو للمبتدي (*sic*) وفتح به على المنتهي المقدمة الاجرومية[18] المباركة الميمونة فقد عم نفعها المشارق والمغارب وتلقاها بالقبول كل سالك وطالب فدل ذلك على خلوص نية مؤلفها وصلاحه وقد أردت بعون الله أن أضع عليها شرحا متوسطا موشحا[19] بنكت عجيبة قلّ أن توجد في غيره من المطولات وإشارات صوفية غريبة قل أن يغوص عليها من له شأن[20] في علم الأذواق والإشارات وسمّيتُه الفتوحات القدّوسية في شرح المقدمة الاجرّومية، وكل علم لا ينبغي الشروع فيه حتى يعلم الخائض[21] فيه حده[22] وموضوعه وواضعه واستمداده وسائر مبادئه[23] العشرة التي أشار إليها الفقيه العالم المحرر سيدي أحمد بن زكريا[24] التلمساني بقوله

الحدّ والموضوع ثم الواضع ... والاسم (٤) الاستمداد[25] حكم الشارع
تصوّر المسائل الفضيلة ... ونسبة فائدة جليلة
حق على طالب علم أن يحط ... بفهم ذي العشرة ميزها ينط[26]

أما حده فهو علم مستخرج بالمقاييس[27] المستنبطة من استقراء كلام العرب أو علم يعرف به أحوال أواخر الكلم[28] إعرابا وبناء وموضوعه[29] الكلمات الثلاث الاسم والفعل والحرف لأنه يبحث عنها من حيث إعرابها وبناؤها وإفرادها وتركيبها وواضعه أمير المؤمنين[30] سيدنا علي كرم الله وجهه بسبب شكوى أبي الأسود الدؤلي لحن بناته[31] فقال له يا أبا الأسود اكتب بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الكلمة اسم وفعل وحرف فالاسم ما أنبأ عن المسمى والفعل ما أنبأ عن حركة المسمى والحرف موصل بينهما وانح[32] هذا النحو أي انسج على هذا الشبه ولهذا سمي علم النحو وهو من إطلاق لفظ المصدر على المفعول فالنحو بمعنى المنحو كالنسج بمعنى المنسوج واعلم أن إعراب الكلام كان للعرب سجية لا يقدرون على اللحن فلما ظهر الإسلام ونكحت الصحابة بنات العجم اختلط[33] الألسن فكادت العربية تتلاشى[34] فوضع علي كرم الله وجهه علم النحو وقال الفخر الرازي في كتابه المحرر في علم النحو رسم علي رضي الله عنه[35] لأبي الأسود باب إن وباب الإضافة وباب الإمالة ثم صنف أبو الأسود باب العطف وباب النعت ثم صنف باب التعجب وباب الاستفهام وقيل واضعه[36] أبو الأسود من غير واسطة وقيل أول من وضعه نصر بن عاصم وقيل عبد الرحمن بن هرمز والمشهور الأول وتقدم وجه تسميته بالنحو والمتصف به نحوي ويجمع على نحويين وأما نحاة فجمع ناح كقاض وقضاة واستمداده (٥) من كلام العرب نظما ونثرا وحكمه فرض الكفاية لأنه وسيلة لحفظ العلم ومفتاحه إلا من تصدى لتفسير كلام الله تعالى[37] وكلام رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم فيكون في

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[1] ك: هو // [2] ك: يسميه // [3] م: يمحوا // [4] زيادة في ك: رضي الله تعالى عنهم // [5] م: احمد وموسى // [6] "رضي الله عنه" ساقطة من ك // [7] ك: قال // [8] ع: شيخنا؛ ك: شيخنا // [9] ع: طريقنا // [10] زيادة في ك: تعالى // [11] ك: يغنيهم // [12] النور، ٣٢ // [13] ك: يغنيهم // [14] ع، ك: جواب الشرط // [15] ك: المقصود // [16] م: الغنا؛ ك: الغنى؛ ع: "بالغنا" بدلا من "بالغنى الغناء" // [17] النص بين النجمتين مهمل في ك // [18] ع: الجرومية // [19] ع: متوشحا // [20] م: شان // [21] ع: الخائف // [22] ع: حدة // [23] م: مباديه // [24] م: زكري // [25] ع: الاستعداد // [26] ع: ينيط // [27] ع، م: بالمقايس // [28] ع: الكلام // [29] ع: وموضوع // [30] م: المومنين // [31] ع: بنوه // [32] زيادة في ع: على // [33] ع: اختلطت // [34] م: تتلاشا // [35] ع: "كرم الله وجهه" بدلا من "رضي الله عنه" // [36] م: واوضعه // [37] م: تعلى

حقه فرض عين لقوله عليه السلام «من كذب علي معتمدا فليتبوأ مقعده من النار»[1] والجاهل ملحق بالعامد في كثير من الأحكام وقال الإمام الرازي في المحصول اعلم أن معرفة اللغة والنحو والتصريف فرض كفاية لأن معرفة الأحكام الشرعية واجبة بالإجماع ومعرفة الأحكام دون معرفة أدلتها مستحيل فلا بد من معرفة أدلتها والأدلة راجعة إلى[2] الكتاب والسنة وهما واردان بلغة العرب فقد توقف العلم بالأحكام[3] على الأدلة ومعرفة الأدلة تتوقف على معرفة اللغة والنحو وما يتوقف عليه الواجب المطلق فهو واجب وقال عز الدين بن عبد السلام من أنواع الواجبات الاشتغال بعلم النحو الذي يفهم كلام الله وكلام رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم وذلك لأن حفظ الشريعة واجب ولا يتأتى حفظها إلا بذلك وما لا يتم الواجب المطلق إلا به فهو واجب هـ[4] وتصور مسائله هي معرفة كون الفاعل مرفوعا والمفعول منصوبا والمضارع معربا والماضي والأمر مبنيين[5] والضمير لا يعود على ما بعده إلا في مسائل وقس على هذا من قواعده وفضيلة[6] معرفة الكلام[7] وكلام رسول الله[8] صلى الله عليه وسلم وصونهما[9] من التحريف[10] وناهيك به شرفا وقد قال عليه الصلاة[11] والسلام «نضر الله امرءا سمع مقالتي فوعاها وأداها كما سمعها فرب مبلغ أوعى من سامع»[12] ومعنى نضر حسن وبهج وعن أبي بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما إعراب (٦) القرآن أحب إلي من حفظ بعض حروفه وعن عمر رضي الله عنه تعلموا العربية فإنها تزيد في العقل والمروءة وعن علي رضي الله عنه

النحو يصلح من لسان الألكن والمرء تعظمه إذا لم يلحن
وإذا طلبت[13] من العلوم أجلها فأجلها منها مقيم الألسن

وكان ابن[14] عمر رضي الله عنه[15] يضرب[16] ولده على اللحن وعن الحسن البصري رضي الله عنه من لحن في القرآن فقد كذب على الله وقال أبو حيان رحمه الله[17] في قصيدته[18] بعد كلام

وقد قصرت أعمارنا وعلومنا يطول علينا حصرها ونكابده[19]
وفي كلها خير ولاكن أصلها هو النحو فاحذر من جَهول يعانده
به يعرف القرآن والسنة التي هما أصل دين الله ذو أنت عابده

وقال ابن الوردي في أول تحفته

وبعد فالجاهل بالنحو احتقر إذ كل علم فإليه يفتقر

وقال السيوطي في ألفيته

النحو خير ما به المرء عني[20] إذ ليس علم عنه حقا يغتني

وقال آخر

لو تعلم الطير ما في النحو من أدب لغنت ورنت عليه بالمناقير[21]

وقال آخر

اركب جواد النحو ثم ليكن لك على المنطق إكباب
تفلسف ثم تصوف[22] فليس إلا للعلم منهما[23] باب

ونسبته من العلوم الجزئية لأنه[24] جزئي لها وآلة توصل إليها ولا علم إلا وهو محتاج إليه كمالا[25] أو شرطا كما تقدم وفائدته أي غايته ملكة يحترز بها من الخطأ[26] في النطق حتى لا[27] يخرج عن القواعد العربية في الغالب واعلم[28] أن النحو مركب من علم الإعراب وعلم التصريف[29] فهما كالفن الواحد لا يتم[30] إلا بهما ولذا يجمعان غالبا في الموضوعات غير أن الكثير يصدرون بالإعراب لأنه

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[1] البخاري، أدب ١٥٩ // [2] ع: لـ // [3] ع: "علم الأحكام" بدلا من "العلم بالأحكام" // [4] انتهى (النقل) // [5] ع: مبنيان // [6] ع: وفضيلته // [7] ع: كلام الله // [8] ع: "رسوله" بدلا من "رسول الله" // [9] م: صونها // [10] ع: اللحن والتحريف // [11] "الصلاة" ساقطة من ع // [12] أبو داود، علم ١٥؛ ابن ماجة، مقدمة ١٨ // [13] ع: كلبت // [14] "ابن" ساقطة من ع // [15] "عنه" ساقطة من م // [16] ع: يغرب // [17] "رحمه الله" ساقطة من ع // [18] ع: قصيدة له // [19] م: نكائده // [20] الصدر في ع: النحو ما به خير ما به المرء عني // [21] ع: بالمناقر // [22] ع: تقوف // [23] م: منها // [24] م: لأنها // [25] ع: لو // [26] م: الخطا // [27] زيادة في ع: يفت // [28] ع: واعمل // [29] ع: التعريف // [30] ع: تتم

هو الأول وضعا كما تقدم (٧) عن[١] علي كرم الله وجهه ثم وضع على التصريف ومنهم من يبدؤون[٢] بالتصريف لأن مبحثه المفرد وهو قبل المركب وقد تُذكر جملة من التصريف[٣] في علم الإعراب كبناء صيغة المضارع والأمر وأبنية المصادر وأسماء الفاعلين والمفعولين والصفات المشبهات[٤] بها واسم التفضيل والزمان والمكان والإمالة[٥] والتكسير والتصغير ونحو ذلك فإن هذا شعبة من علم التصريف أدرج في علم الإعراب وذلك لأن علم التصريف على قسمين قسم يرجع لتغيير الكلمة لمعنى كبناء الفاعل والمفعول وهو المذكور غالبا في باب الإعراب وقسم يرجع إلى تغييرها لغير معنى وهو المذكور في باب التصريف والكتب الموضوعة لهذا العلم ثلاثة أقسام مختصرة ومتوسطة ومطولة فالأولى كهذه المقدمة وجمل المجراد وقواعد ابن هشام والثانية كألفية ابن مالك والسيوطي ومغني ابن هشام وأضْرابِها والثالثة ككتاب سيبويه رحمه الله[٦] وتسهيل ابن مالك وأضْرابِهما فقد قال أبو حيان من قرأ التسهيل لم يكن تحت أديم السماع أَنْحى منه وقد حلف ألا يقرأ من كتب النحو إلا هو وها هنا اصطلاحات قد يتوقف عليها في علم النحو منها تفسير الشاذ والضعيف والضرورة فالشاذ ما[٧] خالف القياس من غير نظر إلى قلة وجوده وكثرته والضعيف ما قل وجوده في كلام العرب والضرورة ما ليس للشاعر عنه مندوحة وقد يستعملون غالبا وكثيرا ونادرا وقليلا ومطردا فالمطرد ما لا يتخلف والغالب ما كثر لاكنه[٨] يختلف والكثير دونه والقليل دونه والنادر أقل من القليل ولا يقاس إلا على الكثير أو المطرد على المشهور والشاهد ما يذكر لتقرر[٩] قاعدة (٨) من كلام الله أو كلام رسوله أو كلام العرب والمثال ما يذكر لإيضاح تلك القاعدة والبصريون هم النحويون الناشئون بالبصرة كسيبويه رحمه الله[١٠] ومن أخذ[١١] عنهم كالخليل ويونس[١٢] وأبي عمرو بن العلاء ومن تبع هؤلاء في المذهب وإن لم ينشأ بالبصرة لاكن أخذ بمذهبهم والكوفيون هم النحويون الناشئون بالكوفة وأشهرهم الكسائي المقرئ ومن أخذ عنه كيحيى بن زياد[١٣] وخلف الأحمر وهشام الضرير وأبي إسحاق البغوي وأضرابهم ومن تبع مذهبهم وإن لم ينشأ بالكوفة واعلم أن العلم إن كان عقليا أو ذوقيا لم يحتج إلى نسبة قائله[١٤] إلا من حيث الكمال[١٥] وأما إن كان نقليا فلا بد من معرفة قائله لأنه موكول[١٦] إلى أمانته فمن اعتمد في نقله على من لا يعرف حاله كان كالباني من[١٧] غير أساس ثم ما تركب منهما كالفقه والنحو فإن كلا منهما منقول معقول لاكنه[١٨] يغلب فيه جانب النقل فينبغي معرفة القائل لتطمئن به[١٩] النفس إن[٢٠] المؤلف رحمه الله هو محمد بن محمد بن داود[٢١] الصنهاجي عرف بابن آجرّوم بفتح الهمزة الممدودة وضم الجيم والراء المشددة[٢٢] ومعناه بلغة البربر الفقير الصوفي ولعله[٢٣] بلغتهم[٢٤] بالقاف المعقودة ووصفه بعض الشراح بالفقيه الإمام الصالح البركة وبعضهم بالأستاذية والأستاذ بالدال المعجمة وهمزة مضمومة لفظة فارسية عربتها العرب ومعناه عند الفرس العالم بالشيء الماهر فيه والجمع أساتيذ وكان رحمه الله عالما بالقراءة[٢٥] ماهرا فيها شرح حرز الأماني شرحا عجيبا وتمهر في العربية فكان مجتهدا فيها (٩) لا يتقيد بمذهب البصريين ولا مذهب الكوفيين بل يميل مع الحق أينما ظهر له أخذ عن أبي حيان وغيره[٢٦] ولد رحمه الله عام اثنين وسبعين وستمائة وفي هذه السنة[٢٧] توفي جمال الدين بن مالك صاحب الألفية فكان يقال[٢٨] توفي نحوي وولد نحوي ومات رحمه الله سنة ثلاث وعشرين وسبعمائة فعمره إحدى وخمسون سنة روي أنه

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[١] زيادة في ع: سيدنا// [٢] م: يبدءوا؛ ع: يبدأ // [٣] ع: التعريف // [٤] ع: الصفة المشبهة // [٥] ع: والإصالة // [٦] "رحمه الله" ساقطة من ع // [٧] ع: من // [٨] ع: لكن // [٩] ع: لتقرير // [١٠] "رحمه الله" ساقطة من ع // [١١] زيادة في ع: هو [١٢] م :أبي يونس // [١٣] ع: زكريا // [١٤] م: قائلة // [١٥] بعد "قائلة" زيادة في ع: إذ برهانه في نفسه وشاهده معه فلا يحتاج إلى معرفة قائله إلا حيث الكمال // [١٦] ع: موكل // [١٧] ع: على [١٨] ع: لكن // [١٩] "به" ساقطة من ع // [٢٠] ع: فإن // [٢١] م: داوود // [٢٢] ع: المشدودة // [٢٣] م: ولعلهم؛ ع: ولعِلمه // [٢٤] ع: في لغتهم // [٢٥] ع: بالقراءات // [٢٦] ع: ومغيرة // [٢٧] ع: المائة // [٢٨] ع: يقول // [٢٩] م: لة // [٣٠] ع: بالبسملة // [٣١] انتهى النص المهمل في ك // [٣٢] ع: لبسم

رضي الله عنه حج وألف هذه المقدمة تجاه الكعبة ولذلك عمت بركتها ولم بفتح كتابه بالحمد له[1] بل اكتفى بالتسمية[2] أولا،

فقال*[3] **بسم[4] الله الرحمن الرحيم**[5] *فالباء[6] متعلقة بمحذوف يقدر من مادة[7] ما جعلت التسمية مبدأ له فيقدر هنا أؤلف ويقدر مؤخرا للإيذان بالحصر والاختصاص والباء للاستعانة أو المصاحبة والملابسة وطولت خطا عوضا عن[8] الألف المحذوف والاسم مشتق من السمو عند البصريين وهو العلو والارتفاع لأنه يدل[9] على مسماه ويظهره وأصله سمو حذفت لامه وعوض عنها همزة وصل وعند الكوفيين من الوَسْم وهو العلامة لأنه علامة على مسماه حذفت فاؤه وعوض عنها همزة وصل فوزنه عند البصريين افع وعند الكوفيين اعلى[10] والله علم على الذات الواجبة الوجود المستحقة للكمالات وهو أعرف المعارف عند الجمهور وبعده الضمير وهل هو مرتجل[11] أو منقول خلاف والرحمن[12] والرحيم صفتان بنيتا للمبالغة من رحم بعد نقله إلى فعل بالضم لأن الصفة المشبهة لا تكون إلا من القاصر والجمهور على أن الرحمن أبلغ من الرحيم لأن كثرة المبنى تدلّ على كثرة المعنى واختلف في تعيين معناهما فقيل الرحمان في الدنيا والرحيم في الآخرة (١٠) ولا شك أن الرحمة في الدنيا أعمّ لأنها تشمل المؤمن والكافر وفي الآخرة خاصة بالمؤمن وقيل الرحمن بجلائل النعم والرحيم بدقائقها وقيل الرحمن بنعمة[13] الإيجاد والرحيم بنعمة[14] الإمداد وهذا أحسنها ويجوز فيهما سبع إعرابات جرهما[15] ونصبهما ورفع الثاني ونصبه مع جر الأول ورفع الأول ونصب الثاني وعكسه ولا يجوز جر الثاني مع رفع الأول أو نصبه إذ لا يجوز الاتباع بعد القطع على المشهور،

ولما كان المقصود من علم النحو إصلاح الكلام من اللحن بدأ به*[16] فقال[17] رحمه الله[18] **الكلام هو اللفظ المركب المفيد بالوضع** *قلت[19] الكلام عند اللغويين كل ما يفهم المقصود كان قولا أو غيره وعند النحويين ما أشار له[20] المصنف بقوله هو اللفظ أي الصوت المشتمل على بعض الحروف الهجائية فاحترز به مما يفهم المعنى وليس بلفظ كالخط تقول العرب الخط أحد اللسانين،

والإشارة كقول الشاعر

حواجبنا تقضي الحوائج بيننا ونحن صموت والهوى يتكلم

ولسان الحال كقول الشاعر

امتلأ الحوض وقال قطني[21] مهلا رويدا قد ملأت بطني

وحديث النفس قال الشاعر

إن الكلام لفي[22] الفؤاد وإنما جعل اللسان على الفؤاد دليلا

والتكليم وهو مصدر كلم كقول الشاعر

قالوا كلامك هندا وهي مصيغة[23] يشفيك قلت صحيح ذاك لو كانا

فأطلق الكلام على التكليم الذي هو معنى وهو إيصال الكلام إلى الغير فهذه[24] كلها تسمى كلاما في اللغة لا في اصطلاح النحويين قال في الكلام عوض[25] عن المضاف إليه أي كلام النحويين وقيل للاستغراق و[26]قال المبرد رحمه الله[27] الكلام (١١) كله عربيه وعجميه لا يخرج عن هذه الأقسام الثلاثة اللفظ والتركيب والإفادة وبقوله بالوضع يخرج غير كلام العرب والمركب ما تركب من

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[1] م: لة // [2] ع: بالبسملة // [3] انتهى النص المهمل في ك // [4] ع: لبسم // [5] زيادة ٤٩ سطرا في ك بدايتها: "لم يتكلم في الأصل [= ابن عجيبة] على ما يتعلق بها بطريق الإشارة فنقول ..." // [6] النص بين النجمتين مهمل في ك // [7] ع: "كل واحد" بدلا من "من مادة" // [8] ع: من // [9] ع: يدر // [10] ع: اعل // [11] ع: مترجل // [12] م: الرحمان // [13] ع: بنعمت // [14] ع: بنعمت // [15] زيادة في ع: ورفعهما // [16] انتهى النص المهمل في ك // [17] ك: قال المصنف // [18] زيادة في ك: تعالى // [19] النص بين النجمتين مهمل في ك // [20] ع: إليه // [21] ع: خطني // [22] ع: في // [23] ع: مصغية // [24] زيادة في ع: الأمور // [25] ع: عوضا // [26] "و" ساقطة من ع // [27] "رحمه الله" ساقطة من ع

كلمتين فأكثر سواء كان ملفوظا به[1] أو مقدّرا كاستقم وسواء تركب من[2] اسمين أو من فعل واسم أو من فعل واسمين أو من فعل وثلاثة أسماء أو من جملتين واحترز به من الكلمة الواحدة إما حقيقة ككم وهل وبل أو حكما كبعلبك وامرئ[3] القيس وتأبط شرا علما وأسقط هذا الشرط أي المركب[4] كثير من النحويين استغناء عنه بالمفيد تنبيه لا يشترط في المركب أن يكون من متكلم واحد فلو اتفق رجلان أن يقول أحدهما كلمة والآخر كلمة وحصلت الفائدة للسامع لكان كلاما كما أن الكاتب لا يشترط اتحاده في كون الخط خطه قاله ابن مالك وغيره والمفيد ما أفاد فائدة يحسن سكوت المتكلم عليها بحيث لا يصير السامع منتظرا لشيء آخر واحترز به مما لا فائدة فيه لتوقفه على غيره لجملة الشرط دون الجواب[5] أو ما هو معلوم عند المخاطب كالسماء فوقنا والأرض تحتنا والنار حارة والله ربنا إذا خاطب به المؤمن هكذا قاله[6] الجمهور وقال أبو حيان لا وجه له[7] لاشتراط كون الفائدة جديدة وإلا لزم في كل ما علم مدلوله أن لا[8] يكون كلاما واللازم باطل قلت أما الإخبار بمعلوم فلا وجه للنطق به إلا على وجه التبرك أو[9] التلذذ أو الترقي في اليقين أو التحذير والتبشير[10] فهذا لا بأس بذكره ويسمى كلاما باعتبار قائله[11] والله تعالى أعلم وقوله بالوضع المراد به الوضع العربي وهو جعل اللفظ دليلا على المعنى احترز به من كلام العجم وهو (١٢) كل ما خالف العربية كالعبرانية والسريانية والشلحية[12] وغير ذلك فلا يسمى شيء من ذلك كلاما عند النحويين إذ لا بحث لهم فيه بإعراب أو[13] بناء وقيل المراد بالوضع القصد وهو أن يقصد المتكلم إفادة السامع فاحترز به من كلام النائم والسكران ومحاكات الطيور فلا يسمى شيء من ذلك كلاما وهذا القيد اعتبره الجزولي وابن مالك وابن عصفور وغيرهم ورد بأن المفيد يغنى عنه فإن حصلت الفائدة للسامع من هؤلاء وأيقن بصحة كلامهم سمي كلاما في حقه قال الأزهري وهذا الخلاف له التفات إلى الخلاف في أن[14] دلالة الكلام[15] هل هي وضعية أم[16] عقلية والأصح الثاني فإن من عرف مسمى زيد وعرف مسمى قائم وسمع زيد قائم بإعرابه المخصوص فهم بالضرورة معنى هذا الكلام هـ يعنى أن الخلاف في تفسير الوضع بالوضع العربي أو بالقصد مبني على الخلاف في دلالة الكلام على[17] المعنى هل هي وضعية أم[18] عقلية فإن قلنا دلالة الكلام على المعنى وضعية فسرنا الوضع بالوضع العربي وإن قلنا ضلالته عقلية فسرنا الوضع[19] بالقصد وقوله والأصح الثاني فيه نظر بل الأصح أن دلالة الكلام وضعية فإن[20] العرب كما وضعت المفردات تدل على الأشخاص وضعت الجمل تدل على النسب لاكن وضع المفردات بالشخص بأن وضعت كل مفرد يدل على[21] مسماه ووضع الجمل بالنوع بأن وضعت بعض الجمل تدل على النسب بأن تكلمت ببعض الجمل وسكتت عن الباقي فقس[22] ما لم تتكلم به على ما تكلمت به فانظر[23] الشنواني هذا ما يتعلق بالكلام وأما الكلم فهو اسم جنس جمعي أقله ثلاثة أفاد أم لا فقولك قام زيد كلام لا كَلِم وقولك إن قام زيد (١٣) كَلِم[24] وقولك قد قام زيد كلام وكلم والكلمة اسم مفرد كزيد والقول عام فيصدق بالكلام والكلم والكلمة وينفرد بقولك غلام زيد فبين الكلام والكلم عموم وخصوص من وجه وبحث فيه الأزهري بعدم[25] اتحاد المادة فانظره والله تعالى أعلم*[26].

الإشارة[27] الكلام عند الأكياس هو اللفظ المركب من المقال والحال بأن يكون المتكلم ممن يُنْهِض حالُه ويدل على الله مقاله المفيد في قلوب[28] المستمعين إما علوما أو أسرارا أو أنوارا[29] وفي الحِكَم تسبق أنوار الحكماء أقوالهم فحيث ما سار[30] التنوير وصل التعبير فيفيد بمجرد وضعه في القلوب نهوضا واشتياقا إلى الحضرة[31] أو خوفا زاجرا عن المعصية والحاصل أن الكلام

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[1] "به" ساقطة من ع // [2] ع: في // [3] م: امرء // [4] ع: التركيب // [5] ع: الجزاء // [6] ع: قال // [7] "له" ساقطة من ع [8] ع: "ألا" بدلا من "أن لا" // [9] ع: و // [10] زيادة في ع: في الوعظ // [11] ع: قالبه // [12] م: السلحية // [13] ع: ولا // [14] "أن" ساقطة من ع // [15] ع: الأحكام // [16] ع: أو // [17] ع: وعلى // [18] ع: أو // [19] "بالوضع العربي وإن قلنا ضلالته عقلية فسرنا الوضع" ساقطة من ع // [20] ع: لأن // [21] م: على على // [22] م: فقيس // [23] م: انظر // [24] زيادة في ع: لا كلام // [25] ع: بعد // [26] انتهى النص المهمل في ك // [27] ك: أي // [28] ع: قول // [29] ع؛ ك: أنوارا أو أسرارا // [30] ك: صار // [31] زيادة في ع: المقدسة؛ ك: القدسية

إذا خرج من القلب وقع[1] في القلب فيفيد إما خوفا مزعجا أو شوقا مقلقا وإذا خرج من اللسان كان حده الآذان أو تقول[2] الكلام عند الحكماء هو اللفظ المركب من القول والعمل فإذا كان الكلام خاليا عن العمل كان غير[3] مفيد في القلوب[4] لكون الحال يكذب المقال لأن المتكلم الواعظ إذا عمل أولا ثم تكلم ووعظ نفع قوله وأنهض[5] حاله وإلا كان ضربا في[6] حديد بارد وفي ذلك قول[7] الشاعر

يـــا أيهـــا الـــرجل المعلـــم غيره ... هـــلا لنفســـك كـــان ذا التعليـــم
تصـف الدواء لذي السقام وذي الضنا ... ومـن الضنـا وجـواه[8] وأنـت سقيـم
وأراك[9] تلقح[10] بـالرشـاد عقـولنـا ... نصحـا وأنـت مـن الـرشـاد عديـم
ابـدأ بنفســك فـانههـا عـن غيها ... فـإذا انتهـت عنـه فـأنـت حكيـم
فهنـاك يقبـل إن وعظـت[11] ويقتدي ... بـالقـول[12] منـك وينفـع التعليـم
لا تَنْهَ عـن خُلُـق وتـأتِيَ مثله ... عـار عليـك إذا فعلـت عظيـم

(١٤) وإن شئت قلت الكلام الذي يعود بالنفع على صاحبه هو اللفظ المركب من القلب واللسان المفيد بوضعه في القلب تنويرا أو ترقية وشهودا وهو الذكر الحقيقي باللسان والقلب أو بالقلب والروح أو بالروح والسر وهو دوام الشهود أو المفيد أجرا جزيلا وإحسانا جميلا وهو ذكر اللسان والقلب إذا كان بلا شيخ أو أمرا بمعروف أو نهيا عن المنكر[13] وما سوى ذلك لغو وهدر ولهو وتضييع العمر واشتغال[14] بما لا يعني قال[15] تعالى لا خير في كثير من نجواهم إلا من أمر بصدقة أو معروف أو إصلاح بين الناس وقال عليه السلام[16] من حسن إسلام المرء تركه ما لا يعنيه فالكلام كله عليك لا لك إلا ذكر الله وما والاه وفي الحديث رحم الله عبدا سكت فسلم أو تكلم فغنم ويرحم الله القائل: لو يكون[17] الكلام فـي القيـاس[18] / مـن فضة بيضاء عند الناس[19] في القياس / إذا لكان الصمت من عين الذهب[20] / فـافهـم هداك الله آداب الطلـب،

وسمعت شيخنا البوزيدي رضي الله[21] عنه يقول الفقير الصادق يتكلم[22] بكلمة واحدة يقضي بها[23] ألف حاجة والفقير الكاذب يتكلم بألف كلمة[24] يقضي[25] حاجة واحدة هـ قلت[26] في بعض الرسائل لبعض الإخوان بعد كلام طالب الوصول لا تجده إلا ذاكرا أو متفكرا أو تاليا أو مصليا أو مذكرا أو مستمعا أوقاته معمورة وحركاته وسكناته بالإخلاص[27] ملحوظة إن تكلم فبذكر الله أو ما يقرب[28] إلى الله وإن صمت فعن الغيبة في الله يجول في عظمة الله، أو فيما يقرب[29] إلى الله، وإن تحرك فبالله، وإلى الله[30]، وإن سكن فمع الله، متأنسا[31] بالله، مشتغلا بربه، غائبا عن نفسه، ليس له عن نفسه إخبار، ولا مع (١٥) غير[32] الله قرار، اُنسُه بالله، ومجالسته مع الله، التقوى زاده، والقناعة رفاده، ومن بحر العرفان استمداده[33]، قد استغنى بالله عما سواه، ورفض وراء ظهره دنياه وهواه، قد اتخذ الله صاحبا، وترك الناس جانبا، لخ[34] وفي الصمت عن غير ذكر الله حكم وأسرار لا يذوقها إلا من استعمله[35] وتخلق به[36] والله تعالى[37] أعلم *هذا[38] ما يتعلق بكلام الخلق عبارة وإشارة وأما كلام الحق تعالى فهو معنى قائم بذاته قديم بقدم الذات، منزه عن الحروف والأصوات، وعن التركيب والتقديم والتأخير وسائر أنواع التغييرات، المتعلق تعلق دلالة بما يتعلق به العلم من المتعلقات، ولما كانت المعنى لا تظهر[39] بالحس خلق الله حروفا وأصواتا تدل على ذلك المعنى فتارة يخلقها من الجمادات

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[1] ع: وضع // [2] ك: نقول // [3] ع: غيره // [4] زيادة في م، ك: شيئا // [5] ك: نهض // [6] ع: من // [7] ع: يقول // [8] ك: كيما يصح به (بدلا من "ومـن الضنـا وجـواه") // [9] ع: نزاك؛ ك: ونراك // [10] ع: نـزاك تصلـح // [11] ك: ما تقول (بدلا من "إن وعظـت") // [12] ك: بالوعظ // [13] ع، ك: منكر // [14] ك: والاشتغال // [15] زيادة في ك: الله // [16] ك: عليه الصلاة والسلام // [17] م: يكن؛ ك: قدر (بدلا من "يكون") // [18] ك: عند الناس (بدلا من "في القياس") // [19] ك: في القياس بدلا من عند الناس // [20] ك: من ذهب // [21] زيادة في ك: تعالى // [22] ساقطة من ك // [23] "بها" ساقطة من ك // [24] زيادة في ك: ولا // [25] زيادة في ع: بها // [26] ع، ك: وقلت // [27] ع: بالإخلاصه // [28] ك: بما يقربه // [29] ع، ك: يقربه // [30] "وإلى الله" ساقطة من ك // [31] ع: مستأنسا // [32] "غير" ساقطة من ع // [33] م: اسمداده // [34] ساقطة من ك، ع // [35] زيادة في ك: الله // [36] ك: بالله // [37] ساقطة من ك // [38] النص بين النجمتين مهمل في ك // [39] ع: إلا

كالشجرة وغيرها مثلا وتارة من الحيوان[1] كالملائكة والآدمي وغيرهما فكما أن الذات لا تظهر إلا في مظاهر التجليات الحسية كذلك الصفات لا تظهر إلا في مظاهر التجليات[2] الخليقة فالكلام معنى قائم بالذات ولا تقبض المعنى إلا بالحس فأظهر الله حروفا وأصواتا تدل على معنى كلامه تعالى ولما كانت كل صفة من صفاته[3] تعالى لا تتناهى كان ما يدل عليها لا يتناهى جنسه ونوعه فالكلام الذي هو معنى قائم بذاته تعالى لا نهاية له لأنه[4] تابع لعلمه كذلك ما يدل عليه لا يتناهى جنسه ونوعه «قل لو كان البحر مدادا لكلمات ربي لنفد[5] البحر قبل أن تنفد[6] كلمات ربي ولو جئنا بمثله مددا»[7] «ولو أنما في الأرض من شجرة أقلام والبحر يمده من بعده سبعة أبحر ما نفدت[8] كلمات الله»[9] وقول (١٦) المتكلمين كلما دخل الوجود متناه خاص بالمخلوقات وصفاتها وأما ذات الحق[10] وصفاته فلا نهاية لها ولا لما يدل عليها فتجليات الذات لا تنحصر ولا تناهى[11] وكذلك تجليات الصفات لا تنحصر ولا تناهى[12] نوعا وجنسا فكلام الخلق يتناهى نوعا ولفظا[13] وكلام الحق لا يتناهى نوعا[14] وإن تناهى[15] لفظا فكل كلمة برزت للوجود تتناهى في نفسها لأنها مخلوقة ولا تتناهى[16] في نوعها لأنها دالة على معنى لا نهاية لها فإذا انقضت كلمة من جهة لفظها فلا بد من كلمة أخرى تدل على المعنى الذي لا نهاية له وهكذا لأن الكلام تابع للعلم وعلمه تعالى لا نهاية له فكذلك كلامه الدال عليه فالحروف والأصوات مخلوقة حادثة وإليه الإشارة بقوله تعالى «ما يأتيهم من ذكر من ربهم محدث»[17] والمعنى قديم بقدم الذات والله[18] أعلم،

ولما كان كل مركب لا بد له من أجزاء يتركب منها بين ذلك فقال*[19] **وأقسامه ثلاثة اسم وفعل وحرف جاء لمعنى** *قلت[20] الضمير يعود على الكلام فهو من تقسيم الشيء إلى أجزائه لا إلى أنواعه والفرق بينهما أن تقسيم الشيء إلى أنواعه يصح حمل المقسوم على كل نوع من أنواعه كتقسيم الإعراب إلى أربعة كما يأتي فيصح أن تقول الرفع إعراب والنصب إعراب والخفض إعراب والجزم إعراب[21] بخلاف تقسيم الكلام إلى الاسم والفعل والحرف فلا يصح أن تقول الاسم كلام والفعل كلام والحرف كلام فهو من تقسيم الشيء إلى أجزائه أي أجزاء الكلام التي تركب[22] منها من حيث مجموعها لا جميعها ثلاثة والتحقيق أن التقسيم إنما هو الكلمة التي يتركب (١٧) الكلام منها فلو قال وأقسام[23] الكلمة التي يتركب منها ثلاثة لكان أحسن لأن الكلام قد يتركب من جزءين فقط فلا يفي بتمام التقسيم وحقيقة الاسم ما دل على معنى في نفسه ولم يتعرض بصيغته للزمان وهو على ثلاثة أقسام ظاهر ومضمر ومبهم كالموصولات والإشارات وحقيقة الفعل ما دل على معنى في نفسه وتعرض بصيغته للزمان وهو ثلاثة ماض مضارع[24] وأمر وحقيقة الحرف ما دل على معنى في غيره فقط وهو ثلاثة مختص بالأسماء كحرف الجر ومختص بالأفعال كالنواصب والجوازم ومشترك بينهما كهل وبل وكم وقولنا في حد[25] الحرف فقط احترازا[26] من أسماء الشروط وإنها تدل في نفسها وفي غيرها فهي أسماء لا حروف وسمي الاسم اسما لسموه لأنه يدل على شرف مسماه غالبا ولأنه يخبر به وعنه ولذلك استحق التقديم وسمي الفعل فعلا لأنه يدل على فعل صدر من الفاعل ولذلك قال سيدنا علي رضي الله عنه[27] الاسم ما دل على المسمى والفعل ما دل على حركة المسمى وقد لا يدل على فعل كمات وهلك فيدل على الاتصاف بالشيء أي اتصف بالموت والهلاك ومنه عز وذل أي اتصف بالعز والذل وسمي الحرف حرفا لوقوعه طرفا من الكلام ليس

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[1] ع: الحيوانات // [2] "الحسية كذلك الصفات لا تظهر إلا في مظاهر التجليات" ساقطة من ع // [3] م: صفته // [4] ع: لأن // [5] م، ع: لنفذ // [6] م، ع: تنفذ // [7] الكهف، ١٠٩ // [8] م، ع: نفذت // [9] لقمان، ٢٧ // [10] زيادة في ع: تعالى // [11] ع: تتناهى // [12] ع: تتناهى // [13] ع: "لفظا ونوعا" بدلا من "نوعا ولفظا" // [14] "وكلام الحق لا يتناهى نوعا" مكررة غلطا في ع // [15] ع: وإن كان يتناهى // [16] م: تتناه // [17] الأنبياء، ٢ // [18] زيادة في ع: تعالى // [19] انتهى النص المهمل في ك // [20] النص بين النجمتين مهمل في ك // [21] "والجزم إعراب" ساقطة من ع // [22] ع: يتركب // [23] ع: وأقسامه // [24] ع: ومضارع // [25] ع: مد // [26] ع: احتراز // [27] ع: كرم الله وجهه ورضي عنه

مقصودا بالذات ومنه[1] حرف الجبل أي طرفه قال الله[2] تعالى «ومن الناس من يعبد الله على حرف»[3] أي طرف من الدين غير متمكن منه بل أقل شيء[4] يزلزله عنه واحترز بقوله جاء[5] لمعنى من حروف المباني[6] التي هي جزء الكلمة كالضاد من ضرب والعين من عمر ومن حروف المعجم التي هي أصل مدار اللغة عربيها وعجميها وهي ألف وباء وتاء لخ[7] فهي[8] أسماء والمعنى الذي جاء إليها الحرف هي المعنى (١٨) في غيره كمن لتبعيض الكلام فهي تدل على تبعيض غيرها لا نفسها و[9]ابتداء غاية غيرها وهكذا[10] وكذلك إلى تدل على انتهاء غيرها الواقع بعدها وكذا[11] سائر حروف المباني[12] كإن لتأكيد[13] ما بعدها وليت لتمنيه[14] وقس على ذلك،

الإشارة*[15] وأقسام الكلام الذي يصل به العبد إلى حضرة مولاه ثلاثة الاسم[16] أي ذكر اسم[17] المفرد وهو الله قال تعالى «واذكر اسم ربك وتبتل إليه تبتيلا»[18] أي انقطع إليه انقطاعا كليا ليلا ونهارا فالاسم المفرد هو سلطان الأسماء وهو اسم الله الأعظم فلا يزال المريد يذكره بلسانه ويستهر[19] به حتى يمتزج بلحمه ودمه وتسري[20] أنواره في كليته[21] وجزئياته فيتحد الذاكر والمذكور فينتقل الذكر إلى القلب ثم إلى الروح ثم إلى السر فحين[22] يخرس[23] اللسان ويحصل على محل الشهود والعيان فيصير ذكر اللسان ذنبا من الذنوب عند مشاهدة علام الغيوب حسنات الأبرار سيآت المقربين وفي ذلك يقول الشاعر

ما إن ذكرتك إلا هَمّ يلعنني[24] سري وقلبي وروحي عند ذكراك[25]
حتى كأن رقيبا منك يهتف في[26] إياك ويحك والتذكار إياك[27]
أما تر[28] الحق قد لاحت شواهده وواصل الكل من معناه معناك[29]

فالذكر منشور الولاية ولا بد منه في البداية والنهاية وهو باب عظيم للدخول على الله كما قال الشاعر

الذكر باب عظيم أنت داخله فاجعل لمنزله[30] الأنفاس حراسا

والثاني الفعل والمراد به[31] مجاهدة النفس في خرق عوائدها كيف تخرق لك العوائد وأنت لم تخرق[32] من نفسك العوائد فيخرق[33] كثرة الكلام بالصمت وكثرة النوم بالسهر وكثرة الأكل بشيء من الجوع وأهم العوائد (١٩) الشاقة على النفس حب الرياسة والجاه والمال[34] فيخرقها[35] بالذل والفقر والنزول بها إلى الأرض[36] الخمول ادفن نفسك[37] في أرض الخمول فما نبت مما لم يدفن لا يتم نتاجه والمراد[38] بالخمول كل ما يسقط جاهها ويحط قدرها عند الناس فقد قالوا[39] كل ما سقط من عين الخلق عظم[40] في[41] عين الحق وبالعكس فإذا صار الذل والضعة والخمول عنده أحلى من[42] العز فقد ملك نفسه ومن ملك نفسه ملك الوجود بأسره ووصل إلى حضرة ربه قال بعضهم انتهى سير السائرين إلى الظفر[43] بنفوسهم[44] فإن ظفروا بها وصلوا والثالث الحرف والمراد[45] به الهمة والقريحة وطلب الوصول إلى الله تعالى وهذا الحرف لا بد منه في البداية فإذا وصل إلى الله حذفه قال الشيخ أبو الحسن الشاذلي رضي الله[46] إن[47] كان ولا بد من الحرف فحرف بينك وبين الله خير من الحرف[48] يكون بينك وبين الخلق والمراد[49] بالحرف الطمع في الوصول إلى مرتبة من

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[1] ع: ومن // [2] "الله" ساقطة من ع [3] الحج، ١١ // [4] ع: بشيء // [5] ع: حباء // [6] ع: المعاني // [7] ع: إلى آخره // [8] ع: فإنها // [9] ع: أو // [10] م: هاكذا // [11] ع: وكذلك // [12] ع: المعاني // [13] ع: لتوكيد // [14] ع: للتمني // [15] انتهى النص المهمل في ك // [16] ك: اسم // [17] ع، ك: الاسم // [18] المزمل، ٨ // [19] ع: ويستهتر؛ ك: يهتز // [20] ك: يسري // [21] ك: كلياته // [22] ع، ك: فحينئذ // [23] م: يخرص // [24] ك: يقلقني // [25] ك: قلبي وروحي وسري عند ذكراكا // [26] ك: يهتفني؛ ع: يهتف بي // [27] ك: إياكا // [28] ع، ك: ترى // [29] ك: معناكا // [30] ع: بمنزله // [31] ك: المقصود به // [32] ع: تغير // [33] ع: فتخرق // [34] "والمال" ساقطة من ع // [35] ع: فيتخرقها؛ ك: فيحقرها // [36] ع؛ ك: أرض // [37] ع، ك: وجودك // [38] ك: المقصود // [39] ع: قالوهم // [40] ك: عظيم // [41] ع: مني // [42] زيادة في ع: العسل // [43] ع: بالظفر // [44] ع :لنفوسهم // [45] ك: المقصود // [46] زيادة في ع: عنه؛ زيادة في ك: تعالى عنه // [47] ك: إذا // [48] ك: حرف // [49] ك: المقصود

المراتب فالحرف النوراني هو الطمع في الوصول إلى الله أو إلى رضوانه أو إلى كرامات من كرامات[1] أوليائه أو إلى نعيمه الدائم والحرف الظلماني هو الطمع في الوصول إلى حظ من حظوظ النفس العاجلة كالرياسة والتعظيم والجاه وحب الدنيا وغير ذلك من المقاصد الدنية[2] التي يقصدها أهل الهمم الدنية[3] والحاصل من الإشارة أنها ترجع إلى الأقسام الثلاثة التي يقطعها[4] المريد وهي الشريعة والطريقة والحقيقة فالشريعة أقواله عليه السلام[5] والطريقة أفعاله والحقيقة أحواله قال صلى الله[6] عليه وسلم «الشريعة مقالي والطريقة فعالي والحقيقة حالي»[7] فالشريعة أن تعبده والطريقة أن تقصده والحقيقة أن تشهده فالشريعة جلها أقوال (٢٠) والطريقة جُلها أفعال أي مجاهدة ومكابدة والحقيقة جُلها أخلاق وأذواق وإلى هذا ترجع الإشارة بقوله اسم وفعل وحرف كما تقدم فالشريعة للعوام والطريقة للخواص والحقيقة لخواص الخواص والعوام[8] اقتصروا على التمسك بالشريعة الظاهرة والخواص تمسكوا بالشريعة في الظاهر وزادوا سلوك الطريق[9] إلى الحقيقة بتهذيب النفوس وتطهير القلوب وهم السائرون من المريدين وخواص الخواص تمسكوا بالشريعة في الظاهر وبالطريقة في الباطن فأشرقت عليهم أنوار الحقائق فتخلقوا بأخلاقه عليه السلام[10] وورثوا[11] حاله ومقاله فهم الورثة الحقيقيون ورثوا التركة بتمامها أقواله وأفعاله وأحواله[12] وإلى هذا أشار صاحب المباحث[13] قال[14]

تبعه العالم في الأقوال والعابد الناسك في الأفعال
وفيهما الصوفي[15] في سباق[16] لاكنه[17] قد زاد بالأخلاق[18]

وذكر القشيري في تفسير قوله تعالى «فمنهم ظالم لنفسه ومنهم مقتصد ومنهم سابق بالخيرات»[19] قال[20] الظالم[21] لنفسه[22] المتمسك بأقواله عليه السلام[23] والمقتصد أي المتوسط المتمسك بأقواله وأفعاله والسابق بالخيرات المتمسك بأخلاقه عليه السلام[24] اهـ[25] أي المتمسك بأخلاقه بعد التمسك بأقواله وأفعاله والله تعالى أعلم ثم ذكر ما يتميز به كل واحد من[26] الأقسام الثلاثة[27].

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[1] ع: كرامة من كرامة؛ ك: كرامة من كرامات // [2] ع، ك: الدنيوية // [3] ع، ك: الدينية // [4] ك: يقصدها // [5] ك: الصلاة والسلام // [6] زيادة في ك: تعالى // [7] حديث صوفي معروف // [8] ع؛ ك: فالعوام // [9] ك: السلوك في الطريق // [10] ك: الصلاة والسلام // [11] "و" ساقطة من ك // [12] ك: وأخلاقه // [13] زيادة في ع: حيث // [14] ع، ك: حيث قال // [15] ك: الموفي // [16] ع؛ ك: السباق // [17] ك: لكنه // [18] ك: في الأخلاق // [19] فاطر، ٣٢ // [20] زيادة في ك: إن // [21] زيادة في ع: هو // [22] زيادة في ع: هذه // [23] ك: الصلاة والسلام // [24] ك: الصلاة والسلام // [25] ساقطة من ك // [26] ع: هذه // [27] "ثم ذكر ما يتميز به كل واحد من الأقسام الثلاثة" ساقطة من ك

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PROOF OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN AVERROËS AND ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

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Ibn Rušd, who among Western scholars is called Averroës, and St. Thomas Aquinas were well-known theologians and philosophers in the Middle Ages. Averroës as a Muslim and Aquinas as a Christian gave a huge contribution in the field of theology and philosophy. It is also undeniable that their philosophical thoughts are influenced by Aristotelianism. It is a historical fact as stated by many scholars — Muslims and non-Muslims — that some philosophical thoughts of Aquinas have been influenced by Averroës's philosophy.

In theology, Averroës and Aquinas discussed many issues relating to God. One of them is the proof of the existence of God. Both, Averroës and Aquinas, agree that the existence of God is demonstrable. According to Averroës the existence of God can be demonstrated through physics, not metaphysics as held by Avicenna. Averroës said that physics establishes the existence of the subject matter of metaphysics. Furthermore, Averroës said that physics studies the principles of all mobile substances, and metaphysics, on the other hand, must accept the results of physics (Daig 1972: 205–206). This means that metaphysics must begin with the fact of matter and form, and these two things are included in the scope of discussion of physics. Although in this case Aquinas preferred Avicenna to Averroës, he did not accept totally what has been argued by Avicenna.

In fact, Aquinas, like Averroës, used both concepts of physics and metaphysics. This is because physics studies mobile being as mobile, while metaphysics studies all substances from the point of view of substantial being (Doig 1972: 207). This can be seen when we refer to his *Five Ways* where he plainly mentioned in his *Summa Contra Gentiles* that he based the argument of the existence of God on the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle (Aquinas *Summa* I, 3).

According to Aquinas's view one is able to demonstrate the existence of God from the things that He has made, His effects, though they are not proportionate to Him. Aquinas pointed out that because every effect must have a cause, the existence of an effect is sufficient to demonstrate the existence of its cause. Therefore he argued that the existence of God can be demonstrated from His effects.

Averroës's proof

Averroës in his commentary on the physics of Aristotle laid down a theory of motion as one of the proofs of the existence of God. He described it in detail in his *Tahāfut at-tahāfut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence; e.g. 59; 66; 75; 79) and *Mā*

baʿd aṭ-ṭabīʿa (Metaphysics; e.g. I, 20; III, 1565; 1588; 1599). As a peripatetic philosopher, he recognized that this theory is valid as a proof of the existence of God. This proof, however, is too complicated and too difficult for the masses to grasp it adequately. Thus he did not suggest this proof as a proof of the existence of God in his *Kašf*. *Kašf* introduces us to his approach about the Islamic creed according to the Quranic teaching. In *Kašf*, Averroës presented two proofs of the existence of God, based on many verses of the Quran, because he believed that Quranic teaching is acceptable for all levels of human understanding, whether they belong to the demonstrative, dialectical or rhetorical groups. This means that when he referred to the Quran, he did not base his argument of the existence of God on logical and philosophical premises which sometimes are not certain and cannot be understood by the laity. Based on this reason, he criticized proofs given by Muslim theologians, such as those given by the Aš^{c}arites. So, to the benefit of both intellectuals and the masses, he gave two proofs of the existence of God. These two proofs are called providence and creation.

1. Proof of Providence

Averroës said that this proof is based on two principles: first, that all existences are adaptively created to man's existence. Secondly, that any adaptation in the universe must necessarily be brought about by an agent, it cannot be merely the result of chance. The first principle, Averroës said, is self-evident. Furthermore, he said, when a man has examined some sensible objects such as the sun, the moon, the earth and all the stars fitted for the habitation of man and animals, then he knows positively that it is impossible that this harmony for man, animals and plants in all parts of the universe should arise by chance, but it must proceed from someone who arranged it and made it by his attention, and that is God (Averroës, *Kašf* 150). Averroës gave an example: if a man sees a stone on the ground, in its shape fit for sitting on, then he will come to know that it was made by a maker who put it there (*ibid.* 194).

According to Averroës, this proof is positive and simple, acceptable by all (*ibid.* 195). The ground of this proof is found in the Quran which can be understood from many verses (e.g. Q 78:6–16; 80:23–32). Through the verses, as Averroës said, we recognize that the adaptation of all parts of the universe is suitable for man's existence (Averroës, *Kašf* 195). Again, Averroës said that evidence for this concept of providence does not only manifest itself in the universe, but also in human and animal organs where each organ has its certain function to maintain their life and existence (*ibid.* 150). This proof of Averroës, in relation to intellectuals, can be systematized as follows:

a) The universe in all parts is fit for the existence of man and other beings here.
b) All existing beings in all parts, which are adapted to the existence of man and all other beings, are necessarily created.

c) The universe is created and has a maker.

2. Proof of Creation

Averroës mentioned that this proof is also based on two principles. The first is that all existences are created, and secondly, that every created thing has a creator. Again, Averroës said that the first principle is quite clear in the case of animals as God mentions in the Quran. For example, "Surely those upon whom you call, apart from God, shall never create a fly, though they banded together to do it" (Q 22:72). From this verse, Averroës said, if we see organic substances and then we find life in them, we know certainly that there is a creator and bestower of life, that is God (Averroës, *Kašf* 151).

When we analyze the first and the second principle of Averroës's proof, we can reach a conclusion that every existence must have a creator. Averroës himself clearly said that these two principles are valid to prove that every existence has a maker. To support the validity of this principle, he referred to the verse of the Quran: "Have they not considered the dominion of the heaven and the earth and things God has created?" (Q 22:75). In fact there are many other verses in the Quran which show the proof of creation. For example 86:6–7, 88:17–20 and the like.

The proof of creation, actually, does not show many differences compared to the proof of providence. The second proof (proof of creation) mostly depends on the first one (proof of providence) (al-ʿIrāqī 1968: 230) and there is some overlapping. For example, the proposition "every created thing has a creator" in the second proof, is partly discussed in the first proof.

Furthermore, in Averroës's second proof, though he said that it is drawn from the Quranic verses, we find that there is a logical element, such as the statement: "every created thing has a creator". This logical premise is not so easy to be understood by the masses. However, we find that Averroës plainly recognized that these two proofs are religious proofs (*šarʿ*) (Averroës, *Kašf* 151) which, according to him, are suitable for both the intellectuals and the masses. As for the masses, they can understand and grasp by their senses, while intellectuals can go further and learn by reasoning as well as by sense (*ibid.* 153).

Averroës said that these two methods are the correct way by which God invites men to a knowledge of existence. Therefore he insisted that the Quranic verses leading to the knowledge of the existence of God are dependent only on the two foregoing arguments. Some point to the argument of providence (e.g. Q 78:6–16; 2:22), some point to the argument of creation (e.g. Q 78:6–16; 2:22), and some comprise both arguments (e.g. Q 3:191; 36:23).

The conclusion of the two proofs relates to the universe, where the first proof concerns the harmoniousness of the movement of all parts of the universe, and the utility of its harmoniousness to humankind and other beings; the second proof shows

that the universe is not created by itself, but by someone else — God (Averroës, *Kašf* 195).

Of these two proofs Averroës explained the proof of providence in more detail than that of creation, so the proof of providence, according to him, is the best proof for the existence of God.

Aquinas's proof

Aquinas presented his famous *Five Ways* of proving God's existence in his two *Summas*. He claimed that his proofs are the same as those used by both philosophers and Catholic teachers (Aquinas, *Summa* I, 13).

The first three of the *Five Ways* are best included under the well-known *Cosmological Argument* (Craig 1980: 160), and the background of these arguments is Aristotle's philosophy. The Fourth argument points back to Plato's idea of the eternal form and also points forward to the moral argument. The Fifth argument points to the *Teleological Argument.*

This paper is not intended to criticize Aquinas's argument of the existence of God by comparing his thought with that of other Christian philosophers. But the main purpose is to lay down his argument and then try to point out if there are any similarities between Averroës's and Aquinas's proofs. Aquinas's proofs are as follows:

The First Way: Argument from motion or change

In brief this argument is based on motion or change. Aquinas said that everything that is moved is moved by another, and that in movers and things moved one cannot proceed to infinity. So we must posit some unmoved-mover. This we call God (Aquinas, *Summa* I, 13).

This argument is the longest of the *Five Ways* presented by Aquinas in his *Summa.* In the *Summa Theologiae* Aquinas gave no indication of the sources of this proof, but in *Summa Contra Gentiles* he mentioned that this proof stems from Aristotle's physics.

Aquinas introduced many logical propositions in this argument which sometimes are very difficult to be understood by the masses.

There are two important propositions in the argument of motion or change. First, "that everything moved or changed is moved by another", and second, that "it is impossible to go back to infinity in a series of things moving and moved". The Second proposition is an extremely important point (Patterson 1993: 60), because many have criticized this proposition (*ibid.* 60ff). In establishing this second proposition, Aquinas referred to Aristotle's physics, which Aquinas explained in detail in his *Summa.*

During the Middle Ages the first way was regarded as the strongest of the Five (Mascall 1943: 40); however, in this way a weakness still exists, especially when it

faces new theories, for example, Newton's first law[1]. This is perhaps why the first way, which has weaknesses, fails to solve some problems (Mascall 1966: 75). Aquinas's first way, in fact, is an intellectual argument which is not easily understood by the masses, because it passes many logical premises. This is perhaps Averroës's reason why he does not accept the theory of motion as one of the proofs of God's existence. This, however, does not mean that he rejected totally the concept of motion. He, as a dedicated follower of Aristotle, gave much to a discussion of motion and accepted that some of the premises in the theory of motion are valid. For example, like Aquinas, he agreed that the infinite regress of causes according to philosophical doctrine is impossible (Averroës, *Tahāfut* 267).

Averroës did not reject the theory of motion as a proof of the existence of God because it is invalid, but because it is very difficult for the majority of people to conceive it and there is a certain confusion in the theory itself.

The Second Way: Argument from efficient cause

This argument is based on the notion of efficient causation. Aquinas said that in the observable world we discover an order of efficient causes, but no case is found of something efficiently causing itself. Now it is impossible to go on forever in a series of efficient causes. For in every ordered series of efficient cause, the first member of the series causes the intermediate member which in turn causes the final member. If you eliminate a cause you eliminate its effect, so there will not be final or intermediate members in the series unless there is a first member. Therefore it is necessary to posit some first efficient cause, to which everyone give the name God (Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Ia, q2, a3). In brief, this argument concludes that a thing cannot be its own efficient cause, that is to bring itself into existence.

It is worth noticing the close resemblance of this argument to the first way. Both seek to establish a first cause or mover on the basis of the impossibility of going back to infinity in an ordered series of causes and effects (Gilson 1957: 67; Rowe 1975: 21). The first way starts from the fact of motion to a prime mover; the second way starts from causation to a first cause.

Both these arguments are to be seen as complementary to each other. Thus we find that there is an overlapping between the first and the second proofs (Kenny 1969: 35–36), where in the first case Aquinas considered things as being changed, and in the second case he considered them as active agents. He then proceeded, after excluding the hypothesis of an infinite regress, to draw the conclusion that there must be a first cause which we can call God.

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[1] For a discussion of Aquinas's theory of motion and some modern theories, see Evan 1932: 307; Blair 1976: 301.

In *Summa* (I, 13) Aquinas mentioned that the second way is also adopted from Aristotle's metaphysics, but in addition, it is said to be drawn from the Avicennian notion of efficient cause (Gilson 1957: 66).

The Third Way: Argument from necessary being

This proof starts from the fact that some beings come into existence, then perish, which shows that they can be and cannot be, that they are contingent and not necessary. Since if they were necessary they would always have existed and would neither come into being nor pass away. Furthermore, Aquinas said that there must exist a necessary being which is the reason why contingent beings come into existence. That necessary being we call God (Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Ia, q.2, a.3).

The source of this proof is derived from Aristotle, but it is also said that Aquinas's concept of necessary being is closer to Avicenna's. However, I think that the concept of necessary being explained by Avicenna is not exactly the same as explained by Aquinas. Even Craig says that Aquinas's concept of necessary beings and possible beings is identical with Averroës's revision of Avicenna's proof (Craig 1980: 201).

Aquinas's third way starts from the notion of the concept of contingent and necessary. The contingent being for Aquinas is a being subject to the natural process of generation and corruption, a being that is susceptible to substantial change, while a necessary being is in no way subject to generation and corruption.

What is clear for us in Aquinas's first, second and third ways is their similarity (Mascall 1943: 94; Kenny 1969: 44; Patterson 1933: 72) and parallel structure. The first way argues from the fact of motion or change to a Prime Mover; the second from the causation to a First Cause; the third from the contingent beings to a Necessary Being. Each of these three arguments established its case by denying the possibility of an infinite regress, but they are not identical, because their points of departure are different elements.

The Fourth Way: Argument of degree of being

This argument is based on the gradation form in things. Aquinas said that some things are found to be more or less good, or true, or noble than other things, and so on. There is therefore something which is best and truest and noblest of things. Therefore there is something which causes being and goodness and any perfection in all things, and this we call God (Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Ia, q.2, a.3).

In establishing this proof Aquinas cited Aristotle's metaphysics in *Book II* and *Book IV* which states that things possessing the supreme degree of truth possess also the supreme degree of being. This proof is also said to come closest to Platonism (Kenny 1969: 71; Gilson 1957: 74) which was developed by St. Augustine and St. Anselm. From Aquinas's text we find that this proof is related to the theory of

causality, where the example given shows that the noblest being, the being which is absolutely perfect, is the cause of all other beings which are imperfect.

Some questions regarding this proof arise. For example, does this argument prove the existence of God, of an absolute good or only a relative one (Mascall 1943: 53). Perhaps for this reason, Copleston says that this proof is admittedly difficult to grasp (Copleston 1975: 125). There are many controversies (Gilson 1957: 71) and many difficulties (*ibid.* 72) in this proof (Patterson 1933: 81ff). So there are varieties of the critique of this proof.

The Fifth Way: Argument of final cause

This argument is based on guidance of nature. Aquinas said that we observe that some things which lack awareness, namely natural bodies, act for the sake of an end. This is clear because they always or commonly act in the same manner to achieve what is best, which shows that they reach their goal not by chance but because they tend toward it. Now things which lack awareness do not tend towards a goal unless directed by something with awareness and intelligence, like an arrow by an archer. Therefore, there is some intelligent being by whom everything in nature is directed to a goal, and this we call God (Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Ia, q.2, a.3).

In *Summa* (I, 13), Aquinas clearly mentioned that this proof is referred to Damascene and Averroës. Aquinas argued that we see inorganic objects operating for an end, and this cannot proceed from chance, but must be the result of intention. This proof is derived from the idea of providence which governs the universe, by which he means God. In fact, the idea of giving orders to the universe is the common property of Christian theology (Gilson 1957: 75). So this proof is more familiar to theologians than philosophers, because the Bible is the authoritative source for theologians, and they, of course, know that the creation of the universe is mentioned in the Bible. As we have seen in *Summa,* Aquinas did not discuss this proof at length.

Each of Aquinas's proofs of existence of God starts from an obvious and indisputable fact of human experience. The examination and understanding of the fact lead by different path to the conclusion that a certain kind of being exists, whom men call God. Arguments employed by Aquinas are a posterior, because they attempt to demonstrate the existence of God by reasoning from the effect of which God is the cause, and, of course, it is evident that every effect exists later than its cause.

Aquinas's proofs, actually, are not new (Copleston 1975: 127). They are taken from his predecessors (Owens 1980: 137), Aristotle and Muslim philosophers. However, the *Five Ways* are still regarded as Aquinas's proof, because he did not merely take them from others, but also analyzed them in a new and more systematic way than his predecessors. He described the *Five Ways* so that they should not contradict Christian teaching. When we refer to Averroës's two arguments there is a probability that his arguments are original. This means that he did not borrow from any Muslim theologians, because, as we have seen in *Kašf*, he criticized any type of proof given

by *Mutakallimūn* sects such as the Muʿtazilites, the Ḥašawites, the Aš^{c}arites and the Sūfīs.

When we examine closely Aquinas's *Five Ways,* we shall find that they are not five separate arguments for theism, but five different aids to the apprehension of God and the creature in the cosmological relation (Mascall 1966: 79). There are various critiques among modern writers who claim, for example, that Aquinas's proofs of the existence of God fail to convince contemporary thinkers (Evans 1932: 299), Aquinas's proofs are puzzling (Owens 1980: 132), and so on.

It would not be fair to blame Aquinas for some weaknesses in his arguments of the existence of God even if it is probably safe to say that nobody at his time had such profound understanding. His high intellectual capacity to analyze and modify the proofs of the existence of God taken from various sources is indisputable. We should also realize that his analysis to solve the problem of the existence of God was based on intellectual development in the Middle Ages, not in the twentieth century.

In analyzing Aquinas's five proofs of the existence of God, we find that only one of them has some similarity with Averroës's proof, and that is Aquinas's fifth proof and Averroës's argument of providence. Both proofs are called argument from design. Averroës's scope of discussion is wider than Aquinas's. Averroës explained his proof of providence in detail, while Aquinas described it briefly. In fact, the proof of Aquinas's fifth way is found in Averroës's second principle of the proof of providence, where Averroës and Aquinas are in agreement that the existence of all things is under the control of an intelligent being, and they do not happen by chance. However, their focuses are different. Averroës is concerned with the harmony that exists in the activity of natural bodies, and the harmoniousness of their activities that is beneficial for human life. On the contrary, Aquinas simply concentrated on the goal or end of the activities of natural bodies which are guided and directed by someone intelligent.

In comparing the argument of the existence of God given by Averroës and Aquinas, it is clear for us that Aquinas's arguments, though they depend on the fact of experience and the observable world, rely upon philosophical analysis such as appear in the *Summa.* Consequently, deep intellectual capacity is needed to comprehend them, so his proofs, perhaps, are not so easy to be understood. The difficulty in Aquinas's proofs can be seen, especially, in his first three, which are well-known as cosmological argument. Aquinas elaborated his proofs at length in the *Summa* by employing many philosophical assumptions, but in the *Summa Theologiae* he explained them briefly. The difference in approach is because the *Summa* is intended to be primarily a philosophical work and is written to refute the teaching of Muslim philosophers, Avicenna and Averroës, and hence, he naturally met them on their own Aristotelian ground, while the *Summa Theologiae* is primarily theological doctrine, and is aimed to the ordinary believers.

Averroës's proof of providence and creation are also based on observable facts which exist in the world. Averroës tried to avoid using any philosophical concepts in his proof. He referred directly to the Quran. This is because he firmly believes that Quranic proof is more suitable for all levels of human intellect, whether one is learned or belongs to the laity.

For Aquinas the proof of the existence of God is not limited to his five proofs, but he also recognized that any other proofs given by other thinkers are valid if they can be understood in the framework that starts with accidentally possessed existence and reasons to subsistent existence. Arguments that cannot be read in that way are not looked upon as valid (Owens 1980: 139–140).

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MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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In a variety of different ways, the encounter between Christianity and Islam, between the Muslim world and Christendom, has acquired increasing significance in recent years. A number of serious works, both by Russian and foreign orentalists, have enriched the pool of knowledge on interfaith relations. They focus on the study of the historical, theological, political and cultural encounter of Islam and Christianity, the Muslim world and the West, in the broader sense. They follow the interaction of ethnic, economic, political, social and cultural factors, their influence on the contemporary religious situation in the Middle East. These factors have had a profound effect on the present religious situation in the region and their interplay can help explain the present state of transition and change and assess possible developments in the future.

Christianity and Islam are, in chronological sequence, the second and third attempts to create a world religion. Since Islam is the dominant faith there, the term "Middle East" denotes the social and cultural area in which Islam meets the other faiths. Islam and Christianity share a long (almost 14 centuries) and rich theological tradition and history. It has been a history marked by coexistence, cooperation and from time to time confrontation.

The Middle East, and the Eastern Mediterranean region in particular, is the place of the birth and the intensive contacts and interaction of various confessions, including Judaism, Christianity and Islam (which arose in Arabia). For centuries it has witnessed two, one would think, incompatible tendencies — mutual rapprochement, and, at the same time, mutual spurning between the Muslim and Christian cultures, between the Eastern and Western civilizations. In the 7th century, when it was first proclaimed and practised, Islam did not seek to eliminate its predecessors and rivals. Jews and Christians were recognized as *ahl al-kitāb* (the peoples of the Book), to whom earlier divine messages had been sent through God's prophets. Frank antagonism began to prevail in Muslim-Christian relations since the Crusades and the Reconquest. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Muslim peoples were involved in broad economic, cultural and political contacts with other civilizations.

Today, in an increasingly globally interdependent world, more then ever before, we need to minimize tensions and build on those resources that reinforce mutual understanding, cooperation and interchange.

The researched issue is many-sided and extremely complicated. It can be considered as follows:

— firstly, as relations between Arab-Muslim culture and European civilization;

— secondly, as relations between Muslims and Christians in the Middle East, in Arab states in particular (it is precisely this aspect that was chosen for examination by the author of this article).

The creation of research centres which focus on the exploration of the religious, social and political dynamics of Muslim societies, and interfaith dialogue as well, is another striking illustration of the significance of the topic. I should like to mention only two such centres I collaborate with; which are the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations, established in the Selly Oak College in Birmingham (Great Britain) in 1976 and the Centre for Muslim–Christian Understanding: History and International Relations, established at Georgetown University in Washington in 1993. The main purpose of their activities is to foster the study of Muslim–Christian relations and to promote dialogue between the two great religions.

Numerous conferences, forums, symposiums, in which representatives of various confessions participate (for instance "Islam and Ethnoconfessional Mutual Understanding", held in Moscow in May 1995 under the aegis of UNESCO), also benefit the contemporary interfaith dialogue.

So, Islam is one of the great spiritual and social forces in the world today, particularly in the Middle East. Without any doubt, its influence and significance will extend and develop in the 21th century. Islam is an extremely important component of Muslim civilization and culture. The community of religion is the basis for the identity of Islamic peoples (irrespective of their state affiliation) as a single entity *"umma"*.

For ages, the Muslim majorities have interacted with religious minorities, including Christians, in the Middle East. Christians reside in Egypt (10 % of its population), Sudan (5 % of its population), Lebanon (40 % of its population), Syria (10 % of its population), Jordan (8 % of its population), Kuwait (6 % of its population) and other Arab countries. Arab Christians, who have long lived as citizens in states with Muslim majorities, have made significant contributions to Arab culture (science, literature, journalism, etc.), identifying themselves intimately with the destinies of their countries. The Christians showed from an early date a desire to share a common cultural and political destiny with the Muslims. The most striking examples of this are the activities of Ǧirgī Zaydān, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Faraḥ Antūn, Fāris Nimr, Sālim Nakkāš and others. The Christian Arab and the Muslim Arab has found in the Arabic heritage an object of love and pride.

But still, Arab Christians are facing a number of serous problems in non-secular Arab societies, in particular:

— overcoming confessional isolation in the Arab world and confirming themselves as a part of society on equal grounds with Muslims;
— overcoming religious estrangement, including psychological aspects;
— the problem of mass migrations of Middle Eastern Christians, especially of the intelligentsia.

The status of Arab Christians in the Middle East is part and parcel of a huge and complicated issue, namely — the status of religious and ethnic minorities in the region. One can speak about minorities in power (the Maronites in Lebanon or the Alawites in Syria), minorities in isolation (the Druze of Lebanon and Syria), minorities in partition (the Christians of Lebanon), etc.

In this paper I will pay special attention to Muslim–Christian relations in Lebanon. To explore this topic, the author tried to use a multidisciplinary approach and a breadth of rich theoretical work from the fields of historical demography, cultural and religious studies, social psychology and political science. In other words, I have tried to introduce cross-scientific approaches in my research work.

The National Pact (1943) established a confessional political system in Lebanon. By its terms, the Lebanese president was to be a Maronite, the Prime-Minister — a Sunnī, and the Chairman of Parliament — a Šīᶜī. Seats in the Chamber of deputies (parliament) were based on a six-to-five ration of Christians to Muslims. Such a situation has remained hitherto. But at the beginning of the 90-s, the confessional system was a little bit modernized by the amendments to the constitution and the electoral law (see the table below). The Maronites have still maintained their dominant political and economic position in Lebanese politics.

Today, Lebanon is one of the world's most divided countries. A land of diverse creeds and a meeting place for East and West, it has been a refuge for persecuted minority groups and a scene of virtually constant struggle among those same communities. With an area of only 4000 square miles and a population of 3.2 million, Lebanon today constitutes a mosaic of religious communities. Muslims comprise about 60 percent of its population. 40 percent are Christians (see the table).

Lebanon's Christian communities are by no means of one mind in their actions or perceptions. However, the convergence of their interests and attitudes often outweighs the divergences.

Each religious sect of the country has its own role in Lebanese history; each of them has produced individuals who have made a pronounced impact on Lebanese society. It is important to mention that Christian Arabs, Christian Lebanese as well, have always felt to be far more closely integrated with Islamic society than other Christian peoples of the Islamic world.

So, the Lebanese adherents of those religions have passed through many periods of conflict and cooperation. Although the issues among them have sometimes been purely religious, more often they have involved a combination of economic and political considerations, which have ignited Lebanon's internal conflict.

The years of civil war since 1975 have torn Lebanon internally to shreds, reduced large parts of the country to rubble, and caused massive movements of population between different regions. The Maronites maintained a virtually uncompromising stand in the protracted conflict with a coalition of mostly Muslim forces seeking a

different distribution of social, economic and political benefits and a shift in Lebanon's foreign policy orientation in the Arab world.

The religious conflict has threatened the dismantling of Lebanon as an independent state. The example of Lebanon showed how a struggle for power could easily express itself in religious terms.

The bitter experience of the civil war has amply demonstrated that neither side in Lebanon can easily force its opinion on the others. The problem can only be resolved by rational give-and-take among the Lebanese peoples in the light of the relevant realities.

So, the emergence of a religiously plural world, with greatly increased possibilities of interfaith and multifaith encounters, makes dialogue between peoples of different faiths extremely important. This is so not only for religious reasons, although these are very important, but also for the development of a genuinely free and just society, which fosters mutual tolerance and respect between groups and individuals with different beliefs.

Lebanon
Population Data and Representation of Religious Communities
at the Parliament (1995)

Group	Population (thousand)	Percent of population	Representation at the Parliament
Christian communities:			
Maronite	639	20,4	34
Greek Orthodox	188	6	14
Catholic	282	9	9
Gregorian	94	3	5
Protestant	25	0,8	1
Others	25	0,8	1
			Total Christians — 64
Islamic communities:			
Sunnī	592	21	27
Šīᶜī	967	31	27
Druze	312	7,7	8
Others	10	0,3	2
			Total Muslims — 64

SOME NOTES ON EXTREMISM AND MODERATION IN ISLAMIC THEOLOGY

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The present paper, which represents part of my research into traditionalism and rationalism in Islamic theology now in preparation, aims at

1) examining the attitude of Muslim traditionalist theologians toward Muslim rationalist theologians, namely the *mutakallimūn*;
2) showing that extremism on this issue was not only characteristic of the Ḥanbalites; and
3) showing that scholars of other schools of law were even more extreme than the Ḥanbalites.

Already Ibn Taymiyya who, contrary to many other Muslim theologians, knew well the views of his predecessors, made the following statement concerning the issue of God's attributes: "The affirmation of attributes does not particularize the Ḥanbalites, and extremism (*ġuluww*) [in this issue] which occurs in them occurs also in others. Moreover, whoever investigates the people's systems will find in each group extremists (*ġulāt*) concerning negation and affirmation which he will not find in the Ḥanbalites" (Ibn Taymiyya, *Naqḍ* 139). We shall try to prove that "in each group" there were extremists also in the matter of attitudes toward rationalists, and that these attitudes range from total rejection and excommunication to permission to discuss with them. Another conclusion, which has already been drawn by G. Makdisi and K. Reinhart, is the fact that scholars have not always been committed to the teachings of their schools (Makdisi 1981: 240; Reinhart 1995: 24, 27, 34, 195, n. 13).

As an example of extremism concerning the attitude toward rationalists, I would like to introduce the Šāfiᶜite traditionalist theologian Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Manṣūr ar-Rāzī aṭ-Ṭabarī al-Lālakā'ī (d. 418/1027) (al-Ḫaṭīb, *Taᵓrīḫ* XIV, 70f, para. 7418), who was a contemporary of the famous muᶜtazilite scholar ᶜAbdalǧabbār (d. 415/1024). According to al-Lālakā'ī, in the year 408/1017, the caliph al-Qādir bi-Allāh (381/991- 423/1031) called on the muᶜtazilite Ḥanafite jurisprudents to repent of their muᶜtazilism, which they withdrew. Accordingly, the caliph then forbade them to discuss, teach or dispute the issues of muᶜtazilism, šīᶜism and all notions which oppose Islam and the Sunna. The author adds to this story that Maḥmūd of Ġazna, who acknowledged the nominal sovereignty of al-Qādir and adopted the caliph's severe attitude toward the sectarians, persecuted the Muᶜtazilites, Rāfiḍites, Ismāᶜilis, Ǧahmites, the Qarāmita, and the anthropomorphists (*al-mušabbiha*). This approach became a norm (*sunna*) in Islam (al-Lālakā'ī, *Šarḥ uṣūl*: II, 723, para. 1333). Thus, al-Lālakā'ī refers to al-Qādir's decree and to Maḥmūd's

persecution as a way to be followed. It is possible that this norm formulated al-Lālakā'ī's severe attitude toward the innovators (here this term refers to the rationalists), which can be divided into two parts:

a) The prohibition against disputing with (*munāẓara*) the innovators, speaking with them or listening to their innovative views[1]. "Do not sit with those who adhere to the doctrine of free will (*ahl al-qadar*) and do not dispute with them" says one tradition, and according to another, one should not dispute *with the people of controversy (aṣḥāb al-ḫuṣūmāt)* (al-Lālakā'ī, *Šarḥ uṣūl* 118, 129; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Talbīs* 12f).

b) The view that maintains that innovators cannot repent of their innovations, whereas sinners can repent of their sins. "The Devil loves innovation more than he loves sin, for one can repent of sins, but cannot repent of innovation."[2]

Among the innovators, the Qadarites occupy an important place. The harsh attitude toward them stems directly from the prohibition against treating the issue of predestination. "Do not speak of anything relating to *qadar*, for it is God's secret, so do not disclose God's secret" (*Šarḥ uṣūl* II, 629). The Qadarites are regarded as God's adversaries, as the Zoroastrians of this community (*maǧūs hāḏihi l-umma*) and as those who would bring destruction to their community (*ibid.* 639–646). al-Lālakā'ī points out some prohibitions regarding innovators, particularly the Qadarites: one should not pray behind them, marry them, eat of their slaughtered animals or accept their testimonies (*ibid.* 730–736). Some of the traditionalists also blamed those who held heretical views[3] of unbelief.

Among the Šāfiᶜite scholars who expressed hostile attitudes toward the innovators, especially the rationalists, we find the traditionist and lexicographer ᶜAlī b. ᶜUmar ad-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995)[4], Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1065)[5], Abū l-Qāsim Ismāᶜīl b. Muḥammad at-Taymī (d. 535/1140) (*Ḥuǧǧa* I,

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[1] This is the contents of a title of a long chapter in al-Lālakā'ī's *Šarḥ uṣūl* (I, 114-150).

[2] al-Lālakā'ī, *Šarḥ uṣūl* I, 132; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Talbīs* 13; al-Qurṭubī, *Bidaᶜ* 198. According to Ibn Baṭṭa, *Šarḥ* 40, "God does not permit the innovator to repent."

[3] Such as likening God to man (*tašbīh. ibid.* 528-533), not making a decision concerning the question whether the Qur'ān is created or uncreated (*ibid.* I, 323), and the belief that the act of reciting the Qur'ān is created (*ibid.* 349).

[4] He said that it is better to meet God (on the day of Judgment) with grave sins such as fornication, theft and drinking wine than to meet Him with the views of the Muᶜtazilite ᶜAmr b. ᶜUbayd and his followers. (*Aḫbār* 12f)

[5] In his *Ftiqād* (191-193) appears a chapter on the prohibition against sitting in the company of the people of innovation, who are mainly identified as the Muᶜtazilites. Some of the traditions quoted point out a tendency to excommunicate the Muᶜtazilites from the legitimate community.

306–310) and Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (*Ṣawn* I, 52)[6]. This attitude is characteristic of scholars from all schools of law. As examples, for the Ḥanbalites, see Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Barbahārī (*Šarḥ as-sunna* 38, 44, 49), for the Mālikites, see al-Qurṭubī and for the Ḥanafites, see Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz (d. 792/1389) (*ʿAqīda* I, 233–247). When as-Suyūṭī defames the *kalām* in his *Ṣawn*, he uses the writings of scholars from various schools, Ḥanbalites (al-Harawī), Šāfiʿites (al-Muḥāsibī), Mālikites (Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī) and Ibn Ǧarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī who established his own school of law. Thus, extremism does not characterize a particular school, but rather exists, in one way or another, in each school. Also, extremism in one issue does not entail extremism in other issues. An interesting example of the attitude toward the innovators occurs in the writings of the famous Ḥanbalite theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328).

From one of his epistles, entitled "The people of the Sunna do not charge any Muslim with unbelief because of a sin or an innovation, and do not prevent prayer behind him", one can learn of Ibn Taymiyya's leniency, in contrast to other theologians from various schools of law (*Rasā'il* II, 5.241). To support his statement, Ibn Taymiyya bases himself on several arguments, beginning with Qur'ān 2.285, according to which the believers ask God His forgiveness, and the *ḥadīṯ* attests that God forgives them. On the basis of the Prophet's order, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and others fought against the Ḫāriǧites, but did not accuse them of unbelief. Now, if those people, whose transgressions were proved through the plain text and the Consensus, were not accused of unbelief (notwithstanding the Prophet's order to fight against them), the more so concerning sects who differed from each other in their views. It is forbidden for any sect to accuse another of unbelief even if the other openly expresses innovative ideas (*ibid.*).

Concerning prayer behind sinners and innovators, although it is preferable to pray behind a pious man, Ibn Taymiyya allows prayer behind the former if there is no other way. Moreover, one who avoids prayer because the imam is an innovator, opposes an innovation through an innovation (*radda bidʿa bi-bidʿa*). Also, according to Ibn Taymiyya, there is no need to pray again, if the imam is a sinner or an innovator (*ibid.* 244f).

To sum up, in spite of Ibn Taymiyya's being one of the staunchest defenders of traditionalism, he allows disputation with innovators and he does so himself in his various writings; also, he does not accuse them of unbelief, and thus expresses a tolerant attitude toward them. This approach stands contrary to that of other Ḥanbalites who forbade praying behind an innovator. Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 620/1223), for example, states that according to the Sunna of the Prophet, one should avoid innovators, not examine their writings and not listen to their conversation. It

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[6] He banned discussion of *Kalām* issues, for it brings about controversies and innovations in religion.

is forbidden to greet an innovator, to pray behind him, to visit him when he is ill, or to attend his funeral (Daiber 1981: 111f; Ibn Baṭṭa, *Šarḥ* 31).

Apart from the diversity of opinions in one and the same school of law, demonstrating that in issues of theology scholars were not restricted to an identical group of creeds, it is appropriate to examine another phenomenon which indicates that scholars were not always committed to the teachings of their schools, whether juridical or theological[7]. I mean the transfer of ideas from one school of thought to another, which seems to me a sign of moderation.

Again let us take Ibn Taymiyya, this time as an example of one who took a notion from his adversaries and adopted it in the framework of his own writings. According to the Muᶜtazilites, man can know through the intellect general ethical values, for these have intrinsic properties, and the Revelation supplies him with the details of these values (Frank 1971). According to Ibn Taymiyya, through necessary natural knowledge, man knows that God is above, and distinct from, His creation. This is general knowledge which the Revelation explains and details (*Naqd* 38f, 52). Ibn Taymiyya's eminent disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya (d. 751/1350) comes very close to the Muᶜtazilites when he states that actions are good or evil by virtue of themselves, but reward or punishment is deserved only through God's orders or prohibitions (*Madāriǧ* I, 127). al-Bayhaqī accepted the Muᶜtazilite distinction between essential attributes and factual attributes emphasizing, however, that God always deserves the factual ones, but not from eternity (*Iᶜtiqād* 52).

There were scholars whose criticism of the *kalām* did not prevent them from accepting some of its theories and arguments. The interpreter of *al-ᶜaqīda aṭ-ṭaḥāwiyya*, the Ḥanafite scholar Ibn Abī l-ᶜIzz, accepted the theory of *kasb* (ᶜ*Aqīda* II, 639, 650-652) and the argument from hypothetical mutual prevention (*dalīl at-tamānuᶜ*) (*ibid.* I, 39f).

Among the rival *mutakallimūn* themselves, we see the phenomenon of the transition of notions from one school of thought to another. Some Aš^ᶜarite theologians (al-Baġdādī, al-Ǧuwaynī, al-Āmidī) used figurative interpretation (*ta'wīl*) when explaining anthropomorphic expressions in the Qur'ān and not the *bi-lā kayfa* formula, which the Aš^ᶜarite usually employed in such cases (Abrahamov 1996: 7). On the other hand, the Zaydite Mānakdīm (Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī d. 426/ 1034) accepts the formula of *bi-lā kayfa* as a solution to understanding the meaning of the Path (*aṣ-ṣirāṭ*), as opposed to the figurative interpretation held by ᶜAbdalǧabbār (*al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* 737). The ẓāhirite theologian and jurisprudent Ibn Ḥazm accepts some Muᶜtazilite conceptions; he recognizes the priority of reason over revelation on certain issues such as God's existence, unity and eternity. Reason, in his view, helps

[7] Concerning jurisprudence, the above statement is valid till the 16th century. I would like to thank Prof. W. B. Hallaq for this comment.

man to understand the meanings of value terms, but not their full contents, and also to know some general facts concerning human psychology (Hourani 1985). Contrary to his school's doctrine of the literal interpretation of the Qur'ān, Ibn Ḥazm even adopts sometimes the figurative interpretations of anthropomorphic expressions in the Qur'ān and the Tradition (*Fiṣal* II, 167; Goldziher 1971: 152).

In fine, I have tried to examine two phenomena: the attitude toward the rationalists, and the transfer of ideas. In both, it seems that there was no restriction on expressing ideas, even if, in some cases, they contradicted the overriding ideological trend of a particular school. And extremism or moderation was not the characteristic of one certain school.

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THE SAMARQAND-CAPE TOWN CONNECTION: REVISITING A 10th CENTURY THEOLOGICAL TEXT

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Introduction

The lists of unpublished Arabic manuscripts are indeed enormous. The works of Brockelmann (*GAL*) and Sezgin (*GAS*) have already proven that much material still have to be edited and published in order to gain a better appreciation of the contribution towards world literature, particularly Middle Eastern Arabic Literature. Thus in order to improve our knowledge of not only Islamic history but also the history of Arabic literature one of the main tasks would be to edit and publish the sources.

The literary edition is indeed one method or approach to the study of Islam. This approach, apart from arousing the editor's personal interest, will be able to help identify, assess and critically comment upon the text (Flemming 1988: 10; Witkam 1986: 5–6)[1]. Textual studies of this type do not only act as primary source material but also enhances the academic community's understanding and insight of not only the manuscript but also of the author or compiler; in addition, it does indirectly reflect the purpose for whom it was prepared and, in the process, answers the question as to why it was prepared.

The treatise under scrutiny is a creedal text prepared by a 10th century Central Asian scholar, namely Abū l-Layṯ as-Samarqandī (Haron 1994; Schacht 1960: 137; Van Ess 1987). We intend to revisit the text published by Juynboll in 1881 and compare it with two copies of the same text which were circulating in Cape Town, as well as those which form part of the Library of India Collection at the British Library.

1. The Samarqand Text

The text under scrutiny has been prepared and written by Abū l-Layṯ as-Samarqandī (d. 983). Since its acceptance by Muslim communities not only in Central Asia but also in South East Asia, it was translated into Melayu, Sundanese, and Javanese. And because of the close connection which existed between the Cape Muslim community and the Melayu archipelago society during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries an Afrikaans Melayu translation was attempted and later an Afrikaans translation was produced.

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[1] Also refer to Petrosyan 1995: 3-4.

In addition to the Samarqand creedal text's commentary entitled *Bahǧat al-ʿulūm*, which was noted by Juynboll (Juynboll 1881), and still in manuscript form the only other commentary was printed in 1923. The commentary entitled *Qaṭr al-ġayṯ* was completed and published by Šayḫ Muḥammad an-Nawāwī al-Ǧawī b. ʿUmar b. ʿArabī aš-Šāfiʿī.

After having scrutinized each of the texts, it is interesting to note that the interlinear Melayu translation, the Afrikaans translation, and the commentary were made by scholars who were attached to the Šāfiʿī legal school. It may however be concluded that because of the theological nature of the treatise, it did not keep the legally-minded scholars of the other jurisprudential schools away from translating or commenting upon this rich and crisp text. We would indeed have expected scholars, aligned to the Ḥanafite school, to have taken up the challenge; this was, however, not the case. Be that as it may, lets turn our attention to the author of the text.

2. Abū l-Layṯ as-Samarqandī

Šayḫ Abū l-Layṯ Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanafī as-Samarqandī was born and grew up in the more than 2.000 year old beautiful city of Samarqand[2] which was situated along the famous Silk Road to China. This geographical position of the city caused it not only to become an important commercial centre but further enhanced its status as a significant religious learning centre.

Abū l-Layṯ was taught by his father and a few of the well-known Samarqandian *šayḫs*. And since he excelled in his learning he was able to reach respectable heights within his society, particularly for his contribution in the field of Islamic sciences. He, for example, wrote, amongst others, a Qur'anic commentary entitled *Baḥr al-ʿulūm*, a commentary of Abū Ḥanīfa's *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ*[3], a jurisprudential text entitled *ʿUyūn al-masā'il*, and the text on ethics entitled *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn*. After having written these texts and having taught in Samarqand and in the nearby city of Balḫ he was given the title of *Imām al-Hudā*, a title held by his predecessor al-Mātūrīdī (d. 944). It is indeed the latter's philosophical and theological ideas which have become widespread in the Central Asian region; and since Abū l-Layṯ grew up and imbibed many of these ideas he was very much affected and influenced by them. However, there is no evidence as yet to prove that he was at some point a student of al-Mātūrīdī (Ceric 1995: 227–230).

This theological treatise summarised some of the salient Mātūrīdian ideas which helped to counter the Aš^{c}arī and Mu^{c}tazilī thoughts which had pervaded the Muslim heartlands. And it is perhaps because of Mātūrīdī's middle-of-the-road theological

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[2] Cf. Law 1992.

[3] Abū l-Layṯ, *Tafsīr*. Also see Daiber 1993.

ideas (Ceric 1995: 180–181), further crystallised by Abū l-Layṯ in this Samarqand text, that attracted the attention of many jurists and theologians over the centuries.

We go along with Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk's notion — as quoted by Juynboll (1881a: 215) — that it may be described as one of the first in a series of "Question and Answer" texts on Islam. In fact, in our own critical edition of Abū l-Layṯ's *al-Muqaddima fī ṣ-ṣalāt*, we concluded that the latter text was the first model text which dealt with "the preconditions of the ritual prayer". It is also of interest to mention that *al-Muqaddima* concludes with some of the theological points captured in this creedal text. Abū l-Layṯ has undoubtedly mastered, due to his lengthy teaching experience and interaction with his students and scholars, the presentation of fairly complex theological, jurisprudential and ethical ideas in a very simple style.

3. The Muslim Cathechism

3.1. The Juynboll Text

Prior to comparing the texts we need to comment upon the interlinear Javanese manuscript which Juynboll introduced and translated. At the time when the latter stumbled across this interlinear Javanese manuscript, he had difficulty in obtaining other copies of it. He was also thoroughly confused as regards the author of the text, and erroneously concluded that it was not the famous Abū l-Layṯ as-Samarqandī but someone else with a name almost similar to that of Abū l-Layṯ. However, the numerous extant manuscripts have proven otherwise.

Juynboll (1881a: 216) observed that the manuscript is known through various handwritings and that it was specifically known in India as the Samarqandi (creedal) text. He assumed that this title was given since many others such as the Nawāwī and Sanusi creedal texts became known by the *kunya*s of their authors. The creedal text has also been referred to by others (cf. Later) as the *"Su'āl wa-ǧawāb"* text.

Subsequent to the publication of the Javanese manuscript Juynboll (1881: 267-284) came across a text entitled *Bahǧat al-ʿulūm* which was in fact a commentary of the creedal text. He thus used this copy to compare it with the text he previously published, and noted a few differences; by then, he also came to know of a number of other copies of the manuscripts with the help of Dr. M. Th. Houtsma. The latter referred Juynboll to the copies in the India Office in London, one in Munich, and another in Batavia. Houtsma also made reference to copies of the mentioned commentary, two of which are in the British Museum and another in the London based India Office. In the second publication, he (Juynboll 1881: 268) however chose to only compare the three available manuscripts and presented what he considered to be a critical edition. And at that stage he was still very uncertain about the text's author.

3.2. The Interlinear Melayu Manuscript

In the process of our research (Haron 1997), we looked at Imām Ǧabbār ad-Dīn's (d.1868) hardbound unruled book which included a variety of texts. Amongst these

was a reproduction of the Samarqandī creedal text accompanied by an incomplete interlinear Melayu translation. The manuscript appears between folios 271r and 281r, and there is an average of seven lines per folio.

It seems that the copyist, who lived in the city of Port Elizabeth which is situated in the Eastern Cape, must have copied the contents from another available manuscript, and that the copyist himself has not fully mastered the writing of the Arabic script. We observed that in the Arabic text careless grammatical mistakes were made as well as other incorrect scriptual items. These will however be referred to when a text critical edition, based upon the available ones, is presented later.

3.3. The Arabic-Afrikaans[4] Lithographic Text

At the turn of the century an Afrikaans translation of the Samarqandī creedal text was contemplated, and eventually completed on Thursday the 6th of May 1909, which corresponds to the month of Raǧab 1327, by Šayḫ ʿAbdullāh Taha Gamieldien (d. 1946). This *šayḫ* was the contemporary of Šayḫ ʿAbdurraḥmān b. al-Marḥūm Muḥammad al-ʿIrāqī, Šayḫ Aḥmad al-Ismoeni and Šayḫ Aḥmad Behardien, who had penned a variety of Islamic treatises. Šayḫ ʿAbdullāh Taha Gamieldien wrote about ten treatises in Afrikaans; some of them appeared in the Arabic script, and others were printed in the Latin script. He, amongst others, wrote *Risālat fī qaḍā' šahr ramaḍān*, *Rātib al-Ḥaddād*, *Daqā'iq al-aḫbār* and *Kitāb aṣ-ṣalāt*; the first two were written in the Arabic script and the latter two in the Latin script.

Coming back to the Samarqandī text, we note that the Šayḫ entitled it as *Masā'il Abī l-Layṯ*. This lithographic text forms part of the Achmat Davids' collection (Anon 1985: 2–3; 1989: 3–4; 1990: 83–84) which have been handed to the Cape Town-based South African Library. Hans Kahler (1965) referred to it in his publication on the study and use of Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts at the Cape. The Abū l-Layṯian text has been written in very beautiful Našḫī script, and an average of 14 lines is found per page. On the verso folio Šayḫ Gamieldien highlights the title of the text, its author, its translator and its translator's publisher. He presented it as follows:

Questions (raised) by Abū l-Layṯ

(was written) by aš-Šayḫ al-Imām Abū l-Layṯ, the commentator, the traditionalist known as Imām al-Hudā Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanafī as-Samarqandī.

Its translator the humble ʿAbdullāh b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Ṭāhā b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Gamieldien, a Cape Townian who is a Šāfiʿī adherent. (He is) the administrator and teacher of the Progressive Islamic School (and) secretary and founder of the Association of Islamic Renaissance of Progress.

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[4] A very detailed study of this genre of literature is found in Davids 1991.

After praising Allāh in his introductory remarks, he goes on to translate Abū l-Layṯ's creedal text. He bracketed the Arabic in order to distinguish it from his translation. He began as follows:

The Basmala

Gratitude and praise be to Allāh, the Most High, the Master of all creation, and peace and blessings upon our Master, Muḥammad and upon all his family and friends. (Then after this) the humble servant of Allāh ᶜAbdullāh b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Ṭāhā b. Gamieldien says: Many of my friends have asked me to translate The Questions of Abū l-Layṯ; thus I have tried my best and, therefore, seek assistance from Allāh, the Most High, for myself and whosoever studies this text.

Although it is not of immediate concern to undertake a social history of the text in order to place it in its historical perspective, it will be valuable to raise certain questions which are relevant to the purpose for the production of an Arabic-Afrikaans edition. One may venture to ask whether this wasn't a method adopted by Šayḫ ᶜAbdullāh Ṭāhā Gamieldien in order to introduce the Abū l-Layṯian-Mātūrīdian theological text to the Cape Muslims. It could also have been to counter the rationalist thinking which, to a certain degree, has become widespread in the community. Following upon this, why the necessity for this text? We surmise that at that time that there were certain theological issues which had led to particular theological disagreements and conflicts. If this was the case, then we may argue that the Aš^{c}arī theological texts which were available did not provide satisfactory responses to the theological questions raised; they might have sought for something more rationally acceptable. In this regard, we would like to think that the Mātūrīdite text came to play an important role to lessen the conflict. In any event, theological issues at the turn of the century need to be carefully studied to obtain an understanding of the debates which were highlighted by the religious leaders. A separate study needs to be encouraged in order to gain a better and perhaps more conclusive insight into the nature of the theological debates. We have therefore raised many questions rather than providing any suitable answers.

3.4. The British Library MSS

In the Loth catalogue (Loth 1876: 101, 122, 301) reference was made to Abū l-Layṯ's *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn*, *Muqaddimat fī ṣ-ṣalāt*, and his *Masā'il*. All of these formed part of the Library of the India Office collection. In this section reference will only be made to the manuscripts pertaining to the creedal texts of Abū l-Layṯ.

3.4.1. Entry No. 381

Loth recorded the Samarqandī Catechism under entry no. 381 on page 101. It consists of 9 folios which has an average of 12 lines per folio. In this new critical edition the ms is represented by the Arabic symbol *sīn*.

3.4.2. Entry no. 470

Dr. Houtsma informed Juynboll about this specific manuscript after having read the translation of the Catechism. This ms is entitled *Bahǧat al-ʿulūm fī šarḥ fī bayān ʿaqīdat al-usūl* and is a commentary of Abū l-Layṯ's creedal text. This ms is, however, different from the one Juynboll used in order to create a critical edition. It consists of approximately 21 folios (2r–21v) and has 11 lines per folio. It is represented by the Arabic symbol *dāl*.

3.4.3. Entry no. 1046

This entry has been recorded on page 301 of Loth's catalogue. It has 11 folios and each folio has 14 lines. This entry is represented by the Arabic symbol *hāʾ*.

4. An English Translation

The critical edition of the Samarqandī creedal text was produced from the above-mentioned manuscripts and printed texts[5]. And each of them have been represented by specific Arabic symbols in the critical edition; this will however not be reflected in the English translation. The following English translation is thus based upon this critical edition which will therefore differ slightly from the Dutch and Afrikaans translations.

In the name of Allah, The Beneficent, The Merciful

The Šayḫ, the leader, the learned, the ascetic Abū l-Layṯ Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm as-Samarqandī, may Allah have mercy on him, stated:

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the human beings. And may the reward of the Almighty be recompensed for those of you who are conscious of Allah's punishment. (Allah) bless His messenger Muḥammad, his family and all his adherents and grant them salvation.

Question: when it is said to you: "What is faith?"

The answer is: I believe in Allah, His angels, His books, His messengers, the Last Day, and the determination of good and evil by Allah, the Most High[6].

Question: when it is said to you: "How do you believe in Allah?"

The answer is: Indeed Allah, the Most High, is one, alone, ever-living, all-knowing, all-powerful, all-willing, hearer, seer, speaker, ever-lasting, creator, maintainer, lord, king without any partner, without anyone against Him or any-

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[5] Unfortunately we could not lay our hands on the *Qaṭr al-ġayṯ* text in order to compare it with those used here.

[6] Q. 2:285 and 4:136; refer to Abū l-Layṯ, *Baḥr al-ʿulūm* I. 744; Watt 1994: 41, 43 (al-Aš^ʿarī's creed no. 1 and 24); 53 (aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī no. 24); 62 (a later Ḥanafite creed no. 1); also refer to Jeffery 1962. In the latter reader he presents the translation of al-Ǧurdanī's "An Islamic Catechism, the *Aǧwiba*." And also consult Toshihiko 1965, which raises a number of these issues dealt with in this creedal text.

one equal to Him, neither is there anything like Him, He is all-hearing, all-seeing[7].

Question: when it is said to you: "How do you believe in the angels?"

The answer is: Truly the angels consists of (different) kinds, some are carriers of the throne, some are fearful ones, some are spiritual, some are cherubs, some are scribes (who register actions), namely Ǧibrā'īl, Miḫā'īl, Išrāfīl, and Izra'īl[8]; some are gaurdians, and some are writers. They all are created, servants of Allah. They are beyond description; neither can they be described as males or females, and nor do they possess any desires or soul. They do not have a father or a mother, and nor do they drink or eat. And they are not disobedient when ordered by Allah, and they do whatever they are commanded (to do). Loving them is a condition of faith and disliking them is akin to disbelief (Q. 66:6; Abū l-Layṯ, *Baḥr al-ʿulūm* I, 686–687; II, 454, 465; aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī 348).

Question: when it is said to you: "How do you believe in the books?"

The answer is: Allah revealed His books to His prophets from amongst the children of Adam, and they are revealed (and) uncreated, (and thus) eternally pre-existent without any mutual contradiction. And whosoever doubts in a verse or a word (of any of them) is an unbeliever.

Question: when it is said to you: "How many books were revealed to His prophets?"

The answer is: a hundred and four books; Allah revealed 10 books to Adam (s), 50 books to Seth (s), 30 books to Idrīs (s), 10 books to Ibrāhīm (s), the Tauwrat to Mūsa (s), the Inǧīl to ʿĪsa (s), the Zabur to Dawud (s), and the Qur'ān to Muḥammad (s), the chosen one.

Question: When it is said to you: "How do you believe in the prophets?"

The answer is: the first amongst the prophets is Adam (s) and the last amongst them is Muḥammad, may the blessings of Allah be upon them all; all of them were transmitters, advisors, reliable persons, commanders, prohibiters, and they are the agents of Allah (al-Attas 1988: 72, 127; Jeffery 1962: 460), the Most High, who are free from error and grave offences. Loving them is a condition of faith and disliking the first and last of them is unbelief.

Question: when it is said to you: "How many followers of the the laws are there?"

Answer: there are among the followers of the laws six prophets. They are Adam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and Muḥammad (may Allah's blessings be upon

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[7] Abū l-Layṯ, *Baḥr al-ʿulūm* I, 312-313; Ceric 1995: 180-181; Watt 1994: 48 (aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī's creed no. 1); 62 (a later Ḥanafite Creed no. 2); 76 (al-Ġazālī's creed no. 11); 86 (al-Iǧī no. 4); Jeffery 1962: 458.

[8] Watt 1994: 87 (al-Iǧī no. 15); al-Attas 1988: 72 (English translation); 127 (the Arabic text); Jeffery 1962: 459.

them all); and each of the (previous) laws have been abrogated by the *šarīʿa* of Muḥammad (s) (Q. 33:7; Abū l-Layṯ, *Baḥr al-ʿulūm* II, 465, 466, 475; aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī, *Šarḥ* 349).

Question: when it is said to you: "How many prophets are there?"

The answer is: the prophets are one hundred and twenty four thousand prophets.

Question: when it is said to you: "How many from amongst the prophets are messengers?"

The answer is: there are three hundred and thirteen messengers (Abū l-Layṯ, *Baḥr al-ʿulūm* II, 467; Abū l-Layṯ, *Bustān al-ʿārifīn* no. 108, 383)[9].

Question: when it is said to you: "Are their names and numbers a condition of faith or not?" (al-Attas 1988: 71, 115–116)

The answer is: in our opinion it not a condition of faith because of the Almighty's statement: "There are those about whom we informed you and there are those about whom we did not mention." (Q. 40:78; al-Attas 1988: 71, 126)

Question: when it is said to you: "How do you believe in the Last Day?"

The answer is: Allah caused all creation to perish except that which are to be found in paradise and hell, and thereafter will cause them to come to life, and He will assemble them and He will call them to account for (their deeds); and He will judge amongst them with justice. Whosoever is from amongst the angels, ǧinn and mankind, they will indeed die, and whosoever is a grave sinner[10] he will not remain in hell after accountability (has taken place); however, as for the believers they will be forever in paradise (aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī, *Šarḥ* 416–417), and as for the disbelievers they will be forever in hell. And paradise and hell will not at all disappear and nor will their inmates (al-Attas 1988: 70, 120). And whosoever doubts in any from amongst these things he is indeed an unbeliever.

Question: when it is said to you: "How does one believe that good and evil are from Allah, the Most High[11]?"

The answer is: Allah created all the creations and directed them with guidance, and ordered and forbade (certain things); He created the tablet and the pen[12] and ordered them to write down the deeds of the servants. Thus obedience is eternally decreed through the power of Allah, the Most High (Daiber 1995: 45); and disobedience is eternally decreed by the power of Allah, the Most High. But this is

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[9] With regards to the number of prophets. al-Ǧurdanī did not specify any number except that he mentions that there are many, and that it is incumbent to know the first 25 prophets (Jeffery 1962: 460).

[10] See Izutsu 1965: Ch. 3 entitled "The Grave Sinner" (*Fasīq*).

[11] aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī, *Šarḥ* 410-413; Watt 1994: 43 (al-Aš^{c}arī's creed no. 18).

[12] Watt 1994: 36 (the Ḥanbalites' creed no. 6g, and 6h); 51 (aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī no. 16).

not because of His contentedness that they are rewarded for the good and punished for the evil (they committed); but all that has been according to His promises and threats.

Question: when it is said to you: "Can faith be divided or not?"

The answer is: Faith cannot be divided[13] because it is a light in the heart, the intellect, the spirit and body of the children of Adam; if it is a guidance to man from Allah, the Most High, to man; then whosoever denies (any) of its aspects that person is an unbeliever.

Question: when it is said to you: "What is meant by faith?"

The answer is: Faith means worshipping the oneness of Allah[14].

Question: when it is said to you: " Are ritual prayer, fasting, alms-giving, love of angels, books, prophets, determination of good and bad by Allah and other things belonging to commands and prohibitions and to the observance of the *Sunna* of the Prophet part of belief or not?"

The answer is: "no" because faith means worshipping the oneness of Allah; however, things besides it belongs to the conditions of belief (aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī, *Šarḥ* 382).

Question: when it is said to you: "Does belief exist as purification or not?"

The answer is: Belief (may) exist as purification, and unbelief as impurity, by invalidating the deeds of all parts of the body (aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī, *Šarḥ* 374).

Question: when it is said to you: "Is faith created or uncreated[15]?"

The answer is: Faith[16] is guidance from Allah, the Most High, and assent in the heart, and verbal confession with the tongue. As for guidance it is not created because it is the deed of the Lord, and He is eternal; and beliefs and testification are the doings of the servant, for he is the one who is the originator. What is

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[13] Izutsu 1988: 90 — makes reference to Abū Ḥanīfa's view and elswhere in his book lists some of the scholars who are of the opinion that faith is divisible. (Cf. 99)

[14] aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī refers to Abū Ḥanīfa's which argues that "Faith from a linguistic standpoint is equivalent to assent" (*Šarḥ* 407).

[15] It is interesting to note that all of the creeds mentioned in Watt's text do not raise this question. All of them however emphasise the fact that the Quran was uncreated. aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī, for example, makes mentions of Abū Yūsuf's view which is "...As for the one who says that the Qur'ān is created, he/she is an unbeliever" (*Šarḥ* 357). Also refer to *Bustān al-ᶜārifīn* no. 123 p.399; al-Attas 1988: 68, 111; Izutsu 1965: 204-214, 147-193. al-Mātūrīdī, *Kitāb at-tawḥīd* 385-388.

[16] Faith has been defined in many ways by the various theologians. A quick glance at those creedal texts listed in Watt clearly illustrate this. Reference to one or two will be of interest. The Ḥanbalites define it as "Faith is speech and action (or works). It increases and decreases..." (no. 17) or "it increases by acts of obedience and decreases by acts of disobedience" (no. 7) and al-Aš^{ᶜ}arī states that "...faith is speech and action (or work), that it increases and decreases; they do not state it is (either) created or uncreated" (no. 28).

coming from the eternal is eternal and what is coming from the originator is originated.

5. A Critical Edition and the Arabic-Afrikaans Text

بسم الله الراحمن الراحيم

الحمد لله[17] رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين والصلاة والسلام على رسوله[18] محمد[19] وآله وأصحابه[20] أجمعين[21].

قال الشيخ الامام الأجل الزاهد أبو الليث محمد بن نصر بن إبراهيم السمرقندي[22] رحمه[23] الله عليه.

مسألة[24]: إذا قيل لك ما الايمان؟

فالجواب: آمنت بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله[25] واليوم الآخر والقدر[26] خيره وشره من الله تعالى.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك كيف تؤمن بالله؟

فالجواب: ان الله تعالى احد واحد[27] حي عالم قادر مريد سميع بصير[28] متكلم باق خلاق رزاق رب مالك[29] بلا شريك[30] ولا ند ولا ضد[31] ليس[32] كمثله شيء وهو السميع البصير[33].

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكيف تؤمن بالملائكة؟

فالجواب: ان الملائكة أصناف، و[34]منهم حملة العرش ومنهم خافون[35] ومنهم روحانيون[36] ومنهم كروبيون[37] ومنهم سفرة أي جبرائيل وميكائيل واسرافيل وعزرائيل عليهم الصلاة والسلام[38] ومنهم حفظة ومنهم كتبة وغير ذلك[39]؛ وكلهم مخلوقون[40] عبيد الله، لا يوصفون بذكورة ولا[41] بأنوثة وليس لهم شهوة ولا نفس[42] ولا أب ولا أم ولا[43] يشربون ولا يأكلون[44] ولا يعصون الله ما أمرهم ويفعلون ما يؤمرون ومحبتهم شرط[45] الإيمان وبعضهم كفر.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكيف تؤمن بالكتب؟

فالجواب: ان الله أنزل الكتب[46] على أنبيائه من بنى آدم[47] وهي منزلة غير مخلوقة[48] قديمة بغير[49] تناقض ومن شك فيها من آية أو كلمة فقد كفر.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكم[50] كتابا أنزل على أنبيائه؟

فالجواب: مائة[51] وأربعة كتب وأنزل الله تعالى منها عشر كتب على آدم عليه السلام وأنزل الله تعالى منها خمسين كتابا على شيث عليه السلام، وأنزل الله تعالى منها ثلاثين كتابا على إدريس عليه السلام[52]، وأنزل الله تعالى منها عشر كتب على إبراهيم عليه السلام، وأنزل الله تعالى التوراة[53] على موسى عليه السلام، وأنزل الله تعالى الإنجيل على عيسى عليه السلام[54] وأنزل الله تعالى الزبور على داود عليه السلام، وأنزل الله تعالى القرآن[55] على محمد المصطفى صلى الله عليه السلام[56].

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكيف تؤمن بالأنبياء؟

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[17] الله: ج. [18] سيدنا: ب. [19] + صلى الله عليه وسلم: ج. [20] + وسائر الصالحين: ه. [21] أجمعين: ب. [22] السمرقندي: ج، — قال ... السمرقندي: ب. [23] رحمه الله عليه: ب. [24] — ج. [25] رسوله: ج. [26] القدر: ج. [27] واحد: ب. [28] سميع بصير مريد: أ، س. [29] أ، ج، د، س، ه. [30] + له: ه. [31] ولا ضد ولا ند: أ، د، س، ه. [32] —: د. [33] ليس ... البصير: ب. [34] —: ج؛ + من حولهم وصورتهم وأفعالهم وأحمدهم: ه. [35] حافون: ج. [36] رحانيون: ج. [37] كربيون: ج؛ وهذه الكلمة ليست واضحة في د. [38] الصلاة و: أ؛ عليهم الصلاة والسلام: ب؛ عليه: د. [39] – وغير ذلك: ب. [40] مخلوقون قون: ج. [41] يوصفون: و، د. [42] –: د. [43] فلا: أ. [44] ولا يشربون ولا يأكلون: ج؛ س؛ + الطعام: د. [45] بشراط: ج. [46] كتابا:أ، ج، د، س، ه، و. [47] على ... آدم: د؛ – من بني آدم: ب؛ + عليه السلام: ج. [48] مخلوق: ج، و. [49] – ب: أ، د، ه. [50] كانوا: أ، ج، د. [51] كتابا: أ، ج؛ كتب: د. [52] وأنزل ... إدريس عليه السلام: ب؛ وهذه الجملة مذكورة مرتين في د. [53] التورية: أ، ج. [54] وأنزل ... الإنجيل ... التوراة ...: ب، د. [55] الفرقان: ج. [56] —: صلى الله عليه وسلم: ب.

فالجواب: أن[57] أول[58] الأنبياء آدم عليه السلام وآخرهم[59] محمد صلوة[60] الله عليهم أجمعين[61]، وكلهم كانوا مخبرين ناصحين صادقين[62] آمرين ناهين[63]، وهم أمناء الله تعالى معصومون من الزلل[64] والكبائر ومحبتهم شرط الإيمان وبعضهم[65] من الأولين والآخرين كفر.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكم كانوا من[66] أصحاب الشرائع[67]؟

فالجواب: أن الأنبياء من أصحاب الشرائع[68] ستة: آدم ونوح وإبراهيم وموسى وعيسى ومحمد صلوة الله عليهم أجمعين، وكل شريعة منسوخة بشريعة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم[69].

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكم كانوا[70] من الأنبياء[71]؟

فالجواب: ان الأنبياء[72] مائة الف وأربعة وعشرون ألف نبي[73].

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكم[74] كانوا من الأنبياء المرسلين؟

فالجواب[75]: ثلاثمائة وثلاثة[76] عشر مرسلا.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وأسماؤهم وعددهم[77] شرط الإيمان أم لا؟

فالجواب[78]: ليس عندنا شرط الإيمان لقوله[79] تعالى: "فمنهم من قصصنا ومنهم من لم نقصص عليك."

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكيف تؤمن باليوم الآخر؟

فالجواب: ان[80] الله يميت الخلائق[81] كلهم الا من كان[82] في الجنة والنار ثم يحييهم[83]، ويحشرهم[84]، ويحاسبهم، ويحكم بينهم بالعدل؛ فمن كان[85] من الملائكة والجن والانس[86] فانهم يتلاشون[87]؛ فمن كان منهم فاسقا لم[88] يبق[89] في النار بعد الحساب وأما المؤمنون[90] في الجنة خالدون، وأما الكافرون في النار خالدون؛ ولا يفتنان[91] الجنة والنار ولا[92] أهلهما ومن شك في شيء[93] من هذه الأشياء[94] فقد كفر.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك وكيف تؤمن بالقدر خيره وشره من الله تعالى؟

فالجواب: ان الله تعالى خلق الخلائق[95] كلهم[96] وأرشدهم[97] إلى الهدى[98] وأمر[99] ونهى[100] وخلق اللوح[101] والقلم وأمرهما أن يكتبا[102] أعمال العباد[103]، فالطاعة بقضاء الله تعالى وقدره[104] في الأزل[105] والعصيان بقضاء الله وقدره[106] في الأزل[107]؛ و[108]لكن[109] ليس[110] برضائه وهم يثابون على الخير[111] ويعاقبون على الشر[112] وكل ذلك بوعده[113] ووعيده[114].

مسألة: إذا قيل لك الإيمان أيتجزأ أم لا؟

فالجواب[115]: الإيمان لا يتجزأ لأنه نور[116] في القلب والعقل[117] والروح والجسد[118] من بني آدم؛

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[57] —: ج، س. [58] الأول: ج. [59] آخر الأنبياء: س، ن. [60] صلى: ن؛ صلوات: ب. [61] — وآخرهم ... أجمعين: د. [62] —: ب. [63] ناهين آمرين: أ، ن؛ —: س؛ آمرين بفعل الحسنة ناهين بفعل السيئات: ه. [64] الزلال: ه، و؛ الزلائل: س. [65] بعضهم: س. [66] —: ب. [67] الشريعة: ج. [68] ان ... الشرائع: ب، ج، س. [69] صلوة عليهم السلام: د؛ + وشريعة باق إلى يوم القيامة: أ؛ + باق إلى يوم القيامة: ه. [70] كانوا: ب. [71] + كلهم: أ، ج. [72] —: أ، ج. [73] — وعشرون ألف نبي: ج. [74] —: ج. [75] + ان الأنبياء المرسلين: د. [76] ثلاث: ج. [77] عدادهم: ه؛ + علينا: د؛ فلنا: أ؛ لنا: ن. [78] —: أ؛ + فقل أسمائهم وعددهم: أ، س. [79] قوله: و. [80] + الإيمان باليوم الآخر: د. [81] الخلق: أ. [82] كانوا: أ. [83] + الله: ب. [84] —: ه. [85] كانوا: أ. [86] —: ج. الكاتب أضاف هذه الكلمة متأخرا على الهامش وصحح كلمة "الجن"؛ كانت الكلمة مكتوبة: الجنة. [87] يتلاشون: و. [88] + ف: ه. [89] يبقى: ج، ه؛ + مؤمنون: ه. [90] مؤمنون: ج؛ + بعد الحساب: و. [91] ولا تفني: ب. [92] — وأما الكافرون ... والنار ولا: س؛ + ولا يفنا الجنة ولا يفنا: س. [93] فيها: ج؛ —: س. [94] + المذكورة: و. [95] الخلق: أ. [96] —: أ، ب. [97] أرشدهم: س. [98] — أرشدهم إلى الهدى: ب؛ + أضللهم إلى الظلمات: ه. [99] + إلى الخير: ه. [100] + إلى الشر: ه. [101] + محفوظ: س. [102] يكتب: ج، ه. [103] أعمالهم العبد: ج. [104] قدرته: ه، و. [105] الأزال: س، ه، و؛ + وإرادته وأمره ورضائه: ج؛ وإرادته وقدرته وأمره ورضائه:و. [106] قدرته: ه؛ + وإرادته: ب. [107] الأزال: س، ه؛ — وقدره في الأزل: ج. [108] —: ج. [109] —: ب، ج. [110] بأمره ولا: ب، و؛ في "س" دون "ولا". [111] — على الخير: ب؛ على فعل الشر: ه. [112] — على الشر: ب؛ على فعل الشر: ه. [113] + تعالى: ب. [114] المخطوطة "ه" تمت هنا. [115] —: أ. + فقل: أ. [116] —: ج، س. [117] —: ج. [118] —: ب.

إذ هو[119] هداية من[120] الله تعالى[121] عليه فمن أنكر شيئا منها[122] فقد كفر.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك ما المراد[123] بالإيمان؟

فالجواب: الإيمان عبارة[124] عن التوحيد.

مسألة: إذا قيل لك الصلوة والصوم والزكوة وحب الملائكة وحب الكتب[125] وحب[126] الرسل وحب[127] القدر خيره وشره من الله تعالى وغير ذلك من الأمر والنهي[128] واتباع سنة[129] النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أ[130]هو من الإيمان[131] أم لا؟

فالجواب[132]: لا، لأن[133] الإيمان عبارة عن[134] التوحيد[135]، وما سوى ذلك شرط[136] من شرائط[137] الإيمان[138].

مسألة: إذا قيل لك الإيمان بصفة الطهارة[139] أم لا؟

فالجواب: الإيمان بصفة الطهارة والكفر بصفة[140] الحدث وينقض[141] جميع الأعضاء[142].

مسألة: إذا قيل لك الإيمان[143] مخلوق أم غير مخلوق؟

فالجواب[144]: الإيمان[145] هداية[146] من الله تعالى والتصديق بالقلب[147] والإقرار باللسان[148]، فالهداية غير مخلوق لأنه[149] صنع الرب[150] وهو[151] قديم والتصديق والاقرار من فعل العبد، فهو[152] محدث وكل ما جاء من القديم يكون قديما وكل ما جاء من المحدث[153] يكون محدثا[154].

مسائل أبي ليث

للشيخ الإيمان أبي الليث المفسر

المعروف بإمام الهدى نصر بن محمد بن أحمد ابن إبراهيم الحنفي السمرقندي

(مترجمه)

الفقير عبد الله بن الحاج طه الحاج جميل الدين الكيبي بلدا الشافعي مذهبا

ناظر ومدرس مدرسة التقدم الإسلامي

وسكرتير ومؤسس جمعية نشأة التقدم الإسلامية طبعت

في ١٣٢٧ هجرية بمطبعة الكيب.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

دنك ان پريس فردى باس فن الدى خسكاپـى ان سيخن ان خرستخيت اوپ اونس سين باس محمد ان اوپ ال سين فملجس ان صحابة (دن نادى) سيخ دى ارم سلاف فن الله عبد الله بن الحاج طه بن جميل الدين بينك فن مين فرندى هت خفرخ فر مين اومتى فر تال دى رسالة فن مسائل

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[119] —: ج، س؛ + لأنه: ج، س. [120] + هداية: د. [121] —: د. [122] —: ج؛ + من هذه الأشياء: ج؛ فيها: س. [123] —: ج. [124] —: ج. [125] —: حب: أ؛ الكتاب: أ. [126] —: ج، س. [127] —: ج، س. [128] الأوامر والنواهي: ج، س. [129] —: ج. [130] —: ج. [131] واتباع ... الإيمان: أ. [132] —: أ؛ + فقل: أ. [133] —: أ، ج، س. [134] —: ج، س؛ + هو: ج، س. [135] —: لا ... التوحيد: أ. [136] —: ج، س. [137] شرائطه: س. [138] شرط ... الإيمان: أ. [139] بصفة الطهارة: أ؛ + مثل صفتها: أ. [140] — ب: أ، ب. [141] ينتقض به: ب. [142] الجوارح: ب؛ — وينقض ... الأعضاء: د. [143] + المذكور: أ. [144] —: أ، د؛ + فقل: أ، د. [145] + جهتان فعل الله وفعل العبد فعل الله أمره: ج. [146] + هداية وتوفيقه وهو غير مخلوق: ج؛ هداية: و. [147] + بما جاء به النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من عند الله تعالى: ب. [148] والإقرار باللسان والتصديق بالقلب: ج، س؛ + وفعل بأركانه وهو مخلوق: ج؛ + من فعل العبد: أ؛ + والعمل بأركانه من فعل العبد محدث لقوله تعالى: "والله خلقكم وما تعلمون". [149] — غير مخلوق لأنه: ب. [150] رب: س. [151] — وهو: س؛ + لأنه: س. [152] وهو: د. [153] — وكل ... المحدث: د. [154] — وكل ... محدثا: أ؛ — فالهداية غير مخلوق ... محدثا: ج؛ + لأن العبد مخلوق ففعل المخلوق مخلوق، قوله تعالى: "والله خلقكم وما تعلمون". المخطوطة "س" تمت كالتالي: وما حصل من القديم يكون قديما والإقرار والتصديق من فعل العبد وهو محدث وكل ما حصل من المحدث يكون محدثا لقوله تعالى: "خلقكم محدثا وما تعلمون" خلق الإيمان خفه بالسحاوة الله.

أبى ليث سوهت اك خدون مين بست ان اك فرسوك هلــپ فندى هوكى الله فر مين ان فر دى خنخى ڤت لير ديسى رسالة دن سيخ شيخ أبى ليث المحدث المفسر.

اك بخنت ديسى كتاب مت دى نام فن الله دى جمرلكى دى خنادخى. دنك ان پريس اس فر الله دى اس فن الدى خسكاپــى ان دى خودى ايندى اس فر دى ڤت بنك اس فر الله سين سترف. ان سيخن ان خروت فن الله اوپ اونس سين باس محمد. ان سين فملجس ان سين صحابة.

ان مسألة: ڤنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ڤت اس إيمان؟

دن اس دى جواب: اك خلوف ان الله ان ان سين ملائكة ان ان سين كتاپي ان ان سين رسولس ان ان دى لاستى دخ ان ان دى ايتستن فن خود ان كوات اس فن الله تعالى.

ان ماسألة: ڤنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هو خلوف جى ان الله؟

دن اس دى جواب: ڤــارلك الله تعالى اس اين ليــڤندخ ڤتر كرختخ ڤلر هورد سنر پراتر ايــڤخديرن خسكاپــر رزق خيفر هير باس ... سوندر ان مسكــپــى ان سوندر ان ضت ان سوندر ان ند ان خليكنس.

ان ماسألة: ڤنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هو خلوف جى ان دى ملائكة؟

دن اس دى جواب: ڤــارلك دى ملائكة اس سورتى. نو فن هلى اس دى درارس فن دى عرش ان فن هلى اس حافون ان فن هلى اس دى روحانيون ان فن هلى اس دى كروبيون ان فن هلى اس دى سفرة. دت اس جبريل ان ميكائيل ان اسرائيل ان عزرافيل ان عزرائيل. ان فن هلى اس حفظة ان فن هلى اس كتبة ان هلى امل اس خسكاپــى سلاڤــى فن الله. هلى اسنى بسكريفنى اس منلكنى ان نى فرولكنى ان هلى هتنى شهوة نى ان نى سلــڤــى نى ان نى فادرنى ان نى مودر نى ان هلى درنك نى ان ايت نى ان هلى اس نى اومخهوسمنى فر دى ڤت الله هلى فورادوردر نى ان هلى دون ڤت هلى خاورد اس ان اومتى ليك فر هلى اس ان شرط فن إيمان ان اوم تهارت فر هلى اس كفر.

ان مسألة: ان ڤنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هو خلوف جى ان دى كتاپــى؟

دن اس دى جواب: ڤــارلك الله هت اف لت كوم دى كتاپــى اوپ سين انبياء ان دت اس افخكوم نى خسكاينى بى منسنى اوت سوندر ستر خيت ان دى خنخى ڤت تويفلخيت دا ان ماك ان ان اية اوف ان ڤورت دن ڤورت هى كافر.

ان مسألة: ڤنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هو فيل كتاپــى هت افخكوم اوپ سين أنبياء؟

دن اس دى جواب: اين هو ندرت ان فير كتاپــى ... الله هت اف لت كوم تن فن دى كتاپــى اوپ آدم عليه السلام ... الله هت لت اف كوم فن دى كتاپــى فيفتخ كتاپــى اوپ شيث عليه السلام ان الله هت لت اف كوم فن دت تن كتاپــى اوپ إبراهيم عليه السلام ان الله هت اف لت كوم دى إنجيل اوپ عيسى عليه السلام ان الله تعالى هت اف لت كوم دى توراة اوپ موسى عليه السلام ان الله تعالى هت اف لت كوم دى زبور اوپ داود عليه السلام ان الله تعالى هت لت اف كوم دى قرآن اوپ دى فركستى محمد.

ان مسألة: ڤــنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هو خلوف جى ان دى نبيس؟

دن اس دى جواب: ڤــارلك دى ايرستى فن دى نبيس اس آدم عليه السلام ان دى لاستى فن هلى اس محمد. سيخنس فن الله اس اوپ هلى أمل. هلى أمل ڤــس خــڤــس فرتلرس رادخيفرس فوربرنكرس كومديررس بلترس دى فر تروڤرس فن دى هو كى الله هلى اس بــڤــار فن كلينى ان خروتى سوندى ان اوم تى ليك فر هلى اس ان شرط فن دى إيمان ان اوم تهارت فر هلى اس كفر.

ان مسألة: ڤــنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هوفيل اس دى أصحاب فن دى ڤــتى؟

دن اس دى جواب: سس. آدم ونوح وإبراهيم وموسى وعيسى ومحمد صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين.

ان إدرن ڤــتى اس أفخسكف بى دى ڤــتى فن محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

ان مسألة: ڤــنير دت خسيخ اس فر جو ان هوفيل اس دى فن دى نبيس؟

دن اس دى جواب: إين هو ندرت ديسن ان فير ان توينتخ ديسن نبيس.

ان مسألة: ڤــنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هو فيل فت دى نبيس اس مرسلس؟

دن اس دى جواب: درى هو ندرت ان ديرتن مرسلس.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير ددت خسيخ اس فر جو اس هلى نامى ان هلى ختل ان شرط فن إيمان أوف نى؟

دن اس دى جواب: اونس هتنى دت نى اس ان شرط فن إيمان نى فر دى سيخ فن دى هوكى الله. فن هلى اس ڤت اس ڤـت أونس خفرتلهت فراى ان فن هلى اس ڤت أونس نى خفرتلهت نى فراى نى.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير دت فر جى خسيخ اس ان هو خلوف جى ان دى لاستى دخ؟

دن اس دى جواب: ڤـارلك الله تعالى سل دوت لت خان الدى خسكاپـى أسنت نى دى ڤت ان دى جنة ان فير اس نى ان الله سل ڤـير ليـڤـندخ ماك فر هلى ان سل فر هلى بيمكار لت كوم ان سل أفركن مت هلى ان سل حكم ماك تسن هلى مت رختخيت دن دى خنخى ڤـت اس فن ملائكة ان جن ان منس ڤـارلك هلى سل دوت خان ان دى خنخى ڤـت سلخ خـڤـسهت سل نى اور بليف نى ان دى فير نى نادى أفركنسكـپ ان مار دى مؤمن منسى سل فرايـڤـخ ڤـس ان دى جنة مار دى كافر منسى سل ان دى فير فرايـڤـخ ڤـس ان دى جنة ان فير سل نى فر خانى ان نى سين منسى نى دت اس نى دى ڤت ان دى جنة ان فير اس نى ان دى خنخى ڤت تويفلخيت ماك ان اتس فن دى دنكى دن اس هى كافر خـڤـورت.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس ان هو خلوف جى ان دى ايتستن فن خود ان كوات اس فن دى هوكى الله؟

(دن اس دى جواب): ڤـارلك الله هت خسكاپـى دى خسكاپـى ان هت خاودر ان هت خبلت ان هت خسكاپـى دى لوح ان دى پـن ان هت خأودر فر دى لوح ان دى پـن أومتى سكريف دى ڤـيركسلون فن دى سلاڤـى سو خهو سمخيت اس بي دى ايستن فن دى هوكى الله ان دى أزل ان بى سين ڤـل ان اودر ان سين تفردرى سكـپ ان أومخهو سمخيت اس بى دى ايتستن فن دى هوكى الله انبيسين ڤـل ان دى أزل ان نى بي سين اودر نى ان نى بي سين تفريدر سكـپ نى ان هلى ڤورت بلون ان خسترف ان أمل دى اس بي دى برومس فن دى هوكى الله ان سين بدريخن.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس اس إيمان خديلت أوف نى؟

دن اس دى جواب: إيمان خديلت نى أوم ڤـارلك إيمان اس لخ ان دى هارت ان ان دى فرستان ان ان دى سل فن نبى آدم ڤـنت إيمان اس دى هداية فن الله تعالى أوپ ان مؤمن ان دى خنخى ڤـت أونسترى اتس فن دت إيمان ان هداية اس فن الله دن ڤورت هى كافر.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير دت خسيخ اس فر جو ڤـت اس دى مراد بي إيمان؟

دن اس دى جواب: إيمان مين توحيد.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير دت فر جى خسيخ اس دى صلاة ان دى پـواسى ان دى زكاة ان أومتى ليك دى ملائكة ان أومتى ليك دى كتاپـى ان أومتى ليك دى رسولس ان أومتى ليك دى ايتستن فن خود ان كوات فن الله تعالى ان بيتن دى فن أودر ان بلت ان دى فولخ فن دى سنة فن دى نبى صلى الله عليه وسلم اس دت فن دى إيمان أوف نى؟

دن اس دى جواب: لا. أوم ڤـارلك مين توحيد ان ڤـت بيتن دى اس اس ان شرط فن إيمان سين شرائط.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير دت فر جو خسيخ اس اس إيمان أوب دى منيرتى فن طهارة أوف نى؟

دن اس دى جواب: إيمان اس أوپ دى منيرتى فن طهارة ان كفر اس أوپ دى منيرتى فن حدث. انبى كفر الدى ڤـيركسلون فن دى لتى ڤورت باطل.

ان مسألة: ڤـنير فر جو خسيخ اس اس إيمان خسكاپـى أوف نى خسكاپـى نى؟

دن اس دى جواب: إيمان اس هداية فن الله تعالى ان أومتى خلوف مت دى هارت ان دى ڤـت دى نبى صلى الله عليه وسلم مى خكوم هت فن الله تعالى ان أومتى بر كنت مت دى تنك دن دى هداية اس ماكسلونس فن دى رب ان دت اس قديم أومتى خلوف أومتى بر كنت اس دى ماكسلونس فن دى سلاف ان دت اس محدث ان السـڤـت كوم فن قديم ان السـڤـت كوم فن محدث اس محدث.

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AFRICAN AND ASIAN MUSLIMS IN THE DIASPORA IN SOUTH AFRICA

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This article outlines the history and experiences of Muslims of African and Asian origin in South Africa, their current status, and current and future challenges.

History of Islam

The South

Islam has a long history in South Africa; the first Muslims arrived at the Cape in the middle of the 17th century. These were slaves brought from Africa, India, the East Indies, Mauritius and Ceylon to provide labour for the refreshment station established by the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope (Theal 1905, Bradlow 1978, Boeseken 1977). Slaves were brought by Dutch ships from Batavia, captured from European ships, or purchased from French, Portuguese, and — later — Danish and English ships sailing round the Cape Horn (De Kock 1950).

Slave labour was soon supplemented by prison labour; hundreds of prisoners were transported to the Cape from the East Indies to serve out their sentences. Opponents of Dutch colonization were also exiled to the Cape (Shell 1974). In fact, the first prisoners on the world-renowned Robben Island were Muslim political exiles who included men of distinction and influence (Jeffreys 1936), such as the Princes of Ternate (De Kock 1950), and the Rajah of Tambora (Hoge 1951).

The Statutes of India issued by the Council of India forbade the public expression of any faith other than Calvinism, and Muslims were not permitted to practice Islam publicly (Botha 1962, Lewis 1949). Since slavery was still "legal", there was little that they could do. Confronting their masters or the Dutch authorities was sure to lead to unpleasant consequences. Records of slavery in the Cape reveal cases of severe punishment of slaves by their owners for acts of omission and commission (Wilson & Thompson 1969).

In this context, it is natural to expect that the Free Blacks or Vryezwarten — as the slaves and ex-prisoners came to be known — would seek a discrete mode of expressing their faith. This they found in the *ṣūfī ṭarīqa* (order), which became the locus of religious activity. There is no recorded evidence of *ṭarīqa* activity prior to the exile of Šayḫ Yūsuf of Makasar to the Cape in 1694 (Dangor 1994), though such activity cannot be completely ruled out. The *Ḫalwatiyya ṭarīqa* established by him at Faure is the first known *ṭarīqa* founded on South African soil. For the next century, the *ṭarīqa* played a pivotal role as the only tangible institution of Islam at the Cape.

The *maǧlis* or gathering at Faure, which was to be continued after Šayḫ Yūsuf's death in 1699 by his devoted disciples, apparently attracted many Christian slaves who subsequently embraced the burgeoning new faith (Dangor 1994). There are many recorded complaints in early sources about the conversion of slaves to Islam (Shell 1983). This is understandable in view of the fact that attempts to convert all slaves to Christianity had little success (Shell 1974). Other factors responsible for the growth of Islam in this period were: intermarriage between Muslim men and Christian — including European — women which was a cause of great consternation among sectors of the "White" population (Gordon 1927), and adoption of abandoned children by Muslims.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of *ṣūfī* masters made their impact on Cape Muslim life (Da Costa 1994). Two *ṭarīqas* were introduced into the Cape in the late nineteenth Century: the *ʿAlawiyya ṭarīqa* by Šayḫ ʿAbdarraḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-ʿIrāqī and the *Qādiriyya* by Šayḫ Sayyid Muḥsin ibn Sālim al-Īdrūs of Makka. The foundation of the *Čištiyya* order was laid by Imām ʿAbdallaṭīf al-Qāḍī (Kazi). In the first quarter of this century, other *ṭarīqa* which emerged were the *Rifāʿiyya*, *Naqšabandiyya* and *Šāḏiliyya* (Zwemer 1925).

Imām ʿAbdallāh ibn Qāḍī ʿAbdassalām, a former prince of the principality of Tidore in the Ternate islands, respectably called "Tuan Guru", commenced a *madrasa* (school) at Dorp Street in 1793. This was the first time Muslim children were officially allowed to receive instruction in their faith, and marked the beginning of rapid literacy among the slaves. Within forty years there were no less than twelve *madāris* in Cape Town (Davids 1987).

Though the medium of instruction was Malay, reading and writing the Arabic script formed an integral part of the *madrasa* curriculum (Horrell 1970). The Malay rhythmic mnemonics were used for teaching consonants and vowel sounds of the Arabic alphabet. The Qur'ānic text used was handwritten by Tuan Guru from memory (Davids 1990). Tuan Guru's *Maʿrifat al-islām wa-l-īmān* which is an exponent of ʿAšarite philosophy, was the prescribed text for all pupils. Davids argues that this text had the most profound impact on the life of Cape Muslims in the 19th century. His translations (e.g. *Dalīl al-ḫayra*, 1798) were used for teaching *fiqh* (jurisprudence) (Davids 1990).

In 1795, the *madrasa* began to serve as a de facto mosque. This first mosque — not surprisingly — was called the Awwal mosque (Davids 1980), heralding the dawn of a new era. Religious freedom was granted for the first time to Muslims in 1804 by the new Dutch governors (Bradlow 1978). According to reports, when the British invaded the Cape, Muslims supplied two artillery divisions — referred to as the Javaanshe Artilleries — to fight alongside the Dutch against the British in the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806 in gratitude for a piece of land on which to build a mosque (Davids 1980).

Not only did Muslims acquire a place of public prayer; the mosque became the focal point of community activity. Furthermore, it spawned the emergence of numerous mosques within a short span (Davids 1980), leading to a more institutionalized form of Islam, though practices associated with the *ṭarīqa* – such as the recitation of the *Rātib al-Ḥaddād*, a compilation of hymns by ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād — survived (Davids 1990). Interestingly, slaves were appointed as *imām* in some of these mosques (*South African...*). Despite this, Muslims were denied basic civic rights. They were denied citizenship rights, their marriages were not recognised, they required permission to live in the Colony, were subject to arbitrary arrest, had to carry passes, and had restrictions on freedom of movement.

By 1854, Islamic education was well organised under the supervision of the superintendent general of education, called *imam moota* (Mayson 1865). Muslims also conducted their own secular schools, where European converts to Islam gave instruction in English, Dutch, writing and accounting (Mayson 1865). In 1863 the Ottoman Theological School was established by Abū Bakr Effendi, a Kurd sent to the Cape by the Ottoman sultan to resolve disputes concerning the appointment of an *imām*. Ironically, Effendi, an adherent of the *ḥanafī* school of jurisprudence, became the cause of greater disaffection among the predominantly *šāfiʿī* Muslims at the Cape.

While Muslim children could read Arabic, it was not their mother-tongue. Muslims at the Cape spoke Malay and a creolized form of Dutch called Afrikaans (Ross 1983). By the beginning of the 19th century, Afrikaans became the medium of *madrasa* instruction (Davids 1987a). This led to an interesting development: in order to make texts understandable, teachers used the Arabic script to transcribe their Creolized Dutch! This genre of literature is called Arabic-Afrikaans (Van Selms 1951). The first book to have been written in Afrikaans in Arabic script was the *Kitāb al-qawl al-matīn* of al-Išmūnī which was printed in 1856 (Van Selms 1953). This was followed by *Bayān ad-dīn* of Abū Bakr Effendi in 1869 (Brandel-Syrier 1960, Davids 1990). Kahler has listed 64 titles in his study of Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts (Kahler 1971).

The Cape Muslims developed their own lingua franca. In their daily communication, they used many Malay words. Some examples are:

— *abdast*: ritual ablution
— *bang*: call of prayer
— *bacha*: recite
— *puwasa*: fasting
— *terima kasi*: thank you (Davids 1990)

Many Malay words were absorbed by Cape Dutch.

Incidentally, the *madrasa* became an instrument of conversion, by opening its doors to children of all persuasions, who through exposure to Islam eventually embraced it.

> ...the black man has no desire to enter into the Christian church whose gates have been so long shut against him, he prefers joining with those who have been his

friends in his distress, who invite and encourage him to bring his children to the same school, to attend the same mosque... (Classified Digest 1893)

Among the popular Muslim practices were:

— *mawlid:* the Prophet's birthday celebration
— *gaddad*: recitation in praise of God, prayers and supplications.

Some early Muslim practices bear a distinct hallmark of acculturation, accommodating cultural traits from Christianity, Hinduism and African tradition. These include:

— *rampie-sny*: cutting of orange-leaves on the Prophet's birthday
— *ratiep*: striking the body with swords and piercing the flesh with skewers
— *doopmal*: naming ceremony in which the new-born, with crow-like insignia on its forehead, is carried on a tray decorated with flowers
— *kersoptiek*: ceremonial lighting of candles on 27th night of Ramadan
— *tamat*: graduation ceremony for children who had completed their first recitation of the Qur'ān and primary Islamic education.
— placing a mirror behind the bride (Davids 1990).

Today, some of the above practices such as *doopmal, tamat, kersopstiek*, are non-existent; others such as *ratiep, gaddad* and *rampie-sny* are rarely manifested. Factors responsible for the cessation and decline of these practices include: access to Islamic literature in English, return of graduates from institutions of Islamic learning in the Muslim World, visits by international Muslim scholars to South Africa, contact with Muslim organisations abroad and influence of modern Muslim writers and scholars.

A common feature in the 19th century was the use of "spiritual medicine" by the Cape Muslims, referred to by writers as "Malay Magic" or even "Malay Tricks" (Mayson 1865). Among those said to have enjoyed great "mystic powers" was Tuan Guru who used a dice for divination and as a remedy for illnesses. Tuan Guru's book on *fiqh* (jurisprudence) includes instructions for the preparation of the *azeemat* (amulet) and *isharah* (remedy consisting of a brew of lemon water and herbs) for warding off evil and protection against diseases and misfortune (Davids 1983).

So firm was their faith in "alternate" medicine that they resisted vaccination against smallpox, hospitalisation and quarantine during the smallpox epidemic in the 18th and 19th centuries. The measures imposed on them by the Municipal authorities did not consider their special needs. When the Muslim cemetery on the slope of the Lion's Rump, the Tana Baru — in which prominent leaders were interned — was closed for burial in terms of the Public Health Act No 4 of 1883, three thousand Muslims staged a protest march through the heart of the city to bury a dead child in the cemetery (Davids 1985).

Dr. Abdul Rahman played a critical role in the educational and political development of Cape Muslims. Apart from being the pioneer of state-aided primary schools for Muslim children, he was a founder of the African Political Organisation. He also served on the Cape Town City Council, to which he was elected in 1904, and the

Cape Provincial Council (Ajam 1986). In 1927 the South African Indian Congress appointed him to lead a delegation to the Viceroy of India to protest against the government's proposed legislation on Asians (Steenkamp 1979). Abū Bakr Effendi's son, Aḥmad Effendi, attempted to gain a seat in the Cape Parliament but failed (Davids 1980).

The North

Another stream of Muslims arrived in the Natal Colony in the nineteenth century. They consisted of "Malays" from Java (Joshi 1942), slaves from East Africa and Zanzibar (Oosthuizen 1982), indentured labourers, traders and soldiers from India (Kuper 1960, Bhana 1967), and merchants from Mauritius and East Africa (Brookes 1967, Kuper 1960). Among the mine and forestry workers who migrated to the Transvaal from Mozambique and Malawi in the last century were many Muslims (Mohamed, *Daʿwah*).

Though these Muslims did not suffer the oppression and persecution experienced by Muslims in the Cape two centuries earlier, they had to struggle for their civic rights. Indian traders — the majority of whom were Muslim — encountered numerous obstacles from "White" traders who resented their intrusion and competitive spirit. There were demands for the expatriation of all Indians to India, and many returned home. After the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa in 1894, the Natal Indian Congress was established in order to fight for Indian civic rights — in particular, the rights to residence, trade and education. Hundreds were imprisoned for their opposition to the apartheid regime. Muslims established schools, hospitals, and funded universities and colleges (Dangor 1991).

Residential integration of Muslim and Hindu indentured labourers in Natal led to acculturation as Muslims imbibed various cultural traits from their Hindu compatriots. The quest of the Muslim minority for acceptability by the Hindu majority also encouraged cultural borrowing. When the Čištī *pir* (spiritual guide), Sufi Sahib of Hyderabad, arrived in Durban in 1895, he observed that the Muslims — most of whom were from South India — had "deviated from correct Islamic practices" (Smith 1970).

Sufi Sahib's contribution to the consolidation and growth of Islam in Natal was phenomenal. It was he who established the *ṣūfī* tradition in Natal where it still enjoys popular support. He was personally responsible for the establishment of numerous mosques, several orphanages and *madāris* (Islamic schools). The *mawlid* (Prophet's birthday celebration) and *ʿurs* (celebration of the death anniversary of a saint) which he initiated in Durban have become a feature of Islam in the North. His lectures attracted not only Muslims, but also Hindu indentured workers, some of whom subsequently embraced Islam (Dangor 1995).

The Muslims from East Africa and Zanzibar – commonly known as "Zanzibaris" – rejected their classification as "African" on the basis that they would lose their reli-

gious identity. In terms of the Group Area Act, they would have been compelled to reside in an area designated for Africans. Indian Muslim traders intervened on their behalf; consequently, they were classified as "other Asiatics" and permitted to reside in an Indian group area and attend Indian schools (Seedat 1973). There has since been close association between Muslims of Indian origin and the "Zanzibaris". Together, they observed practices such as *ḏikr* (chanting), *mawlid* and *rātib*, and attended each others's social functions, e. g. weddings (Oosthuizen 1982).

Nonetheless, acculturation between them was not very pronounced probably because social contact between them was limited. Unlike at the Cape, there have been few interracial marriages among Muslims in the North. Visiting the tombs of saints to offer prayers for assistance and guidance is a common practice among Indian Muslims. The shrines of Sufi Sahib and Badsha Peer in Durban are the most popular sites of visitation (Dangor 1997).

While Indian Muslims did not observe any special rites of passage, the birth, circumcision, puberty, and last rites of the Zanzibaris reflect the distinct influence of African traditional practices. Likewise, their healing practices which combine herbal medicine, seeking the intervention of ancestral spirits, supplication to God, animal sacrifice and singing and dancing (Oosthuizen 1982). Among Indian Muslims, the use of *taʿwīḏ* (amulet) is popular; however, there is no strong tradition of herbal medicine.

Both the Indian and Zanzibari Muslims have abandoned many of their traditional practices due to several factors. The establishment of the *madrasa* played a significant role in forging a measure of homogeneity in the expression of Islam. Educational institutions in the Indian sub-continent also had a pronounced influence. Since the middle of this century, young men have been sent to India and Pakistan to qualify as mawlānas who, on their return, have helped shape attitudes and perspectives of the communities they serve. Other factors include visits by Muslim scholars, easy access to Islamic literature, and contact with organisations abroad (Dangor 1997).

The Current Status of Muslims

Due to their involvement in the struggle for justice and human rights, in their individual capacity and as members of liberation movements or political formations, many Muslim individuals now serve in the regional and national parliaments, and some hold high office in government, e.g. the Minister of Justice, Minister of Water Affairs, Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Since the majority of Muslims belonged to the Indian and so-called Coloured communities, they formed part of the disenfranchised majority. They were either excluded or marginalized from political and economic structures which were dominated by the "White" minority and were subject to racial discrimination and injustice.

In spite of the many obstacles placed in their way: lack of educational facilities, restriction on trading rights, job reservation (for "Whites"), etc., Muslims have made

significant contributions to the economic life of the country. While Muslims of the North have distinguished themselves as traders, those of the South are reputed craftsmen and artisans. Today the Muslim community has in its ranks many professionals and technicians (*Meet the Muslims...*). They constitute a small, yet significant sector of the economy.

Muslims have succeeded in maintaining their group cohesion through adherence to religious and cultural norms and values. There are no less than 400 mosques in South Africa today and it is estimated that there are over 400 Muslim organisations in South Africa, catering for the spiritual, cultural, economic, educational, and social welfare needs of Muslims.

Every town has a *madrasa* which imparts basic Islamic education to Muslim pupils after the normal school hours. Some *madāris* are run by individuals, others by organisations. There are several institutes of Islamic education where full-time students obtain knowledge of the Islamic sciences. A number of Muslim private schools have recently been established throughout the country. Undergraduate and post-graduate courses in Islamic Studies are now offered at several South African universities.

The Muslim community is vibrant; there is a resurgence of Islam among sectors of the Muslim population, including academics and professionals who had in the past remained aloof from the mainstream of Islamic activities. These include: essays and speech contests, symposia and conferences, publication of newspapers and Islamic literature, propagation of Islam, poetry recitals, youth camps, *mawlid* and *iǧtima* (Dangor 1991).

Challenges

The new political dispensation in South Africa has brought about new challenges to all its peoples, including minority communities. Reactions to new developments have varied. The following trends are discernable among Muslims:

- isolation: Muslims who are unable or unwilling to cope with the new challenges seclude themselves from the broader society;
- assimilation: Muslims who are absorbed by the new society such an extent that they reject their religious identity;
- integration: Muslims who actively participate in civil society but retain their Islamic identity.

While Muslims have successfully met past challenges and learnt to adapt to changing circumstances, they are faced with many new challenges today. These include the following:

1. adapting to new political realities;
2. asserting their distinct cultural identity;
3. balancing religious identity with national identity;
4. maintaining their institutions and organisations;
5. accepting the reality of an emerging indigenous Islam;

6. developing cross-cultural relationships;
7. participating in national debates;
8. supporting national initiatives of reconstruction;
9. fostering interfaith co-operation on common issues (Dangor 1992);
10. rectifying misrepresentation of Islam by the media.

It is too early to predict to what extent Muslims will be assimilated into a pluralistic South African society.

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II. POPULAR RELIGION AND CULTURE

WOMEN STORIES IN THE MAMLŪK AGE: LOVES AND STRUGGLES TO SURVIVE

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Images of women different from the classical poetry stereotypes are scattered here and there in the encyclopedic collections, in the *adab hazl* (the *muǧūn* or the *suḫf*), or in the books on heroes (*ʿilm al-bāh*)[1]. These last ones are mainly concerned with the woman's body whether the author praises her beauty or he mocks her ugliness. Ibn Qutayba (d. 889 A. D.) in his *ʿUyūn al-aḫbār* wrote that topics dealing with women's body in scientific terms were neither vulgar nor illicite. The same was true for Qudāma (9th–10th c.) and al-ʿAskarī (10th–11th c.) who added that obscene words could not alter the good quality of poetry (Corrao 1997; Gelder 1988: 63, 79). Legal sexual relations were legitimate subject of conversation. Law and pharmacology books used to deal with the same subjects. Other authors of the Middle Ages confirm that the description of the woman's body is positive as far as the aim of the book is to prevent adultery, fornication or homosexuality. These books were written to entertain men, to relax their mind from daily distress, therefore the subject represented a fictitious image of reality. This is particularly true when they referred to women's stories because either the poetical or the grotesque stereotypes prevailed. Anyhow, throughout the centuries and the geographical areas of the Arabo–Islamic empire, we single out different approaches towards women's behaviours. In most philosophical, mystical or theological books, women and, of course, their bodies, were considered to be dangerous, a devilish temptation, an obstacle in the most noble and serious path that leads to the knowledge of God. The only escape from the *fitna* provoked by the woman is legal marriage or, very rarely, abstinence[2]. Most of the images we have are either abstract beauties or greedy tricky monsters, but it is still possible to have different information on women in the Mamlūk age. Intriguing news come from an uncommon work of *adab*, the *Ṭayf al-ḫayāl* by Ibn Dāniyāl (13th c.); written to be staged as a shadow play, it belongs to the *adab muǧūn* (Ibn Dāniyāl, *Shadow plays*); it presents many women stereotypes, like prostitutes, cheaters, a

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[1] Kilpatrick 1995; Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* II, 7–8. Among the most famous books of heros there are those by an-Nafzāwī (m. 996), at-Tiǧānī (m. 1306), *Tuḥfa*; at-Tīfašī (m. 1253), *Nuzha*, quoted by De Slane 1883-95: 460; as-Suyūṭī (m. 1489), *Ǧulasā'*; *Iḍāḥ* (De Slane 1883–95: 16–17 ff; al-Munaǧǧid 1958. A more complete bibliography is given by Declich 1995: 249– 264; Corrao 1997.

[2] Malti-Douglas 1991: 110. The rare exceptions are represented by the sufi women whose holiness coincides with complete chastity; cfr. Scattolin 1993; Smith 1984; Schimmel 1983; Elias 1988; Amri 1992. For further bibliography on the subject of women in Islamic society see: Meghdessian 1980: 176; Ruud 1981; Bousquet 1953; Borrmans 1977; Minces 1979, 1980; Tomiche 1965–6: III; Walther 1978, 1980; Esposito John 1982; Ascha 1987; Saʿdwī 1982, 1991; Mernissi 1980, 1983, 1990.

pregnant nun, a magician, and so on. A typical device of comic literature is to compare contrasting figures, therefore Ibn Dāniyāl, in order to amuse his audience, put together both the classical image of the abstract pure beauty, and a normal ugly woman full of physical defects like old age, white hair, fatness and pains. Like in the greek comedy by Aristophanes, the heroines are ridiculous. Ibn Dāniyāl's protagonists are not well educated as Šahrazād, whose words saved many women from an unfair destiny. In the *Shadow plays*, women are poor and ignorant, but still they are aware of the regenerative power of their bodies.

The *Three shadow plays* are structured like a *Maqāma*[3], the protagonists of each *bāba* are men. In the first *bāba*, the hero is the Amīr Wiṣāl (the prince of union), who wishes to marry in order to put an end to his immoral existence. He calls for a procuress, Umm Rašīd, to find him a perfect wife; but she deceives him and procures him a horrible old woman whose physical description corresponds to the woman who smokes ḥašīš in Ibn al-Ḥarrāt's poetry. The second *bāba* presents a group of entertainers, market dealers and vagabonds of the Banū Sāsān (Rosenthal 1971; Bosworth 1976). The third *bāba* refers to a love contest between two men, with a final part celebrating a false pregnancy. The first two *bābāt* end with the repentance of the protagonist and his vow to expiate his sins with a pilgrimage to Mekka. In the last *bāba*, the corrupted sinner, at the sight of death, repents and becomes reconciliated with his God and dies.

The first woman evoked in the *Shadow plays* is a prostitute, friend of Amīr Wiṣāl; the description of her intense passion was so much appreciated that the famous Imām as-Suyūṭī (15th c.) quoted it in his *Kitāb al-wišāḥ fī fawā'id an-nikāḥ* (as-Suyūṭī, *Wišāḥ*: I, 388).

The second woman is the procuress (*Shadow plays*: 23; *Riso*: 146):

"(...) She knows all beauties in Cairo, both the free-women and the prostitutes, for they come out from the public bath hiding in the servant's shawls; she lends for free the mantel, the dresses and the jewels; she warrants the prostitutes in jail. She is more able than a procurer, she puts together better than a seamstress (...). Most of the time she goes around visiting the houses with the silk to sell the raw and the well-cut materials, different kinds of incense and perfumes, she anticipates (the money to pay) the debts, she fixes the appointments from Thursday to Monday (...). She never forgets to put in her pocket the incense, the bottle, the wine, the ash of lead, the maghrebian narghilé, the signs of the geomancer, the

[3] Ibn Dāniyāl declares that the work has been commissioned by Muḥammad b. Mawlāhum al-Ḥāyālī, who is the author of the *al-Maqāma al-muḫtaṣara fī ḫamsīn mar'a* (Abridged Assembly about fifty women) which consists of the debates between exponents of different crafts, and the author uses technical terms for punning; cfr. Moreh 1992: 109-110. Prof. Moreh told me that he is preparing together with prof. J. Sadan a joint edition of the manuscript of Ibn Mawlāhum, Ms. British Library, Ad. 19411, fols 89a — 104a.

pomegranate's flower, the chalk to draw the armpit, the good wool, the fresh unguents (...)"

The woman described here has the same characteristics as the woman introduced in the second *bāba*, the *ṣāniᶜa*[4], and the fortune teller. The woman tells us the freedom she enjoys in her work; the existence of these professions are witnessed from the official historical sources, from the documents of the Genizah (where it is written that they were mostly Jews and Christians), and also from travellers' memories. The above-mentioned atmosphere is not far from what Ibn al-Faqīh wrote on the Egyptian morality[5].

"(...) (refers that) ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz told Zuhra b. Maᶜbad al-Qurašī: «Where do you live in Egypt ?» — «In al-Fusṭāṭ.» — «You live in the debauched city and leave the good one (ie. Alexandria)» (...) God's envoy said: Go to Egypt and look for what is good, but live somewhere else; because Egypt is a mine for magic and adultery, the residence of the debauched (...)"

The immoral image given by pious Muslims is close to the one given by the Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. The Italian pilgrim Andrea Della Valle wrote in his travel book (Della Valle 1843: I, 174) that both women and men used to walk in the streets half naked, and Stefano Mantegazza told (Mantegazza 1616: 90, 111):

"(...) the women rode the donkeys showing their coloured boots and their pierced ears. (...) The women in this country live in laziness, they willingly amuse themselves and let their husbands take care of the cooking and the spinning, I saw it with my own eyes; and the wives frequent the squares they like best to take good air. When the caravan stopped, I saw that men were taking care of the kitchen (...)"

Few female professions, as that of the dancer and the singer, existed since the Pharaohs' times. Among the more recent professions, there were that of the *ballāna*, the masseuse of the public bath, the *murḍiᶜa*, the woman who suckles the babies, prostitutes, *ḫāṭiba*, *dallāla*. Women were able to prepare amulets and tell fortunes.

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[4] The *Ṣāniᶜa* (the artisan of beauty products) was able to make tattoos, she used to sell beauty products, materials and jewels, she was also a fortune teller; this passage is a rare one, according to later sources it seems that only the gypsies were specialised in this profession. Cfr. ar-Rāziq 1973; Saᶜdawī 1966: 75–6; Lane 1846: 42; Kahle 1950: 11–15, 100; Corrao. 1990: 165–6. Corrao 1996.

[5] Ibn al-Faqīh, *Muḫtaṣar* 69, 75. The above-mentioned images of moral corruption are found both in Arabic and Western sources of travellers, see Yāqūt, *Muᶜǧam* V, 141; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* 200. Cf. Lane 1883. See also: Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Durar* III, 244; Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ, *Madḫal* I, 61; II, 17–8, 46, 52, 57, 297; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* II, 96; as-Subkī, *Muᶜīd an-niᶜam* 199–200; al-Maqrīzī, *Description de l'Egypte*; Lengherend 1861: 182; Regnault 1855: 323; Castela 1974: 447; Savary 1807: 260; Wild 1973: 235, 278, 281–2; Leone Africano 1550.

Ibn Dāniyāl quotes the story of a queen of the Pharaohs[6], known as an expert magician and an alchemist. Another woman in the last *bāba* has magic powers, she is the mother of one of the two lovers, who declares that she has used her magic power to increase the fortune of her son (Ibn Dāniyāl, *Shadow plays* 157).

Life conditions were very hard in that age of transitions, when the Caliphate had been defeated by the Mongols. Thousands of immigrants had escaped from Baghdad and sought refuge in Cairo. Ibn Dāniyāl was among, those, and when he first arrived in Cairo he earned his living as an optician, before becoming a renowned poet. We know that most of the immigrants were soon enroled in the military campaign against the Mongols. Historical sources tell us very little about women; the only women mentioned are the widows of the Mamlūk emirs, the famous singers, or the prostitutes if a lot of them are imprisoned. This last profession was tolerated in Mamlūk times, there was also an official revenue from their business[7]. When Baybars decided to become the champion of the Islamic caliphate, he tried to put an end to the corruption by imprisoning prostitutes, *ḫašīš* and wine dealers. Ibn Dāniyāl in the first *bāba* humorously comments the events, saying that the best thing these women could do was to get married. Also the widows of a Mamlūk emir could have difficulties if the new emir confiscated their wealth. In that age, even a rich woman had to fear for the precariousness of her fortune, her destiny could lead her and her servants, into a private prison, or to a special hostel, where they could end their life in prayer[8]. The case of Ibn Dāniyāl's procuress is that of a working woman who has had a hard time in her life:

> "I use to suck babies like a cow; I was assisting the pregnant until they get would get rid of the placenta at the kid's first painful cry; and all the night long I used to rock the cradle. I missed a good sleep and torpor (...) and my husband used to beat me with the mortar (...)" (Ibn Dāniyāl, *Shadow plays* 153–4).

It is very rare to find a page of dense realism as this one; in fact, the procuress elsewhere, as in Ibn Ḥazm or in the Thousand and One Nights is more like a fictitious stereotype. The above-mentioned passage is longer and contains more realistic

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[6] Her name is Dallūka, the woman is also mentioned in al-Masʿūdī *Murūǧ* (II, 96–7); her name literally means lesbian, and with this meaning is quoted in the *Maqāmāt*, here Ibn Dāniyāl hints both at al-Masʿūdī's queen and the one in the *Maqāmāt*.

[7] Ibn Iyās, *Journal*: on singers and dancers: I, 6; on taxes or financial helps to widows: I, 19, 60; on men and women drinking alcohol on the roads at *Ramaḍān*: I, 59; on the confiscation of women's properties: I, 61; on the assault against the house of prostitutes and their imprisonment: I, 145; a few Mamlūks assault a group of women, later they will be refunded: I, 181. See also the romance of Baybars in Bohas & Guillaume 1985; 1986; 1986a; 1987; 1989; 1990; 1992; ʿAbdarāziq 1973; Saʿdawī 1966: 112.

[8] Keddie & Baron 1992; Raymond 1973: I, 274–6; al-Rāziq 1973: 44–9, 59, 63–4, 83–4; Elisséff 1949: 117-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Collare*. As for the poorest professions see Goiten 1961: IV, 168–97; Shatzmiller 1997: II, 174–206.

and obscene details concerning the care of the child and the violent relation with the husband. What is considered to be "obscene" nowadays, at that time was felt only as a physiological need. What really worried the pious and orthodox was the dangerous influence of pre-Islamic beliefs, like magic or supernatural powers, legends and festivals like Nawrūz (the Iranian celebration of the old year's death) (Corrao 1996). As Ibn Taymiyya argued, women were dangerous because of their ignorance which led to the blind acceptance of wrong beliefs. Ibn Dāniyāl's work witnesses what Ibn Taymiyya feared; but it shows also that to stick fast to the natural values of the popular culture helped to overcome the crisis produced by the uncertainty of a transitional age. That was particularly evident in Egypt for its historical and geographical bonds, even if those clashed with the need for the revival of a pure Islamic faith.

The woman in folklore is the regenerating element *par excellence*, and this message is clear in Ibn Dāniyāl's *bābāt*. In the first *bāba*, the procuress denies the old corrupted prince the chance to redeem himself and regenerate his life by having a child. The woman, in fact, will marry him to an old lady, her daughter, already mother of a horrible monster. As the prince Wiṣāl will say, the only chance to redeem is to go in Pilgrimage to Mecca. Later the man wants to take his revenge on her, but this desire is also frustrated, because the woman dies. Then the prince calls upon her husband, and here the poet, to reinforce the concept, recurs to redundancy, introducing another old corrupted man who claims to be a perfect lover, but he ends up being cheated by a young girl. The tricks of the two women, the old and the young one, here confirm the values of popular culture, where the female regenerating power deceives old pretentious men.

In the last *bāba*, a group of girls laugh at the false pregnancy of one of the two lovers; here they denounce the false "men's pretence" of a world where it is possible to conceive a child without a woman[9]. The man will generate an excrement, which metaphorically stands for the product of an illusory pretence that has to be buried... The party of the false pregnancy celebrates the burial of man's foolish ambition to regenerate. The symbolical function of the party parallels that of the festival of Nawrūz on a less celebrative level; in the course of the festival, the burial of the old year, which does not want to die, symbolizes the burial of man's foolish aspiration to immortality in this existence.

In the *Shadow plays* we observe that the death of the corrupted characters[10] (the

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[9] I do not think that such mysoginist thinking characterized the culture of the time, to me the very fact that Ibn Dāniyāl depicts in a realistic way the procuress proves the existence of different points of view. Here Ibn Dāniyāl is mocking at a mysoginist way of thinking, certainly existing and well explained in the first two chapters of Malti-Douglas 1991.

[10] As in al-Hamaḏānī's *Maqāmāt*, the main subject is the intrigue and cheating. The woman, the symbol of the regenerative strength, is introduced as an old prostitute cheating the hero, a boaster, as it happens also in the *maqāmat "ar-Rusāfa"*; there also the hero ends up revealing his misery and his impo-

procuress, her husband and later the homosexual) confirms the Islamic values; with their death all the sins are cancelled; pilgrimage and legal marriage are indicated to be the only means to purify and regenerate life. It is also possible to read another message: in a time of corruption and decay, nothing can be reborn if one keeps complaining about what is lost forever; here the author praises the new hero, Baybars, and the revival of the Islamic faith under his reign.

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tence; see al-Hamaḏānī, *Maqāmāt* 157–233; Kilito 1983: 53, 68–9, 210.

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الخصائص الجمالية في البناء التشكيلي الشعبي المصري (منطقة الدلتا)

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القاهرة

لقد عنى الرولكلور بقراءة وتطور الفكر الإنساني، إلى جانب عنايته ببواعث الإبداع وارتباطه بالميثولوجيا بغرض تأصيل الظواهر المختلفة.

وقد وضعت الكشوف الجغرافية الفكر الإنساني أمام موروث هائل ساهم في ازدهار الحركة النقدية بمناهجها المختلفة والتي اعتبرت الناتج التشكيلي — بكل أنماطه وأساليبه وأشكاله — من أهم مصادر البحوث الثقافية، لما لها من قدرة تخزينية لوجدان وفكر الجماعة.

ولما كان التشكيل الشعبي موضوعا أساسيا في الثقافة الشعبية، فقد تناولته معظم الدراسات باعتباره وسيلة للتعبير عن الواقع الثقافي للجماعات الإنسانية عبر الحقب التاريخية والمعاصرة، ولم تحرص الدراسات النقدية للتشكيل الشعبي على تناول نتاجه الفني كفن يخضع للقيم الجمالية الاستاطيقية وإنما باعتباره فنا خالصا على الرغم من وظيفته النفعية.

ومن هنا تولدت دوافع الدراسة للبحث في التشكيل الشعبي الذي يحمل المضامين النفعية ويعبر عن بواطن الجمال، باعتبارها نتاجا لحرية الفرد الملتزمة بالوجدان الجمعي.

وتكمن أهمية هذه الدراسة في الكشف عن البناء الفني التشكيلي لبعض قرى الدلتا بمصر، بتسجيل وتوثيق وتحليل مجموعة من العناصر الفنية التي تشكل هذا البناء، بهدف الكشف عن القيم الجمالية وارتباطها بوظيفة المنتج الشعبي.

وكان المنهج الوصفي أحد المناهج التي اعتمدت عليها الدراسة من خلال رصد عناصر مادة البحث إلى جانب المنهج التحليلي للكشف عن البناء التركيبي للوحدات الزخرفية على مختلف الأعمال التشكيلية، تلك التي تمثلت في فنون العمارة ورسوم الجدارية والوشم والحلى وأعمال النسيج والأثاث.

وقد آثرت الدراسة تأكيد الأبعاد الجمالية لمكونات العمل الفني من حيث الخط واللون والمساحة والكتلة والفراغ، مع الحرص على الكشف عن الأساليب الفنية المختلفة والدلالات والمضامين التي يشكلها العمل الفني.

ذخرت الدراسات النقدية بالكثير من المفاهيم التي تعرضت لدراسة الناتج التشكيلي الشعبي، وقد جاء منها ما يقلل من شأنها واصفا إياها بالبساطة والسذاجة والبدائية، ومتجاهلا لدورها كأنهم الموضوعات المكونة لثقافة الأمة وإرثها.

كما اكتفت بعض الدراسات المتعمقة بالتحليل للأشكال والرموز التي يتضمنها العمل التشكيلي الشعبي وتصنيفه كثقافة مادية متحفية، متجاهلة القيم "الإستاطيقية"[1] التي يتضمنها العمل الفني، وقد اكتفت بتحليل أغراضه في صياغة ثقافة الإنسان، ولم تغامر في دراسة الاحتياجات الإنسانية ورغبته في الجمال لأنه على الرغم من أن "الفن نشأ لأغراض دينية واجتماعية، فإنه عمل على إرضاء احتياجات الإنسان ورغبته في الجمال" (Elsen n. d.: 18)، مما يؤكد أنه لا انفصام بين احتياجات الإنسان الجمالية والنفعية.

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[1] استخدمت الباحثة "استاطيقي" لأنه يشير إلى إدراك الموضوعات والتطلع إليها، وهو يختلف عن لفظ "الجمال" الذي يعني قيمة الموضوعات (ستولونيتز ١٩٨١: ٢٩).

لذا كان من الضروري دراسة هذا الجانب من جوانب الإبداع، بالبحث عن الرغبات الكامنة في الإنسان، والتحقق من الجمالية النفعية، وإبراز القيم الإستاطيقية للناتج التشكيلي الشعبي، ومكوناته المتمثلة في الخط واللون والمساحة والحركة والإيقاع والكتلة والفراغ، ودورها في إبراز المضامين الثقافية.

الإبداع التشكيلي بين الشكل والوظيفة

يتكون العمل الفني من محصلة لعديد من العناصر الفنية التي تشترك فيما بينها لتحقيق ناتج ذي طبيعة مميزة تتفاعل مع الوجدان، وتكمن بداخلها الشخصية الثقافية للفنان، وبين حوار الخطوط والألوان والحركة الإيقاعية، تتكون الأشكال ذات الدلالة لتصبح موضوعا ترمي إلى مغزى معين، فتتحول قطعة الخشب إلى أثاث أو أثر سحري أو أداة ذات وظيفة معينة لتلبية احتياجات الإنسان الذي يدفع بكل مضامينه الفكرية إلى صياغة الشكل النهائي، حيث سيطرة الموضوع والخامة، فالشكل يحمل الرمز باعتباره الوسيلة التي تنقل تعاليم وحكمة الجماعة.

لقد لعب الفكر الأسطوري دورا أساسيا في صياغة الأشكال التعبيرية، ومنذ نشأة الإنسان وفي صراعه الدائم من أجل الخلود وتحليل الظواهر البيئية، استنبط كثيرا من الحلول المادية وغير المادية في معالجة كل ما هو غيبي أو غير مدرك، فكان أولها الدين والمعتقد "الطوطم... ثم التابو" فعمل التعاويذ والأشكال المادية الدالة على مقاصده ليصبح الطوطم "رمزا للقوة والسيطرة وعند بعض الشعوب يتحول إلى أساطير"[٢].

وبتوالى الحقب التاريخية تساهم الرمزية في تشكيل الرؤى الكامنة والتعبير عن مدركات الطبيعة وتجسيد المعاني المراد التعبير عنها فالرمز هو اللغز والدلالة وهو صلب الحياة الاجتماعية باعتباره لغة اتصال وحوار بين أفراد المجتمع الواحد حيث يتمثل في دلالات معينة من خلال الرسوم والصور وغيرها من أدوات التعبير[٣].

لقد أجمعت الدراسات التي تناولت الفنون البدائية على أنها تتسم بالفطرية في معالجة السطوح وحينما تعبر عن الأفكار الملغزة (الرمزية) لا بد أن ترتبط بالمعتقدات وخدمة الشعائر الدينية، كما أنها لا تخلو من التشبع بروح الفكرة الجمالية وعصرها، وهذا ما أسماه هربرت ريد "بالفن المشاع لأنه ينشأ أثناء الطرائق التي تتضمنها صناعة الأشياء الضرورية النافعة" (ريد د. ت.: ٢٢).

لقد بات من المؤكد ارتباط الفنون الإنسانية الأولى بالمعتقد والدين وطبيعة الحضارة لأي جماعة، لذا نجد أن الفن المصري القديم شكل نموذج الحضارة ذات الاستقرار، وجسّد فن النحت والرسم — على جدران المعابد وغيرها — قدرة الفنان المصري القديم على المزاوجة بين الشكل والفكرة وأكد أفكاره الاجتماعية والدينية والسياسية في سمات شكلت خصوصية الفن المصري والتي تمثلت في الآتي:

١ — رسم الإنسان من أهم خصائصه
٢ — عدم الاكتراء بالمنظور
٣ — تصوير الأشياء لتجسيد المعنى مع مراعاة قربها من الطبيعة
٤ — خدمة الأهداف الدينية، وكما يؤكد جمال حمدان أن "هناك تداخلا بين الفنون التشكيلية والعقيدة الدينية" (حمدان ١٩٨٠: ٩٣).

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٢ يعد دور الطوطم رمز (وحدة) في التركيب الاجتماعي، باعتبار أن الفرد يخرج من تلك الجماعة وإليها يعود، وهذه الوحدة الكاملة بين الإنسان والحيوان والنبات والحجر، بين الحياة والموت، بين الجماعة والفرد، تعتبر الفرد أوليا في جميع الطقوس السحرية (فيشر ١٩٧١: ٥١-٥٢). ولمعرفة نشأة الفكر الطوطمي انظر Robertson Smith 1907: 219.

٣ لمزيد من المعلومات عن الرمز انظر Baley 1939: I, 10-14.

ويتأثر الناتج التشكيلي لأي ثقافة بتغير وتطور ثقافة المجتمع، حيث تأخذ ما يلائمها من أجل إشباع حاجاتها المادية والروحية، لذا نجد أنه عندما جاءت الديانة المسيحية واءمت نفسها مع الموروث القديم وعبرت عن المضمون الاجتماعي في رموزها الخاصة، حيث الاقتراب من الناس، والتحول إلى الواقعية وظهر ذلك واضحا في بساطة اللون وتسطيح الأشكال لأنه فن موضوعي.

وأهم ما تميزت به الفنون التشكيلية في هذه الحقبة:

١ — تصوير الواقع وإهمال البعد الثالث
٢ — التلخيص والتبسيط للأشكال
٣ — الإيجاز في ما يريد نقله للناس
٤ — انتشار الرموز الاجتماعية
٥ — تلقائية الشكل.

وكان أثر الفكر الإسلامي على الثقافة المصرية واضحا في الأشكال الفنية وعناصرها، فقد صبغها بفكرة التوحيد دون أن يزيل أصولها، وظهرت الأعمال الفنية تستهدف البحث عن بعد آخر، وهو العمق الوجداني وتميزت الأشكال بالآتي:

١ — تجريد الأشكال لتحقيق قيمة تعبيرية
٢ — انتشار الزخارف النباتية والهندسية، والبعد عن التجسيم
٣ — جماليات الخط العربي والاعتماد عليه في التصميم.

إن هذا المخزون الفكري والبصري للفنان الشعبي كان له أثر غير مباشر في صياغة الأشكال المستحدثة (المعاصرة) إلى جانب التأثير المباشر للبيئة المحيطة، "ولسوف يكتشف الباحث في المأثورات الشعبية المصرية أن عناصر ثقافية تتناقل عبر الأجيال قد يتغير فيها الشكل، ولكن يظل المضمون والوظيفة ثابتين، وقد ظل الشكل محفوظا ولكن تتبدل الوظيفة" (كمال ١٩٨٦: ٨٤-٨٣).

تعتبر مناطق الدلتا ووادي النيل أكثر المناطق — في القطر المصري — تأثرا بالحوار الثقافي عبر الحقب التاريخية، والوافد من الثقافات، لذا نجد تأثير الحقب التاريخية واضحا في نتاج الفنان الشعبي المعاصر.

ومن أمثلة ذلك أعمال النسيج التي تشتهر بها بعض المناطق كالمحلة الكبرى التي تنتج المنسوجات القطنية والكتانية، وقرية ساقية أبو شعرة التي تشتهر بإنتاج السجاد الحرير، وكذلك قرية أخميم التي تعتبر من أهم القرى التي تنتج الكليم اليدوي، وقرية كرداسة بالجيزة.

وقد احتوت معظم هذه المنسوجات في الدلتا على الرسوم النباتية المحورة من الطبيعة والأشكال الهندسية بالإضافة إلى بعض أشكال الطيور والحيوانات وغيرها.

أما العمارة الريفية، فقد تميزت ببساطة البناء بحيث تكاد تتشابه جميعها في التكوين المعماري الخارجي والداخلي وكذا طريقة البناء[٤].

وقد تنوعت الحرف في قرى الدلتا، واعتمدت جميعها على ما أتاحته البيئة من خامات طبيعية تقوم عليها الحرفة، ومن أهم هذه الخامات أشجار النخيل[٥] التي تعتبر من الأشجار الطبيعية التي تنمو بكثرة في مصر، والتي تنتشر في قرى الشرقية والجيزة وغيرها من القرى التي تعتمد على زراعته، ومن أهم الصناعات التي تعتمد على أشجار النخيل في الريف المصري صناعة السلال التي

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٤ انظر دراسة الدكتور جابر التي تحدد الطابع المصري التقليدي في البناء المعماري (جابر ١٩٩٥: ١١٩-١٠٩).

٥ يعتبر النخيل من الأشجار المقدسة داخل رقعة الفولكلور العربي بعامة، وقد ظلت ممارسات شجرة الميلاد والعائلة العربية في هذه النخلة وتمرها، ويجري التعامل بها وتوارثها، حتى العصر الفاطمي، والمملوكي في مصر، حيث كانوا يزينوها سنويا بملابس الزينة النسائية خلال مواسم احتفالاتها الموسمية مع الطرح والتلقيح. انظر عبد الحكيم ١٩٨٢: ٦٦٠-٦٦٧.

تختلف من حيث أشكالها وأحجامها، حيث يقوم الحرفي بجدل أوراق الجريد الخضراء حتى يسهل ثنيها، ولكي يحقق نوعا من الزخارف يقوم بصباغة بعض الأوراق بالألوان التي غالبا ما تكون باللونين الأخضر والأحمر، فتصبح ذات جاذبية خاصة في علاقتها باللون البيج (الطبيعي).

كما يؤخذ سعف النخيل وتصنع منه المقاطف، ويستخدم جريد النخيل في صناعة الأقفاص وبعض أنواع الأثاث الداخلي كالكراسي والأسرة وغيرها.

ومن بين الحرف الشعبية أيضا حرفة الحصير، وهو من الصناعات التي ظهرت في العصور الفرعونية واستمرت عبر الحضارات التاريخية إلى الآن، وتعتمد صناعة الحصر على استخدام النباتات الطبيعية كالبوص والحلفا والسمار، ومن أشهر القرى في هذه الصناعة، قرية كفر الشرفا ومنوف وكفر الشيخ.

أما الفخار فهو من الحرف الأساسية التي تعتمد أولا وأخيرا على الاستخدام الشعبي، وهو يقوم أساسا على ظروف البيئة الجغرافية، حيث يتوقف تصنيعه على الطمى النيلي أو طمى الترع، وقد اشتهرت به منطقة الفسطاط بمصر القديمة، وبعض قرى الفيوم، وقرية أشمون جريس بالمنوفية. وتتوقف أنواع الأواني الفخارية على نوع ولون الطمى الطبيعي. فهناك الطمى الأسود الداكن، والطمى البنى الفاتح (الأحمر)، والنوع الأخير هو الأبيض. ويتم حرق الأواني بعد تشكيلها في فرن خاص، وبعضها يتم حرقه فقط لتثبيت اللون الذي يتم من خلاله تشكيل بعض الوحدات الزخرفية البسيطة أو الهندسية المتعرجة باللون الأبيض "لخلق نوع من التضاد اللوني على الأرضية ذات اللون البني الداكن الذي يصنع منه الإناء" (Evans 1982: 60).

بالإضافة إلى بعض الأعمال التشكيلية الأخرى التي تمثلت في صور رمزية وبطرق متنوعة، والتي تخضع لقيمة المجتمع، مثل رسوم الوشم وبعض أدوات التجميل والحلى.

من خلال هذه النماذج نستطيع أن نلخص الناتج التشكيلي للفنان الشعبي في الأطر التالية:

١ — امتزج التشكيل الشعبي بثقافة المجتمع في مختلف مناهجها، واستفاد منها بصريا وتكنولوجيا ويتمثل ذلك في "العمارة — الأبواب والشبابيك — الرسوم الجدارية — الأزياء والزينة... إلى غير ذلك"

٢ — ارتبط التشكيل الشعبي بالدلالات والرموز الاجتماعية طبقا لتغير المفاهيم:

أ — الأشكال الإنسانية والحيوانية ذات الدلالة

ب — الزخارف النباتية والهندسية والخطية

ج — التلقائية والفطرية في معالجة الشكل

٣ — استعمال التشكيل الشعبي كلغة تواصل ونقل للحكمة داخل المفاهيم الاجتماعية

أ — الوشم وارتباطه بالأسطورة

ب — الرسوم الخاصة بالقيم الاجتماعية والعادات

وهكذا يتضح استحالة استخلاص القيم الجمالية دون القيم النفعية، فالتزاوج بينهما قد تم بإتقان وتلاحم للوصول إلى المعاني الجوهرية التي يرتكز عليها العمل الفني، فالشكل ينظم عناصر الوسيط المادي للعمل وهذه العناصر لا بد أن تتسم بدلالة تعبيرية.

الخصائص الجمالية للبناء التشكيلي الشعبي

تميزت منطقة الدراسة "قرى مركز أشمون بمحافظة المنوفية — الدلتا" بالتنوع الثرى لأنماط التشكيل الشعبي وعناصره، إلى جانب التصاقها الحميم بثقافة المجتمع الاجتماعية والدينية والاقتصادية دأبها كدأب التشكيل الشعبي في استبطانه وتعبيره عن مكنونات الجماعة.

ونظرا لتنوع أشكال البناء الفني التي تم رصدها من مجتمع الدراسة، فقد تم وضع إطار واحد يحكم هذه الأشكال وذلك من خلال تناول كل نوع على حدة من حيث: أولا: الموضوعات التي شملتها الأشكال الفنية، ثانيا: الأساليب التي عالجت هذه الموضوعات. أما عن الموضوعات فهي:

الرمزية، التجريد الهندسي، والطبيعة والأشكال النباتية. والأساليب: الحفر البارز والغائر — التلتوين — التركيب — التفريغ — التداخل بخيوط النسيج والتطريز.

قدم الفنان الشعبي تراثا تشكيليا اتسم بالتعبيرية التي امتزجت بالواقع والخيال والرمزية، واستقى مادته من البيئة الطبيعية والفكر الكوني المؤطر بالأسطورة، كما حمّل نتاجه الفني الكثير من الحالات الوجدانية التي يعايشها، وكانت كل السطوح والخامات مسرحا لإبداعاته ومجالا خصبا في شمولها جل الوحدات الزخرفية على اختلاف الأساليب وتنوع الموضوعات.

الرمزية

استخدم الفنان الشعبي الشخوص الآدمية والأشكال النباتية والطيور أحيانا واستخدم الأشكال الهندسية أحيانا أخرى، ليحقق قيمة جمالية مستمدة من الفكر الميثولوجي، ولم يغفل مدى ملائمة الخصائص الفنية لكل شكل وإمكانيات المواد الخام وكذلك الأساليب التي يستوجبها كل تصميم.

ومن بين الموضوعات الرمزية التي شكلها الفنان الشعبي (المرأة) لتجسيد معاني الخصوبة والأمومة، ولكي يؤكد أهمية هذا الرمز فقد اختار المكان، أعلى الباب، والأسلوب باستخدام الحفر البارز والمجسم، ولزيادة التأكيد على أهمية هذا العنصر، عمد إلى توسطها بين وحدتين من الوحدات النباتية المجردة (صورة رقم ١) ولهذا الرمز بعده التاريخي[٦]. كما أن الجمع بين أكثر من عنصر من الأساليب الفنية الشائعة في العصور الإسلامية الشيعية إبان حكم الدولة الفاطمية. أيضا من بين الموضوعات الرمزية هي التي تمثل المعالجة البارعة لوحدة (الطائر) تلك التي حققت الاستفادة من أسلوبي الحفر البارز والغائر معا، لخلق علاقة بين السطح والشكل. فالإنحناءات الانسيابية التي شكلت جناحي الطائر[٧] جعلته يشبه الطائر المجنح في عظمته ناشرا جناحيه — في الرسوم المصرية القديمة (صورة رقم ٢).

أما الأشكال الرمزية التي شاركت الطائر والتي ارتبطت به، فهي شجرة الحياة، التي تؤكد التواصل الثقافي في الإبداع الشعبي[٨].

ولما كان المضمون الرمزي محورا لمعظم الأعمال التشكيلية، فقد حقق الوشم بعض العناصر الزخرفية التي تخدم المعتقد، ليصبح للجسد أيضا نصيبا كوسيط تعبيري عن المضامين الانفعالية للإنسان في التشكيل وفي الوقت نفسه سجلا تاريخيا لحياة الإنسان الشخصية، بالإضافة إلى تعدد الدوافع ما بين الدينية والاجتماعية والتزينية لاستغلال هذا الجسد (صورة رقم ٣).

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٦ تعتبر المرأة (كرمز) من النقوش التي ظهرت في الحضارات القديمة وقد تشكلت كحلية على هيئة رأس الآلهة حتحور وأحيانا على شكل الآلهة إيزيس، في بعض الآلات الموسيقية، مما يشير إلى أن هذه الآلة كانت تستخدم في الشعائر الدينية (عكاشة ١٩٧٦: ١١٣٨). كما ظهرت أيضا رسوم المرأة في الفن القبطي في النحت البارز المجسم وكذلك في النسيجات، كما انتشرت الرسوم الآدمية والطيور في العمارة والأسوار والأبواب في المدن السلجوقية المختلفة في آسيا الصغرى (حسن، د. ت.: ٦٣١).

٧ إن المسلمين رسموا النسر في رندوكهم وعلى صدره زخرفة، ورسموه مبسوط الجناحين ورأسه متجه نحو اليمين (تيمور ١٩٤٦: ٢٣٢).

٨ من العناصر الزخرفية الهامة منذ أقدم الحضارات هى شجرة الحياة، حيث استعملت موضوعا أساسيا في توضيح الأساطير، فقد كان قدماء المصريين يعتقدون أن الإله أوزيريس هو روح الحياة الخضراء النابتة من الأرض، وكانوا يرمزون لها بشجرة في كثير من الأحيان. وفي ديانة زرادشت تسمى شجرة الحياة باسم (home)، كذلك كان الاعتقاااد السائد عند الآشوريين وأهل فلسطين والبابليين بالنسبة لآلهتهم التي كانوا يرمزون لها بشجرة، علامة الحياة المتجددة، وفي التوراة وردت شجرة الحياة وسط الجنة، أما المسلمون فيطلقون على شجرة الحياة اسم (سدرة) أو (طوبى) ويعتقدون أنها تنمو وسط الفردوس (ماهر ١٩٧٨: ٥٨-٥٩).

التجريد الهندسي

لقد اعتمد الفنان الشعبي على الزخرفة بالوحدات الهندسية التجريدية أحيانا وتحويرها أحيانا أخرى، لخلق علاقة تناغمية بين الشكل والسطح ومن ثم تحقيق موضوع معين، ومن الأشكال ذات التجريد الهندسي هي تلك التي ظهرت في تكرار وحدة المثلث والتقاء المثلثات ليمثل وحدة زخرفية تسمى "المفروكة" (Critchlow 1976: 72) حيث تحقق العلاقة الترابطية والمتبادلة بين الأضلاع الأربعة المكونة للبناء الفني والتي تحقق حركة بصرية في الوقت ذاته (صورة رقم ٤).

ومن الأعمال أيضا التي حققت سمة من سمات التشكيل الشعبي طبقا لتنوع الخامة، هو الحصير الذي يستخدم فيه نبات (السمار) كخامة، والصبغات اللونية لتشكيل الوحدات الزخرفية وتحقيق علاقة تناغمية بين الأرضية الفاتحة اللون والرسوم التي غالبا ما تنحصر بين اللونين الأخضر والأحمر، وتوضح (الصورة رقم ٥) أحد الأعمال التي يجمع فيها الفنان بين أكثر من وحدة زخرفية، ولكن أساسها الشكل الهندسي. وتتمثل هذه الزخارف في النباتية والهندسية المجردة والطيور والأشكال الكتابية.

التلخيص

لقد تنوعت أشكال وموضوعات الرسوم الشعبية لتؤكد ارتباطها "بالفكر التقليدي كمنهل تستقي منه الجماعات المختلفة إبداعها، والذي ميز التقليدية الشكلية بسمة التجانس مع موضوعاته، فهي رؤية للمطلق تتخذ من المحدود شكلا تقوم عليه، ووسيطا تبرز من خلاله" (كبيدة ١٩٨٥: ٤٥).

لقد كانت للبيئة المحيطة — بكل معطياتها — بالفنان الشعبي أثر واضح في معظم أعماله، وكان للرؤية البصرية مع المخزون الفكري للإنسان أيضا دور هام في تجسيد هذه الطبيعة في شكل مادي يتسم بالإبداع الجمالي، ويؤكد أحد النماذج التي استوحاها الفنان من البيئة الريفية أن العمل يعالج على المسطح حيث لاحساب للبعد الثالث، وهو سمة التصوير الشعبي، بالإضافة إلى تلخيص الوحدات الزخرفية على تنوع أشكالها. من خلال أسلوب آخر من الأساليب الفنية وهو التداخل بخيوط النسيج لأحد أعمال النسجيات المرسمة (صورة رقم ٦).

كما اعتمدت بعض التصميمات الجدارية لأسلوب التلوين على العناصر المعبرة لموضوع الحج في شكل مسطح، وكان التعبير من خلال الخطوط في شكل تناغمي مع الألوان، ولم يهتم الفنان أيضا بالبعد الثالث، حيث أفقد العناصر منظورها الطبيعي بتلخيص الأشكال (صورة رقم ٧).

الطبيعة والأشكال النباتية

إن الطبيعة في عطائها السخي ضاعفت من إثراء الناتج التشكيلي، ولقد أدى اهتمام الفنان الشعبي بالسطوح والخامات المتنوعة — كالخشب والحديد والصدف والألوان المائية — إلى إنتاج وحدات زخرفية — على اختلاف الأساليب — من خلال الخطوط التعبيرية التي يستخدمها في كل تصميم.

لقد برع الفنان الشعبي في الزخرفة والحفر على الخشب وكانت خامة الحديد لا تقل إبداعا وثراء عن خامة الخشب، ليؤكد التقنية الحرفية في تطويع هذه الخامة وتحقيق نوع من الزخارف النباتية المجردة، والتي يلعب فيها الخط حركات إيقاعية مرة يمتد ومرة أخرى ينثني ليدعم القيمة التعبيرية لهذه الأشكال المحورة من الطبيعية في مساحة من الحرية الذاتية الملتزمة بقيم الجماعة (صورة رقم ٨).

حقق الفكر الاجتماعي ما حملته ثقافة المجتمع ليظهر الاهتمام بالشكل الخارجي، وبذلك تتوسع دائرة الممارسة الشكلية تلك التي شملت بعض الأعمال التشكيلية مثل "المشربيات"، ولعل الغرض الأساسي الذي من أجله صممت هذه المشربيات هو تخفيف حدة الضوء أو خلق نوع من

الخصوصية داخل المكان. ففي (الصورة رقم ٩) تظهر مدى العلاقة الجمالية التي خلقتها الوحدة الزخرفية مع الفراغ ليشكل بدوره وحدات زخرفية أخرى في حوار تلتف من خلاله الوحدات النباتية المجردة وتمتد وتنثني لتحقق نوعا من الاستمرارية، دون معرفة بداية أو نهاية الخط المنحنى.

كما تم رصد شكلا آخر (للوحدات النباتية المجردة) وهو لصندوق من الخشب أحد أنواع الأثاث الذي كان ضمن جهاز العروس لتضع فيه ملابسها، وهو يختلف — من حيث أسلوب التنفيذ — عن الأشكال السابقة لأنه اعتمد على الصبغات اللونية (الزاهية) ما بين الأحمر والأصفر والأخضر لتشكيل الوحدات النباتية والهندسية أيضا (شكل رقم ١٠).

من خلال هذه النماذج المختلفة لعناصر الفنون التشكيلية والثقافة المادية تأكد مدى إمكانية الفنان الشعبي في التحايل على الخامة وتوظيفها توظيفا فنيا في حياته اليومية، وكذلك الأسطح المختلفة ما يلائمها من أشكال ورسوم على اختلاف الأساليب. والوسائط المادية المستخدمة في عمله، وجاءت نتائج الدراسة بثلاثة محاور ترتكز على المادة التشكيلية الشعبية التي تم جمعها ميدانيا:

١ — الرؤية الفكرية الشاملة للتشكيل الشعبي
٢ — الخصائص والأساليب الفنية في التشكيل الشعبي
٣ — القيم الجمالية

١ — الرؤية الفكرية الشاملة للتشكيل الشعبي:

أ — ارتباط الناتج التشكيلي الشعبي بتفاعله الحضاري، وتأثره بالموروث الفكري والبصري.
ب — التراكب الثقافي التشكيلي عبر الحقب التاريخية المختلفة وتأثير الدلالات الرمزية بأشكالها المتنوعة.
ج — أهمية دور الفنان الشعبي في نقل حكمة الشعب وأفكاره ومعارفه عبر الأجيال.
د — يتم الإنتاج التشكيلي في إطار من التحرر الملتزم بالوجدان الجمعي.
هـ — تحويل كل السطوح إلى مسرح لإبداعات الفنان الشعبي، مع المهارات الفائقة بين عناصر العمل الفني، وبين الخامات والوسائط المادية والموضوعات.

٢ — في مجال صياغة الأسلوب الفني وخصائصه:

أ — التلخيص غير المخل للأشكال وتوظيفها لخدمة المساحة التصميمية والتعبير الرمزي.
ب — عدم الاهتمام بالتجسيم والمنظور البصري.
ج — الحس التلقائي للخطوط والألوان في التعبير عن الموضوعات المختلفة.
د — الاهتمام بالرمز لخلق التواصل بين الأفراد.
هـ — اختلاف الأساليب وتنوعها باختلاف السطوح، وأحيانا يتم الجمع بين أكثر من أسلوب في عمل واحد.

٣ — في مجال القيم الجمالية:

يتأكد بهذا تفرد الفنان الشعبي في نتاجه التشكيلي الملتزم بروح الجماعة فكرا ووجدانا ويتجلى ذلك في التزاوج المتقن بين القيم الجمالية (الإستاطيقية) والقيم النفعية، حيث يصعب الفصل بين مدلولات العمل الفني ومنافعه أيا كانت.

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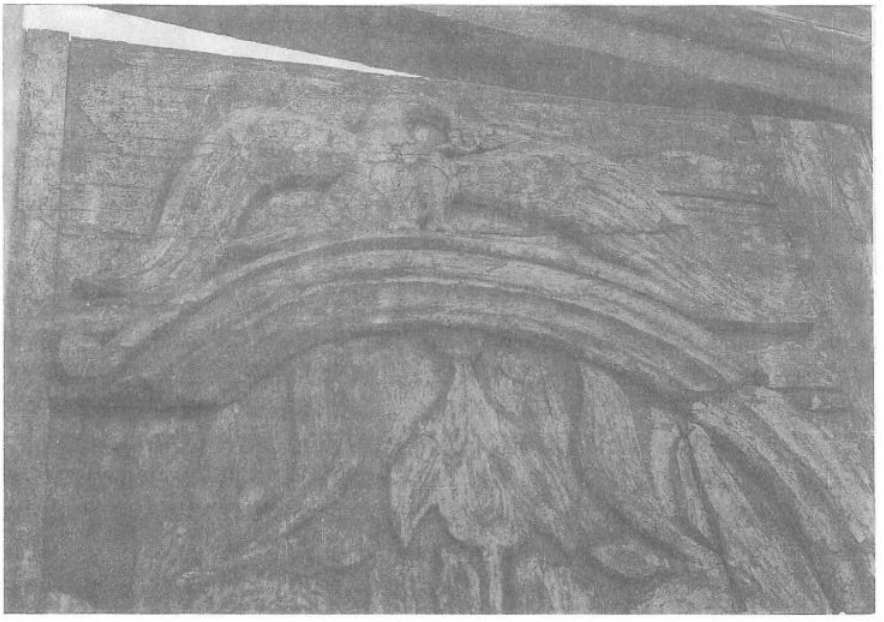
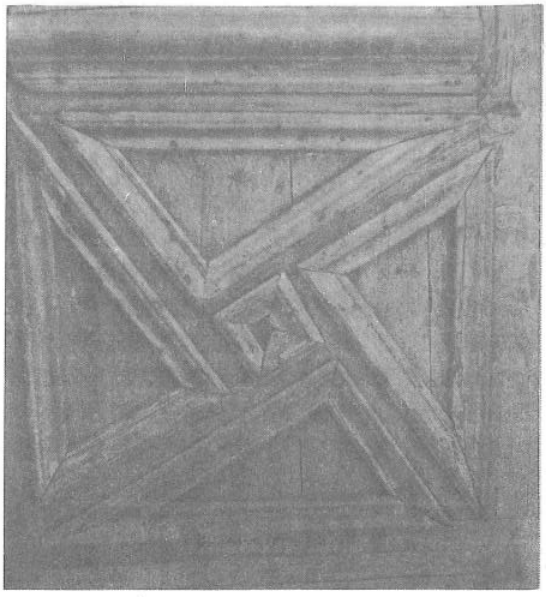
صورة رقم ١



صورة رقم ٢

صورة رقم ٣



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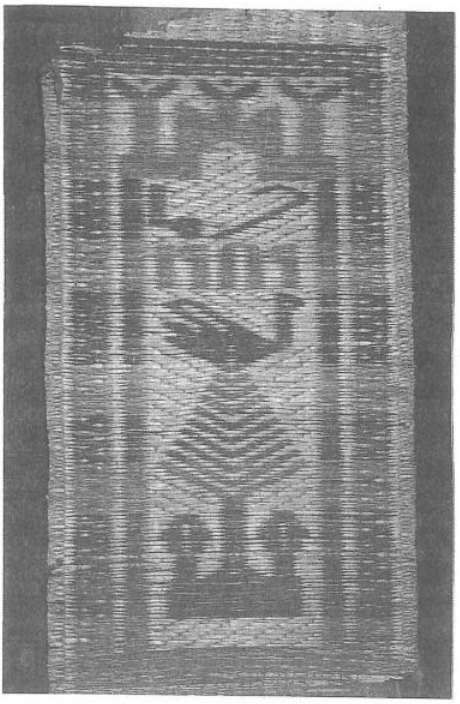

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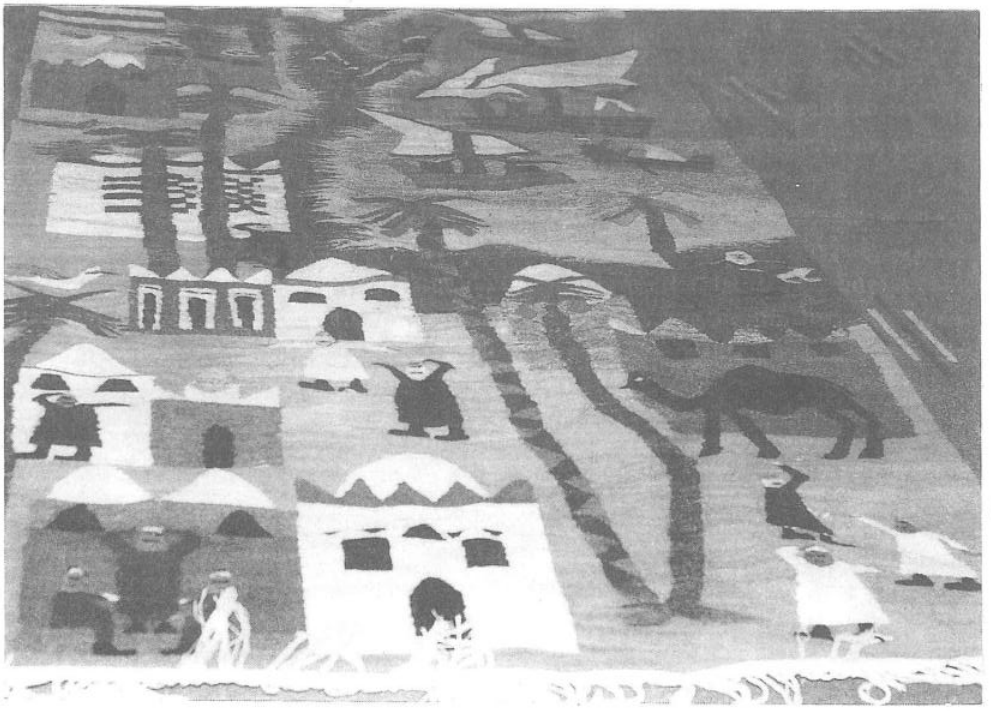
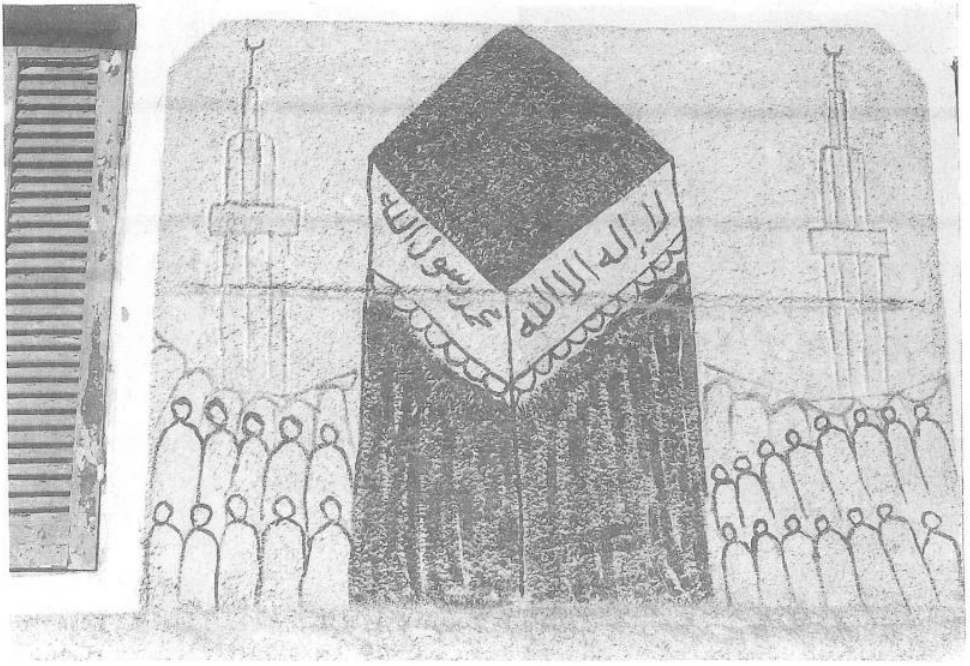


صورة رقم ٦



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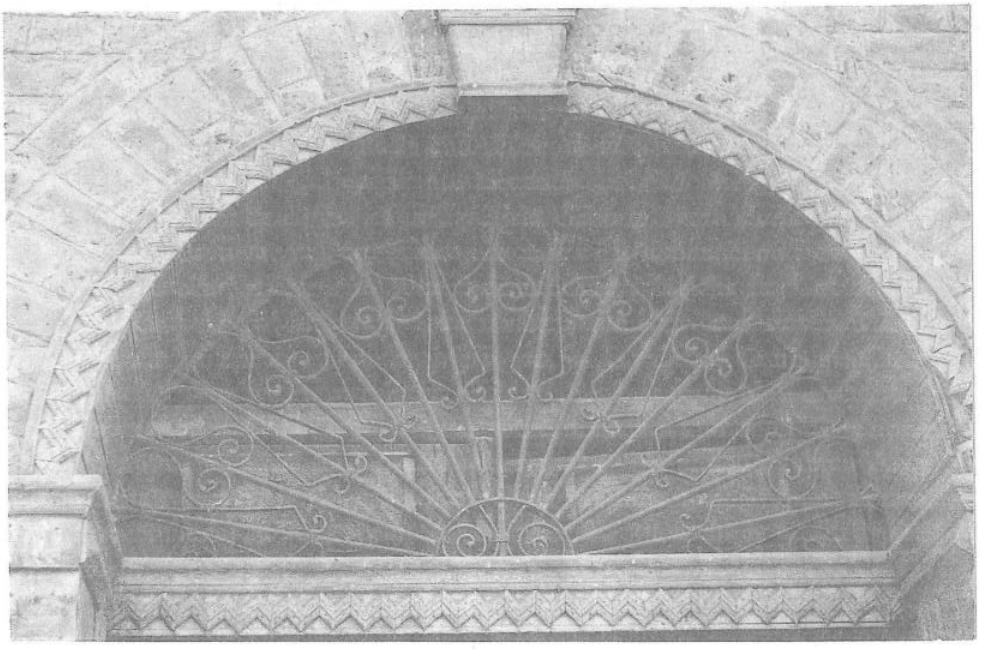

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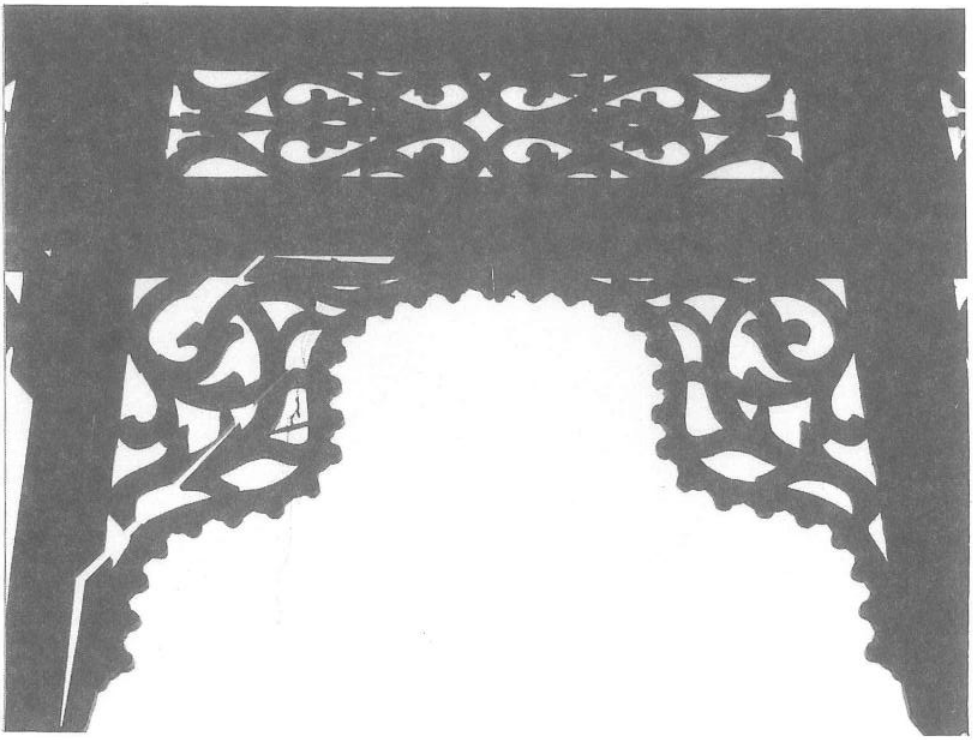

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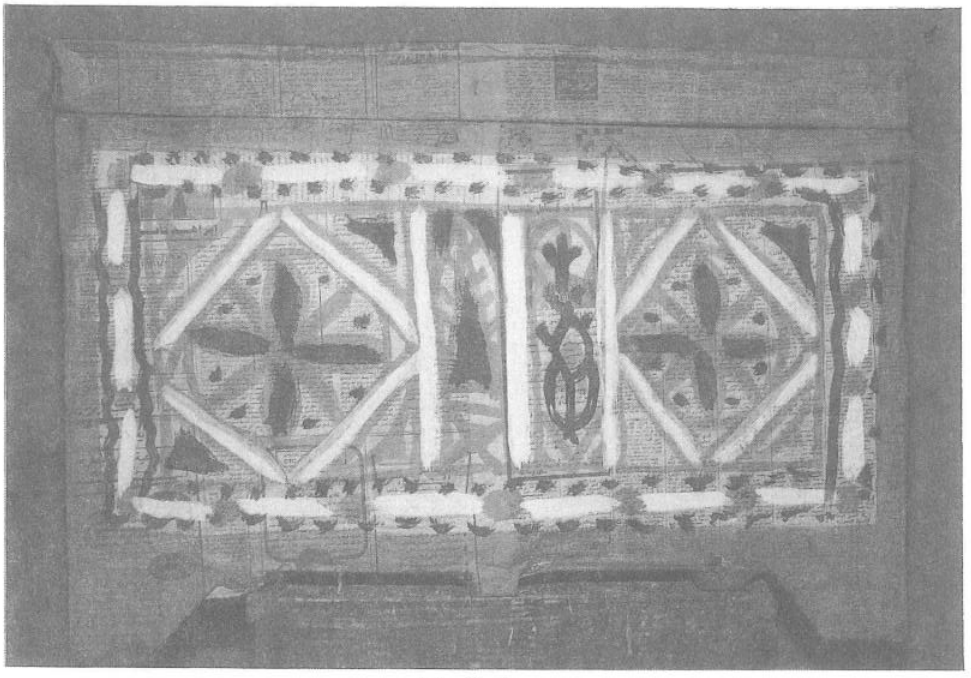

صورة رقم ١٠

السحر والعلاقات الزوجية في المجتمعات الريفية
دراسة أنثروبولوجية في بعض قرى محافظة الدقهلية بمصر

محمد أحمد غنيم

جامعة المنصورة

مقدمة حول السحر والتفكير الغيبي

منذ فجر التاريخ كانت هناك محاولات الإنسان القديم للنفاذ إلى مكنونات الغوامض التي واجهه بها ذلك العالم، لاكتفاء شر ما أيقن أنه تربص به وراء تلك الحجب من قوى فوق-طبيعية، بل ومحاولة الانتقال من مرحلة استرضائها ومنع أذاها إلى مرحلة ضمها فلى صفه، لتكون له لا عليه.

ومن المسعى الأول نشأ السحر ومن المسعى الثانى، نشأت الكهانة. فبدأ السحر والدين كتوأمين، الا أن انفصالهما، بل والعداء الذي لامهادنة فيه بينهما، كان محتوما منذ البداية. ولقد كان الرحم الذي ولد التوأمان منه رحما مركبا من خوف الإنسان وفضوله، ونزوعه إلى القوة وسعيه إلى تأمين بقائه وإشباع حاجاته.

فتحت تأثير تلك الدوافع، سعى الإنسان من أقدم العصور، سعيا حثيثا، وبإصرار كان من العوامل التي جعلته يتسيد على غيره من مخلوقات، إلى أدوات تمكنه من فرض نوع من التحكم على ظواهر الطبيعيه يجعلها تعمل لصالحه، وتتيح له في الوقت ذاته التعامل مع القوى الخفية التي آمن بوجودها وراء الظواهر المرئية (مقار ١٩٩٠: ٢١).

فالسحر تعبير عن الغرور الإنساني، اذ يجسد اعتقاد الإنسان بأنه قادر، بجهده الخاص، على التحكم في ظواهر الطبيعة، وهى ظواهر يشارك السحر توأمه الدين في الاعتقاد بمرونتها وقابليتها للتحكم والتعديل. وبالمقابل يعبر الدين عن التواضع الإنسانى، اذ يجسد اعتقاد الإنسان بأنه أضعف وأضأل شأنا من أن يتحكم في ظواهر الطبيعة أو يستغل مرونتها وقابليتها للتحك والتعديل، لصالحه بجهده الخاص، وهو اعتقاد يجعله يتنصل من غرور السحر والاكتفاء بمحاولة الوصول إلى القوى العليا بالصلاة والشعائر والطقوس واسترضائها كيما تتحكم تلك القوى لحسابه في ظواهر الطبيعة وتكف عنه أذى القوى الخفية الشريرة التي يصبح بها العالم غير مرئى (بوزنر ١٩٩٦: ١٨٦).

ويوقفنا العلم — على أساس من كشوف علمي الآثار والأنثربولوجيا — أنه لا سبيل اليوم إلى الادعاء بأنه قد وجد في أى وقت أى مجتمع إنساني لم يتحدث لنفسه تنويعاته الخاصة على السميات الأسطورية المشتركة للنوع البشري ليمارسها كشعائر وطقوس، ويصنع منها رؤية للعالم وموضعه فيه تطمئن أفراده. ويضع صياغات يراها كفيلة بتأمين بقاء الجماعة التي يتألف منها طبقا لما يذوده به سحرته وكهنته ومتنبئه من صياغات مستمدة من ذلك التراث الأسطوري (لين ١٩٧٥: ٢٣٢، ٢٣٣).

والواقع أن تاريخ نوعنا البشري لم يكن في أى وقت، منذ صفحاته الأولى مجرد مسار تقدم نجم من اختراع عدد وأدوات من حجارة أو برونز أو حديد بقدر ما ظل تاريخا لاندفاع فيض لم ينقطع من رؤى متوهجة في أدمغة المتنبئين وأصحاب الرؤى ظلت الجماعات البشرية المختلفة يجسده في وجودها الأرضي باعتبار وجودها ذاك تحققا لعهود ومواثيق أبرمت في السماء لتنفذ على الأرض. وبذلك الاعتقاد المريح، أمكن للجماعات البشرية أن يطمئن إلى أنها قد تلقت خاتم التصديق الخاص بها من قوى ما وراء الطبيعة، وأنها — بذلك — قد اختارتها تلك القوى للقيام بدور معين على الأرض أعمالا لمخطط وضعته السماء متضمنا مصيرا محددا للجماعة البشرية المختارة للقيام بذلك الدور.

فالإنسان قد أفصح دائما عن أنه غير قادر على أن يصلب عوده في مواجهة الكون ما لم يطمئن إلى فعالية نمطه الأسطوري الخاص به الذي يصوغ فيه التراث الأسطوري المشترك للنوع البشري كله صياغة تلائمه، ويعيد ترتيب مكونات ذلك التراث بشكل يكفل تحقيق تطلعاته (مدكور ١٩٧٥: ٣١٢).

وفي كل المجتمعات المستقرة التي أوجدتها الحضارات المتقدمة في العالم القديم — نتيجة للتطور التقني الذي مرت به شعوب تلك الحضارات في مصر، وأرض الرافدين، وكنعان، فيما بين ٣٥٠٠، ٢٥٠٠ ق. م. — أن ذلك التطور وما ترتب عليه من تعقد وتقدم للبنيان الاجتماعي، حول الكهنة من مجرد خدام للمعابد ومرتلي تعاويذ، إلى طبقة "مهنية" قوية ومميزة صعدت بسرعة فاحتلت مكانة رفيعة في قمة الهرم الاجتماعي، في ظل الطبقة الحاكمة أولا، ثم بجوارها. وقبل أن ينقضي وقت طويل، كانت تلك الطبقة الكهنوتية قد استوعبت تماما الطبقة الحاكمة وذات الملك أو الفرعون كاهنا أعلى فيها، فبات الكهنة سلطة عليا في المجتمعات، إن لم يكن بالجلوس الفعلي على العروش، فبالتحكم "روحيا" وسحريا في شؤون الحكم. وفي غمار ذلك الاجتهاد، لم يتخل الكهنة، بطبيعة الحال، عن ممارسة الوظيفة االسحرية الأصلية في حرفتهم الكهنوتية. وكان لديهم كل الحق في ذلك. فتلك وظيفة بالغة الفاعلية لم يتخل عنها وخاصة في إضفاء طابع روحاني على آلهه الشعب القديمة، واغناء المعتقدات التي وجودها شائعة في بعض الأزمنة القديمة بمضامين أخلاقية فجعلوا الاله أكثر شخصانيه، ولكن بمعنى روحاني غير قابل لأن ينتقص في تماثيل خشبية أو يجسد في تماثيل حجرية مهما كانت صنعتها بارعة ومزوقة، وجعلوه بذلك وحيدا فريدا لامجرد اله آخر وظهر شراء الإيمان بالوعيد والوعود السحرية وفي التوراه في سفر الخروج بالذات، نجد هذه الوظيفة السحرية واضحة. وضوحا لا يضارعه الا ما نجده في العبادات الشامانية (shamanist) التي يتخذها الكاهن فيها دور كاشف حجب الغيب ومداوي أمراض القبلية والمتصل لحساب أفرادها بأرواح الأسلاف والمعبودات ومانع أذى الأبالسة والشياطين عنهم (نخبة د.ت.: ٢٧٥).

ولقد عقدت مباراة بين النبي موسى عليه السلام وسحره فرعون، فدمرهم بسبب خداعهم بأن ألقى عصاه فإذا هي ثعبان مبين ابتلع كل ثعابينهم، فخروا له ساجدين. وما أسرار المقابر الملكية المروعة، وقصص الخوارق ما هي إلا تأويلات متناقضة، ورغم رسوخ الاعتقاد بحلول لعنة الفراعنة على منتهكى حرمة المقابر. جعلت كل هذه الأمور مصر القديمة دولة السحر. والحقيقة أن السحر كان يحكم في أرض الفراعيين، وليست الأسطورة التي أسكنت وادى النيل بالسحرة خطأ، والبرهان على هذا سهل ميسر: فقول القصص الشعبية والتمائم وتلك التعاويذ المكتوبة التي تملأ خزائن المتاحف. على أن السحر قد جاء واستقر في أرض السحرة. ويوجد السحر في كافة المجتمعات كعنصر اجتماعي. ومن الخطأ أن نتكلم عنه فيما يختص بمصر وحدها، غير أنه من الممكن أن نذكر مبدأين من مبادئه الأساسية، وكلاهما قائم على فكرة وجود تجاذب خفي بين الأصوات المتشابهة أو فيما بين الأجسام المتشابهة (سليم ١٩٨١)[١].

كان السحر أولا وقبل كل شيء إيمانا مطلقا بالقوة الخلاقة للصوت. ولم يعتبر الشخص البدائى اسم الكائن الحى أو الجسم وسيلة عملية لتسهيل تبادل الآراء بين الناس، بل اعتبره الكائن الحى أو الشيء نفسه فبمجرد النطق باسم، كان يخلق ذلك المخلوق أو الشيء. وتزخر قصص الخليقة بفقرات تنص على أنه ما على الخالق الا أن "ينطق" باسم كل عنصر من مكونات الخلق حتى يبادر ذلك العنصر في الحال بأن يأخذ مكانه المعين له. والمبدأ الثاني أو الظاهرة الثانية في السحر المصري، هو القوة الخلاقة للتمثال. فكما أن النطق باسم اله ما، كان يأتي به في حضرة الإنسان، كذلك كان صنع تمثال أو عمل صورة لرجل أو لشيء، ينقل إلى ذلك التمثال الجديد أو الصورة جزءا

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١ انظر المصطلحات: Magic, Rites, Witchcraft, Sorcery, Formula.

من الشخصية الروحية لذلك الرجل أو الشيء وهناك وجهة نظر أخرى تقول بأنه كان يمد الإنسان بوسيلة للسيطرة على ذلك الرجل أو الشيء. وتدخل جميع الطقوس السحرية التي استخدمت التعاويذ والصيغ في نطاق المبدأ الأول من هذين المبدأين. ويشتمل المبدأ الثاني على كل محاولة لتمثيل "الحقيقة" أو الكائنات باستخدام الصور والتماثيل، فاستعمل هذا المبدأ في عدة أغراض، منها حصول الشخص الميت على مائدة زاخرة بالأطعمة أو لدرء الخطر، وقت الحاجة بتحطيم تمثال العدو (فريزر ١٩٧١).

الآن وقد عرفنا هذين المبدأين فلننظر في كيفية استخدام السحر المصري: استخدام السحر لحماية المخلوقات البشرية، وفي بعض الأحيان، لحماية الآلهة. وفي أغلب الأحوال، كانت استعمالاته دفاعية فحسب "أعطى الرب البشر السحر كسلاح ضد الشدائد وعاديات الدهر"، فاستعملت الطلاسم للأغراض الدفاعية وكانت على هيئة قائم لحماية الجسد من الأذى. يفسر هذا الاعتقاد وذيوع استعمال الرقى في الطب. فلكل مرض أعراضه الطبيعية وعلاجه المناسب. بيد أنه من الممكن أن يوجد خلف هذا المظهر الطبيعي الواضح الأثر سبب غير مادي نتيجة مشيئة ما معادية.

وربما كانت هذه مشيئة إله أو شيطان أو شبح أو روح شريرة أو جني شرير فيما يصف الطبيب العقاقير المسكنة للألم، يهاجم الساحر سبب المرض. وتحت تصرف الساحر عدة وسائل يعرفها علماء النفس. منها النقل ويتلخص في وضع حيوان قرب الشخص المريض، وتلاوة بعض التعاويذ، فتخرج الروح الشريرة وتدخل جسم الحيوان.

والتقمص: فيدعى الساحر أنه إله ما، ليأمر الروح الشريرة، أو ليذكرها بأنه لا سلطان لها على المريض. وتحتوي النصوص الدينية على عدة فقرات طويلة من هذا النوع الأخير، يشبه فيها كل جزء من جسم الإنسان بإله حتى لا يمتد اليه أى أثر خبيث. وفي بعض المناسبات كان يستخدم التهديدات التي ربما كانت امتدادا للفكرة السابقة، فيصل مصير الشخص المريض بمصير الكون "إذا لم يشف هذا المريض، فستقع السماء فوق الأرض، ولن تشرق الشمس بعد ذلك" إلى غير ذلك من الوعيد.

ويتضمن التهديد بهذه الكارثة أن يهلك الشخص المسئول عن ذلك المرض أو الإله الذي بوسعه أن يطرده ويتقاعس عن إنقاذه.

وهناك أغراض أخرى لهذا السحر الدفاعي، منها: تهدئة مخاوف الناس من أن تعود تماثيل معينة إلى الحياة في أية لحظة.

فتقطع أوصال جميع الحيوانات المستعملة كرموز هيروغليفية إذا كتبت في نصوص الأهرام مثلا. وتنتزع أجزاء من أجسام الأسود والأفاعي والعقارب حتى تعتبر عديمة الأذى. وكثيرا ما كانوا يثقبون صور المخلوقات المعادية، بالسهام أو بالسكاكين حتى تغدو أشبه بحامل الدبابيس. فإن طرأ على بالها فكرة خاطئة لكى تعود إلى الحياة، أرجعتها هذه العملية إلى صوابها (اسماعيل ١٩٨٥: ١١٤).

إن الأثنوجرافيين في أبحاثهم التي قاموا بها منذ نهاية القرن التاسع عشر ذهبوا إلى أن لكل شعب من الشعوب نسق من التفكير الغيبي المرتبط أساسا بالكائنات الخارقة أو الكائنات الاعتقادية من أرواح وأشباح وجن... وقد انعكس هذا بوضوح في معتقداتهم حول السحر والخرافة والعين الشريرة، وعلى حد تعبير (Barnouw 1982: II, 211) إن كثير من الناس في أمريكا وأوربا والاتحاد السوفيتي أو مناطق أخرى لا يعتقدون في الآلهة أو الأرواح أو حتى في الحياة بعد الموت لكن يعتقدون في مثل هذه الكائنات الخارقة (Plog & Bates 1976: 116-117) كما يذكر Serena Nanda (1984) أن كل شعب من الشعوب لديه نسق إدراكي كلي يرتبط أساسا برؤية العالم، طبيعة الحياة والموت، خلق العالم، أمل الكون، علاقات الأفراد والجماعات بعضهم ببعض، علاقات البشر بالطبيعة. وفي غياب الفهم الكامل للناس عن أنفسهم والعالم المحيط بهم، فإن البشر يخلق صورة للواقع مأهولة بالقوى الخارقة أو الكائنات الاعتقادية، هذه الصورة تخدم كإطار لتفسير الأحداث والخبرات خاصة

تلك التي تخرج عن نطاق المألوف، لأن البشر لا يبحثون إلا في حدود قدراتهم العقلية أو في حدود فهمهم للعلاقات القائمة أو الممكنة، إن الاعتقاد بالقوى الخارقة والممارسة المرتبطة بها تنشأ كطريقة لفرض النظام على الكون الأمر الذي يعطي البشر شعورا بأن لديهم مقياس ما للإدراك والفهم.

ولا شك أن معالجة نسق التفكير الغيبي من الأهمية بمكان نظرا لأهمية الدور الذي يلعبه هذا النوع من التفكير في حياة الشعوب والجماعات، بل أن النظرة الواعية المتأنية يمكن أن تدرك أن تاثيره يمتد إلى جميع الانساق والنظر الاجتماعية والثقافية، بل أن أكثر الأفراد موضوعية وعقلانية لا يستطيع أن يعيش بمعزل عن هذا النوع من التفكير إنه وثيق الصلة بالكائنات أو القوى أو الأماكن الاعتقادية أو الأسطورية. والأكثر من ذلك أن المعتقدات الدينية تدعم هذا النوع من التفكير وإن اختلفت الأديان والمعتقدات في ذلك وسوف نقصر دراستنا هنا على موضوع السحر والعلاقات الزوجية كمثال لمثل هذا النوع من التفكير الغيبي والذي يعتقد فيه الأفراد دون مناقشة أو تمحيص ليصبح بمثابة أفكار عامة مستقرة لا يتطرق إليها الشك، أمور مسلم بها قد لا تخضع للتجريب، وحتى إذا ما جاءت التجربة الذاتية للفرد غير مواتية فإن تجارب الآخرين الذين يمثلون الغالبية لن تحول دون الاعتقاد فيه واللجوء اليه إذا ما كانت هناك حاجة ماسة لتصبح بمثابة نوع من الصور النمطية Stereotypes (Plog & Bates 1976: 116-117).

ويقول Bidney (1953: 158) إن مالينوفسكي أشار إلى Fraser في تفسيره للسحر البدائي على أنه "علم زائف" وأنه من الأفضل أن يتذكر ذلك الآن في اتفاقنا مع ما ذهب إليه تايلور (Taylor) الذي أكد أن السحر والأسطورة إنما يشرحاه في مفاهيم عقلانية.

إن الأساطير تفسر كما لو كانت أبنية عقلانية يحث عليها الاستفهام العلمي إن الانيميزم وفقا لتايلور نظرية منطقية تقدم تفسيرا معقولا للموت بالقياس إلى النوم والأحلام.

إن الإنسان يتصرف عمليا وعقلانيا في خبرته وممارساته اليومية، لكنه يتصرف على نحو عاطفي وانفعالي عند الأزمات الاجتماعية والفردية أو عندما تكون معرفته العقلانية قاصرة أو تبرهن على عدم كفاءتها (أحمد وآخرون ١٩٨٤: ١٩٥).

وإلا بم تفسر تكالب جمهرة من المتعلمين نالوا قسطا لا بأس به من التعليم وعلى دراية بالمنهج العلمي واستغرقوا في التفكير الغيبي؟

تماما كما نقول أن مفهوم الأسطورة نسبي لمن يعتقد فيها ويقتنع بها لدرجة ما نعتبره حقيقة إنجيليه (Gospel) للمعتقد مجرد أسطورة أو قصة أو خيال لغير المعتقد أو على الأقل أمرا مشكوكا فيه (اسماعيل د. ت. : ١١) قارن بين نظرة الماركسي للمعتقدات الدينية وأحد المعتقدين في الديانات العظمى، فالمؤمن بالزرادشتية مثلا يؤمن بالسحر والشياطين إلى حد بعيد وما ذلك إلا لأن كتابهم المقدس "سفر الفانديداد" (القانون المضاد للشياطين) قد أوصاهم بذلك (الجوهري ١٩٩٠: ٢٢٤).

لا شك أن ليفي بريل (Levy-Bruhl 1927) حين تحدث عن العقلية البدائية حاول أن يتناول طبيعة الفكر البدائي، وقدم مساهمات قيمة للأنثربولوجيين وخاصة فكرته عن اختلاف التفكير البدائي عن التفكير المتحضر في الدرجة والنوع ووسم العقلية البدائية "غير منطقية" وقد سار على هذا النهج أيضا Pareto حين ذهب إلى أنها غير منطقية. والجدير بالذكر أن ليفي بريل عاد في أخريات حياته عام ١٩٤٩ وعدل عن أفكاره تلك مؤكدا أن نظريته عن العقلية البدائية خاطئة وأن البناء المنطقي للعقل البشري واحد (الجوهري ١٩٩٠: ٢٢٤).

منهجية الدراسة

لا شك أن معالجة موضوع التفكير الغيبي وخاصة ما ارتبط به من الاعتقاد في السحر، يحتم علينا أن ننهج نهجا بنائيا وظيفيا ذو نظرة شاملة، فليس المهم هنا أن نجمع أكبر قدر من المادة

الأثنوجرافية وثيقة الصلة بالسحر، وإنما ربط السحر بإنساق التفكير الأخرى للكشف عن ارتباطاته بالعلاقات الزواجية في مجتمع البحث والكشف عن نسق التفكير الذي يكمن وراء الظاهرة الملاحظة. وإذا ما أردنا الوقوف على طبيعة التفكير الغيبي وأسلوب الإدراك للمفاهيم والمبادئ والقيم الكامنة وراء هذا التفكير فلا بد لنا أن نحاول التعرف على نسق التفكير من خلال الناس أنفسهم ومن ثم فإن الاعتماد على الملاحظة العلمية (الطوخي ١٩٩١: ٣٧، ٣٢٩).

ولم نذكر هنا الملاحظة بالمشاركة لأن الباحث الأثنوجرافي المتدرب قد يقوم بدراسة للممارسات السحرية ولكنه لا ينبغي أن يشارك في مثل هذه الممارسات، إذا فعل ذلك انتفى كونه باحثا، ولنذكر دوما أن ليس مهمة الباحث الأثنوجرافي أن يقوم بدور الممثل المشارك على هذا النحو = التي اعتاد عليها الأنثروبولوجيين في كل مكان لا يفى بالغرض، إن الملاحظة قد تكون قاصرة لأنها سوف تذودنا حتما بما يتصوره الباحث نفسه، ومن هنا كان لزاما علينا أن نعتمد على عدد من الطرق والأساليب المنهجية الأخرى التي تفى بالغرض لعل من أهمها المقابلة والمقابلة المفتوحة التي يعول عليها في الدراسات الأنثروبولوجية إلى حد بعيد. يقول Bates إنها تكشف عن الكثير من الجوانب الهامة في البحث الأثنوجرافي.

والمقابلة هنا على درجة بالغة من الأهمية لمراجعة المادة المستوحاة من الملاحظة من ناحية ولاستشاره الإخباريون والتغلب على أحجامهم عن مناقشة مثل تلك الموضوعات التي تتعلق بالسحر وخاصة عند الحديث عن العلاقات الجنسية مثلا وعدم رغبة المبحوثين في الخوض في مثل هذا النوع من الموضوعات. هنا فإن دور الباحث في المقابلة متابعة الأفكار واستشارة الإخباري ليتحدث في تلقائية ودون تردد أو خوف ولنذكر أننا هنا بصدد أسئلة غير مقننة باستثناء بعض الأسئلة التي توجه المبحوثين إلى الآراء والمعتقدات التي تدور حول هذا الموضوع أو ذاك وبالتالي فالمقابلة من أكثر وسائل الحصول على البيانات شيوعا ويتوقف نجاحها على مستوى التخطيط لها من جهة، وعلى الكيفية التي تتبع في تسجيل المعلومات والبيانات التي تسفر عنها المقابلة من جهة أخرى كما يمكن عن طريق المقابلة جمع البيانات وجها لوجه مع المبحوث والتعرف على صورة النفس البشرية (الطوخي ١٩٩٢: ٨٥، ٨٧—٨٩، ٩١).

وأيا كان الأمر فإن المقابلة أداة مرنة للبحث مكنت الباحث من الاتصال الشخصي المرتبط بالتفاعل بين الباحث والإخباري الأمر التي أتاح لنا الحصول على مادة أثنوجرافية وفيرة خاصة ما تعلق بمفاهيم السحر واستخدامه في العلاقات الزوجية ومدى اللجوء إلى الممارسات السحرية ودور الساحر وطبيعة المشكلات المرتبطة (الزواج — التعدد — الطلاق — العقم — الفشل في الحب — الكراهية إلخ...) وهكذا نجد أن الملاحظة والمقابلة أوجه متصلة من الخبرة الحقلية فإذا كانت الملاحظة المباشرة يمكن اعتبارها وسيلة لجمع المادة في سياقها الطبيعي حيث الأحداث والوقائع تتوالى في التو واللحظة وبالتالي جمع المادة المتاحة في سياقها الطبيعي ولكن في أحيان أخرى يصعب جمع المادة على هذا النحو من هنا كان اعتمادنا على المقابلة المفتوحة للحصول على معلومات قد حدثت بالفعل ويصعب رؤيتها الآن أو توقع حدوثها مع إمكانية ملاحظة الباحث لها (مغاوري ١٩٩٥: ١٠).

أما مجتمع الدراسة: فكان مجموعة من القرى بمحافظة الدقهلية بها مجموعة من ممارسي مهنة السحر وهذه القرى هى قرية "ديمشلت" وقرية "كفر الباز" وقرية "العزازنة" مركز دكرنس وقرية "كفر الحطبة" مركز شربين وقريتي "ميت مزاح وطناح" مركز المنصورة و"كفر الأعجر".

وقد كانت هناك عدة صعوبات قد واجهت الباحث منها:

١ — تخوف البعض من ذكر الدافع الأساسي للتردد على المشتغلين بالسحر.

٢ — صعوبة جمع البيانات في المجتمع الريفي لعدم توفر الوعى بين الأفراد بأهمية الموضوع.

٣ — صعوبة إقناع الساحر بأهداف البحث العلمي المتجرد وخشية ذلك الساحر بإفشاء أسراره المهنية التي يرتزق منها وخوفه من ملاحقة الشرطة له واتهامه بالدجل والشعوذة ومحاربته.

٤ — رفض الإخباريين رفضا قاطعا للتصوير أثناء الممارسة السحرية.

وقد أمكن التغلب على بعض هذه الصعوبات بالإقناع وكسب ثقة الإخباريين وعن طريق بعض المعارف بالقرية الموثوق بهم تجاه الساحر نفسه وبعض الطلاب أبناء القرية الذين كانوا يسهلون عملية المقابلة. وبطريقة جعلت تردد الباحث على الإخباريين بطريقة منتظمة طوال ستة أشهر بدأت في يناير ١٩٩٦ انتهت في يونيو ١٩٩٦.

السحر والعلاقات الزوجية في مجتمع الدراسة

والملاحظ أنه لا يخلو كتاب عن السحر إلا إذا اهتم بموضوع الحب كمحور من محاور الممارسة السحرية (الاحترافية أو الشعبية) وتطلق مثل هذه الكتب على أنواع العواطف التي يعالجها الحب والوجدان والعشق والتهيج... إلخ غير أن الوصفات لا تسير في خط واحد دائما أى انها لا تستهدف فقط إيقاع شخص في غرام الآخر، وإنما يمكن أن يتجه شخص إلى الساحر المحترف لكى يتخلص من وجد يحس به تجاه امرأة معينة، ويلتمس لديه خلاصا من حب يشقيه أو ينهك صحته وسعادته ومن أجل هؤلاء كتب (البوني) مثلا وصفة "لمن أضره العشق والمحبة والهيام إلى شخص وخشى الفضيحة من الناس أو بين أهله" ولا عجب في هذا لأننا نعرف أن المعتقد الشعبي يفسر الحب الشديد (الهيام) والغيرة بأنهما من فعل الجان (فلان سبى فلانة والعكس) بينما يفسر المعتقد السحري الرسمي بأنه راجع إلى تأثير عمل سحري معين بالمحبة، ولا يعالج هذا الهيام إلا عن طريق فك العمل. ولذلك تسارع النساء من أهل الفتاة التي تهيم حبا بأحد الأشخاص إلى الساحر المحترف لكى يفك العمل المعمول لها بمحبة هذا الشخص، تدفعهم إلى ذلك غيرتهن على شرف الأسرة وسمعة الفتاة (أبو الفداء ١٩٩٤: ٢٩، ٣٠).

ويرتبط بقضية الحب والعاطف تلك الوصفات التي تهدف إلى شل قدرة الرجل الجنسية أو جعل المرأة غير قادرة على الحمل فنجد أن "البوني" يورد أحد الأسماء الحسنى الذي لا يحمل المرأة ما دامت ترددها. كما أن هناك اسما آخر فيه سر لطيف لمن أراد عقم رجل أو امرأة عن الأولاد فمن كتب أحد الطلاسم على قطعة من أثر المراد به ذلك وذكر عليها الاسم ثلاثة عشر ألف مرة ثم وضعها في أنبوبة قصب فارس وجعلها في مكان مظلم. فتصبح المرأة والرجل عاقما.

وبرغم الانتشار الواسع للاعتقاد في هذه الممارسة بالطبع عقد الرجل أو ربطه أى دون المرأة في الريف المصري فإن (دوتيه) قد لاحظ بالنسبة للمغرب مثلا أنه من الصعب في شمال أفريقيا الحصول من أحد السحرة على كيفية عقد رجل وذلك لأنهم يخافون عذاب الله إن فعلوا ذلك لأنه أمر مكروه كراهية شديدة.

وقد لاحظ (دوتيه) أن غرض العقد أو الربط لا يستخدم إلا في حالة الأزواج الشبان فقط لأسباب الغيرة وخلافه ولهذا السبب يؤكد "البوني" أن وصفات الرجل أو عقد الرجل لا يصح أن يستخدم إلا في حالة الزاني فقط أما الغرض المقابل وهو الأكثر انتشارا أو الأكثر إلحاحا فهو علاج المرأة العاقر وتمكينها من الحمل والإنجاب.

غير أن الأمر لا يقتصر على دائرة الجنس والإنجاب فحسب ولكنه يمتد إلى نطاق أوسع ليعالج العلاقات بين الرجل وزوجته فيصلح من شأنها ويجعل المرأة أكثر طاعة لزوجها وتجعله هو أكثر رأفة بها ورحمة لها... إلخ ويقول "البوني" عن أحد الوصفات "من كتبه وسقاه لزوجته" لم تفعل ما يكرهه بعد ذلك كذلك توجد عديد من الوصفات لتقوية الجنس عند الرجل وتمكينه من أداء واجباته في هذا الصدد بكفاءة عادية (البوني: د. ت. ١٢٠).

أنواع الرباط الخاصة بالرجل

ومن أنواع الرباط نجد أنه يقسم إلى الآتي:

ربط الظهر: وهذا النوع من أنواع الربط جديد من نوعه فقد أخذ لونا غريبا غير المعتاد حيث أن المريض يشعر بألم في نهاية العمود الفقرى عند الاقتراب من الزوجة علما بأنه في باقي الأوقات لا يشعر بهذا الألم وعند الفحص الطبي يثبت الطب أنه لا يوجد شيء وقد يصاحب ألم الظهر كسل في جميع أعضاء الجسم أو صداع شديد والذي يجعل هذا النوع من الربط غريبا أن القضيب وهو عضو الجماع يكون في غاية الانتصاب بل ومن السهل جدا القذف ولكن هذا الألم الذي يوجد في نهاية الظهر تكون قصته أن الساحر يصنع سحرا من النوع المدفون أو المكتوب ويعلقه على الجماع فلا يكون نفاذ أمر السحر إلا عند الجماع وعندما يأتي المعالج لقراءة الرقية لا يشعر المريض إلا بهيام بسيط جدا في الرأس عند قراءة آيات السحر وعند الانتهاء من الجلسة وإتمام المسائل المتبعة لفك الربط نجد أن الشخص يقول لم أشعر بأي تحسن وعلاج تلك الحالة بأمر المولى عز وجل تحتاج إلى ثلاثة أشياء وهي:

أ — إيقاف عمل السحر

ب — إصلاح ما أتلفه السحر

ج — التحصين.

وسوف نتكلم عن ذلك تباعا.

ربط القضيب: هذا النوع من الربط هو أكثر الأنواع شيوعا في مصر بل وفي العراق وايران والكويت وبعض أنحاء اليمن وقد تم معرفة علاجه حتى نقول أن أى معالج بالقرآن الكريم يستطيع أن يعالج هذا الأمر بسهولة.

ربط الفكرة: بالطبع هذا النوع من أعجب وأغرب أنواع الربط بالإضافة إلى أنه قد شق طريقة في عصرنا هذا وأخذ في الانتشار وغالبا ما يكون هذا النوع مع الأشخاص الذين لا يتوكلون على الله حق التوكل وتكون عباداتهم مذبذبة حيث أنهم قد يصلوا فرضا ويتركون فرضا أو ما شابه ذلك في باقي الفروض وهذا النوع من أنواع الربط يكون مؤثرا جدا في تلك الفئة من الناس.

ربط المودة: هناك بعض الحالات لا تشكو من انحلال القضيب ولكنها تشكو من القرب إلى الزوجة فبمجرد أن يقترب من زوجته يشعر بحرارة تخرج منها تجعله يفتر من ناحيتها ولا يطيق الجماع بل ولكنه يشعر أيضا بأن أكره ساعة عنده هي ساعة الجماع وفي بعض الحالات يكون هناك انحلال القضيب نتيجة لأن المرأة يخرج منها حرارة شديدة جدا كافية لحل القضيب والحقيقة هنا أن الزوجة تكون مصابة باللمس وهو نتيجة للعشق والعشق هو حب جن للمرأة وبالتالي يكره لها عملية الزواج فيحاول إنهاء العلاقة الزوجية بأمر الربط ونفور الزوج عن زوجته ولعل علاج تلك الحالة هو إخراج الجن من جسد المرأة بالطريقة العادية والربط هنا لا يكون بالعشق فقط وإنما يكون أيضا سحرا بالربط يعلق على الزوجة ومفعوله يسرى في الزوج.

ربط الإنجاب: وفيها يوضع جنبا وبالمعنى الصحيح يعتبر جن على أمهات الحيوانات المنوية ويحل تلك الحيوانات الخارجية فلا يخرج من القضيب إلا الماء السكري الذي يحمل الحيوانات المنوية ويكون بالطبع هذا الماء خاليا منها. وفي بعض الحالات لا يكون السحر مقيدا عليه جان وإنما يؤثر بنفسه على أمهات المنى وغالبا ما يكون هذا السحر من النوع المدفون أو المكتوب أو المشروب ولا يصلح مطلقا أن يكون من النوع المرشوش والعلاج يكون بإحدى الطريقتين:

أ — فك أوصال السحر

ب — علاج ما أتلفه السحر.

ربط المحب: وهو ما يتمثل في عمل النساء عملا أو حجابا وما شابه ذلك للزوج حتى يوفق الله بينهما ويمنع عنهما عين الناس والذي يوجد بداخل هذا الحجاب شركيات وكلمات ورموز وحروف لا يستطيع أحد أن يفهم معناها. وللأسف تؤمن النساء بتلك الخزعبلات التي أصبحت تعم

مصر بأكملها من الجهل الذي ساد بين النساء والضرر هنا هو السحر الذي صنعته المرأة بحجة المصالحة والهداية ولا نعلم أن أقوى أنواع السحر تقيد الرجل وتغزو جسده حتى تنخر قوته وتجعله لا يستطيع أن يجامعها.

ربط الجلب: وهذا النوع من جهل الرجال وسيرهم وراء الخزعبلات وذهابهم إلى العرافين والدجالين حتى يعملوا لهم عمل يحميهم من الربط وما شابه ذلك. وهو عبارة عن شبكة من الرصاص يضعها العراف للرجل.

خاتمة الدراسة

وفي نهاية الدراسة نستطيع أن نوجز ما يلي:

— إن السحر والربط والعمل تشكل جميعها نوعا من التفكير الذي يمكننا أن نسميه بنسق التفكير الغيبي. هذا النسق يرتبط إلى حد بعيد بالإنساق الأخرى التي ينقسم إليها البناء الاجتماعي للمجتمع كالنسق الديني والاقتصادي والسياسي. بمعنى الآخر يمكن القول إن السحر والممارسات السحرية معتقدات شعبية تنتظم في نسق من الفكر يرتبط بدوره ويتداخل مع سمات ثقافية أخرى تمتد لتشمل الثقافة بأثرها.

— إننا لا نستطيع أن نفصل مفاهيم السحر والربط والعمل بأي حال عن البناء الاجتماعي ومكوناته وما يحويه من علاقات وارتباطات، كالأسرة والاتجاهات الأسرية وكبار السن قوامة الرجل وسيطرته ووضع المرأة وتعدد الزوجات والمصاهرة والنسب والأخوة الأشقاء.

— إننا لا نستطيع استبعاد نسق التفكير الغيبي عن نسق القيم السائد والتقاليد والطرق الشعبية والأساطير والأغاني والأمثال الشعبية.

— إن التفكير الغيبي يقوى كلما زاد سوء الحظ وعدم التكيف أو التوافق وانتشار المرض، ويضعف في عكس هذه الحالات تماما، فالناس يلجؤون للقوى الخارقة ويقبلون على الممارسات السحرية لمواجهة المواقف التي لا يمكن لهم التحكم فيها كالربط والأحجبة للتفريق والتقريب في الممارسات الاجتماعية.

— لا يمكن بأية حال أن نفصل موضوعات السحر والربط والعمل عن المعتقدات الدينية فهذه كلها تلتقى كعناصر سلوكية تنظم في ممارسات شعائرية مقبولة اجتماعية أولئك الذين يعتقدون فيها.

— هناك ارتباط واضح بين اللجوء للسحر والتردد على السحرة وبين العلاقات الاجتماعية والقرابية والتي تشمل فشل علاقات الزواج ورأب الصدع في العلاقات الزوجية والرغبة في السيطرة على شرور الزوج ودعم العلاقات العاطفية أو الحيلولة دون اهتمامه بزوجة أخرى أو زرع الكراهية تجاهها. وتعدد الزوجات أيضا والغيرة والفشل في العلاقات العاطفية والرغبة في استعادة الزوج والتخلص من العقم ومحاولة إنجاب الذكور ونيل الحظوة لدى الأب مع وجود الأخوة الآخرين والتخلص من الأمراض العصبية والنفسية وصراع النساء والتنافس على حب الرجال.

— وحسد الأم لزوجة ابنها والصراع بينهما على حب الزوج والابن والصراع بين الأخ وأخيه والزوجة وزوجها والجار لجاره والزوجة لضرتها والفتاة لمحبوبها والعكس.

— ولا يقتصر ممارسة مهنة السحر على شخص واحد دون غيره أو على جنس دون الجنس الآخر فهذا العمل قد يقوم به كل من الرجل والمرأة على حد سواء.

— تقتصر ممارسة هذه المهنة على الفئة العمرية من كبار السن من ذوي الخبرة والمهارة والحنكة في هذا المجتمع إذ نادرا ما يكون الساحر شابا أو في مقتبل العمر.

— أثبتت الدراسة أن التعليم ليس شرطا أساسيا لممارسة مهنة السحر بل على العكس من ذلك تماما فإن معظم من امتهنوا هذه المهنة حصلوا على قدر بسيط من التعليم بل أن معظمهم لا يجيدون القراءة والكتابة أصلا وتنتشر الأمية بينهم.

— أثبتت الدراسة أن بعض من هؤلاء السحرة قد توارثوا هذه المهنة من الآباء والأجداد والبعض الآخر اكتسب هذه المهنة نتيجة عملهم كمساعدين لسحرة سابقين اعتزلوا العمل فحل هؤلاء المساعدون محلهم بحكم خبرتهم السابقة.

— يلجأ الناس إلى السحرة لعجزهم عن تحقيق أهدافهم في الحياة أو يأسا من الشفاء أو حلا لمشكلات قد لا يستطيع العلم الحديث مواجهتها والتغلب عليها.

— الإيمان بالغيب والمعتقدات الغيبية وبخاصة في المجتمعات التقليدية (قرى مجتمع البحث الريفية).

— يستخدم السحرة في أعمالهم الكتب الدينية والأحجبة كما يستشهدون بآيات من القرآن الكريم ومزامير داود حتى يقنعوا المترددين عليهم بجدية أعمالهم وهيبتهم.

— يستخدم السحرة في أعمالهم معدات ووسائل وطيور حية وأشياء أخرى كالشعر والأظافر والثياب والعظم وتراب المقابر والحبر والزيت والمسجلات والمؤثرات الصوتية والضوئية إلخ.

— أوضح البحث أن مزاولة المهنة تقتصر على أيام محددة وفي مواعيد محددة يعرفها المترددون على هذه الأماكن.

— يعتقد المترددون على أماكن السحرة أن كل شيء بأمر الله "القدرية" وأن العلاج مهما طال هو أفضل بكثير من التداوي عند الأطباء وأنه مهما طال العلاج فسوف يؤدي حتما إلى نتيجة مرضية.

— إن معظم المترددين على ممارس المهنة من النساء أكثر من الرجال ولأن المرأة بحكم طبيعتها مخلوق ضعيف والضعفاء يلجؤون إلى الغيبيات لأنهن لا حيلة لهن وخاصة في المجتمعات الريفية (قرى البحث).

— إن معظم المترددين على هؤلاء السحرة من المسلمين وفي سن الشباب وتنتشر الأمية بينهم بينما يقل عدد المتعلمين من هؤلاء المترددين.

— وأوضح البحث أن نسبة المترددين على هؤلاء السحرة من المتزوجين كبيرة بالمقارنة بنسبة غير المتزوجين فيكون الذهاب إلى ممارس مهنة السحر للرغبة في التغلب على القلق والحيرة إذاء أي موقف معين أو وضع ما يتسبب في ذلك.

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الاحتفالات الرمضانية في واحات الصحراء الغربية

شوقي عبد القوي عثمان حبيب

القاهرة

يا رمضان يا أبو شخليلة	أول سحورك الليلة
يا رمضان يا أبو صحن جديد	آخر سحورك ليلة العيد
يا رمضان يا أبو صحن نحاس	يا داير في بلاد الناس

لم تحظ مناسبة من المناسبات في أي مكان وزمان باحتفاء واحتفال كما حظى شهر رمضان فالاحتفال به ممتد من بدايته إلى نهايته والكل يحتفل به على طريقته، فالكبار بالتزاور والصلاة وختم القرآن والصغار باللعب ومصاحبة المسحر والنساء بالتزاور والإعداد للأطعمة التي يشتهر بها هذا الشهر بالإضافة إلى حلقات السمر التي تنتشر في دورب الواحة وشوارعها.

ورغم ما في هذا الشهر — خاصة حسنما يهل في الصيف من عناء من جراء الصيام، إلا أن الجميع ينتظرونه بشوق ويحزنون لفراقه ولا يحظى شهر من شهور العام بحب الجميع وتشوقهم له كبارا وصغارا، نساء ورجالا قبل ما يحظى به شهر رمضان، فهو شهر التلاقي والولائم والدعوات والزيارات للكبار واللعب للصغار.

أيضا هناك المسحر ذلك الجوال منذ مئات السنين مارا ببازته أو طبلته في شوارع القرية ودروبها مناديا على كل باسمه داعيا إياه للاستيقاظ. جامعا حوله لفيف من أطفال القرية يصاحبونه في تجواله مستمتعين بزنات بازته وإنشاده ولا زال هذا الجوال إلى الآن لم تهزمه تحديثات العصر وتقنياته فهو أحد رموز هذا الشهر الكريم.

ويمكن القول بأن شهر رمضان بأكمله شهر احتفالي فهو الشهر الذي تحتفظ فيه ذاكرة الإنسان بكثير من ذكرياته، وهو الشهر الذي يحن اليه دائما، ويتحدث عنه البشر كل واحد منهم... والله جرى وحشنا، خيره كتير، ماحسناش بيه، كريم... وهكذا يكتب كان يحتفل بشهر رمضان في واحات مصر بالصحراء الغربية سعيا وراء معرفة شكل الاحتفال كيف كان وكيف أصبح وهل هناك اختلاف بين تلك المناطق المتشابهة جغرافيا وحياتيا وأيضا في مناشطها الاقتصادية.

هناك في أكثر الواحات عزلة — عزلة شاملة تلف المكان تشعرك بخشوع ورهبة خاصة عند ما يحل الليل حيث تضاء الأنوار إلى موعد، لا اتصال عبر الأثير أو مشاهدة للمرناة أو متابعة للصحف. أقرب المدن إليها سيوة وتبعد مائة وخمسون كيلومترا حيث لا مواصلات أيضا سوى سيارة مجلس مدينة سيوة التي تفد إلى جلرة أم صغير أسبوعيا تقريبا تحمل عليها بعض المواد التموينية والتدخينية.

يبدأ الاستعداد لهذا الشهر الكريم قبل حوالي أسبوع من بدايته بالذهاب إلى سيوة لكي نشتري بعض الاحتياجات والطلبات التي نحتاجها وأغلبها مواد غذائية كالدقيق والأرز. والذهاب الآن بسيارة تستأجر لهذا الغرض ولكن قبل ذلك كان البعض يذهب بالركائب ليحضر ما يحتاجه لنفسه وللآخرين. وعندما كانت القرية[1] مقامة على الربوة كنا نصعد فوق أسطح المنازل وننظر الهلال

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[1] جاره أم الصغير إحدى قرى سيوة عدد سكانها حوالي ٢٨٥ وكانت الى أوائل الثمانينات مقامة فوق ربوة عالية مساحتها حوالي خمسة آلاف متر تقريبا ولها باب يقفل عند حلول المغرب وذلك صدا لعدوان الأعراب. وبدأ أهلوها يتركونها ويبيتون في المنطقة السهلية فاتسعت مساحة القرية وشوارعها. وبعد أن كانت المساكن ضيقة ومتلاصقة وكذلك الناس تباعدت المساكن وكبرت.

ورؤية الهلال سهلة حيث لم نر صفاء في سماء مثل هذا. وعندما نتحقق من رؤية الهلال يعرف الجميع موعد رمضان والآن لم نعد نتحقق من رؤية الهلال حيث نكتفي بالإذاعة. وكان الإعلان عن موعد الإفطار يعرف من الأذان في مسجد القرية الوحيد.

وكانت رمضان فرحة حيث يجتمع أهل القرية كل مجموعة سويا يتسامرون وتلعب الأولاد سويا والقرية القديمة صغيرة وليس فيها متسع للحركة كالآن حيث تجرى الأولاد وتلعب وتذهب من مكان إلى مكان وكذلك الكبار. وعند أذان العشاء تجتمع القرية جميعها تقريبا للصلاة في الجامع ويحدث هذا أيضا في الفجر حيث نستيقظ مبكرا.

ورغم صغر القرية القديمة إلا أنه كان هناك من يقوم بالتسحير حاملا بنديرا وكان لا يتقاضى أجرا ولكن كان البعض يعطيه هدية كبعض الدقيق أو الشاي. أما الآن في القرية الجديدة فلا يوجد مسحر ولكن أحيانا يمكن أن يتطوع البعض ويسير مخبطا على الأبواب فقط ليوقظ الناس ويمكن أن يقوم بهذا أكثر من شخص.

وفي ليلة القدر يجتمع جميع الرجال للإفطار في المربوعة[٢] حيث يجهز الإفطار واحد أو أكثر وبعد الإفطار تقوم بالذكر بدون آلات موسيقية كالبندير أو الطبلة.

ونقول في أحاديثنا إن رمضان ينقسم إلى ثلاثة أقسام:

— العشرة السريعة
— العشرة المتوسطة
— العشرة البطيئة.

ونعني بالعشرة السريعة أن الأيام العشرة الأولى من رمضان تمر بسرعة. ومن منتصف العشرة المتوسطة تبدأ في إعداد ملابس جديدة وحلويات وذلك استعدادا لعيد الفطر المبارك — وببداية العشرة البطيئة أي من ٢١ رمضان نبدأ من قبل حلول الفجر في توحيش رمضان[٣] ولم نجد لدى الراوي تفسيرا لتسميته العشرة الأخيرة بالعشرة البطيئة ولكن يبدو أنه لتشوقهم للعيد يحسون بأن العشرة الأخيرة لا تنتهي.

وفي منديشة إحدى قرى الواحات البحرية وكما ذكرنا من قبل كان يخرج ثقاة القرية من حيث العقل والنظر ليرقبوا الهلال والآن اختفى ذلك فقد قام المذياع بالوظيفة وأيضا انتظار الأولاد بجوار الجامع لكي يسمعوا الأذان والانطلاق صائحين "أدن... أدن والصايم يفطر" اختفى ذلك أيضا. فقد كثرت الجوامع وعلا صوت المؤذن.

وأغلب أهل منديشة يفطرون على بلح أو مشمش ثم يخرجون لصلاة المغرب في الجامع وبعد ذلك يعودون للإفطار مع أسرهم. أما الأولاد الصغار فيأخذ كل واحد منهم صحنا به أكل من البيت ويتجمع الأولاد في مكان ما بالقرية ويتناولون طعامهم سويا وتسمى هذه العادة الضهور وجاءت هذه العادة من أن الأبوين لا يريدون أن يزاحمهم الأولاد ساعة الإفطار ويستمر الضهور حتى العشر الأواخر من رمضان حيث يعمل الأولاد قبة صغيرة من الطوب يكون ارتفاعها حوالي ٧٠ سم في عرض ٥٠ سم ولها فتحه في منتصفها حيث يضعون الأكل بداخلها ويغنون قائلين وهم يدورون حول القبة.

يا رمضان يا شريف	يا لابس التوب النضيف
لا إله إلا الله يا جنوده	القطة خطفت الفروجه

ثم يتناولون طعامهم. وإذا تقابلت مجموعتان من الأطفال يتجاذبون بعضهم البعض ويتصايحون كنوع من أنواع التسلية. كما يشبكون أيديهم ويلفون مثل المروحة مغنين.

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٢ المربوعة هي دار الضيافة عبارة عن قاعة كبيرة مساحتها حوالي ستون مترا يستقبلون فيها الضيوف حيث ينامون بها. وقد استضافونا فيها لمدة أسبوع كما يجتمعون بها.

٣ أبو القاسم سعيد عبد الجواد، سائق، الجارة، ٥١ سنة، شريط ١٥ (ح ٢) الجارة، أبريل ١٩٩٥، الجامع شوقي عبد القوى.

الساح الساح[٤] يا رز الواح	يا ساح رز الواحات أحلى رز
بيزا بيزا لرنجى	بيزا بيزا برتقال
بذور الرابح	مش زى بذور البرتقال
احنا عسكر وضباط	واللى يريد يجينا باط[٥]

وبعد صلاة التراويح يخرج أهل الواحة للتعتيم (العتوم) حيث يجتمع كل ليلة مجموعة من الأصدقاء في منزل أحدهم ليعتموا أي يأكلون الفول السوداني والبرتقال إذا كان في أوانه أو أي صنف آخر من الفواكه ويشربون الشاي.

وفي العشر الأواخر ينتظم أغلب أهل القرية في صلاة التراويح بالمسجد.

ويوجد بالبلد أكثر من مسحر لكل مسحر ناحية من القرية يسحر فيها وكانوا يستخدمون البازة في السحور مع المنادة على أهل المنزل بأسمائهم وليس لهم أجر معلوم ولكنهم كانوا يأخذون بعض الهبات كبعض الأرز أو القمح أو الدقيق[٦].

وإذا انطلقنا تجاه الجنوب حيث توجد الداخلة والخارجة نجد مادة مدونة منذ ما يقرب من قرن حيث يذكر مصطفى فهمي "أنه كان يتحتم على كل منزل أن يخبز ما يكفيه لمدة العشرة أيام الأولى من الشهر وبعضهم وهم القليل جدا يستحضرون فقهاء لترتيل القرآن ليلا وأجرة الفقيه شيء مقرر من قديم وهو جنيه افرنكي وويبة قمح وعشرة أذرع قماش مصبوغة وشال وعمامة يأخذها في آخر الشهر"[٧]. وواضح أن أجر القارئ مبالغ فيه حيث أن مبلغ الجنيه الافرنكي مبلغ ضخم في ذلك الوقت.

وحتى أوائل العقد السادس من هذا القرن لم يكن الإذاعة قد انتشرت في باريس ولذلك كان يعمد أهل باريس للخروج خارج القرية لرصد هلال رمضان ولنترك أحد الراصدين يحدثنا عما كان يحدث في ذلك اليوم "ليلة رؤية الهلال"[٨]: كنا نشوفه من الغرب لسه توطالع إيه... ذي السعفة (سعفة النخيل) كده لسه يعني صغير خالص. والسعفة دى بتاعة واد يوم ولا واد يومين (ابن يوم والا ابن يومين) وأول ليلة ما يشوفش إلا للي نظره قوي. تاني ليلة اللى ما شافوش ليلة امبارح بقى يشوفه في الليلة الثانية والبلد كلها تطلع تشوف الهلال واول ما نشوفه نقول: الله أكبر، شهر مبارك، هل هلاله، اللهم اجعله شهر سعيد ونجيب علينا.

وعند ما تثبت رؤية الهلال ندور بالطبل[٩] ومعانا العيال ونقول

يا رمضان يا أبو شخليلة	أول سحورك الليلة
يا رمضان يا أبو صحن جديد	آخر سحورك ليلة العيد
يا رمضان يا أبو صحن نحاس	يادابر في بلاد الناس[١٠]

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٤ الساح يقصدون السائح.

٥ الباط: لعبة اسمها لعبة الباط وتشبه المصارعة.

٦ عبدد العليم سليمان عبد الله، منديشة الواحات البحرية، كان يعمل بالصحة، ٧٥ سنة منزل الراوى ز ١٩٨٨ س ١، ٢، س ٢ و ١ الجامع شوقي عبد القوى.

٧ فهمي، مصطفى. ١٩٠٧. أحسن الهدايات في السفر إلى الواحات. مصر. ص ١٣٥-١٣٦.

٨ كانت رؤية الهلال تتم بعد صلاة المغرب وهذا عند استطلاع أوائل الشهور العربية أما استطلاع أواخرها في رمضان لاستطلاع أول أيام العيد كان يتم استطلاع الهلال بعد صلاة الفجر. وكانت الناس تعرف أن رابع رجب لا بد أن يوافق يومه أول رمضان يعني لو ٤ رجب يوم خميس فلا بد أن يكون أول رمضان يوم خميس وعيد الضحية يوم خميس والسنة الجديدة أولها خميس فالحديث الشريف يقول "صيامكم نحركم يوم عيد الأضحى" (محمود كرار، باريس، نسخة ٧٩ و ٢ ١٩٩٢).

٩ لم تكن طبلة كما نعرفها الآن وإنما كانت عبارة عن طار.

١٠ عبده محمد، باريس، نسخة ٧٨ و ١ باريس ١٩٩٢، الجامع شوقي عبد القوى.

وببداية رمضان كان موعد الإفطار يعرف من الجامع حيث كان هناك جامع وحيد فقط وكان أغلب أطفال القرية يذهبون عند هذا الجامع حيث يجلسون فوق غرد مرتفع وعندما يرون المؤذن يهم للأذان، كان كل طفل يجري إلى بيته وهو يصيح "أدن ... أدن والصايم يفطر" ولا تتناول الأسرة إفطارها إلا بعد أن يرجع بها الذي أرسلته إلى الجامع ويستمر هذا حتى ينتهي شهر رمضان[١١].

وانقرضت ظاهرة استطلاع الهلال وأيضا انتظار الأطفال للأذان بدخول المذياع وميكروفونات المساجد. وبقى استطلاع الهلال وجرى الأطفال ذكرى في وجدان الناس يتلهفون للحكى عنها إحياء لذكرى أيام جميلة خلت.

ورغم أن ما سبق كان ذكرى إلا أن هناك عادات استمرت. ففي أول أيام رمضان كان كل من الإفطار والسحور — ولا زال إلى حد ما — يشتمل على شعرية[١٢] لأن الشعرية في تقاليد باريس من علامات الفرح وعادة من عاداته. واحتل القول الآن مكانة الشعرية وإن كان هذا لا يمنع وجودها في السحور حيث لا زالت بعض الأسر تقدمها في السحور[١٣] كما عرفت الكنافة والقطايف وأيضا الزبيب والفانيليا وغير ذلك.

ومن مظاهر رمضان والتي كانت محببة إلى النفوس خاصة الأطفال — المسحر — حيث يخرج الأطفال مهللين ويتنقلون معه من شارع إلى شارع مستمتعين بصوته الشجى مصاحبا دقات العصاة على الطبلة قائلا:

يا نايم قوم وحد الدايم — يا نايم قوم وحد الله
أنا بامدح إلى خطاع الرمل لم علم — بالهداية النبي لم له خطيب علم
واجب على امدحه من قبل ما أتكلم — كلام أقول لكم عليه
رب العباد ع المصطفى صلى
نقول لا اله إلا الله يا نايم قوم وحد الدايم

وأثناء أدائه لهذا الغناء ينادي المسحر على الناس بأسمائهم داعيا اياهم للاستيقاظ ويستمر في جولته هذه إلى أن يلف القرية بيتا بيتا[١٤].

وتدور الأيام ويبقى المسحر إلى الآن يلف القرية ولكن بدلا من مسحر واحد أصبح الآن اثنان حيث ازدادت مساحة القرية ولكل واحد منهم منطقة خاصة به. ولم يعد الأطفال يمشون خلفهما، وإن ساروا فلمسافة يعودون بعدها إلى ما كانوا فيه من لعب أو جلوس أمام المرناة[١٥].

والمسحر هنا في باريس كالمسحر في جميع أرجاء مصر ليس له أجر معين على ما يقوم به كما أنه ليست هناك أشخاص محددة تدفع له ولكنه في آخر رمضان يأخذ ما يجود به عليه الناس.

ويتميز شهر رمضان بأنه أكثر شهور السنة بهجة واحتفالا فالجميع فرح مسرور ويكثر تبادل الزيارات والسهر في جماعات سواء في المنازل أو أمام أبواب المنازل في الشارع. ودائما ما تطالع المار تلك الحلقات السمرية والتي تستمر إلى قرب السحور. وهذه الظاهرة مستمرة إلى الآن وإن اجتذبت المرناة البعض.

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١١ محمد أحمد علي، ٦٥ سنة باريس، مزارع، نسخة ٧٧ و ١، باريس ١٩٩٢ نفسه الجامع شوقي عبد القوي.

١٢ كانت الشعرية تعمل بأن يعجن الدقيق بالماء وتفتل باليد وكانت النساء يساعدن بعضهن البعض حيث كان هناك تقسيم للعمل فالبعض يفتل على فوطة وواحدة تلملم الشعرية وتنشرها على الحطب الى أن تجف والحطب عبارة عن شجيرات الطرفة وهي تشبه الجازورينا وهي ليست شجرة طويلة وذات أفرع كثيرة وتجمع من الصحراء وتستعمل للشعرية فقط ولا تستعمل كوقود وكانت تحفظ في المنزل — حيث كانت الشعرية وجبة تتناول كثيرا ويبدو أنها كانت مثيلا للأرز في الوقت الحاضر وكان هذا الحطب يعار لمن ليس لديها الخطب.

١٣ أم عمر مصطفى مهاود، باريس س ٥ و ١ ١٩٩٣، الجامع شوقي عبد القوي.

١٤ على عوض فودة، ٥٤ سنة باريس، مسحر وخادم في جامع، باريس، نسخة ٧٩ و ١ ١٩٩٢ باريس — شوقي عبد القوي.

١٥ عبده محمد، ٧٠ سنة، مزارع، باريس، نسخة ٧٨ وجه ١ ١٩٩٢، شوقي عبد القوي.

وفي العشر الأواخر من رمضان تبدأ الناس في التجهيز لعيد الفطر كما سبق القول ويتخلل هذه الأيام ليلة القدر في السابع والعشرين حيث يقوم بعض الأفراد كل بمفرده احتفالا بهذه المناسبة حيث يذبح كل منهم على حسب مقدرته بداية من ذوات الأربع وانتهاء بذات الأجنحة ويدعو الأهل والجيران للإفطار سويا في تلك الليلة. وبعد الإفطار يصلون العشاء والتراويح في الجامع وبعد الصلاة يقومون بتوديع شهر رمضان في الجامع بالإنشاد ويطلقون عليه توحيش حيث ينشد أحد الأفراد ويكرر خلفه الباقون الإنشاد مثل:

شهر الصيام مفضل تفضيلا ونويت من بعد المنام رحيلا
قد كنت شهرا طيبا ومباركا ومبشرا بالعفو من مولانا
بالله يا شهر الهنا ماتنسنا لا اوحش الرحمن منك صلاتنا

كما كانت هناك بعض الأسر التي تدعو بعض الشراء ليتلون القرآن في المنزل طوال شهر رمضان تبركا وتقربا إلى الله.

وما كان يحدث في باريس كان يحدث مثيله في القصر حيث يخرج أصحاب النظر الحاد إلى الجبل ليراقبوا الهلال. وإذا ثبتت رؤية الهلال وأصبح غدا أول أيام رمضان يحضر أهل القصر طبلة كبيرة وتلف الطبلة البلد ويكون هذا إعلان بأن غدا رمضان. ولم يكن هناك غناء يصاحب الطبلة، ولكن كان يصاحبها مجموعات كثيرة من الرجال والأطفال والآن أصبح الإعلان بالراديو والمرناة. واختفت الطبلة من حياة أهل القصر في تلك المناسبة[١٦].

وبإعلان بداية رمضان يبدأ الجزارون في الذبح ويشتري الجميع غنيهم وفقيرهم اللحوم والاختلاف في الكمية المشتراة فقط حيث جرت العادة على تناول اللحوم في أول أيام رمضان (نفس المصدر) وتنوعت مائدة رمضان فعرفت الكنافة والقطايف وقمر الدين.

ونفس ما كان يحدث في باريس قبل ظهور الإذاعة كان يحدث في القصر، حيث يجلس الأطفال بجوار الجامع، وعند ما يؤذن أذان المغرب ينطلق الأطفال إلى بيوتهم قائلين وهم يجرون "أذن... أذن... والصايم يفطر" (نفس المصدر).

وسابقا وحتى وقت قريب لا يتجاوز ثلاثون عاما لم يعرف القصر المسحر. وكانت عملية التسحير تتم بأن يصعد أحد المشايخ على مئذنة الجامع وينشد أناشيد معينة فيعرف الناس أن هذا موعد الإمساك وكان الشيخ يحدد موعد السحور بالنظر إلى النجوم. والآن يتم التسحير بالضرب على طبلة حيث يلف المسحر القرية داعيا الناس إلى السحور ويتجمع الأطفال حول المسحر لفترة ثم ينصرفون ويأتي غيرهم وينصرفون أيضا وهكذا (نفس المصدر).

وابتداء من يوم عشرين رمضان يعتكف البعض في المساجد ويكثر البعض الآخر من الذهاب إلى المساجد لقراءة القرآن والتعبد وليس هناك احتفال معين بليلة القدر — كالإنشاد أو الذكر والاحتفال يكون قاصرا على قراءة القرآن والتعبد[١٧] كذلك كانت هناك بعض الأسر التي تدعو بعض القراء ليتلون القرآن خلال شهر رمضان كما في باريس.

وتبدأ السيدات أيضا في الاستعداد لعيد الفطر في العشر الأواخر من رمضان بتجهيز الدقيق وخبز الكعك.

من هذا الغرض نجد استمرار المظاهر الاحتفالية برمضان مع تغير بعض الممارسات المصاحبة لهذا الشهر وكذلك تغير بعض العادات الغذائية.

فنجد أن هناك تغيرا حدث في مظاهر الاحتفال بشهر رمضان نتيجة عوامل شتى منها ما هو نتيجة تقدم سبل الاتصالات ومنها ما هو ناتج احتكاك ثقافي ومنها ما هو حاصل نشاط اقتصادي أو ظهور منتجات سلعية أدت إلى بروز أنواع غذائية جديدة.

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١٦ أحمد سنوسي خلف الله، ٧٢ سنة كان يعمل بالصحة ز، القصر، في ٦ و ٢ ١٩٩٢، شوقي عبد القوي.

١٧ نفس الراوي والشريط والوجه.

فتقدم وسائل الاتصال من مذياع ومرناة أدى إلى عدم الحاجة إلى استطلاع هلال رمضان. كما لم تعد هناك ضرورة لانطلاق الأطفال بعد انتظارهم أذان المغرب لإعلان ذويهم بأن موعد الإفطار قد حان. ورغم هذا التقدم بقى ذلك الجوال الذي يحمل طبلة في يده ويضرب عليها بالأخرى مارا بدروب القرية وحواريها بنفس الطريقة التي كانت منذ عشرات السنين بل مئاتها داعيا الناس للاستيقاظ على كل فرد باسمه ولكنه عبر السنين وتتاليها تناقصت أعداد الأطفال الذين يلفون معه فرحين به مبتهجين بإيقاع الطبلة وإنشاد المسحر.

والأمر الملفت الانتباه هو أن هذا المسحر لم تعرفه القصر إلا في السنوات الأخيرة بعد أن كان التسحير يتم من على مئذنة الجامع بإنشاد معين لأحد المشايخ ولم نجد تفسيرا لهذا التحول لدى أهل القصر. كما أنه في جارة أم الصغير لا يوجد مسحر وربما يرجع ذلك إلى صغر حجم القرية وإلى قلة عدد أهلها.

ويبدو أن استمرار المسحر راجع إلى أن الأذن تعودت على تواشيح وأذان الفجر من المساجد طوال العام. ولا بد للتسحير في الشهر الكريم من أداء مختلف يميزه ولذلك استمر، فضلا عن أن المسحر يقوم بالمناداة على كل فرد باسمه وهذا أمر يرضى النفس لما فيه من اهتمام بالإضافة إلى أنه يثاب عليها من الخالق والمخلوق ولذلك استمر. وإن كان أداؤه الآن أصبح آليا وصدى لما كنا يحدث من قبل، ولم يعد أحد يهتم بأن يستيقظ على دقاته فقد انتشرت الساعات.

كذلك كان لاستقرار الناس من وادي النيل بواحتي الخارجة والداخلة بداية من العقد السابع من هذا القرن وإنشاء شركة التعمير وازدياد النشاط التجاري بين وادي النيل والواحتين السابقتين بالإضافة إلى الواحات البحرية، بالإضافة إلى عمل كثير من أبناء الواحتين بمدن وادي النيل خاصة القاهرة، وكذلك انتشار أجهزة الإعلام، كل هذا كان له أثر كبير في ظهور أشكال من الطعام لم تكن معروفة في الواحات من قبل، ودخول عادات غذائية جديدة كاستخدام الفول في السحور ومنافسة الأرز للشعرية واحتلاله لمكانتها وأيضا طهى الخضروات وإضافة الفانيليا والبكنج بودر في الكعك وعمل الكنافة والقطايف وغير ذلك.

ويلاحظ أن للسهر في رمضان طعم خاص يختلف عن السهر في أي أيام أخرى وذلك لأن الإنسان في رمضان لا يسهر بمفرده ولكنه ساهر ومعه الجميع ساهر ليس شرطا أن يكون السهر جماعة ولكن الإحساس بأنك لست وحدك الساهر إحساس ممتع كالصيام في رمضان والصيام في غير شهر رمضان. فأنت في رمضان مستمتع بالصيام لأن الجميع يشاركك هذا، والعكس صحيح وأغلب الناس يسهر حتى تتناول سحورها بالإضافة إلى ما يحمله هذا الشهر من دفع خفى نحو التجمع الإنساني، فالناس تسعى لرؤية بعضها البعض في هذا الشهر أكثر من أي وقت آخر.

يتبقى أن شهر رمضان شهر يبتهج له الصغير قبل الكبير فهو الشهر الذي يأكل فيه الأطعمة المسكرة (الحلويات) كثيرا ويحاول أن يقلد الكبار بالصيام وانتظار موعد السحور. وهو الشهر الذي يجتمع فيه الصغار للعب ويستمر هذا اللعب فترة طويلة وأيضا يستمتعون بحواديث العفاريت والجن واللف مع المسحر وفي نهايات هذا الشهر يبدأون في شراء الجديد ونقش الكعك. به الكثير مما يسلى الصغار ويزيد من استمتاع الكبار. كما كان للعزلة التي فرضتها البيئة على الناس أثر واضح في زيادة الترابط والتعاون بين الناس، كما أدت إلى زيادة التماسك الأسرى.

وأخيرا يمكن القول بأن شهر رمضان ليس كغيره من المناسبات الدينية يحتفل به يوم المناسبة فقط ولكن الاحتفاء والاحتفال به مستمر طوال أيامه. ويلاحظ أن مظهر الاحتفال به لا يتبدى في طبل أو غناء أو ذكر أو غير ذلك وليمكن يتضح فيما يعلو الوجوه من بشر ومن سهر وليل يصبح كالنهار من شدة الإضاءة وفوانيس اختصت بهذا الشهر وتفرد هو بها وطعام ربما لا يتذوقه البعض إلا خلال أيامه المباركة. وخير من هذا وذاك سلوك التواد والتراحم بين الناس وعطف القادر على غير القادر.

المعتقدات والممارسات الشعبية المرتبطة بمرض الأطفال وموتهم (دراسة ميدانية في قرية مصرية)

سميح عبد الغفار شعلان

أكاديمية الفنون – القاهرة

مقدمة

تستجيب العادات الشعبية لدى كافة المجتمعات، لما يطرح عليها من معطيات العصر، لتستطيع بذلك أن توفق عناصرها بناء على تلك المعطيات، وفي صياغة متفاعلة معها، ومؤكدة على حيوية تلك العناصر وديناميتها. لتؤكد العادات الشعبية – دائما – عن تعبيرها الأمين عن الحاجات الملحة لأي مجتمع من المجتمعات، وتحقق لأفراده رغبتهم الدائمة في التعايش مع روح وعقل العصر. وهي بذلك اكتسبت القدرة على الوجود والاستمرار وملازمة منطق الكون في حتمية استمرار الحياة.

ولأن البشر في كل زمان ومكان يتلاحمون تلاحما تلقائيا مع طبيعة المكان، الذي يستمدون منه مؤشرات خصوصيتهم، ويتفاعلون مع الزمان بما تمليه ظروفه عليهم، فهم بهذا يكسبون طبائعهم وسلوكهم اليومي قدرا عظيما من التأقلم مع الأرض وحركة التاريخ. والقرية المصرية – على وجه العموم – تعرضت لتغيرات حاسمة في النصف الأخير من هذا القرن، ترتبط كل الارتباط بظروف سياسية واقتصادية واجتماعية محلية، وتتصل كل الاتصال بالتطور التكنولوجي الذي طرأ على المجتمع العالمي بصفة عامة.

ولأن هذه الورقة البحثية قد اهتمت برصد بعض ملامح التغير بقرية كفر الشرفا القبلي التابعة لمركز القناطر الخيرية، بمحافظة القليوبية، فقد اختارت الممارسات الشعبية المتعلقة بمرض الأطفال للكشف عن العوامل المختلفة المؤثرة في هذا التغير. ويأتي هذا الاختيار مرتبطا باحتلال الطفل في الثقافة الشعبية المصرية مكانة خاصة، بدافع أنه الأولي بالرعاية والأحق بالوجود كضمان للاستقرار الأسرى، واستمرار للبقاء البشري. وانطلاقا من هذا الاهتمام حرص المأثور الشعبي على ابتداع الوسائل التي تضمن حمايته من كل سوء قد يتعرض له، وعلى وجه الخصوص الأمراض التي قد تقضي على وجوده.

وقد اهتمت هذه الورقة بتناول موضوعها في مجال مكاني ينحصر في قرية مصرية تنتمي إلى إحدى محافظات الدلتا المصرية، ليكون هدف هذه الدراسة هو الكشف عن الممارسات الاعتقادية الشعبية عند جماعة محددة تنتمي إلى ثقافة الفلاحين المصريين. كما ترمي هذه الدراسة أيضا إلى محاولة التعرف على تأثير الديانات السماوية والمعتقدات المصرية القديمة في هذه الممارسات. وكما سبق الإشارة فإن الهدف الرئيسي لهذه الورقة هو رصد علمي للتغير الذي بدأ يطرأ على تلك الممارسات من خلال عوامل التغير المختلفة الدافعة نحو التخلي أو التمسك أو الحذف أو الإضافة أو الإحلال، بهدف الكشف عن الاتجاه الذي يسير نحوه الفكر الجمعي من خلال ثقافته الشعبية. أما عن المجال الزمني للدراسة فينحصر في النصف الأخير من القرن العشرين، ويرجع هذا الاختيار لتلك الفترة الزمنية من خلال التغير الشامل الذي طرأ على النظام السياسي المصري والذي أدى بدوره إلى تغيير واضح بالبناء الاجتماعي للشعب المصري وانفتاح صريح على التعليم الذي ساهم في تغير أنماط السلوك والفكر الجمعي .

وهذه الدراسة قد اعتمدت على الأدوات المختلفة للجمع الميداني وتم لها الحصول على المعلومات التي تخص موضوعها من خلال الإخباريين والإخباريات الذين تم اختيارهم بحيث يمثلون القرية المختارة من حيث اختلاف النوع والسن والتنوع الطبقي والحالة التعليمية.

وقد انحصرت الموضوعات التي تناولتها الدراسة فيما يلي:

١) غضب الأخت (القرينة) واسترضاؤها، والوقاية من أضرارها.

٢) الممارسات الشعبية لوقاية الأطفال من الحسد.

٣) الممارسات الشعبية المرتبطة بمنع تكرار موت الأطفال.

وتجدر الإشارة إلى أننا في هذه الورقة لم نقترب من قريب أو بعيد لعلاج أمرض الأطفال بواسطة الوصفات البلدية التي تدفع نحو اتجاه مختلف من اتجاهات البحوث الفولكلورية وهو ما يطلق عليه الطب الشعبي. وقد انصب اهتمام هذه الدراسة بوقاية الأطفال مما قد تسببه الكائنات الغيبية (الجن، العفاريت، والأرواح الشريرة بوجه عام)، فضلا عما تسببه أعين الحاسدين والحاسدات من البشر من أضرار تصيب الطفل، حتى يتسنى لنا الوقوف على مدى التغير الذي طرأ على الفكر الجمعي الغيبي وإلى أي مدى يسير نحو أنماط سلوك الفكر الرشيد وفيما يلي نعرض للمعتقدات التي تسري بين أفراد مجتمع البحث والتي تتعلق بالأسباب التي تدفع نحو مرض الأطفال. وهي التي قد تتسبب في موتهم كما نعرض للممارسات الشعبية المتبعة لوقاية الأطفال من ذلك الضرر.

تنتشر بين أفراد مجتمع البحث - وعلى وجه الخصوص عجائز النساء - معتقدات تفيد بأن الأسباب التي كانت تؤدي إلى مرض الأطفال وقد تؤدي إلى هلاكهم تأتي غالبا من خلال تأثير الكائنات الغيبية ذات الصلة بالطفل (أخت أمه)، أو التي تسكن الأماكن المظلمة من الدار. كذلك فإن للأحياء دورا في إيقاع الطفل في نفس الضرر (الحاسدات والحاسدين) ولا يمكن لهذا الورقة أن تعرض لتلك المعلومات التي حصلت عليها دون الإشارة إلى أن انتشار تلك المعتقدات لا يتخذ نفس المكانة عند جميع أفراد المجتمع بل أنه يتدرج في الانتشار والتبني والاستقبال بين أفراد المجتمع تدرجا يتفق مع الاختلاف الطبقي، والنوعي (ذكر، أنثى)، وكذلك لا يمكن إغفال تأثير انتشار التعليم بين أفراد المجتمع، وإمكانية اتصالهم بالمجتمعات الأخرى من خلال أجهزة الأعلام المسموعة والمرئية والمقروءة فضلا عن تقديم الخدمات العلاجية من قبل أجهزة الدولة الرسمية وغير الرسمية كل ذلك قد ساهم في تقلص تلك المعتقدات عند أفراد المجتمع عند بعض العجائز من كبيرات السن، واللاتي ينتمين في الأغلب إلى الطبقة الدنيا ولم يتلقين أي حظ من المعرفة حيث يؤهلهن ذلك للقيام بدور الحافظات والمحافظات على محاولة إعادة بث تلك المعتقدات إلى غيرهن من النساء، غير أنهن لا يلقين في الوقت الراهن - نفس الاستجابة من قبل المتعلمات والموظفات اللاتي يلجأن في الأغلب - إلى الطب الرسمي، من خلال فهمهن واستقبالهن الرشيد للخطاب الصحي الموجه من قبل أجهزة الدولة في هذا الخصوص إلا أن المعلومات الميدانية قد أفادت بإمكانية لجوءهن إلى تلك الأفكار الغيبية في حالة عدم قدرة الطب الرسمي على علاج الطفل المريض.

كما لا يفوت هذه الدراسة أن تشير إلى أن مثل هذه المعتقدات - التي سنوردها بعد قليل - لا تنتشر انتشارا واسعا وبقدر متساو عند كافة النساء من كبيرات السن غير المتعلمات أو اللاتي ينتمين إلى الطبقة الدنيا. اذ أنها تستمد وجودها وانتشارها وتبنيها عند قليلات منهن واللاتي يحتفظن لأنفسهن بمكانة خاصة بين أفراد المجتمع، تلك المكانة التي تتأسس على قدرتهن على التاثير والتلقين من خلال معرفتهن الكلية بأمور الحياة اليومية لأفراد المجتمع ولديهن إجابات شافية مقنعة ومبررة لكافة الأسئلة والاستفسارات التي تطرحها عليهن الأخريات، وهن بذلك يكتسبن مكانتهن الخاصة، والتي تدعونا إلى القول بقدرة أولئك النسوة على تحمل عبء حفظ التراث والمحافظة على مكوناته وعناصره عن غيرهن وغيرهم من أفراد المجتمع، وعلى وجه الخصوص الأمور المتعلقة بالأمومة والطفولة. إلا أننا أيضا لا نغفل التغيرات التي طرأت على تلك

المكانة، من خلال التغير الذي بدأ يطرأ على نوعية الحياة داخل الريف المصري بوجه عام وقرية البحث على وجه الخصوص، وهو الأمر الذي لم يعد يؤهل هؤلاء النسوة للقيام بنفس الدور من التأثير.

وفيما يلي عرض للمعتقدات التي تسري بين حاملات التراث والتي تتعلق بالأسباب التي كانت تؤدي إلى مرض الأطفال، والسبل التي يمكن اتباعها لوقايتهم.

أولا: غضب الأخت (القرينة)[١]

يسود بين الناس – في مجتمع الدراسة – اعتقاد مؤداه بأن للبشر نظائرهم من الجان يحيون تحت الأرض، ويمرون بدورة حياة كالتي يمر بها الناس، ميلاد فزواج ثم موت. ولكل رجل من الرجال قرينته الأنثى ولكل امرأة قرينها الرجل (أخته اللي تحت الأرض، أخوها اللي تحت الأرض)[٢].

إلا أن الاعتقاد يختار للمرأة أختا لها تلد عكس ما تلد، فإذا ما ولدت الإنسية ذكرا ولدت الجنية أنثى وتستقبل الحياة مولودهما في نفس التوقيت[٣]. وإذا ما تساءلنا بمنطق العقل الرشيد عن هذا الاستبدال للقرائن عند حالة الوضع من حيث استبدال الأخت الأنثى (جنية) بالأخ الذكر (جني)، على عكس ما هو سائد في الاعتقاد، لم نجد إجابة شافية مقنعة، إذ أن المعتقد يحاول هنا أن يبرر مخالفة النوع فيما بين القرينين المولود الذكر (الإنسي) تقابله مولودة أنثى (جنية) أو العكس، ولم يستطع بذلك إلا أن يتناسى حتمية المخالفة ليجد للواضعة قرينة تشابهها وتتطابق معها في الأحداث التي تمر بها. ومن هنا يمكن القول بأن محاسبة العقل الجمعي الغيبي محاسبة رشيدة، تستند على براهين وأسانيد العقل الرشيد لا يتفق مع محاولة الفهم ولا مع أهمية الكشف عن ما يحتويه العقل الجمعي من أفكار، إذ أن الرؤية هنا يجب أن تتوقف على المبررات التي دفعت نحو المخالفة والعوامل التي دفعت نحو وجود قرينة الواضعة دون قرينها. حيث أن منطق العقل الجمعي يستعين على المواقف التي يصادفها في الحياة اليومية بإيجاد تفسيرات لها تزيح عنها الغموض، ليستريح الناس لاستقبالها ويرضون عن تقلباتها، وهم بهذا يخصون كل موقف بخصوصية قد تعزله عن بقية المواقف، كما قد توصله بها. ولأن حالة الواضعة والوليد قد تتردى، وقد يصاب أحدهما أو كليهما بالمرض الذي قد يقضي عليهما دونما تبرير أو تفسير، فلم يكن هناك بد من إيجاد التفسيرات التي تؤكد على تدخل الكائنات الغيبية في إحداث الضرر. ومن هنا وجدت الأخت الواضعة (الجنية) مناخا صالحا كي تبدي غيرتها من الإنسية التي ولدت مولودا ذكرا على عكس وليدتها الأنثى فتتربص بهما كي تلحق بهما أو بأحدهما الضرر.

وكأن الخيال الشعبي هنا يفترض ترحيب الجان بالطفل الذكر، وغضبهم عند وضع الأنثى وبالطبع يتشكل هذا الخيال تبعا لمدركاته ومعارفه عن الحياة التي يحياها الأفراد، الذين يشكلون

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[١] عن القرينة الأخت انظر الجوهري ١٩٨٨:٤٢٩-٤٣١، وكذلك أمين ١٩٥٣:٣٢٤.

[٢] يذكر الشبلي (١٩٥٧) أحاديث منسوبة إلى الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم تؤكد على وجود القرين، وهي تشير أيضا إلى العلاقة التي تربط بين القرين والإنسان في تقارب واضح مع الأفكار التي يروج لها الناس.

[٣] يذكر الجوهري أن لكل إنسان - منذ مولده - قرين خاص به، ويعرف بالنسبة للرجال باسم القرين، وبالنسبة للنساء باسم قرينة ويتزوج قرين الرجل بقرينة زوجته الإنسية (مع فارق واحد هو أن القرينة لا تستطيع الإنجاب ومن هنا يأتي حسدها للمرأة الإنسية وحقدها عليها) كما يرى أن هناك تطابق بين الدور الذي تلعبه الأخت ودور القرينة، بحيث أن الباحثين أن الباحثين يميلون إلى اعتبارهما تسميات مختلفة لنفس الشخصية (١٩٨٨:٤٢٩-٤٣١). وترى وينفريد بلاكمان من خلال دراستها عن فلاحي الصعيد أن كل إنسان يولد ومعه شبيه وهو مختلف تماما عن العفريت وهو في حالة الرجل يسمى قرين وفي حالة المرأة (قرينة) ويولد الرجل دائما ومعه قرينه الذكر في حين تولد المرأة ومعها قرينتها الأنثى طبقا للمعتقد الشائع بين الفلاحين. أما الجن أو العفاريت فيسمونهم "إخواننا وأخواتنا اللي تحت الأرض" ولكنهم مختلفون عن الأقران، وإن كانت الجماعتان على اتصال ببعضهما (١٩٩٥:٤٨).

هذا الخيال ويطبعونه على من سواهم من الكائنات، ليستطعوا بذلك إيجاد نوع من الاتصال فيما بينهم وبين تلك الكائنات. وهذا المنطق هو الذي يبرر عدم الاهتمام المتزايد بالمولودة الأنثى وحمايتها وأمها من غضب القرينة، إذ أنه ليس هناك مجال لغضب الأخت الجنية التي يحق لها أن تفرح بمولودها الذكر. وكأن الثقافة الشعبية تحاول أن تلقي عن عاتقها الأسباب الفعلية لتجاهل الاهتمام بالأنثى على عكس المولود الذكر، وأن تلك الفروق السلوكية تجاههما تعود إلى ردود الأفعال تجاه كائنات الغيب.

ويشير الواقع الميداني بأن الأم تظل في مأمن من غضب الأخت طالما أنها التزمت بما لا يثير حقدها عليها، وغضبها من أفعالها التي تظهر فيها فرحتها بوليدها الذكر. حيث تلقن من قبل العارفات بحدود الاعتقاد – في أغلب الأحيان أمها – بأن تتجنب الأفعال التي تدفع بالقرينة نحو الضرر بها أو بوليدها أو بكليهما معا ونتحصر تلك الأفعال فيما يلي:

أ) ألا تلبس ثيابا زاهية الألوان.

ب) أن تخلع حليها.

ج) لا تتزين بالمساحيق.

د) لا تنظر إلى مرآة لتتأكد من سلامة هندامها.

"برضه مفروض الوالدة متلبسش ألوان فاقعة متلبسش سيغة ولا تحط زواق فى وشها، ما تبصش ف مراية، حتى لو عندها مراية زى دى تقوم تحط عليها جلبية تغطيها، يعنى الكلام ده عشان أختها متغيرش منها"[٤].

كذلك يجب على الواضعة ألا تستثار بأفعال المحيطين حولها فتخرج عن هدوئها الذي يجب أن تلتزم به فلا تتعصب ولا تصرخ و لا تعبر عن غضبها فتصيح صياحا يستثير غضب القرينة.

"الوالدة متزعقش، لو زعقت تتئزى على طول، وطول ما هي هادية وحلوة كده قرينتها تبقى راضية عنها ومتعملهاش حاجة اصل جتتها لسة بتبقى طرية"[٥]

ولعل حكمة الناس التي دفعت بهم نحو وضع تلك الضوابط لتصرفات الواضعة تنطلق من وظيفة أخرى كامنة غير ظاهرة إذ أن إظهار المرأة لفرحتها قد يثير غيرة الحاقدات الحاسدات من الإنسيات. كذلك فإن التزامها ا بالتصرفات والأقوال الهادئة يتمم لها الشفاء بشكل أسرع.

استرضاء الأخت:

لكي ترضى الأخت وتقنع بحالها ولا تغار، يرى الناس وجوب مراضاتها بأساليب تحرص العجائز والعارفات بقواعد الاعتقاد بتذكير واضعة الذكر بها، والتأكيد عليها بأهمية تنفيذها، حتى لا تقع في حيز الاختلاف مع قرينتها، التي هي قادرة دوما على إلحاق الأذى بها أو بمولودها الذكر. وتنحصر تلك الممارسات فيما يلي:

أ) ذكر اسم الله عند نقل الوليد من مكان نومه أو تحريكه أثناء نومه، بالإضافة إلى ذكر اسم الله على أخته (ابنة قرينة أمه):

يذهب الاعتقاد بأهمية أن تتلفظ القائمة على تحريك الطفل أو نقله من مكان نومه بالعبارة التالية (اسم لله عليك وعلى أختك قبلك)

وفي هذه مراضاة للأخت إذ أن ذلك يبدي اهتمام الأم الأنسية بوليدة قرينتها، بدرجة اهتمامها بطفلها، بل تبدي ازدياد اهتمامها بذكر كلمة (قبلك)، يعني تفضيلها لها على حساب ابنها أو اشتراكهما في درجة الاهتمام.

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[٤] فاقعة: زاهية، سيغة: حلي، زواق: مساحيق. إخبارية رقم (١).

[٥] متزعقش: لا تصيح أو تصرخ، تتئزى: تضر، جتتها: جسدها. إخبارية رقم (٢).

كما يشير ذلك إلى أن الأطفال في حالة النوم يكونون في أكثر حالات الاتصال بالعالم السفلي، الذي يحتاجون فيه إلى عناية الخالق، خالق الإنس و الجان. وأن كليهما يحتاجان إلى رعايته الدائمة.

ب) إشراك المولودة الجنية في حمام أخيها الإنسي:

كما تذهب الاخباريات إلى أهمية إلقاء بعض من المياه المجهزة لاستحمام الطفل في اليوم السابع لميلاده بالأركان الأربعة للغرفة التي استحم بها حتى يتسنى للأم الجنية غسل وليدتها وإشراكها في مراسم الاحتفال بيوم سبوع الطفل.

"قبل ما نحمى العيل" نقوم نرش شوية مية كده في الأربع تركان، ونقول يا أرض حمى ولادك أو بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم استحموا قبله"[٦]

ج) إشراك الأخت فيما تأكله أو تشربه الواضعه:

يشير الواقع الميداني باعتقاد الناس بأن العلاقة بين الإنسان والجان لا تظل على هذه الكيفية من اختفاء أحدهما عن الأخر (الجان عن الإنسان) بل يمكنه الظهور و الالتقاء المباشر مع الإنسان، ويأتي ذلك عن طريق الظهور على هيئة حيوانات بعينها كالقطط أو الكلاب.

ولعل هذا الاعتقاد يتأسس على العلاقة التي تربط بين الناس في المجتمعات القروية، وبعض الحيوانات الأليفة التي تشاركهم سكنى منازلهم، وتقترب دوما منهم أثناء تناولهم وجباتهم. كذلك فأن هيئة القطط وسلوكها وطبيعة تكوينها الجسدي يؤهلها للقيام بهذا الدور الوسطى بين الإنس والجان. إذ تبرق عيونها في ظلمة الليل ولا تتأثر كثيرا بالصدمات التي تقع لها "القطط بسبع ترواح"، ومن خلال هذا الفهم يرمي الاعتقاد بأهمية ملاقاة تلك الحيوانات والتعامل معها، حسب إمكان حلول الجان في هيئتها، ولأن الاعتقاد يرمي إلى وجود الأخت الجنية بالمكان التي وضعت فيه جنبا إلى جنب مع الواضعة الإنسية، فأن ظهور القطط والكلاب قد يشير إلى ظهورها. وهو الأمر الذي يدفع بأهمية استرضائها من خلال إشراكها فيما تأكله الإنسية من مأكولات وخاصة اللحوم التي يحرص أهلها على تقديمها لها بعد ولادتها .

"لما تيجى قطة تدخل عليها يقولولها راضيها، أصلهم مبيبقوش قطط دى حاجات بتطلع من تحت الأرض، تقوم تراضيها بأى حاجة بتاكلها والكلاب برضه"[٧]

كما يمكن ألا تظهر (الأخت) بشكل مباشر في هيئة تلك الحيوانات، لكن ذلك لا ينفي وجودها المختفي عن أعين البشر، وهنا يلزم المعتقد بأهمية مراضاتها – دون رؤيتها – بما تأكل منه الإنسية، ويتم ذلك بأن تلقي بعضا منه في الأركان الأربعة للغرفة التي توجد بها. ولعل اختيار هذا المكان تنطلق من إمكانية وجود الأخت بأحدها. كذلك فإنها تلتزم بإلقاء بعضا مما تشرب على أرض الغرفة الطينية، حيث يدل تشربها إلى وصول المشروب إلى الأخت التي تسكن تحت الأرض.

"لو شربت كباية حلبة تحدف شوية على الأرض تراضى أختها اللى تحت الأرض"[٨]

وتذهب الإخباريات أن هذا النوع من الاسترضاء يظل منذ مولد الطفل حتى اليوم السابع.

د) تقديم وجبة خاصة للأخت

يشير الواقع الميداني إلى أهمية تقديم وجبة خاصة للأخت إمعانا في استرضائها، حيث يجب وضع طبق مملوء بالأرز المطبوخ باللبن والسكر ليلة السبوع، إلى جانب الحلوى التي ستقدم للأطفال والمشاركين في الاحتفال يوم السبوع. وترى العارفات بحدود الاعتقاد أن هذا الطبق إنما يقدم للأخت، وكأنهن بذلك يشركنها في الاحتفال باليوم السابع لميلاد الطفل الذكر لأختها الإنسية.

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[٦] العيل: الطفل، تركان: أركان. إخبارية رقم (١).

[٧] إخبارية رقم (١).

[٨] كباية: كوب، تحدف: ترمي، تلقي، شوية: بعض. إخبارية رقم (١).

"طبق نغرفه ونحطه ع الصينية يبات جنب الحاجات بتاع السبوع الشمع والحلويات والحاجات دى ليلة السبوع عشان مراضية الأخت"[٩]

الوقاية من ضرر الأخت

وللوقاية من الضرر الذي يمكن أن توقعه الأخت الجنية بأختها الإنسية أو بمولودها الذكر، يذهب الاعتقاد إلى أهمية وضع الموسى أو السكين أو المقص - الذي تم قطع خلاص الطفل به - إلى جواره منذ يوم مولده حتى اليوم السابع لميلاده، ويرون أن هذه الأدوات الحادة تقوم بتأثير سحري يؤدي إلى ابتعاد الكائنات الغيبية عنه - وخاصة الأخت الجنية التي تتربص به ويعود اختيار تلك الأدوات من خلال الاعتقاد السائد بقدرتها على درء خطر الأرواح الشريرة (شعلان ٢٠٠٠: ١٠٥).

كذلك يوضع إلى جوار تلك الآلة الحادة رغيف من الخبز وبعض الملح. وتكشف تلك الممارسة عن طبيعة الأفكار الاعتقادية التي يتبناها أفراد المجتمع، الأمر الذي يمكن معه الكشف عن ملمح من ملامح شخصية أفراد هذا المجتمع، وهم يمثلون كذلك كثير من المجتمعات المصرية التي تتاشبه معهم في نفس الظروف. ذلك الملمح الذي يشير إلى السبل السلمية التي ينتهجها أفراد المجتمع في علاقاتهم ببعضهم، والتي تنطبع أيضا على علاقاتهم بغيرهم، حتى لو كان الغير من الكائنات الغيبية الخفية، إذ أن تقديم رغيف الخبز والملح جنبا إلى جنب مع الآلة الحادة يؤكد تلك الفكرة فإن كانت الآلة الحادة تقوم بدور الإبعاد والمنع، فإن رغيف الخبز والملح يشير إلى محاولة المصالحة والاسترضاء.

"وبعد ما نقطع السرة (الحبل السرى)، نقوم نحط الموس أو المقص أو السكينة اللى قطعنا بيها جنب العيل، ونحط جنبهم رغيف وشوية ملح، علشان أمه لما تخرج من الأوضة وتسيبه لوحده ميتئزيش، وهو لسه مسبعش"[١٠]

كذلك فيمكن للأم الواضعة أن تقي طفلها من ضرر أختها أو قرينتها بأن تطلب حجابا يحمل السبعة عهود السليمانية من أحد العرافين الذين يتمكنون من كتابته، ويظل هذا الحجاب معلقا في رقبة الطفل أو تحت إبطه حتى يكمل عامه السابع، وهنا يكون في مأمن من أذى قرينة أمه وهذه العهود السبع - كما يذهب الاعتقاد - هي عبارة عن عهد أخذه سيدنا سليمان على أم الصبيان (ملكة الأقران). بعد أن أمسك ذات يوم بها، ولم يخلصها من قبضته إلا بعد أن أعطته هذا العهد بألا تمس أبدا الطفل الذي يحمل هذه العهود في رقبته (الجوهري ١٩٨٨: ٤٣٠).

ثانيا: الممارسات الشعبية لوقاية الأطفال من الحسد

يبدو أن الممارسات السابقة التي ترتكن على معتقدات أفراد المجتمع - وخاصة النساء - تحاول أن تؤكد على العلاقة المباشرة بين طفل المهد والكائنات الغيبية، ولعل ذلك يرجع إلى أن الحالة التي يكون عليها من حيث حركته وهيئته، وكذا ظهوره إلى الحياة دون إطلاع على طبيعة حياته قبل هذا الظهور. وكأنه قد أتى من عالم يحاط ببعض الأسرار، عالم غيبي غير منظور. وهو ما يؤهل أفكار الناس لتصورات ومعتقدات تؤكد على حتمية اتصال الطفل بعالمه الأول دون الانفصال السريع عنه الأمر الذي يفيد بتدرج الانفصال عن عالم الغيب وما يضمه من كائنات، حتى اليوم السابع لميلاده وكأن هذا اليوم هو بداية اندماجه الصريح بالحياه والإحياء وأيضا بداية انفصاله عن عالمه الأول، ففي هذا اليوم يزال عن جسده ما علق به من عالمه الأول (يستحم) كما

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[٩] إخبارية رقم (٣).

[١٠] ما يتئزيش: لا يؤذي، مسبعش: لم يمر سبعة أيام. إخبارية رقم (٣).

يصبح له اسما ينادي به ويتم هذا في شكل احتفالي يبدي فيه البشر المقربون سعادتهم باستقباله بالعالم المنظور وانعزاله أو انفصاله التدريجي عن عالمه الغيبي.

ولعل ذلك أيضا هو الذي ترتبت عليه المحاولات الجادة من أم الطفل أن ترضي قرينتها (أختها)، وألا تستثير غضبها في الفترة ما بين الوضع ومرور أسبوع على ميلاد الطفل. وبعد الاعتراف بهذا الانتقال للطفل واندماجه في عالم البشر والأحياء يصبح التأثير فيه ناتجا عنهم، والإضرار به يترتب على رؤيتهم له، واتصالهم المباشر به. ويأتي حسدهم له – حتى من أقرب المقربين إليه – متفقا مع بداية ظهور تفصيلات ملامح وجهه، ثم ابتساماته وحركاته وأفعاله وبداية سرعة حبوه وسيره على الأرض ونطقه للكلمات، كل ذلك يؤكد على تحركه نحو الاندماج في عالم الأحياء وهو ما يمكن أن يحسد عليه، من قبل المحيطين به والمطلعين على مسلكه الأمر الذي يدفع بالمعتقد الشعبي نحو إمكانية حدوث ضرر الحسد من غير المعروف عنهم والمتصفين بالحسد، فيمكن أن يأتي الضرر من غير أولئك وبدون قصد، إذ يمكن لأمه ذاتها أن تتسبب فيه أو أبيه، ومن هنا أوجب الاعتقاد تحديد بعض القواعد التي تنأى بالطفل عن ضرر المحيطين به فلا يجب التحديق في وجهه أثناء نومه، لأنه في أثناء النوم على وجه الخصوص يرتد إلى عالم الغيب ويكون في صحبة الملائكة.

كما لا يجب الاهتمام الشديد بهيئته ونظافته وحسن هندامه، حتى لا يحسده من يراه على هذه الهيئة. كذلك لا يجب تشجيعه على أن يطلع الأخرين على مهاراته في حركاته وفي نطقه للكلمات والجمل، وعن ردود أفعاله الذكية، بل يجب إخفاء كل ذلك والتعتيم عليه. كما يصح إعلان ما ليس فيه من علته الدائمة ونفوره من التهام وجباته، وحجب الرؤية عن كميات الطعام التي يلتهمها. لأن كل ذلك يدعو الأخرين إلى حسده.

يشير الواقع الميداني أنه في حالة تيقن أمه من إمكانية حدوث الضرر، من خلال متابعتها لرؤية الأخرين له في حالة يمكن أن يحسد عليها، أو بداية ظهور علامات المرض عليه وجب عليها الوقاية من ذلك أو علاجه عن طريق الرقي التي تمنع عنه تأثير الحسد. أو يمكن أن تقيه كلية من ذلك من خلال تعليق بعض الأحجبة في رقبته أو تحت إبطه لتكون الوقاية دائمة.

وقد استمدت الممارسات الشعبية المتعلقة بوقاية الأطفال من الحسد والذي يتسبب في مرض الطفل أو موته دعائمها من جذور مصرية قديمة، حيث أفادت المصادر التاريخية بأن الأم العادية في العصور القديمة في مصر لم تكن ترى طفلها في حاجة إلى مجرد الوقاية من المرض ثم علاجه، وإنما كانت ترى وجوب وقايته كذلك من الحسد ومما يحيط به من الأشباح والأرواح الشريرة (Maspero 1908) ولوقاية الأطفال منها، صيغت على مر الأيام كثير من الرقي والتعاويذ تداولت بعضها أفواه النساء، واحتفظ الرقاة والسحرة بأسرار بعضها الأخر (Petrie 1923) وقد احتفظت كتب الرقي بعدد منها تتحدث إحداها على لسان الأم لتقي طفلها شر أشباح الليل فتنذر الميت القادم ذكرا كان أم أنثى بخيبة الأمل فيما جاء يسعى إليه، من تشمم الطفل أو كتم إنفاسه، أو إيذائه أو انتزاعه، وتخوفه بأنها قد استعدت له بتميمه فيها الأذى كل الأذى له إذا أراد الطفل بسوء، حيث ضمنتها خليطا من أعشاب تورث الهلاك وبصل معطس وعسل مستحب للأحياء مر للموتى (صالح ١٩٦٦:٤٥).

ويتفق هذا مع المعلومات الميدانية التي حصلت عليها الدراسة والتي تفيد باحتفاظ بعض النساء من العجائز وكبار السن بمفردات قولية (رقوة) تذهب عن الطفل تأثير العين الشريرة فيه تقول:

"الأوله بسم الله، والثانية بسم الله، والثالثة بسم الله، والرابعة بسم الله، والخامسة بسم الله، والسادسة والسابعة لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم/يا هادي الهدية، يا شافي الشفية تمنع النفس الرضية. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، رقيتك واسترقيتك من عين المرة حربه مصوره، ومن عين البنت فيها خشت، ومن عين الراجل أحد من المناجل، ومن عين الولد فيها وتد، ومن عين الجارة

السو النكارة، ومن عين اللى شافوك ونضروك ومصلوش على النبي، لا صلى الله عليهم ولا على والديهم مرجوع السو عليهم".

وعلى االرغم مما يبديه هذا النص من التواصل بين المصريين المحدثين وأسلافهم القدماء إلا أنه يلاحظ قدرة المادة الشعبية على التوافق مع روح وعقل ووجدان العصر، حيث لم يعد لأرواح الموتى أي دور في إيذاء الطفل، بل يقتصر هذا الدور على الأحياء المقربين إليه وغير القربين. كما انتشرت بالنص المفردات المتعلقة بالتودد إلى الخالق ورسوله في درء الحسد عن الطفل وهو أحلال يتفق مع الدين الإسلامي حتى تسمح تعاليمه بمرور هذه المعتقدات والممارسات المتعلقة بها.

ثالثا: الممارسات الشعبية المرتبطة بمنع تكرار موت الأطفال

تشير المعلومات الميدانية بأن الضرر الذي يقع على الأسرة من جراء تكرار موت أطفالها يلزم أهله - وخاصة أمه - باللجوء إلى بعض الممارسات حتى لا يقع نفس الضرر على الطفل الوليد، ويلحق بإخوانه أو أخواته الذين سبقوه. ويبدو من خلال تلك الممارسات أن أصابع الاتهام تشير إلى تمكن فعل الحسد من الأطفال بحيث يقضي عليهم، ومن هنا وقع الاختيار على ممارسات بعينها تدرأ الحسد عن المولود الجديد. وفيما يلي عرض لتلك الممارسات:

١) إعلان مخالفة الجنس:

وكما سبق أن ذكرنا فإن حاجة الأسرة إلى الطفل الذكر تتفوق بكثير عن حاجتهم إلى الأنثى. وهو الأمر الذي يدفع بحسد الطفل الذكر مما يتسبب في تكرار موت الذكور. ولذا يذهب الاعتقاد نحو لزوم إعلان مخالفة جنس الذكر، من خلال الادعاء بغير حقيقة نوع المولود إذا كان ذكرا. وإمعانا في التأكيد على ذلك يتم ثقب أذنيه وتعليق قرطا فيهما. فضلا عن إلباسه ما يدل على انتسابه إلى جنس الإناث لمدة قد تطول لتصل إلى ثلاث سنوات. ولعل هذا الإعلان في مرحلته الأولى (عند الرضع) يكون مباشرا لدرء ردود الأفعال الحاسدة في إيقاع الضرر. غير أنه في مرحلته الثانية بعد تكشف حقيقة جنس المولود يصبح غير مباشر إذ لعله في هذه الحالة يرمي إلى تشوية حالة الطفل الذكر بإلباسة ما يخالف نوعه، وهو ما يحول الأعين الحاسدة إلى موضوع آخر يصرفهم عن التركيز في حسده، وأن حالة المخالفة التي هو عليها تدعو إلى الإشفاق عليه أو التهكم على حالته وكل ذلك يدرأ الخطر عنه.

٢) تشويه الاسم:

تفيد المصادر التاريخية بأن اختيار بعض الأمهات في مصر القديمة لأسماء أطفالهن، يرتبط في بعض الأحيان بمحاولتهن درء الحسد عن أطفالهن أو لضمان عدم تكرار موتهم، مثل "جار" أي عقرب، و"نرخيسو" أي ماأعرفوش أو "بورخف" أي العبيط. ويذهب عبد العزيز صالح في أن أمثال هذه الأسماء كانت تعمل عملها في التهوين من شأن أصحابها في أنفسهم، وفي نفوس من يتعاملون معهم، ويضيف أن انتشار هذه الأسماء أغلب الظن كان أكثر انتشارا في الأوساط الدنيا منها في الأوساط المثقفة (صالح ٢١:١٩٦٦). ويتفق هذا كل الاتفاق مع أسماء أطلقت في مجتمع الدراسة وفي مصر بصفة عامة ك"خيشة" أو "أبو خيشة" و"أبو شوال". و"بخاطره"، و"بخاطرها". ولعل الاسمين الأخرين يشيران إلى أنهما ليس هناك أي درجة اهتمام بهما.

كذلك فإن هناك بعض الأسماء التي تطلق اتفاقا مع تلك المفاهيم ويعبر بها أهل الطفل عن حاجاتهم الماسه إليه وهم بذلك يستعطفون خالقه في الإبقاء عليه ك"شحته" و"شحاته" و"مشحوت" وجميعها تفيد بأن أهله يتسولونه من خالقه كإعلان عن خلو دارهم من الأطفال.

٣) تشويه هيئة الطفل، وأطلاع الأخرين عليها:

يطلق أفراد مجتمع الدراسة على تلك الممارسة "التجريس" أو "أبو الريش" وتتم هذه الممارسة بعد أن يتم عامه الثالث وحتى السابع، إذ يقوم أهله بإركابه حمارا بشكل مقلوب أي

يواجه مؤخرة الحمار على غير العادة، ثم يمسك بيديه قرص من روث البهائم الجاف، ويلبس على رأسه تاجا من ريش الطيور وتشوه هيئته وملابسه. ويقوم أحد الكبار بإسناده أثناء سير الحمار في شوارع القرية والذي يسحبه أحد الأطفال ليمر بكثير من الشوارع ويحيط الأطفال بالحمار والطفل منشدين "يابو الريش" إنشاله تعيش".

يذهب الكسندر فودور في بحثه عن ظاهرة أبو الريش هذه أنها ترتكن على معتقدات مصرية قديمة ويقارب فيما بين حالة الطفل والإله "بس". الإله القزم الذي كان يدعو إلى السخرية وإضفاء جو من المرح، ويدلل على ذلك من خلال الهيئة التي كان يظهر بها الإله "بس" في الرسوم الجدارية حيث كان يرتدي تاجا من الريش، كما هو الحال بالنسبة لهذه الأطفال. وأيا ما كان الأمر فإن الممارسة تدعو إلى تشويه حال الطفل بدرجة تدرأ عنه حسد الحاسدين الذين يطلعون على حالته تلك فيمتنعون عن إيذائه.

٤) قيام الأم بأفعال مخالفة لانتماءها الطبقي:

بالإضافة إلى ما سبق فعلى الأم – كما يوجب الاعتقاد – أن تعلن عن مدى حاجتها إلى طفلها الرضيع بأن تقوم – على عكس إرادتها وعاداتها – بتقمص دور الشحاذه التي تمر على أبواب الناس لتشحذ منهم. وتتخذ الممارسة بعض الأشكال، أولها أن تمر على سبعة دور يحمل صاحبها اسم محمد وتشحذ من كل منهم قرشا مخروما، لتقوم بعد ذلك بتعليقهم في رقبة الطفل على شكل عقد يلبسه الطفل، لتستقر القروش تحت أحد إبطيه. كذلك فيمكن لها أن تعطي تلك القروش إلى الحداد ليحولها إلى شكل خلخال يلبسه الطفل في أحد قدميه. وأيضا يسمح الاعتقاد بأن تدفع بالقروش إلى أحد العرافين الذي تلجأ إليه لعمل حجاب يلبسه الطفل.

وتشير تلك الحرية في التصرف في القروش أن الهدف ينصب على أن تقوم الأم بافتعال دور الشحاذه، وهو ما يؤكد على إعلانها عن استعدادها لتشويه هيئتها ومكانتها الاجتماعية في مقابل أن يبقى لها وليدها. وهو ما تؤكد عليه البدائل الأخرى لقيامها بهذا الفعل إذ تذهب الإخباريات إلى إمكان استبدال شحذ القروش بشحذ عادي كما يفعل الشحاذون العاديون. حيث تحمل الأم وليدها على يديها مصطحبة معها سيدة من الفقراء وتطلب بنفسها من أصحاب الدور التي تمر عليها "حسنة للشحات" فتقول "ادينى حسنة للشحات" ليعطيها الناس ما تعودوا إعطاءه للشحاذين ككسرة خبز أو رغيف منه أو أي شيء، لتأخذه بيديها وتعطيه لرفيقة سيرها لتضعه في الإناء الذي معها. وكما يفيد الاعتقاد بأنه ليس هناك إجبار بأن تستحوذ على ما تم لها شحاذته فيمكن بل غالبا ما تتنازل عنه لرفيقتها – الفقيرة في أغلب الأحيان – وهذا ما يؤكد على أن الغرض ينصب بقيام الأم بالفعل الذي يؤكد على حاجتها الملحة إلى بقاء طفلها، الأمر الذي يدفعها إلى أن تفتعل هذا الدور الذي لا يتناسب مع مكانتها الاجتماعية. وكأنها بذلك تثبت جدارتها به من خلال قيامها بهذا الدور الصعب.

يسير في هذا الاتجاه ما أشارت إليه الإخباريات بأنه يجب على الأم إذا تكرر موت أبنائها الذكور أن تحرص على أن تلبس المولود الذكر الجديد ملابس لا تشتريها من مالها أو مال أبيه، بل تستعين بملابس تشحذها ممن لديهم، وتستمر على هذا الحال إلى أن يصل سن الطفل إلى عامين أو ثلاثه.

وهذه الممارسات جميعها تؤكد على استمرار تشويه الحالة الاقتصادية والإمكانات المادية لأهل الطفل ليعلنوا بذلك للخالق وللناس مدى حاجتهم إليه، ومدى حرصهم على وجوده بينهم لعلهم بذلك يمعون الأخطار عنه.

الخلاصة

تخلص هذه الورقة البحثية بعد استعراضها لموضوعها إلى النتائج التالية:

١) تتأثر بعض جوانب ثقافة المصريين المحدثين بالمعتقدات التي كانت تسري بين أسلافهم القدماء بشكل يؤكد على التواصل الثقافي فيما بينهم إذ يدعو إليه ويحققه المكان الواحد، على الرغم من فعل الزمان المتغير، شريطة ألا تتدخل عوامل مستحدثة في التأثير على جوانب هذا التواصل.

٢) تحتفظ بعض النساء من كبيرات السن، غير المتعلمات، وتحاولن المحافظة على الجوانب المختلفة للممارسات الشعبية المتعلقة بالوقاية من مرض الأطفال أو علاجهم، في حين لا تلقى هذه الأفكار نفس الاستجابة عند الرجال. وقد يرجع ذلك إلى الوضع الذي احتلته المراة في مجتمع القرية، حيث لا تتسع دائرة اتصالها اليومي إلا في حدود ضيقة على خلاف مع الرجل. وتحاول العجائز الآن الترويج لتلك الأفكار وإعادة بثها بين غيرهن من المتعلمات، إلا أنها لا تلقى نفس القدر من الاستجابة الذي كان منذ أكثر من ثلاثين عاما.

٣) تشير المعلومات الميدانية إلى أن تلك المعتقدات والممارسات المتعلقة بها، تلقى رواجا وانتشارا ملموسا بين أفراد الطبقة الدنيا في مجتمع الدراسة، غير أن ذلك لم يكن يمنع صعود تلك الأفكار إلى أفراد الطبقتين الوسطى والعليا، ويأتي هذا تبعا لعدم وجود فواصل أو موانع تمنع الاتصال اليومي الحتمي بين جميع أفراد القرية.

٤) تلعب التنشئة الاجتماعية والثقافية داخل المنزل دورا ملموسا في تبني أو عدم تبني الأفكار الغيبية المتعلقة بمرض الطفل عند الفتيات والنساء المتعلمات.

وخلاصة القول يمكن القول بأن هناك تغيرا واضحا قد طرأ على الأفكار الغيبية المتعلقة بمرض الأطفال وموتهم بدرجة قد تشير إلى ملامح التخلي التام عنها في فترة قادمة لا نستطيع أن نتكهن بها. وقد دفع نحو هذا التغير وقاد إليه العوامل التالية:

أ) انتشار التعليم بين كثير من أفراد مجتمع الدراسة من الذكور والأناث، وهو ما ساهم في التخلي التدريجي عن الأفكار الغيبية والتي كان يعززها أمية الأفكار وعدم اتصالهم بالأفكار المخالفة لما كان سائدا. ويتفق هذا التدرج مع تدرج انتشار التعليم بين أفراد المجتمع منذ مطلع الخمسينات وحتى الآن.

ب) وجود الخدمات الصحية بالقرية (وحدة صحية) (أطباء من أفراد المجتمع) يمكن اللجوء إليهم، كذلك فقد أدت سهولة المواصلات إلى مدينة المركز القريبة إلى اللجوء إلى الأطباء المتخصصين بالمدينة، ولعل ذلك يشير إلى أن تلك الممارسات قد استمدت عوامل انتشارها واستقرارها بين أفراد القرية منذ العصر الفرعوني وحتى هذا العصر تبعا للحاجة الملحة لإنقاذ الطفل من الهلاك، وعندما طرح العصر الحديث إمكانات هذا الإنقاذ لم يتردد الأفراد في السير نحو هذا الاتجاه الفكري الرشيد.

ج) ساهمت أجهزة الاتصال المختلفة - المسموعة والمرئية والمقروءة - في تغيير أنماط فكر وسلوك أفراد المجتمع وخاصة ما يتعلق بموضوع هذه الورقة البحثية. كما ساهم التعليم بدور واضح في فهم الخطاب الصحي الذي تبثه تلك الأجهزة.

د) يبدو أن تغير شكل المسكن واحتوائه على إضاءة كهربائية، دفعت نحو الاقلال من وجود الأماكن المظلمة به، وهي التي كانت موطنا صالحا للتأكيد على وجود الكائنات الغيبية الأمر الذي قد يشير إلى تراجع بعض تلك الأفكار في أركان مظلمة من العقل والوجدان الجمعي.

وفي النهاية يحق لنا التنوية إلى ما أشار إليه عبد العزيز صالح في كتابه التربية والتعليم في مصر القديمة إلى أن أغلب ما عثر عليه من تمائم وأحجبة في مصر القديمة يرد إلى عصور اضمحلالها السياسي في حين يقل ما وجد منها فيما خلفته عصور الازدهار الحضاري والسياسي

(صالح ١٩٦٦: ٤٥) نرجو أن يكون ما توصلنا إليه من تغير تلك الأفكار والمفاهيم هو إشارة واضحة إلى أننا نسير نحو فترة ازدهار حضاري ... نرجو.

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المصالحة والقسر أو نهجان للتعامل مع الآخر الغير(وي)
الاتصال والتأويل

صابر العادلي

جامعة بودابست

شهد العقد الأخير من قرننا هذا ذيوع ممارستين تنتميان إلى مجالي السحر الشعبي: الرضوة، والديني الرسمي، إخراج الجن، هذا وتتفق الممارستان من حيث غايتيهما، ألا وهي استعادة اتساق الحياة وانتظامها إثر انتكاس وقع بفعل كائنات غير منظورة - شبيهة الانسان - لا تألوا جهدا في إلحاق الأذى بين البشر لسبب أو دونما سبب حبا أو غيرة، ثأرا أو حقدا وبهذا فإن الممارستين لا تختلفان في تأويل الأعراض تأويلا قائما على استقراء لمعارف تليدة وزائفة بمعايير العلم ولكنهما تتباعدان في مساحة التأويل ذاته (التعميم والاختصاص). وتختلفان في نهج الاتصال بالغير(وي) المثيل الخفي - الروحاني - الجني: وتختلفان بالضرورة في لغة الخطاب وشفرته ورموزه، وكذا في طبيعة الوسيط شيخا كان (رجل الدين) أم عرافا (منجم، ساحر)، ذكرا أم أنثى بالغا الحلم من عدمه خصبا أم انقطعت خصوبته. ومصدر الاختلاف هو المنطلقات التنظيرية لكل من الممارستين، والقائمة على مفاهيم امبريقية ترجع إلى آلاف السنين ولم يطرأ عليها تطور يذكر، وانما اعتراها من حين إلى حين - تحور ظاهرى لتصبح وصفة لكل زمان، وذلك بفعل تراكمات حضارية ثقافية دينية مقعده فرعونية محلية ووافدة مع كل من جاء إلى مصر ومعه ريـّاح التغيير التي لم تلبث وإن سكنت في العمق التاريخي للوادي.

إن هذه المعارف قد سعت وقتها - كما هو الحال اليوم - إلى تفسير العالم قصد التأثير فيه - أو على الأقل تحييد القوى المزعوم دورها عند وقوع الفشل: الترضية والمصالحة. اما النهج الثاني فهو قهر هذا القوى واخراجها عنوة، أي القسر. وتكشف الممارستين. بالأصح تعكسان بجلاء أنساقا من التوجهات والسلوكيات غيبية النزعة قائمة على تأويلات فاشلة لعلاقات جدلية مستديمة بين الثلاثي العضوي الارتباط:

الفرد ⟷ الجماعة ⟷ البيئة

تلك العلاقة التي إذا ما أصبح الفرد فيها طرفا سلبيا - مفعولا به - حسب الاصطلاح اللغوي - طغى عليه الاضطراب ويبيت ضحية عصابية فاشلة في الاضطلاع بالدور "المسند إليه" (لغة). من قبل الجماعة قسرا أو اختيارا ويجب ألا ننسى: إننا لا نستطيع تغيير (قوانين) الوجود وأقصى ما نستطيعه هو التعديل من سلوكنا (التكيف).

ولقد حدا بنا إلى توصيف الممارستين التوصيف بذاته لأهميته زمانا ومكانا، وللمعلومية، وربطنا بينها باعتبارهما مظهرا لعقيدة واحدة تحظى بعمق الإيمان الديني ليس في مصر وحدها بل في كل العالم الإسلامي: عمـّار، عفاريت، جن وأرواح[1].

إن طرحنا هنا قائم على ان استلاب المعرفة = تأويل فاشل. وغياب المعرفي يفضى إلى النقوص إلى الغيبي السلفي. والأدهى ان الرضوة والقسر هما منهجان أساسيان على مستوى الاتصال الاجتماعي إلى جانب مناهج أخرى بدرجة أقل أهمية: الاتكالية (عشوائي - ارتجالي)، المعليهشية (اللا مسئولية الكريهة)، التسويفية (تعالى بكرة).

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[1] إن أفضل توصيف لعقيدة العمار والجن والشياطين وجذورها الدينية، سر حيوتها، هو ما أورده الجاحظ في كتابه: الحيوان. وكل ما كتب بعده تزيد لا طائل من ورائه، ولقد أوردناه بحرفيته في موضعه لعظيم أهميته.

وفي طرحنا هذا نلتمس خطورة عنصري الزمان والمكان في حالتنا وإلى أي حد تعبر الجماعة - العصابية - هذه المتوسلة بالرضوة أو الساعية لإخراج الحني من أجسادها - عن الفئات الاجتماعية الأخرى. وهل تشكل هذه الجماعة تيارا معزولا أم انها وبحكم استلابها معرفيا - بحكم وضعها الاجتماعي - تشكل بارومترا لما يعتور المجتمع من تغييرات سلبية، بلغ من جسامة تأثيرها انبعاج الفرد حتى ليبحث عن تسوية ما. كما ان الممارستين تتضمنان العديد من التناظرات الباعثة على الدهشة سنعرض لها.

وإننا لنستمحي القارئ عذرا إذا ما رأى إننا نستبق بالنتائج المعطيات ولعلنا بعائدين إلى منطق تسلسل الطروحات.

الرضوة (المصالحة) عزومة.

المكان - مدينة القصر

أهم بلدان الواحات الداخلة، وآخر عمران رئيسي مصاقب للصحراء الليبية وبعدها لا يصادف المرأ إلا بعض التشرذمات السكانية الفقيرة هنا وهناك.

ومركز المدينة القديمة هو - بكل المعايير ومع الفارق - متحف (اشكنزان) فريد تماما، فلقد أضطر السكان إلى هجران مدينتهم، ديارهم القديمة بسبب تداعيها، مخلفين ديارا ذات واجهات بالغة الأصالة ذات عتبات عليا خشبية منقوشة ومنحوتة تحمل تواريخ تشييد واسماء عوائل وبنائين (معلمين) ووحدات نجمية وهي بذاتها مادة تاريخية عظيمة، ولقد أصبحت المدينة مقصدا لأناس مختلفي المشارب باحثوا انتيكات وناهبوها من كل جنس.

ولقد كانت المدينة محطة وصول لمهاجرين عرب من القرن السادس عشر تأثروا بثقافة تركية. ويتباهى الكثير من السكان بأصول عربية شريفة. وتعايش مصريين وبربر. وتوزع أصحاب الحرف من حدادين وفخارين ونساجين حول المدينة القديمة ليصلح موضوعا لابحاث جليلة النفع - وما زال القيام بها ممكنا إلى أجل قصير. وفضلا عن ملامح لغوية - بالغة الفائدة - فإن قدرا لا بأس به من السكان يقلب اللام نونا: كلب ← كنب. وأظن ذلك قد يساعد في توصيف اثنى للسكان.

الرضوة

الحالة النمطية

المكابدة: بدأ الانتكاس بفقد سيدة في الثلاثين، زوجة وأم، لأبيها وأمها وزوجة أخيها في حادث سيارة. وبدأ العصاب في شكل صداع دائم وخطرفة، هذيان، هلوسة، واعياء دائم وقرفان وغثيان، إمساك وإسهال، ونزيف -ولما بدا أن الأمور تسوء، وبناء على نصيحة الأقارب والجيران توجهت العصابية إلى "أم أحمد" آمنة السيد - امرأة في الستينات خبيرة بالتأويل والاتصال.

التأويل:

لم يكن فقدان المرأة المأساوي لوالديها فضلا عن زوجة أخيها هو العلة الحقيقية لآلامها الفظيعة. فلقد تبين لأم أحمد - إن واقعة (تافهة) تحدث لنا جميعا هي سر المكابدة، إذ حدث أثناء تشييع السيدة لجنازة أبيها أن انكفأت على وجهها لتسقط على واحد من العمار الذين تصادف وجودهم في الجنازة أو حضرها طوعا ويبدو وكأنه قد استاء أعظم الاستياء من انكفاء المسكينة عليه ودون أن تستمحيه العذر، فراح يكيل لها الكيل ويكيد كيدا.

الاتصال:

بما إن العمار على شاكلتنا - نحن البشر - وهم بالملايين فلقد ارتأت سيدة التأويل والاتصال القيام بترضية العمار كافة - وهكذا فإنه من حكم المؤكد أن الموتور من العمار سيلقى نصيبه وتطيب عينه ويهدأ خاطره.

الفعل:

الرضوة. المائدة. عزومة!

عند العصر - بحضورنا - قامت "سيدة الاتصال والتأويل" بالوضوء على عجل ودون كبير تدقيق. ثم انتصبت الصينية فوق طبلية كانت متوارية في الفناء الداخلي للدار. وحيث كانت زكائب الغلال تستند على جدران الدار المشيدة من اللبن. ذلك ان المؤولة كانت تكسب قوتها من الأتجار بالغلال. بدت الصينية وقد احتشد عليها ثلاثة ارغفة، قطعة من الجبن القديم، طاجن بطاطس، طبق من الباذنجان المطبوخ، حزمتين من البصل الأخضر والفجل، كما ازدانت الصينية بالسكويت والتمر والعجوة والحلاوة الطحينية. حتى لوازم الكيف: ورقة معسل، علبة سجائر، علبة كبريت. وخلت الصينية من اللحم تماما. وكان هناك كوز نحاس للشرب وقد كانت صاحبة الحاجة قد ارسلت بالأطعمة التي ذكرناها مع ثوب من أثوابها خلعته لفورها. كما ولا تتردد أم أحمد الوسيط في إثراء الصينية بما تراه ضروريا، أو متوفرا من خير دارها.

إن الصينية بشكلها هذا يجب إن تذكرنا "بموائد القاربين" من مصر الفرعونية، والتي استمرت حتى يومنا هذا في حفلات السبوع خاصة[٢]. وكانت تقدم ترضية لملائكة حارسة للوليد تغادره في اليوم السابع من مولده. الغربال هو آخر تحوراتها.

السيراج:

بعد إن تنتصب الصينية عامرة تعمد "الوسيط" إلى جلباب "صاحبة الحاجة" العصابية، فتضعه على فخذيها وهي في وضع التشهد - مذكرة بوضع الكاهن - ثم تبدأ بمهارة المدرب الخبير في تشكيل سراج من دقيق القمح بعجنة بالماء. ولا يتجاوز حجمه - بحكم الضرورة - قبضة اليد وتنتهي من ذلك في لمح البصر ويكتمل هذا بفتيل من الصوف عادة ثم يصب فيه شيئ من زيت الزيتون أو يوضع فيه قطعة من ليه خروف، ثم يشعل ويتوسط الصينية التي تكون به قد اكتملت.

دعوة العمار: الاتصال... لغة الخطاب. شفرتة.

بعد اشعال السراج تبدأ الوسيط في دعوة العمار إلى وليمتها - الرضوة - "يا مرة الخفير"، "يا مرة العمدة"، "يا مرة القاضي"، "يا مرة الحكيم"، "يا مرة الحداد"، "يا مرة التاجر" (تقصد امرأة كل من المذكورين بمعنى زوجته). ثم تنثني بدعوة العمدة والخفير والحداد (الأزواج). ويبدو إن هناك نظام سلطوي هرمي معكوس نسوي أولا ثم ذكوري ليفسر بنوية "العمار" - الآخر وهذه النقطة بحاجة إلى مزيد من المتابعة قصد استجلاء هذا التصور، ولا نظن أن الوسيط هو العامل الحاسم فإنها انما تلوك موروثها فحسب وغير واعية بكنهه.

وعن السراج أيضا

وتلح الأطراف المشاركة في "الرضوة" على ضرورة إن يكون الدقيقي المصنوع منه السراج من عادم الطواحين ولا يؤخذ قط من مخلاة. وأن يكون من غلة تاجر مطفف جشع. وبالنسبة للشرط الأول نسوق التبرير التالي: إن كل ما يسقط على الأرض وليصعب التقاطه من جديد هو "رزق الأرض" أي العمار الساكنين في بطنها (تحت الأرض) - وبالنسبة للشرط الثاني فإنه لا ليسعنا الا الافتراض بانه الانتقام من الظالمين بحرق غلتهم (التضامن الاجتماعي). الظاهر إن السراج نبع من ممارسة "الرضوة" في حاله الحسد فهو عوض عن النار التي يحرق فيها حجر الشب. كما ان السراج بات يستخدم ضد العين في هذه المنطقة على الأقل. ذلك انه يوضع على رأس المحسود اثناء "رقيته" وبعدها يحمل إلى أول تقاطع ليرمي إلى "كلب أسود ضال" ليأكله. سحر تعاطفي - ويسير به حامله بظهره - المقلوبية - اذ تنقل العين إلى الكلب بواسط السراج واحيانا يؤخذ السراج إلى الجبانة، ويترك مشتعلا هناك. في مقبره شيخ - واحتمال ان يكون لذلك صلة بالاستخدام الواسع في كل مصر والعالم لنذر الشموع - وشباك ضريح سيدي نصر الدين في أول

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[٢] راجع شوقي عبد القوي ١٩٩٤. والمعلومة * جدا عن الملائكة تحيط بالوليد حتى اليوم السابع. ملاحظة رقم ٢٨.
El-Adly 1981: 48, Kriss & Kriss 1962: 25.

شارع الهرم لا يخلو قط من شموع النذور المحترقة وغيره بالآلاف من السيدة زينب إلى سيدنا الحسين وذكرنا نصر الدين لان صيتة بدأ في الذيوع على اعتبار من عدم تخصصه فهو يشفع لمريده في كل الحالات.

وتوجه "الوسيط" الدعوة إلى العمار هؤلاء وهي لا تعدم التلطف المنافق المتسائل: "عملنا فيكم ايه؟ ذنبنا ايه؟ سامحونا والنبي ثم عينت وسائل الوصول: الحمير والجمال ثم العربات والقطار والتاكسي! ايضا. واخيرا سألتهم المجئ بالطائرة!! واقصى الأماكن بعدا كانت اسيوط والمنيا، ولم تذكر مناطق قريبة مثل تنيده وبلاط ولا حتى الخارجة: (الشيخ البعيد سره باتع). لقد كانت تقوم بمهمتها ببساطة وكأنها تتحدث عن طلوع الشمس وآخر الأخبار.

وكان المساء قد حل بالغروب فقامت بحمل الصينية رافعة إياها بيدها وفي مواجهة عينها. وصعدت إلى سطح الدار. ودفعت بكتفها الأيسر باب "مندرة" وهي داخلة - وحدها - ثم ما لبث أن خرجت وقد وضعت مائدتها على حصيرة في الداخل. وظلت صامتة وقد أغلقت الباب من ورائها، وعندما نزلت بدأت الحديث وكان شيئا لم يحدث.

التوديع: انصراف العمار

بعد صلاة العشاء صعدت إلى المندرة ودلفت بهدوء وقد قرأت السلام: تفضلوا روحوا بالسلامة كل واحد على بلده. وصرفت جبرايل أيضا، وإن لم تكن قد دعته. وغنى عن البيان إن الصينية كانت عشاء عائلة الوسيط في هذا المساء. في الصباح أعيد الثوب إلى صاحبته. وأمل الجميع في الشفاء بعد المصالحة المتوجة بالوليمة. عند فشل الممارسة في تحقيق أهدافها فإن أسبابا جاهزة تقدم للتبرير Hammond 1975: 269-70.

هذا وتتكرر الرضوة "العزومة" إذا بقت الأعراض العصابية على حالها وإذا ساءت الأمور شد الناس رحالهم إلى القاهرة تحديدا إلى مسجد عمر بن الخطاب.

مكابدة الرجال:

على غير بعيد من مسرح الرضوة. بعد العشاء وفي بيت خال تقريبا من دلالات الفقر، اجتمع شمل رجال متعلمين وأشباه متعلمين وغير متعلمين من سكان القصر، ولم تكن الملامح البربرية غائبة تماما. وخاصة على سيماء مضيفنا. وكان ولداه الفتيان يدخلان من حين لآخر بالشاي والفول السوداني وما أشبه. ودار الحديث عن الرضوة وابتسم الجميع وكأنها أمور نسائية أو تعني الأطفال أيضا. ورويدا رويدا بدأت الأمور تتضح. فلقد قابلنا هنا تأويلا نظيرا، لمكابدة (رجولية) فبعد عامين من زواج مضيفيا بدأت المتاعب تلاحقه. قضية مع الحكومة متاعب في أمور العيش شجار مع الزوجة واهلها عدم توفيق الأولاد في دراستهم ووهن بدا يحل به (كان بادي الترهل). والقضية أن امرأة من "العمار" قد شغفت به. وبدأت المطاردة الأليمة كلما هم بمواقعة زوجة فعلى التو كانت الأخرى "العمار" تنشق عنها الأرض وتطل من الحائط وسقف الدار.فتلهيه عن امرأته (كان الحضور وكأنهم يحسدونه بالأصح يغبطونه وكأنه كان مختارا، رغم مكابدته). ونصحه الناصحون بالتوجه إلى القاهرة إلى مسجد عمر بن الخطاب وقد كان.

ولسنا نعرف توصيفا لعقيدة العمار وما شابههم أصدق وأشمل ويرتكز على دعائم دينية، كتوصيف الجاحظ الأريب، والذي وضع رأيه على لسان رواته حتى لا يلقي مصير الحلاج. وإليكم ما كتبه الجاحظ (الحيوان ٤٢١ وما بعدها):

"وهم يتأولون قوله تعالى: ﴿وشاركهم في الأموال والأولاد﴾ [٣] وقوله عز وجل: ﴿لم يطمثهن إنس قبلهم ولا جان﴾ [٤]، فلو كان الجان لم يصب فيهن قط، ولم يأتهن، ولا كان ذلك مما يجوز بين

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[٣] من الآية ٦٤ من سورة الإسراء.

[٤] الآية ٧٤ وآخر الآية ٥٦ من سورة الرحمن.

الجن وبين النساء الآداميات، لم يقل ذلك. وتأويل قوله: ﴿وأنه كان رجال من الإنس يعوذون برجال من الجن﴾ [٥]، فجعل منهن النساء إذ جعل منهم الرجال، وقوله: ﴿أتتخذوه وذريته﴾.

وزعم ابن الأعرابي قال: دعا أعرابي ربه فقال: اللهم إني أعوذ بك من عفاريت الجن، اللهم لا تشركهم في ولدي، ولا في جسدي، ولا دمي، ولا مالي، ولا تدخلهم بيتي ولا تجعلهم لي شركاء في أمر الدنيا والآخرة. قالوا: ودعا زهير بن هنيد، فقال: اللهم لا تسلطهم على نطفي، ولا على جسدي. قال أبو عبيدة: فقيل له: لم تدعو بهذا الدعاء؟ قال: فكيف لا أدعو به، وأنا أسمع أيوب النبي، والله تعالى يخبر عنه، ويقول: ﴿وأذكر عبدنا أيوب نادي ربه أني مسني الشيطان بنصب وعذاب﴾ [٦]. حتى قيل له: ﴿أركض برجلك هذا مغتسل بارد وشراب﴾ [٧]، وكيف لا أستعيذ بالله منه وأنا أسمع الله يقول: ﴿الذين يأكلون الربا لا يقومون إلا كما يقوم الذي يتخبطه الشيطان من المس﴾ [٨]، وأسمعه يقول: ﴿وإذ زين لهم الشيطان أعمالهم وقال لا غالب لكم اليوم من الناس وإني جار لكم فلما تراءت الفئتان نكص على عقبيه وقال إني بريء منكم إني أرى ما لا ترون﴾ [٩] وقد جاءكم في صورة الشيخ النجدي، وكيف لا أستعيذ بالله منه، وأنا أسمع الله يقول: ﴿ولقد جعلنا في السماء بروجا وزيناها للناظرين. وحفظناها من كل شيطان رجيم. إلا من استرق السمع فأتبعه شياب مبين﴾ [١٠] وكيف لا أستعيذ بالله منه، وأنا أسمع الله يقول: ﴿ولسليمان الريح غدوها شهر ورواحها شهر وأسلنا له عين القطر ومن الجن من يعمل بين يديه بإذن ربه﴾ [١١]، ثم قال: ﴿يعملون له ما يشاء من محاريب وتماثيل وجفان كالجواب وقدور راسيات﴾ [١٢]، وكيف لا أستعيذ بالله منه، وأنا أسمع الله يقول: ﴿قال عفريت من الجن أنا آتيك به قبل أن تقوم من مقامك وإني عليه لقوى أمين﴾ [١٣]، وكيف لا أستعيذ بالله منه، وأنا أسمع الله يقول: ﴿رب أغفر لي وهب لي ملكا لا ينبغي لأحد من بعدي إنك أنت الوهاب. فسخرنا له الريح تجري بأمره رخاء حيث أصاب. والشياطين كل بناء وغواص. وآخرين مقرنين في الأصفاد﴾ [١٤]. والأعراب يتزيدون في هذا الباب، وأشباه الأعراب يغلطون فيه، وبعض أصحاب التأويل يجوز فيه ما لا يجوز، وقد قلنا في كتاب النبوات بما هو كاف إن شاء الله تعالى. وسيقع في هذا الباب الجواب فيه تاما إذا صرنا إلى القول في الملائكة، وفي فرق ما بين الجن والإنس. وأما هذا الموضع فإنما مغزانا فيه الإخبار عن مذاهب الأعراب، وشعراء العرب. ولولا العلم بالكلام، وبما يجوز مما لا يجوز، لكان في دون إطباقهم على هذه الأحاديث، ما يغلط فيه العاقل."

مكابدة الرجال:

التأويل - الجمعي. الحالة الراهنة

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[٥] أول الآية ٧ من سورة الجن.

[٦] الآية ٤١ من سورة ص.

[٧] الآية ٤٢ من ص.

[٨] أول الآية ٢٧ من سورة البقرة.

[٩] أول الآية ٤٨ من سورة الأنفال.

[١٠] الآيات ١٨،١٧،١٢ من سورة الحجر.

[١١] أول الآية ١٢ من سورة سبأ.

[١٢] أول الآية ١٣ من سورة سبأ.

[١٣] الآية ٣٩ من سورة النمل.

[١٤] الآيات ٣٥، ٣٦، ٣٧، ٣٨ من سورة طه.

إن امرأة العمار العاشقة والغيورة والتواقة إلى الاستئثار برجلها (الأدمي) لم تألوا جهدا في تنغيص عيشه (الحيلولة بينه وبين امرأته - العجز الجنسي). هو معوق فحسب وليس عنينا. وهو يتوق إليها - ولكنها - مدفوعة بغيرتها - تراوغه فكلما بدا وكأنه على قاب قوسين أو أدنى من وصالها ابتلعتها الأرض! وهي تفسد علاقة الرجل بأهله والناس والسلطة غيرة وتعاقبه مدفوعة بغيرها.

الموقف:

اللجوء إلى القسر - قهر الآخر

المكان:

يلعب رقم ١٠٠٠ دورا هما في العقلية العربية بعامة، ألف ليلة وليلة وفي مصر عرفنا ألفية القاهرة، ثم الألف كتاب الأولى، والثانية وبدون استفاضة - فهذا موضوع آخر - ظهر ما يسمى الألف مسجد ويحمل واحد منها اسم عمر بن الخطاب، وقد تحول هذا بعد بنائه بقليل مقرا لممارسة علاجية (سحرية)، تقوم على "إخراج الجني" الساكن في الأدمي مسببا مكابدة عجز الطب عن علاجها. كما وقد بينا.

الممارسة. الفعل.

بعد الفراغ من صلاة العصر كل يوم أربعاء ينصرف المصلون (الأصحاء) من المسجد إياه. ويتخلف طالبو الشفاء من رجال ونساء كل في رواق منفصل. ثم لا يلبث أن يظهر شيخ وهو ليس أبدا إمام المسجد. ويستفسر عن علة كل (عصابي) وبعميق خبرته وحدة بصيرته وبانكشاف المستور أمامه يقرر وان كان أن كانت العصابي، العصابية أهل للممارسة (السحرية) العلاجية. ذلك أنه إذا ارتأى أن معاناة المريض عضوية صرفه إلى الطب. وأما هؤلاء الممسوسين (مسهم عفريت أو جن) والمركوبين (راكبه عفريت) وانظروا عبارة اللعن الذائعة (جاك عفريت يركبك) ليجيء عفريت ليركبك. وكل هؤلاء الذين يبدوا أنهم قد عجزوا عن التكيف، والمحرومين من دور اجتماعي، وغير المشبعين عاطفيا وجسديا فهؤلاء تصرف لهم تذكرة علاج يعاودون بها الحضور إلى جلسات الأربعاء هذه بعد صلاة العصر. ولما كان هناك طابور من راغبي العلاج فإن حشد الوافدين من الأقاليم تصرف لهم تذاكر فورية وليس عليهم الأنتظار.

التأويل:

إن التأويل يقوم على الزعم بحلول العمار ىالعفاريت والجن جسديا (مركوب) أو روحيا (ممسوس) بفعل - الغيروي - الأخر - المثيلي الشبيه بالانسان ولكن في الأغلب خفى والذي يظهر أحيانا - (غوله شعرها كذا وكذا النداهة. المتربصة بالرجال والنساء المنفردة وائدة على الشاطئ وفي الفلوات والصحاري في المناطق الأخرى. والتي تهرب لو صاح ديك، أو أذن لصلاة الفجر، أو التقى الأدمي بآخر وتوجه الأخير إليه بالحديث - وفي كل الحالات التي عرفتها فإن الضحايا كانوا يمرون اذ ذاك بازمات حادة (الفقد بالغياب وبالموت، وبالاقدار القاسية، المصائب والكوارث ... الخ.)[١٥]

الفعل:

على عكس الرضوة التي تقوم على مبدأ مصالحة الأخر (نفاقة، رشوته، أكل العيش والملح. الظهور بمظهر المستضعف امامه) وأصدق تعبير عنه عندما تسوي النسوة خلافاتها العائلية بتقديم (كعك الطلعة) لبعضهن البعض. والذي بمجرد القبول به تعود المياه إلى مجاريها فورا. وكأنها شيئا

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[١٥] عن الغولة والنداهة وغيره انظر: العادلي ١٩٩٤. وثمة تناول أدبي لـ"النداهة" في مجموعة قصصية للكاتب الكبير يوسف إدريس تحمل نفس الاسم. وانظر حواس والعادلي ١٩٧٠ خاصة عن مفهوم "المخاوي".

لم يحدث[١٦] وينعكس هذا السلوك الاجتماعي أيضا في عادة تقديم "الطعام الاحتفالي" للأقارب والجيران.

وهناك التقاليد البدوية العتيدة في إقراء الضيف، كما انه من الاعراف المقبولة تماما تقديم الفلاحين الهدايا من بط وأوز ودواجن وفواكه لهؤلاء الذين يرجون مساعدتهم من أهل الحل والعقد. وهناك المأثور "النبي قبل الهدية".

أما إخراج الجن فإنه لا يتم في الإطار التصالحي التفاوضي الساعي إلى تهدأة الخلاف والمعايشة. إنه على النقيض تماما إنه يعرف العلة وبيت الداء. لا يتعايش مع الآخر بل يلفظه لفظ الجسد للعضو الغريب - إنه البتر والاستبعاد. التفوق والتسلط إنه الوعي بالذات والمعرفة بالآخر. (وكل هذا صحيح على زيفة الظاهري - انطلاقا من فشل التأويل لاستلاب المعرفة، كنهة العلة. ويأتي الموقف - الفعل بقدر الزيف. والآن ما هو نهج التأويل الثاني مع - الغيروي. قوام العلاج هنا "تعازيم" في أصلها نصوص قرآنية حرفت أما عن جهالة وأما قصد ان تلائم الحالة:

أنموذج:

١- أخرج أخرج مدحورا (الملبوسة هنا امرأة انتهى بها العصاب إلى شبه الشلل)
٢- أخرج أخرج منها
٣- ارفع يدك اليمنى
٤- ارفع يدك اليسرى
٥- استعد للخروج منها
٦- يا عدو الله
٧- يا سبب الأمراض العضوية
٨- الفشل الكلوي
٩- أخرج أخرج
١٠- بحق الله العظيم بحق من تجلى
١١- أخرج يا لعين (توظيف اللعن - الكلمة)
١٢- اقسم عليك بالله العظيم...

أنموذج ب:

ب/١ - خذوة فغلوه (سورة الحاقة آية ٣٠)
ب/٢- ثم في السلسلة سبعون ذراعا (الأصل: ثم في سلسلة ذراعها سبعون ذراعا فسلكوه)٣٢.
ب/٣- ان كان لا يؤمن بالله العظيم (الأصل: إنه ... آية ٣٣)

أنموذج ج:

ج/١- ان شجرة الزقوم طعام الأثيم فاخرج يا لعين (محرفة عن الصافات ٣٧ آية ٦٢)
الأصل: إنها شجرة تخرج من أصل الجحيم
ج/٢- إلى سواء الجحيم
ج/٣- ثم صبوا فوق رأسه من عذاب الجحيم
ج/٤- لهم شراب من حميم (الأنعام ٧٠ آية ٧٠)[١٧]

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[١٦] بلاكمان ١٩٩٥: ٩٨. Westermarck 1926: 11; Lane 1978: 223 ff.

[١٧] عن القسر وإكراه الآلهة نفسها على الانصياع لرغبة الكاهن-الانسان وتقاليد ذلك في مصر القديمة انظر Budge 1979. تحريرا عن لفظ بعض الكلمات وأسماء بعينها بطريقة خاصة مع تكييف طبقات الصوت لتحقيق الشفاء ولاقتلاع الجني الروح.

يقوم الشيخ بالقاء الآيات المذكورة وفق قواعد تجعل وقعها وجرسها بالغ التأثير رافعا وخافضا من طبقات صوته حسب المقام وموقع الكلمة متوجها بها إلى مريض بعينه أو مريضة بحضور الآخرين. وعندما يبدأ (العفريت) المتقمص للانسان في الاستجابة للاوامر ٢-٣، ٩-٤، فإن صياحا هستيريا يسود المكان وتُطلق الهتافات من كل حنجرة ثم يهمد الجميع وقد تبللوا بعرقهم.

الجذور: لا تظن أن هناك من لم يسمع بالأصول التي تقوم عليها الممارسة السابقة فما من قرية مصرية تخلو - في زمان ما - من انسان يستلب العقل منه فيروح في هياج مؤذ لنفس وللآخر ولا يلبث أولو الأمر ان يتخذوا القرار بدعوة الشيخ فلان من ناحية كذا لتخليص صاحبنا من واحد من العمار أو واحدة - ولقد شهدت بعيني رأسي "شيخ تلوانه" الشيخ راشد. (كان كفيف البصر، متزوجا من أربع نساء وحسب زعم أقراني وقتها فان النسوة من زوجاته كانت خبيرة في اقتناص كل المعلومات عن رائدات الشيخ وزبائنه باندساسهن بينهن وكأنهن من طلاب الحاجات أيضا ولقد سهل هذا من دعم شهرة الشيخ خاصة في مسائل العرافة.

ومن سرق أوزة من!؟ وأين الغائب؟ ومساعدة المحرومة من نعمة الخلف... الخ... وهؤلاء كن قادرات على إثبات خصوبتهن بفعل "صوفة" كان يطلب منهن لبسها - في الرحم - طبعا وكانت الصوفة قطعة من قطن مندوف، ندية ودافئة، تقدم إليهن في القاعة المظلمة "ككحل العين". وكانت القرية منقسمة على نفسها بخصوص موضوع الصوفة هذا وكان البعض لا يتورع عن النيل من رجولة أزواج هؤلاء.

كان الشيخ ينتقل بركب من الحمير إلى القرى المجاورة - وفي الخمسينات كان علية القوم يقصدونه من قبلى وبحرى. فكان يقف على حواف السواقي ويعزم وبعدها يخرج الغطاسون بجثث الفرقى أو القتلى، يقال ان القاتل كان يلجأ إليه طلبا لكتمانه. ولقد أمر بإطفاء "مصباح الجاز" في القاعة فاستحالت قطعة من الليل. وبدأ الشيخ راشد في تعازيمه. وإذا بالهرج والمرج يسود المكان لنعرف أن جيشا من أهل العفاريت قد وصلوا. وبدأ محمد المسكين، وكان يكبرنا ببضع سنين كان في السابعة عشرة، فانقطع عن المدرسة وعنا. بدا يشكل خطرا على نفسه ومصالح أهله. بدا محمد المقيد اليدين إلى ظهره ذاهلا بفعل الزحام الذي سد المنافذ وبدا يائسا كأشد ما يكون.

بعد تعازيم طويلة مسجوعة موقعة ومؤداة على مستوى احترافي تبدي عفريت محمد - وكان مناكفا وعنيدا وزعم أن محمد قد تبول على عتبة الزريبة عند العشاء ملحقا أذى بالغا بالصغار من ابنائه، وانه لن يهدأ له بال إلا بالقضاء على الجاني، وراح الشيخ يهدده بالسجن، عبثا ولما توعده بالحرق الفوري صغر للأمر وبدا مستعدا للتفاوض. تمحكا فحسب، وزعم أنه سيخرج من جسد محمد ذاهبا ببصره - أي من عينه. واستشاط الشيخ راشد غضبا وراح يبرطم خذوة فغلوه ... شهاب ساقط ... وأشياء من هذا القبيل وبعد لجاج وأخذ ورد راح يعرض خروجه من يمناه فيزجره الشيخ، فيسراه فيهدده بالويل والثبور وبعد استيفاء كل الأماكن والمواضع المؤهلة للخروج وهي عاده نهاية الأطراف والفتحات قرر أن يخرج - بعد أن قام الشيخ راشد واشياعة بضرب محمد ضربا موجعا على أنه العفريت - قرر أن يخرج من الأصبع الصغرى لقدم محمد اليسرى. وساد صمت مترقب موحش وران على الجميع التوجس المتوتر وأشعل المصباح وأحدقت العيون بمحمد. كان أشبه بكلب نافق ملقى في ركن من "البحراية" (الجزء المنخفض من القاعة والواقع أمام الفرن) وكان أصبح رجله اليسرى مهشمة وظفرها منزوعا. وثمة من يزعم أن محمد ضرب على أعصابه فاستكان ذاهلا عن الدنيا حتى قضى أمره[١٨].

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[١٨] أوردت وينفريد بلاكمان وقائع مثيلة جرت في مطلع القرن. انظر الفصل الرابع عشر من كتابها وخاصة الصفحات ١٨٣ وما بعدها.

أن ما يجري في المسجد هذا معناه الحقيقي هو قيام مؤسسة - بالمعنى الحرفي - هدفها إخراج الجن. وهنا تكمن الأهمية الخطيرة للموضوع حقا - وليس الخطر في الأمر ذاته. ولكن هو ان قطاعا عريضا من عامة الناس يكابد مكابدة أليمة وأن هذا القطاع يكبر يوما بعد يوم والأزمة تزداد استفحالا.

ورأينا أن الأحداث التي جرت في العقود الخمسة الأخيرة ذات صلة بالظاهرة. ولست أبغي هنا إلا طرحا غير متكلف للأمور، فالعمار بصنوفهم هم برأي الآخر(وي) - الشبيه اللامرئي - المتربص بكل هفوة مكيلا الصاع صاعين. المحب الغيور، الساعي إلى السيطرة والامتلاك. وكل شعوب الأرض بحاجة إلى الآخر. (عندما انتهت الحروب الصليبية خرج الاسبان يفتشون حتى وجدوا الهنود الحمر)

والمثير أن المصريين القدامي لم يذهبوا لأبعد من سوريا وفلسطين بحثا عن الآخر. بينما وصل العرب في القرن الثامن إلى الأندلس - ليس بالدعوة فقط لكن بالوجود. فلقد كانوا أكثر تعطشا للآخر من الآخر تعطشا إليهم، فما كان عندهم لأحد حاجة. بعكس المصريين فان الآخر كان يبحث عنهم - وما زال - هكسوس، إغريق، فرس، رومان، ترك، عرب ثم الإسرائيليون. وآخرون بدرجة أقل صليبيون، فرنسيون، انجليز. والفرق هو أننا خبرنا حلول الآخر بنا، غيرنا الديانة مرتين وكذا اللغة. لقد حل بنا الآخر. والحاجة لإخراجه قسرا باتت ملحة تماما. والمشكلة أننا لا نجد وثائق تكشف عن روح الشعب في أوقات الأزمات الطاحنة. في زمان الهكسوس وغيرهم. ولكننا نعرف - مع استلاب الأجهزة المؤسساتية - للمعلومات، وحرمان الناس منها - نعرف ما يجري وجرى في الستين سنة الأخيرة ولو بالحدس - لغياب الحقيقي. ان ما جرى يمكن تلخيصه في المعادلة: الفعل ←→ النقيض الفعل المحبط، وتفسير المعادلة أن كل فعل قام على أساس من غياب المعرفة - المعلومية - انتهى إلى النقيض تماما - كانت بينولوبي تنقض غزلها في الصباح. ولكنها كانت عارفة باهدافها - كانت بحاجة إلى عنصر الزمان. أما نحن فقد كنا ننقض غزلنا غير واعين لا بالمغزل ولا بالكتان.

حدث في أوائل الأربعينات - الهزيمة وضياع فلسطين - ١٩٥٢ - إلغاء الملكية وقيام أخرى، مجئ ملوك. إصلاح زراعي ←→ تفتيت رقعة الأرض الزراعية، مجانية التعليم ←→ خصوصية التعليم (دروس خصوصية - جهالة التعليم) التعليم للقادرين، البحث عن الآخر ←→ الوحدة ←→ الانفصال، العجز ←→ حلول الأخر. في ٦٧ ←→ ٧٣ الفعل الجزئي ←→ رضوة الكيلو ١٠١ ←→ رضوة كبيرة بقنديل. حلول الأخر التام - وحل الآخر بالجيران كل الجيران وفلسطين أخرى تأتيكم من شمال بغداد.

إن الناس - في غياب الوعي المؤسس على المعرفة - قد أنهكهم الآخر البحث عن البديل، وأدركوا أن المصالحة لم تعد تجد فتيلا وبات القسر هو الفعل الوحيد - وهو على سذاجته رغبة في الفعل، وخطورته أنه يستبق الفعل الحقيقي فيجهضه.

إن إخراج الجن - المؤسساتي - هذا هو تجسيد يائس للضمير المصري الباحث عن مخرج من هذا الجني الملتبس في الجسد الاجتماعي. لقد ظللنا في الستينات نزعم أن اسرائيل ربيبة أمريكا، ثم جاء من يقول اننا لا قبل لنا بأمريكا. وقبلها كان هناك من يقرع الطاولة أمام كل أنظار العالم قائلا: نحن أكبر قوة ضربة في الشرق الأوسط. وإذا بعدو الأمس مكرما في الدار. وعاد الناس - المحرومين من المعلومات عما يجري يرون ما جرى. لقد كان الآخر تحديا عظيما - وكنا بحاجة إليه، وها هو قد التبسنا. وتصبح ساحة المسجد هي قصر "عم هاملت". والشيخ والمرضى هم الفرقة المسرحية الجائلة تسعي لإزاحة الستار عن الوقائع التي جرت.

إننا إذا نحينا جانبا الخصوبة باعتبارها جوهر البقاء الانساني فإن شاغل، هاجس الانسان الروحي - الذهني حقا كان وما زال الاتصال قصد تأويل العالم، وتغيره. ورأينا أن الاتصال يتم على محورين أولها أفقي وطرفاه هما الانسان - الانسان الآخر، وأداه الاتصال هذا الفذة هي اللغة. أما الاتصال الثاني، فرأسي قطبه الانسان والقطب الثاني هو البيئة - المحيط، كوكبنا بكل ما عليه

الكون. والهدف في الحاليين هو اكتشاف الآخر - التأويل. قصد التأثير فيه أن هذا الاتصال هو أعظم انجازات بنى الانسان وهو أكثر المسارب وعورة - انه المعرفة بنفسها.

ومنذ فجر البشرية والانسان لا يألوا جهدا في استنباط أساليب وتقنيات اتصال ظلت رهينة الصدفة والعشوائية وبنت اللحظة حتى انفصل العلم عن الدين والسحر.

قبل هذا الانفصال تصدى بشر متميزون لمهام الاتصال الذي كان جنينيا وملتبسا كنتيجة لتصورات زائفة عن الآخر، والذي - أي الآخر - ما كان ليكون الا شبيها ومثيلا للانسان ذاته. ذلك أن الانسان - بلغته وعقليته - لا يستطيع التفكير فيما يتجاوز آفاق اللغة. ولذلك فانه مهما ارتقى بالفعل واللغة فان آلهة بعض الشعوب تتسم بالجبروت والقوة وبعضها الآخر يتسم بالجلال والرحمة. فهناك آلهة البرق والرعد البراكين والطوفانات. وهناك آلهة للصيد وللحب والموت آلخ. ىهناك مارس وجوبتر وياهوا وسكة التبانة، الزهري وعطارد وزحل وإلى ما لا نهاية. والقضية هي انه بانفصال العلمي عن الديني لم يتحرر العقل بعد. فطفل المدرسة الأروبية يعرف اشتراطات سقوط المطر. ولكنه يفسر ذلك بان الاله يبكي. ونحن نخرج بالطبول والدفوف - في المصر - عند خسوف القمر لنغني يا بنات الحور، سيبوا القمر، الا القمر مسحور... ألخ. رغم أنه وفي اليوم السابق كان مدرس الجغرافية قد بذل قصاري جهده لنفهم ظاهرة الخسوف والكسوف... عبثا. ويبدو أن علة استلاب المعرفة يرجع في بعض أسبابه للانسان نفسه وليس دوما لان بعض الكيانات المؤسساتية - تسعي واعية لسلب الآخرين المعرفة لتبقى أجهزة الهيمنة في أيديها. أن الأسطورة وهي تأول الوجود تشبع (العادي) وتضفي على الكون صفة (آدمية) ترى ما قيمة حياتنا هذه - في نظر الأغلبية دون البعث والثواب والعقاب؟

"ويكاد يكون من المستحيل أن نفرق بأي درجة من التأكيد بين الأعمال السحرية وطقوس الديانة. ويبدو أن بعض الأعمال السحرية تتعلق بطقوس ديانة آبدة. أو جر عليها النسيان أذياله والبعض الآخر يرجع إلى سوء الفهم قوانين الطبيعة على حين أن بقية منها يمكن نسبته إلى خيال عقول غير مدربة. التنبؤ - تأويل العلامات - بإحداث المستقبل ولو أنه يوسم في أيامنا بالسحر إلا أنه كان في الأصل محاولة لكشف إدارة الله حتى يتسنى العمل بما يتطابق وبهذا الإدارة. ونفس كلمة عرافة وكهانة تحمل في طياتها المعنى الأصلي الديني الذي ترجع إليه" (مري ١٩٥٧: ٣٠٤).

ولا جدال في ان مصر هي مهد السحر والدين ومفهوم الأبدية والبعث والنشور والميزان: محكمة أوزوريس، والسراط. بل ان مقتل الألة وبعثه - المسيحي - هو حرفيا مقتل أوزوريس "الاله" ثم بعثه سيدا للآخره.

كما "وأهم مراكز عبادة أوزريس كانت في أبيدوس في الجنوب، وبوسيريس (أبو صير) في الشمال، واختلاف الطقوس يرينا أنهم كانوا يعطون أهمية في أبيدوس لموت الاله، أما في أبي صير فقد كانت الأهمية تقع على البعث"[١٩].

ولسنا نبغي حرمان شعوب من معتقداتها، بزعم أن المصريين قد استبقوا كل الشعوب إلى تأسيس الدين والباقي هو تنويعات توفيقية ليس الا فلقد كانت أزيس تسمى "هي صاحبة العرش" وكان لها مظاهر بلغ من كثرتها انها عرفت بذات "العشرة آلاف اسم"! على ان أهم القابها كان "أم الاله، سيدة السماء"[٢٠].

"وهي وحدها كانت تعرف الاسم السري لوع. ولقد كفلت لها هذه المعرفة اخضاع كل شيء لها"[٢١]. ان هذا هو أصل الاعتقاد في قوة الكلمة الذي أصبح أصل الخلق في كثير من الديانات.

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[١٩] المرجع السابق، ص: ٢٣٥.

[٢٠] المرجع السابق، ص: ٢٣٦.

[٢١] المرجع السابق، نفس الموضع.

وهذا ما يعنينا - في إخراج الجن بفعل الكلمة. وبهذه الكلمة أعادت أزيس الحياة إلى أوزوريس. وصحيح ما ذهب إليه لويس عوض (١٩٩٣) من أن الفعل أمن ومشتقاته "أمين، أمان، إيمان، آمنط آمنة ... الخ". جاء من آمون. فلا غرابة أبدا في ان تزدهر معابد مصرية بكهنتها وتبعث من جديد في أوقات - بدا فيها وان طبقات من الناس تعاني من شرخ موجع.

وإذ كما نعرض للتأويل فلقد عرفت مصر طرقا كثيرة للعرافة أهمها للأحلام وكان تأويلها يدرس في المعابد. وخاصة في هليوبوليس حيث كان الكاهن الأعظم يتخذ لقب الناظر الأعظم واشتهر "يوسف" باعتباره أكبر المؤولين للأحلام، وهكذا تزوج بابنة أحد كبار الكهنة بعد ان ارتفع إلى المرتبة العليا بتفسيره للأحلام الملكية. "وعلمتني من تأويل الأحاديث ... من أنباء الغيب نوحية إليك" سورة يوسف (١٠١-١٠٢). وما أشبه الليلة بالبارحة وشيوخ اليوم، وكهان الأمس ومن حقنا أن نفترض أن بعض التأويلات إنما ظهرت بعد وقائع بعينها تأويلا لهذه الوقائع ذاتها. ويمكننا التسليم بأن شخصيات دينية (تاريخية) كانت ملهمة بالفعل. فإن إبراهيم ونبوءته وتأويله قد خلص الساميين من عادة بالغة الفظاعة - التضحية بالابن - وما زال صدى هذا الخلاص العظيم حيا في أعياد الأضحى".

ورغم أن فيضان النيل لم يعد "لغزا مقدسا". ولم يعد فيضانة معجزة فإن الاحتفالات بوفائه كانت دوما "قضية" الشعب والدولة. واستبدلت الأضحيات "عروسة النيل" - ترجمة عربية - بدمية. أي أن رموز عبادته ما زالت باقية.

وثمة واقعة جرى إغفالها طويلا ولم يتبين أحد عميق دلالاتها؛ إلا وهي رسالة ثاني الخلفاء عمر إلى النيل! لقد زعم "المقريزي" ان فيضان النيل قد انقطع بانقطاع تقديم الأضحيات بناء على أوامر وإلى مصر وقتها "عمرو" ومن ثم فقد تأخر الفيضان ثلاثة شيور وقلق الشعب قلقا عظيما خشية الجدب ولجأ بن العاص إلى الخليفة مستشيرا وما لبث الأخير ان ارسل برقعته: "من عبد الله عمر أمير المؤمنين إلى نيل مصر. أما بعد: فإن كنت تجري من قبلك، فلا تجر. وان كان الله الواحد القهار هو الذي يجريك فنسأل الله الواحد القهار ان يجريك." ويزعمون ان مياه النهر قرتفعت ستة عشر ذراعا في الليلة التالية. واغلب الظن ان "الواقعة" والتأويل انتحال جرى فيما بعد. فمؤلفها أو مؤلفوها كانوا ضحية عهد التحولات من تعدد الاله "المصري" إلى التحول الإيمان باله واحد لا شريك له. ان الرقعة المدعاه بشفرتها ونهجها مؤطرة على نهج الدواوين - ومؤلفها يسعي جاهدا لصياغها على منوال رسالة النبي إلى المقسوس حاكم مصر. ويزعمون ان الرقعة أياها قد القيت في النيل، ولا تشير المصادر إلى إذا ما كانت القيت تلاوة أم لا. وبصرف النظر كليا عن وقوع المدعي من عدمه. فانه يشير إلى الحاجة الملحة للتأويل والاتصال ويشبع هذه الحاجة بالفعل ويوحي إيحاء إلى نجاح الاتصال وإلى ان مسيرة الحياة - النيل - رهن التحكم وان رأس الدولة وهو ديني وزعيم آخذ على عاتقة مهام الاتصال.

حسب المعطيات الانثروبولجية فإننا نجمل - وبالضرورة - بشيء من التبسيط وسائل الاتصال الانساني بالعالم الرأسي - الكون - في ثلاث طرق:

١- تقديم القرابين والأضحيات ونذر النذور... الخ قصد تهدأة آلهة غضبي متعطشة للدماء (رضوة • أضحية إبراهيم. الفداء)

٢- النفاق والتزلف التقرب إلى الآلهة بالادعية والتضرعات والابتهالات والأناشيد والصلوات، وحتى بالرقص والغناء.

٣- قسر الآلهة وارغامها على تحقيق رغبات الانسان بتهديدها. وثمة انموذج من الاسرة العشرين، يستهل بالسلام على (رع) رب. والحتحورات السبع وينتهي بالتهديد بحرق مدينة "يوسيريس" بل واحراق أوزوريس نفسه[٢٢].

والمجهولية هذه ملمح رئيسي في الاتصال بالعمار. فالأخر الخصم العلة جني، نوع: دون ما تخصيص. ولما كانت دنيا العمار المثيل للأمرائي لدنيا البشر فان تحديد هوية هذا الذي انكفأت عليه المأة دونه خرط القتاد. وهكذا فان جميع العمار يدعوون إلى الرضوة إرضاء الكل توصلا إلى الواحد.

ونحن هنا مدركين للفرق بين الزار والرضوة فالتعرف على العفريت في الزار قصد إشباع حاجاته، نقطة البدء - ومع الزيف الكامل للمعلومية في تحديد هوية العلة منطلق عقلاني. (يتطلب من الكودية، عريفة السكة وشيخة الزار مهارة وذكاء وحذقا) ذلك انه مرتهن بالظروف المادية والاجتاماعية - للعصابية - ولسنا نبغي المقارنة هنا بين الزار والرضوة فالقارئ المختص أدري بهذه الشعاب - ولكن الرضوة ذات أصل فرعوني وهي تريد العودة بالغربال إلى أصله الطبلية - المائدة - القربان - أما الزار الآتي إلى مصر مع عبيد قصر الخديوي فاساس الرقص (إشباع) صاحب الجان مباشرة.

بينما يكون التعرف على (عفريت الزار) وتحديد طبيعته وبالتالي مطالبة الفعل الأول في الممارسة فإن الرضوة تهمل ذلك إهمالا بالتعيم وتسع إلى تهدئه خاطر الجماعة بأكملها - والفرد المعني ضمن المجموع. وإذا طبقنا المعايير والمواقف والتواضعات الاجتماعية على حالتينا هاتين فالزار على زيفة وخلوة من المعرفي يطبق مبدأ "اعرف عدوك"، "يوصفه" وهو هنا - باستعارات ما قبل التوحيدية - إله تقدم إليه أضحيات حيوانية والأدهى من ذلك "عروس" قربان بشري - تجردا تنازليا ورموزيا ليصبح "عروسة الزار". بمعنى احتفاظ الممارسة بسيرورتها في الاسم واعرف عدوك - مقولة طال شيوعها - مع احتدام الصراع العربي الاسرائيلي ما قبل وبعد الستينات.

إذا درسنا رقصات الزار ولو حدث ذلك كما يجب لا مكنا اضاءة العديد من الجوانب المعتمة حتى الآن في طبيعة الزار ووظيفته وما أحسب هذا الرقص إلا رقصا دينيا صحبة تقديم قرابيين دموية، اما الرضوة فهي احياء لمأثور بالغ القدم تقدم على افتراض أن العالم ثنائي القطبين توأم أحدهما غير منظور، ويعد مفهوم القرينة أصدق تمثيل له. ورغم المثيلة فان الغير مرئي هو المثلي والأخرى في آن مرئي - لا مرئي: الاستلاب المعرفي - قضيتنا - يبدأ من ثنائية الأضداد والخير والشر، الليل والنهار، الأسود والأبيض. ولا أظن أن في مصر كلها، ولا حتى في العالم بأسره من لا يعاني بقدر ما من الاستلاب المعرفي بسبب ظواهر نعرف علتها (الليل والنهار) ولكن جسامة الأرث الانساني لا تدع أبدا لقوانين العلة والمعلول فرصة تصدر مكانتها الحقيقية - في العقل. وثمة أمثولة هي برأينا أعظم تجريد لأزمة استلاب المعرفي ولا بد ان مبتدعها هو عقل عربي جدلي بالغ حد العبقرية وعلى وعي تام بالأزمة

إنه حجا الذاهب إلى السوق جنيهات في جيبه؛ يريد شراء حمارا ويلقاه جاره فيسأله "إلى أين؟" إلى السوق ١٠ خيرا .. لم؟ اشترى حمارا ويوصيه الرجل قائلا "قل إن شاء الله!" ويندهش جحا. فالجنيهات في جيبه. والحمير في السوق. وتسرق الجنيهات. ويرجع جحا آسفا ليلتقيه صاحبه الغيبي. "أين الحمار يا جحا؟ فيرد: إن شاء الله الفلوس ضاعت!!

إن الفاجع ليس سرقة النقود إنما هو ما آل إليه عقل جحا، لقد استلب العقل، وأصبح غيبيا. لقد تعلم أسوأ الدروس طرا.

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[٢٢] وهذا بالضبط ما يجري رغم آلاف السنين وما أشبه الليلة بالبارحة.

إن شاء الله + فعل ماض = عبث. إنه الفشل في الاضطلاع بمهمة توفرت كل أسباب نجاحها. وإنه لمن السخف واحتقار الوعي والعمل إلى أحط درجة الزعم بأن أمة خسرت لأنها لم تقتل ... إن شاء الله. إننا أمام إذا الشرطية وليس أمام "إن"!

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GOLDZIHER'S ABŪ RĪŠ

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1. In a letter dated on 19 August 1897 Goldziher asked his German colleague, Martin Hartmann to make some enquiries about a popular saint called Abū Rīš during his stay in Egypt. The passage in question is as follows[1]: "Auf dem Fahrwege nach dem Pyramiden in Gizeh befindet sich die Kubbe eines populären Heiligen ابو ريش (der Befiederte), dessen Namendoppelgänger auch in der Karâfa begraben sein soll. An Ort und Stelle habe ich mir die Legende des ابو ريش erzählen lassen, warum er diesen Namen führt? Ich habe mir aber während des Rittes die Sachen nicht notiert und dieselbe total vergessen. Vielleicht haben Sie Gelegenheit eine Notiz darüber zu nehmen und die Legende des Abû Rîsch (oder Abû-r-rîsch) der Vergessenheit zu entreissen."

Hartmann answered Goldziher on 23 August 1897: "Im Einzelnen ist mir Ihr Wunsch betr. ابو ريش da eine willkommene Anregung. Die Kerls, mit denen ich hier arbeitete, waren mit Heiligen- & Wundergeschichten nicht sparsam, und da ich von ihnen auf das Ganze schließen kann, so werde ich übergenug von dieser Sorte zu hören bekommen."

Then, in a letter of 22 November 1897 Hartmann informed Goldziher that he did not see the tomb. A few weeks later (on 31 December 1897), however, he wrote again to him in a more detailed way: "In diesen Tagen blätterte ich Alī Pāšā Mubāraks Chiṭaṭ... und stieß auf Notizen über den abū rīš von Damanhūr, der an 2 Stellen behandelt wird 8,25 und 11,23. Alī Pāšā scheint nicht beachtet zu haben, daß der ابو الريش und der ابو ريش identisch sind, jedenfalls hätte er nicht verschieden schreiben sollen. Abū rīš ist das allein Gehörte. Nach *Ihrem* abū rīš (bei Gize) habe ich noch nicht gesucht, er wird sich aber wohl finden, denn dieses Buch ist trotz aller seiner sehr großen Mängel ein wahrer Schatz... Welche alte Gottheit mag hinter abū rīš und abū ruwāš (رواش) wenig nördlich von elkirdāsa, stecken? Daß einer dahinter steckt ist mir sehr wahrscheinlich, wie ja ابو صير den Osiris birgt."

As far as we know this was all that Goldziher could have learned from Hartmann concerning Abū Rīš. The enigma of this unknown saint must have, however, haunted him for a longer period since he asked the same question about Abū Rīš from his compatriot, Max Herz who was "Chief Architect to the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe" at that time. We know about Goldziher's inquiry from

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[1] For this information I am obliged to Ludmila Hanisch, the editor of the correspondence between Goldziher and Hartmann. For the quoted passages, see Hanisch 2000:78, 80, 84, 91. Hartmann's letters can be found in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Herz's letter sent to Goldziher on 24 November 1898 in which he refers to Abū Rīš in this passage: "Du hast recht zu fragen, mein geschatzter Freund, warum man nichts von mir hört, ich gestehe meine Schuld. Der Wille fehlte mir nie dir ein Lebenszeichen zu geben, ich wollte aber zugleich über den ابو ريش das Erwünschte mitteilen und so blieb alles weg"[2].

It seems that Goldziher did not receive a satisfying answer either from Hartmann or Herz, so we can only guess the way of approach he could have taken to interpret the figure to solve the mystery of Abū Rīš. For him and his fellow scholars a major point in the history of religions was the discovery of the surviving elements (*residua*) of the former religions in the new one[3]. Within the framework of this idea he discovered the survival of the ancient Egyptian snake cult in connection with the figure of Sheikh Harīdī in Upper Egypt[4] or the relevance of the popular festival in the ancient Bubastis in the Delta for the understanding of as-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī's *mūlid* in modern Ṭanṭā[5]. Hartmann's remark about the identification of Abū Ṣīr and Osiris also suggests a research hypothesis similar to Goldziher's. In recent times Goldziher and his fellow scholars have been exposed to a rather sharp criticism on the part of social anthropologists who blamed them for their historical approach which made them ignore the social aspect of the problems in their researches on the history of religions[6].

In this paper we try to identify Goldziher's Abū Rīš and to reconstruct the story of a ritual he could have supposedly heard in connection with this name. The relevant material has been collected in Cairo, Rašīd and Damanhūr mainly in 1994 and 1995. Disagreeing with the critical attitude of modern social anthropologists we try to interpret the figure of Abū Rīš and the ritual in a way which could have been acceptable to Goldziher but we also intend to refer to the social dimensions of the subject.

2. Goldziher places the saint's Qubba on the road to the Giza Pyramids. He must have meant a tomb which can be found at the crossing of the former Šāriᶜ al-Ḫalīǧ (presently Š. Port Saᶜīd) and the Š. ᶜAlī Pāšā Ibrāhīm, not far from the Sayyida Zaynab Mosque. The topographical explanation for this localisation lies in the fact that in his time the usual way to go to Giza was to take the road at first to Fusṭāṭ

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[2] I am grateful to István Ormos for this communication. The letter is in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[3] See e.g. Lang 1995: I, 35f, 250, 270; Tylor 1958: I-II, Index, *s.v.* "survival", Goldziher 1878:184f; 1881:171-270; 1892:340.

[4] See Goldziher 1971: II, 310f.

[5] See Goldziher 1971: II, 307-310.

[6] See Mayeur-Jaouen 1994:101-106 and Abu-Zahra 1997:8f.

(by riding a donkey or taking the tramway opened in 1896) then to cross the river by ferry to land at the former Egyptian Museum[7].

The present building (Photo 1) erected in Mamlūk style bears the following inscription above its door: مقام سيدي محمد السدي الشهير بابو الريش ١٣٢٥ "The shrine of Sīdī Muḥammad as-Saddī known as Abū Rīš 1325". Accordingly, this edifice which could not have been seen by Goldziher was built in 1907. The name of the nearby as-Sadd al-Barrānī street, like the toponymic reference as-Saddī in the saint's name refers to the one-time dam which separated the former canal in the place of the present day Port Said Street from the Nile. The whole neighbourhood together with a children's hospital is known as Abū Rīš.

The well preserved building encloses the saint's tomb covered by a green covering (*kiswa*) and surrounded by a railing (*maqṣūra*) which was donated by a Ḥāǧǧ Farḥāt Aḥmad Ḥasanayn, son of the builder, Aḥmad (related to the saint on the maternal line whose family looks after the *maqām* presently.) The son of this Ḥāǧǧ Farḥāt, Muḥammad Farḥāt is the present servant (*ḫādim*) of the tomb and he is also the head (*nā'ib*) of the Sayyida Zaynab branch of the Rifā'iyya Ṣūfī order, while the daily care of the *maqām* is undertaken by his mother who is in her late sixties. Apart from the tomb with the railing, the *miḥrāb* and the iron box for the alms (*nuḏūr*), the black banner of the Rifā'iyya order and the processional drums can be seen inside the building.

Among the inscriptions, a longer invocation deserves to be mentioned. It contains the usual Qur'ānic reference to the *awliyā'* (Q 10,62), a benediction on Abū Rīš and the People of the House of the Messenger of God, the praise of God for having blessed Egypt with the presence of *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Pious (*aṣ-Ṣāliḥūn*). The closing formula referring to a *ḥadīṯ* expresses the wish for the ability to visit their tombs permanently and the hope of joining them on the Day of Resurrection. ("Whosoever loves the people will be resurrected together with them even if he did not do their work.") As it turns out, this inscription (or perhaps the whole decoration) was the present from "those who love *Ahl al-Bayt*", a certain as-Sayyid Ḥilmī and Ramaḍān Muḥammad Qāsim. Apart from this invocation, Q 4,103, Q 13,28, Q 26,62, Q 67,1 and Q 68,4 can also be seen on the walls.

People in the neighbourhood of the *maqām* seem to know nothing special characteristic about this Abū Rīš but agree that he came to Egypt with the Companions (*Ṣaḥāba*). The importance of the saint can, however, be realized from the fact that his *mūlid* can be compared to the most popular *mūlids* in Cairo as far as the number of participants is concerned. It is organised in connection with the *mūlid* of Sayyida Zaynab and its "Great Night" (*al-layla al-kabīra*) is always held on the Sunday preced-

[7] See Baedeker 1898:27, 75. For an account of the trip to Giza by an earlier eye-witness, see Lane 2000:160.

ing the *layla kabīra* of Sayyida Zaynab's *mūlid* which falls regularly on the Tuesday nearest to the middle of the month of Raǧab. The significance of the event is further enhanced by the procession (*zaffa*) which starts at Sayyida Zaynab's Mosque (the procession of ar-Rifāʿī's *mūlid* also takes its starting point from here) where the head of the Rifāʿī order for the Sayyida Zaynab branch performs the afternoon prayer (*ʿaṣr*), then rides on a horse to the *maqām* inside of which benedictions are recited on the Prophet. After this, a *ḏikr* session starts in a tent pitched at the *maqām* and lasts until late night to celebrate Abū Rīš (frequently referred to as *Ṣāḥib al-Faraḥ*, "the owner of the wedding feast") to the tunes of Ṣūfī music and chanting. (See the text of an invitation to the *mūlid*, Appendices 1 & 2.)

Concluding the review of reports on Abū Rīš we cannot omit the reference to a moving short story by Yūsuf as-Sibāʿī (1987:9-18). It is about a man who became the servant of the *maqām* almost against his will but finally found the purpose of his life in alleviating the sorrow and the grief of the needy by entertaining them with a puppet-show inside the shrine.

3. As a sign of the elusive personality of Abū Rīš we have to mention another Rifāʿī saint called also Sīdī Muḥammad known as Abū Rīš who lived in Rašīd. The city has a mosque (dated to the 18th century) named after him and a city gate also bears the name Bawwābat Abū Rīš (ʿInānī 1987:185, 200f). My informant (a university graduate in his forties working at the city council) related the following opinions about the Abū Rīš of Rašīd who remained unknown for both Goldziher and Hartmann:

- he came to Egypt with the Companions like his Cairene namesake,
- he worked as a tax collector in Ottoman times and used to stick feathers used for writing into his turban and that is how he received his nickname,
- he was a dervish in Ottoman times who stuck feathers into his turban to make himself look taller,
- he was well-known for his care shown towards children,
- he has not his own feast because it is celebrated during the Prophet's Birthday.

A third Abū Rīš, and again a Rifāʿī but a more concrete person than the first two, is the one from Damanhūr[8] mentioned in Hartmann's letter. He was called ʿAṭiyya and earned the nickname Abū Rīš since he had an allergy from wool and because of this he stuffed his pillow and blanket with feathers.

These explanations seem to contain a kind of popular reasoning but we shall try to show that the origin of the appellation can rather be attributed to a single cause, the proliferation of a basic motif closely connected to the notion of children.

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[8] In Hanisch' edition Damanhūr was misread as "Damaskus" (Hanisch 2000:91). For ʿAṭiyya, see Māhir 1972:285-288.

4. In relation to the name Abū Rīš, Goldziher could have heard about a popular custom which has been practised to protect small children from early death. It was first described by an Egyptian doctor, ʿAbdarraḥmān Effendi Ismāʿīl in his *Ṭibb ar-Rukka* published in Cairo in 1892-94. The English translation of the work by John Walker renders the relevant passage like this:

"THE FATHER OF FEATHERS" (ABŪ RĪSH)
"Oh Father of Feathers, please God, you will live."
(Yā Abū rīsh in shāllāh taʿīsh)

"The sorceress bids her [the mother] dress the child, who she fears will die, in a great peaked cap [*ṭarṭūr*], decorated with feathers from a goose or common hen or turkey, and to gird it with a black shawl, and thereafter set it on a black she-ass, with its back to the front. Then the boys and girls of the village, or city, gather around him, and call out with one voice, 'Oh Father of Feathers'. They go around the village in this way three times, or even four to make it sure" (Walker 1934:48).

The ritual – a common everyday event until not long ago – has not attracted too much attention from researchers. ʿAbdalmunʿim Šamīs gives a similar description of the custom (called as *raqwat al-waḥīd*, "the incantation of the single") but adds that before the procession starts and after it, a Sheikha incenses the child (who has reached the age of five) seven times in the house while she recites the *Basmala* over his head seven times[9].

Another modern author describes the rite on the basis of a book published in 1894[10]. In this version the husband advises his wife to "expose" the child (*ǧarrisī hāḏā ṣ-ṣaġīr*). To fulfil this, they dye the child's face with minium and put a headdress (*ṭarṭūr*) made from green and red paper and decorated with chicken feathers on his head. Then the child is mounted on a donkey in a reversed position with his face to its tail and is led around in the neighbourhood accompanied by the chanting children. The procedure is supposed to take place in the hottest hour of the day (*aẓ-ẓuhr al-aḥmar*).

The author refers to a custom of the *ǧāhiliyya* according to which a person bitten by a poisonous animal was also mounted on a donkey in a similar position. As an explanation he accepts the idea that this reversed position makes the affliction move from the patient to the animal (al-Basyūnī 1993:218).

To complete the different elements in the description of the whole ritual we can add some other details collected from different informants:

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[9] Šamīs 1970:48. ʿAbdalḥamīd Ḥawāṣṣ termed the rite as a kind of *taḥwīṭa*, "encircling" (somebody for the sake of protection). (Oral communication.)

[10] al-Basyūnī 1993:217f. The author refers also to other rites practised by women in the Arab world to guarantee the survival of their future children.

S
G
N
T
yā būr - rīš
yā būr - rīš
šal - lah tik-bar
šal-lah ta - rīš
yā būr - rīš
yā būr - rīš
yā būr - rīš
yā būr - rīš
šal - lah tik - bar
šal-lah tik-bar
šal - lah ta - rīš

S
G
N
T
tib-qaʿa-rīš
yā būr - rīš
yā būr - rīš
šal-lah tik - bar
tib-qaʿa-rīš
yā būr-rīš
yā būr - rīš
šal-lah tik - bar
šal - lah ta - ʿīš
yā būr - rīš
yā būr - rīš
šal - lah tik - bar
tib-qa ʿa-rīš

The Preparation

The mother goes to consult a sheikh (called *ʿarrāf*, "wise man" or *munaǧǧim*, "astrologer") to seek advice from him. She is supposed to leave her shawl (*mandīl*) with the sheikh as an *atr*, a magical material. Next morning he may order the woman to slaughter a brown chicken or a red cock, then to eat a part of it and distribute the rest. Afterwards she has to use the feathers of the animal to make a crown from them for her son. (Oral communication from Muḥammad ʿUmrān who collected it in the region of Rašīd.)

The Time

The preferred time to perform the ritual is Friday, after the main prayer in the afternoon. (Oral communication from an informant in Rašīd.)

The Child

He is dressed in a dirty, ragged garment, *ǧallābiyya*. His face is smeared with a substance, *e.g.* a black material or flour. A girl can also take the place of the boy. (The opinion of only one informant.)

The Aim

- To make the figure disgusting (*tašwīh*) and repellant for the evil eye.
- To make the figure and the whole scene look ridiculous to incite the laughter of onlookers for the sake of neutralising the evil intentions.

Mounting the Donkey

If the child is too young to ride the donkey alone, a sheikh decorated with the feather crown may also mount the animal taking the child on his lap. The child dressed also with the crown may hold a *qirṣ ǧilla* (a circular, loaf-like disk made by peasants from animal dung and straw and used as fuel) into which feathers are fastened.

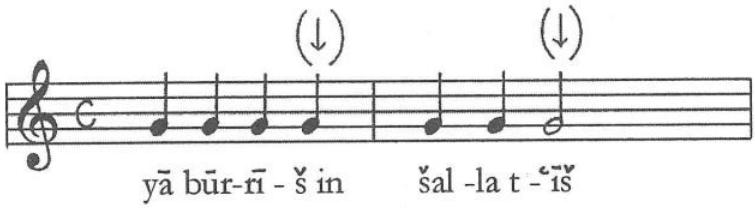
Variants of the Songs to Abū Rīš

(١

يا بو الريش
يا بو الريش شله تكبر شله تعيش
يا بو الريش يا بو الريش شله تكبر
تبقى عريس
يا بو الريش يا بو الريش شله تكبر شله تعيش

(٢

يا بو الريش
ان شالله تعيش
وتجيب لامك قدحين دشيش
(وتجيب لامك شلقين حشيش)



(٣

يا بو الريش
ان شالله تعيش
ابن اربعه ربعوه
وان ما قعدش كسحوه

(٤

يا بو الريش ان شالله تعيش
تاكل وتشرب ونديك البقشيش

Translation:

1.

O Abū Rīš,
O Abū Rīš, God willing, you grow up, God willing, you live
O Abū Rīš, O Abū Rīš, God willing, you grow up,
you will be bridegroom,
O Abū Rīš, O Abū Rīš, God willing, you grow up, God willing, you live
(From Tiberiu Alexandru's *Anthology* 1967, Ġarbiyya Governorate, see Appendix 3; Transcription: M. Tóth, Text: R. Berzsák, Cairo, 1994)

2.

O Abū Rīš,
God willing you live
and you give your mother two measures of *dišīš* (a dish made of mashed or pounded bean or grain)
(and you give your mother two bundles of grass *i.e.* clover)
(Muḥammad ʿUmrān & Sāmiya Diyāb, 1994, Buḥayra Governorate)

3.

O Abū Rīš
God willing you live,
Son of four [*i.e.* 2 feet + 2 hands], make him sit cross-legged
and if he does not sit [like this], make him crippled.
(Muḥammad ʿUmrān, 1994, Ġarbiyya Governorate)

4.

O Abū Rīš,
God willing, you live,
you eat and drink and we give you baqšīš.
(Ḥasan Ṣāliḥ, Cairo, 1994)

"Offerings" Mentioned in the Songs

- *dišīš*
- grass (clover)
- money (baqšīš)
- *qirṣ ǧilla* (not mentioned but practically "offered" by the boy holding it in his hands)

As a variant for *dišīš*, the expression *kaḥk wa-qarāqīš* ("cookies" prepared for feasts and "dry biscuit") may also occur as informants told me.

5. If we want to interpret the whole rite we can state that from the anthropological aspect and in view of its aim, it can be compared to the rain prayer rituals (*istisqā'*) similarly to them, it is performed occasionally and the main idea underlying the procedure is to express the hope of the community (or in our case, of an individual) that affliction (the repeated deaths of the newborn boys) will be turned into the opposite[11]. In other words, it is meant to divine the positive change after misfortunes. This expectation is supposed to be expressed symbolically by seating the child on the donkey with his back turned to its head and dressing him his garment in a reversed way, with his right arm in the left sleeve and with his left in the right sleeve.

The reversal of the dress can be traced back to pre-Islamic times. It constituted an essential part of the rain prayer rituals (*istisqā'*) practised by the Prophet himself as different traditions relate it[12]. According to these, he reversed his garment by changing the sleeves while praying for rain and those present followed suit. A *ḥadīṯ* claims that Muḥammad performed the reversal because he considered it as a good omen (*tafā'ulan*) which was supposed to indicate the change for the opposite in the momentary state of affairs. It is also mentioned that he wore a black cloak during the rogational prayer for rain. This act of reversal does not necessarily mean the changing of the sleeves since a 19th century report mentions that participants in an *istisqā'* ceremony in Tunis turned their burnouses inside out (Wellhausen 1928:197).

This idea of transition from one state to another (the opposite) is further confirmed by rites in which the practitioner (a woman wishing to become pregnant) performs a symbolical "crossing": she is expected to step over an ancient Egyptian amulet, a bone (Blackman 2000:97f) or simply to cross the Nile (Ammar 1998:88).

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[11] For the interpretation of the *istisqā'* as a rite of reversal, see Abu-Zahra 1997:4ff, 9, 16, 25, 32, 71ff.

[12] In addition to Abu-Zahra 1997:16f, see also Goldziher 1906:40 and al-Qasṭallānī, *Iršād* II, 238f.

6. No matter how much this approach may seem acceptable and convincing, the examination of the composing elements of the ritual as characteristic parts of a complete magical procedure together with references to the historical parallels for the sake of comparison cannot be dispensed with.

First of all, the prelude to the whole performance, according to which the unfortunate mother whose babies die after one another is supposed to go to see a "specialist" who is reputed to be involved in magical activities or dealing with spirits, is a typical element in Arabic magic in Egypt, at least on the "popular" level. It is intended to find the diagnosis given (or rather "divined") by the magician after a dream vision received with the help of the magical material (*atr*) left with him or her. This element is completely missing from the written or printed magical handbooks which contain the working copies of magical recipes and as such, can rightly be characterised as the representatives of "scientific" or "official" magic.

Performers of the ritual wish to ridicule misfortune consciously as the term "exposure" (*taǧrīs*) suggests it. The scene of the Abū Rīš procession itself with the boy dressed in a dirty *ǧallābiyya* and riding a donkey, reminds us of other, more "solemn" processions like the one organised on the occasion of a boy's circumcision when the boy clad in his best clothes rides a horse. The best parallel, however, is offered by the procession (*zaffa*) on the Great Night (*al-layla al-kabīra*) of a saint's *mūlid* when the head of the local branch of a Ṣūfī order (or his representative), beautifully attired and sometimes accompanied by a small boy, rides a horse (which is occasionally white as in the case of ar-Rifāʿī's *mūlid*)[13].

The "counter-procession" character of the Abū Rīš ritual is emphasised by changing the robe into a ragged *ǧallābiyya* and the (white) horse into a (black) she-ass. The reversal of the boy's *ǧallābiyya* fits well into the concept of the "counter-procession" and from the anthropologists' point of view may symbolize the hope in the change of things into the better, but basically it is a magical act. Similar prescriptions occur also in Arabic magical recipes (aṭ-Ṭūḫī, *Siḥr* 18, 66, 147). An informant (Yaḥyā, an attendant over 60 in the Folklore Studies Centre in Cairo) claimed that the reversed dress is thought to cast back the glance of the evil eye to its owner. My informant in Rašīd also stressed that seating the child in a reversed position served to ward off the envy of the evil eye.

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[13] McPherson 1998:111, 313; Abu-Zahra 1997:217. To show the importance of a reversed act as a marked sign of ridiculousness it is worth mentioning that in medieval Europe and even in later times anti-Jewish propaganda frequently represented Jews as riding backwards on a sow (Schachar 1974: Pls. 30, 41abc, 56a).

As another kind of "counter-procession" we can also refer to a custom in medieval Egypt where it was a common form of punishment for criminals to be paraded through the streets of the town[14].

Turning to the examination of other elements in the procedure in the light of a historical background, the blackness of the donkey, in addition to its being the opposite of the white colour of the horse ridden in the *mūlid* procession, also deserves to be mentioned since "black" is generally a preferred colour in magical transactions[15].

The child's face daubed with a material of black or other colour can of course be parallelled with the covering of the boy's face with a shawl in the procession of the circumcision to protect him from the evil eye[16].

The *qirṣ ǧilla* (dung cake) held by the boy can be interpreted as a "counter" votive offering compared to the usual presents which visitors leave in saints' shrines. This time, of course, it is not a sign of devotion but serves to emphasise the mocking character of the ritual and to ridicule evil.

This element in the procedure leads us to the exposition of its oral part, the songs with their slightly differing texts. First, in addition to such basic functions of life as eating and drinking, they evoke the most important turning points in human life by referring to the boy's growing up and becoming bridegroom. In this respect, it is difficult to make a real distinction between the song as an expression of their hope in the survival of the boy or his future brothers, and the song as a rather archaic magical incantation which aims at keeping the patient alive by enumerating the characteristic signs of life. In an act which is definitely of magical colouring, *dišīš*, cookies, dry biscuit, clover and money are promised as votive offerings to propitiate malevolent forces conceived of as the evil eye. The mocking character comes also to the fore in the version in which the boy is "menaced" by being made crippled if he does not remain seated. The melodies of the songs are very simple and archaic as dr. Margit Tóth was kind enough to inform me – a fact which is also relevant for our investigation because it indicates the antiquity of the ritual itself.

Neither is the prescription to fumigate incense before and after the procession missing from the procedure. It can be considered in itself as a kind of offering and a permanent element in all magical recipes.

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[14] ᶜĀšūr 1992:110. I owe this reference to Qāsim ᶜAbduh Qāsim.

[15] See *e.g.* Amīn 1953:57-60.

[16] Lane 1963:58f. In an interesting conformity with the notion of the rite of reversal, Lang interpreted the cleansing of the initiate's body plastered over with clay or filth in the initiation ceremony as the symbolic sign of a new and purified state (Lang 1995: I, 274ff).

Having reviewed all the constituting elements of the ritual, we may certainly state that the recitation of the *Basmala* over the boy is the only visible Islamic feature in the ceremony which alone was meant to Islamize it in a very superficial way.

7. Unfortunately we do not know of any existing photos taken of the Abū Rīš procession, at least I have never seen one. This is, however, completely understandable since all my informants have agreed that they had seen the event for the last time 30-40 years before. This unanimous statement can, of course, be explained by the fact that roughly from that time on the large scale use of modern methods in sanitation has produced a dramatic drop in infant mortality rates, but on the other hand it has created the probably biggest ever problem facing Egypt: the demographic explosion. Suffice it to cite here only one fact about the high mortality in 19th century Egypt[17]: almost half the children died under the age of five. Even in the forties of the 20th century nearly 30 percent of them did not live to reach this age (Ammar 1998:112f).

In recent decades, thanks to the blessings of modern health care, women have not felt obliged to have recourse to magical practices to ensure that their children stay alive since the basic causes of high mortality have disappeared for good. As a once popular feast we may also mention the "Night of the Drop", *Laylat an-Nuqta* which marked the beginning of the inundation of the Nile but went into oblivion with the building of the High Dam. Not surprisingly, however, other traditional and ancient customs have survived, so *e.g.* concern about male potency or female fertility and related rites have remained as important as ever.

To present some graphic illustration of Abū Rīš we have been fortunate enough to come across figurative representations which can presumably be connected to the figure which incarnated the protagonist of the Abū Rīš ritual.

Prof. Giovanni Canova has most helpfully provided me with a picture (Photo 2) which he had taken in Abū l-Ǧūd (Luxor) in 1978: it shows a woman (aged about 45) holding her baby clad in a frock with a hood into which feathers were stuck. The mother explained to Prof. Canova that in case a visitor comes to see them, his glance is expected to fall on the feathers, so the child will be protected against a potentially evil eye[18]. (Finally the woman donated the frock to Prof. Canova's wife to use it for the sons to be born in the future.)

A second relic was acquired by myself in Aswān in 1999 (Photo 3). It is a puppet in the form of a flat, manlike figure of two dimensions sewn together from pieces of leather (71 x 45cm) with five feathers (one was actually missing) stuck into the head.

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[17] Tucker 1985:115ff. Smallpox, cholera, measles, diphtheria and gastroenteritis were the most dangerous maladies.

[18] Blackman (2000:77) gives an account of the same custom and publishes a photo of this special hooded frock (Fig. 35).

The colour of the leather is dark brown, almost black similarly to the feathers which have been blackened with some material, probably soot – a fact which may allude to an activity performed during the night. The figure is decorated with cowrie shells (the eyes and the mouth are indicated by three shells), beads and coins. Three cowrie shells are hanging underneath as pendants. This stylised cruciform figure with its arms opened wide is reminiscent of the characteristic *figurae magicae* in the magical books. The merchant in the bazaar informed me that such a puppet was supposed to be hung in the room of a woman in childbed for protection against the evil eye. Accordingly, the leather figure with measurements resembling those of a real one year old child partly plays the role of a substitute attracting the inimical influences but at the same time it is thought to act independently by making these forces (particularly the evil eye) harmless.

All these pieces of information point to the conclusion that no matter how much the real personalities of the different saints hiding behind the name Abū Rīš can be historically perceived, they share this common name because they have most probably gone through the Abū Rīš ritual in their childhood and kept the appellation – a synonym for children – after they became endowed with sainthood, *walāya*. (Actually, this was the opinion of one of my informants, Yaḥyā, the attendant in the Folklore Studies Centre in Cairo.)

8. If we try to follow Goldziher's supposed way of research an effort should be made to identify the ancient Egyptian deity who might probably be hiding behind the figure of Abū Rīš. Starting from the physical characteristics of its representations and their prophylactic uses to protect children we must think of the god Bes, one of the most popular Egyptian deities in late antiquity[19]. He was usually represented as a small, dwarf-like figure with projecting ears, wearing a crown of five feathers, and sometimes holding a knife in his hand. With the course of time he was transformed into a pantheistic deity represented with several pairs of wings. In most cases he appeared naked but in the later period he occasionally wore a tunic looking like a Roman general[20]. Due to his grotesque but also fearful appearance which could neutralize evil forces either by ridiculing or frightening them he came to be regarded as the main protector of defenceless people like women in labour, children or anybody who was asleep. This is why his representations are frequent in places of delivery or sleeping rooms. Black colour might have been associated with him because of this nightly activity. He was also connected to music, dancing and singing. (Making a

[19] Hanisch (2000:84, n. 1) suggests the identification of Abū Rīš with the god Onuris without any explanation. On Bes in general, see *e.g. LÄ* 1972-76: I, 721-724, *s.v.* "Bes". For his iconography, see *LIMC* 1986: III/1.98-114 and III/2.74-92, *s.v.* "Bes" and "Besit". For the winged pantheistic deity, see *e.g.* Hopfner 1974:511-522, §§ 806f; Philipp 1986: Nos. 176-179; Malaise 1990:717f; Zwierlein-Diehl 1992:18-23, Tafeln 24, 25, 28.

[20] See *e.g. LIMC* 1986: III/2, Fig. Bes 38n.

great noise is in itself an efficient prophylactic against demons.) As Ammianus Marcellinus reports, his role as an oracle was well-known in the 4th century AD[21]. The popular character of his cult, devoid of the formalities of the cult of the well-known gods, can best be compared to the devotion shown towards Christian saints (Dunand 1984:25) and going a step further, we may certainly include their Muslim counterparts into this circle of comparison.

The crown of feathers as one of his major insignia characterised also his wife and his son. An interesting representation shows the child sitting with a school-mate while the teacher and another figure (Bes, the philosopher) are shown standing, all of them wearing a crown of feathers (*LIMC* 1986: III/2, Fig. Bes 76). A statue presents Bes with a child seated on his shoulder in the same way as Egyptian women carry their children until this day (Hall 1929: Plate 1). An even more illuminating figure (*LIMC* 1986: III/2, Fig. Besit 15) represents Bes's wife holding two children, one of them clothed in a hooded cloak which is perfectly resembling the one worn by the woman's baby in modern Luxor on Photo 2 mentioned above. The popularity of such a deity is completely understandable in a country where people have always been proverbially fond of children (Perdrizet 1921: I, xviff; Blackman 2000:61, 97).

These representations suggest that children seeking protection united themselves with Bes, their main guardian by taking symbolically his form of appearance. This effort is a well-known feature of magical procedures[22].

9. At the first sight, it may seem difficult to bridge the gap which separates Bes and Abū Rīš in time but we have some evidence which can help to surmount this problem. First, an aspect of Bes survived paganism to become a demon who frightened pious Christians (Kákosy 1966:191ff) and Muslims also thought that his statue represented a demon[23]. As late as the end of the 19th century, local people in Karnak used to know about a Bes-like evil spirit which haunted the ruins of the ancient temple (Maspero 1914:207). An informant (a graduate of the University of al-Minyā) even told me that parents discipline their disobedient children by menacing them with a wicked man called Abū Rīš who will take them away or snatch their toys.

Secondly, the abundant Arabic magical literature which is closely related to the Greek Magical Papyri of the first centuries AD in both spirit and text[24] offers the proof for the possible survival of Bes's other aspect. It must be Bes, the oracle who

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[21] See. *e.g.* Perdrizet 1919:xix; Puech 1930:422; Dunand 1973: I, 140; DuQuesne 1991:23f. n. 46 with further literature on Bes.

[22] See *e.g.* Puech 1930:416; Goodenough 1953: II, 185.

[23] Winkler 1936:10 (cited by Kákosy 1966:191, n. 29). For the popularity of the figures of the pantheistic deity in Europe, see Stricker 1943.

[24] For their relationship, see Fodor 1994 and 1996.

is invoked in a prescription which shows the crude drawing of a small winged figure with projecting ears and wearing a crown. Its rectangular forms, similarly to the shape of other usual *figurae magicae* are reminiscent of the Roman tunic or the dress worn in Coptic Egypt.

This interesting passage can be found in a magical book compiled by aṭ-Ṭūḫī (*Hidāya* 68-78), the most famous and most prolific modern Egyptian author of magical works. aṭ-Ṭūḫī says that he wrote his book from a treatise written by the Sage DRMGŠ on the secrets of the letters and it was dated to the year 1285 AH (1868-69 AD). At first, the text speaks about the creation of twelve servant spirits (literally "assistants", *ʿawns* or "kings", *maliks*) using the numerical values of the letters in different names. Then the practitioner is instructed to make the winged magical figure (*šaʿbād*) whose body is composed of a 3 by 3 magical square. This *figura magica* is supposed to be a depository for the magically active names of the spirits. Through the permutation of the numerical values of the names in the square, a further talisman (*ṭilasm*) – presumably another magical name – should be created and written on the two sides of a spear (*ḥarba*)[25].

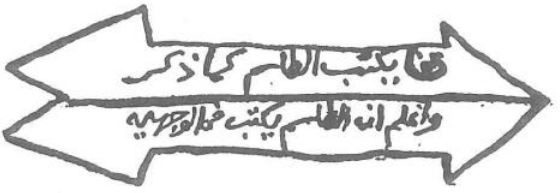
After this introduction the description of the procedure reads like this:

(وأما شروط التلاوة) فهي أن تأخذ لك موضعا نظيفا جدا خالي من الناس وتكون مستحضرا على قطعة من القماش الأبيض بقدر ما يحيطك وتكتب عليها آية الكرسي عدد٣ مرات على عدد٣ صفوف وتضرب هذا المندل حولك ومتوجه إلى جهة الشرق واجعل أمامك سبيه من عيدان الرمان هذا وأنت راسم الطابع المذكور في لوح من الفضة الخالصة المطلية بالذهب وترسمه أيضا على رق غزال بالمسك والزعفران وماء الورد وتعلق الرق في فتله من الحرير الأخضر والطابع الفضة من فوقه والحربة المرسوم عليها الطلسم فوق الجميع ثم اسرج قنديلين أحدهما على يمينك والآخر على يسارك داخل المندل المضروب حولك وتضع الشعباذ والطابع والحربة إلى جهة يمينك والجمرة إلى جهة يسارك وبخر بعود مربى بالمسك مع الكندر هذا وأنت صايم سبعة أيام بشروط الرياضة وأنت تتلو أسماء الملائكة على حسب الطريقة السالفة الذكر بعدد الحاكم على الجميع وهو الملك الثاني عشر وأنت تشاور بيدك إلى جهة الشعباذ والطابع والحربة فيتصور لك الملك أو العون الذي طلبت خدمته لك في أحسن منظر وليس فيه خوف ولا فزع فاحفظ أيها الطالب قدر ما وصل إليك من هذه الأسرار التي لا توجد في أي سفر من الأسفار وكن بها أيها الطالب ضنينا وعليها حريصا حفظ الروح في الجسد.

[25] As a matter of fact, a very similar figure in *PGM* VIII, 105-110 is described as a "sword" held by Bes in his right hand (Betz 1986:147f).

وهذه صورة الشعباذ المشار إليه

وهذه صورة الحربة التي تكتب عليها الطلسم من الوجهين كما ترى



In translation:

"(As for the conditions of the recitation) they are as follows: you should choose a very pure place for yourself which should be abandoned by people. You should place yourself on a piece of white linen so that it could cover you. You should write the Throne Verse [Q 2,255] on it 3 times in 3 lines and you should pitch this *mandal* around yourself facing the direction of the East. Place a tripod made from the branches of a pomegranate tree in front of you. Then you should draw the above-mentioned seal on a lamella of pure silver plated with gold. You should also draw it on parchment with musk, saffron and rose-water. You should hang the parchment [on the tripod] with a thread of green silk. A silver seal should be [placed] above it and the spear with the talisman drawn upon it should be above the whole. Then light two lamps, one of them should be on your right and the other on your left, inside

the *mandal* pitched around yourself. You should place the magical figure (*šaᶜbāḏ*), the seal and the spear to the direction of your right and the censer to the direction of your left. Fumigate with aloes-wood mixed with musk together with hemp. Furthermore, you should be fasting for seven days according the conditions of the ascetic discipline (*riyāḍa*) and you should recite the names of the angels in accordance with the above-mentioned method and corresponding to the numerical value of the ruler over them, *i.e.* the twelfth king. In the meantime you should point with your hand into the direction of the magical figure (*šaᶜbāḏ*), the seal and the spear. Then the king or the assistant whose service you have requested for yourself will appear to you in the most beautiful shape and there will be nothing in him [that causes] fear or fright. Preserve, o seeker [of knowledge], as far as possible everything that has reached you from these secrets which cannot be found in any other book and keep them away [from the uninitiated] o seeker and guard them as the soul is preserved in the body.

And this is the figure of the above-mentioned magical figure (*šaᶜbāḏ*).

And this is the figure of the spear on which you should write the talisman (*ṭilasm*) on its both sides as you see."

The procedure seemingly aims to bring about an encounter with a spirit whose assistance is requested for the petitioner. It is also evident that the magical figure as the supposedly potential form of manifestation for the adjured demon is a basic element. The presence of the lamps may indicate that the ritual was supposed to take place during the night and its primary purpose was to get an oracular answer[26].

10. Parallels to the instructions of this magical recipe which is absolutely non-Islamic in its character apart from the reference to the Throne Verse and the use of the 3 by 3 magical square are offered by the Greek Magical Papyri[27]. In *PGM* VIII. 64-110 which contains a request for a dream oracle of Besa the practitioner is ordered to draw the magical figure of Besa (that is Bes) in a form similar to the drawing of the Arabic text (Betz 1986:147f). In another spell for sending dreams (*PGM* XII. 121-43), a figure should be drawn on a clean linen cloth "which is manlike in appearance but has four wings, having the left arm outstretched along with the two left wings...". The other characteristics reveal that the deity is Bes-Pantheos in his usual outward form. The practitioner is further advised to take a lamp and light it when invoking the god with the help of his different magical names (Betz 1986:157f). The presence of the figure of the dwarf god seems to be also essential in a love spell as *PGM* XXXIX. 1-21 attests to it (Betz 1986:279).

As for the general setting of the Arabic recipe the so called "Eighth Book of Moses" in *PGM* XIII offers the most interesting material for comparison. Its main

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[26] Recipes for lamp or bowl divination could be very similar since both of them contained oil used in divinatory procedures (Cunen 1960:65f).

[27] For their translation, see Betz 1986.

aim is to invoke the supreme deity for divinatory purposes. The passages which contain the relevant parts in the description of the procedure and its requisites are the following:

PGM XIII. 1-130: [The preparations]: "Remain pure 41 days.... Have a house on ground level, in which no one died during the past year. The door should face west. Now set up in the middle of the house an earthen altar and have ready cypress wood, ten pine cones full of seed, two white roosters uninjured and without blemish, and two lamps... Have the table prepared with these following kinds of incense... Next, for the all-important meeting, have a square of natron on which you will write the great name... ... draw on the first part of the natron a falcon-faced crocodile... a snake biting its tail" (Betz 1986:172f). [After invoking the deity]: "Have a tablet in which you will write what he says to you and a two-edged knife, all of iron, so that clean from all [impurities], you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation (a jug of wine and a flask full of honey) that you may pour. Have all these ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy thus: taking a clean sheet, write on the border [the names of] the 365 gods, and make it a tent under which you go to be initiated.... And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, with tripod standing beside him... Carve around the Apollo the great name... Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance /through the last/ seven days while the moon is waning..." (Betz 1986:174f).

A second version of the ritual contains also this order (*PGM* XIII. 564-67): "When the god comes in, look down and write the things said and whatever name he may give you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he also tells you the things that concern you" (Betz 1986:186).

The third version gives the following warning familiar from the Arabic text (*PGM* XIII. 740-43): "I have also set out for you the oath that precedes each book, since, when you have learned the power of the book, you are to keep it secret..." (Betz 1986:189).

If we compare the appropriate components of the two different sources the manifest correspondences cannot be considered as fortuitous and they certainly testify to a textual continuity in the magical literature of Greco-Roman and Arabic Egypt.

11. Finally, returning to the relationship between Bes and Abū Rīš we must say that a third and perhaps the most important aspect of Bes, his duty of protecting children seems to be concealed in the rites connected to Abū Rīš. As we have seen, the proliferation of the personality of Bes by allowing every child to become himself a Bes may offer a clue for the interpretation of our Abū Rīš figure which behaves and exerts its influence through the same mechanism as the ancient deity. In a perfect harmony with the activity of Bes, later Muslim saints wearing the name Abū Rīš

practically played the role of the Egyptian god when they performed one of their major functions, the protection of children, each of them nicknamed Abū Rīš[28].

On the other hand, the evidence advanced so far may imply that the Arabic rites can also shed light on Bes. Though there is abundant archaeological material about the popularity of Bes in Greco-Roman Egypt, it does not really disclose the process through which his protection for children was requested or how it was supposed to work. Knowing, however, that such acts as fumigation, presenting offerings (like food) and singing were practically indispensable in the magical practice of ancient Egypt we may even say that the character of the Abū Rīš ritual has probably preserved something from the "living" side of a similar ceremony centred upon the god Bes of late antiquity.

This is also to say that no matter how great political changes the Arabic conquest of Egypt might have brought about, some aspects of life like the position of children in society, people's attitude to them, the fear from the danger of their being exposed to premature death (at least until recently) have not changed too much. In other words, the idea of the *residua*, the survivals of ancient religions, one of the favourite guiding principles for Goldziher and his contemporaries in their researches cannot necessarily be dismissed as a reflection of dead and meaningless features. On the contrary, it should rather be treated as part of a working hypothesis which – if supported by anthropological evidence – may have relevance in shedding light on present day and one-time social or religious phenomena.

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al-Qasṭallānī, *Iršād* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qasṭallānī, *Iršād as-sārī li-Šarḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī.* Vol. II. Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜa al-Amīriyya bi-Būlāq Miṣr, 1905.

[28] In connection with the child protecting Bes it is worth mentioning that an intriguing hypothesis was put forward by Barb who, dealing with the Greek Medusa figure, seemed to be in favour of its derivation from the wide-spread representations of Bes. On the other hand, using the theories of famous psychoanalysts (Ferenczi and Freud) he suggested that the Medusa mask could be the emblem of the Primeval Womb, the *Diva Matrix* (Barb 1953:209). This idea could also be introduced into the interpretation of the Arabic Abū Rīš whose ritual can ultimately be considered as a means to protect the maternal womb.

aṭ-Ṭūḫī, *Hidāya* = ᶜAbdalfattāḥ as-Sayyid at-Tūḫī, *Kitāb hidāyat al-ᶜibād*. Beirut: al-Maktaba aš-Šaᶜbiyya, n.d.
aṭ-Ṭūḫī, *Siḥr* = ᶜAbdalfattāḥ as-Sayyid at-Tūḫī, *Kitāb siḥr al-kuhhān*. Beirut: al-Maktaba aš-Šaᶜbiyya, n.d.

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APPENDIX 1

Invitation to attend the Mūlid of Abū Rīš

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على اشرف الأنبياء والمرسلين سيدنا ومولانا محمد النبى الأمى وعلى اله وصحبة اجمعين

حضرة الفاضل _____

يتشرف محمد فرحات احمد خادم الضريح بدعوتكم فى إحياء

مـــــولـــــد

سيدى محمد السد الشهير بأبو الريش

﴿رضى الله عنة﴾

بتلاوة آى الذكر الحكيم وسماع القصة النبوية الشريفة وإقامة شعائر الدين الحنيف كما جرت العادة من قديم الزمان على أن يكون ابتداء المولد يوم الجمعة ٢٥رجب ١٤٢٢هـ الموافق ١٢اكتوبر ٢٠٠١م وستكون الليلة الختامية فى مساء الأحد ٢٧رجب ١٤٢٢هـ الموافق ١٤ اكتوبر٢٠٠١ م والموكب والتجمع كالمعتاد سنويا فالأمل حضوركم وجميع الأخوان بالأعلام فى تمام الساعة٤مساء التجمع بالسير بالموكب

والله الموفق لما فيه الخير والصلاح العود احمدا٠

وكل عام وفضيلتكم بخير،،،

خادم الضريح الداعى

محمد فرحات احمد

APPENDIX 2

Translation of the Invitation

"In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!

Praise be to God, Lord of the Human Beings! Blessing and Peace be on the Noblest of the Prophets and Messengers, our Master and Protector, Muḥammad, the Illiterate Prophet and on His Family and on all of His Companions!

The Distinguished Mr. .....

Muḥammad Farḥāt Aḥmad, the Servant of the Shrine has the honour to invite you to revive the

Mūlid
of
Sīdī Muḥammad as-Sadd known as Abū r-Rīš
(May God be pleased with him!)

By reciting the verses of the Wise Dikr, listening to the Noble Prophetic Story and performing the rites of the True Religion as has been customary from old times on the condition that the beginning of the Mūlid should be on Friday, 25 Raǧab 1422 AH corresponding to 14 October 2001 AD and the procession and the gathering should be as usual annually. It is hoped that you and all the notified brethren will be present at 4 o'clock sharp on the evening of the gathering to take part in the procession.
God is giving success to that in which there is blessing and piety perpetually. Repeating /the attendance/ is most laudable.

Wishing you all the best,
The Servant of the Shrine, the Inviter
Muḥammad Farḥāt Aḥmad"

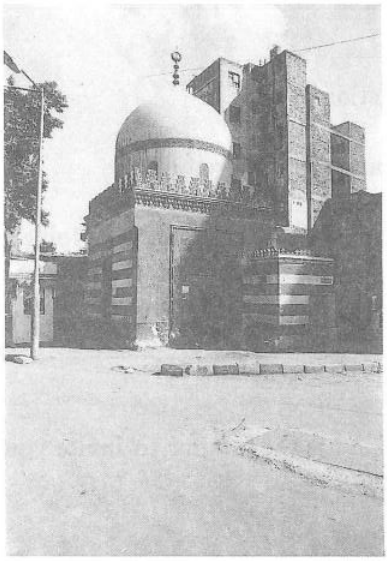

Photo 1

Photo 3

Photo 2

III. ISLAMIC LAW

ON SOME RECENT LAWS ON THE ISLAMIC LAW OF INHERITANCE*

Agostino Cilardo

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Some years ago J. N. D. Anderson (1965:349–365)[1] made an *excursus* on some recent reforms regarding succession in the Islamic countries. In the last few decades, several other laws on intestate succession have been promulgated, among those the law no. 72–61 of June 12, 1972, in Senegal[2]; the Syrian law no. 34 of December 31, 1975, which has partly modified the decree no. 59 of September 17, 1953[3]; the Algerian law no. 84–11 of Ramaḍān 9, 1404/June 9, 1984[4]; and the Kuwaiti law no. 51, enacted on Šawwāl 8, 1404/July 7, 1984, and came into force on October 1, 1984 (art. 347)[5]. Worthy of note is that the Kuwaiti law seems quite a copy of the Syrian

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[1] Anderson has examined the Egyptian Law of Intestate Succession (1943) and the Law of Testamentary Dispositions (1946), the Syrian Law of Personal Status (1953), the Tunisian Law of Personal Status (1956), the Moroccan Code of Personal Status (1958), the Iraqi Law of Personal Status (1959), the Pakistan Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961), and some other provisions of the law concerning the succession. For references to the classical Islamic law of inheritance, I make use of Cilardo 1993, 1994.

[2] The Senegalese "Code de la Famille" is composed of eight Books: I: Persons (arts. 1-99); II: Marriage (arts. 100-187); III: Filiation (arts. 188-253); IV: Relationship and affinity (arts. 254-272); V: Incapacities (arts. 273-367); VI: Marriage régimes (arts. 368-395); VII: Successions *ab intestat* (arts. 396-653); VIII: Gratuitous dispositions in one's favour *inter vivos* and bequests (arts. 654-854). Book VII on successions *ab intestat* includes general rules common for all people (*Titre I. - Dispositions générales*) (arts. 396-514); rules regarding the succession *ab intestat* of common law (*Titre II. - Des successions ab intestat de droit commun*) (arts. 515-570); and rules regarding succession *ab intestat* of the Islamic law (*Titre III. - Des successions en droit musulman*) (arts. 571-653).

[3] The Syrian Code is composed of six Books: I: Marriage (arts. 1-84); II: Dissolution of marriage (arts. 85-127); III: Filiation and its effects (arts. 128-161); IV: Juridical capacity and legitimate representation (arts. 162-206); V: Bequest (arts. 207-259); VI: Inheritance (arts. 260-308). Ḥasan 1976 provided a commentary on this Code.

[4] The Algerian law contains general rules (arts. 1-3), then it is divided in four Books: I: Marriage and its dissolution (arts. 4-80); II: Legitimate representation (arts. 81-125); III: Succession (arts. 126-183); IV: Free gifts, bequest, gratuitous disposition in one's favour *inter vivos* and religious endowment (arts. 184-220). It ends with final rules (arts. 221-224). On the Algerian Code, see Mitchell 1997.

[5] The Kuwaiti law on "Personal Status" includes three parts: I: Marriage (arts. 1-212); II: Bequest (arts. 213-287); III: Intestate succession (arts. 288-336). It ends with final rules (arts. 337-347). This law is supplied by an *Explanatory Memorandum* (*al-muḏakkira al-īḍāḥiyya*). Both texts can be found in *al-Muḥāmī. at-Tašrīʿāt al-kuwaytiyya* 8. 1984.

Code, with some variations, however[6]. A comparison between them shows that the first was deeply influenced by the second, even in its title. The scheme, in fact, is the same, and the text of the articles, too, is much similar[7].

The first issue highlighted by Anderson concerned whether "a testator has complete freedom to make legacies he likes, whether to heirs or non-heirs, within the bequeathable third, and... any such bequests which he may make to an heir are no longer subject to the other heirs' consent" (Anderson 1965:354-355). This doctrine has now been decreed in Sudan, Egypt and Iraq (*ibid.* 354). Among the four modern legislations, only the Senegalese Code follows this rule. As a matter of fact, in various places it states that, according to the Islamic law, the bequeathable share is a one-third and that, for the attribution of the amount exceeding such a share the heirs' consent is needed[8]; however, art. 659[9] clearly provides that every person, except those declared incapable by law, can either dispose or receive, by a gratuitous

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[6] Certainly, the Syrian law is more coherent in its provisions than the Kuwaiti Code because it follows the Ḥanafī school (art. 305); in fact, it privileges immediate family ties; so that it is more obvious for it to admit the return of the surviving spouse (art. 288) and the inhertiance of the maternal relation (arts. 289-297).

[7] The main differences are: BEQUEST: * Syr. art. 208 = K. art. 214: K. is more developed; Syr. has only the first paragraph. * Syr. art. 209 = K. art. 215: Syr. has only the first paragraph. * Syr. art. 210 = K. art. 216: 216.ğ is absent in Syr.. * Syr. art. 211 = K. art. 217: Syr. has only art. 217.'.b, with some changes. * Syr. art. 212 = K. art. 218: Syr. has only K. 218.1.2. * Syr. art. 216 = K. art. 222: K. is more developed. * Syr. art. 217 = K. art. 223: the reference to *al-ḫuluww* is absent in Syr.. * Syr. art. 220 = K. art. 226: K. contains only Syr. 220.b.ğ. * Syr. art. 221 = K. art. 228: Syr. has only the second paragraph. * Syr. art. 222 = K. art. 229: K. is more developed. * Syr. art. 223 = K. art. 228: K. has the same contents, but with a different formulation. * Syr. arts. 224-226 are not present in K. * K. arts. 230-235 on *qabūl* and *radd* (cf. Syr. arts. 220-229), K. arts. 236-246 on *aḥkām al-waṣiyya* (cf. Syr. arts. 230-237), K. arts. 247-259 on *al-mūṣā bihi* (cf. Syr. arts. 238- 245), and K. arts. 260-272 on *al-waṣiyya bi-l-manāfiᶜ* (cf. Syr. arts. 246-253) are differently formulated. * K. Section IV (arts. 273-279) concerning *al-waṣiyya bi-l-murattabāt* is not present in Syr.. * Syr. art. 254 = K. art. 280: K. has only Syr. 254.1.2. * Syr. art. 255 = K. art. 281: K. 281.b is absent in Syr..* Syr. art. 275 on *al-waṣiyya al-wāğiba* in not present in K.

INTESTATE SUCCESSION: * Syr. art. 263 = K. art. 295: K. has a new paragraph. * Syr. art. 264 = K. art. 293: K arts. 293-294 are more developed. Syr. 264 does not treat the case of the *murtadd*. * Syr. art. 279 = K. art. 310: the minimum share allotted to the grandfather is a one-third in Syr. law, while is a one-sixth in K. law. * Syr. art. 290 = K. art. 320: K. law is more developed. * Syr. art. 298 = K. art. 328: K. art. 328.'.ğ are not present in Syr.. * Syr. art. 300 = K. art. 330: K. is more developed. Syr. law has only the K. first paragraph. * K. art. 333 on *mafqūd* and K. art. 334 on *ḫunṯā* are absent in Syr.. * Syr. art. 305 = K. art. 343: K is more developed. Syr. has only the K. first paragraph. * Syr. arts. 306-308 are peculiar reflecting a local situation.

[8] See, for instance, arts. 504-505 (in *Des successions ab intestat. Dispositions générales*, hence valid for the whole Senegalese people), and arts. 649, 2nd par., 651, 653 (in *Des successions en droit musulman*).

[9] In *Des donations entre vifs et des testaments. Dispositions générales communes.*

disposition *inter vivos* or by a bequest as well. On the contrary, Syria[10], Algeria (art. 189) and Kuwait (art. 247)[11], wholly follow the traditional Islamic provisions on this point.

The second topic treated by Anderson was whether "the spouse relict might take the residual estate of the deceased, by the doctrine of the 'return', in the absence of any agnate, quota-sharer, or other relative" (Anderson 1965:356). This concession in favour of the widow/widower was made in Sudan, Egypt and Syria (*ibid.*)[12]. In modern legislations, with almost identical words, the same is stated in the new Syrian Code (art. 288), in Algeria (art. 167) and in Kuwait (art. 318)[13]. As far as Senegal is concerned, the doctrine of the "return", presented as a general rule for all the heirs, is also valid. In fact, art. 596.3 provides that, if there is a remainder after the allotment of the shares to the heirs by quota and there are no agnates, the residual amount of the estate shall be increased to the quota-sharers and divided among them *pro rata*. In this text no specific reference is made to the spouse relict, presumably included among the quota-sharers.

The third relevant subject examined by Anderson regarded the obligatory bequest and the right of representation, as a means to prevent an incongruity of the Islamic law of inheritance; how to prevent the damage suffered by grandchildren because of their parents having deceased before their grandparent's death. This problem was tackled in Egypt (in 1946) by means of the device known as "obligatory bequests." This device appears in this form: "where a grandparent fails to make a bequest in favour of any orphaned grandchildren, if they would not be entitled to any share in his or her estate on intestacy, of what their predeceased father would have received had he lived, provided always that this does not exceed the bequeathable third, the court must act as though he had — unless, indeed, he had made them some smaller bequest or had made a gratuitous disposition in their favour *inter vivos*, in which case the court must make this up to the sum which their deceased parent would have received or the bequeathable third, whichever is less; if, instead, the grandparent had

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[10] Art. 238. See also the Syrian Ḥasan 1976: 148-149. At p. 149 it is said that a bequest is permitted in Egypt and among the Druses either in favour of an heir or other persons within the bequeathable share of one-third or more.

[11] See also the *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, pp. 381-382. The first two paragraphs of this article are formulated in the same way as the Syrian ones.

[12] According to Anderson, "similar (although not quite identical) provisions are included in the Egyptian Law of Intestate Succession, 1943, and the Syrian Law of Personal Status, 1953". But I find that the provisions on *radd* are at the whole identical in all the laws.

[13] The *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum* (pp. 443-446) well points out that there were many divergences among the ancient Muslim scholars on the question of the proportional increase of the shares (*radd*). They may be reduced to five doctrines, not always exactly related in this *Memorandum*: 444-445. Cf. Cilardo 1994: 47-52.

made bequests in favour of others, then the obligatory bequests in favour of the grandchildren should take priority, within the bequeathable third, over any other disposition; and that this entitlement should be divided between such grandchildren according to the principle of a double share to males..." (Anderson 1965:358).

The device of the obligatory bequests was adopted in Syria (in 1953) and in Morocco (in 1958); for in both these countries this kind of bequest was confined to grandchildren through a predeceased son or son's son. By contrast, "the Egyptian law includes in its scope the children of a predeceased daughter or of a predeceased son's daughter, presumably on the ground that the daughter and son's daughter would themselves have been quota-sharers, although it does not, in fact, include the children of a predeceased daughter's child, presumably because the predeceased daughter's dead son or daughter would themselves have been neither a quota-sharer nor an agnate. And the Tunisian law, although it does not extend to great grandchildren at all, yet follows the Egyptian model in giving relief to grandchildren through a predeceased son or daughter — which is the more significant in that the Tunisian law, following *Mālikī* principles, makes no other provision for 'uterine heirs' in any circumstances whatever" (*ibid.* 359)[14].

The Senegalese Code[15] reflects the Islamic rules regarding the partial and total exclusion, thus rejecting the obligatory bequest or the right of representation as well, while the new Syrian Code (1975) (art. 257; Ḥasan 1976:159) resumes the provisions of the previous law. As far as the Kuwaiti law is concerned, it only mentions the obligatory bequest (art. 291.3), but it does not give any other explanation of it. Neither in the articles devoted to the legatee (*al-mūṣā lahu*) (arts. 236–246) nor in the *Explanatory Memorandum* (370–381) on them any reference is done to people entitled to the *waṣiyya wāǧiba*. However, the *Memorandum*[16] gives a concise prospect of the

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[14] For Egypt, see also Ḥasan 1976: 159.

[15] See *Titre III: Des successions de droit musulman*. Only arts. 521-522 (*Titre II: Des successions ab intestat de droit commun*) are devoted to the right of representation. But these provisions are evidently to be applied to non-Muslim people.

[16] 423: after the payment for inhumation and debts, the bequests must be paid within the limit of a one-third of the estate, with the observance of the articles regarding the obligatory bequest (which?). No question if the one-third suffices for the payment of all the bequests. If, instead, it is not enough, the persons (who?) entitled to the obligatory bequest have precedence, whether the *de cuius* has made a bequest in their favour or not; they have right to it on the basis of the provision of the law (which?). If the amount to which they have right is more than the one-third of the estate and the heirs do not give permission for the surplus payment, they shall receive no more than a one-third. But if they have right to less than the bequeathable one-third, they shall take only their minor share, while the remainder of the one-third shall be given to the persons entitled to voluntary bequests.

A further short reference to the *waṣiyya wāǧiba* is in the *Explanatory Memorandum* (418) with reference to the presence of numerous bequests, where the same rules as above are repeated. The precedence is due to the *waṣiyya wāǧiba*, whether the *de cuius* has made a bequest or not; then the voluntary bequests

rules concerned, which correspond to those of the Syrian Code. Thus, also in the case of the obligatory bequest the Kuwaiti law makes implicit reference to the Syrian rules and strictly reflects the Syrian Code.

The question of the orphaned grandchildren excluded from inheritance on intestacy by direct descendants has been radically solved in Algeria. In fact, the main innovation in the Algerian Family Law (arts. 169–172) is the introduction of the right of representation, a Western juridical doctrine completely unknown to the Islamic law of inheritance because it fundamentally contradicts the Islamic agnatic rule. As a matter of fact, one of the basic principles of the Islamic system is that an heir must be alive at the *de cuius*' death; further, that the closest heir excludes the most distant (Cilardo 1994:34–35, 139–144). But one can easily stress the state of injustice caused to the grandchildren by their exclusion from inheritance because of their parents having deceased before their grandparent's death.

Having accepted the principle of representation, Algerian law makes, however, a compromise between the requirement of such a doctrine and the demands of the Islamic law. In conformity with the doctrine of representation, the Algerian law states that the amount due to grandchildren must be the same as what their predeceased father would have received had he lived. But, according to the Islamic *šarīʿa*, the law makes this rule conditional by the imposition that such an amount must not be more than the bequeathable third (art. 170); that grandchildren cannot represent their predeceased parents if they are already quota-sharers, or a bequest was made in their favour, or the *de cuius*, during his lifetime, gave them, without return, an amount equivalent to what grandchildren can claim by this bequest; however, if the bequest in their favour was less than the share to which they are entitled, they can claim the difference between the two (art. 171); lastly, the well-known Qur'ānic provision to give a male a double share is in force (art. 172).

Besides the considerations on the previous main three points of doctrine, some further remarks may be done on the four Codes here considered.

In their titles we face a terminology unknown to the Islamic law. The Algerian law is entitled "Family Law" (*Qānūn al-usra*), while the law of Senegal is named "Code de la Famille", words extraneous to the usual language of Islam (Cilardo 1985: 68). Contrary to Senegal, where the expression "Code de la Famille" is partly justified either because it refers to all Senegalese people, including non-Muslims, and because the structure of the Code is similar to that of the Western Codes, Algeria has adopted a Western expression which constitutes a true innovation in the modern legislations of the Islamic countries.

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come. Lastly, with reference to the *waṣiyya wāǧiba*, the *Explanatory Memorandum* (360-361) states that, if the conditions of its validity are fulfilled at the time of its institution and nothing has happened of what can invalidate it till the testator's death, the bequest is valid and it shall become obligatory. But, if it was not instituted by the testator, it shall be effected all the same.

The Syrian and Kuwaiti laws have the words, generally used in the modern legislations, of "Personal Status" (*al-aḥwāl aš-šaḫṣiyya*), which, too, are not of Islamic origin, but they are resumed from Western usage. The concept of "Personal Status" is not well defined in modern Islamic law systems, which, generally, have recourse to it without fixing its contents. However, a definition of "Personal Status" is found in Egypt, although it keeps now a mere doctrinal value, as a consequence of the abolition of mixed tribunals. Art. 13 of the Egyptian law no. 147 of 1949 regarding the judiciary, abrogated by the law no. 43 of July 19, 1965, on the judiciary power, stated:

Personal Status includes disputes and questions concerning the status of persons and their juridical capacity, or those concerning the rules regarding the family, like as a request of a woman's hand in marriage, reciprocal rights and obligations of spouses, bridal money, dower, rules concerning the property of spouses, repudiation, separation, divorce, filiation, acknowledgement and negation of paternity, relation among ascendants and descendants, obligation of maintenance in favour of relatives and cognation, attestation of blood ties, adoption, tutorship, curatorship and testamentary curatorship, guardianship, interdiction, authorization to the administration of property, absence and how to consider a missing person as dead. Likewise, Personal Status includes disputes concerning inheritance, bequest and gratuitous dispositions in one's favour to be fulfilled after the *de cuius*' death (Cilardo 1993a:23–24).

In its text Syrian law has used a new terminology in some cases, which is almost completely resumed by the Kuwaiti Code; and the *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum* (465) makes observe that such words are different from those found in the Islamic *šarīᶜa*: *al-ǧadd al-ᶜaṣbī* (Syria, arts. 265.2, 266, 275.2.4, 279, 283.2, 284) or *al-ǧadd al-ᶜāṣib* (Kuwait, arts. 209, 296, 297.b, 302.ǧ, 305.2.4, 313.d, 314), which are as correct as the words *al-ǧadd aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*, a true grandfather, used in the Islamic sources; *al-ǧadd ar-raḥimī* (Syria, art. 265.2, 290; Kuwait, art. 320), instead of *al-ǧadd al-fāsid* or *al-ǧadd ġayr aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*, a not true grandfather; *al-ǧadda aṯ-ṯābita* (Syria, art. 265.1–2, 272, 283.1; Kuwait, arts. 296, 302.ǧ, 313.a), instead of *al-ǧadda aṣ-ṣaḥīḥa*; *al-ǧaddāt ġayr aṯ-ṯābitāt* (Syria, art. 290) or *al-ǧadda ġayr aṯ-ṯābita* (Kuwait, art. 320), instead *of al-ǧadda al-fāsida* or *al-ǧadda ġayr aṣ-ṣaḥīḥa*. Lastly, *al-ǧānib* (Syria, arts 292, 295–297; Kuwait, art. 326), instead of *al-ḥayyiz*.

As regards the effectiveness of these laws, obviously Islamic rules are valid for Muslims. But, for Senegal (art. 571), given the peculiarity of its "Code de la Famille", it seems not so strange that it states special provisions for persons who, during their lifetime, have expressly or by their behaviour manifested their will to have their estate be divided following the rules of the Islamic law. So it seems that also non-Muslims can ask for the application of the Islamic system of inheritance. However, a true innovation was introduced in the Algerian law which makes no further distinction among Muslim and non-Muslim citizens. Further, one of the final rules of the Algerian Code (art. 221) states that the provisions of this law are effective not only

for all Algerian citizens, without any other distinction, but also for residents in Algeria.

In general, modern legislations have recourse to the well-known methods of *talfīq*, *taḫayyur* and *tarǧīḥ* (Cilardo 1985:69 note 7, 71 note 12). Such methods are also followed in the four laws here considered, where Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Šāfiᶜī, Ḥanbalī, Ibāḍī, and Zaydī doctrines coexist. The cohabitation of rules of different schools is evident if we consider some particular cases.

— In the *Dispositions générales* of the Senegalese Code, hence valid for all people, art. 398 deals with persons, who are relatives, dying in a same accidental event without any possibility to determine which of them has died first. In such a case, according to the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Šāfiᶜī doctrine, they do not inherit from one another, but only their own surviving relatives inherit from each one of them (Cilardo 1994: 534–536).

— The Algerian law devotes Section IX of its Code to some special questions. There are five particular cases which gave rise to a peculiar doctrine or to solutions differing from one another within the law schools. Now, the case called *al-akdariyya* or *al-ġarrā'* (art. 175)[17] is solved in accordance with the Mālikī, Šāfiᶜī and Ḥanbalī doctrine, whereas the case called *al-muštaraka* or *al-mušarraka* is solved on the basis of the Mālikī, Šāfiᶜī and Ibāḍī doctrine[18]. The remaining three cases are solved in accordance with the Sunnī, Zaydī and Ibāḍī doctrine. These cases are called *al-ġarrawāni* or *al-ᶜumariyyatāni*[19], *al-mubāhala*[20], and *al-minbariyya*[21].

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[17] Grandfather, mother/grandmother, husband, and full or consanguine sister. The husband has right to a one-half, the mother/grandmother to a one-third, the grandfather to a one-sixth, and a sister to a one-half: 1/2+1/3+1/6+1/2=9/6, which will become 9/9 by means of the proportional reduction (*ᶜawl*). Then grandfather' and sister's shares must be summed up: 1/9+3/9=4/9, which must be divided between them giving a grandfather a double amount as a sister: 4/9:3=12/27. Lastly, all the shares must be summed up: 3/9+2/9+12/27=27/27, of which 9/27 to the husband, 6/27 to the mother/grandmother, 8/28 to the grandfather, and 4/27 to the sister. See Cilardo 1993: 274-276, 314-315, 357, 542, 546, 604.

[18] Algeria, art. 176. This doctrine is also followed in Senegal (arts. 615, last par.; 638). That is: husband, mother/grandmother, two or more uterine brothers/sisters, and one or more full brothers. Both kinds of brothers shall divide the one-third share on an equal footing without taking into account their sex; the husband has right to a one-half, and the mother/grandmother to a one-sixth (see Cilardo 1994: 140, 219-223, 225, 236, 256-257, 258).

[19] Algeria, art. 177: 1) father, mother, and husband. The husband has right to 1/2=3/6, the mother to 1/3 of what remains (=1/6), instead of 1/3=2/6 of the whole estate, whereas the father has right to the remainder (=2/6). 2) Father, mother, and wife. The wife has right to 1/4=3/12, the mother to 1/3 of what remains (=3/12), instead of 1/3=4/12 of the whole estate, whereas the father has right to the remainder (=6/12). See Cilardo 1994: 199-200.

[20] Algeria, art. 178: husband, mother, and a full or consanguine sister. The husband has right to a one-half, the sister to a one-half, and the mother to a one-third: 1/2+1/2+1/3=8/6, which shall become 8/8 by means of the proportional reduction of the shares, of which 3/8 shall be due to the husband, 3/8 to the sister, and 2/8 to the mother. See Cilardo 1994: 69.

— The Kuwaiti law follows the rules of the Mālikī school concerning the Personal Status[22]. In reality, it is not always so. In fact, as for the basic elements of a bequest, the Kuwaiti law (arts. 213–225) agrees equally with the four Sunnī schools as well as with the Zaydī, Ẓāhirī and Imāmī schools[23]. Also as regards the order to be followed in the distribution of the estate, this Code (art. 291) agrees with different law schools; so, the precedence of the inhumation of a deceased person over the payment of debts is in accordance with the Ḥanbalī doctrine, contrary to Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Šāfiᶜī schools. Further, the inhumation of people, as offspring and wife, who have died before the *de cuius* and to whom the *de cuius* himself was obliged to provide maintenance, precedes the payment of debts, according to the Ḥanafī school[24]. Another Ḥanafī doctrine followed in the Kuwaiti Code concerns the "debts of Allāh" (*duyūn Allāh*), i.e. alms taxes (*zakawāt*) and amends (*kaffārāt*), which shall not be paid by the estate, contrary to the doctrine of the generality of the *fuqahā'* (*ibid.* 421–422).

— Grandfather: Certainly, the most complex question concerning inheritance has been at all times the fixation of the position of the grandfather (Cilardo 1990). It is well-known that the Ḥanafī doctrine, reflecting the pre-Islamic *sunna*, is more rigid than the Mālikī, Šāfiᶜī, Ḥanbalī, and Zaydī rule; and that Zaydī system is rather different with respect to the remaining three (Cilardo 1994:265–324). Modern legislations generally adopt these last systems; however, with some differences among them. While Algeria and, with much more detailed rules, Senegal wholly agree with the Mālikī, Šāfiᶜī and Ḥanbalī doctrine, Syria makes a mixture between these last and the Zaydī rule; lastly, Kuwait is clearly influenced by Syria, but it puts aside the elements deriving from the Mālikī, Šāfiᶜī and Ḥanbalī systems, and adopts entirely the Zaydī system.

So, for Senegal and Algeria the Mālikī, Šāfiᶜī and Ḥanbalī doctrine is accepted in the case of a grandfather when in competition either with full or consanguine

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[21] Algeria, art. 179: parents, two daughters, and wife. The father has right to a one-sixth, the mother to a one-sixth, the wife to a one-eighth, and the daughters to two-thirds: 1/6+1/6+1/8+2/3=27/24, which shall become 27/27 by means of the proportional reduction of the shares, of which 4/27 respectively to father and mother, 3/27 to the wife, and 8/27 to each one of the two daughters. See Cilardo 1994: 66, 68-69, 209, 604-605.

[22] See *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, p. 5. In the lack of a Mālikī rule, one must revert to what is notorious in the Mālikī school; otherwise, one must follow other law schools. Lastly, if there is no rule at all, one must follow the general principles of the Mālikī school (Kuwait, art. 343).

[23] See *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, pp. 337-357.

[24] See *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, pp. 421, 422.

brothers[25], or with full or consanguine brothers/sisters and one or more heirs by quota[26]. Further, the Senegalese Code (art. 579.2) provides that a full or consanguine sister becomes *ʿāṣib* when she is in competition with a grandfather, except in the well-known case called *al-akdariyya* (Senegal, art. 640). Moreover, a grandfather is treated as a father (Senegal, art. 620), except that:

1) a grandfather does not exclude a paternal grandmother (Senegal, art. 621.1), as it is the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Šāfiʿī doctrine (Cilardo 1994:326–327);

2) that grandfather does not cause the reduction of the mother's share in the two cases called *al-ʿumariyyatāni* (Senegal, arts. 621.2, 641), according to the Sunnī doctrine (Cilardo 1994:199–201);

3) that the presence of a grandfather does not cause the exclusion of full or consanguine brothers/sisters (Senegal, art. 621.3), according to the Mālikī, Šāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī and Zaydī doctrine, above examined (Cilardo 1994:269–272). Then, a remote grandfather is considered as a grandfather; thus he cannot be excluded by full or consanguine brothers/sisters (Senegal, art. 634, 3rd par.). Lastly, in the case called *al-muʿādda* the Mālikī doctrine is followed[27].

A case solved in the Senegalese Code (arts. 635.1; 639) seems to misunderstand an Islamic rule. It is: husband, mother, uterine brothers/sisters, one or more full or consanguine brothers/sisters, and grandfather. The Code states that full or consanguine brothers/sisters are excluded by uterine brothers, while these last are excluded by grandfather. However, I find that the solution given by the Code is in accordance with the Ḥanafī school, according to which a one–half shall be due to the husband, a one–sixth to the mother, and the remainder to the grandfather. But the grounds of the solution expounded in the Code are wrong; in fact, according to the general consensus, grandfather excludes uterine brothers/sisters, but full/consanguine brothers are not excluded by uterine brothers (Cilardo 1994:268). On the contrary, according to the Mālikī school, the solution is: the husband has right to a one–half and the mother to a one–sixth; the remainder shall be divided among brothers/sisters and grandfather, unless the grandfather's share will be less than a one–sixth; otherwise, the grandfather has right to his minimum quota of a one–sixth, while the remaining one-sixth shall be divided among brothers/sisters according to the principle of a

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[25] Senegal, art. 616; Algeria, art. 148.3, 158. Grandfather has right to the more convenient share for him chosen between the one-third of the whole estate or sharing with brothers being considered as a male; cf. Cilardo 1994: 268-273.

[26] Senegal, art. 622; Algeria, art. 158. Grandfather can choose which share is the most convenient for him: the one-sixth of the whole estate, or the one-third of what remains after allotting the shares to the persons entitled to them, or sharing with brothers being considered as a male; cf. Cilardo 1994: 271-272.

[27] Senegal, art. 636, 2nd par.. That is, consanguine brothers are counted among full brothers in order to fix full brothers' and grandfather's shares; then, the consanguine brothers are excluded from inheritance; thus, they create an advantage for full brothers; cf. Cilardo 1994: 276-278.

double share to males (*ibid.* 271). Thus, only in this particular case regarding grandfather, Senegal agrees with a Ḥanafī doctrine.

The Syrian (art. 279) and the Kuwaiti (art. 310) laws follow the Zaydī doctrine in the case of the grandfather in competition with full or consanguine brothers/sisters, although the *Kuwaiti Explicatory Memorandum* (440) makes confusion considering ᶜAlī's doctrine, followed by the Zaydīs and accepted in this law, as the same and identical with Zayd b. Ṯābit's doctrine, followed by the Mālikīs, Šāfiᶜīs, Ḥanbalīs, Abū Yūsuf and aš-Šaybānī[28]. However, the Syrian Code, while respecting the general structure of the Zaydī rules, agrees with the Mālikī school with regard to the determination of the minimum share of the grandfather, which is not a one-sixth, as it is for the Zaydīs, but a one-third.

In sum, a grandfather shares with full or consanguine brothers according to the following rules:

1) In the absence of heirs by quota, the grandfather must be considered as a brother, and he shares with them, unless his portion will be less than a one-sixth (Syria: one-third).

2) If grandfather, full or consanguine brothers are in competition, consanguine brothers are not counted among the heirs in order to fix the grandfather's share.

3) The grandfather has right to a one-sixth when in competition with descendants. If are present heirs other than descendants, the grandfather is entitled to receive the remainder as agnate after the allotment of the shares to the quota sharers.

4) If a grandfather, a full sister and a consanguine brother are in competition, the full sister has right to her Qur'ānic share of a one-half, whereas the remainder shall be divided halves between grandfather and brother. If brothers are many, the minimum share of the grandfather is a one-sixth (Syria: one-third).

5) If grandfather, full or consanguine sisters are in competition, one or more sisters have right to their Qur'ānic share, whereas the grandfather has right to the remainder as agnate, unless his share will be less than a one-sixth (Syria: one-third), which is his minimum share in any case (Cilardo 1994:272-273).

— Grandmother: Some rules are common to all schools, like that a grandmother is entitled to a one-sixth share[29], which shall be divided among grandmothers if they are more than one and they are of the same degree[30]. Some others are peculiar to

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[28] The main differences between Zaydīs and Mālikīs, Šāfiᶜīs and Ḥanbalīs consist in that these last: 1) make the minimum share of the grandfather a one-third; 2) they count consanguine brothers among full brothers in order to fix grandfather's share; 3) one or more full or consanguine sisters are not considered as heirs by quota when they are in competition with grandfather (see Cilardo 1994: 269-272).

[29] Senegal, art. 623; Syria, art. 272; Algeria, art. 149.4; Kuwait, art. 302; see Cilardo 1994: 327-328. The Kuwaiti rules are dependent on the Syrian ones.

[30] Senegal, art. 626; Syria, art. 272; Algeria, art. 149.4; Kuwait, art. 302.

some schools, such as a maternal grandmother is excluded only by mother, not by father[31], while a paternal grandmother is excluded by both mother and father, according to the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Šāfiᶜī school[32]. When more grandmothers are of the third degree or more remote, but not of the same degree, according to the Ḥanafīs, Ḥanbalīs, Zaydīs and some Ibāḍīs (Cilardo 1994:329), the only criterion to be adopted in order to fix which of them has right to inherit is that of the proximity. Syria (art. 283) and Kuwait (art. 313) agree with this doctrine. On the contrary, Algeria (arts. 149.4; 161) and Senegal (art. 627) agree with the solution given by Mālikīs and Šāfiᶜīs (Cilardo 1994:328–329); that is, if a maternal grandmother is closer than a paternal grandmother, she excludes the paternal grandmother; if they are of the same degree or a paternal grandmother is closer than a maternal grandmother, both inherit dividing the one-sixth share between them on an equal footing.

— *Ḏawū l-arḥām*: There exists a well-known divergence on this point of doctrine among the law schools. Some scholars, as Zayd b. Ṯābit, followed by Mālikīs and Šāfiᶜīs, believed that, in the presence of only *ḏawū l-arḥām*, the estate must be devolved to the Public Treasury. On the contrary, many other scholars, followed by Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, believed that *ḏawū l-arḥām* have right to inherit in the absence of quota-sharers (except husband/wife) and agnates, or after the allotment of the share to the spouse relict[33]. However, during the third century H., also Mālikīs and Šāfiᶜīs stated that the *ḏawū l-arḥām* have right to inherit if the Public Treasury is not well administered[34]. With the admission of such category of heirs to succeed, most importance is given to the immediate family of a deceased person rather than to his extended family of tribal life.

The four modern legislations follow this doctrine. Syria (art. 263.2.4), even here resumed by Kuwait (art. 295.ǧ), and Algeria (art. 139.3) have divided the heirs into three categories: heirs by quota, agnates and maternal relation. Then, Syria and Kuwait have meticulously established the rules regarding the last category of heirs[35], while Algeria (art. 168) gives only some general criteria for the fixation of the precedence among them. As far as the Senegalese Code (arts. 643–644) is concerned, it is very concise, admitting the succession of the maternal relatives till the twelfth degree, without any other specification.

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[31] Senegal, art. 624; Syria, art. 283; Algeria, art. 161; Kuwait, art. 313; see Cilardo 1994: 325-326.

[32] Senegal, art. 625; Syria, art. 283; Algeria, art. 161; Kuwait, art. 313; see Cilardo 1994: 326-327.

[33] *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, pp. 446-451. On the inheritance of this category of heirs, see Cilardo 1994:367-380.

[34] See *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, pp. 449-450; Cilardo 1994:51-52.

[35] Syria, arts. 289-297; Kuwait, arts. 319-327; see also *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, pp. 446-451.

Modern legislations on inheritance are traditional and modern at the same time. They do not reject the classical elaboration, although putting aside some rules no more followed at present, such as the consideration of the patronage as a title to inherit. In fact, the Kuwaiti law (art. 295) mentions only marriage and relationship, omitting the patronage, which is the third title according to the *šarīᶜa*; this is because the slavery is now abrogated. Thus, the doctrine of the agnation founded on a cause, that is the manumission (*al-ᶜuṣūba as-sababiyya*), is now out of date[36]. By means of the methods of *talfīq*, *tarǧīḥ* and *taḫayyur*, the most favourable Islamic rules for the heirs are chosen. However, where Islamic devices fail to give a solution to real problems, one has recourse to innovations, either derived from inside Islam, such as the obligatory bequests, or from Western law systems, such as the right of representation.

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[36] See *Kuwaiti Explanatory Memorandum*, pp. 430, 435.

THE PROBLEM OF ADOPTION UNDER MODERN ISLAMIC LEGISLATION IN THE ARAB STATES

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1. Preliminaries

Adoption — the establishment of a child's parentage not based on consanguinity – comes under those legal regulations which are traditionally different in Western Christian and Islamic jurisprudence. The practical legal effects of this phenomenon range from the acknowledgement of a minor and a major to new consequences arising in the wake of medical progress dealing with areas such as surrogate motherhood and artificial insemination. Another social and political problem, especially in the Third World, is the agency of adoption, which can proliferate into illegal trafficking in children. Hence, positive and negative effects go together and require concrete legal rules. This is also the case in the Islamic states, where the actual situation regarding social grievances and illegitimate children requires solutions despite the very complicated legal and historical starting-point (see Chapter 3). Increasing efforts by public welfare international associations and individuals to give children in the Third World a future via adoption clash with Islamic rules preventing it. Consequently, an analysis of the rules contained in *šarīᶜa* and modern Islamic legislation surrounding adoption and the institutions of parent substitution is urgently required. The following details are intended to clarify some key aspects.

2. The problem of adoption in *šarīᶜa*-history

The major sources of Islamic law, namely the *Qur'ān* and *sunnat an-nabī*, convey a very clear picture of adoption (*tabannin*). According to the Qur'ān *sūra* 33, verses 4, 5 and 37, adoption is forbidden *expressis verbis* — a view which is confirmed by tradition. Although adoption was practised in pre-Islamic times and during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad — as the example of freed slave Zayd b. Ḥāriṯa (d. 629) shows (at-Tarmānīnī 1982: 625) —, this practice was abolished in the *šarīᶜa* upon direct prophetic intervention. The historical background to this was the "Zaynab affair". Zaynab bint Ǧaḥš (d. 641) (*ibid.* 982), a cousin of Muḥammad, was married to his aforementioned adopted son Zayd. After her repudiation (*ṭalāq*) by Zayd, Muḥammad was able to marry Zaynab provided that Muḥammad's relationship with Zayd was not perceived as being equivalent to a blood relationship — a legal maxim which is contained in *sūra* 33, verse 37, which was revealed in 627 A.D. ᶜĀ'iša (d. 678), the wife of Muḥammad as of 623, is quoted as declaring at this moment that God himself comes to Muḥammad's aid, even assisting in a love-affair (Heller &

Mosbahi 1994: 57). Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (d. 1956) points out in his publication "The Life of Muḥammad" that, "The outcome, therefore, was that Muḥammad would not lend any weight at all to the people's gossip if he were to marry the ex-wife of his adopted son, since the fear of social condemnation is nothing compared to that of condemnation by God, of disobedience of divine commandment. Thus, Muḥammad married Zaynab in order to provide a good example of what the All-Wise Legislator was seeking to establish by way of rights and privileges of adoption" (Ḥaykal 1976: 297). Similarly, the authentic legal works of the four Sunnī schools of law and the "Twelver" *šīᶜa* agree with the fundamental rejection of adoption.

3. Legitimate and illegitimate parentage

Under Islamic law, only begetting a child under a valid marriage contract (*ṣaḥīḥ*) can establish a paternal relationship (*nasab*). Legitimate parentage always means the parentage of the father who is legally permitted to have sexual intercourse with his wife. By contrast, illicit sexual relations, i.e. outside a legitimate marriage, are interpreted as unlawful intercourse (*zinā*), which is subject to the punishments specified for certain crimes (*ḥudūd*). However, owing to Islamic law's stringent proof requirements, illegitimate intercourse is only rarely justiciable. Whereas a flawed marriage (*fāsid*) can produce legitimate children if the parties had contracted in good faith, this possibility is completely ruled out in a void marriage (*bāṭil*). The key-word for the borderline between sexual intercourse outside legitimate marriage and *zinā* is *šubha*, "the 'resemblance' of the act which has been committed to another, lawful one, and therefore, subjectively speaking, the presumption of bona fides in the accused", as J. Schacht states (Schacht 1964: 176), or in Arabic "*mā iltabasa amruhu*" (Abū Ǧayb 1988: 189). The "matrimonial bed" (*firāš ṣaḥīḥ*) as a basis for proving legitimate parentage implies the possible legitimacy of a child of a repudiated or widowed woman, assuming the child is born within a certain period of time following the dissolution of marriage or the death of the husband. This is why the legally permissible (not the naturally possible) term of pregnancy (*ḥaml*) constitutes a major factor. The minimum term of pregnancy is six lunar months, whereas the maximum term ranges from two lunar years (Ḥanafīs) to four lunar years (Mālikīs, Šāfiᶜīs and Ḥanbalīs) (ᶜAqīla 1982: II. 277)[1]. This is to avoid any negative legal and social consequences for the illegitimate child, but also to minimise readiness to release such children for adoption. In some modern Arabic Family codifications, the maximum terms of pregnancy are clearly fixed in accordance with natural principles (9 months: Yemen; 10 months: Algeria; one year: Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates: Dubai and Abu Dhabi). The legitimate child has the right to maintenance (*nafaqa*) and inheritance (*mawārīṯ*) vis-à-vis his father, whereas

[1] The Twelver *Šīᶜīs* only accept 10 lunar months.

these rights may only be asserted by the illegitimate child against his mother. The considerable social discrimination of the illegitimate child and the subsequent effective incrimination of mother and child can lead to foundlings (*laqīṭ*, pl. *luqaṭā'*) resulting from the individual or family-inspired abandonment of children. In addition to an inability or unwillingness on the part of the mother to look after her offspring, newborn children are sometimes abandoned because the parents do not want to be punished or outlawed for *zinā*. It is impossible to obtain exact figures in this field.

The *šarīᶜa* reduces legitimate parentage to matrimonial parentage, rejecting any other parentage by adoption and any official change of parentage (legitimisation or the acknowledgement of an illegitimate child). In addition to parentage established by wedlock, the acknowledgement of **legitimate** parentage (*iqrār*; see Chapter 4) and evidence (*bayyina*) such as in Morocco and Tunisia can prove parentage (*asbāb*; causes of parentage). If consummation was *de facto* possible, an affiliation claim (*daᶜwā nasab*) to deny fatherhood can be realized by *liᶜān* (imprecation), which also dissolves the marriage (Kuwait, Libya, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen), whereas a claim to confirm parentage necessitates judicial evidence (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates).

4. Islamic legal regulations regarding adoption

The most important Islamic legal rule which refers to adoption is acknowledgement (*iqrār*; also referred to by the Mālikīs, e.g. in Morocco, as *istilḥāq*). The *iqrār* covers not only family law but also other legal areas of the *šarīᶜa* such as criminal law. According to the Qur'ān (4:135) and Sunna, the *iqrār* denotes "the acknowledgement of the claimed" (*al-iᶜtirāf bi-l-muddaᶜā bihi*) (as-Sayyid 1985: 421). On principle the acknowledging person (*muqirr*) may acknowledge any degree of kinship, but only the acknowledgement of direct parentage (*iqrār an-nasab*) has an irrevocable effect (*lā yaṣiḥḥu lahu ruǧūᶜuhu ᶜanhu*) and proves legitimate paternity. Thus the acknowledged child obtains legal title to maintenance and inheritance vis-à-vis the acknowledging party. According to the various *Sunnī* legal schools, a valid acknowledgment must fulfil a number of conditions (*šurūṭ*):

a) The acknowledging party must be of age (*bāliġ*) in his personal affairs, be fully in possession of his mental faculties (*ᶜāqil*), and be acting voluntarily (*muḫtāran*);
b) The acknowledged party (*al-muqarr lahu*) must be of unknown parentage (*maǧhūl an-nasab*). However, this only means that no other legitimate parentage (*maᶜrūf an-nasab*) has been established; it does not necessarily require fully unknown parentage such as in the case of a foundling;
c) Fatherhood must be plausible — the age difference between the acknowledging and the acknowledged parties must exceed ten years and there may not be any impediment to marriage between the child's mother and the acknowledging party (for instance kinship);
d) The acknowledged party must be alive (*ḥayyan*) at the time of acknowledgement;

e) The acknowledged child must confirm acknowledgement as long as he/she has reached the age of discretion (*sinn at-tamyīz*; about seven years).(ᶜAqīla 1982: 279, Nasir 1990: 163)

The Mālikī school of law supplements these aforesaid ḥanafī conditions by the requirement that the circumstances surrounding the child's birth must make paternity plausible (Pauli 1994: 130).

The well-known Egyptian lawyer Muḥammad Qadrī Pāšā (d. 1888) compiled the "*Kitāb al-aḥkām aš-šarʿiyya fī-l-aḥwāl aš-šaḫṣiyya wa-l-mawārīṯ*" in 1875. Art. 350 of the "*Kitāb*" stipulates some Ḥanafī-based conditions of valid acknowledgement. The Egyptian wording became a pattern for family codifications in other Arab states (see Chapter 5) and formed the basis for the "Unified Arab Draft Law for Personal Status" (*mašrūᶜ qānūn ᶜarabī muwaḥḥad li-l-aḥwāl aš-šaḫṣiyya*; Art. 81), which was submitted to the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice in 1985 (Nasir 1990: 306).

The acknowledgement of a child as lawfully being the acknowledging party's child leads to the child gaining legitimate status from his or her date of birth onwards. Although acknowledgement is not governed by a specific form, it presupposes that the existence of a marriage between the mother of the child and the acknowledging father is at least not denied and really was possible. Thus the *iqrār* can *de facto* but not *de jure* imply legitimisation in the meaning of European law. In addition, actual adoption is possible in this way because natural parentage is not a necessary condition for acknowledgement. Hilmar Krüger correctly classifies the acknowledgement of parentage as a "legal rule per se" ("Rechtsfigur eigener Art") (Krüger 1977: 247).

The *kafāla* (suretyship; or in this case "care") of a child of unknown parentage who is not acknowledged by *iqrār* is considered a worthy act (*ᶜamal ṣāliḥ*) which deserves repayment (*ṯawāb*). *Kafāla* and *ḥaḍāna* (child care; custody) are largely identical (ᶜAqīla 1982: 281). However, *kafāla* does not establish parentage — and does not therefore make provision for inheritance. Taking in a foundling (*iltiqāṭ at-ṭifl*) in particular creates effects similar to an adoption. The lack of inheritance claims can be compensated for by last will and testament (*waṣiyya*) or *tanzīl*. In this context *tanzīl* signifies that the testator (*muwaṣṣin*) grants a person a certain position within succession, with the inheritance being considered part of the will.

5. Modern Islamic legislation and legal regulations regarding adoption

The legal rules governing personal status vary throughout the Arab countries in many respects. In addition to legal differences attributed to the various *Sunnī* schools of law and to the varying intentions of the legislators, both uncodified law and codified law exist in the Arab world. Codified law follows Western legal practice (el-Alami & Hinchcliffe 1996: 36), although the subject can be based on the *šarīᶜa*. Some Arab states (Saudi Arabia and Arab Gulf States) only make use of the "classical" works of the dominant schools of Islamic law. The other Arab countries have a more or less comprehensive Law of Personal Status (*qānūn al-aḥwāl aš-šaḫṣiyya*) or a Family

Law (*qānūn al-usra*)[2]. In spite of formal and substantial differences, there is far-reaching consensus in rejecting adoption according to *šarīʿa* — *expressis verbis* in: Algeria Art. 46 (Aït-Zaï 1989: 120-121), Kuwait Art. 167, Morocco Art. 83/3, UAE Art. 188. Only in Tunisia has "Act no. 27 of 4 March 1958 concerning Public Guardianship, *kafāla* and Adoption", as amended by the Act of 19 June 1959[3] introduced adoption in a European manner and thus modified the prevailing doctrine of the *šarīʿa*. Arts. 8-16 of Act no. 27/1958 stipulate the modalities of adoption. According to Art. 10, a Tunisian may also adopt a foreign child. Adoption must be validated by an order of the district court (Art. 13). If the adopting parent grossly violates his duties concerning the adopted child, the court may revoke custody (Art. 16).

Family regulations in all the Arab states permit the application of acknowledgement regarding the conditions mentioned in Chapter 4. Some relevant codifications refer indirectly to the *iqrār*. For instance the Lebanese Law pertaining to Personal Status for the Druze Sect (Art. 171), the Lebanese Law of 16 July 1962 (Art. 242 for *Sunnīs* and *Šīʿīs*) and Egyptian Laws nos. 78/1931 (Art. 280) and 462/1955 (Art. 6)[4] stipulate that the rules of the most authoritative Ḥanafī school of law should be

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[2] The Arab laws listed below are included in this study. In the absence of references to the contrary, the articles pertain to these laws. For sources, see Ebert 1996: 59-88.

Algeria: Law no. 84-11 of 9 June 1984 comprising the Family Law;
Egypt: Law no. 25 of 1920, as amended by Law no. 100 of 1985 concerning the Provisions on Maintenance and Certain matters of Personal Status, Law no. 25 of 1929, as amended by Law no. 100 of 1985 concerning Certain Provisions on Personal Status;
Iraq: Law no. 188 of 1959 on Personal Status, as amended by Laws no. 11/1963, 21/1978, 72/1979, 160/1979, 57/1980, 156/1980, 125/1981;
Jordan: Law no. 61 of 1976 on Personal Status , amended by Law no. 25/1977;
Kuwait: Law no. 51 of 1984 concerning Personal Status;
Lebanon: Law of the Rights of the Family of 25 October 1917, amended by Law of 16 July 1962 (for *Sunnīs* and in case for Twelfer *šīʿīs*), the Law of 24 February 1948 pertaining to Personal Status for the Druze sect, amended by the Law of 2 July 1959;
Libya: Law no. 10 of 1984 concerning the specific Provisions on Marriage and Divorce and their Consequences, amended by Laws no. 22/1991 and of 17 February 1994;
Morocco: Code of Personal Status (*al-mudawwana*) of 22 November 1957, 18 December 1957, 25 January 1958, 20 February 1958 and 3 April 1958, amended by Code no. 93-347 of 10 September 1993;
Sudan: Muslim Family Law of 24 July 1991;
Syria: Presidential Decree no. 59 of 17 September 1953 on Law of Personal Status, amended by Law no. 34 of 31 December 1975;
Tunisia: Code of Personal Status (*al-Maǧalla*) of 13 August 1956, amended by Law of 12 July 1993;
UAE: Draft Law on Personal Status of 1979 (not yet enforced, but applied in the Emirates Abu Dhabi and Dubay; hence taken into consideration);
Yemen: Republican Decree Law no. 20 of 29 March 1992 concerning Personal Status.

[3] Legal source: aš-Šarīf 1994: 259-267.

[4] Legal Sources of the quoted laws: Yūnis & Saʿīd 1983: vol. 9 Lubnān., Mahmassani & Messara 1970: 36-57, *al-Aḥwāl* 1987: 53-78, 80-83.

applied in the absence of any legal provisions. In the other Arab Family codifications, acknowledgement is explicitly mentioned: Algeria Arts. 40, 44 and 45, Iraq Arts. 52-54, Jordan Art. 149, Kuwait Arts. 173-175, Libya Arts. 57-59, Morocco Arts. 89 and 92-96, Sudan Arts. 96 and 101-104, Syria Arts. 129 and 134-136, Tunisia Arts. 68, 70 and 73-76, UAE Arts. 185-188, Yemen Arts 123-126[5]. Acknowledgement by the father is sometimes combined with acknowledgement by the mother (Algeria Art. 44, Iraq Art. 53, Jordan Art. 149[6], Kuwait Art. 174, Libya Art. 59, Sudan Art. 103, Syria Art. 134, Tunisia Art. 70[7], UAE Art. 187, Yemen Art. 123) or the "indirect" acknowledgement of any other kinship if so confirmed (Algeria Art. 45, Iraq Art. 54, Morocco Art. 93, Syria Art. 136, Tunisia Art. 73). The development of birth registers in the Arab world furthers the application of acknowledgement by authenticating it, thereby improving judicial reliability.

Some Arab countries regulate the *kafāla* as mentioned above in their family codifications or in special legal acts. In particular the Mālikī-based states pay great attention to those rules which benefit the children. In Algeria (Arts. 116-125) the *kafāla* provision relates to children of known and unknown parentage (Art. 119) and requires official judicial or notarial confirmation (Art. 117). By contrast, Art. 60 of the Libyan Law no. 10 of 1984 only enables the *kafāla* of a child of unknown parentage. Moroccan Code no. 1-93-165 of 10 September 1993[8] applies to foundlings, orphans and neglected children (Art. 1). The Sudanese Child-Care Act of 2 March 1971[9] regulates the care of foundlings and children abandoned by their parents (Art. 1). Art. 16 of the Child-Care Act refers to the inhibition of adoption in the *šarīʿa*, according to which a *Muslim* child has no claim to inheritance vis-à-vis his foster father.

The Moroccan *mudawwana* prohibits the "regular adoption" (*at-tabannī al-ʿādī*), but permits "paid or testamentary adoption" (*li-l-ǧazā' aw li-l-waṣiyya*), in which the adopted child is entitled to part of the estate (Art. 83/3). The combination of *kafāla* and *tanzīl* can establish a *de facto* adoption. However, the Moroccan *tanzīl*-provision (Arts. 212-216) goes beyond the testamentary transfer of property to an adopted child. It represents a specific form of a voluntary will, which is limited to one third of the estate; an adopted child can in principle be the beneficiary of such a will. A

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[5] The adoptee shall confirm the acknowledgment after the attainment of the legal majority (*bulūġ*) - Art. 123/c.

[6] By acknowledgement of a person of unknown parentage and relevant confirmation (here: by the mother). See Kohler 1976: 70-75.

[7] Indirectly: Acknowledgment of the mother by a person of unknown parentage and confirmation by the mother.

[8] Legal source: *Bulletin* 1993: 479-481.

[9] Legal source: Bergmann & Ferid 1992: 53-54.

similar *tanzīl*-provision has been introduced into the Libyan "Law no. 7 of 1423 (1994) concerning the will" (Art. 36)[10].

Acknowledgement of parentage must be distinguished from acknowledgement of other kinship regarding the legal effects. The legal consequences for the succession of the latter were specified in the codification of Qadrī Pāšā (Art. 584) (*Mağmūᶜa* 1992: 23) and largely remain in force to this day. Such an acknowledged person only has a claim to an inheritance after the heirs. Similar provisions are encountered in Egypt (Art. 41 of the "Law no. 77 of 1943 concerning inheritance")[11], Iraq Art. 66, Syria Arts. 262 and 298, UAE Arts. 504 and 540, Yemen Arts. 307 and 328.

6. Conclusion

With the exception of Tunisia, the provisions of adoption valid in the Arab states are inspired by the *šarīᶜa*. Owing to the persistence of religious, cultural and social traditions, this situation is unlikely to change in the near future. However, the development of some legal institutions to side-step the prohibition of adoption could improve children's legal position — and thereby not only assist the children but also help to avoid social conflict. The legislator must observe the strict limits imposed by the *šarīᶜa*. This situation can only be changed gradually. Some examples from other Muslim states should be taken into account. In Indonesia for example, *"Kompilasi Hukum Islam"* (which regulates Muslims' personal status and is designed to be the guiding principle for state and the people) was propagated in 1991. Art. 209 of the Kompilasi advocates a mandatory will (*waṣiyya wāǧiba*) for adopted children, which is fundamentally different from the mandatory will generally used in the Arab world (Hanstein 1997: 61, 82, 86).

Whatever the case, the growing intercultural contact between Orient and Occident calls for consideration of the legal provisions in the Arab countries — yet it also reminds us of our duty to overcome legal and social discrimination of illegitimate children and foundlings.

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[10] Legal source: *al-Faǧr al-ǧadīd* 1994.

[11] Legal source: *al-Mīrāṯ* 1986: 3-15.

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IV. HISTORY OF ARABIC STUDIES

THE IMPACT OF LOUIS MASSIGNON (1883-1962) ON ISLAMIC STUDIES

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When Monsieur Jacques Keryell, the Editor of the volume *Louis Massignon et ses contemporains*, was collecting contributions about the relationships Massignon had with other people during his lifetime, he did not succeed in finding any university professor to write about Massignon's contacts with his colleagues[1]. Apparently these relationships were not easy. And there is another point to be made. Since his death in 1962 some twenty volumes and innumerable articles have appeared about Louis Massignon and his spirituality, including the significance of his presentation of al-Ḥallāǧ, Islamic mysticism and Islam in general. And rightly so! Much less, however, has been written evaluating his work according to critical scholarly criteria and pointing out the openings it has given to further research[2]. And in so far as this has occurred, it has been in French Catholic circles, mainly among his pupils[3].

Since the organizers of this Congress wanted to pay special attention to major changes in Asian and North African Studies during the 20th century, I thought it a good idea to focus on Louis Massignon and the impact of his scholarly work on Islamic studies. This presentation only has a preliminary character. After all, the impact of a scholar's work cannot be measured simply by the ways in which he or she is discussed by others, orally or in writing, or by the counting of quotations. And the other way round, if the impact of a scholar like Massignon who left some excellent work is apparently small outside the circle of his or her admirers, this fact itself, for better or for worse, is intriguing and demands an explanation.

I understand here by "Islamic studies" the broad field of research on Islam as a religion, a civilization and a social system in history and at the present time. It also comprises the study of Islamic features of communities that identify themselves as "Muslim" and of societies that practice Islam, again in history as well as at the present time. Consequently, Islamic studies treat both normative Islam and the ways in which Islam has been practised in different geographical, historical and social contexts. Although the study of religious texts is mandatory, this field is certainly not

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[1] "...aucun universitaire n'accepta de parler des relations de Massignon avec ses collègues du Collège de France ou des universités françaises ou étrangères". (Keryell 1997: 10).

[2] See for instance *Lettres Françaises*, 14-21 Nov. 1962 (special issue on Louis Massignon), in particular the contributions by Claude Cahen and Maxime Rodinson. Compare the defence of Louis Massignon against his critics by Nasr 1987: 50-61. Compare Waardenburg 1968-69: 136-158.

[3] Harpigny 1981. Rocalve 1993. See in particular the Chapter "Le rayonnement du savant" (pp. 123-136). The authors themselves were no pupils of Massignon.

restricted to the study of texts. Both the humanities and the social sciences are involved in it.

In the first part I shall give some bio-bibliographical data on Massignon. In the second part I shall pay special attention to the way in which he studied Islam as a religion. In order to explain the approach which he applied in his work we have to explore its deeper intentions and look for his own particular vision of Islam and its adherents. In the third part I shall deal with the subject proper of the impact of Massignon's work on Islamic studies in the broad sense indicated. After having indicated some striking orientations of this scholar's mind I shall summarise my findings, arriving at a conclusion about what may be called the Massignonian approach in Islamic studies.

1. Some bio-bibliographical data[4]

Louis Massignon was born in Nogent-sur-Marne, not far from Paris, in 1883. His father had studied medicine and was an artist actively involved in Parisian cultural life at the time. Already during his schooldays Louis developed a strong interest in what may be called "the Orient", where France was implanting itself at the time, and he made trips to Algiers in 1901 and Morocco in 1904. His studies at the Sorbonne concentrated on history, archaeology and geography; only after his return from Morocco in 1904 did he start Arabic. He had the good fortune to be able to be attached to the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo for a whole year (1906-7). At this age, 23, his passion for experience, his thirst to discover other ways of life and his search to know and understand all that was represented by Islam were further awakened and began to be satisfied. The following year (1907-8) he spent some seven months in Iraq, still under Ottoman rule, concentrating on historical and archaeological researches while becoming a friend of the Ālūsī family. In Iraq he underwent certain experiences which made him — as he used to put it — discover or rediscover God[5]. In the wake of them he returned to the Roman Catholic Church and put himself under a rigorous religious, even ascetic discipline for the rest of his life, considering himself a convert. In 1950 he was ordained priest in the Greek Catholic or Melkite Church in Cairo.

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[4] The most complete bibliography of works by Massignon appeared in Moubarac 1972: 7-89. To this should be added the second, revised edition of Massignon, *Passion* and its English translation, as well as reprints of some books and articles. A succinct bibliography is given in Waardenburg 1970: 351-358. This book also contains a study of the work of Massignon. A short bibliography can be found in Massignon 1987: 285-289. For biographical data, see Destremau & Moncelon 1994. Compare Sani 1985. Rocalve 1993: 149-193 - contains a valuable *Table de concordances*, chronologically arranged, of the main biographical data.

[5] Massignon 1988: 127-199. Compare Destremeau & Moncelon 1994: 42-81 - Ch. 3 "Vers un au-delà indestructible".

From 1908 on Massignon concentrated on the study of mystical texts from the first centuries of Islam, with a particular predilection for the Ṣūfī al-Ḥallāǧ who, accused of heresy, had been executed in Baghdad in 922. This involved him in a study in depth of al-Ḥallāǧ's life and doctrines, the development of Islamic religious thought in general and Ṣūfī thought and practice in particular, and the historical context in which al-Ḥallāǧ lived.

In 1913-14 he was invited to present lectures in Cairo in Arabic on the history of Islamic thought. All of this resulted in two substantial dissertations on al-Ḥallāǧ (Massignon, *Passion* /1922/) and on early Islamic mystical vocabulary (Massignon, *Essai*) which he defended successfully at the University of Paris in 1922, at the age of 39. Subsequently he published some mystical texts, a few translations, and a great number of articles on numerous subjects, in particular pertaining to medieval Islam and its spirituality. Certain themes fascinated him in particular, such as al-Ḥallāǧ, Salmān Pāk, Fāṭima as well as certain significant encounters between Muslims and Christians, such as the Mubāhala, the linkage (also with the Jews) through Abraham, and archaeological findings at Ephesus. But he was interested in nearly all aspects of Islam and had a thorough knowledge of medieval texts. Throughout his life he worked on a second, enlarged edition of his study on al-Ḥallāǧ.

At the same time, further to his experiences in Egypt and Iraq, our scholar had a continuous interest in what was happening in the contemporary Arab world and the Muslim world at large. He collaborated in the promising *Revue du Monde Musulman*, founded in 1907, which was supported by the French state. At the end of the first World War he was attached to Picot's delegation negotiating with the British on the future Arab Mandate states.

As to his scholarly career, in 1919 he became Alfred Le Châtelier's *suppléant* at the *Collège de France* in Paris and after his retirement Massignon was elected to succeed him as Professor of Sociology of Islam, in 1925, at the age of 42. A few years later he was also appointed as *Directeur d'études* on Islam at the Section of *Sciences Religieuses* at the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* in Paris. He was the founding director of the new *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* with its *Abstracta Islamica* in 1927 and he was involved in the new *Institut d'Etudes Islamiques* of the University of Paris, set up in 1929. After the war, in 1945, this Institute was reorganized with a new team of scholars, including Régis Blachère, E. Lévi-Provençal, and Robert Brunschvig but without Massignon who became later director of the new *Institut d'Etudes Iraniennes*.

He had started already with the publication of an *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, a kind of handbook on the Muslim world as a whole which offered extensive information about the contemporary situation of Muslim countries and colonies. Four editions of it appeared, the last in 1954. After World War II Louis Massignon involved himself in French politics as few orientalists before him had done, partly in the service of his government and partly in opposition to it, for humanitarian causes. He was deeply concerned with French colonial and post-colonial policies in particular

in the Arab world, with the Palestine problem and the treatment of Palestinians by the new State of Israel, and with what was happening during the Algerian war. During the fifties, on the one hand, he excelled as a political protest figure in public life. On the other hand he followed his own religious vocation with the *Badaliyya* and his practically secret priesthood after 1950.

Notwithstanding the many tensions he underwent, and the corresponding obligations, he continued his research work on al-Ḥallāǧ. At his death in 1962 he left the manuscript for the second edition of al-Ḥallāǧ which, thanks to the immense efforts of family, friends and colleagues, was published in four volumes first in French in 1975 (Massignon, *Passion* /1975/) and then in an English translation by Herbert Mason, in 1982. With this legacy the question of the impact of Louis Massignon's work on Islamic studies obtains a new relevance.

2. Massignon's researches on Islamic religion

Before Massignon started to work on Islamic mysticism, several scholars had already carried out studies in this field, putting forward different hypotheses about the origin and development of Ṣūfism in Islam. What was new in his case was the technique which he applied in his study of these texts. By starting out from the specific vocabularies used by the authors he obtained lists of the technical terms of these spiritual writings which he had dissected in order to consider their linguistic elements. By analyzing carefully the roots and the derivations of the terms, by identifying them in their specific contexts, and by comparing their use by different authors he put the texts to a linguistic test before inquiring about their broader spiritual meaning. In this way he discovered not only what we would call nowadays the meaning patterns of these terms but also that a number of them went back to Qur'ānic vocabulary. This proved that early mystical thought at least had its source in meditation on the Qur'ān. Only after the precise meaning of the technical terms had been established, could the problem of the meaning of the texts themselves be tackled.

According to Massignon, these religious texts, beyond their literal and possibly metaphorical meaning, had a more hidden spiritual meaning that he called *anagogique*, arising from the inspiration which had produced them. The search for this hidden spiritual ("anagogical") meaning implied that the scholar had to make a kind of mental journey to participate in the "movement" of the text. Just as one can understand literary and especially poetic texts by re-experiencing them and becoming culturally or humanly "enriched" by them, a researcher needs to re-experience mystical texts and become religiously "enriched" by them so as to understand them.

What Massignon had in mind here was a kind of inner application by the researcher himself of the movement of inspiration, the meaning, in short the specific message of the text. His own efforts in this respect were not only encouraged by an intellectual refinement of his linguistic perception and an extraordinary sensitivity to

religious meanings. They were motivated in the last analysis by the conviction that Divine grace was at the origin of these inspired texts. Massignon's research in the end came to mean the search for this grace in various texts of a spiritual nature. It clearly transcended the empirical meaning of religious texts, in other words, the meaning which is ascertainable by scholarly methods. In this way the text laid a claim on the scholar, as it were, and its contents became more than a simple object of research. The text had to be deciphered for the spiritual truth which it conveyed.

Among these mystical texts, certain utterances of al-Ḥallāǧ testifying to passion and self-sacrifice, adoration and even mystical union affected our scholar more deeply than any others. Added to this was the fact that al-Ḥallāǧ had to pay for his mystical utterances with his life, becoming a *martyr mystique* who fascinated our scholar from the time when he "discovered" him in 1907. This led him to carry out a passionate yet scholarly investigation of the historical personality of al-Ḥallāǧ, the events of his life, the context in which he lived, the reasons why he was imprisoned and later condemned to death, and his survival among his followers, adherents and admirers. Any information about al-Ḥallāǧ, any interpretation of him and of relevant events at the time, any legal or theological text that could throw light on his spiritual insights, his trial and condemnation were carefully collected as pieces of a puzzle of supra-human dimensions. In this investigation Massignon proved himself to be a careful and critical, even diffident historian. But beyond the facts, he reached out, again, to find something of the hidden spiritual, "anagogical" meaning of his life and death. In this case it was not only texts but a person the scholar wanted to understand, to re-experience, to see as a medium of Divine grace. If in this Massignonian approach mystical texts were seen as revelation, the mystical martyr al-Ḥallāǧ became a saint laying his own claims on the researcher, who studied him as a spiritual master rather than as a simple object.

These studies of Islamic mysticism and in particular of al-Ḥallāǧ led Massignon to a particular religious vision of Islam, based on his special reading of Islamic texts, his own life experiences, especially in what may be called the crucial years 1906-8 in Egypt and Iraq, and his unique spiritual path afterwards. There is evidence enough to support the view that our scholar was Islamicized to a large extent, not only externally in his desire to live an Arab life but also internally, assimilating values, norms and truths derived from Islam and which he tended to absolutize. But was Massignon not a Christian? He certainly was, according to his own statements, but his nearness especially to Arab Muslims and Islam is testified to both by his highly personal vision of Arabic as a language and Islam as a religion and by his equally personal vocation to Muslims and Islam.

This expressed itself in many ways, for instance in his religious motivation towards "Islamic studies" and his consecration of his life to the cause of Muslims and Islam, in his foundation of the *Badaliyya*, in his passionate pleas to the Roman Catholic Church to recognize Islam, and in his equally passionate defence of any

Muslim and Arab dignity and values, especially in the turbulent times after World War II. Massignon was apparently a victim of the many tensions rife at the time, between the Muslim cause and his Church, between the Arab cause and his nation, between the current religious discourse and the inexorable forces of domination and exploitation. He lived these tensions dramatically in his own life and spoke about them continuously. His ordination to the priesthood may have given him some transcendent peace.

The historian will notice that the latter part of his life coincided with a period when the French empire was in rapid decline and struggling for survival, and when the overall influence of the Roman Catholic Church was on the wane. Any historical interpretation of Massignon's life, work and searches will have to take into account this critical context in which he lived: the waning of an imperial age and of a triumphalist church, which he assimilated intellectually according to a religious mode.

3. The impact of Massignon's work on Islamic studies

Massignon's own interests were too special and personally motivated to permit broad academic relationships with his colleagues in the French context. From a strictly positivistic point of view, as it prevailed through the first half of the century, they all had reason to be critical of his approach and his scholarship in general. Moreover, certain character traits of our scholar, among them a somewhat monological way of conveying his thoughts, ideas and convictions and an extraordinary stubbornness, did not help to bridge the differences, to say the least; in fact, they could create obvious misunderstandings. Here too, the Parisian context, with its many rivalries and hierarchies of intellectual and other forms of domination need to be taken into account. Looking back, one can only with difficulty imagine Massignon being appointed, say, at a German university or at an Oxford or Cambridge college, or even at the Sorbonne with its classical traditions, not to speak of an American university. His position at the Collège de France, however, left him the freedom he needed and made him more or less unassailable in his academic and not-so-academic ways of doing research and teaching.

Among his own masters, he specifically mentioned Ignaz Goldziher, whom he met at several occasions and who encouraged him to go on with his al-Ḥallāǧ researches; Snouck Hurgronje equally supported this study. He hardly spoke, however, of his own French teachers, for instance of Arabic, though he made an exception for the brilliant Sylvain Lévi with whom he studied Sanskrit for some time.

Some scholarly contacts with foreign colleagues deserve mention. In Germany, for instance, Hans Heinrich Schaeder expressed admiration for his study of al-Ḥallāǧ. In the early twenties he launched an inexplicably violent attack on the well-known scholar Asin Palacios on the subject of historical influences and spiritual originality.

In the thirties he worked in Paris together with Paul Kraus, a refugee scholar from Germany, on Ḥallāǧian and other medieval texts, before Kraus moved on to Egypt.

In this period the next generation of Arabists and Islamic scholars in France must have attended his lectures. They kept at a certain distance, however, and not without reason. According to hearsay, they may have been frightened by his soliloquies, his absolute statements and his digressive style of lecturing at the Collège de France. Some French names may be mentioned nonetheless. It was Massignon who gave Henry Corbin the incentive for his studies of Suhrawardī Maqtūl and Šīʿite spirituality, although here too, some misunderstandings seem to have arisen. Another important student of Massignon was Henri Laoust, who wrote his dissertation on Ibn Taymiyya and later became his successor at the Collège de France, where he distinguished himself by impeccable scholarship. Gaston Wiet was Massignon's colleague for Arabic at the Collège de France. Massignon maintained friendly relations with Maxime Rodinson, who started out as a Semiticist, and he strongly encouraged Vincent Monteil's linguistic and further interests and studies. After the war he firmly supported Jacques Berque in his researches in the field of the social history of Arab countries. Until the end of his life he remained a shining star in the French firmament of so many stars, planets and comets of the mind[6].

Massignon's impact on Islamic studies may be located, however, not only through individuals but also through some specific groups.

First of all, it was among Roman Catholic Orientalists, some of them converts, that Massignon's impact is most clear; a whole generation was indebted to him. Most important perhaps was his bringing Louis Gardet and later Georges Anawati — both converts to Catholicism — to the study of Islamic thought and mysticism and to a concerted effort to bring Christian and Islamic thought and experience together. Both scholars were philosophically and theologically trained along Thomist and neo-Thomist lines and they could put Massignon's experiential studies and explorations in a typical Catholic framework of thought. An important pupil of his in the fifties was the classical scholar and philosopher Roger Arnaldez, who addressed himself to Arabic thought and prepared his dissertation on Ibn Ḥazm. Among Catholic intellectuals, Massignon enjoyed considerable prestige and his influence on certain Catholic students may have been important; in a world believing in secularism (*laïcité*), especially in academic life, Massignon must have appeared to them as a witness of the Faith. On the other hand, there seems to have been a mutual tension between Massignon and the Arabists of Algiers who, like G.-H. Bousquet, viewed Arabs and Islam very much with the eyes of colonials (*pieds noirs*). In general he distrusted those whom he considered to despise Muslims and to denigrate Islam.

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[6] A number of doctoral dissertations must have been defended in Paris with Massignon as a member of the jury; this could be further explored.

To what extent his scholarly influence extended into the Catholic religious Orders is difficult to assess. His relations with them seem to have been rather complex and much depended apparently on personal commitments. There was a certain alignment with the Dominicans and their scholastic learning, which he respected. Jean de Menasce was, and remained, a loyal friend, and as well as Georges Anawati, other scholars who were in contact with him were Serge de Beaurecueil and Jacques Jomier. Of the Franciscans Giulio Basetti Sani must be called one of his immediate disciples, open to his learning and spiritual guidance; ᶜAbdalǧalīl was very close to him[7]. His relations with the Jesuits seem to have been more aloof intellectually on both sides, although he had pupils there too, like Michel Allard and Paul Nwyia, his successor at the *Ecole Pratique*. His most difficult relations seem to have been with the White Fathers, a missionary order in Africa established by Lavigerie in the shadow of the French empire in 1868. In Massignon's view they were too eager to obtain conversions which, as he saw it, could only be God's work. Yet he respected Demeerseman's work at the *Institut de Belles Lettres Arabes* in Tunis and somewhat later Robert Caspar worked both in his textual studies and in his contacts with Muslim intellectuals along enlightened Massignonian lines. Massignon detested a certain pettiness and lack of purpose in Orders to which the Muslim world had been assigned. Though the hardliners did not like his mysticism, for many of those who had made their vows and lived in Muslim society, Massignon was the undisputed master in Islamic studies and the guide for Christian-Muslim dialogue. Some of them had a considerable influence on the positive appreciation of Islam pronounced by the Second Vatican Council, in particular in the text of *Nostra Aetate*.

A second group on which Massignon's Islamic studies have had an important impact is that of Muslim intellectuals, whose scholarly work he very much encouraged, in particular when they studied or pursued research in Paris. Through the example and the zeal of our scholar, a number of them discovered unexpected riches in their cultural heritage and a few of them started to do research themselves, like Ibrāhīm Madkūr on the history of philosophy and science in Islam or ᶜUthmān Yaḥyā on Islamic mysticism, in particular that of Ibn al-ᶜArabī. From 1934 on Massignon, together with some other European Orientalists, participated in the yearly sessions of the Egyptian Academy of the Arabic Language. For more than half a century he had numerous contacts in Egypt, where he encouraged scholars like Tāhā Ḥusayn, Maḥmūd al-Ḥudayrī and many others. The relations between Massignon and established Muslim authorities at the Azhar, for instance the successive *Šayḫ*s of al-Azhar,

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[7] Muḥammad Ben ᶜAbdalǧalīl, a member of an old family of Fès, converted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1928 and became a Franciscan. To what extent Massignon's influence may have been instrumental in this conversion, as in some others is open to question. At the end of his life, which was not without difficulties, ᶜAbdalǧalīl is said to have felt a growing nostalgia for the Islam of his youth. Compare Destremau & Moncelon 1994: 231-243.

need to be further explored[8]. How strong his impact could be on sensitive "Oriental" minds can be guessed when one reads the description ʿAlī Šarīʿatī of Iran gave of his "experience" of Massignon (Cuypers 1997: 309-327).

A third group on which Massignon's learning had a certain impact was that of Arab Christians, especially Greek Catholics (Melkites) in Egypt who were also open to his efforts of a spiritual *rapprochement* to Islam. Especially after the Second World War Massignon regularly gave lectures at the Dār as-Salām cultural center in Cairo, patronized by the Melkites. They were attended by mixed audiences whose members advocated and in fact carried out a local Christian-Muslim dialogue initiated by Louis Massignon and Mary Kahil.

Paul Nwyia continued Massignon's researches on the vocabulary of mystical texts. In the 1950s two Maronite priests from Lebanon went to work and study in Paris in close contact with Massignon. The first, Michel Hayek, kept a certain distance towards what transcended lines of theological separation between Christianity and Islam. The second, Youakim Moubarac, must be called one of Louis Massignon's major spiritual heirs. The same may also be said of Louis Gardet. However, if Gardet had a disciplined French mind, Moubarac most of all had a soul, and an "Oriental" one. He was the secretary of the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, edited the *Opera Minora*, compiled a definitive Bibliography of Massignon's writings, brought together a Massignon *Archiv*, and continued the *Badaliyya*. Deeply affected by Massignon's death in 1962, Moubarac creatively continued his study of the history of Christian theological thought on Islam, and of Christian-Muslim relations on a spiritual level as preconized by Massignon, whose spiritual heritage he consciously defended as he defended the cause of the Christian Arabs and that of the Palestinians. Until the end he was tragically involved in the tensions of the Near East, somehow living out what Massignon had experienced inwardly.

A number of pupils, friends and colleagues contributed to collective publications which appeared after Massignon's death[9].

4. A scholar's mind

From any ordinary scholarly point of view it is amazing to see how unconditionally our scholar believed in the aspects he studied of another religion and culture and how passionately he took sides in debates and conflicts which were not his own. He did not do this naively; more than most others he was aware of what was at stake and used his sharp intelligence, so that he could always argue that he had reason on

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[8] The same holds true for his contacts with the Salafiyya and other Reformist groups, certain Ṣūfī orders and – who knows – perhaps members of the Muslim Brotherhood.

[9] Four of these publications deserve to be mentioned here: Keryell 1997, Massignon 1987 & 1996, Six 1970.

his side. He somehow had an orientation which allowed him to make critical distinctions. When he believed something or when he defended a cause, he did so with dedication and passion, often losing the proportions of common sense. In a word, Louis Massignon was a man of passion and for him there was religion everywhere. Consequently, the scholarly world was on its guard. Massignon not only transcended textual, historical and social meanings; he perceived reality in a normative light and made absolutist affirmations about it. In the end, organized *Islamwissenschaft* became subordinated here to the spiritual whims of one researcher's mind.

This must have made Massignon an extraordinary phenomenon for most colleagues. On the one hand, everyone had to recognize his amazing erudition, intelligence and creative force. On the other hand, he did not share the current assumptions about academic style and scholarship. It was almost impossible to stop him when he was speaking, his answers to questions were not always clear and in his lectures he went off into digressions which had hardly anything to do with the subject. His French style of writing was anything but lucid and distinct; it was full of ambiguities, and often even the most benevolent reader could not understand exactly what Massignon meant, if he meant something palpable.

He had respect for texts and facts, but in his hermeneutics he maintained no clear view about their nature or their epistemological status. He respected history but had no rational view of its immanent course. He had respect for social reality, but no vision of the infrastructural factors which determine communal life. He had the greatest respect for human experience but did not see it as a self-contained reality. Massignon saw transcendent incursions, signs of transcendence everywhere; for him religion itself was by definition something continuously moved by transcendence. The search for rational scholarly truth in the chaos of empirical reality was for him only the first step in a broader search for other kinds of connections than the empirically verifiable.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that his work has been the object of so few scholarly corrections, debates or even attacks in general or in detail. If his detailed researches had a scholarly character, his interpretative framework certainly had not. Consequently, his conclusions — which tended to be expressed in rather absolutist terms — simply lay outside ordinary scholarly discourse, that is to say outside scholarship. Scholarly discussion was no longer possible here. This, it seems to me, was the ultimate reason for his relative isolation in the scholarly world; compared to this, his philo-Arab and philo-Islamic passions or his fervent Catholicism, or even his passionate character, were only secondary factors.

Massignon had very special views of religion both in Muslim and in Christian life and society. Historically, these views dated from before World War I and implanted themselves solidly after his experiences of 1908. He elaborated them in a highly personal way, and on closer consideration they contain the key to his equally highly

personal view of the relationship between the Christian and Muslim faiths, whatever the Church's doctrine on this matter. Psychologically, his world was mainly a man's world, though women could play an important role on a religious level. And he was extremely open to the sufferings of others. As an independent mind and soul, Louis Massignon made himself available to his Muslim neighbours and brethren with a Christian compassion, substitution and finally sacrifice for the sake of the Other.

In the French context this was a singular position. It was clear to any observer that religion held this man in its grip, a kind of experiential religion difficult to assess in rational terms. In France such an intellectual position meant a kind of subversion of the secularist ideology of *laïcité*, certainly in academic quarters. Massignon's religious testimonies thus made him lose much intellectual credibility. And he lacked certain classical scholarly virtues such as simplicity, modesty, and above all discretion.

5. Conclusion

All of this leads to a peculiar situation for the student of *Religionswissenschaft* who works in the field of Islamic studies and is interested in this scholar's work. He cannot take Massignon's statements about Islam at face value; consequently he will take his image of Islam as a subject of research. But in order to understand this image, he has to inquire into Massignon's own religion. That is to say, instead of letting himself be inspired by our scholar's spirituality — as so many Massignonians have been — he has to study it in order to understand, and possibly to explain, certain curious biasses in Massignon's interpretation of Islam. And of course, he has the results of his own study of Islamic materials to set against Massignon's statements..

The basic conclusion of all this is that we have to be extremely critical with regard to any unreflected impact of Massignon's work in Islamic studies and scholarship in general. It is not only the facts presented but also the interpretation given them and the meanings attached to them which need critical investigation. By exaggerating and even constructing certain meanings of Islamic data, Massignon's work poses a real challenge for any study of Islam concerned with meaning. We have to separate scholarly findings from scholars' private opinions, convictions or beliefs.

I would suggest that, for a properly scholarly study of Islam and Muslim societies and in particular of the meanings Islamic data had or have for particular groups of Muslims, it is necessary to distance oneself from Louis Massignon's religious views, on the basis of which he developed his interpretations. Researchers should work on the basis of empirical data and, as far as research into meaning is concerned, on the basis of the requisite sound theoretical framework. Such a framework should have general validity, according to scholarly criteria. Just as there has been a transition from *philologia sacra* to scholarly philology, and from *historia sacra* to scholarly history, research should leave *religio sacra* behind for the scholarly study of religions, including Islam. This implies replacing any religious framework of Islamic studies by

a scholarly framework to be derived specifically from *Religionswissenschaft*, which forms part of the humanities and social sciences[10].

Once problems have been formulated in scholarly terms and research carried out on this basis, it will be important to look back again at certain Massignonian interpretations and their scholarly, ethical and spiritual merits. This holds true particularly for Massignon's researches on Islam as a kind of system conveying meaning to Muslims and Muslim societies. It also applies to the constant process of interpretation and application of Islamic prescriptions by Muslims of various orientations who present their particular constructs of Islam in different situations, times and places. And it is valid for further studies in the broad field of relations between Muslims and Christians — or if you like, eventually, between Islam and the West — in history and at the present time. There is urgent need for the creation of an independent scholarly institution to carry out research on this subject under the motto *ut altera pars audiatur* : to give the other party a hearing.

Louis Massignon may be considered to have been one of the most remarkable scholars of Islam in the 20th century, not without a touch of genius, but also with a hint of theatrical effects. From his 25th year onwards his life seems to have been determined by two poles. On the one hand he lived in a French Catholic world, in close contact with other converts. On the other hand he had his second home in the Arab world where he felt at home on the human plane. In order to bridge the gap between these two worlds he appealed to values, norms and truths derived from both of them, in which he passionately believed. Massignon's work and life meant at the time a radical break with rather fixed existing structures and positions in France and beyond. He stood for reciprocity in encounters and for a common search in thought and scholarship. Instead of dominating he was attentive to the state of mind of the other side, looking for a common direction in which both parties could move.

Our problem is how to get his work out of the particular French Catholic and Arab Muslim conditionings of the time so that it can become relevant and fruitful for scholarly research into Islam, Muslim societies and Muslim-Christian relations in general. Massignon's work should also be prised loose from his particular person speaking about and of himself. We should recognize the very subjectivity of his opinions and convictions and leave them for what they are, from a scholarly point of view.

As it stands, Massignon's work as well as his life is too many-sided to be claimed for one particular cause to the exclusion of others, or to be appropriated by particular interests over against other interests. It is rather a universe in itself, a religious universe.

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[10] On *Religionswissenschaft*, see Waardenburg 1993.

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IDEALS OF ERUDITION AND TENDENCIES OF EDUCATION IN GERMAN ISLAMIC STUDIES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Introduction

At the opening ceremonies of the Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages, which was founded along the lines of the Paris and Viennese academies, Eduard Sachau announced that the graduates would "not just study, but rather learn to communicate in foreign languages".

The role of "critical and comparative research of oriental languages" was to remain the task of the twenty oriental professors at the university while the objective of the Seminar was to "equip the student with the tools outside of philology" (*Bericht* 16).

Academic Oriental Research

This, at first glance, handy distinction reflected especially well the day's conception of humanities in general, and oriental philology in particular. The universities saw themselves as institutions, which performed basic research in accordance with the Humboldt ideal of erudition. According to Max Weber, privileged positions in German society were not given to specialists, but rather to those who possessed general knowledge (Ringer 1987: 41).

The lack of practical requirements and educational considerations was also reflected in the opinion of some of the specialists: Theodor Nöldeke first sent students home so that they would learn Arabic grammar. He did not want to teach "numskulls" and "lazy bones"[1]. The separation of practical training did not make it any easier to answer questions about the field and the objectives of oriental research; questions which already had been discussed in the 19th century. Beyond that "the critical and comparative research" resounded differently as the sounding board changed, even if the resonance was, as it is today, within a small circle.

The formulation of a philological understanding at the end of the century by a Semitist such as Eduard Sachau, does not lack a certain undertone of self-assertion or self-assurance. In the colonial powers there were already objections being voiced about this manner of dealing with the orient because they did not meet with the 'imperial responsibility'. In Germany, by contrast, the Indo-Germanic languages were considered to be of significantly greater importance for linguistic research than the

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[1] Letter from Theodor Nöldeke to C. H. Becker from the June 27, 1915. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin. Rep. 92. C. H. Becher's private papers. File 3138.

semitic languages. Of the former, who, as Praetorius once put it in 1895, "by nature tended more to the occidental" (Praetorius 1895: 547), one expected more insight into our own linguistic history (Plank 1995). The latter was the segment of human history which the philologists had made their own and was the subject of research according to their methods.

Governmental Support

Long before 1871 some German states had entertained commercial contact and consulates overseas. Here, too, there were orientalists employed, but even with the founding of the German Reich there were still no "real reasons" to promote oriental studies[2]. Only when the Reich officially joined the colonial powers, did non-university societies such as the Vorderasienkomitee (Near East Committee), the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft (Near East society), the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (German Orient Society) begin to receive government grants for their research activities and expeditions (Wölffling 1965). The Association for the Study of Palestine (Deutscher Verein für die Erforschung Palästinas), had been founded as early as 1877.

With a wary eye on England and France, the Kaiser and certain government officials considered the documentation as well as the collection of the ancient Mesopotamian works of art and inscriptions as a task befitting of the cultural importance of the German Reich. Simultaneously, it was possible by means of the academic achievements in the Near East to appeal to the economic interests. The construction of the Baghdad railway is one example of such.

From the perspective of the specialists of the ancient orient or the archaeologists, the systematic archaeological digs were proof of the academic value of their activities. With these activities they were able to compete with the prestige of the natural scientists.

University Development

The expansion of the educational opportunities at the university at the turn of the century, with the admission of larger numbers of students, 21.000 in 1880 compared to 56.000 in 1911 (Ringer 1987: 55), was a result of and caused the *alma mater* to at least implicitly expand educational tasks. Larger numbers of students required more materials in the libraries and the professor's studies were no longer large enough for the lessons. Although they were of no importance for teacher training, the oriental and as never before the Semitic languages participated in this growth.

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[2] One example of an orientalist as a diplomat is J. G. Wetzstein (1815-1905), who represented the Prussian state in Damascus. See: Hulm 1989. The term 'äussere Veranlassungen' was used by Gustav Flügel (Flügel 1834: 211).

When the Göttinger Seminar was established in 1901, it became clear how the argumentation oscillated between the desire to at least partially systematize the instruction on the one hand and the obscure image of the field for which research was to be conducted on the other hand. The request for an oriental seminar was the same as for a residual category: "...because the philological seminar stuck to the task of training teachers and elsewhere linguistic studies more that fell apart"[3].

At the outbreak of the First World War, there were eleven other German universities with oriental departments; Giessen, Frankfurt, Münster and Halle established departments during the war. That Germany's largest university did not receive an institute for Semitic studies until 1928 is to be explained by the often disputed, but nevertheless hardy existence of the Seminar for Oriental Languages. The exact point in time of the establishment and the specific fields of specialization were determined by a conglomerate of traditions at a university, the background of the students, the desires of the professors and the ability to gain the favour of the respective minister of culture.

If, for instance, in Breslau, today known as Wroclaw, a wide range of courses in orientalism were offered, this was due to the intention of binding the wayward province more closely to Prussia, and to establish Breslau as the cultural centre of the German-speaking population. The earliest references to establishing oriental studies in Breslau which I have been able to discover stem from Rabbi Abraham Geiger in 1840[4]. Even if this proposal was not implemented directly, the existence of the rabbinical seminar always contributed to a sufficient number of students. According to Brockelmann's memoirs (Sellheim 1981: 28), the instruction there developed satisfactorily.

I should like to quote Carl Heinrich Becker's reasons for financing a department for oriental studies at the University of Bonn as an example of how Islamic studies became established in the German Reich: "With the increasing German interest in the orient, the expansion of our economic sphere of influence, the positive development of German cultural and educational policy in the orient, it has become necessary to offer the student of the primarily industrial state of Rhineland the opportunity to deal with the historical and current oriental problem in the early part of their studies"[5].

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[3] The Dean of the philosophical faculty to the ministry of culture on the 2nd of August 1901, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin, I HA, Rep. 583.

[4] University-Archives of Breslau, Acta betreffend das Lehrfach der Orientalishen Sprachen und die Personalien der zu demselben gehörenden Dozenten, 1840-1899. File F 99, p. 1-2.

[5] Letter from C. H. Becker to the Prussian Ministry of Culture, June 25, 1914. Nordrhein-Westf. Hauptstaatsarchiv. File: Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Bonn, NW 5, Nr. 599, p. 12. The file is now found in: Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin.

Thanks to Eduard Sachau's 1903 list of instructors who taught oriental languages, with the exception of Indo-Germanic ones, at German universities[6] we know that more than one third of the instructors required, namely 37 of 93, stemmed from theological departments. Whatever the affect on content from the theological studies, be it Christian or Judaic, this number proves that the field of semitics could not possibly have expanded in the same manner as it did, had it not been for the experts in this field, or that an academic accompaniment of the growing interest in the Near East was possible as a result of the knowledge of Semitic languages in theological seminaries.

In connection with this expansion, which spanned a period of only 20 years, there was a sort of pioneering spirit which several orientalists — in this case experts in the Prussian Academy of Sciences — expressed before the First World War as follows: "There is a tendency to refer to our era as the age of natural sciences, but it would be equally correct to refer to it as the age of oriental studies..."[7]

Oriental organizations formed in Munich, Bonn, Münster and other cities with the intention of decimating knowledge of the orient amongst the educated population, show that this euphoria was not limited only to the university. During this period, the orientalists enthusiasm expanded beyond national boundaries with international contact contributing to the exchanging the stigma of the book-worm for the glory of a cosmopolitan (Bourdieu 1989: 133). The results of this cooperation took concrete form in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

The Results of the First World War

The First World war brought this atmosphere to an end. The orientalists in Germany joined in the general populations's enthusiastic support of the war. Becker's and Snouck Hurgronje's discussions about the definition of the *ǧihād* and the involvement of various experts such as Martin Hartmann in the *Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient* and Enno Littmann's service in the army are proof of this enthusiasm (Heine 1984).

If the war began to take its toll on the optimism of the Islamists — Hellmut Ritter wrote the following to Carl Heinrich Becker from the front in Palestine: "It appears as if here one is already too enlightened to be able to think of theocratically associating religion and politics"[8] — the consequences, that is the loss of overseas ter-

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[6] This list by Sachau was sent to Professor W. Lexis (Göttingen) on the 10 of October 1903. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin, Rep. 208a, vol. 15, p. 218.

[7] Reasoning of seven members of the Prussian Academy of Sciences from the 9th of November 1910. Archives of the Prussian Academy, File II-I, 17, p. 140-151.

[8] Letter of Hellmut Ritter to C. H. Becker on the 6th of March 1915. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin. Rep. 92, File 3521.

ritory and the limited opportunities for working abroad, led to a reevaluation of the objectives and content of the discipline. Under these conditions, there was no need for institutions which only trained people for practical assignments. The Hamburg Colonial Institute was integrated into the newly founded university and almost all the instructor's positions for Turkish were cancelled. The Foreign Office expressed no further interest in the Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages: in the process of coming to terms with the defeat, the seminar was accused of teaching the language of the gutter, which did not allow one to speak to the hearts of the oriental powers that be[9]. Oriental seminars were only established in the universities of Königsberg and Tübingen. The former enjoyed 'the special attention of the Berlin ministries', because East Prussia was separated by the so-called Danzig Corridor. Amongst the semitists, however, it was known as a banishment, or in the best case, as a stepping stone[10]. The Tübinger theologists successfully countered the ministries' proposal to replace oriental languages with Slavic philology by pointing out the long tradition of their co-operation with the former[11].

Instead of the International Orientalists' Conference, a German Orientalists' Meeting was arranged as a forum for specialists. At its first meeting in 1921, Carl Brockelmann commented on the increasing differences of the oriental studies as a change compared to the turn of the century, pointing out that the dispute within the classical philology between the followers of Gottfried Hermann and those of August Boeckh had never occurred. He expressed the hope that when the "shame" and the post-war difficulties had been put aside, that normal research could become the order of the day once again. The Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society) reacted by further dividing their journal, which now contained an additional section for both semitics and for Indo-Germanic and Iranian studies.

At the same place Becker pleaded for the inclusion of the Near East-Islamic world in the study of European history. In his opinion there was a connection through the joint ancient history, in whose study Islam plays a key role. In this manner he shifted the emphasis of the interest from an understanding of the orient to the European observer's identity (Brockelmann 1921; Becker 1922: 10 respect. 18). The parallel to the Indo-Germanists of the nineteenth century, who had "by nature tended toward the occident", can hardly be overseen.

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[9] Remarks from the Berlin professor of Chinese de Groot, cited on the 29 of February 1920. Geheimes Staatsarchiv. Rep. 76 V a, Sekt. 2, Tit. X. Nr. 124, Bd. X, p. 4.

[10] Der Minister für Wissenschaft, pp. an den Finanzminister am 29.3.1920. Geheimes Staatsarchiv. Rep. 76 V a, Sekt. 11, Tit. IV, Nr. 21, Bd. XXVIII, Bl. 476. In general young orientalists accepted the chair in Königsberg, yet left it as soon as possible, for example G. Bergsträsser, H. H. Schaeder, and Erich Bräunlich.

[11] The Dean of the philosophical faculty to the ministry of culture on the 17th of February 1922. University archives of Tübingen, File 205l101.

As the Minister of Culture for Germany's largest state, he was in a position to at least potentially exhibit his influence in the selection of professors. The pattern of establishing the Semitic professorships during this period shows how difficult it was to implement the program.

His promotion of Islamic studies can more readily be seen in the works of individual academics and his journal *"Der Islam"*. In connection with the reappointment of the Berlin professorship for semitics and the head of the Seminar for Oriental Languages, a division of the Semitic philology was expressly described: "The separation of Islamic studies from Semitic philology is not only justified by the limitation of man's working capacity, it is in the essence of the material. The study of Islam only deals with the Arabian population of the Semitic people, but beyond this with peoples whose language is not Semitic, Persians, Turks, Indians, Malaysians, etc. It has to study the development and spread of Islam from its roots in Arabia throughout Asia and Africa, from the days of Mohammed to the present day where problems of the Islamic population represent an essential factor in the colonial-political and the general political problems"[12].

Reservations about emphasizing the historical aspects at the cost of philology were expressed primarily by the second largest university, the University of Leipzig, which was especially well-known for oriental studies. August Fischer's journal *"Islamica"* was intended to be dedicated to the study of language and culture. In the end the subject matter of the two organs hardly varied[13].

At other places it was decided to limit Islamic studies to determining additional questions or continue as before, which, in view of the cultural sovereignty of the states, represented no problem.

In contrast to classical philology, where discussions amongst experts had led to the development of classical studies, Semitists and Islamists staked their claims without any discussion. Where discussions did take place it was not in the open. Historical surveys of the discipline concentrated on the expansion of the various areas of research. Questions pertaining to methods or objectives were not a subject for publication. Only correspondence amongst the scholars, calls and explanations for filling positions offered insights into the objectives of those occupied with the orient.

In the brief span of the Weimar Republic, which viewed objectively only lasted of one-third of a scholar's life, research in Islamic studies shifted away from the religious aspects toward classical studies. The stone and paper monuments of pre-

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[12] Berufungsvorschläge der Phil. Fak. vom 22.1.1921. Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin, Rep. 76 V a, Sekt. 2, Tit IV, Nr. 68 B, Bd. II, Bl. 61.

[13] *"Der Islam"* was dedicated to the history and culture and *"Islamica"* to the language and culture. A comparison between the articles published in the two journals shows that not only the subjects, but also the authors were roughly the same.

Islamic Arabia and works of Arabian literature received more attention than the development of Islamic theology or the religious practices of the Muslims. If the dissection of the revelations and the associated passages had previously been the primary objective of studies, now the attention was turned to the contributions made by Arabian and Persians scholars in literature, the sciences and arts.

The institutional separation of church and state, the replacement of the ottoman Empire by the secular state of Kemal Ataturk and the political grouping according to national identity rather than religious faith in the Near East were the backdrop for this change, which resembles that of what is referred to as a paradigmatic change in scientific theory.

Islamic Studies during the "Third Reich"

At the beginning of the "Third Reich", the majority of the specialists feared not only the anti-intellectual affect of the new powers, but a disinterest in the orient as well and hurried to rid it of the reputation of being an ivory-tower activity, by spelling out "its relevance for the present day and the current objectives" (Schaeder 1936).

To be more precise we must speak of those who retained their positions — about one third were removed from office for reasons of race or politics, or hindered from advancement in their careers (Hanisch 1995). As decisive as these actions were for the biographies of those affected, the specific areas of study were not disregarded as a result of the removal of competent persons.

Owing to the fact that the nazis did not have a uniform policy for dealing with the orient and that there were considerable differences of opinion amongst the various offices, in other words the ministry of Culture, the Foreign Office, Rosenberg's office, and the SS-foundation "Das Ahnenerbe", radically different offers were accepted without a problem. Franz Babinger and Walter Hinz criticized in a memorandum in 1933 that German "oriental research to date had been too much an appendix to religious and rabbinical studies and had emphasized the linguistic aspects at the cost of the historical ones".

The Leipzigers reacted with a publication which emphasized that the essence of the oriental people is more clearly pronounced in non-historical literature than in historical works. In addition, they stated that only solid philological works would be of long term value and the real orientalist had only pursued rabbinical studies to a minor extent[14].

While the majority of the philologists balked at placing typological linguistic families in connection with genealogical lineage, the change of the hermeneutic

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[14] E. Bräunlich, A. Fischer, B. Landsberger, Stellungnahme zu der Ausarbeitung des Professors Franz Babinger und Dr. Walther Hinz, betr. die Morgenlandforschung im Neuen Deutschland. Stand und zukünftige Aufgaben (without a date: 1933). Geheimes Staatsarchiv. Berlin, Rep. 208 a, Nr. 23, S. 151ff.

horizon can be documented by the application of the Leipzig Semitic Institute to be renamed the oriental Institute. According to the faculty, the name stemmed from the time when oriental studies dealt almost exclusively with Semitic languages: "As a result of the extraordinary expansion of the fields of research in the Near East studies during the last few decades, the previous relation has shifted dramatically. The successful digs in the ancient Near East created new fields for assyriology, such as the Sumerian, which were inseparably connected through the cuneiform characters. On the other hand, Arabic studies have been charged with completely new tasks as a result of the appearance of comparative Islamic studies and the emphasis on cultural-historical and contemporary-historical problems, which offer new insights into the Turkish and Indo-Germanic New-Persian"[15].

Subsequently the term Semitic was removed from any department names — with the exception of Breslau and Munich. There, as a result of reappointments, ordered by the Reichserziehungsministerium (the national ministry of culture), a complete and total break with the previous teaching and research traditions occurred. Otto Spies in Breslau paid as little attention to continuing the comparative linguistics of Semitics as Bertold Spuler did to the Koran research of Gotthelf Bergsträsser or Otto Pretzl[16].

The immediate needs of the Nazi's weltanschauung caused the Islamists working in cultural-historical fields to emphasize the ancient historical-cultural bonds of the Indo-Germanic and Iranian cultures before the rise of the medieval religions (Schaeder), or they claimed that the Islamic religion had changed from being a legislative religion to a religion of opinion (Taeschner) (Schaeder 1943; Taeschner 1940: 207).

At the Foreign College, an institution founded to replace the Seminar for oriental Languages, the students were to be taught foreign languages with the intention of "deepening their own sense of national consciousness"[17].

If one were to gain the impression that in the period prior to World War II the claim of forming personalities had been extended to training institutions, during the war there developed a previously unknown demand for language skills and expertise. The previous difference between the scholars and the practical experts became irrelevant. A distinction between the academic and non-academic education was only reproduced in the military ranks. Even persons who had previously been classified as po-

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[15] Letter by the directors of the semitistic institute to the Saxonian ministry of culture from the 15th of July 1934. Archives of the Leipzig University, File Phil. Fak. B 1, 14, 41, vol. 1, p. 2.

[16] The source for this observaton is the university prospectus of the respective years. The appointment of B. Spuler in 1943 is documented in: Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Mk 5 a/71 a 23, Akten der Ministeriums, Universität München, Ordentl. Professur für semitische Philologie und Islamwissenschaft.

[17] Grundsätze über Ziel und Aufban des Unterrichts an der Nationenwissenschaftlichen Auslandsfakultät der Universität Berlin (1936), Bundesarchiv Potsdam, Rep. 76, File: Reichserziehungsministeriums, No.1249 Auslandshochschule, p. 104.

litically unreliable were charged with tasks. Women who had special qualifications were then also given the opportunity to make a name for themselves[18].

The New Beginning

Upon the conclusion of World War II, the majority of the specialists in the former West Germany hurried to remove their discipline from the practical world and replaced it into the ivory-tower (Schaeder 1946: 452). No longer was the "essence" of Islam the object of their research, but the creation of handbooks, encyclopedias and atlases (Fück 1944: 251; 1955: 327-8). The meagre retrospection left semitic studies to linguistics and Jewish history and religion to Jewish studies. Arabic and Islamic studies were considered philological disciplines (Paret 1968). Solid philological research, this, undoubtedly, greatest German contribution to oriental research was recalled with the intention to continue along these lines. On the basis of such a selective understanding of the field, however, questions were not raised about academic studies of the history or the current situation of the Near East countries.

To date it appears that an attempt has been made to interpret the vice of a selective viewpoint as the virtue of a lack of colonial possessions in Muslim countries. The price of this perspective appears to me to be a continued incompetence to participate in the discussions about current developments in the region. Through a critical examination of inherited traditions, it might be possible to minimize the danger that repressed elements enter unreflected into the discussion and that undifferentiated phobias hinder current debates.

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[18] Some individual careers illustrate this. For instance Alfred Siggel (1884-1959) and Hans Alexander Winkler (1900-1945) were examples for unreliable persons who occupied positions during the war. Annemarie von der Gabain (1901-1993) became recognized as an academic lecturer during the war.

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CHRISTIAN ARABIC STUDIES IN GERMANY DURING THE LAST 150 YEARS: A SHORT SURVEY

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I think I have first to explain what I mean by Christian Arabic literature before I describe the contribution of German scholars to our knowledge about that matter. In short, I am thinking of all literary products written by Christian Arabs in Arabic between the 8th and the early 20th century which include also translations from other languages[1].

The beginning of Christian Arabic literature dates back to the 8th century. During the course of time thousands of books were written which belong to this genre of Arabic literature[2].

Oriental Studies in Europe were for a long time nothing else than a complementary science for Christian theology and its apologetical and polemical grappling with Islam. Thus German theologian-orientalists of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries often used Christian Arabic authors to deal with Arabic language and history[3].

The situation changed, when Johann Jacob Reiske, who is considered as the initiator of a scientific based Orientalism in Germany, "went ahead with the opinion that the Christian Arabic literature could not cope with that of the Muslims" as Johann Fück put it in his well known treatise about Oriental studies in Europe (Fück 1955: 123).

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[1] This contradicts somehow the opinion of Georg Graf who wanted to exclude "the non-religious, as regards the subject matter neutral writings of Christians" from what he defined as Christian Arabic literature (Graf 1944: I, 3). But as most of the Christian Arabic authors produced religious and profane works as well, they considered themselves and their works as part of the intellectual life of their religious communities. This becomes evident reading prefaces, introductory formulas or final remarks. So it is very difficult to make such a division. And even Graf himself was not able to exclude the profane writings from his dealing with Christian Arabic literature.

[2] On the Christian Arabic literature in general cf. Graf 1944-53: V. On the Melkites cf. Nasrallah 1979-1989 and on the Maronites Breydy 1985.

[3] Cf. Fück 1955: esp. 45-47, 58, 91f. As it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide the reader with a comprehensive bibliography of the research done by German scholars on Christian Arabic literature here and in the following notes only some examples are given. For the 18th century one might add to the titles mentioned by Fück *op. cit.*, the dealings of J. Fr. Rehkopf with the history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, then dedicated to Severus Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ: *Vitae patriarcharum Alexandrinorum quinque. Specimen primum. Arabice edidit latine vertit notasque adiecit*, Lipsiae 1758; *Specimen secundum...*, Lipsiae 1759; *Animadversiones historico-criticae ad vitas patriarcharum Alexandrinorum saeculi primi et secundi*, Lipsiae, n.d. (cf. Graf 1944: II, 304). On the many publications of J. H. Callenberg (also 18th c.) see Bobzin 1995: 14-22.

In the mid-19th century when German orientalism had developed as an independent scientific subject, the opinion of Reiske was generally prevailing in dealing with Arabic literature. This becomes obvious if you turn over the leaves of the volumes of the first three or four decades of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (*ZDMG*) which was for a long time the only professional journal of German orientalism and reflected — in the words of Carl Brockelmann — for nearly 40 years faithfully its whole development (Brockelmann 1922:12).

And yet the beginning was — from the point of view of those who regard the Arab culture not one-sided as an Islamic one — quite hopeful. Volume 1 of the *ZDMG*, which appeared in 1847 in Leipzig, gave way to a proper dealing with the Christian Orient. Friedrich Tuch made some "Explanations and corrections to Oriental authors", including the Christian historians Barhebraeus (Abū l-Faraǧ) and Eutychius (Saʿīd Ibn Batrīq) (Tuch 1847:57-65) and the famous Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer informed "About a Greek-Arabic Codex rescriptus of the Leipzig University Library" (Fleischer 1847:148-160). In his examination of the Arabic passages of the manuscript, which "contain fragments of a legendary vita of four monastic saints of the Greek church" (*ibid.*:150), Fleischer pointed to the grammatical, orthographical, syntactical and lexical peculiarities of "the Christian Arabism" ("des christlichen Arabismus") *(ibid.*:155-160). Thus he gave a first and thoroughly appropriate analysis of the post-classical form of Arabic which is today commonly known as Middle-Arabic. In Volume 8 of the *ZDMG* it was again Fleischer who dealt with Christian Arabic literature by presenting a short description of the Christian Arabic manuscripts which Konstantin von Tischendorf had brought from the Orient to Leipzig in 1853 (Fleischer 1854:584-587).

But the new impulses given by Fleischer for a more detailed study of the language and literature of the Christian Arabs were not followed by other German orientalists. While Syrian studies had a permanent platform in the *ZDMG* during the first four decades of its existence and occupied a considerable space, not a single contribution was made in the same period on the Christian Arabic literature, besides the articles by Fleischer which I mentioned above. And also the "Annual report on the Oriental studies [in Germany] in 1880" makes clear, how this side of Arab culture was almost completely neglected. While a whole chapter is dedicated to Syrian studies, the "field of the Jewish and Christian history and literature on Islamic territory" is only shortly mentioned by eight lines within the chapter on Arabia and Islam (Kuhn & Müller 1883:176). Moreover most of the works quoted there are dealing with Jewish literature.

So it is right to say that Christian Arabic studies had not found their place within German orientalism in its phase of consolidation, which was the second half of the 19th century.

For the "true" orientalists — and I put true here in quotation marks — who had chosen the university career Christian Arabic literature was of no or only of minor interest. Carl Brockelmann — perhaps the most famous German orientalist all over the world — may serve as an example for that. Between 1898 and 1902 Brockelmann published the first edition of his legendary "History of the Arabic literature". But as Brockelmann saw Arabic as "the literary language" and "the common spiritual bond" of the Islamic peoples, he had to exclude two fields "which are not directed to the whole of Arabic speakers, but only to an explicitly limited circle. This are the specific Christian and Jewish writings. These can only be treated in connection with the other Christian literatures of the Orient on the one hand and the modern Hebrew literature on the other hand" (Brockelmann 1898:2).

For the Christian Arabic literature Brockelmann then himself undertook this task. But compared with the more than 1200 pages of his "History of the [Islamic] Arabic literature" the seven and one half pages he dedicated to the Christian Arabic literature in a "History of the Christian literatures of the Orient" (Brockelmann 1909:67-74) are absolutely insufficient and reveal more his disinterest in the problem.

The treatise Anton Baumstark published in 1911 on the same subject hit the target much better[4]. It shows that the state of Christian Arabic studies at the beginning of our century allowed a more thorough dealing with that matter.

Baumstark's treatise reflects a change which had started at the end of the 19th century. After a long period of neglect, the number of scholars who were interested in the study of Christian Arabic literature had increased remarkably[5]. Many of these scholars were clerics, but some also held Oriental professorships or were academical representatives of general philology. They encouraged the writing of dissertations "which reached into the field of the Christian Orient" (Kaufhold 1989). The formation of dealing with Christian Arabic literature as an independent scientific branch within orientalism had begun.

Important impulses for this development had come from the Near East, especially from Beirut, were the Jesuit Louis Cheikho who was one of the founders of the University of Saint Joseph worked since 1877. As a scholar Cheikho pursued especially one aim: he wanted to wake up the Christian Arabic heritage — which was mostly unknown to his fellow countrymen and European scholars — from its deep, long sleep and to increase its popularity. Therefore Cheikho published the journal *al-Mašriq* starting in 1898. Cheikho acted not only for long years as the journal's editor, he also wrote countless articles and reviews for it. His bibliography contains the

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[4] "The Christian Arabic Literature" is dealt with on Baumstark 1911:7-36.

[5] See for example: Steinschneider 1877; Wuestenfeld 1879; Arendzen 1897; Riedel 1900; Westphal 1901; Riedel 1902; Seybold 1904; Graf 1905; 1905a; Goussen 1909; Seybold 1912.

almost unbelievable number of more then 2000 titles (Hechaime 1978). Many of them has to be considered as pioneer works which gave a steady base for forthcoming studies in Christian Arabic literature.

Cheikho was very well aware of the problematical nature of his task. Thus he introduced an article on Christian Arabic historiography, which appeared in July 1909 in *al-Mašriq*, with words that were not only symptomatic for the standard of knowledge at his time but are — unfortunately — to a certain degree still valid today.

"The Arabic literary productions from among the ancient Christians are still hidden in the corners of forgetfulness and many scholars do not know them at all. However, the recent discoveries brought out a lot of these monuments and even induced some (scholars) to think about the writing of the history of the literary movement among the Arab Christians" (Cheikho 1909:481).

The last remark relates to two German clerics, Georg Graf and Heinrich Goussen, who had recently published two works on Christian Arabic literature[6].

But Louis Cheikho could not know that one of them, the young Dr. Georg Graf, would continue his own work. With his thorough studies which were based on scientific methods Graf introduced the research on Christian Arabic literature as an independent subject into German and European Orientalism. He was the first who dedicated all his scientific work to that matter. The fruit of his life-long studies is his monumental "History of the Christian Arabic literature", which appeared in five volumes between 1944 and 1953 in the Vatican City. It is a worthy pendant to Brockelmann's "History of the Arabic literature" and forms till today the ultimate base for all Christian Arabic studies.

After having portrayed the widespread disinterest of German orientalists in the Christian Arabs and there heritage it is not astonishing that Georg Graf did not belong to them. He was a cleric who had not studied Orientalism. Michel Breydy characterized him absolute rightly as an "outsider" and "self-made man" (Breydy 1995: 175). It were the publications of the St. Joseph University and particulary the works of Louis Cheikho which attracted Graf's attention towards Christian Arabic literature (Engberding 1956:138). As most of the works concerned were still lying unedited in the libraries in East and West, Graf had to undertake several journeys which led him to Rome, Paris, Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut and some monasteries in Lebanon and Syria. In Europe he worked as a priest in Germany and in the Vatican, later on he became honourary professor at the university of Munich. Graf was also for long years co-editor of the *Oriens Christianus*, a scientific journal for the promotion of knowledge on the so called Christian Orient. It was founded in 1901 at the Campo Santo Teutonico the German clerical college in Rome, and then in 1911 transferred

[6] See above, note 5.

to Germany, were it appears till today[7]. Although the edition of Christian Arabic texts was an explicit aim of the *Oriens Christianus* the first numbers saw scarcely a contribution to this regard. The situation changed when Georg Graf began to publish in the journal in 1911. Up to volume 38 he contributed more than 20 articles and several reviews and gave Christian Arabic studies a steady place in the *Oriens Christianus*. Furthermore Georg Graf directed the Christian Arabic section of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (*CSCO*), a collection of scientific editions and translations, published in Louvain in Belgium.

So one can undoubtedly say that through the tireless efforts and considerable scientific results of Georg Graf German Orientalism holds the place of honour amongst those working on the field of research on the literary, cultural and religious heritage of the Arab Christians. Normally this should have been both: legacy and duty.

But even if the dealing with Christian Arabic literature experienced a distinct vitalization and legalization through the work of Georg Graf, no German scholar was able or willing to follow his footsteps after his death in 1955.

Thus Ernst Hammerschmidt could only dedicate a very small passage to Christian Arabic studies in his article on "The study of the Christian Orient within German Orientalism", published in 1964[8]. Especially in this period German Orientalism could be identified with studies on Islam. This can be proved by the following quotation from a "Memorandum on the state of German Orientalism" which was edited in 1960 on behalf of the "German Federal Society for the Advancement of research" (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). In this brochure the Christian Orient is dealt with as a "special sub-discipline" of Semitistic and Islamic science. It is characterized as a field of research, "which deals with nearly the same territory as Semitistic and Islamic science, but is of secondary importance in comparison with the study of the Islamic world, as Christianity and Christian literary productions have been forced back heavily in the Orient" (Falkenstein 1960:8).

Later on the situation improved slightly. In the course of more generous staff appointment schemes at German universities a few professorships for the research on the Christian Orient were established, but characteristically enough none of them for the studies on the Christian Arabic literature.

And it must be noticed that Christian Arabic studies played only a minor role in the activities of those who occupied these professorial chairs. Nevertheless some important contributions were made for example by Julius Assfalg (Assfalg 1955; Assfalg

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[7] On the history of the *Oriens Christianus* cf. Kaufhold 1989a.

[8] Hammerschmidt 1964:1-17; Christian Arabic studies are mentioned on p. 10f.

& Krüger 1975), Peter Kawerau (Kawerau 1976-77) and C. Detlef G. Müller (Müller 1968; 1981).

Beside this, one should not forget that some specialists of the Islamic Orient also dealt with the Christian Arabs, only to mention Otto Spies (Spies & Hoenerbach 1956-57), Bertold Spuler (Spuler 1964), Stephan Leder (Leder 1985) or Gerhard Endress (Endress 1977).

But all in all these sporadic dealings with Christian Arabic literature were far away from being sufficient enough to establish these studies steadily at German universities.

After the death of Michel Breydy, a Lebanon-born scholar, who lived for several years in Germany and worked mainly on the literature of the Maronites and some Melkite historians (Breydy 1985a; 1995), Christian Arabic studies are almost absolutely neglected at German universities. It is more than palliation when the author of a brochure, published on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the *DMG* in 1995, claims that three renowned orientalists would mainly work on that field of Orientalism as none of them did in the last years or is doing recently[9]. More characteristic for the recent situation is the fact that at the German Orientalists' Conference in Leipzig (1995) only one lecture was dedicated to Christian Arabic studies[10].

It is certainly true "that the science of the Christian Orient is stepping forward leisurely", as Hubert Kaufhold puts it (Kaufhold 1989:1). To avoid that one of its subjects be brought to a total standstill, the study of Christian Arabic literature should be a declared aim of all Orientalists and Arabists, who understand their discipline in the sense of the founder fathers of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft as a comprehensive reflection of all sides of the Orient[11].

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[9] *Die Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Seit 1845 der Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Orients, Asiens und Afrikas und dem Verstehen des Fremden verpflichtet*, n.p. 1995, p. 47.

[10] Walbiner, "Makarius Ibn az-Zaʿīm als Historiker: Anliegen - Arbeitsweise - Ergebnisse" (28.09. 1995).

[11] On some activities made at the German Orient Institute in Beirut in that direction cf. "Beirut als Standort einer lebendig betriebenen Wissenschaft vom Christlichen Orient", in *Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Beirut/Istanbul 1995, pp. 14-16; Walbiner 1995:65-70.

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ARABIC CULTURE AND ARABIC STUDIES IN UKRAINE

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The acquaintance of the Ukrainians with the Arab World started, as it seems, simultaneously with that of Byzantium. Constantinople was at that time a big international centre, so it is not strange that the Ruthenians (Rūs) who visited it had an occasion to meet the Arabs. The acceptance of the Christian faith in 988 brought some knowledge of the history of the Middle East, where the main events of early Christian history took place. Controversies and wars of Byzantium against the Arab Caliphate marked the Ruthenians' attitude towards the Arabs — who in the first chronicles were called "Ismailians", "Agharians". It was negative. It can be seen from the chronicle narration about the choice of religion by Prince Volodymyr for his country. At the same time, there is an example of tolerance in the writing of St. Theodosi of Pechersk who taught to be misericordious to all people, including "Sarazens".

In this period, knowledge about the Arab World was coming to us in Greek garb, through Greek intermediaries.

Another source of knowledge about the Arabs and their life was accounts of pilgrims to the Holy Land. Some of them left written travel notes. The best-known of them was Father-Superior Daniil, whose notes were conserved in many copies, which witnesses for their popularity. The gaining ground by the Ottoman Empire in the Black Sea basin and in Eastern Mediterranean did not contribute, of course, to the establishment of direct contacts between the Ukrainians and the Arabs, though it should be said that the tradition of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was never interrupted, and lasted even to the 20th century. In this connection, one can mention the voyages of M. Smotrytsky, Monk Serapion, D. Korsunsky, V. Linytsky in old days, and Joseph Slipyi in the 20th century.

A very important place in this literature of travel notes belong, no doubts, to the work of Vasyl Hryhorovytch-Barsky, his "Wanderings...", published in St. Petersbourg in 1778. The notes are accompanied by more than 150 drawings made by the author himself on the spot, which have conserved till nowadays the ideas about how Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria and other places looked at the beginning of the 18th century.

Ukrainian intellectuals took part, similarly to the representatives of other European countries, in anti-Muslim polemics (Y. Galatowsky, L. Baranowicz etc.). For the sake of justice we shall note that in Ukraine there were also manifestations of the so-called "turkophilia", i.e. contrasting Turkish Islamic practices concerning people of other beliefs to policies practised by the Catholic Church.

The Arab achievements in the field of Sciences were arriving to us from the West, via Western mediation, through Latin and other European languages. The Ukrainian scientists of that epoch knew the "Logic of Aviassaf" by Abū Ḥamid al-Ġazālī as remade by Mozes Maimonides, the astronomic treatise "Sixwings", the anonymous "Secret of Secrets". A known scholar originating from Ukraine, who was elected Rector of the Bologna Academy, author of incunabula "Prognosticon for current year 1483" Yuri Drohobytch very often referred to the works of the Arab astronomer Ǧaᶜfar Abū Maᶜšar al-Balḫī (d. 886), and mentioned also Ibn Rušd.

If we look into the courses in Philosophy or Physics which were taught in the 17th-18th centuries in the Kyiv — Mohyleana Academy, we shall see that Ukrainian scholars, together with the works of Ancient and West-European authors, dealt with the treatises of Ibn Rušd, Abū ᶜAlī Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), al-Fārābī. For example, Theophan Prokopovitch in his "Physics" quoted Avicenna many times, sometimes confirming him and sometimes disproving.

It is interesting to note that some historic facts of the Christian-Islamic controversy found a specific reflection in a fiction work by a Ukrainian author — Kassian Sakovytch. In his poem "Verses for the most painful funeral of valiant knight Petro Konashevych-Sahaydachny", written in 1622, along with the heroes of Antiquity (Hector, Achilles, Phemistocles etc.), to whom he compared Sahaydachny, the author mentioned also "Salatin-King", the well-known commander, winner over the Crusaders — Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn.

In the 18th century, the acquaintance with Arabic culture in Ukraine was done via translations from Western languages, and of course from Russian and Polish. Translations into these languages, for example, of the "1001 nights", were carried out already in the 18th century.

Scholarly study of the Arabic language started after the foundation of the Kharkiv University in 1804, but after Prof. B. Dorn left Kharkiv for St. Petersbourg, the chair of Oriental languages was abolished.

In 1823, the College of Oriental languages (later-Oriental Institute) was opened in Odessa, which later became Lycée Richelieu. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Arabic language, among other Oriental languages, started to be taught in the University of Lviv. Naturally, Arabic was taught at the Crimean madrasas.

Existence of such centres of the Arab studies conditioned the appearance in Kharkiv of some publications about the culture of the Arab peoples. In Lviv in 1913, a translation of the sacred Moslem book — The Holy Qur'ān — from the original was realized, the manuscript of which is conserved in Lviv. The author of the translation is Olexander Abaranchak-Lyssynetski.

In the 19th century, Ukrainian culture was enriching its knowledge of the East in general, and Arabic culture especially, from Western and Russian sources. The direct ties that existed at least in the framework of the Orthodox church, were interrupted. But in spite of that, the Middle East, Islam, and, connected with it,

Arabic vocabulary, were gradually absorbed by Ukrainian men of literature. The works by T. Shevchenko, M. Starytsky and, especially, P. Kulish, who even dared to compose a dramatic scene entitled "Mohammed and Khadidja" (1883) where he shows these two persons belonging to the history of the Arabs in a positive way. It is evident that this was not an isolated case, because he wrote a short poem, under the title of which one finds the remark "*à l'arabe*". It was a, maybe not successful, attempt to imitate Arabic poetry.

Interest in the person of the Prophet of Islam was showed by a great Ukrainian writer and scholar, Ivan Franko (1856-1916). When he was a student at the Vienna University, he prepared a paper entitled "The materials concerning the legend about Mohammed among the Slavs", which he presented to the Seminar of Prof. V. Jagic. His scientific works show that he actively used Oriental materials, for example the works by S. de Sacy, when elaborating them.

Especially known is Ivan Franko's contribution to the popularisation of Arabic literature. When they started publishing tales from the "1001 nights", he in 1912-1913 made a translation of poetic insertions for the second edition of the book. It was done from a German translation.

Till now his remakes of the Arabic tales "Abu Qassem's babouches" and "Bassim, the Blacksmith" enjoy a large popularity. He managed to create in fact original works, using as a point of departure Arabic material, taken from German translations. Publication of "Bassim, the Blacksmith" was accompanied by a foreword written by Franko with a good knowledge of the time of Halīfa Hārūn ar-Rašīd. He tried also to master a form of Oriental poetry — *ġazal*.

Our great poetess Lessya Ukrainka (1871-1913) was also interested in the East and in the Arab East, especially. She wrote about the Ancient East, Crimea, but could not omit the contemporary life of the Arab people either. She visited Egypt three times (1909-10, 1911-12, 1912-13). She wrote a cycle of verses "Spring in Egypt", in which she, with all subtlety, reflected on the nature of this country and the not easy life of the people and even the political picture of its existence as a British colony. As a tribute to the history of the Arab world served her dramatic dialogue "Aisha and Mohammed", a short-story "Egbal — Hanem" was consecrated to contemporary Egypt. We see that the first direct contacts between the Ukrainians and the Arabs immediately gave its fruits.

A separate chapter of Ukrainian-Arab cultural relations is the creative activities of a prominent scholar, Agathangel Krymsky (1871-1942). He made a huge contribution to all branches of Oriental Studies. As to Arabistics, one can mention the fact that he translated many works into Ukrainian and Russian, he also edited academic courses: "History of Arabic Poetry in essays and samples" and "A History of Arabic literature, profane and religious". Add the works on the history of Islam, a great deal of articles to different encyclopedias which were published in Russia at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. He is also author of

"Beirut Short Stories" (1906), "Letters from Syria" (1897), the latter were published in Arabic in Beirut. They were realistic and positive towards the Arabs, vivid pictures of popular life in Lebanon.

In the 30's he wrote a fundamental "History of Modern Arabic Literature" (19th — beginning of the 20th century), an equal to which is not written till now. But this book was published in Moscow only in 1971.

Unfortunately, the Stalinist regime annihilated this outstanding Ukrainian Orientalist.

After 1917, it is a new period of the acquaintance of Ukraine with Arabic culture, mainly trough Russian intermediaries, because the Arab World and Ukraine, besides many other things, were divided by an ideological barrier.

Nevertheless, a poetic book by Amīn Rīḥānī, "Revolution", appeared. The translation and foreword were signed by A. Kovalivsky. In Kyiv, an "Elementary grammar of the Arabic language" by Tawfiq Kezma was published in Russian, it served as a manual at the Courses of Oriental languages organized by the All-Ukrainian Scientific Association of Orientalists.

But such a situation did not last a long time. At the beginning of the 30's the Ukrainian Oriental Studies, coming into being, was destroyed. Many specialists became victims of repressions. Academician A. Krymsky was arrested in 1941, and died in prison in January 1942. That is why in after-the-war years Ukraine, a country with a population of 50 million, found itself without such a discipline as Oriental Studies. Only in Kharkiv, after his return from exile, Prof. A. Kovalivsky explored the Arabic sources for the ancient history of Ukraine. In Kyiv the Arabic language was taught as an optional subject by T. Kezma, my teacher. There were some attempts to renew teaching Arabic at the Lviv University, which before the war had been an important centre of Oriental Studies in Poland. The language was taught by the Azerbaydjanian Muhammed Sadyk-bey Agabek-zadeh; he prepared also a manual. He was assisted by several Arab teachers as well as by T. Levicki, later a known Orientalist.

Thus, Arabic Studies in Ukraine in the 50-70's were represented by works about Arabic sources on the history of our country (A. Kovalivsky, V. Beilis, Y. Dashkevytch, Y. Polotniuk), about contemporary Arabic literature (author of this communication), later, about Arabic manuscript collections in Ukraine (V. Rybalkin).

The wave of the national liberation movement turned attention to the life of the Arab peoples, to their literatures. A whole series of translations of Arab authors appeared. First they were made from Russian translations, but afterwards, more and more, translations were made directly from original texts. A great role was played by the known review *Vsesvit* (The World) in the popularisation of Arabic literature.

There were published, from the authors of the older generation: Muḥammad Taymūr, Miḫā'īl Nuᶜayma, Ǧirǧī Zaydān, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, and many collections of short stories by known contemporary prose-writers.

As separate books appeared the works by aṭ-Ṭāhir Waṭṭār (1982), Iḥsān ᶜAbdal-quddūs (1976), Yūsuf al-Ku'ayd (1983), French speaking Algerian writer Ṣalāḥ Fallāḥ (1978), Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn al-Ḥusaynī, etc. The novel "A story without beginning and end" by the Nobel Prize winner Nağīb Maḥfūẓ, and novels by aṭ-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ were also published.

We consider the publication, in translation directly from the Arabic language, of a solid volume of tales from "1001 nights" (1991) as well as of chosen sūras from the Holy Qur'ān, which were translated by Y. Polotniuk as an important achievement. It should be mentioned that some fragments from the Holy Qur'ān, which appeared in Ukrainian in London, are of a very poor quality.

As to poetry, we find among the translated authors such important contemporary poets of the Arab World as Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Muᶜīn Bsīsū, ᶜAbdalwaḥḥāb al-Bayātī, Niẓār Qabbānī, Maḥmūd Darwīš, Aḥmad Dahbūr, ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-Ḫamīsī, as well as considerable collections of French-speaking Algerian poets.

Naturally, the events of the contemporary history of the Arab World found their reflection in the works of Ukrainian authors: the struggle against colonialism, the Palestinian tragedy, the war in Lebanon, as well as cooperation between the two peoples. In 1966, a short novel, "A legend of the Nile" by A. Khyzhniak, was published in Kyiv. It is about the construction of the Assuan High Dam. This work received an International Gamal Abdel Nasser Prize in 1973. Much attention was payed in our press to Miḫā'īl Nuᶜayma, whose name is connected with Ukraine. He, as it is known, from 1909 till 1911 pursued his studies at the Poltava Seminary.

The proclamation of Independence on August 24, 1991 opened considerable possibilities for Ukrainian-Arab cultural cooperation. At last the Ukrainians entered in direct contact with the Arabs. Now, when there are neither ideological obstacles nor interdictions of the colonial powers, there rests a big obstacle — economic difficulties in our country.

Nevertheless, in Kyiv in the system of the National Academy of Sciences, an Institute of Oriental Studies named after A. Krymsky, headed by a well known Orientalist Academician O. Pritsak was created. The Institute started activities: organized a number of successful scientific conferences, renewed publishing the scientific review "The Eastern World", which ceased to appear in 1931. There is an Ukrainian Association of Orientalists. An important part, in preparation for publishing of Oriental, including Arabic, sources to the history of Ukraine (9th-12th centuries, Liberation war of 1648-1654) is being carried out by the Institute of Arcograph and Sources Research of the National Academy of Sciences.

The fact that we see the beginning of teaching Arabic in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Lviv, is very significant. It gives a ground to look with some optimism at the future of Ukrainian Oriental Studies.

To explore the history of Oriental Studies in Ukraine is now an easier undertaking than before. Several bibliographic indices which can serve as a base for further

researches were published. Bibliographies of A. Krymsky, A. Kovalivsky, O. Pritsak, Y. Dashkevytch, V. Beilis, Y. Kochubey, as well as an index to the review *The Eastern World* (1927-1931), have been published.

BANDALI SALIBA AL-ǦAWZĪ (1871-1942), A RUSSIAN ORIENTALIST FROM JERUSALEM

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The object of this study is to present a scholar of linguistics and a critical historian, a pioneer of social, economic and intellectual history, who has not so far received the attention he truly deserves. What follows provides but a bare outline of his accomplishments. al-Ǧawzī came from Jerusalem at the late Ottoman period, and completed his university education in Russia, where he contributed extensively to the field of Orientalism.

It seems necessary, before pursuing the biography of this personality, to give a descriptive assessment of the environment within which he was born, where he belonged and worked: that is, Palestine and Russia. This review will clarify the two dimensions which affected his intellectual output.

Palestine, in its modern meaning, had not, through history, a separate existence within "Greater Syria" or "*Bilād aš-Šām*". Apart from this, it did have a special indication, based on the notion of the "Holy Land", and it acquired a further significance in Arab history. The "Image" of Palestine as an outlined area became more distinct since the 19th century, following the increase of Western ambitions, including Zionism, over Palestine (Porath 1974: 6-9).

Palestine had fundamentally contributed to the heritage of human civilization, and throughout Arab-Islamic history, it was one of the important centres of culture (al-Ḥusaynī 1946: 12). The 19th century witnessed a cultural revival which was an outcome of a host of new educational, social and political developments. These developments, however, were not quite different from those happening in near by regions, but due to the important location of Palestine and its religious status, and because the political pressures had become harder, the cultural life there had acquired its own stamp and peculiarity (Kasmieh 1997).

Jerusalem, Ǧawzī's home city, of all cities of the world, is unique in its status due to the spiritual wealth it possesses. It is the niche, "*Qibla*" of the three main religions (Manneh 1990: 3). In the second half of the 19th century it was emerging, in a way, as the capital of Palestine, which became a political and administrative entity beneath the surface of the fluctuating provincial divisions of the Ottomans (Scholch 1939: 228).

It should be mentioned that, in the course of the late decades of the 19th century, Palestine in general and Jerusalem in particular, were caught up in the whirlpool of European rivalries in striving for influence. The easiest way to establish influence was the policy of religious cultural penetration (*ibid.*: 228).

Although at that time, the spirit of secularism was gaining ground in Europe, there was an upsurge of religious enthusiasm about the "Holy City" in the Foreign Offices of the European Powers. France had the Catholics to protect, while the Russians claimed to defend the interests of the Orthodox. To draw even, England and Prussia (later Germany) had to find, or create, their own minorities to protect.

One result of the activities of the European Powers towards intensifying their interests in Jerusalem and several cities of Palestine, was an unprecedented increase of the number of hospitals, monasteries, churches, printing presses, libraries and missionary schools (Khalidi 1981: 61). As education under the Ottoman system of Millets was the responsibility of each community (Hopwood 1969: 139), the competing European missionary schools became an important part of the educational tableau there. The activity of these missionary schools had a double effect: these schools were not entirely limited to Christians, but they catered for Muslims as well, who gradually began to attend foreign missionary schools. Moreover, the fact that those schools were better developed than were state schools served to stimulate educational reform (Findley 1992: 134).

These schools had, on the other hand, negative consequences: in a country made up of different religious denominations, the diversity of missionary activity was bound to lead to conflicts, the more so since the missionaries allowed themselves to be used as tools of political infiltration (Ghazaleh 1973: 8-9). This orientation was obstructed by the fact that it was dangerous for Christians to break the close ties linking a Christian Arab to his community. Historically, the Muslims and the Christians of the geographical Syria had been united in language and interests (Hopwood 1969: 176-177).

It is true that the number of students who benefited from the educational institutions, native, state and foreign, was small in comparison with the total population of the country. It should be remembered, however, that the society was in the process of rapid change, with education and general development always increasing the number of those who joined the educated sector of the society (Muslims and Christians alike) (Ghazaleh 1973: 98). All the ideas of the West and the cultures of foreign nations wove themselves into the fabric of this sector's higher curricula (Khalidi 1981: 62).

al-Ǧawzī, an Orthodox Christian from Jerusalem, represented the afore-mentioned educated sector, which got acquainted with the cultures of other nations, and mastered foreign languages.

The Orthodox people of geographical Syria[1] were the heirs of a once flourishing Church. They were all Arabic-speaking Christians who considered themselves true Arabs and vigorously denied that they were Arabized Greeks (Hopwood 1969: 27).

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[1] Almost 90,000 at the beginning of the 20th century.

The Orthodox believers of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem[2] were scattered over some 70 villages and towns in Palestine and in one or two areas beyond the Jordan (Hopwood 1969: 9-26). In Jerusalem itself, the Orthodox Greeks and Arabs represented about one half of the total population. They had, as inhabitants of the "Holy Places", an importance far outweighing their numbers (*ibid.*: 19).

The Palestinian "Holy Places" had always been dear to the Russian believers' hearts (*ibid.*: 9). The Patriarch of Jerusalem was of prime importance in the relationship between Moscow and the Orthodox East (*ibid.*: 10). In spite of the fact that Greeks continued to play an important role in the Orthodox world under the Ottomans, the Russian churches claimed that their rulers were the protectors of the Orthodox faith (*ibid.*: 2). Russia's intrigues and desires ranged wide, but it was "for the sake of Jerusalem",as the centre of the Orthodox East, that much of her effort was expended, an effort that brought her into close association with the Orthodox Arabs of the East, especially, of the church of Jerusalem (*ibid.*: VI).

Russia considered that the greatest threat facing the Orthodox Arabs in the mid 19th century was the growth of foreign missionary schools, which held great attraction for the Orthodox Arabs, who were starved of education (Findley 1992: 135).

The Russian Church, in an effort to emulate other European Powers, and also out of Russia's concern with Syria in general and Palestine in particular, launched an educational campaign aimed at the Orthodox Arabs. The educational activity was weak and ineffective until it took an effective and organized shape after the establishment of the "Imperial Russian Orthodox Palestine Society", 1882 (Hourani 1991: 302). Although the Society's work had been restricted for different reasons, yet it left its traces, which were not as deep as those left by other foreign powers. The Orthodox Arabs were set on a distinct path which would have been notably different, had it not been for Russian intervention (Hopwood 1060: VII).

By fostering education, Russia stimulated an interest in western secular civilization among the Orthodox Arabs. Russian was taught at the schools of the "Society", so as to give the students access to Russian literature, as in several subjects there were no satisfactory text books (*ibid.*: 144). Many observers had become aware of a marked appreciation of Russian secular literature among the graduates of the society's schools (*ibid.*: 156-157).

It is worth mentioning that the Russian schools made it their special concern to teach Arabic besides Russian (Dağīr 1901: 901-904). This had twofold results: first, the appearance of Arab publication, since the late 19th century, to restate the Arabs claims for the "Holy places" against the Greeks[3]. This served indirectly the Arab national movement. The second result of teaching Arabic at the Society's schools was

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[2] Almost 50,000 at the late Ottoman period.

[3] Those translators were mostly graduates of the Russian Teachers' schools at Nazareth and Beit-Jala.

the emergence of leading translators from Russian into Arabic. Thus they helped to acquaint Arab readers with the works of Gorky, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Pushkin, and other prominent figures of Russian literature (Yaġī 1968: 109-110).

The Russian Society used to send the best graduates of its schools to continue academic studies in Russia. But most of these, to its deep regret, became naturalized, found employment, and were unwilling to return (Hopwood 1969: 140). Some contributed to developing Orientalism in Russian universities. al-Ğawzī is a good example of these.

To trace the beginning of Russian interest in the field of Orientalism, it is worth to refer to Russia's relations with the Arab Moslem World during the Middle Ages, through the visits of merchants from Baghdad to Russia, and Russian pilgrims to the "Holy Land" (al-ᶜAqīqī 1965: III, 915). Following the fall of the Mongolian Empire[4], Russia expanded beyond its borders towards Asia, thus linking her religiously, historically and culturally with the Arab Moslem World (*ibid.*: 916). Russia under Peter the Great and Catharine emulated other European countries in the field of Orientalism. The earliest steps were to send students to learn Oriental languages, including Arabic, and to establish institutes for the same purpose, especially to train ambassadors and interpreters (*ibid.*: 917).

Orientalism became a distinct subject in 1804, with the introduction of an university system which included Semitic languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish etc.) in the curriculum of the higher institutions. The first university to apply this system in teaching Arabic was Kharkov (*ibid.*: 918)[5]. Kazan University (established 1804 near the river Volga) came next to teach Arabic, in 1807[6].

Other Russian universities, institutes and colleges, had established chairs for Oriental languages since the beginning of the 19th century[7]. The new regime that followed the 1917 Revolution witnessed a great interest in Oriental (especially Arabic) studies. It organized the existing institutes, and established new ones[8] (*ibid.*:

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[4] The Mongolian Empire dominated part of Russia at the end of the 14th century, and left its impact there.

[5] One of the most prominent Orientalists who supervised Arabic studies there was Dorean (1829-1836), who was invited by the Tzar from Germany.

[6] The Tzar entrusted the Dept. of Semitic Languages at the University to the German Orientalist Fran 1807-1817.

[7] E.g: Moscow, Lazarev, Saint Petersburg. The Eastern College at the last University became the residence of great Orientalists such as Roseen and Parthold.

[8] Such as the Institute of Eastern Languages at Leningrad and the Central Institute for Modern Eastern Languages in Moscow. Moreover, the government installed Orientalists at several universities, such as Kiev and Baku.

920). The government held academic seminars for disseminating Eastern cultures, and gave Orientalists moral and financial support (*ibid.*: 921).

Many professors from Arabic and Eastern countries had their share in teaching Arabic and contributed to the flourishing of Oriental studies in Russian institutes and universities. al-Ǧawzī was one of these.

Born in Jerusalem, he received his early education at the Orthodox Monastery of al-Musallaba. He followed his clerical studies at the Monastery of Kifteen, near Tripoli. He got a scholarship to study theology in Moscow, but he discovered later that he had no mental inclination towards theological studies, and decided to study history and literature (al-Asad 1957: 32-34) at Kazan University, which enjoyed high reputation for its interest in Arab studies[9] (*ibid.*: 939).

His M. A. research subject, in 1899, was "al-Muʿtazila, a scholarly historical research in Islam". Following his graduation, he was appointed professor at the Faculty of History and Literature at Kazan University, to teach Middle Eastern history (al-Asad 1957: 32-34). In 1920, he got a post at the Eastern College, Baku University (Azerbaijan)[10] (Šawqī 1993: 93). In 1921, he got Ph. D. in Arab literature and language; in 1930, he was appointed to the chair of Arab language and literature at Baku University. Between 1932-1937 he suffered from a heart attack, which prevented him from work. He resumed his activity in 1938, the year of his retirement. He remained in Baku until his death in 1942 (*ibid.*: 95).

During his active years, he toured many countries of the Middle East (Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Palestine) for academic purposes: composing books and delivering a course of speeches. He published extensively in the Arabic press of Egypt and Syria, where he excited much attention for the novelty and profundity of his subject-matter and treatment[11].

During his years of residence in Russia, he was too much occupied by an earnest longing for his home country. His several visits to Jerusalem (1909, 1928, 1930) were a clear proof of this attachment. During these visits, in addition to the academic goal, he tried hard to raise the level of public opinion, and to stimulate the consciousness of the people about the forthcoming dangers[12] (*ibid.*: 102-104). This caused the British authorities to issue an order for him to leave the country, for fear of his political activity (*ibid.*: 12-13).

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[9] Russian Orientalists had their contributions during their tenure at Kazan University, e.g: Fran 1782-1851, Gottwalt, 1813-1897.

[10] During his tenure there, he contributed to the creation of the new Alphabet of the Azeri language.

[11] Khalidi 1981: 71. The Arab press referred to him as Bandali al-Ǧawzī, the Soviet Palestinian or Bandali al-Ǧawzī, the Russian Orientalist. Šawqī 1993: 14.

[12] He used to disseminate his liberal ideas at a public cafe in Jerusalem called "aṣ-Ṣaʿālīk" (Paupers), a meeting place for prominent politicians, scholars and men of literature.

Most of al-Ǧawzī's works were in Arabic, though he mastered many ancient and modern languages, notably eight: Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, French, German, English and Russian. He was excellent in other languages too: Turkish, Azeri, Latin, and he could read fluently Italian and Spanish (*ibid.*: 136). He made early translations from German[13] (*ibid.*: 137), and wrote some books on teaching Russian and English to Arab speakers. He might be considered as a rare example of those who master the art of writing in foreign languages (al-Khateeb 1990).

al-Ǧawzī worked hard to develop Orientalism at the Russian universities, and to present Arab culture to the Russian milieu. The Orientalists described him as their fruitful source, calling him Pendeli (Kasmieh n.d.).

His historical works are of special merit; the range of topics he dealt with is sweeping. It is worth mentioning a few of his works in Arabic and Russian[14]: "al-Muʿtazila" 1899, "The History of Jerusalem Church" 1910, "Mount Lebanon, its History and Present status" 1914, "Research in the Koran" 1914, "Muslims in Russia and their Future" 1917, "Egyptian - British Relations" 1930. His magnificent work in history "From the History of the Intellectual Movements in Islam" was first published in Jerusalem in 1928.

Despite the diversity of the subjects of al-Ǧawzī's works, the achievements of classical Arab-Islamic culture were given prominence. He did not confine himself to the traditional interpretation of Arab-Islamic history, instead, he took great care to ascertain its social and material dimensions. In spite of the different views towards what al-Ǧawzī presented, he remained for a long time a pioneer historian of Arab social and economic history, of populist movements and of intellectual history in its social milieu (Khalidi 1981: 73). "al-Ǧawzī has been something of a hero to the Arab intellectual, left for some years" (as-Sayyid & Alluš 1977).

He was distinguished from the nationalists in avoiding fanaticism, without ignoring the appeal for Arab unity and the constant aspiration for the progress and development of the Arab nation. He warned his nation of the consequences of weakness and division, raising his voice against all the views which degrade the Arabs' (and other Eastern nations') civilization (*ibid.*).

The major theme he dealt with was, broadly speaking, the encounter between the Orient and the West. His evocation of the East-West theme grew out of his profound familiarity with both classical Arabic and Western culture, and his prolonged stay in the West (Khalidi 1981: 70).

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[13] E. g. *Gassan Princes from al-Jafna*, composed by the Orientalist Nöldeke. Dr. Q. Zureiq presented some of his ideas for the Arabic version, which was published at the Catholic Publishing House, Beirut. 1933.

[14] All were printed in Kazan, except the last one.

He acknowledged the contributions that Western Orientalists had made to the study of Eastern countries, but he had, nonetheless, a cautious attitude towards their intolerance and distortion of the history of the East and its inhabitants. In a passage entitled "The Unity of Social Laws", al-Ǧawzī attempted to show how Western Orientalists have constructed one sort of a progressive image of their own history and civilization, and another image of a static, arrested East, "If we bear in mind the fact that the first to formulate the principles of the science and the methods of historical criticism were Western historians, like Niebuhr, Ranke, Schlosser and others, and that these historians based their rules and theories on western history alone, since they knew little of Eastern history, it becomes easier for us to realize how strange and heedless are the remarks of certain western historians regarding the East".

al-Ǧawzī quoted several damaging remarks and continued as follows : "Suffice it for us here to state that the origin of these barren and corrupt ideas is, firstly, ignorance of the history of Eastern nations by those who hold these ideas, and their inability to analyze the historical material which they then possessed in a purely scientific manner. Secondly, those writers based their judgement on the future of Eastern nations on the basis of their cultural and social state of affairs in the recent past ... It is exactly as if an Arab Muslim of the 10th or 11th centuries were to visit Europe of that age and, observing their ignorance, religious prejudice and poverty, condemned them to stagnation and dismissed their future, saying ("they cannot possibly have a social life in the accepted meaning of the word in this present age").[15]

al-Ǧawzī concluded that both East and West follow the same laws of social development, and that neither possesses a natural advantage over the other. The rise and decline of civilizations and states have independent, material causes, totally unrelated to religion or national character.

al-Ǧawzī's writing reflects his scholarly thoroughness, his sources were the classical Arabic ones; he showed much skilfullness in research, investigation, a care for accuracy and scientific honesty. He wrote in a simple, marvellously refreshing style, rigorously pruned of rhetoric.

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[15] This passage comes from the introduction to his famous work *"From the History of the Intellectual Movements in Islam"* (Arabic). It would be instructive to compare this passage with another, written by Rūḥī al-Kalīdī, an intellectual from Jerusalem (1864-1913), thirty years earlier in his study *Introduction to the Eastern Question* (Arabic), a lecture presented at the Centre of the Academic Societies in 1897. (Later published in a book, Jerusalem 1925).

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THE NEW APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY BASED ON THE SCHOLARLY HERITAGE OF NICOLAI IVANOV

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The International Congress of Asian and North African Studies is the permanently acting forum which gives the opportunity to summarize the achievements of Orientalism, to sum up some results and define the outlooks for further research. That is why we consider it quite relevant to make a report concerning the scholarly heritage of the prominent Russian Orientalist professor Nicolai Alekseyevitch Ivanov who died in 1994.

N. A. Ivanov was not only the best contemporary Russian historian of the Arab countries, but also one of most prominent researchers of the Arab Maghreb and Arab-Ottoman society in the World. His work with the sources was irreproachable. His Russian language from the point of beauty and fascination belongs more to the historical prose.

Owing to N. A. Ivanov "Studies on Tunisia" arose in Russia as a special branch of the Arab studies. Among the numerous research on Tunisia, the most significant is his monograph "The Crisis of the French protectorate in Tunisia" (1971). This is the most solid work about Tunisia in the world literature. In this book the author showed the precise understanding of the peculiarities of Tunisia and Maghreb in general, wrote the "encyclopedia" of Tunisian life in the 1920's and 1930's, and marked in it everything bright and typical that was most interesting. Even now when a quarter of a century has passed the monograph is a model of historical research. Nevertheless, Nicolai Alekseyevitch was interested in the study and interpretation of all the periods of Tunisian history in equal degrees, beginning from the ancient times.

The important place in the scholarly heritage of N. A. Ivanov belongs to the research on the social aspects of the traditional Islamic society. Since the end of the 1970's he develops the concept of Arab-Ottoman feudalism based on his personal investigations in Tunisia, France and Germany. He was exploring in detail the influence of the political system and social institutions of the Ottoman empire on the Arabian society, the impact of Islam not as a religion but as a system of ideology, world outlook which determines the way of life. Comparing Christianity and Islam, he discovered that they had incompatible preconditions of religious consciousness. He considered Islam not reformed religion in principle. Recognizing the great importance of religion, N. A. Ivanov sharply opposed the clerical intolerance and obscurantism of all fanatics, let they be Catholics, Islamic *faqīh*s, Šīʿites of the Fāṭimids, moralists of the Almohads, or scholastic marabous.

The research of the Arabian society under the domination of the Ottoman dynasty led N. A. Ivanov to a new understanding of the peculiarities of the Arab-Ottoman community in the 16th-17th centuries. He came to the conclusion that the legislation code (Ottoman *šarīʿa*) worked out in these centuries strengthened a rather rigid system of social and economic relations which could be defined as the "Eastern feudalism". All this astonishing rigidity and stability of these relations he explained by the absence of "the mechanism of self-development".

Nikolai Alekseyevitch was an expert in not only the new and contemporary history of Maghreb's countries, but also of the Arabian Middle Ages. In particular, his article about Ibn Ḫaldūn (1956) and also his work "Free and taxable tribes of Northern Africa in the 14th century" (1963) confirm this fact. In the second work the author for the first time set the problem about the different social functions of the tribes, fist of all, depending on their status in the structure of state power, and second, according to their ethnic origins, wealth etc. N. A. Ivanov proved that it is more correct and accurate to characterize it by the Arabian landowning system with the help of Islamic law terminology, and not by using "Marxist" determinations like "landowner", "peasant", "fraternal", and so on.

The "Arab-Ottoman period" in the creative work of N. A. Ivanov was completed by the magnificent work named "The Ottoman conquest of the Arab countries 1516-1574" (1984). The monumental research work is devoted to one of the most interesting periods in Turkish history, when the mighty Ottoman Empire was being created. Such questions as the political history of the Arab countries during the Renaissance period, the internal and external reasons for the creation of the Ottoman empire, the spread of the Turkish influence in the Arabic world and the role of the Ottoman empire as the leader of the Arabic peoples in their fight against foreign enslavement are investigated in the monograph. On the basis of the wide data material, he tells about the fall of the Mameluk empire and post-Almohad states of North Africa and their "step-by-step" joining the Ottoman Empire. The process of the formation of the empire is considered in detail the book and it is especially stressed that it was not a conquest in its traditional meaning. It was rather a change of power related to the Arab peoples' strive for a social renewal, as they considered the Ottoman empire to be a guarantee for their liberation.

The main ideas and conclusions made by N. A. Ivanov in his book "The Ottoman conquest of the Arab countries" (1984) were subsequently developed by the author in his further works. Thus, for the monograph "The Arab World. Three decades of Independent Development" (1990), he wrote a chapter on the modernization of the Arab countries and the changes in their classic structure. He considered that: "The more the level of modernization is the quicker the process of decomposition of the traditional sector stuck in the spiritual immobility goes" and thus the material and cultural level of the Arab society is raised. Still the striking exception to this rule are the oil-rich countries of the Arab region, where the standard of living of the

population is much higher than the real level of their modernisation. The process of modernization itself strongly depends on the chosen model of development in one or another country. N. A. Ivanov examined the problem of opposition between the city as a centre of modernization and the village as a reserve of the traditional sector in the Arab East. But the scientist warned that traditionalism should not be interpreted too simply, because it wears modern clothes and has assimilated new forms of expression.

We can talk much about N. A. Ivanov's scientific contribution to the investigation of the theory of agricultural relations and the European colonization of the East of the political and historical role of Islam. Especially, we would also like to underline his research on the genesis of capitalism in the Arab World, where he put forward the idea about the incompatibility (multisided relations) of Islam and capitalism. During his last years of life the problem of the analysis of Eastern despotism particularly attracted his attention. Some of his ideas which seemed too bold and debatable before, now in many aspects have found confirmation. Apparently the same fate awaits his investigations concerning the civilizational concept and the problem of East and West in World History.

N. A. Ivanov tried to widen the topics of former research, he was interested in the problems of the world and Russian history, and did his best to find answers to many questions which have not been solved until now yet. He strived for the democratic renewal of the concept of our historical science.

In conclusion, it is necessary to underline the merits of Prof. Robert Landau who has published some articles about the creative path of N. A. Ivanov. One of these articles, and also the full list of Prof. Dr. Ivanov's publications which can be found in the book "Oriental Studies in Moscow" devoted to the memory of N. A. Ivanov. This book is introduced by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and by the Institute of Asian and African Countries. There are 25 articles of great scientists in this book. They are written on different topics and show the many-sided creative potential of contemporary Orientalism.

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V. HISTORY OF ISLAMIC ART

THE MAIN SOURCES ON THE LIFE, CAREER AND ACTIVITIES OF MAX HERZ PASHA (1856–1919)

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Max Herz (in Hungarian: Herz Miksa) was born at Ottlaka in Hungary in 1856. Having completed his studies in architecture in Budapest and in Vienna, he went to Egypt in 1880 and joined the Technical Department of the Ministry of Pious Religious Foundations *(Waqf),* where he worked as an architect. From 1890 on he was chief architect of the Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Arab Monuments (it is usually referred to by its French name as the *Comité),* and in this capacity he was responsible for the preservation and eventual restoration of Islamic and (later on) Coptic monuments in Egypt. From 1887 on he was in charge of the activities of the Arab Museum (now the Museum of Islamic Arts), eventually becoming its first director in the building erected expressly as a museum in 1903. In addition, he also worked as a prolific architect of modern buildings in Cairo: he is reputed to have designed more than 150 buildings, both private and public. He seems to have played a central role in the emergence of the once very fashionable Neo-Mamluk or Mamluk Renaissance style. He was also an accomplished scholar, publishing extensively on Islamic art. After the outbreak of World War I towards the end of 1914, he was compelled, as an enemy alien, to retire from all his posts and leave Egypt. He settled with his family in Milan, the native town of his Italian wife, but soon after he moved to Zurich, where he died in 1919. He is buried next to his beloved son in Milan.

The life and activities of Herz Pasha deserve our interest from more than one point of view. First of all, owing to his position as chief architect to the *Comité,* he played a central role in all its activities: there is hardly a monument of Islamic architecture in the capital of Egypt that he has not been involved with in some way or other and has not left his mark on. He headed the Arab Museum for quite a long period, and his contribution to the installation of its present building was essential. As for his activities as a private architect, he seems to have been one of the most sought after architects of the period, who at the same time was considered an authority on the then fashionable Neo-Mamluk or Mamluk Renaissance style which was setting the trend in Egypt at the turn of the century. He was also a prolific scholar, whose contributions to the history of Islamic art are remarkable both for their richness in detail, the lucidity of argument and their capacity to place all developments and data in the broad context of Arab and Islamic history. And finally, his career as that of a Hungarian citizen within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy may shed some light on the interaction between Europe and modern Egypt.

There is no full account of Herz's life, career and achievements in any language. This will remain a strong *desideratum* for some time to come. Material on Herz Pasha lies scattered in many places and collating it will require great effort. It is written in a number of languages: English, French, Italian, German, Hungarian and Arabic. In addition, the author of the final, definitive account will have to be an art historian, whose task will be the exact evaluation of Herz Pasha's place in the history of preservation and restoration, as well as in that of modern architecture in Egypt. As a preliminary step towards fulfilling this aim, the present paper aims to sum up what we know now about the main sources of interest to our study.

In general we know that much of the relevant material lies scattered in the most unlikely places and will take time to collate. Another difficulty is that a considerable part of the data is unreliable and so each piece of information must be checked and carefully weighed wherever possible.

The author of the present paper intends to publish — both in Hungarian and English — what he has succeeded in collecting in this field up to now. He is not an art historian; nevertheless he has had the privilege and luck to find some unexpected and scattered material of considerable interest, and perhaps not easily accessible to everyone. It is rather unlikely, too, that a single person could be found with all the qualifications necessary for this task, so he has decided — after some hesitation — to publish this material, on the basis of which art historian(s) in the future will be able to proceed towards the fulfilment of the aim referred to above.

As far as the life of Herz Pasha is concerned, we possess a short description of it in Hungarian, which was written in all probability by himself. It does not cover the whole span of his life but extends to the date of publication only, yet it is of the utmost importance — each word carries weight in it: Szinnyei 1891-1914: IV, 812-814. (Volume IV, containing the entry on Herz Pasha, was published in 1896.) The relevant entry in the updated continuation of this work does not add substantially to our knowledge of his life: Gulyás 1993: XIII, cols 522b-523a. The Hungarian obituary by his old friend Ignaz Goldziher also contains material not obtainable elsewhere, and is in general reliable (Goldziher 1919: 228-233). The Arabic obituary by Tawfīq Askarūs was written by a well-known journalist of the era not acquainted with Herz Pasha personally. Nevertheless, five years after his departure from Egypt, there were still quite a few people around in Cairo who had known him and his activities well, and Askarūs was able to interview some of Herz's close colleagues. It is an important source, that no researcher should disregard, yet at the same time it should be used with considerable caution, and its data needs constant checking: Askarūs 1919: 921-928. The German articles by Marcella Stern give — in this respect — a summary of Szinnyei, Gulyás and Goldziher (see above): Stern 1992: 42-45; Stern 1993: 57-60. Philipp Speiser's Ph.D. thesis on the history of the *Comité* relies mainly on Stern as far as Herz Pasha's life is considered (Speiser: 63-65). It also contains a remarkable first attempt at a general evaluation of Herz Pasha's role in the field of the conserva-

tion and restoration of architectural monuments written by an architect and art historian. Important data can also be collected from Herz Pasha's letters to Ignaz Goldziher and Max van Berchem (see below). I owe some substantial pieces of information to Herz Pasha's grandson, Mr. Paolo Sereni, in Naples.

Herz Pasha regarded himself above all as a conservator of architectural monuments. His exact contribution in this field is only vaguely known: it is common knowledge that he preserved and restored some important mosques such as the Sulṭān Ḥasan, the Abū Bakr Mazhar mosque or the Qalā'ūn-complex, yet the exact extent of his contribution remains unknown. For the study and exact assessment of this aspect of his career and activities there seems to be enough material at hand: the proceedings of the sessions of the *Comité* and the reports of the Second Commission[1] are available in printed form — they appeared in French and they have in part been translated into Arabic. Important as they are, these proceedings and reports are usually rather vague in their wording as far as our subject is concerned: often it is difficult to know who did exactly what, because the text uses the passive voice, a general subject, or simply names the *Comité* or the Second Commission as the agent. In consequence, serious and detailed research in the future will have to resort to an investigation of the original documents, which are kept in the Archives of the descendant of the *Comité*, the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, in Cairo. There is reasonable hope that in the future it will be possible to treat exhaustively this most important constituent of Herz Pasha's activities and career on this basis. Yet it will be a difficult — though most interesting and enjoyable — task, because during the 33 years that he spent in Egypt, he left his mark on most of the Islamic and Coptic architectural monuments in Cairo and also on some in the provinces, thus such research will amount to no less than the history of the *Comité* at this period.

Herz Pasha succeded Franz Pasha, also as director of the Arab Museum. In addition to frequent references to the Arab Museum in the proceedings of the *Comité*, we possess two editions of the detailed catalogue of the Museum — partly English and Arabic translations, too. (The original editions appeared in French.)

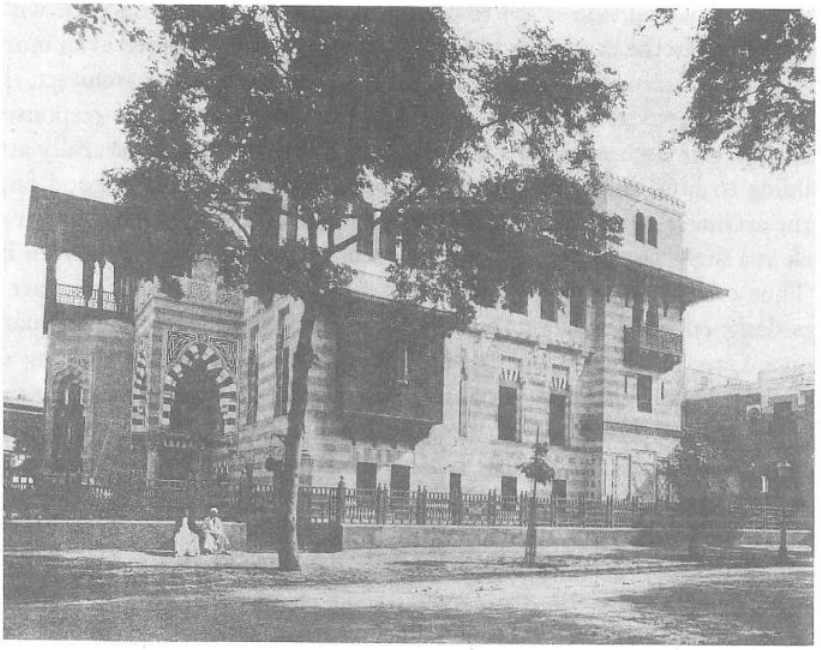
Herz Pasha was also an accomplished scholar, who published extensively on the history of Islamic art. Creswell's Bibliography (1961) and Marcella Stern's article (1992) contain his most important contributions, but they cannot be considered complete: they disregard — perhaps understandably — Hungarian publications, among which can be found what is perhaps Herz Pasha's most important achievement as a scholar: a lavishly illustrated complete sketch of the history of Islamic architecture

[1] The *Deuxième Commission* dealt with technical problems and its tasks also included the inspection, control and supervision of monuments.

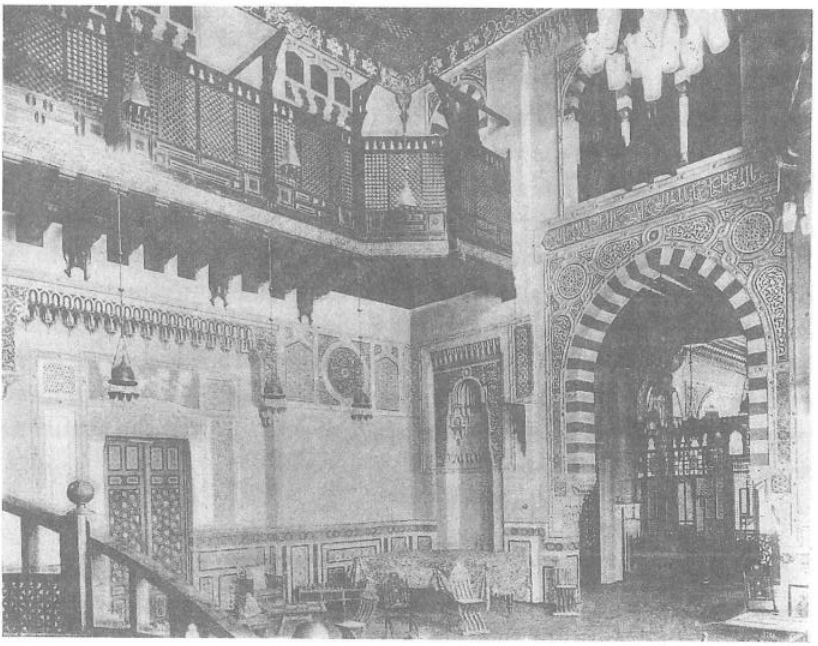
(154 pages), written for a general history of the arts published under the auspices of the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Education: Herz, *Az iszlám művészete* 108–262.

Herz Pasha was also a prolific private architect in Cairo. We must not forget that his sojourn in Egypt came at the period when modern Cairo emerged, during the great building booms in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. He is reputed to have designed more than 150 buildings in various styles (among them Neo-Mamluk and Gothic). He is even said to have played a decisive role in the propagation of the Neo-Mamluk style. Unluckily, we know very little about this field of his activities, and it is rather unlikely that this situation will change considerably in the future. The problem is that there are no central archives of building designs for this entire period. Consequently very often it is impossible to determine who the architect of a certain building was. Herz Pasha himself does not seem to have attached great importance to this aspect of his career; probably he considered it as a means of supplementing his income: in the c. 125 letters by Herz Pasha to Goldziher and van Berchem that I have seen he never speaks about this subject, there is one single casual allusion to one of the buildings he has designed[2]. From among the buildings that can be attributed to him with certainty, the most important, and at the same time perhaps the most beautiful specimen of Neo-Mamluk architecture, the palace of Count Zogheb in Qaṣr an-Nīl Street, was demolished in 1963. We possess, however, two important illustrated publications about it, the former of which is extremely rare, which allow us to form an idea of its exterior and interior appearance: Zogheb 1941; E. B. 1903: 142–144. Our main source on the attribution to Herz Pasha of the Neo-Mamluk transformation of the Gianaclis palace, the present main building of the American University in Cairo in Taḥrīr square, is Hind Nadim's unpublished thesis on the history of the building (Nadim 1992: 62-64). Askarūs mentions in his obituary that Herz Pasha designed his own residence in the Neo-Mamluk style in the fashionable quarter of Qaṣr ad-Dūbāra (Askarūs 1919: 924). With the help of photos in the possession of Mr. Paolo Sereni in Naples and contemporary maps the present author has succeeded in finding its location: it stood at 19 Šāriᶜ aš-Šayḫ Barakāt (now: Šāriᶜ Kamāl ad-Dīn Ṣalāḥ off Taḥrīr square, behind Hotel Semiramis) – it has been demolished in the meantime. Little else is known about Herz Pasha's output as a private architect. In the absence of systematic archive documentation one can only rely upon casual finds and occasional references in descriptions of contemporary Egypt and Cairo, travel reports, memoirs etc. These are, however, rather unreliable. More often than not the relevant pieces of information have been collected by the authors of these works from the descendants of the persons in question, and even if we exclude the probability of outright distortion of

[2] He added the words *Arch. Herz* on the subscription of a post-card depicting the palace of Count Zogheb in Cairo, which he sent to Ignaz Goldziher.



The façade of the Zogheb Palace from Qaṣr an-Nīl street in Cairo. *The Studio* 29.144.



The hall (*qāʿa*) of the Zogheb Palace. *The Studio* 29.142.

facts, pious family tradition is apt to attribute more to the fathers than what can justly be claimed. In the case of architecture the situation is rendered even more complicated by the collaboration of several people in one project: the architect, the contractor, the interior decorator etc. So, for instance, if someone was responsible for part of the interior decoration of a building, family tradition will naturally attribute that building to him, and before long his descendants will claim in good faith that he was the architect of the whole building. In addition, a suggestion that is raised in one work as a slight possibility, will often appear in another as a fact proven beyond doubt. Thus one must proceed with the utmost care. A considerable part of the buildings designed by Herz Pasha are likely to have been located in the quarters of Ismāʿīliyya, Qaṣr ad-Dūbāra and Garden City, where much of the building activity of the period was concentrated. A considerable part of his architectural output may also have gone into private villas, very fashionable at the time. As a result of an astronomical increase in land prices in downtown Cairo, however, many of these have no doubt been demolished in recent decades — e.g., Count Zogheb's palace or Herz Pasha's own residence —, or are in the process of being demolished right now in order to make way for multi-storey apartment blocks, much more profitable than even the most luxurious villa[3]. Thus the only solution is to collect all these random and haphazard data, as Mercedes Volait (Paris/Tours/Cairo) is doing, weigh them carefully, and then, some time in the future, we will perhaps possess all that is available in this field. The volume of data will not be large and will certainly not be exhaustive, but I am confident that some interesting and noteworthy details will come to light.

Herz Pasha's contribution to the mosque of ar-Rifāʿī can be assessed with approximate precision on the basis of the booklet he published on the occasion of the ceremonial inauguration of the mosque (Herz, *Mosquée el-Rifai*).

A lot of data concerning Herz Pasha can be found in contemporary travel reports and memoirs. Herz Pasha seems to have been a very sociable and affable man, who enjoyed meeting people, and who seems to have been popular among both residents in Cairo and visitors to it. He also spent much time on architectural sites, where he met visitors and tourists. We know that for a while — before the publication of the first printed catalogue — he also acted as guide in the Arab Museum on several days of the week, and the exact times of his service in this capacity were announced in the local newspapers. This was surely a good opportunity to make the acquaintance of many people.

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[3] There is a civil movement emerging now in Cairo which aims to salvage the city's turn-of-the-century architectural heritage, currently under threat of extinction (Abdel Hamid). The participants of the colloquium "Un siècle d'architecture savante en Égypte (1850-1950)" in March 1997 also issued a proclamation encouraging these activities.

Important details concerning Herz Pasha's life, career, and activities can be found in his correspondence.

His letters to Ignaz Goldziher are kept in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and consist of 61 items, 57 of which are letters, postcards or visiting cards with short notices. The four additional items contain Herz Pasha's wedding announcement, the obituary notice for his son in *Corriere della Sera*, his own mourning-card, and Madame Herz Pasha's visiting card expressing gratitude for the condolences of the Goldziher family. These letters are in Hungarian and German, and some are written in both languages. One postcard is in French.

Herz's letters to Max van Berchem are kept in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ville de Genève. They number 62 and are in German and French. They also contain important details concerning Herz Pasha's life and activities, which raise for discussion a number of questions on details in the field of art history, especially those connected with Herz Pasha's last works on Qaṣr aš-Šamᶜ and the Qalā'ūn-complex, which he completed in Zurich shortly before his death.

Herz's letters to the director of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, are kept in the archives of that museum. They are 8 in number. There are traces of two more letters in the register-book, which however seem to have been lost.

Herz's own papers which are in the possession of his grandson, Mr. Paolo Sereni in Naples, are of considerable interest. It is known that when Herz Pasha had to leave Egypt towards the end of 1914, he was not able to take his belongings with him, so his furniture, books, photos, sketches, papers and vast correspondence remained in Cairo. A small part of his papers was later forwarded to him in Zurich by the British Foreign Office, but the bulk of his books, photos, sketches, papers and correspondence seems to have been lost. This must be borne in mind when we consider his legacy in Naples. Mr. Paolo Sereni has kindly agreed to the preparation of a microfilm of the complete material which will be undertaken by the present author on behalf of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences later this year (1998) — *in šā' Allāh*[4]. The microfilm in the Library will be at the disposal of the academic community. The present author will also prepare a detailed description and a catalogue of the material to be published in due course.

[4] It was completed in October 1998.

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THE NEWBERRY COLLECTION OF ISLAMIC EMBROIDERIES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EASTERN ART, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD

Marianne Ellis

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

In 1946 the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford was given a collection of nearly a thousand embroideries by Professor Percy Newberry, the eminent Egyptologist. He had acquired them in Egypt where he started his career in 1890 as a young man in charge of an archaeological survey team. According to his wife, Essie, he began collecting in the 1890's but most of the pieces were acquired later during the 1920's and early 1930's. At the time historical embroideries from countries around the Eastern Mediterranean attracted a great deal of interest from both private collectors and institutions but the Newberry collection is unique both in its size and variety. Its importance was recognized as long ago as 1937 by Carl Lamm, the Swedish art historian who referred to this "amazing treasure" in an article published in Ars Islamica (Lamm 1937: IV. 64-77) but the textiles have remained largely unknown over the last fifty years.

At first sight the textiles are not very impressive. They are mostly fragments of plain weave linen cloth embroidered with silk thread that range in size from a few centimetres to a large sampler that is approximately one metre square and many of them are in a worn and fragile condition. Newberry's wife, Essie, commented in an article (Newberry 1940: VIII. 11-18) published in 1940 that "they came from graves and rubbish heaps of Al-Fustat, Old Cairo and Egypt". Coming from such locations, it is hardly surprising that Essie Newberry describes the objects as "rags". The aim of this paper is to consider why such rags can also be called "amazing treasure" and reconcile these seemingly contradictory statements.

When the collection came to the Ashmolean Museum, the textiles were mostly still stuck onto large cardboard folio sheets and arranged in no particular order. They have now been removed using a steam pencil, allowed to relax and placed in individual folder mounts made for each one. There are very few complete objects because fabric was precious and re-used until just rags remained: even the rags themselves could be utilized to stuff cushions and mattresses. For this reason many more children's tunics have survived compared with adult-sized ones as the latter afforded little material worth salvaging. The Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto boasts fifteen children's tunics in its large collection of medieval Islamic textiles but no complete full sized ones. The only tunic in the Newberry collection is a child's one (fig. 1). Again, items such as caps have no secondary value and this is doubtless why most collections include one or two and Newberry acquired six of them. Another reason for the incomplete state of the objects is that the dealers only wanted the so-called "pretty" bits that appealed to their clients and sometimes they

subdivided these yet again. The result is that it is extremely difficult to gauge from what articles most of the fragments have come.

Since the embroideries were acquired through dealers in Cairo, they have little or no recorded provenance. Newberry left a small notebook in which he had written the names of places from which a few of the objects came but there is no way of knowing whether this was personal information or supplied by the dealer. One of the textiles had a note attached to it that read "found on rubbish heaps of old Cairo" (fig. 2). It is appliqué work with a design that could be the lion of Sultan Baybars who ruled from 1260-1277 and so can be dated to the second half of the 13th century. The technique has been practised in Cairo for hundreds of years and continues to this day in the street of the tentmakers. Newberry also recorded that one of the *ṭirāz* bands in the collection was found in a cemetery some forty miles south of Cairo at Atfeh. The term *ṭirāz* originally meant any embroidered decoration but in this context it means an embroidered inscription band. The bands are unique in that their date of manufacture can be learnt from the inscription as it usually contained the name of the ruling Caliph. One particular *ṭirāz* in the collection includes the information that it was made in the workshop of Tinnis, at the hands of ʿUbayd-allāh, son of Sulaymān, in the year 288, 900 Christian Era (fig. 3). Newberry's notebook provides such scanty information that all that is certain is the items were collected in Egypt but this does not mean they were all made there. The embroidery stitch on some of the other early 10th century *ṭirāz* bands is characteristic of those made in Iraq where chain stitch embroidery was already a well established craft, whereas those made in Egypt at this time appear to have been made by less skilled craftsmen lacking an embroidery tradition.

Dating the textiles is extremely problematical with the exception of the *ṭirāz* embroideries which are among the earliest pieces in the collection. It covers a span of more than 900 years ending with ones from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that can be dated by their resemblance to others from the Ottoman empire both by design and stitch. These later embroideries include samplers that served as records of patterns from which the worker could choose motifs to copy onto towel or napkin borders.

However most of the embroideries date from the late Islamic medieval period when Egypt was ruled by the Mamlūk Sultans, that is between 1250 and 1517. Research on textiles from this period has chiefly been limited to the sumptuous silk woven fabrics used for ceremonial garments and outer wear. The ones in the Newberry collection are not from luxurious garments but from items of light clothing and household furnishings made of linen for everyday use. Their decoration is characteristic of that found in Mamlūk art including among others epigraphy, geometric patterns, zig-zag patterns, and patterns from heraldic symbols. The embroiderers do not appear to have adapted designs directly from the woven textiles as in, for instance, the case of some Ottoman darned hangings, but arranged design

elements in bands, lattices and all-over patterns to suit the type of textile. This does not mean that all the design features of the earlier tapestry woven bands were abandoned; for instance the characteristic little crested borders seen on Coptic tunics continued to decorate the edges of the new Islamic geometric patterns.

When textiles from this period are displayed in museums or illustrated in publications, they are usually just described as "Mamlūk, 1250 to 1517" but this covers almost three hundred years so is a very imprecise description. The material cannot be classified successfully using the designs as the sole criteria because similar ones were worked in various kinds of embroidery techniques but when design and stitch are similar then recognisable categories do make their appearance. Fortunately, because there are so many examples in the collection available for comparison, it is possible to put many of them into distinct classes and a chronology can at least be attempted.

By far the largest category is made up of embroideries worked in pattern darning in running stitch: it accounts for approximately one quarter of the total collection. They are mostly bands of decoration that appear very like weaving but have been embroidered by stitching over and under a specified number of threads to form the repeating patterns. Originally, the so-called Coptic tunics, which were woven in the piece, were decorated by tapestry woven bands inserted by the weaver of the garment, but later the style changed to tunics made of pieces cut from lengths of fabric. The reasons for the change in loom technology are not clear but by the 10th century tunics were being constructed with a continuous back and front centre panel, a vertical slit neck opening, wide straight sleeves, and slightly shaped side panels. It seems that they were decorated with bands of geometric patterns that were either woven in with a supplementary weft or embroidered. On surviving embroidered tunics the decoration was often worked around the neck slit, in horizontal and vertical spaced lines on the body of the garment and around the cuffs and bottom hem. Samplers have survived that served as models for the embroiderer to copy and from which the customer could select patterns (fig. 4). As well as narrow bands like those worked on trouser bottoms and on children's tunics, there are wider ones like those found on handkerchiefs and towel borders and also small motifs of birds and fishes that were worked in diaper patterns on tunics.

Naturally, it is impossible to know how representative a picture can be drawn of any given period simply from the items that have found their way into museum collections but it seems likely that embroidery was well established in Egypt by the end of the 13th century and, interestingly enough, Carl Lamm commented in his article that the true characteristics of the Mamlūk style appeared at this time. A sampler dating from the mid 13th century shows a different arrangement of darning where the design has been left in reserve by covering the background with a pattern of dots and threaded outlines have been added to define the edges. This type of work produces a very striking effect particularly when worked on a large scale and

surviving fragments feature typical Mamlūk motifs. Pattern darning was a very popular way of decorating clothes and furnishings over a long period in spite of it being such a labour intensive technique. The radio carbon date for the child's tunic is late 14th/early 15th century whereas the one given to the sampler was mid 12th century.

Other less demanding counted work stitches make up two more distinct categories both of which would have been more economical in labour and silk thread than the pattern darned ones. One is a variation of herringbone stitch where the threads cross each other and produce a raised plaited texture. Besides being used for geometric band patterns it was used to work striking counterchange or reciprocal patterns where the shape is shown first in its positive and then in its negative form (fig. 5). Fragments decorated with small palmettes on zig-zag lines are reminiscent of a counterchange design seen on a *miḥrāb* from an early 15th century complex built by Sultan al-Muayyad in Cairo. These striking patterns often feature the fleur de lis motif that was eventually adopted as a royal symbol. The other counted stitch is known as double running and was particularly successful when used for geometric patterns (fig. 6). Somewhat different in style are borders with repeating designs of pairs of birds perching on branches: double running is particularly suitable for small towels as the embroidery is reversible because it looks the same both on the front and back. Lacking any indication as to the date of this kind of work, one of them was selected for radio carbon dating and was assigned to the first half of the 15th century.

Considerably earlier in date and in complete contrast is a group of embroideries where the threads have been laid across the ground fabric and stitched down at regular intervals. This so-called couched work is a fast technique for laying down areas of colour and particularly suitable for bold designs intended to be clearly visible. The embroidery is invariably worked in red silk and often outlined with blue thread so that any message such as "glory and prosperity" stands out against the plain linen background (fig. 7). Fortunately some have designs indicating their likely date: one of a lion with a raised front paw and S shaped tail like the ones associated with Sultan Baybars and his son is probably from the second half of the 13th century. A lion in a similar posture is carved in stone on a plaque in the Islamic museum, Cairo and like the embroidery was once coloured red.

Some of the motifs found on the silk woven textiles can also be found on the linen embroideries. This applies to the lotus and peony flower motifs that originally came from China and became part of the Mamlūk design vocabulary. The embroiderers outlined the shapes with a linear stitch and filled in the background with coloured silk with dense, regular slanting stitches worked on the diagonal (fig. 8). The same technique was used to translate flowing arabesque designs with scrolling stems supporting floriate trefoils and leaves that suggest a mid 14th century date. Some pieces have been worked very simply in a linear stitch such as split or stem just to cover the outlines drawn on by the craftsman. They form quite a substantial

group of eighteen pieces in all and include parts of garments and furnishings: one item is part of a garment front decorated with repeating heart-shaped motifs around the neck opening and shows that freestyle embroidery was also worked on garments. Four of them are tabs that once hung down around a tent or canopy: the one on the left of the pair illustrated has a diamond shape within a circle that was the blazon of the Master of the Robes (fig. 9). Similar heraldic symbols appear on Mamlūk glass and metalwork. Some of the linear type embroideries have been worked with a stitch variation that is only found on Mamlūk work. It developed from split stitch that normally produces a smooth outline by the worker inserting his needle in such way that the thread formed small scallops: the most obvious explanation is that the embroiderer was attempting to reproduce those seen on some 14th century silk fabrics.

Sometimes two or more stitches were employed to work the elaborate geometric patterns so characteristic of Mamlūk decoration. A new dimension was added when openwork techniques were introduced demanding a high degree of skill on the part of the embroiderer. The resulting embroidery (fig. 10) is the finest type of work produced in 15th century Egypt and resembles that depicted in a 1499 painting of The Circumcision by the Italian, Marco Marziale (Ettinghausen 1957: 114-115). Openwork techniques themselves were further developed in Italy and eventually led to the production of needlelace. Likewise many of the counted work embroideries made in Europe and North Africa during succeeding centuries have their origins in Mamlūk embroidery as do some of the designs in the 16th century printed pattern books. It should come as no surprise therefore that this unique collection of embroideries was given the description of "amazing treasure" some sixty years ago.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

fig. 1. 1984.353 Child's tunic with panels embroidered with tiny fish motifs in brown silk on undyed linen, 55x52cm.

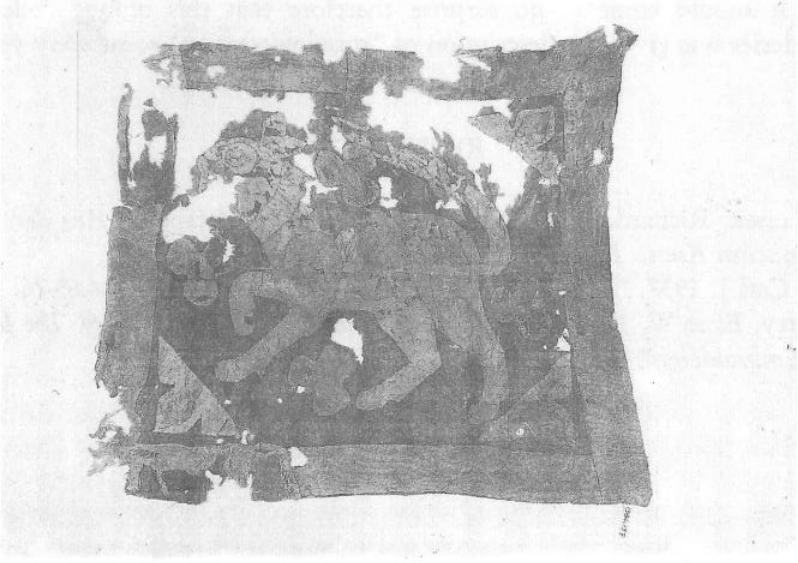

fig. 2. 1984.137 Cover decorated with a lion in appliqué work on blue background, 38x56.5cm.

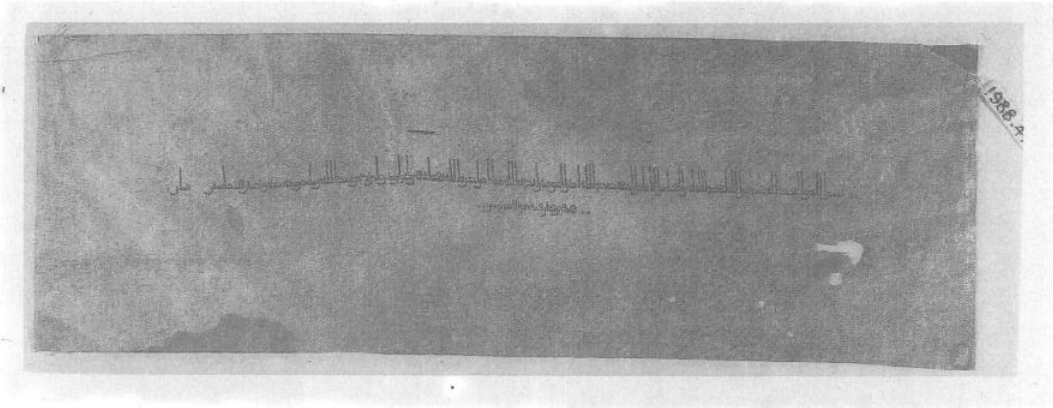

fig. 3. 1988.47 *Ṭirāz* band worked in blue silk embroidery on glazed linen ground, 11x31.5cm.

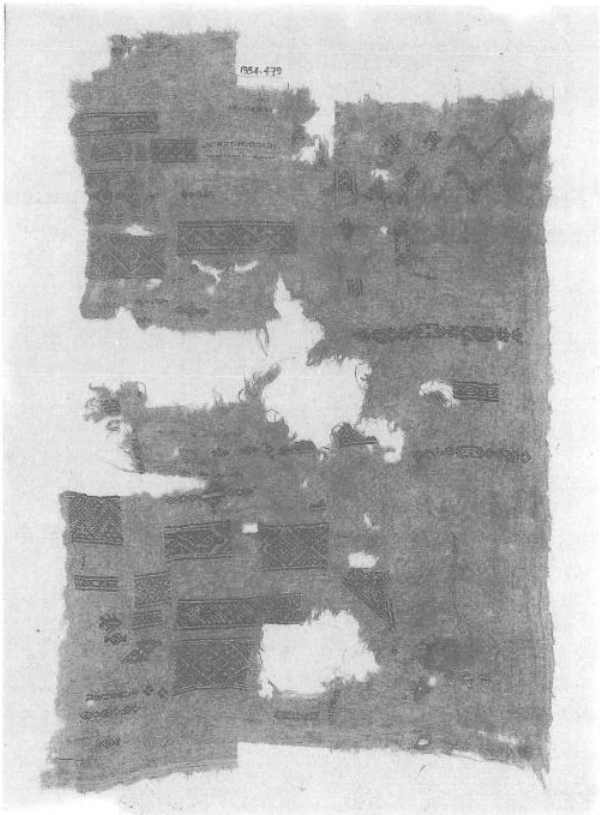

fig. 4. 1984.479 Sampler with geometric patterns and bird motifs embroidered in red, blue, green and brown silk on undyed linen ground, 26.5x41.5cm.

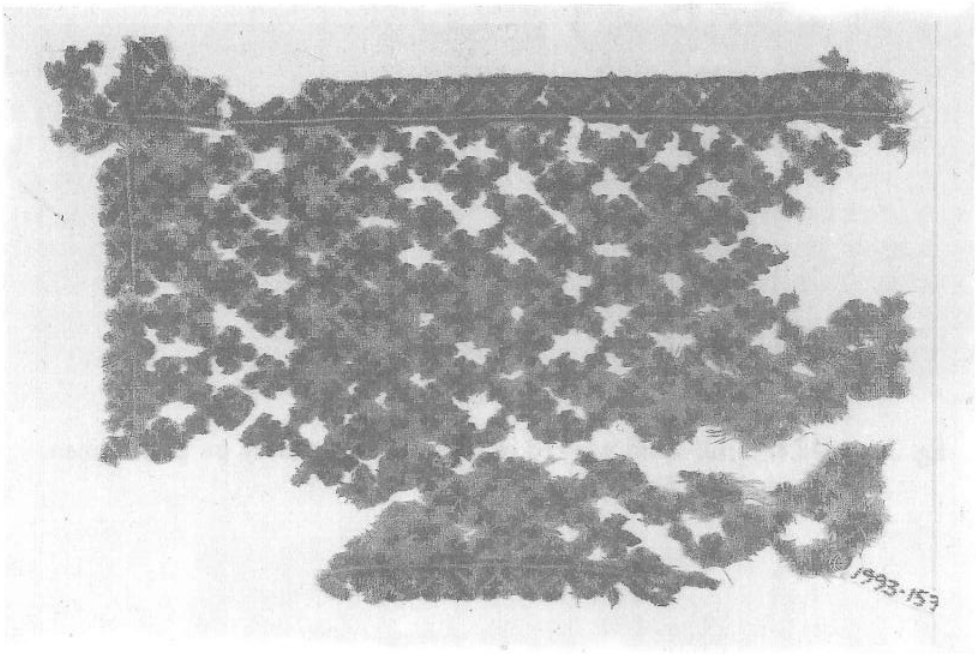

fig. 5. 1993.157 Fragment embroidered with counterchange pattern in blue silk on undyed linen ground, 24.4x16cm.

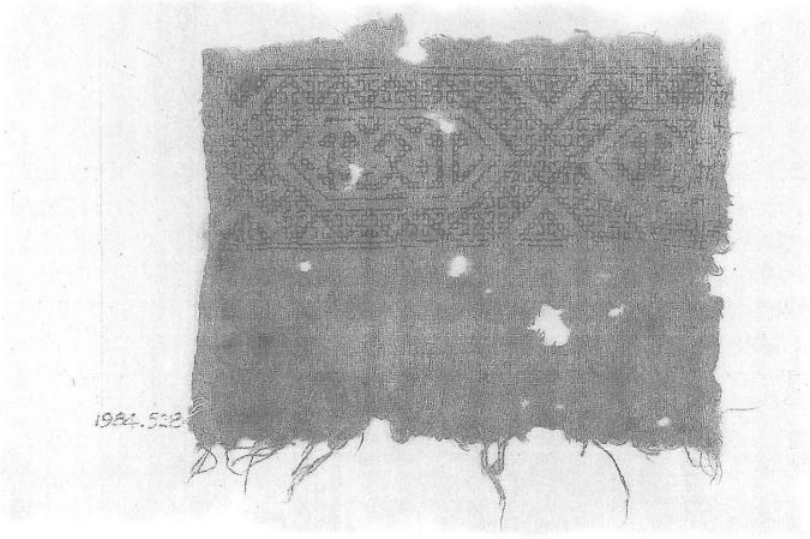

fig. 6. 1984.528 Fragment of a band embroidered with a geometric pattern in blue silk on undyed lined ground, 12x14cm.

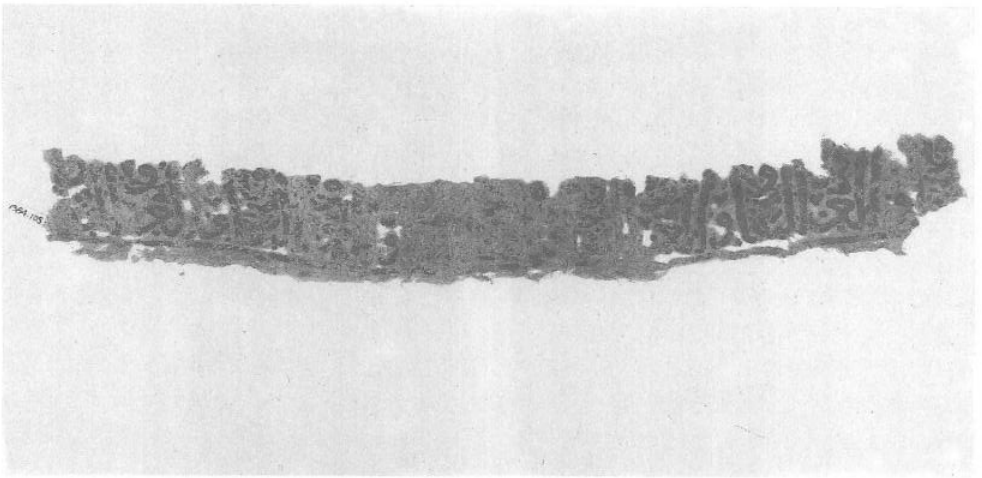

fig. 7. 1984.105 A band embroidered with the words "glory and prosperity" in red silk on undyed linen ground, 7x56cm.

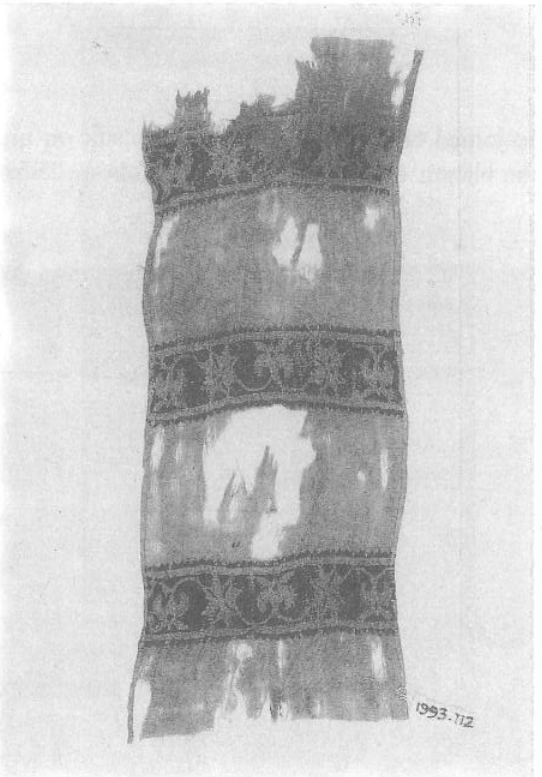

fig. 8. 1993.112 Fragment embroidered with stylised flowers in blue and cream silk on undyed linen ground, 25.5x10.5cm.

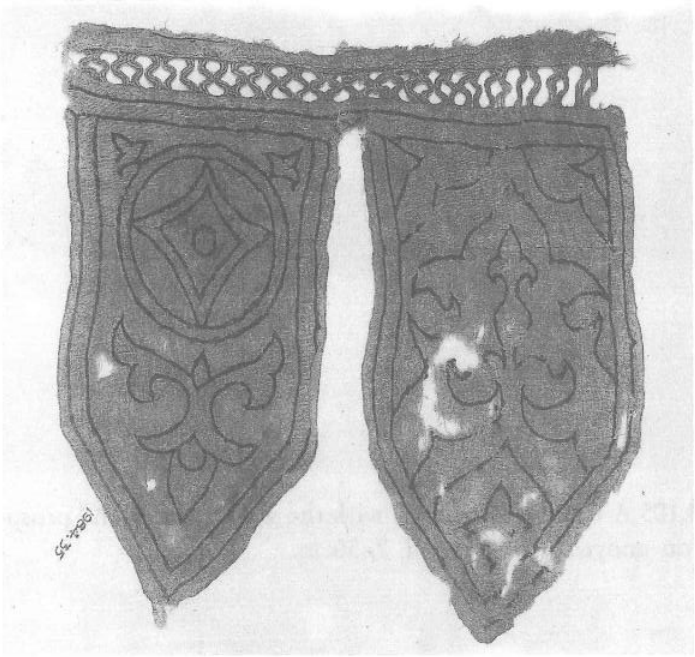

fig. 9. 1984.35 Two joined tabs embroidered in blue silk on undyed linen ground (one with the blazon of the Master of the Robes), 23.5x24.5cm.

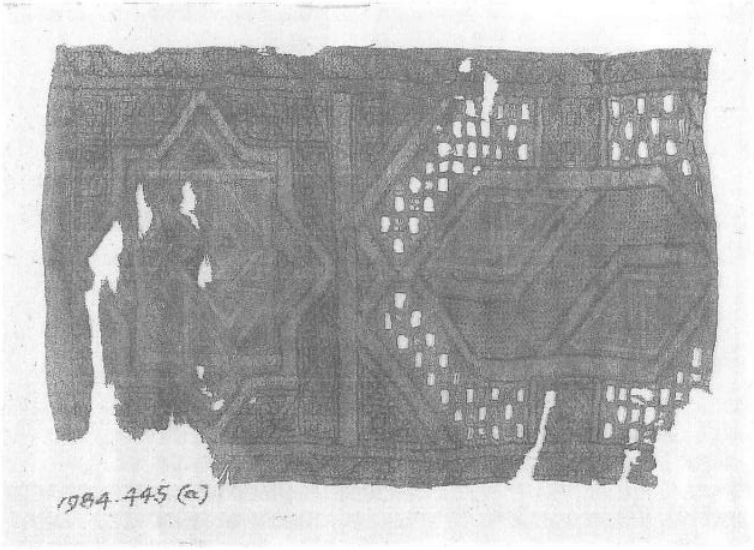

fig. 10. 1984.445a. Fragment of a band embroidered in blue and yellow silk on undyed linen ground, 11.2x27.3cm.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRAYER RUG IN THE CULTURE OF ISLAM

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The anthropological problem of interpreting artifacts has recently been the subject of considerable scholarly interest. Many scholars have emphasized the semantic significance of the everyday-life artefact as well as its semiotic essence. Nonetheless, the long-lasting enthusiasm for the philosophy of utilitarianism, everyday existence, is gradually giving way to the theory of an integral semiotic approach to the study of "material culture". The formation of the semiotic system in parallel with other "languages" of culture is a characteristic of the object universe (Antonova & Rayevsky 1991; Baiburin 1981). The method for deciphering the mythological codes on the basis of the object's structure analysis, its ornamental motives as well as its application is heavily used in contemporary science (Antonova & Rayevsky 1991: 223).

In the field of art theory, as far as the analysis of ornamental and craftsmanship works is concerned, there is a vulnerability within the concept that separates and singles out only two functions of the artefact, which are utilitarian and semiotic (Molok 1990). Another function of the applied arts is defined as "cosmos-creating", or active, which is left outside the scope of attention. An object is more than just a sign, or a symbol, even a microcosm representing some macrostructures; it is an active part of the universe that orders, systematises and organises the latter, as well as the space and man himself (Gamzatova 1988: 122-124; 1996).

In the Muslim prayer rug, the semantics of its ornamental and decorative motives and its overall composition is closely linked with such characteristics as materiality, efficacy, purposefulness and applicability. Here, a problem of the human sensory organisation becomes apparent, his universe is both real and semanticized. It should be noted that the expression forms of main ideas constitute the canon sanctified by the tradition.

Despite the great number of various stylistic and ornamental traditions in the culture of the peoples who follow Islam, it is possible to say that an archetype of the prayer rug had already developed, whose functions were not only determined by the ritual prescriptions, but also by a Muslim's world-view. The use of the prayer rug is connected with the religious prescription to pray in a ritually "clean" place.

The rug is not considered to be integral part of the prayer, and can be replaced by a piece of cloth, some raiment and other materials. However, the overall composition of the prayer rug represents the world-view and the aspirations of the Muslims, surrounding their rituals, with no connection to the use of the object itself.

The earliest known specimens of this type originate from the Ottoman manufactures of the 15th century (Batári 1994: 18). The few still existing rugs dated the 16th century are characterised by a fully developed iconography, which persisted down to the later periods of Muslim culture. The foundation of the pattern is the representation of an arch in various shapes, which imitates a niche (*miḥrāb*) positioned in one of the walls of a mosque, with an apex pointing in the direction of Mecca (*qibla*), where the main sanctuary of the Muslims, *al-Kaʿba*, is situated. The prayer rug is spread out towards the *qibla*, by fixing the spatial orientation of a Muslim during the prayer.

The object of worship in *al-Kaʿba* is the so-called "black stone", fixed at the eastern corner of the sanctuary. According to Muslim belief, it is a sacred white stone given to Adam by Allah that turned black because of humanity's sins. Inside of it, Paradise could be seen. It was believed that those who were able to see Paradise would go there after their death. The prototypes of *al-Kaʿba* and the Koran are in the higher spheres of the Muslim Paradise.

The waters of the sacred well Zamzam, situated next to *al-Kaʿba* in the main mosque of Mecca, flow out of the wells of Paradise. This overwhelming desire for the divine, heavenly, during prayer is realised both in the mental sphere and, in particular, the spacial orientation of the praying person. This total desire underlies the symbolism of the prayer rug, the ways of its use, as well as the functions it performs.

One of the functions of the prayer rug is to isolate the praying person in a special place: in other words, to seclude him from the outer, ordinary world. At the same time, it organises the individual in this outer, quite real world. By this time, the individual is introduced to a certain spiritual sphere and is included in the socium, whose members are united by the same spiritual foundations[1].

In his article entitled, "The concept of space in the Islamic world" Nadgim ud-Din Bammat describes this shared spacial and spiritual concentration during the prayer: "But where are these glances turned?... There is no mosque as such here, but this place seems to establish the existence of Islam territory in its synchronic and diachronic dimensions. In other words, it is a symbolic mosque whose task is to unite the religious community. The turning point in Mecca is simply a vertical line indicating the direction to God. Thus, belonging to Mecca is determined not by the space it occupies, or its history, and geography, but, in the first place, by the attitude towards this vertical axis that is supposed to remind the Muslims about other dimensions.

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[1] Cf. one of the names of the Muslim community as "people of *qibla* and unity" (*Enc. Dict.*: 136) and the use of the word *"saǧǧāda"* (prayer rug) as a synonym of the terms refering to the sufi fraternity (*Enc. Dict.*: 203).

In any other place (but for Mecca), the Muslims are situated next to each other while praying. The rows are dense with no empty spaces between them, which explains the mosque's inner architecture. But what happens when the Muslims come to Mecca?

At the end of their journey, the circle is closed around the Kaʿba: Mecca is the only place in the world where all Muslims pray while standing around the sacred place. The straight line symbolically turns into the circle" (Bammat 1983: 49).

Jerusalem's Mosque *aṣ-Ṣaḫra*, or Mosque/Dome of the Rock, is the only Mosque where the *miḥrāb* is placed in the centre. The *miḥrāb* is situated on the sacred rock from which, according to Muslim belief, the prophet Muḥammad was resurrected (performed his *"miʿrāǧ"*). The suggested Muslim concentration upon the centre of the mosque *Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra* during their prayer is connected with the place where transcendence from one sphere into another occurs.

The function of the prayer rug as an object constructing either an environment or a perceivable world is not unique and refers to the general functions of carpets, not only in the East, but also in the Christian world. Apart from carpets found in mosques and palaces, the prayer rugs were an important part of the equipment of churches.

Thus, in the 6th century there were carpets in both the St. Sophia Cathedral of Constantinople and in Justinianus's palace, located in Constantinople (Dimand 1961: 7). A great number of Turkish carpets of the 17th and 18th centuries, including prayer carpets, originate from the Protestant Transsylvania (Dimand 1961: 16, 20). They were placed on altars, pulpits, and parapets of Catholic cathedrals (Batári 1994: 38). Oriental rugs were often portrayed in European painting, beginning with the Renaissance. In Renaissance painting, it is possible to single out quite a wide range of interesting plots for our study, where various kinds of carpets are used: for example, rugs on the threshold under the throne of Madonna and the Infant, carpets at the altar[2] as well as in the plot "The Annunciation". Such carpets appear in painting where we encounter the motives of sacred, heavenly, and miraculous. The use of "magical" objects (special in their exquisitness, and stylistically non-characteristic of a given socium), brought from remote (that is, strange and almost fairy-like) countries, in the Biblical plots of Renaissance painting is one of the topics studied by modern art theory. No wonder that the attention to the image of the oriental carpet can form an interdisciplinary branch of these studies.

In the Persian miniatures of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Muslim carpet was an undeniable attribute of the royalty. Carpets could also make canopies (tents under which a ruler was sat), which, though unjustified from a functional point of view (the

[2] For the first time the altar covered with a rug belonging to the so-called "Konian Group" appears in the fresco by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua (1304) (Dimand 1961: 12).

carpet is not the best means of sun protection), can probably be best explained by their symbolic loading, that is, the formation of a specific environment. In Niẓāmī's "Seven Beauties", both the rug and the throne are the attributes of an ideal paradisiacal lover of the prince.

The rugs were spread out and rolled up on special occasions such as during a feast, or when guests were honoured at the palace.

The custom of decorating windows and balconies in cities with carpets during a feast was widely practised in the East. It is common knowledge that during a feast, in traditional societies which almost always depend upon a ritual, another, specific temporal and spacial situation is created; and applied arts in this instance play a significant role in its design. Interestingly enough, the custom of decorating windows and balconies with oriental rugs was clearly evident in the paintings of the Renaissance epoch.

For example, in Carlo Crivelli's work entitled, "The Annunciation", the carpets cover the balcony and the Triumphal Arch, while distorting the normal order of things, and emphasising the sacred, mysterious nature of the situation.

However, carpets are not the only integral part of the feast setting. For instance, A. Nester's analysis of the Northern Ukrainian carpets of late 19th — early 20th centuries, mentions that the population of the basin of the river Uzh decorated their houses with carpets both on the feast and funeral days, hanging them on poles. When meeting honoured guests, they spread out carpets on the road, as well as hanging them on the gates and roofs of the houses (Nester 1988: 191). In this case, the totally non-functional use of rugs is evidence of their semantic significance. Changing the habitual design and, consequently, its environmental structure, they construct their own universe around a given situation (in a number of cases — the situation of a feast).

One cannot help but casually mention the so-called "flying carpets" that take a fairy-tale hero from one spatial environment to another; for example, from our world to a fairy land. Interestingly enough, when the concept of flight by a carpet is introduced in some Daghestanian fairy-tales, the authors themselves do not always mean that a carpet flies through the air. Seeing the carpet on a glade, the hero only has to step on it, and a few minutes later, he finds himself in the fairly world.

Supposedly, the use of carpets in the funeral ceremony[3] is directly connected with this function of the carpet as a mediator between different worlds. Moreover, the parallelism between both the symbolism and, in a number of instances, the overall

[3] With the funeral ritual is connected the earliest existing specimen of pile knotted carpets found in one of the tombs at Pasyryk in the Altai mountains. The most ancient tradition to use carpets in the funeral ritual has persisted down to the present with a number of peoples.

composition of prayer rugs and Muslim tombs is evident. (The motif of the arch on stelae, symbols like a lamp, a chirah, the life tree, a jug, a comb).

The idea of transcendence, or entering is one of the fundamental themes which can be drawn from the symbolism of the prayer rug, where the arch (*miḥrāb*) is interpreted as a gate into a different religious realm, into Paradise. Moreover, this idea is characteristic of the *miḥrāb* which is shaped as a door in more than a number of mosques.

A reminder of the world where the Muslim strives for acceptance, is shown in the decorative and ornamental patterns of the prayer rug.

The theme of Paradise embodied in a carpet, is represented not only through symbolic elements, but is also clearly evident in its aesthetic qualities: in the beauty of colourful and rhythmical combinations, in the softness of wool, in the smoothness of both the shine and tinge of silk, in the radiance of golden threads. These wonderful artifacts, more than any other objects of applied arts, seem to correspond to the heavenly spheres. Perhaps, this is exactly the reason why, according to the Koranic descriptions, righteous people, dressed in green gowns, recline on embroidered couches and carpets in Paradise (55:54, 76; 56:15; 76:11-22). There are multiple variants on the idea of both Paradise and the upper spheres, all of which are developed on different levels, and can be most correctly described as entering a chain of complex associations. The carpet, as an artefact of the cultural heritage of Islam, is persistently associated with such ideas or images as a garden, greenery, grass, spring, and, most significantly, with the Paradise Gardens motif.

According to a legend, the first carpet, the so-called "Spring Carpet of an Chosroes" was made on the order of the Sasanian king Chosroes I (531-579). (This conclusion is usually made upon the authority of aṭ-Ṭabarī and other noteworthy historians.) As that famous ruler wanted, the carpet did remind him of a spring garden in its full blossomed state in the middle of winter. The carpet was also worked in with pearls and jewels, both of which, as well as the spring garden motif, scholars associate with the so-called "garden scheme" archetype. Such an iconography was inspired by the description of the Paradise Gardens in the Koran.

In the Koranic *sūra "Raḥmān"*, four Paradise Gardens are fully described. In the description, there is a well in each of the gardens. The main reservoir of Paradise is Kawṯar, where all the heavenly rivers flow down. Cedar trees and the so-called "cider of the top limit", the main paradise tree, grow there (53:13-15).

The prayer rug from the collection of the temple artifacts in Mešhed (Bennett 1982: 72) completely follows this description. In the arch, there are two channels perpendicular to each other that divide the whole square into four separate gardens, among flowers and trees around which different kinds of birds are flying. In two upper gardens, two cypress trees grow symmetrically to each other, the birds are sitting on both the top of the trees and their branches. At the crossing point of the channels, there is a particular basin with ducks and fish swimming around in it. The

range of images used in this rug matches the symbolic images popular in Persian literature: a gate-arch, a garden, a pond with ducks, birds, cypress trees with a couple of birds on each tree. All of these images were successfully analyzed by Dr. Sh. M. Shukurov, when he closely studied the miniatures of 16th century, the "Contest of Two Sages" for the "Mystery Treasury" created by Niẓāmī. The duck, for example, is an embodiment of complete innocence and purity (Shukurov 1988: 105). Cypress trees become synonymous with the "Life Tree" (Shukurov 1988: 107). We should emphasize a peculiarity in the arrangement of images on the prayer rug: the symmetrical cypress trees in the upper gardens emphasize and set the tone for the general mirror symmetry of the composition. Numerous gardens (six, eight) are usually represented on non-prayer "garden rugs", and there is no symmetrical composition.

Two further motives canonical for the prayer rug are linked with idea of Paradise – the "Life Tree" (the prototype of which is in the Paradise) and a vase with flowers. It was very common for Islam, as well as for other ancient cultures and folklore, to view the "World Tree" as some vertical line which connects different spheres. The symmetrically organised floral ornament, typical of prayer rugs, reminds us of this Tree.

Mirror symmetry is one of the main principles of composition used for the creation of prayer rug. An interesting deviation from the correct positioning of the inscription in accordance with this principle can be seen on the silk curtain of 1626, from the collection of Shirin of Imam Ali at an-Napt (Aga-Oglu 1994: 24, table XVIII), with the reproduction of the basic composition of the prayer rug and the usual, symmetrically arranged, artistic images: vases, trees, birds, the basin with fish and ducks, clouds, and so forth. The inscription from the Holy Koran on the left border, which reproduces *sūra* 2:25, is repeated in reverse on the right one (Aga-Oglu 1994: 24). In some groups of rugs (particularly Turkman and Baluchi), the symmetry is particularly emphasized by placing two spiral-like forms curved into different shapes on the top of the arrow-like end of the *miḥrāb* arch. Geometrical, symmetrically arranged double motives are typical of the prayer rugs of the Caucasus. On Caucasian and Turkish rugs, we encounter another variant of the artistic motive which shows their symmetrical structure, namely pictures of right and left hands placed respectively in the upper part of the rug on both sides of the arch.

The idea of the world in harmony, important for the meaning of the prayer rug, is realised in a scheme of composition relating to one of the main structures of the human body.

One of the most significant motives used in the symbolic system of Persian and Turkish rugs and the rugs of Asia Minor, was the lamp placed in the upper part of the arch. In the Islamic cultural tradition, such notions as lamp—light—love—thought—knowledge—truth—God are bound together (see Shidfar 1991; Loewa 1988). The nature of these connections is based on the images of *sūra "an-Nūr"*:

"Allah is the Light / Of the heavens and the earth. / The parable of His Light / Is as if there were a niche, / And within it a Lamp: / The Lamp enclosed in Glass: / The Glass as it were / A brilliant star: / Lit from a blessed Tree, / An Olive, neither of the East nor of the West. / Whose Oil is well-nigh / Luminous, / Though sire scarce touched it: / Light upon Light! / Allah doth guide / Whom He will / To His Light: / Allah doth set forth Parables / For man: And Allah: / Doth know all things."

The lamp in the arch-niche of the prayer rug broadens and completes the range of the Muslim's spiritual dreams. Here, at the symbolic border of two worlds, at the threshold — gate — door, the light appears to be an all-embracing, and, at the same time, not fully comprehensible metaphor.

On the metaphoric level, real lamps in mosques and *miḥrāb*s embody the image of light. Light, as one of the basic categories of Ṣūfī philosophy and poetry, has become the foundation for the mystical image of the universe, which is being developed by Ṣūfī poets as-Suhrawardī and Ibn al-ᶜArabī; where, along with the doctrine of the "Unity of the Light", there is a division between different levels of the angelic light and the natural form of light emanation (Netton 1987).

Even in the earliest of the known rugs of the 16th century, we can trace the principle of composition which is later preserved in this type of rugs and cannot be applied anywhere else. The main field placed in the *miḥrāb* arch is absolutely free from decor, despite the usually magnificent and very rich decoration on the border, as well as on three-cornered sectors above the arch. The "dislike for emptiness" in the applied arts of the Muslim peoples, the desire to fill space with an ornament has often been noticed by researchers. It is possible to understand the semantics of this device only in the context of the specific ideological attitudes of the Muslims, for example, in the context of such a category as the "concealment of the mysterious", and the image of the curtain connected within it (Shukurov 1989).

When analysing the phenomenon of the "concealment of the face" in medieval Islamic culture, Dr. Sh. M. Shukurov interprets this problem as follows: "The curtain is there to mark the borderline between expressible and inexpressible, material and spiritual, phenomenal and transcendental. As a mediator between the two realities, the curtain optimally separates and positions them in a hierarchical structure, but at the same time brings closely together these two aspects to the same image. We would also like to note that the curtain is not just a sign which is described by such terms as *urat* and *nišān*; it is rather a sacred sign, sign-symbol (*ᶜalāma*) which embraces and manifests the whole complex of phenomena in the world (*ᶜālam*), and, at the same time, conceals something more essential: secret, inexpressible, incomprehensible" (Shukurov 1989: 254). The absence of both image and sign is, in this context, the highest sign as the researcher sees it: "The absence of real, sensually comprehensible signs is, nevertheless, vivid evidence of a symbolic operation which grips the highest, alien dimensions (both qualitative and quantitative), objects of comprehension. The

emptiness is always meaningful, it is symbolic" (Shukurov 1989: 254-255). So, the emptiness of the inner field of the *miḥrāb* arch exactly defines the basic conception, the ideal nature of the prayer rug.

The symbolic system of the colours of the inner field of the *miḥrāb* arch serves the same purpose. Green, red, white (cream) are the most frequently used colours, each of which is connected with certain symbols: green is the colour of Paradise, red is the royal colour, white bears no symbolic meaning, but at the same time, it contains the whole spectrum of colours; it is the analogy of light. White is used in prayer rugs both independently and as a background for the motive of the "Life Tree". It is possible to find other colours in all types of rugs, but white is rarely used in non-prayer rugs. Thus, white backgrounds were used in Turkmen asmaldyk-rugs for the decoration of the camel which carries the bride to the groom's house during a wedding. The ritual symbolic meaning of the wedding as a transitional ceremony is well-known.

It is a widely known fact that the white colour was sanctified and used in ritual situations (wedding, mourning) among many peoples of the world. The Muslims dress in white when they go on a *ḥağğ* (pilgrimage) to Mecca. On Uzbek rugs, it is sometimes possible to see a small white spot which completely breaks out of the general compositional structure of the rug; in accordance with popular beliefs, it protects the rug from the evil eye; therefore, this spot has the powers of the supernatural world. (One could not help but note and remember here the steady image used in different films by A. Tarkovsky to describe the appearance of the "lyrical character": the round asymmetric spot of grey hair.)

Practically all symbolic motives and compositional principles used to decorate the analysed rugs are various levels of the same problem and the same idea; they are logical rows, where the real absence of one component presupposes its mental presence. Also, the possible absence of the rug in the process of praying presupposes the presence of the ideas realised in it. The archaic tradition allotted the subjects of applied arts with magical structural power, and placed the reality and the effectiveness of the purely spiritual, mental and ethic aspirations of a human being, which had priority in later religious beliefs, under their command.

Here we would draw a line of distinction between the meaning of the artefact in pagan mentality and in Islamic religious consciousness. In the system of archaic beliefs, the artefact has certain functions and abilities. It is impossible to perform a ritual, to be "normally" born, to get married, to heal, to die "normally", without a particular artefact or a particular manipulation with it; but in monotheistic religious traditions, there is a certain primacy of all things spiritual and intellectual. A spiritual aspiration is the basis for the right organisation of a person, the basis for performing a prayer.

In our opinion, however, the specific intellectual trend in Islamic culture should not be regarded absolute. A beautiful artefact and form are meaningful for the

Muslim. The beautiful external form is the evidence of the inner essence. The delight, the admiration of the real world is one of the foundations of Oriental poetry. Moreover, the concrete, sensual aspiration and delight in Paradise are typical of Koranic descriptions.

It should be noted that beautiful green cloths of righteous people, adornments, rugs are also mentioned in the Koran, along with the description of gardens, fruits, and basins (55:54, 76; 56:15; 76:11-22). Ideal objects correspond to the ideal world, just as an ideal form calls for an ideal essence. People communicate and feel with their hearts the total divine harmony which reigns in the universe, exactly through this sensual, emotional experience of the beauty of the cosmos and cultural phenomena.

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IRANIAN CAULDRONS OF "OPEN TYPE"

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The term — cauldrons of "open type" was introduced by J. Orbeli in 1938 in his short article about Albanian stone reliefs and cauldrons. Orbeli gave this name to the cauldrons with half-spherical body and four equal flanges. He named the cauldrons with nearly spherical body as "cauldrons of closed type". Both types were connected, as proposed Orbeli, with Daghestan (and more specifically with the village of Kubachi). The question about the names of craftsmen of "open type" cauldrons and their *nisbas* was avoided by this author.

In 1962 Dr. L. Guizalian published the synopsis of his paper in the Hermitage Museum, where he questioned the Daghestanian origin of the "open type" cauldrons, which were made by craftsmen with *nisba* "Marwazī". In 1964-65 Prof. U. Scerrato printed two articles, where he came to a conclusion that the "open type" cauldrons were made in Khorasan on the reasons of *nisbas* and the places of purchasing of these objects.

Some cauldrons of this type were published in the articles by Prof. J. David-Weil (1964), A. Khodjageldiev (1972-79), Dr. Y. Yakubov (1987). Dr. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani wrote an article for A. U. Pope Memorial volume in the 1970s, but this book was not edited and the article was not published.

Turning back to the history of production of these cauldrons, I do not know, how many Iranian (or Khorasanian) cauldrons were known to Dr. L. Guizalian. Prof. U. Scerrato listed 33 items. I got information about 127 cauldrons of "open type". They have the signatures of 42 craftsmen: three of them have the *nisba* "Marwazī", two "Qazwīnī", two "Hamaḏānī", two "Ṭūsī", two "Iṣfahānī" and one "Šamaha'ī" (or Sāmarrā'ī", but this *nisba* is doubtful to me). Some are not readable and many signatures are without *nisbas*. Only two cauldrons have the dates of making: 737/1336-37 and 739/1338.

The production of these cauldrons appeared in Eastern Iran (in Khorasan province) in the end of 10th century. We may judge about it on the ground of findings of little cauldrons (toys?) in the levels of 10th century during archaeological excavations. This date give us the epigraphy of inscriptions (signatures of craftsmen) also.

The earlier group may be dated from the end of 10th and first half of 11th centuries. It includes 12 big and 4 little objects. We know five names of craftsmen — Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Bū Bakr, ʿAlī ..., Muḥammad Tū[sī] and Ḥasan. All these cauldrons have one peculiarity — the form of the flange to pour is rectangular (the other three flanges are acute-angled) and there is no decoration near the handles (Pl. 1).

The second group is the largest one and must be dated from the second part of the 11th to the first part (or quarter?) of the 13th century. It consists of 85 big and 12 little items. We must remember, that in 1987 a big hoard of bronze objects (nearly 300 intact vessels and their fragments) was found on the site of Budrach in the Republic of Uzbekistan. This finding was mentioned in short articles only: there were about 100 fragments of cauldrons (one fragment has the name of craftsman — Aḥmad).

The flanges of the cauldrons of this group are equal (acute-angled). The names of craftsmen were written in floriated *kūfī*, *kūfī* and *nasḫī* scripts. Many ornaments on these items have the good analogies in bronze wares of the 12th century, which we understand as Khorasanian metalwork of 12th century. The ornaments and inscriptions on the objects of this group are cast. The *nisbas* of craftsmen are "Marwazī", "Ṭūsī", "Qazwīnī", "Iṣfahānī", "Hamaḏānī", making it possible to suppose that the making of the cauldrons of that period was spread on a vast territory in Iran, and not only in Khorasan (Pl. 2).

The fate of these objects was not clear after the devastation of Khorasanian towns by the Mongols in the twenties of the 13th century. One time I thought, that this production ceased. But a cauldron of this type was presented at an exhibition in the USA in 1976. It was made by a certain Faḫr ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī in the town of Astarābāḏ in 737 AH/1336–37. The second cauldron with exact date was sold at an auction in Paris in 1992. It was made by a certain Faḫr ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Asʿad ad-Dīn Šamaha'ī (or Sāmarrā'ī?) in *safar* 739 AH/August-September 1328 (the reading of this *nisba* is very doubtful to me, I know it from the Sale Catalogue only).

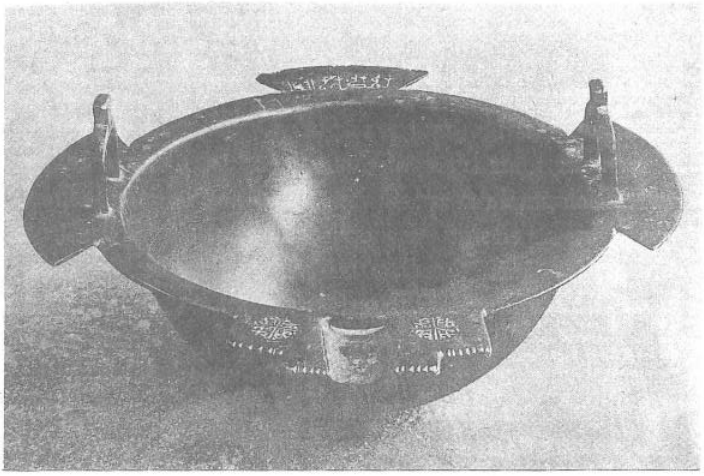
Now it became clear, that the making of the cauldrons of this type existed in 14th and even in Khorasan. These late objects belong to the third group which includes ten items (two of them are dated exactly). The ornaments and inscriptions on the cauldron made in 737 AH are cast (old tradition), but they are carved on the cauldron of 739 AH. The carved ornaments and inscriptions (or their imitations) are characteristic of this late group (Pls. 3–4). One cauldron in Tareq Rajab Museum (Kuwait) has silver encrustation — a unique case for all three groups.

The provisional date for this group may be given as between the second half (or end) of the 13th and the end of the 14th century, because one cauldron from the Hermitage collection has carved inscriptions on three flanges and carved floral ornamentation, which give us possibility to suppose the very late date of its making — end of 14th or beginning of the 15th century. I do not know later Iranian cauldrons of "one type".

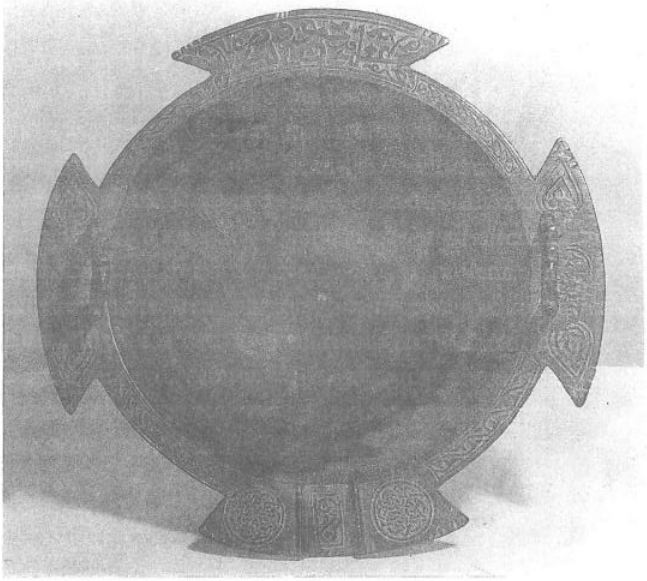
The middle of the second part of the 14th century was the turning-point in the history of Iranian metalwork. It was a period of search for new forms of objects, new ornaments and making use of a new metal, the copper.

The study of these cauldrons makes it possible to trace the stable existence of the form during 400 years at least. But the decor changed much more quickly: we can

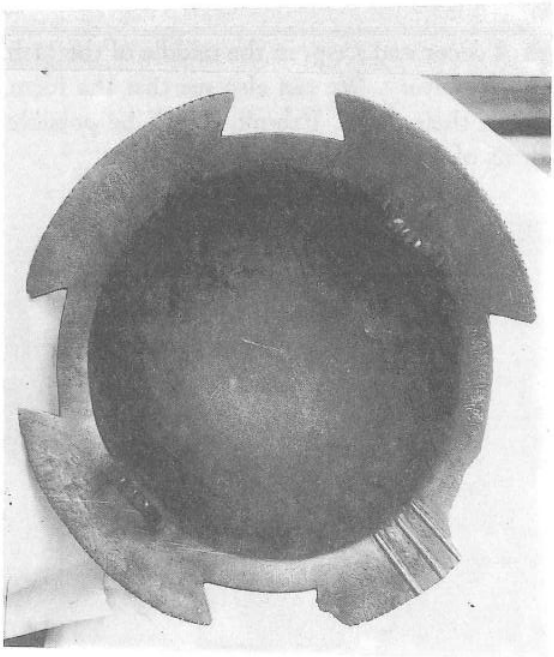
speak about changes of decor and script in the middle of the 11th century and in the second part of the 13th century. We can also see that the form of the objects was more conservative than their decor. I think, it will be possible to trace the same process on other forms of Iranian metalwork.



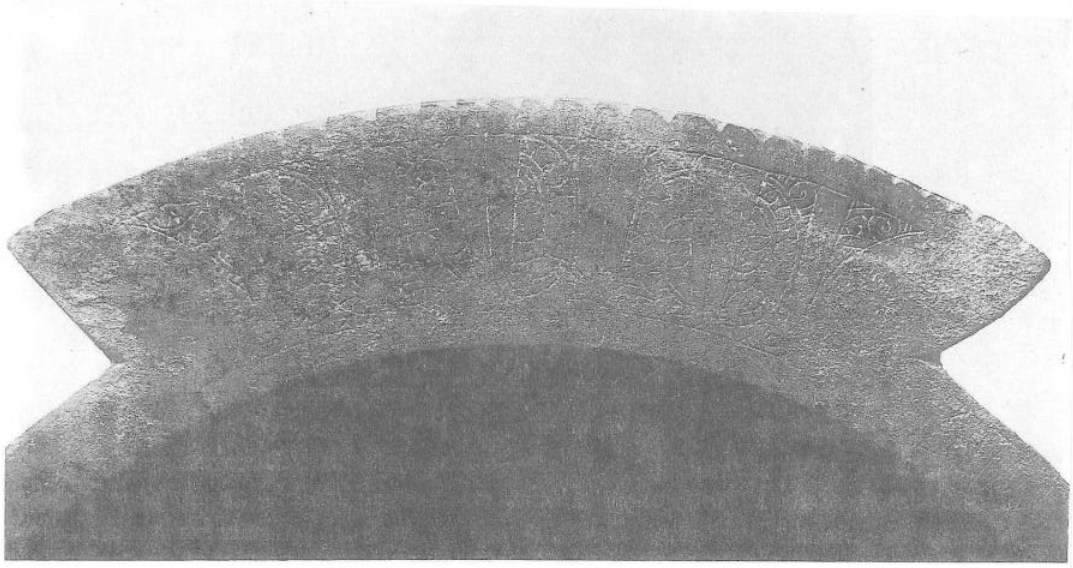
1. Cauldron. End of 10th — beginning of 11th century. Kabul Museum (after A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le Bronze iranien*. 1979, Paris. p. 42).



2. Bū Bak[r] Maḥmūd *ṣaffār*. Cauldron. 12th century. The State Hermitage Museum (inv. N TP-173).



3. Cauldron. End of 13th century. The State Hermitage Museum (inv. N TP–177).



4. Flange of the cauldron. End of 13th century. The State Hermitage Museum (inv. N TP–201).