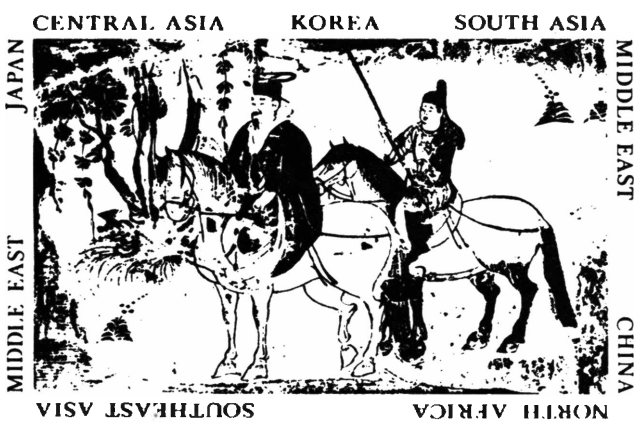
30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa

PROCEEDINGS

MIDDLE EAST 1

El Colegio de México

30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa



Edited & Published
by
El Colegio de Mexico

Established in 1940, *El Colegio de México* is a non-profit institution devoted to the study of the humanities and the social sciences. Its aims are to organize and conduct research projects, provide advanced training for prospective and practicing professionals, researchers and university professors, and publish books and journals on matters related to its activities. It also conducts joint projects with national and foreign institutions in areas of common interest.

From an academic standpoint, *El Colegio* is a post-graduate university made up of several different study centers, namely: History, Linguistics and Literary Studies, International Relations, Economics, Demography and Urban Development, Sociology, and Asian and African Studies.

El Colegio is supported through grants from the Mexican Ministry of Public Education and other governmental sources. In addition international agencies, foundations and others provide funds for special projects.

In 1976, *El Colegio* served as host to the Thirtieth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HUMAN SCIENCES IN ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA. It then undertook the task of publishing the papers presented at that Congress. To this end, the editors arranged the material in two series. The first consists of the papers discussed at the seminars, which have been compiled in eleven volumes (Seminars). The second is comprised of the papers that were read in English at the ordinary sessions. These have been published in fourteen volumes (Proceedings). In the case of the latter, *El Colegio* received assistance from UNESCO and the Mexican *Fondo Nacional para Actividades Sociales* (National Fund for Social Activities).

The persons responsible for selecting, translating and editing the materials we now present have respected the style of the authors to the extent possible, although they have made certain changes necessary for publication. The editors were especially concerned with the problem of transliteration, preference always being given to each author's own system.

30th INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HUMAN SCIENCES
IN ASIA & NORTH AFRICA
1976

Middle East 1

Editor
Graciela de la Lama

Editorial Staff
Susana González Del Solar & Benjamín Preciado Solís

EL COLEGIO DE MEXICO

Area Coordinators: **Rubén Chuaqui**
Manuel Jiménez
A. Rosenvasser
Salah Fadl
María de Lourdes Sierra
Michele Worthing
Jaime Isla

Primera edición 1982

Impreso y hecho en México - *Printed and Made in Mexico*

ISBN 968-12-0103-5 OBRA COMPLETA
ISBN 968-12-0151-5 MIDDLE EAST 1

LIST OF AUTHORS

François Auguste de Montêquin, Hamline University, USA.

Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, University of Michigan, USA.

Perla Fuscaldo, Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Moshe Dothan, University of Haifa, Israel.

Rudolf Sellheim, W. Goethe Universität, FRG.

Aryeh Shmuelevits, University of Tel-Aviv, Israel.

Raphael Giveon, University of Tel-Aviv, Israel.

Nasrollah S. Fatemi, USA.

Jacob Mansour, Haifa University, Israel.

Claus Schedl, Institut für Biblische Theologie, Austria.

Gustav Meiseles, University of Tel-Aviv, Israel.

Dustin Cowell, University of Wisconsin, USA.

S. Moreh, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel.

Mitchell Dahood, S.J., Istituto Biblico Pontificale, Italy.

M.S. Seale, American University of Beirut, Lebanon.

Azim Nanji, McGill University, Canada.

Mourad Wahba, Ayn Shams University, Egypt.

Ismail Poonawala, University of California (Los Angeles), USA.

J. Waardenburg, University of Utrecht, the Netherlands.

A.H. Johns, the Australian National University, Australia.

I.R. al Faruqi, Temple University, USA.

CONTENTS

Myth and History

ALMORAVIDE AND ALMOHADE ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION: ANDALUSIAN INFLUENCE IN AL-MAGHRIB

Francois-Auguste de Montêquin

It is an irony of history when a conquering nation – militarily superior, yet lacking a rich cultural heritage – absorbs the artistic accomplishments of the subjugated peoples. This phenomenon typified the earliest spread of Islâm in the seventh and eighth centuries, for the crude nomadic Arabs invading in the names of 'Allâh and Muḥammad took possession of lands having such complex and refined cultural backgrounds as Roman, Byzantine, and Sâsânid. Even within the realm of the Muslim world itself, this situation is not uncommon. Of special relevance for Eastern Islâm were the invasions of the Turks – Seljuks in the eleventh century and Osmanlï s (Ottomans) in the fourteenth century – and of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Perhaps not as famous, but nevertheless of crucial importance for the development of Western Islamic culture, were the twelfth century conquests of the Berber Almoravides and Almohades. From their original North African habitat in the Sahara desert and the Atlas Mountains, first the nomadic Almoravides and later the crude Almohade mountaineers, managed to subjugate a sophisticated yet politically weak Muslim Spain. Nontheless, it is a tribute to the strength of the Hispano-Islamic civilization that the captors so readily assimilated the cultural vigor of their captives.

It is the purpose of my paper to illustrate this curious interchange of roles, namely, the subsequent dominance and spread of Hispano-Islamic culture through the North African lands of the Almoravides and the Almohades. Although the Andalusian cultural influences were expressed in several ways and forms, it is perhaps in the visual arts – particularly in architectural ornamentation – where they are most clearly manifested.

Generally speaking, Islamic architectural decoration is one of abstraction and schematization. It shows little concern for naturalism, particularly with regard to the presence of human or animal imagery. Although

the repertoire of specific motifs comprising the ornamentation is relatively limited, the treatment is usually original and refreshing, with rhythm and geometric balance typifying the compositions.

There are but three classic motifs used in the decoration of Muslim architecture: the vegetable, the geometric, and the epigraphic. Of these, it is the vegetable embellishment – known in Islamic Spain and parts of Morocco as *ataurique* [*al-ṭauriq*] – which is the predominant form of ornamentation, although in actuality two or more of these genres usually occur together. In fact, the *ataurique* is generally employed in conjunction with both geometric motifs and epigraphic inscriptions. Morphologically, it represents the culmination of a long evolution, beginning with the Assyrian palmette and fusing with the botanical forms of the acanthus and grape leaf of Classic Antiquity. The *ataurique* gains prominence as an architectural decoration largely during the Âmirate and Caliphate of Cordoba (756-929/929-1031), when Umayyad builders were influenced by the Classical models bequeathed to them in the form of Roman, Early Christian, and Visigothic architectural remains. The Great Mosque of Cordoba (786-991) and the palace-complex of Madînat as-Zahrâ' (936-1010) are key monuments in the formation of the Hispano-Islamic *ataurique*, for they represent the experimental grounds for its later expression.

After the dissolution of the Caliphate of Cordoba in 1031, Islamic Spain became fragmented into a number of petty Muslim states, segregated by their intermittant warfare. This eleventh century interlude of political division – called the Tâ'ifa period – was also responsible for changes in the composition of the *ataurique*, as exemplified in the Hûdid palace of Dar Assorur (1047-1081), commonly known as the Aljafería (al-Chafarîyya) in Zaragoza. However, it is not until the twelfth century, under the Almoravides and Almohades, that the Andalusian *ataurique* becomes established in North African architecture. To fully comprehend the diffusion and succeeding evolution of this architectural decoration, one must first understand the political atmosphere of eleventh and twelfth century al-Andalus (Islamic Spain) and al-Maghrib (North Africa).

While the Ṭâ'ifa period represented a time of political decadence and confusion in Andalusian society, it witnessed a simultaneous strengthening of the Christian forces advancing from northern Spain, culminating in the fall of Toledo to Alfonso VI of Castilla and Leon in 1085. Realizing their political and military impotence against the tenacious Christians, a number of Ṭâ'ifa kings requested aid from their fel-

low Muslims of North Africa, the Almoravides. Previously, in 1061, the Berber leader Yûsuf ibn Tâshufîn had been successful in consolidating an anarchic and fragmented al-Maghrib. The North Africa campaigns of ibn Tâshufîn strengthened the Almoravide movement, one which promulgated deep religious fervor and reform. At the request of the Ṭâ'ifa rulers, ibn Tâshufîn crossed Gibraltar into al-Andalus on several occasions, winning victories from the Christians. However, he subsequently diverted his original intentions and proceeded to dethrone his weak Ṭâ'ifa allies whom he had been protecting. This decision was sanctioned by the Almoravide community, who dismissed the Ṭâ'ifa rulers as morally corrupt and lacking in the religious fervor needed to conduct a successful holy war. By 1090 ibn Tâshufîn had conquered the state of Granada from the Zîrids, and the following year that of Seville from the 'Abbâdids. From then until 1145, al-Andalus was politically unified with al-Maghrib under the Almoravide âmirate.

The first quarter of the twelfth century was the most prosperous and brilliant epoch of the Almoravide dynasty. This time corresponds to the early reign of 'Alî ibn Yûsuf (1106-1142), who spent long seasons in al-Andalus, and in whose court the Andalusians always outnumbered the Maghribîs. During this time, the Christians were kept on the defensive, while the Muslims penetrated the Iberian Peninsula as far north as Lisbon and Porto (1111). Almoravide decadence was manifested by the second quarter of the twelfth century, increasing until 1145, when their hegemony over al-Andalus came to an end. The collapse of Almoravide rule precipitated another, if brief, period of anarchy in Muslim Spain, with more lands being reconquered by the opportunist Christians.

Previously, in 1121, a new politico-religious reform movement had been initiated in al-Maghrib by Berber tribes from the Atlas Mountains, the Almohades. This renovative political group rebelled against the Almoravides after the latter had ironically succumbed to the sybaritic Andalusian way of life. The Almohades conquered Fès in 1145, and by the following year, Marrâkesh and Seville had also fallen. After 1157 they were firmly established in al-Maghrib and al-Andalus, once again uniting both regions under one banner. The increasing Almohade interest in al-Andalus climaxed when Abû-Ya'qûb Yûsuf I transferred the capital of his caliphate from Marrâkesh to Seville in 1172. The Almohade state reached its political apogee during the second half of the twelfth century, a period culminating in the glorious defeat of the Christians at Alarcos by Abû-Yûsuf Ya' qûb al-Mansûr in 1195. Not long after, however, the caliphal troops suffered disastrous losses to the Christians at

Navas de Tolosa (1212), which heralded their rapid political disintegration. The Almohade state dissolved after the forfeit of al-Andalus to the Christians and Andalusian Muslims, and of al-Maghrib to other Islamic dynasties. The surrender of Marrâkesh to the Marînids in 1269 officially ended the Almohade caliphate.

In regard to their ensuing acceptance and transformation of the Hispano-Islamic *ataurique*, it is noteworthy to remember that both the Almoravides and Almohades lacked native artistic traditions before their conquest of al-Andalus. Until the rise of the Almoravides, al-Maghrib had been a land primarily of rural civilization, possessing only a few large urban centers which revolved around the cultural sphere of 'Abbâsid Baghdad. Both the founders of the Almoravide Emirate and the Almohade Caliphate lacked the fundamental artistic traditions needed to replace or even modify the existing North African cultural dependence upon the Eastern Islamic world. Maghribî mosques erected before the Almoravide conquest of Muslim Spain (c. 1090), such as that of Tlemcen and Alger, must have appeared to be aesthetically austere buildings. They are characterized by relatively plain, undecorated arches supported by brick pillars, and simple, exposed timber roofs.

While the structure and design of Almoravide and Almohade buildings denote a strong dependence upon Andalusian (as well as the incorporation of some influences from Eastern Islâm, Ifrîqiyya [Tunisia], and even minor ones from al-Maghrib itself), it is in the architectural decoration that the artistic influence of al-Andalus manifests itself as the main form of inspiration. While the Almoravides wholeheartedly embraced Andalusian civilization and did little to alter the existing artistic forms, the Almohades, on the other hand, took it upon themselves to purify the architectural features which they were assimilating. Consequently they were more productive than their predecessors in contributing to the general evolution of art in al-Andalus, as well as in al-Maghrib.

As previously mentioned, the artistic developments entering North Africa from Islamic Spain are easily discernable in the treatment of architectural ornamentation. While the intrusive Berber dynasties, particularly the Almohades, expanded the quantity of geometric elements used in architectural decoration, they were generally content with following, or even copying, the established Andalusian formulas. The favorite Almoravide star-shaped interlaces, such as those decorating the Castillejo of Murcia (c. 1140), and a fountain in Marrâkesh of similar date, are almost identical to many found in eleventh century Ṭâ'ifa

houses of Almeria, or even to the tenth century Umayyad window screens of the Great Mosque of Cordoba. In their use of epigraphy as part of the architectural ornamentation; the Berber dynasties continued almost unchanged the Umayyad tradition of employing the Simple, Foliated, and/or Floriated Kûfic script. While these largely derivative forms of architectural ornament could be discussed in greater detail, attention should be focused upon the *ataurique*, for it is primarily through their treatment of this motif that the Almoravides and Almohades made a major contribution to the development of Western Islamic art.

The Almoravide variation of the Andalusian *ataurique* is characterized by the shape and arrangement of the leaves comprising the sinuous palm branches. Almoravide *ataurique* are composed of an alternating sequence of coiled ring-like leaves flanked on each side by two crescent-like leaves. There are no precedents for this type of vegetable motif in al-Maghrib, while numerous and nearly identical examples are found in al-Andalus, such as in the stucco decoration of the Mauros villa at Granada, El Castillejo of Murcia, or the fragments at the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid. Similar *atauriques* embellish several Andalusian ivory coffers of the eleventh century, such as the *Box of Leire* in the Cathedral of Pamplona, made in 1005.

The oldest extant Almoravide decoration in al-Maghrib is to be seen on the *minbar* of the Great Mosque of Alger (1096). The wooden pulpit is ornamented with carved *atauriques* of purely Andalusian root, if not hand. The botanical motifs are very similar to those carved in stucco in the Aljafería of Zaragoza (1047-1081) and in the Alcazaba of Málaga (1057-1063). The influence of Andalusian art became more prominent in al-Maghrib during the reign of 'Alî ibn Yûsuf (1106-1142). In the Great Mosque of Tlemcen (remodeled, 1136), the bay preceding the *miḥrâb* was adorned with Andalusian-derived stucco work as well as with a decorative Cordovan Caliphal dome. The stucco work embellishing its intrados, the walls below, and the *miḥrâb*, are of great decorative richness, as would befit a typical Andalusian building.

The Qubba al-Barudiyyîn of Marrâkesh (1120-1130), an important example of Almoravide architecture, is roofed with a small Cordovan Caliphal dome. The intrados is analogous to that of the dome preceding the *miḥrâb* of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Both domes are composed of eight arches which intercept in such a way as to form a central octagonal space. A small umbrella dome covers this octagon. As can be seen, the main difference between the two examples is in the shape of the ribs supporting the dome. The arches of Córdoba are round, while

those of Marrâkesh are mixtilinear. As was customary, the Almoravide webs are covered with intricate *ataurique*s and large shell motifs of carved stucco. If in the construction and general design of the Qubba dome one finds strong influences from the Caliphate of Córdoba, it is in its ornamentation that the Andalusian debt is highly pronounced. The direct prototype for this decoration can be traced to the baroque exuberance of eleventh century Ṭâ'ifa architectural embellishment, such as that in the Aljafería of Zaragoza. Essentially an Andalusian work executed in al-Maghrib, the Qubba al-Barudiyyîn of Marrâkesh loudly expresses the anticlassic tendency towards fragmentation and overdecoration typifying the architecture of al-Andalus.

In construction, the Almohades virtually followed the same practices as those of their predecessors, the Almoravides. However, it is in the architectural decoration that marked differences between the artistic production of the dynasties are manifested. While the Almoravides imitated the rich, baroque ornamentation of the Ṭâ'ifa period, the Almohades prefered a classic simplicity. The prototype for this opposite trend had surfaced as a minor artistic style as far back as the Caliphate of Cordoba, and had managed to survive through the Ṭâ'ifa and Almoravide periods. This antibaroque undercurrent appeared during the Cordovan Caliphate as an occasional restriction on the general tendency for elaboration, expressed in the simplification and flattening of the *ataurique,* and in the creation of a simple and austere style of carving capitals, called the Cordovan *Pencas* style. This classicizing trend continued throughout the Ṭâ'ifa and Almoravide periods, but with diminishing force, primarily manifested in the carving of a reduced number of Cordovan *Pencas* capitals. In these subsequent states, baroque exuberance was officially favored, representing the dominant architectural trend.

Due in part to the stringent policies of religious, political, and social reform which characterized their movement at first, the Almohades renounced the profuse interior ornamentation which had typified Almoravide architecture. A twelfth century chronicle tells that immediately after conquering Fès, the first Almohade ruler, 'Abd-al-Mu'min, ordered that the decoration of the *miḥrâb* in the Almoravide al-Qarawiyyîn mosque be covered or removed. As a result, the exuberant ornamentation of gold leaf and brilliant color was hastily concealed with stucco under the cover of night. 'Abd-al-mu'min condemned the decoration because its radiant polychromy and beauty were likely to distract the faithful from their prayers. Soon, the elaborate, crowded, and small-scale ornamentation overflowing with *horror vacui* over Almoravide walls

was substituted by a decoration which was sober in feeling, but attractive in its elegant simplicity. Discarding the superfluous, the Almohade artist economized by retaining only the principal or most fundamental decorative forms and designs. Almohade ornamentation was arranged over flat, empty spaces or backgrounds, creating a mood of restraint and tranquility.

During the Almohade period, the traditional preference for *ataurique* over geometric motifs and epigraphic inscriptions began to be checked by an increasing use of geometric designs, which came to symbolize the pure tectonic lines on the buildings. The Almohade policy of reflecting in plastic form their aberration and condemnation for luxury and superfluity produced a style of architectural decoration which was as clear and simple as it was sober and robust. The ornamentation was developed by first discarding or supressing many elements of Almoravide decoration, and secondly, by simplifying those which were retained. The classicizing features of Almohade architectural embellishment represent a true inversion of the traditional dominance of the baroque trend in Hispano-Islamic art, although this current persisted only thoughout the sixty-odd years of their complete political control. It can be concluded, then, than this purist Almohade decoration was guided by Andalusian prototypes, although the actual influence was more the purification of an existing model than the creation of a new, independent genre of architectural embellishment.

The architectural reforms carried out by the Almohades affected not only the density of the *ataurique* and the restriction of its use, but also the way in which it was designed or represented. The Almohade variation of the *ataurique* completely eliminated such details as the leaves of the palm branch, with only the contours or silhouettes of the branches remaining. Frequently they became single ensiform leaves, which occasionally bore a longitudinal venation or some other simple incision. Sometimes, the elongated, pointed end of these ensiform leaves formed an elegant single coil. This type of leaf resembles a capsicum or pepper, and is frequently seen attached to, or growing from a calyx. More abundant were the double ensiform leaves which coil asymmetrically in opposite directions. This type of simple *ataurique* was sometimes accompanied by a few shell and pine cone motifs. The shells, usually shown from the interior, occasionally resemble and even become concave umbrella motifs. The pointed pine cones are almost always covered with heavy scales. All three of these Almohade motifs – the ensiform leaf of the *ataurique*, the shell, and the pine cone – have precedents in

the Cordovan Caliphate. The simple ensiform leaves of the *ataurique* are reminiscent of the caullicules in Umayyad capitals of the Cordovan *Pencas* style, while similar shells and pine cones accompany the Cordovan Caliphal *ataurique* in such key buildings as the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the palace of Mâdinat az-Zahrâ'. The use of shells and pine cones diminished with the advent of the Ṭâ'ifa period, while their presence as part of the Almoravide *ataurique* was significantly unimportant.

Today the almost total absence of extant Almohade architecture in the Iberian Peninsula impedes an inquiry which might determine if Berber stylistic preferences were manifested in al-Andalus with the same degrees the Great Mosque of Seville allow one to hypothesize that the structure, constructed between 1172-1182, had once been embellished with an abundant and profuse type of decoration, much in accord with the native Andalusian taste. This speculation is based partially upon the type of stucco ornamentation adorning the main gate to the *sahn* (north side of the courtyard), and partially upon existing literary accounts. This stucco work is virtually the only remaining decoration of importance in the former Friday mosque, seen principally on the intrados of the gate's interior arch. The *ataurique* is very compact, containing Almohade ensiform leaves (lacking stems) which are compressed and overlaped in different planes or levels. The *ataurique,* with a nervous movement, completely covers the narrow space which it embellishes. No part of the background is ever visible to the beholder. Therefore, it is plausible that at least some of the Almohade architects working in al-Andalus possessed, to a certain degree, more freedom in embelleshing their buildings than did their colleagues working in al-Maghrib,

After the first third of the 12th century, the Andalusian architectural decoration intrusive to al-Maghrib began to be accompanied by other forms of embellishment coming from the Eastern Islamic world. Such decorative innovations were the *muqarbas* – vulgarly known as stalactite motifs –, glazed ceramic, and cursive epigraphy. Even though the new Oriental types were increasingly used in Maghribî ornamentation, and consequently passed into al-Andalus, it was still the Almoravide and Almohade interpretation of the Andalusian *ataurique,* geometric motifs, and Kûfic inscriptions that remained the standard architectural decoration in much of twelfth century North Africa.

The period corresponding to the full political control of the Almoravides and Almohades over parts of the western Islamic world, that is, the twelfth century, was a most prolific one for Andalusian art and architecture. The intimate fusion of al-Andalus and al-Maghrib under

both Berber dynasties, providing stability for over a century, brought as a consequence the expansion of Andalusian art over much of North Africa. If al-Maghrib politically conquered Islamic Spain, it was the Hispano-Andalusian culture which overshadowed that of Morocco and Algeria; so much in fact, that al-Maghrib drew culturally and artistically from al-Andalus rather than from Eastern Islâm. Today, what is loosely and perhaps improperly called "Almoravide and Almohade Art," is nothing more than an Andalusian expression which was imported to North Africa. The Andalusian forms of architectural decoration used by these Berber dynasties in al-Maghrib represented the legacy of a great tradition, which, like a seed germinating in a rich soil, produced an unusually vigorous flower.

Figures:

1. Almohade *ataurique* and shell motif
2. Great Mosque of Taza, decorative motifs
3. Great Mosque of Tlemcen, squinch
4. Almoravide *ataurique* leaves

1

2

3

4

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Marçais, Georges.
1926-27 *Manuel d'art musulman. L'Architecture: Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile.* Paris.

Montêquin, François-Auguste de.
1976 *Compendium of Hispano-Islamic Art and Architecture.* Saint Paul.

Terrasse, Henri.
1932 *L'art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIIIe siècle.* Tours.

NUMISMATO-STATISTICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE ANNUAL GOLD COINAGE PRODUCTION OF THE ṬŪLŪNID MINT IN EGYPT

A. S. Ehrenkreutz

This paper constitutes an addendum to my contribution presented at the XXIX International Congress of Orientalists in Paris. I refer here to my preliminary remarks concerning a research project involving the use of the coin-die count as a method of inquiring into the annual output of Islamic mints in the Middle Ages. Among other things I stated that the main lesson derived from this coin-die count project is that, although its findings lend themselves to all sorts of statistical permutations and speculations, the annual mint samples should be substantially increased before valid historical inferences can be made. By now the number of dīnār specimens, photographed and examined for the purpose of this inquiry, has been considerably increased. To the previously reported specimens from the renowned collections of New York, London, Oxford, Copenhagen, Paris, Milan, Istanbul, and Tunis, there have now been added those from the National Museum of Antiquities in Damascus, from the Th. & O. Horovitz Collection (Geneva), from a "Private French Collection", and especially from the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. Although it would be difficult to argue that the samples of dinars belonging to the same mint-and-year series have reached a point at which the number of identified dies would not be affected by further additions to the sample they constitute a considerable body of numismatic evidence to warrant new methodological discussion. Furthermore, the results of my inquiry, based on an examination of Ṭūlūnid samples, seem to point to one conclusion: that under normal economic circumstances a rather limited number of dies was used for the production of gold coinage by the Ṭūlūnid mint of Egypt.

It is necessary to begin this discussion by referring to the total number of specimens involved in the investigation. The most comprehensive catalog of Ṭūlūnid coinage, contributed in 1957 by Oleg Grabar, lists 449 published and unpublished specimens from Egypt (Miṣr), known to

have belonged to various collections. The sample investigated in this present inquiry consisted of 204 specimens of 45 per cent of Grabar's total. Each specimen was meticulously examined; whenever a die variant was revealed the photograph of such specimen was enlarged and included in a corpus of Ṭūlūnid coin dies.

The total sample, covering the entire period of Ṭūlūnid gold coinage production in Egypt –i. e., from A. H. 266 to A. H. 292– contained 105 obverse and 113 reverse dies. However, for the purpose of this investigation only those years were taken into account where at least six specimens are available. These conditions were met by twenty annual samples: nine of them consisting of 6 specimens (A. H. 270, 274, 277, 280, 281, 283, 289, 290, 291); three consisting of 7 specimens (A. H. 267, 269, 288); two of 8 (A. H. 276, 279); two counting 9 specimens (A. H. 266, 278); and the samples of A. H. 287, 268, 272, 273 represented by 12, 13, 16 and 31 specimens respectively. The total of 181 specimens constitutes 48 per cent of the total of 376 listed by Grabar for the corresponding years. The above data, as well as the number of dies and die-links in the obverses and reverses, have been presented in the following table. (Attached).

The quantitative relationship among the number of examined specimens, dies and die-links in the annual samples is illustrated in the following graph. (Attached).

When compared with the size of silver coinage samples, and with the number of dies counted in such samples, the figures involved in the present inquiry may appear deficient. Doubtless, they would have been more convincing had this inquiry encompassed the remaining 25 per cent of specimens listed in CT. In spite of this limitation the obtained data permit a few interesting conclusions. The first and obvious one is that we have now established what was the minimum number of dies employed annually for the striking of dīnārs in Ṭūlūnid Egypt – i.e., one can now state that in a given year at least so and so many obverse and reverse dies were used for striking Ṭūlūnid dīnārs in Egypt, which offers a better clue to the level of production than speculations based on the total numbers of survived specimens. While it is impossible to estimate the actual quantity of dies used in the production, one is tempted to conclude that their number was not too high. One arrives at this conclusion by studying the ratio of dies to die-links in individual samples. It is true that in the case of A. H. 267, 268 and 269 the ratio of dies (obverse and reverse) to die-links is 5:2, 10:3 and 5:2 respectively. The exceptionally high ratio of 5:1, found in the sample of A. H. 289, applied to reverses only and can easily be explained by the fact of

the death of caliph al-Mu' taḍid and the necessity of using a new reverse die with the name of his successor, al-Muktafī. In an analogous situation, occurring in A. H. 279 because of the death of al-Mu'tamid and the accession of al-Mu' taḍid, the ratio of reverse dies to die-links is 5:3. In all other samples the ratio is quite low. The most revealing, however, are the samples of A. H. 272 and 273. The former consists of 16 obverse and 14 reverse specimens, or only 3 and 5 less respectively than the total in CT, but the ratio of obverse dies to dies-links is 5:11, and that of reverse dies to dies-links is 5:9. The size of the other sample is larger by 4 obverses and 3 reverses than that in CT. In this case the obverses show as many as 22 die-links and only 9 dies, while the reverses count 18 die-links and 12 dies. Considering the size of the last sample one may assume that in this instance the number of detected dies approximates the number of dies actually used in A. H. 273 production of dīnārs. Would the use ± 10 dies indicate a high, average or low level of operations as regards the output of dīnārs in Egypt under the Ṭūlūnids?

Unfortunately, textual sources provide no clues concerning the volume of coins produced in this period by the Egyptian mint. On the other hand, there exists evidence pertaining to its output in the final phase of the Ayyūbid regime. According to al-Nābulusī (d. A. H. 660/ 1261 A. D.), an authority on fiscal administration, "the mint [of Cairo] under good management issued close to 3,000 dīnārs per month until it produced in the years of 636 and 637 a total of ca. 80,000 dīnārs. In other words, in the period of al-Nabulusi normal production of gold coins by the main mint of Egypt amounted to ca. 36 – 40,000 dīnars per year, a volume which could be struck with the use of 4 pairs of dies. If this was the case in the waning decades of Egypt's age of gold, why wouldn't a similar situation obtain at its beginning? Should such assumption prove correct one could state that the figure of ± 10 dies, as suggested by the study of numismatic evidence, appears to be reasonable with reference to Tūlūnid production of dīnārs in Egypt.

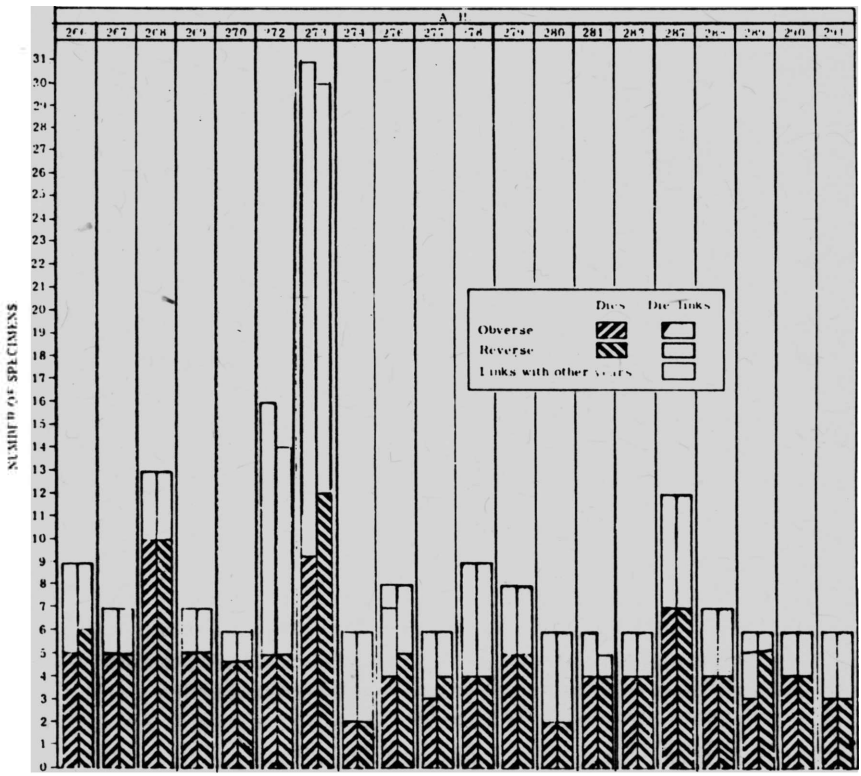
The present inquiry also suggests an answer to the question whether coin dies were used "for the maximum number of strikes, or even anything close to it." An answer to this question, at least for the Ṭūlūnid period, is offered by our data. It seems likely that if the obverse dies had not been used to capacity – i.e., if they had not been worn out through continuous striking in a given year – they would have been used in the subsequent year. In the event of such practice, die-links found in one annual series would have been found in the following year or years. As it is, except for the two different years. Since the excep-

tional die-link involves A. H. 272 and 276, it seems that it was occasioned by negligent misplacement of the die and its accidental recovery four years later, rather than by its earlier under-use. As for the reverse dies, they had to be discarded with the lapse of each year because of the date in their inscriptions. Also, as upper or trussel dies they deteriorated faster than the lower or anvil dies. Under those circumstances they could not result in any trans-annual die-links. The fact that in three instances (A. H. 266, 273, 276) the reverse dies outnumber the obverse dies in our sample suggests that they were not under-used.

By adopting the figure of ca. 10,000 of dīnārs per each pair of dies, one can speculate that the annual production of the Ṭūlūnid mint in Egypt did not exceed 100,000 dīnārs. Low though it may seem, such a level of production might well have met the prevailing demand for new dīnārs. One should bear in mind, that the mint of Egypt had been producing dīnārs long before the rise of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn and his dynasty. Secondly, the markets of Egypt were wide open to the circulation of gold coins produced in other mints of the caliphate, especially those of Baghdad and of Ifrīqīyah. Furthermore, the production of Ṭūlūnid gold coins was carried out in several provincial mints such as that of Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Filasṭīn, Ḥarrān, Ḥimṣ and Rāfiqah.

Nor did Egypt seem to have suffered from any particular drain of gold coins. When in A. H. 279 Khumarawayh committed his regime to annual payments of 300,000 dīnārs to the capital of the Caliphate, that sum did not even amount to 7 per cent of the revenue from the Egyptian land tax. Furthermore, one is not certain whether either sum actually involved gold coinage or silver coinage evaluated and reported in gold currency. There is no question about Ibn Ṭūlūn's heavy expenditures: the cost of his army and fleet and of his campaigns in Syria, in addition to all the money spent on the construction of his famous mosque, a sumptuous palace, a hospital, and aquaeduct. But if it is true that in spite of huge expenses Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn filled his treasury with 10,000,000 dīnārs, then it is obvious that there was no special pressure for new gold coinage to be struck in Egypt. Finally, when the value of 100,000 dinars, at the then prevailing exchange rate of 1:24, amounted to 2,400,000 dirhams, one is inclined to accept the conclusion about the low output of dīnārs by the Ṭūlūnid mint of Egypt, suggested by the results of the coin-die investigation.

Ṭūlūnid dīnārs from Egypt (Miṣr)



Ṭūlūnid dīnārs from Egypt (Miṣr)

A. H.	*CT total*	*No. of examined specimens*	*Obverses*		*Reverses*	
			dies	*die-links*	*dies*	*die-links*
268	14	13	10	3	10	3
269	12	7	5	2	5	2
270	27	6	2	4	2	4
272	19	16	5	11	5	9*
273	27	31	9	22	12	18**
274	19	6	2	4	2	4
276	8	8	4	4***	5	3
277	25	6	3	3	4	2
278	21	9	4	5	4	5
279	16	8	5	3	5	3
280	10	6	2	4	2	4
281	10	6	4	2	4	1**
283	24	6	4	2	4	2
287	29	12	7	5	7	5
288	23	7	4	3	4	3
289	23	6	3	3	5	1
290	13	6	4	2	4	2
291	23	6	3	3	3	3

* Two pictures of reverses were unavailable for examination.
** Picture of one reverse was unavailable for examination.
*** One obverse links with a die of A. H. 272.

* Two pictures of reverses were unavailable for examination.
** Picture of one reverse was unavailable for examination.
*** One obverse links with a die of A. H. 272.

THE OFFICIAL CULT OF CANAANITE DEITIES IN EGYPT DURING THE NEW KINGDOM

P. Fuscaldo

The Egyptian expansion of the XVI century BC resulted in a great colonial empire which enveloped Syria and Palestine. This Empire persisted up to the beginning of the XI century BC. Interaction of the influences and cultural exchanges were thus made possible. The influence of Syria and Palestina is evident in Egyptian literature, linguistics, art, political development and religion.

But, it is on the religious field where influences suffered by Egypt are more evident. Asiatic divinities were introduced in the official as well as in the private cult and a new form of thought appeared.

Several Asiatic deities such as Reshep, Baal, Anath, Astarte and Hauron were officially worshipped in Egypt at the time of the New Kingdom.

During the XVIII dynasty Reshep was officially worshipped as a war god, assimilated to Montu, the Theban god of war. It is due to this particular character that the king is compared to Reshep. Thus, for instance, it was said of Amenophis II that he was *beloved of Reshep;* the soldiers of Ramesses III were said *to be as mighty as Reshep*. The few figured representations of Reshep in Egypt point him out as a war deity carrying shield and spear as weapons, and driving a chariot or riding a horse.

We lack creditable information as to places where the god's worship was performed. There is not doubt that there must have been certain chapels or temples where he was worshipped: cult of deities – as practised by the Egyptians – was always carried out in temples. We have only mentions of places where Reshep's cult took place: *Reshep in the temple of Montu* at Karnak, *the valley of Reshep* and *Reshep in the temple of Reshep*. The cult of Reshep took place in Karnak, since his introduction in the official cult. But this temple

is not his own temple, it belongs to the Egyptian god Montu with whom he was identified.

From the XIX dynasty onwards Reshep was replaced in the official cult by Baal, with the same character of god of war. Documents of the Ramesside period which compare the king to Baal show that he played a similar role to the one performed by Reshep during the XVIII dynasty.

The greater part of the inscriptions where the king is matched to Baal on account of his courage, came from Medinet Habu. For example, it was said of the King (Rameses III) that *he appears upon the battlefield like Baal*, his heart *stormed like Baal in the heavens*.

In the city of Memphis there was a place dedicated to the worship of Baal as well as several priests of his cult. It is possible that this temple of Baal in Memphis was only a sanctuary inside the temple of Ptah and not a special place built for this worship.

A peculiarity of the cult of Baal in Egypt during the Ramesside period was the identification with the god Seth as represented in the "400-Year Stela" found at Tanis.

The female equivalents of Reshep and Baal are the goddesses Astarte and Anath. Both were war goddesses and protected the king in battle, but Astarte was more important. Astarte was introduced into the official pantheon during Amenophis II's time (XV Century BC.) and remained there until the Late period. As a goddess of war, the king called upon her to protect him in battle. She also stands in relation to the war chariot and the royal horses.

Together with Egyptian gods Astarte guarded the royal residence at Pi-Ramesses, in the eastern Delta, during the Ramesside period. The Asiatic influence in this city – Pi-Rameses – is made evident through the Asiatic deities Astarte, Anath, Hauron and Sutekh (Seth-Baal) which were worshipped there, and in the human sacrifices of foundations that were unknown in Egypt, outside of Tanis, being a Canaanite practice.

Memphis and Tanis were the places of her worship. Herodotus remarked about the existence of a sanctuary of Astarte under the name of "the foreign Aphrodite", i.e. Astarte, beside the *temple of Ptah* in Memphis. Up to now nothing has been found out about this sanctuary dedicated to the cult of Astarte, but the Serapeum papyri mention it twice. There is a reason for the erection of Astarte's sanctuary beside the temple of Ptah, the local god of Memphis. The goddess is Ptah's daughter and, as such, appears in a literary text of Canaanite origin

–"The legend of Astarte"; at the same time she was his wife as Sekhmet, who is seen in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu as Astarte. Even some priests of her cult are known.

Not until the XIX dynasty does Anath appear in Egypt, which means a later introduction than that of Astarte. She is a protective shield of the king, but differing from Astarte, Anath also takes, in Egypt, the character of the mother goddess and protectress of the king, role played by Hathor in the Egyptian pantheon. In the temple of Anath at Tanis, she is *the lady of heavens, lady of the gods of Rameses-mery-Amon;* "his mother, whose love is glorious" and in the statues from that temple the goddess lacks the warlike attributes. The temple built for her in Tanis was built for her cult alone, and gives evidence of the important role played by Anath during the Ramesside period.

Of the four Asiatic deities mentioned before, the Canaanite god Hauron stands apart. His official cult existed only in so much as he was identified with the god Horus in the shape of a falcon or with the Giza Sphinx, that is to say Ra-Harakhte. His introduction took place during Amenophis II's reign.

Hauron protected the king, who was *beloved of Hauron*. His most important place of cult was Giza, around the Sphinx, where Amenophis II built a temple for him. Hauron had another sanctuary in Pi-Rameses , where Montet found the great statue of Hauron as a falcon protecting the child Rameses II with his wings. Two literary texts from the Ramesside period mention a temple dedicated to Hauron in Memphis.

In the official cult Hauron is represented by the falcon Horus – as the statue of Tanis – or by the Sphinx of Giza where he is "*Hauron-Horus in the Horizon, perfect god, lord of heavens, ruler of eternity.*"

In Egypt during the New Kingdom the official cult of Asiatic deities performed in the local temples is a proof of the religion of the State. It is a consequence of the annexation of Syria and Palestine. The cult of the Canaanite deities in the royal entourage has a warlike character tending to the protection of the king. Egypt had its own gods for this purpose: Amon, Montu, Sekhmet, Hathor and Horus, but it was believed to be impossible to dominate Asia if the aid of the local gods was lacking. The foreign gods introduced in Egypt act in a well defined manner: they acquire a new character or maintain their own, they take typical Egyptian epithets and their cult is generally performed inside the existing temples or sometimes in new temples. We do not know the reason for the appearance of some of them during the XVII dynasty

and others during the XIX dynasty. According to Helck the introduction of new Asiatic divinities under the Ramessides had a political character. This clearly applied to Baal and Anath, but not to the other gods. Baal appeared in the XIX dynasty, a dynasty of military origin that came from the eastern Delta and based its rights to the throne on its direct descent from the god Sutekh. In this way, under the form of Baal, Seth appears, the god who was worshipped in Egypt during the hycsos rule. Such is the representation of Seth in the 400-Year Stela. Nationalism prevented the XVIII dynasty from incorporating Baal. The struggle against the Hyksos rule was too near to allow the introduction of that foreign god. His place was taken by Reshep, a foreign war god who did not symbolize the occupation of the country. Together with Baal, Anath, his wife in the Canaanite religion, was incorporated during the XIX dynasty. Baal and Reshep show a well defined war-like character. Their protective power embraces the fighting soldiers as well as the war apparatus. In Syria and Palestine they were atmospheric deities, gods of thunder, of storm and fertility – as the rain that fertilizes the ground during the different seasons – and Reshep is no more the god of pestilence and of the underworld. Together or alone, Astarte and Anath are war goddesses in Egypt, as in their original country. But they are no longer as they were in their country, goddesses of love and fertility – character which, in Anath, was very important due to her being Baal's wife. The place of Hauron is quite peculiar, he is simply a form of Horus who protects the king.

Egyptian religion presents a confused polytheism, local deities – originally worshipped in the nomoi – intermingle with national deities. Theology had several conceptions about the creation of the world and the intervening gods. Funerary beliefs were full of magic and superstition. There is no credo defining the Egyptian religion.

In the historical development of Egypt two periods present fundamental religious changes. During the First Intermediate Period rightness as a rule of conduct and retributive justice were introduced and left their imprint on the following periods. The religious reform of the Amarneh period was based on an exclusive monotheism which persisted while Akhenaten – the reformer – lived. This second reform is intimately related to the heroic king, but the first one is product of a time of crisis as was the reform introduced in Israel by the missionary prophets in the VIII and VII centuries, and in Iran by Zoroaster.

No fundamental changes took place in Egyptian religion with the introduction of the Canaanite gods in the official cult: they were simply

added to the existing ones. Neither was it part of a religious policy with regard to the submitted peoples, nor did they offer the Egyptians a new field of activity. We must judge the incorporation of these new gods in the Egyptian pantheon as a mere cultural phenomenon. Apparently no change in the religious attitude took place, although this adoption of foreign gods was unique and would not be repeated through all Egyptian history.

EXCAVATIONS AT AKKO 1973-1976: THE MBIIa AND THE HELLENISTIC PERIODS

Moshe Dothan

Akko is known from historical and literary sources as one of the most important cities along the Israeli coast for almost four thousand years. Due to its geographic position, the city played a significant role in the history of the country as a strategic and commercial center on a cross-road of major land trade routes and as a terminal of maritime lines linking her with the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean.

In the 1973-1976 seasons the excavations concentrated on the mound and on a dig in the modern town; the latter started as a salvage operation and became a major area of excavation[1]. Tel Akko, which is the site of the earliest city, is situated about 800 m. from the sea-shore and the outlet of the Naaman (Belus) river. It seems that this proximity to the mouth of the river offering safe anchorage was the main reason for establishing this settlement on a low rocky area. Here three areas were

[1] The Akko - Project involves the excavations of the Tel Akko and its surroundings, a survey of the Naaman river, underwater-excavations in the ancient harbour of Akko and salvage operations in the modern city of Akko. This project is the enterprise of the Department of Maritime Civilizations of Haifa University with the participation of the Israel Department of Antiquities and the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The expédition, which started in 1973, is headed by Prof. Moshe Dothan of Haifa University with the aid of volunteers and students from Israel and abroad.

The preliminary publications include the following reports:

M. Dothan, *Israel Exploration Journal*, 23 (1973) pp. 257-258

M. Dothan, *Israel Exploration Journal*, 24 (1974) pp. 276-270

M. Dothan, *Israel Exploration Journal*, 25 (1975) pp. 163-166

M. Dothan, "A sign of Tanit from Tel Akko", *Israel Exploration Journal*, Vol. 24, 1974.

opened in order to follow the stratigraphy of the settlement on the mound which rises about 20 m. above virgin soil and covers about 40 acres. The earliest remains up till now, and which I shall describe in the first part of my presentation, belong to the Middle Bronze IIa period (ca. 2000-1800 BC). Finds from this period include a secondary burial of a child buried with pottery vessels and hundreds of sherds found mainly in a glacis fortification which was built in the following period (MBIIb). These sherds include a large number of the Cypriote White Painted ware. This imported ware which consists mainly of the "Pendent Line" and "Crossed Lines" classes, types II-IV, which begin in MBIIa and continue until the end of the Middle Bronze Age, bear testimony to the close connections between Cyprus and the northern coast of Israel. Neutron activation analysis of this Cypriote pottery show the exact area from which this pottery was exported, in the neighborhood of the town of Kalopsidha on the eastern coast of Cyprus. A bronze chisel with a bone handle is identical to tools found in Cyprus, which at that period was already an important center of copper industry. In this period the city of Akko and its ruler are mentioned for the first time in the Execration Texts of the XII Dynasty of Egypt. The sudden increase of the import of Cypriote pottery in the MBIIa may, in fact, be related to the increased demand in this country for another Cypriote product – copper. In the Chalcolithic Period, and perhaps also in MBI, the Canaanite requirement for copper was satisfied by local production. But on the basis of finds from copper mining sites in this country, there does not seem to have been any activity in the MBIIa at all. Therefore, it seems that Canaan turned to Cyprus for its copper requirement in this period.

The next city of the MBIIb-c Period (ca. 1800-1550 BC), which I can only mention here, was encircled by a strong rampart of a glacis type, one of the strongest so far discovered in Israel. Its vertical height must have once reached about 20 m. and its slope stretched over 50 m. The sloping glacis is composed of layers of red clay sand, ashes, layers of bricks and stones used to support the unstable layers of the glacis. Its construction was a mssive and lengthy enterprise and was a carefully planned attempt to withstand the ravages of man and nature. This fortification belongs to the Hyksos Period, when Akko continued to be a city-state.

And now I am passing over more than a thousand years till the end of the 6th century BC. After the Persian conquest of Phoenicia, Akko became an important administrative and supply center on the eastern

flank of the Persian Empire. The city played a decisive, strategic role during the Persian-Egyptian wars. Even more important, Akko became a center of a Graeco-Phoenician maritime trade which became possible only after opening a port in the bay that must have been built in place of the old anchorage in the outlet of the Naaman river. Little of this period was excavated on the acropolis. However, a rescue excavation carried out in 1974, at a site about 600 m. to the west of the tell and about 200 m. from the seashore, completely changed our view of the physical significance of the city in the Persian Period. Here in a small section the lowest strata were reached at about 4m. above sea level. The structural remains of the lowest stratum were unclear but the higher one included ashlar pillars and massive rubble fill preserved to a height of *c.* 2.5 m. The rich collection of local pottery included several storejars, an oil lamp, a cooking pot, all of "Persian" types. Of special significance are fragments of black glazed Attic ware, including part of a red-figured krater, a kantharos, and a complete salt cellar incised on its base with the letter  . The excavated section uncovered a part of structures which were erected near the shore when the city population spread beyond the acropolis and the city itself also encompassed by now a new harbour and warehouses in the near bay. The high percentage of imported Greek ware, here and on the acropolis, (e.g. Black-figure vessels) testifies to the close trade between Akko and the Aegean in the 5th and 4th centuries. This also verifies the evidence of Demosthenes, who speaks about an Athenian merchant colony in Akko in this period. The expansion of the lower city which started in the Persian period was even accelerated after the conquest by Alexander the Great. Though the city changed hands repeatedly between the Ptolemaids and the Seleucians in the 3rd century, it flourished and became known mainly as Ptolemais –the largest harbour city of Palestine during the Hellenistic period. The acropolis of Akko became by then probably one of the small quarters of the city with a well planned complex of rooms and streets. Some objects and especially the pottery were imported from the Aegean; in addition to Attic ware, we find stamped handles from Rhodes, Kos and Thasos..

However, the city continued to expand towards the west. The best evidence of this expansion was found in the area between the acropolis and the section just discussed. Here an incidental find of an inscribed Hellenistic funerary stele resulted in an extensive excavation. Above the lowest stratum with no structural remains, but with some Persian type

pottery, a massive building operation started. It resulted in structures, probably fortifications, built and rebuilt several times.

It is a part of a monumental structure consisting of two walls converging at right angles. One of the walls is preserved four courses high and *c.* 22 m. long. The other is 16 m. long and it continues below a modern building. Inside the corners of the two walls the lowest course of a segment *c.* 22 m. long circular wall was uncovered. This wall is 3.5 m. wide and it is probably a section of a hollow tower. All the stones in the tower and in most of the two walls are laid on their narrow side as headers. The entire circumference of the tower and the length of at least one of the walls could not yet be excavated, because the structures are partly covered by modern buildings and partly destroyed by the later crusader walls. However, the conjectured diameter of the tower is *c.* 18 m. The system of headers is known in Israel from several mainly coastal sites like Dor, Atlit and the inland site of Samaria. The closest parallels outside Israel are the monumental Punic walls in Sicily, mainly in Lilybeum and to some extent in Motya. These close connections, specially with Lilybeum, are very interesting, also in the light of the find of an impression of a Tanit figure on a pottery vessel in Akko, similar to the one found on a pottery handle in Lilybeum.

On the main plaster floor connected with the structures many objects were found: including mainly cooking pots, bowls and storage jars, as well as more than a hundred bronze arrowheads, several lead slingbullets and Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins. These finds testify to the military character of the structure in at least one of its stages, destroyed for the first time at the end of the 3rd century BC. This structure passed through several additional destructions, mainly during the so called "Syrian Wars" of the 2nd century BC., until it went out of use, probably after the Jewish Roman war in 70 AD. It is still too early to decide exactly what this structure was, it could have been one of the gates of the Hellenistic city of Ptolemais with its watch tower, or a separate fort inside the city walls, or a structure connected with the main spring of the city (Ain Bakar). The excavation of this area as well as those of other areas in the lower city during long periods of its existence and on the acropolis testify to the complexity of its history. We hope that the excavations in the coming seasons will provide more information about Akko with its vast scope for archaeological research both on land and under the sea and specially in regard to its extensive cultural trade and relations as the "Sea Gate" of the Canaanite coast where so many different civilizations and cultures met during the last four thousand years.

LEARNED FAMILIES IN THE ISLAMIC MIDDLE AGES

Rudolf Sellheim

Anybody consulting the vast bibliographical literature of the Islamic Middle Ages will notice that the men and women registrated there in many cases are not single persons but members of certain families from which well-known personalities have come. I would like to refer to biographical works, in particular, of the post-Mongolian period, for instance: "al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a al-thāmina" by Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asqualānī (died 852/1449) or "al-Manhal al-ṣāfī" by Ibn Taghrībirdī (died 874/1470) or "al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tasi' " by al-Sakhāwī (died 902/1497) or "al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yān al-mi'a al-'āshira" by al-Ghazzī (died 1061/1651) or "Khulāṣat al-athar fī a yān al-qarn al-hādī 'ashar" by al-Muhibbī (died 1111/1699). From these works and other similar books, it is possible to reconstruct entire families, for instance in Cairo, Damascus or Aleppo and to produce exact personal data on the members of these families and their professions and activities. It is even possible to complete our information by material other than these sources, unique to the Middle Ages.

It is well known that the manuscript material of Islamic past is immeasurably large. And it is also well known that, in view of these extensive materials, the cataloguers – in our time, in particular – are usually content with finding out and giving the authors' names and the titles of the works from the manuscripts, whereas they do not care so much for notes which are frequently written at the end or on the flyleafs of the manuscripts. But these inconspicuous and, more or less, accidental notes in particular are the ones that deserve our attention because they complement, confirm and, occasionally, correct the information given in the biographical and historical literature and thereby, enlarge our knowledge of the past, of daily life and of the social problems of that time. Another aspect of these notes should be mentioned: They are a source of first-hand information of events

and ideas, unadulterated, not influenced by considerations of a biographer or even purposely distorted.

Some examples[1] will illustrate this; Among the manuscripts in the National Library "Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz" in Berlin (West), there is a small, inconspicuous and so far unknown manuscript of four folios on the Ṣūfī-Khirqa (Ms. or. oct. 3804) by one Tādj al-Dīn Ibn Ḥammuya al-Djuwaynī. From a note at the end of the maqāla, we learn that a certain Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sāwidjī – known to Ibn Ḥadjar but with out exact data –, a great-great-grandson from the mother's side of the author, read this little essay on Tuesday, 15th Dhū l-Qa'da, 747/27th February, 1347, in the house of the Imām Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī in Ṭawāwīs in Damascus, two years before the great pestilence. He had already attended a reading by his maternal great-uncle, Yūsuf, a grandson of the author, 50 years before, on Friday, 20th Djumādā II, 697/4th April, 1298, on Mount Qāsiyūn, near Damascus. His mother Sufrā, her brother Muḥammad and her sister, Sāra and Āmina, had also been present. Ibn Ḥadjar mentions neither Muḥammad and his three sisters, nor their father, Sulaymān, but does mention Sulaymān's brother, Yūsuf. Yūsuf rose to be Shaykh al-shuyūkh of the Sumaysāṭiyya in Damascus and died there in Rabī' I, 701/November, 1301. His grandfather, i.e. the author of that little essay, Tādj al–Dīn, is known as a student of the Damascene historian, biographer and traditioner, Ibm 'Asākir (died 571/1176). We know that he went to the Maghreb when he was 27 years old and, after a six years stay there, passing by way of Cairo, returned to his city of Damascus in 600/1204. There he died as Muftī l-muslimīn on Wednesday, 5th Ṣafar, 642/13th July, 1244, and was buried the next day in the Ṣūfī cemetery before the Bāb al-Naṣr. His wife was a great-great-great-granddaughter of the famous mystic, al-Qushayrī (died 465/1072).

All of them, the author, Tādj al-Dīn, and his descendants who have read his little essay on the khirqa, are only one branch of the family Ibn Ḥammūya al-Djuwaynī from North Persia of which there is later evidence in Syria and Egypt. Its progenitor was Ḥammūya who is otherwise unknown; according to a Persian manuscript, he was a descendant of the well known companion of the Prophet and standard bearer, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (died 52/672). All known members of this family can be attributed to his three sons: Muḥammad, 'Abd

[1] For all these examples see my "Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte", Wiesbaden 1976, vo. 1, in particular p. 81-89, 322-332.

al-Ṣamad and 'Alī. Tādj al-Dīn, the author of that little essay, is one of the numerous descendants of the first son, the Imām Muḥammad ibn Ḥammūya: He was born 449/1057 in Djuwayn and died on 1st Rabī' I, 530/9th December, 1135, as a recognized commentator of the Quran and a man learned in law and traditions and as an honored Ṣūfī. He was a student of his compatriot, the famous Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī (died 478/1085), and had built a khānaqāh in Buḥayr Ābād in the district of Djuwayn and left it as a legacy *(waqf)*. His son, i. e. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, who had attended lessons given by al-Ghazzālī in Ṭūs, died 539/1144 in Nēshāpūr and was buried in the tomb of his father Muḥammad whereas his grandson, i. e. 'Umar ibn 'Alī, moved to Damascus where he was appointed by Nūr al-Dīn Zengi Shaykh al-shuyūkh of Damascus and chief administrator of the legacies. He died 577/1181 at the age of 64.His son, Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn 'Umar, who was a brother of Tādj al-Dīn, was born in Djuwayn but accompanied his father to Damascus, where he married a daughter of the well-known Shāfi'ite jurist, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Naysābūrī (died 578/1182). Later he went to Cairo and taught at the Mashhad al-Husayn and at the tomb of al-Shāfi'ī. He died in Djumādā I, 617/June, 1220, in Mosul, on the way to Baghdad as an envoy of the Ayyūbide Sultan al-Kāmil. He was to ask for support from the 'Abbāside caliph al-Nāṣir against the crusaders who had established themselves in Dumyāṭ (Damiette), at the end of Sha'bān, 616/beginning of November, 1219. The turba of his wife in the cemetery of Qarāfa in Cairo became the tomb for the whole family where learned and military men have been buried, side by side.

Other members of the family had remained in Djuwayn. One of them was Sa'd al-Dīn, a well-known mystic and student of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā. He had fled from the Mongols to his relatives in Damascus but returned later when he had established relations with them; after his death on 'Īd al-Aḍḥā (10th Dhū 1-Ḥidjdja), 650/11th February, 1253, he was buried in the tomb of his ancestor, Muḥammad ibn Ḥammūya His son, Ṣadr al-Dīn, a much-travelled Sūfī shaykh and the son-in-law of the well-known governor and historian 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī, was that shaykh by whom the Ghāzān had converted to Islam. He died on 5th Muharram, 722/24th January, 1322.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that these names and dates are sufficient although I could continue without difficulty. It has become evident, already, that surprising new facts and exact dates for the genealogical research of the Islamic Middle Ages can be extracted even from such inconspicuous hand-written notes in connection with literary sources

of the biographical literature, in particular. The family of Ibn Ḥammūya is no exception. Similar material has been made available for numerous other families like the Ibn al-Munadjdjās, the Ibn Abī Djamras, the Rāzīz, the Turkumanīs, the Maḥbūbīs, the Ibn al-Wardīs, the Baylūnīs, the Qūṣūnīs, and the Fanārīs.

This and similar genealogical research with its various historical views reveal further aspects. Let us start once again with the family Ibn Ḥammūya al-Djuwaynī. As we have noticed, the little essay on the Ṣūfī robe (khirqa) by Tādj al-Dīn was not only read in the family for generations but also women and children attended the readings, and it should be added that such readings in the family circle were not exceptional. That shows an attitude towards literature which is surprising and, nowadays, difficult to understand. Again, we see that on the one hand studies have not been reserved to a small number of learned people but, according to the Prophet's word "uṭlubū l-ʿilm wa-lau biṣ-Ṣīn", were carried on by people of several walks of life; on the other hand, we realize that these studies were more passive than active. This impression is intensified many times if one leafs through the biographies which run into tens of thousands. The more we approach the Ottoman Period and the more we follow its course, the more one-sided are the curricula and the more specialized is the education. This development has become clear from the increase of commentaries, glosses and super-glosses. In all their prolixity, one has to appreciate their high level of intellectual argumentation, keen observation and differentiated approach, for instance in the basic subjects, grammar and rhetoric, but the dynamic forces towards change and the creative powers decreased, more and more. Consequently, studies in the madrasas become school-like, last but not least, because the government, i.e. the Ottoman rulers first of all, were interested in a hurried training of future civil servants. Compendia and simplified manuals became more and more significant a problem we have to face in our modern universities as well. For this development, the well-known learned family of the Fanārīs in Brussa in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries is typical. Of the numerous well-educated members of this family, none has produced a really original work. Their bibliographies consist of shurūḥ and ḥawāshī, only. Some of them were distiguished professors at madrasas in Brussa, Istanbul or Edirne, or held high-ranking positions in the government and frequented the court. Others, fulfilled their duties as popular civil servants in the provinces. Mosques and madrasas have been named after them, legacies and tombs have borne

their names up to our time, or until recently. Manuscripts written by them or originating from their libraries with their owner's marks have come to us as testimonies of a colorful past. However, a contemporary has already been skeptical about this past, i. e. his time. As early as at the end of the 10th century, 'Alī Miniq says in the introduction of his Dhayl which is a continuation of "al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya" by Ṭashkröprü-Zāde about the general situation of the time:

"Astonishing that the narrow tombs" – and he means the tombs of the late shaykhs and mullahs whom he had known personally and described in his Dhayl, the "al-'Iqd al-manẓūm" – so, "astonishing, that the narrow tombs are able to enclose such oceans of learning... Is it not really so that nowadays such efforts are disregarded as a waste of time by people who consider the world of science as rubbish or even consider the whole Adab as an offence and the occupation with the subjects of science as a sin... It is dreadful that men who are intellectually superior to their contemporaries, have to suffer such injustice.." But eventually, he says – I think we should follow him at that, completely – one cannot get on by complaining and lamenting over the circumstances of one's time, on the contrary, a learned man should always follow his way and should not be diverted from it: for joyful occasions are as rare as holidays.

MS Pococke No. 31 as a Source for the Events in the Years 1622-24 in Istanbul

Aryeh Shmuelevitz

The late Professor U. Heyd, at the Sixth Turkish History Congress held in Ankara in 1961 cited the Pococke MS No. 31 of Oxford's Bodleian Library as one of the Hebrew sources for the history of the Ottoman Empire. In this paper I would like to examine the importance as well as the limitations of this source.

The MS consists of 68 pages written in Turkish-Hebrew characters including many corrections on the margins, most of them in the same handwriting. Therefore, it might well be the original one.

It begins with a chronological listing of the Sultans from Osman Gazi to Sultan Ibrahim, giving the year in which each of them became a sultan, which appears under each name, and the number of years in reign on the left hand side of each name, except for Sultan Ibrahim, where only his name was mentioned. It is dated according to the Hijri Calendar, and all the numbers are given in Arabic characters.

The text itself reads from page 5a to 38b, but it seems that page 38b was not the last page of the manuscript, because the narrative is cut off abruptly at that point. According to the above-mentioned list the description might have been continued at least until the end of the reign of Murad IV.

The text starts with the day on which Sultan Osman II was dethroned and deals with the short reign of the insane Sultan Mustafa and with the beginning of the reign of Sultan Murad IV, that is, the years 5382-5385 of the Hebrew calendar and the years 1031-1033 of the Hijri calendar, which corresponds to 1622-24.

The author's identity is not known. It is not only unsigned but no Jewish names are mentioned in the manuscript. What can be clearly ascertained, however, is that the author was an important personage in the Ottoman court, perhaps he was a physician in the Sultan's court or in the court of one of the high officials. He knew Turkish well as is evi-

dent from the text, for example, he gave the exact Hebrew transliteration of the Turkish names and terms, although not always with success. He was well acquainted with the structure and procedure of the central administration, and he not only knew who the functionaries were, but seemed to have some personal knowledge about them since the manuscript contains personal details about their character. Thus, there is an indication that the author of the manuscript could well be a credible source of important information.

What kind of information can be gleaned from this source? I have to emphasize that this source is not a chronicle like that of Elia Capsali, about which I spoke in the last International Congress of the Orientalists in Paris, or the Turkish chronicle like those of Neşri or Aşikpaşazade or Solakzade. Rather, it is a diary, not of his personal life, but of political life in the capital city of Istanbul. Here we can find entries on the more significant events that happened in the court and in the capital, but it is not a day-to-day account of these events.

With regard to the limitations of the MS., there are four that should be singled out:

a) As a diary it included many details which are of little importance to the historian, especially about the movements of the high functionaries to the capital and out to the provinces;
b) There are details which one can find also in the chronicles and in the various itineraries; for instance in the letters of the British Ambassador to Istanbul, Sir Thomas Roe;
c) For some inexplicable reason the entries in the diary are not arranged altogether chronologically. This indicates that it might not have been the final draft.
d) The author was an ardent supporter of Sultan Osman II and a vehement opponent of Sultan Mustafa, his mother and those who brought him to the throne, that is, all of those that executed Sultan Osman. And, again, he was among the supporters of Sultan Murad IV and those who put an end to Sultan Mustafa's regime and executed his supporters. In particular, his hatred for the Yeniceris is reflected in the description of their execution in Anatolia at the hands of Abaza Mahmud Oasa, the Governor of Erzerum, in revenge for what they had done to Sultan Osman.

At the same time, he greatly admired Sultan Osman II – and his supporters – whom he described as a brilliant and talented young sultan. He believed that Sultan Osman's plan to put an end to the corrupt army

of the Yeniçeries and the Sultani Sipahis was essential to bring order and security to the capital.

This brings me to the importance of this source for us as historians of the Ottoman Empire. This is to be found in the vivid accounts of the frequent changes and reshuffles in the central government. His highly dramatic description of the dismissals; and, sometimes, the executions, of the high religious and political functionaries effectively conveys the atmosphere of fear and terror these caused throughout the Ottoman capital. The feelings of the author and the populace are rendered so realistically that one can experience the thrill of fear that must have followed the dethronement of Sultan Osman II, and, all the more, after his execution. But the reader is also made to rejoice (though, this happens rarely) as when Sultan Mustafa was dismissed and Murad IV was enthroned. At the same time, we are provided with biographical sketches of the personalities involved.

We are similarly impressed with the author's account of the effect of the Russian naval raids on the villages and towns on the shores of the Bosphorus (Yeniköy and Büyükdere). There was such panic that the Sultan immediately ordered the Tartars of the Crimea to take revenge.

Perhaps the most striking account of all is how the populace was assembled with the cooperation of some religious functionaries; how they chose their leaders; and, with flags and the Qur'ān, they marched in demonstration against the leading personalities of the regime, demanding their dismissal and execution, while stopping off to rob and plunder the shops on their way. And, then, how they were confronted by a vizir and were dispersed by his soldiers.

All this is narrated so convincingly and with such a sense of immediacy, that one is led to believe that the author himself witnessed these events, and as such,is to be regarded an important source.

Another aspect of importance is the author's disclosure of hitherto unknown details concerning certain events. For example, his description of the pretender to the throne, who had appeared in Smyrna to confront Sultan Murad, and his claims that he was the son of Mehmed III. The author also adds to the scanty information we have on the Jews during those days of terror in the capital. However, he rarely wrote on the Jews and then, only incidentally. The chronicle gives an account of the execution of a Jewish woman who had been a servant of Sultan Mustafa's mother, and of the loan of 5,000 golden sultani (ducats) given by the Jews of the capital to Sultan Murad to enable him to grant gifts to the soldiers upon his enthronement. In addition, we are told of the

false accusations against the Jews. For example, that they had thrown a Turkish boy into a pit. The boy was found alive and accused his mother of the deed, nevertheless, the sipahis extorted money from the Jewish community by holding five of its leaders hostages.

In conclusion, the importance of this chronicle-diary lies mainly in its vivid rendering of the atmosphere in the capital at that time. In addition, it gives hitherto unknown details about certain events.

ASIATICS IN THE EGYPTIAN MINING CENTERS IN SOUTH SINAI: RECENT DISCOVERIES

Raphael Giveon

The first Asiatic involvement in turquoise mining is shown in a chalcolithic settlement in Wadi Khasif below Serabit el-Khadim. There were two buildings there: one well built in the Egyptian style, the other roughly made in a local style. In a stone-lined rectangular pit there was found a stone used for polishing turquoise with a grain of turquoise still adhering to it. Not far from this there were found two sherds of pottery which should be dated to the early dynastic period – that is, later than the chalcolithic pottery prevailing at the site. Nothing else was found of the early dynastic period at the site – discovered and ex cavated by Mr. Beit-Arieh of the Institute of Archeology of Tel Aviv University. The question of the relation of this chalcolithic settlement with Egypt remains open. A turquoise bead has been found in the excavations of chalcolithic settlements in Wadi Beersheba, near Beer Sheba. Turquoise is present in the protodynastic sites in Egypt and there is so far no sign that it was mined anywhere in Egypt or, in fact, in any site outside Sinai. It seems therefore that local workers mined at Serabit el-Khadim side by side with Egyptians and the produce was exported to Egypt as well as to the Beersheba region. At Serabit el-Khadim there is no pottery which can be dated earlier than the time of the XIIth Dynasty.

The second stage of datable Asiatic activity has been discovered also by Mr. Beit-Arieh at several sites in the region of St. Catherin. The remains discovered there show remarkable similarity to material excavated at Arad in southern Palestine, east of Beersheba. Arad can be dated by pots wearing the Serakh of Narmer. However neither at Arad nor at the settlements discovered in Sinai was there any turquoise. The sites are far away from any turquoise mines known so far. The excavator estimates that the settlers occupied themselves with metal mining and metal working and husbandry. The settlements were deserted for an unknown reason, not destroyed by enemy action.

In Magharah we have repeated scenes of war against Asiatics from the time of the IIIrd Dynasty onwards. Who are these Asiatics?: The local Bedouin can be eliminated.

They are unlikely to have been a factor of economic or military importance. Then, as now, the locals were happy to earn recompensation for any job done for anybody. The inhabitants of the early settlements near St. Catherin were in Sinai earlier than the first Pharaoh who came to Magharah and up till now no settlements were discovered which would fit chronologically or geographically these scenes of early Asiatic-Egyptian conflict. Thus, we have to restrict ourselves to the statement that the settlements near St. Catherin show an early interest of a highly civilized group with strong ties to the North (Palestine) in South Sinai. The enemies of Djoser and Sekhemkhet must have been of that type.

The inscription "Sinai 1" was long an object of discussion. It was held to be of Semerkhet of the Ist dynasty by some, of Sekhemkhet of the IIIrd Dynasty by others. In 1973 a duplicate of this relief was rediscovered and the study of the accompanying texts shows that both reliefs are of Sekhemkhet. In *BASOR* 216 (1974) pp.17ff I have given a full account of this.

It was always assumed that Egyptian mining activities of the Old Kingdom started in Magharah and stopped there. A new rock-inscription in the Wadi Kharig, some seven kilometers west of Serabit el-Khadim with the name of Sahure (Vth Dynasty) shows that this is not so. This is the only evidence of Old Kingdom activity so far north, but may not remain the only one. It has the additional interest that it shows enmity towards the Asiatics which is typical for Magharah and not typical for Serabit el-Khadim. Thot appears in this inscription as "smashing the Asiatics". Near the inscription there was discovered a camp resembling the ones in Magharah which Petrie has described, and a camp near Rod el Air which was recently discovered. The latter may be of Middle Kingdom times; this may also be the date of the camp at Kharig, at least part of it, because a beautiful stela of Sesostris I was discovered nearby. In this settlement we have a roughly built wall descending from the mountains, like the one in Magharah, which seems more a temenos wall than part of defense works.

In Wadi Um Agraf (in which Petrie's camp was situated) we found on a large boulder a grafitto with the personal name *'mw*; we think that this is an Asiatic name, written like the first part of the name of the ruler of Upper Retenu in the Sinuhet-story: *'mw-nnsi*. In the execration texts, too, there are personal names which have this element. In

a stele from Wadi Halfa, now at Florence, there is the inscription *'mw mnt htp* (dating from Sesostris I). We feel that here there are two names; the first one Asiatic and the second Egyptian.

It seems to us that this man was one of a group of Asiatics working with the Egyptians in the mining area during the XIIth Dynasty. These Asiatics appear in different steles and are once represented in the 163 Sinai obelisk in the form of a bearded, kneeling man carrying shields and shafts. We repeatedly find this scene of an Asiatic atop an ass led by another man, while a third is driving it from behind. This reminds us of the familiar scene in Bene-Hassan, dating from the same period, depicting Asiatics with donkeys. The same motive of an Asiatic mounted on an ass is found on a scarab kept in Berlin.

We think that the Asiatics who worked at Sinai left not only their names, but their own inscriptions as well. We refer to proto-Sinaitic scripture. Our work at Sinai did not disclose any significant evidence to help establish the dates of these inscriptions. A strong argument in favor of placing them in the XIIth Dynasty rather than in the XVIIIth, is that in the latter case there would be proto-Sinaitic scriptures in Wadi Nasb, near the steles of the Middle Kingdom. It has been argued that the patina on these proto-Sinaitic inscriptions is lighter than the patina on the Egyptian material. This has not been proven in spite of repeated rock assays.

Although it has been proven that Asiatics were at the Serabit el-Kadim temple in very early times, they left no significant mark on the religious beliefs in the area. There was a widely extended idea that Hathor's cave was a place of worship of an Asiatic goddess before the arrival of the Egyptians. Hathor's cave was carved in the stone following the typical XIIth Dynasty layout for noble or royal Egyptian tombs. We think that the original Hathor tomb was the *Sopdue Cave* (Petrie nomeclature). This tomb is typically Egyptian and has no resemblance whatsoever to Asiatic forms of worship nor are there any signs of such anywhere in the area. It was said that Thot was created to take the place of an Asiatic moon god. We have not found any evidence that such manner of Asiatic worship existed during the period preceding Thot's appearance at Sinai: whatever moon worship there was on the peninsula originated long after the Egyptians had departed.

We can assume that friendly co-operation with the Asiatics continued in the New Kingdom. The silence of the documents in this respect is no proof in any way, because the Egyptian documents of this period are full of laudatory material concerning kings and officials and there is no

great deal of historical or biographical material here. During our work in Serabit el-Khadim we found the relief of a bound prisoner and a large scene of Tuthmosis III killing, with an axe, an Asiatic enemy kneeling before him. This latter was part of the pylon and came to light when heavy rain in 1973 caused the collapse of part of the pylon. We noticed on this occasion that the foundation of the pylon is not resting on solid rock but on earth mixed with potsherds for about 40 cm.

The two reliefs do not contradict the prevailing opinion of friendly relations between Egyptians and Asiatics during the New Kingdom; it shows that the conventional scenes of conquest penetrated into the temple of Hathor without any relation to historical reality or the needs of the Egyptian missions in Sinai.

In conclusion we can state that the Egyptian attitude to Asiatics in Sinai was dictated not by any religious heritage but by considerations of security and productivity. At Magharah it was necessary to defend the Egyptian installations against an Asiatic enemy who cannot be accurately defined though he must have been of the type of the settlers of an advanced civilization known to us now from the region of St. Catherin. At Serabit el-Khadim or in its region there may have been a period of similar conditions: for this the inscription of Sahure bears witness to. With the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, conditions changed and the need for greater productivity and efficiency demanded the employ of Asiatics, who came from outside Sinai but knew the country, its people, and their language and who were used to organize and guide caravans in difficult territory.

Language and Literary Creation

HAFIZ, THE POET WHO REPRESENTED THE BEST IN SUFISM

Nasrollah S. Fatemi

The elements common to Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam can best be appreciated in Sufism, "which bear equal testimony to that ever-deepening experience of the soul when worshippers turn wholeheartedly to God."

Sufism has been defined both as "the apprehension of divine realities" and as "a universal message of love, brotherhood and unity of man." It is not a religion; it does not create another church or a new sect, but attempts, in the words of Rumi, "to eliminate conflicts, feuds, fights and to unite people in love and harmony."

Sufism is an idealistic pantheism. It has two sides, the one philosophic, the other mystic. The Sufis see their God directly. He is the absolute Truth, absolute good, and absolute beauty. His Divine nature could be discovered through transcendental mediation, self-negation, love of mankind, gnosis, and service.

The Sufis' aim was to introduce an ecumenical spirit and spiritualize and purify the Islamic establishment from within, to give it deeper mystical interpretation and infuse into all religions a spirit of love and liberty. These lofty ideas were disseminated mainly through Persian and Arabic poetry. Sufism produced great names and famous poet-preachers who roamed a vast area of the world from Spain to Indonesia. Names like Al-Ghazali, Rumi, Al Junayd, Ibni Arabi, Dhul Nun, Hafiz, Sadi, Mansur al Hallaj, Nizami, Omar Khayyam, and Khalil Jaobran and Iqbal are known not only in the Islamic world but even beyond it.

Every nation has a literature peculiarly her own, even if it has been influenced by foreign sources. As the universal empire of Iran was founded upon the ruins of more ancient monarchies and as she gathered into the halls of her palaces the spoils of the conquered nations, so also was her literature enriched by the philosophy, science, poetry, and mythology of her predecessors. The mind of Persia was, from the very beginning, a universal one. Cyrus the Great, the founder of the empire,

based his rule on tolerance and respect for other cultures and religions. The blooming of the Persian mystical mind and of universal ideas may be placed around the fifth century BC. However, the golden age of the Persian literature and poetry starts with the ninth century AD. The Persians of this period seem to have been born with a song on their lips, for their distinguished Sufi poets are many, and their philosophical, mystical, and spiritual contributions are enormous.

The real dream of the Sufis was expressed by Rumi: "not to foster, but rather to heal the schism between minds as they looked upon the disputes of the numerous Muslim, Jewish and Christian sects." This hope of reconciliation was included in the Sufi dogmas:

(1) There is no God but God, the All Merciful and the All Compassionate;

(2) The ways to reach Truth (God) are as numerous as the number of people on the surface of the earth. There is one way of reaching truth, the annihilation of false pride and ego, and following the path of selflessness and service to our fellow men;

(3) There is one law, the law of reciprocity. A peaceful and harmonious life with our fellow men can be led only when the sense of justice is awakened in a perfectly sober mind that is free from the arrogance of power, wealth, command, birth, and rank. The world is happy and harmonious when justice is the dominant power;

(4) There is one brotherhood, the human brotherhood, which unites all people of the world indiscriminately in the fatherhood of God;

(5) There is one morality, the love that springs from self-denial and blooms in deeds of service to mankind. Love is a healing physician, capable of healing all wounds and reconciling all feuds. Its compassion turns fighting foes into friends and makes saints out of sinners;

(6) There is one Truth, the true knowledge of our being, within and without. Know thyself, and thou shalt know God. It is the knowledge of self that blooms into the knowledge of God.

In Hafiz, the great mystic poet of Persia, we find the best manifestation of the Sufi ideas.

Hafiz, Poet of Sufism

Shams úd-din Mohammed Hafiz was born in Shiraz early in the fourteenth century. His father having died when Hafiz was five years old, his upbringing become the responsibility of his mother, who obtained for him the best education available in Shiraz. As a student Hafiz distin-

guished himself in Islamic philosophy and theology, in Persian and Arabic literature, and at an early age he was recognized by his teachers and patrons. One of the latter, Qavum ud-Din, founded a school of theology for him in Shiraz, where Hafiz lectured on theology and Islamic ideas. His wisdom, eloquence, and learning won him such a great reputation that the titles of *Tongue of the Unseen* and *Interpreter of Mysteries* were bestowed upon him.

Shiraz, which Hafiz loved so much, was the capital of the Muzafferi Kings and a center of civil dissension and strife. But despite political vicissitudes, the state of culture in Persia was so high and Hafiz's fame so widespread that he was held in respect and honor by all the feuding parties.

Little is known of Hafiz's personal life beyond a few traditional stories connected with certain verses of his poems, and the anecdotes of some of his contemporary poets. We gather from the following tender poems that Hafiz was married to a girl by the name of Shakh Nabat (crystal sugar) and had a son, both of whom he lost in his youth:

This house hath been a fairy's dwelling-place
As the immortals pure from head to feet
Was she who stayed with us a little space,
Then, as was met,
On her immortal journey went her ways.

On the occasion of the death of his son, Hafiz wrote the following poems:

O heart, thou hast seen what that clever son
Has experienced within the dome of this multi-coloured vault;
In place of a silver slate in his hands
Fate hath placed a stone tablet on his head.

Little sleeper, the spring is here;
Tulip and rose are come again,
Only you in the earth remain
Sleeping, dear;
Little sleeper, the spring is here;
I, like a cloud of April rain,
Am bending over your grave in vain,
Weeping, dear.

Little flower, the spring is here;

What if my tears were not in vain
What if they drew you up again,
Little flower.

Most of Hafiz's poems were written in his later years, for he continually referred to himself as an old man and lamented the folly of so old a head being turned by such youthful passions. The names of some of his lovers occur occasionally in the *DIVAN* – Selma, Ferrukh, for example – but no stories connected with them have come down to us. The roses have been forgotten. Only the nightingale is remembered.

As with Omar Khayyam, the question of the literal or symbolic meanings of the epicureanism of Hafiz has, of course, been raised, and answered in the same way. Some will have it that the wine of Hafiz was the wine of the spirit, and the love he celebrates was the love of God. There is a type of mind which always prefers to interpret masterpieces after this fashion – abstract intelligences, with a holy horror of flesh and blood, who love to dehumanize literature and prove our great warm-hearted classics cryptograms of fantastic philosophy or speculation. We need go no further than the Bible for an illustration. We open it at the greatest love-song in the world's literature –that of Solomon – and we read:

My beloved spake, and said unto me, rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
For lo the winter is past, and rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on earth; the time of the singing of the birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land.
The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.

The traditional Persian regards the poems of Hafiz in much the same light as the Orthodox Christians regard the Song of Solomon. There are many Persians who respect Hafiz as much as they honor a prophet. His book is canonized and is found in every Persian home next to the Quran. The theologians who admire Hafiz today are different from their predecessors who were Hafiz's great enemies and who tried to excommunicate him. On his death, they attempted to prevent his being buried with religious rites, denouncing him as a heretic and a profligate. Predicting this ugly situation, Hafiz had admonished his enemies:

Withhold not thy attendance from the funeral of Hafiz; for, though he is a chronic sinner, he would go to Heaven.

Hafiz's belief in intellectual liberty was profound. His loyalty was to the truth, and he was a sworn enemy of hypocrisy. In an era when orthodoxy and fanaticism were dominant throughout the world, Hafiz labeled "the web of convention" as "the imbecility of those whom it entangles."

He shared with Homer contempt for unprincipled opportunists: "For I hold that man as hateful as the gates of Hell who says one thing, while another in his heart lies hidden."

When Mubarizud Din, who ruled Fars from 1353 to 1357, closed down all the taverns in the city of Shiraz and forbade the sale of wine, Hafiz protested vigorously:

O will it be that they will reopen the doors of the taverns,
And will loosen the knots from our tangled affairs?
They have closed the doors of the wine-taverns; O God suffer not
That they should open the doors of the house of deceit and hypocrisy.
If they have closed them for the sake of the selfish zealot
Be of good cheer, for they will reopen them for God's sake.

When Shah Shuja succeeded his father, Mubarizud Din, he relaxed his predecessors's oppressive restrictions and ordered the reopening of all the taverns.

The occasion was celebrated by Hafiz in the following verses:

At early dawn good tidings reached my ear from the heavenly voice:
It is the era of Shah Shuja; drink wine boldly
That time is gone when men of insight went apart
With a thousand words in their mind but their lips silent.
To the sound of the harp we will tell those stories
At the hearing of which the cauldron of our bosoms boiled.

Another poem refers to those religious leaders who, after the death of Mubarizud Din, changed their tune and followed Shah Shuja in his liberal, anticlerical measures:

I swear by the glory and the honor and high position of
Shan Shuja
That I have no quarrel with anyone on account of possession or position.
See how the one who in the past would not permit listening to music
Now goes dancing to the strains of the harp.

In another poem, Hafiz attacks the religious leader of his time, Imadi Fagih, whose deceit had reached such lengths that his followers were spreading the rumor that he had taught his cat to recite prayers. The story was accounted by Imadi's adherents as a miracle but by Hafiz as a charlatan's trick:

The ascetic hath made display of his virtues and begun his blandishments;
He hath inaugurated his scheming with the mischievous heavens.
O graceful-moving partridge who walkest with the air of confidence,
Be not deceived because the cat of the ascetic hath said its prayers.

The scorn expressed by Hafiz for Shah Shuja's courtiers and religious leaders irritated the ruler who, as a mediocre poet, was jealous of Hafiz's fame and literary success. On one occasion Shah Shuja told Hafiz that his poems were mysterious, vague, and unclear. "No one motive," the Prince said, "inspires you; at one moment you are mystical, at another erotic and blasphemous; today serious and spiritual; tomorrow flippant, scornful, sarcastic and seductive". "True," replied Hafiz, "but in spite of all your criticism people from Fars to India know, admire and repeat my verses, while the poems of others never can pass beyond the gate of the city of Shiraz."

Hafiz received respect and honor not only from the rulers of Shiraz. Many other princes sought Hafiz's friendship and the pleasure of his company. Sultan Ahmad, the ruler of Baghdad, himself a good poet, musician and painter, invited Hafiz to visit his court, but the latter refused:

The sephyr breeze of Musolla and the stream of Ruknabad
Do not permit me to travel or wander afield.

Mahmud Shah of Deccan, in India, a liberal patron of poets, invited

Hafiz to his country and sent him money for his journey. Hafiz divided a considerable portion of the money among his friends and students before he left Shiraz, and. on arriving at Lar on his way to the Persian Gulf, met with a needy friend to whom he gave the remainder. Two rich merchants who were traveling with Hafiz offered to pay all his expenses and accompany him to the court of Deccan. Hafiz traveled with them as far as Hurmuz, where a ship was waiting to take him to India, but just as he was embarking a tempest arose frightening him so much that he abandoned his journey, returned to Shiraz, and sent the Sultan the following verses:

Fully easy seemed the sorrow of the sea
Lightened by hope of gain – hope flew too fast.
A hundred pearls were poor indemnity,
Not worth the blast.

The Sultan's crown, with priceless jewels set,
Encircles fear of death and constant dread;
It is a headdress much desired – and yet
Art sure 'tis worth the anger to the head?
'Twere best for thee to hide thy face from those
That long for thee; the conqueror's reward
Is neverworth the army's long-drawn woes, worth fire and sword.
Ah, seek the treasure of mind at rest
And store it in the treasury of Ease;
Not worth a loyal heart, a tranquil breast,
Were all the riches of thy lands and seas.
Ah, scorn, like Hafiz, the delights of earth,
Ask not one grain of favor from the base,
Two hundred sacks of jewels were not worth thy soul's disgrace.

Considering the fine sensitivity and acute susceptibility which irradiate Hafiz's poetry, it is remarkable how this liberal and humane poet preserved the strength and serenity of his poetic imagination in the face of the bloody events of his time. All Persia was in turmoil; Fars and Shiraz itself did not escape this chaotic situation. Hafiz was eyewitness to the assassination of kings, the devastation of cities, religious feuds, fraticidal wars; quarrels between father and sons; yet he seems to have regarded these events from a spiritual eminence as if they were the little waves of an ocean; his gaze was fixed rather on the unity of the ocean – on the nature, the meaning and the purpose of the world. His hope, earnest prayers and purpose were to save man from stupidity,

strife, and self-destruction. Furthermore, he believed that God is with us at every turn. It is our pride, indifference and ignorance which alienate us from the truth and eventually destroy us.

Hafiz believed that man was a rational animal whose mission was to build, help, harmonize and bring joy and happiness to this fellow men. But when he observed the events of his time, he saw his world plunging ever further into cruelty, conflict, madness, persecution, and oppression:

What ails the time? Is friendship then no more?
What has become of the old kindly days?
The world seemed once so safe and warm with friends, new men, new ways.

The water of life is muddied and bitter grown,
Clear as the immortal well it used to be;
That roses sicken and the breezes faint;
What aileth – me.
And when the roses bloom, they bloom alone,
No nightingales. I cannot understand
What is the meaning of this mortal taint upon the land?
The world was once the birthplace of great Kings,
And there was music in it and many loves;
But now hath Venus burned her lute,
And slain her doves:
No one gets drunk any more and no one sings;
A melancholy world. Hafiz, it is
No world of thine.

The ebbs and tides in the affairs of men saddened Hafiz's heart, but he always returned to sober thought and sought tranquility of heart and peace of mind in a world of confusion and chaos. Through the age of violent wars and dynastic feuds, he remained calm and dedicated to his principles. Hafiz wrote with such brevity and beauty that since his time he has influenced the thoughts and the style of Persian writers.

In the garden of the world, one rose
For me's enough;
Many a fairer in that garden grows –
Mine's fair enough;
Out in the meadow all the shade I ask
Falls from the cypress that I call my own;
O canting Sufi, take us not to task –

Leave us alone;
Weighty thy matter, but we find the stuff,
Most learned doctor, in this portly flask
Heavy enough.

Ah, drive me not, Beloved, from thy door
With harsh rebuff;
For knowest thou not thy doorstep is my home?
Nor send me to some distant realm of bliss –
No knowledge crave I of the world to come,
For never I of this world that is
Can have enough.

Union with thee. I have no other thought;
In heaven's market I've no wish to buy:
Here I can see and handle what I have bought –
Not so the rainbow wares of yonder sky.

Hafiz rarely indulged in flattery and was seldom guilty of exaggeration. He was a true master of eloquence, simplicity, frankness, honesty and decency. He hated dogmatism and hypocrisy. To men lost in the cobwebs of religious fanaticism, Hafiz was a heretic, and his poems were dismissed as the vaporings of a fool. Hafiz replied characteristically:

Nay-call the ministrel. So with lyre and reed,
Roses and girls, and girls, and song and song.
I may at length my hoarded virtue use,
Ah, hoarded up too long.
For I am sick to death of all the schools,
And now at last, at last, that I am freed
Awhile from wisdom's fools,
Ah, full advantage of it will I take,
And my deep thirst for beauty and for wine
For once, at least, I will slake.
Talk to me not about the book of sin,
For friend, to tell the truth,
That is the book I would be written in –
It is so full of youth.

And, mark me, friend, when on the judgment day
The black book and the white
Are angel-opened there, in Allah's light,
For all to read what's writ;
Just watch how lonely the white book will be.

But the black book, wherein is writ my name –
My name, my shame, my fame, –
With busy readers all besieged you I see,
Yea, almost thumbed away –
So interesting it.

Like all men of integrity and lofty ideas, Hafiz found himself on more than one occasion a stranger among his own people; at odds with some of his social peers and superiors; admonished by hypocrites; attacked and accused by loud and vicious hate-mongers, yet continuing his mission with resolution and steadfastness.

Preacher, it is all in vain you preach to me,
Nor business of anyone's but mine
Where I have sinned and what my end will be.

Two gallons of old wine, and two old friends
That know the world and well each other know,
A corner of the meadow, an old book,
A river's flow:
In such simplicity begins and ends
All that I ask of God-keep all the rest,
Luxurious world, but leave me this green nook;
I keep the best.

To a world cursed with war, burdened with overpopulation, sullied by pollution, and afflicted with the poverty and alienation of masses of people, Hafiz has a message of hope and consolation:

'Tis an unstable world: all fades and glides
And surely melts and vanishes away;
Even as the hollow wind we come and go,
Like the obliterating ebb and flow
Of wreck-encumbered shingle-shifting tides
Forgotten as the iridescent spray.

Saki (cup bearer), the servant of that man am I
Who kneels to nobody beneath the blue,
But firm in spirit, lets the world go by.
Come, fill the cup – I have stranger news for you.
How shall I utter what last night befell
Here in this reeking tavern unto me,
Drunk and adream and foolish with old wine.

"Hafiz forsake the world," I hear the angels sing;
Bride of a thousand bridegrooms hath she been,
This ancient painted woman; the same lie
Hath she told all, nor yet in anything
Hath she kept faith, expect not constancy,
Enamoured nightingale, from such a rose.

Few Oriental poets have enjoyed as much praise from Western savants as Hafiz. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote:

> Hafiz is the prince of the Persian poets; in his extraordinary gifts he adds to some of the attributes of Pindar, Anacreon, Horace, and Burns the insight of a mystic, that sometimes affords a deeper glance at nature than belongs to any of these bards. He accosts all tropics with an easy audacity.
>
> His was the fluent mind in which every thought and feeling came readily to the lips. "Loose the knots of the heart," he says, "We absorb elements enough, but have not leaves and lungs for healthy perspiration and growth. Hafiz has a great capacity for intellectual liberty, which is a certificate of profound thought. We accept the religions and politics into which we fall; and it is only a few spirits who are sufficient to see that the whole web of convention is the imbecility of those whom it entangles – that the mind suffers no religion and no empire but its own. It indicates this respect to absolute truth by the use it makes of the symbols that are most stable and revered, and therefore is always provoking the accusation of irreligion. Hypocrisy is the perpetual butt of Hafiz's arrows.

Hafiz's frankness and courage surprise both Goethe and Emerson. In an age of fanaticism and religious bigotry, Hafiz tells his mistress that not the holy men, nor the monk, but the lover, has in his heart the spirit which makes the ascetic and the saint; and certainly not their cowls and mummeries, but her glances, can impart to him the fire and virtue needful for such self-denial. Wrong shall not be wrong to Hafiz for the name's sake. "A law or statute is to him what a fence is to a nimble schoolboy – a temptation for a jump." In answer to the religious leaders, Hafiz states: "We would do nothing but good; else would shame come to us on the day when the soul must lie hence; – and should they then deny us paradise, the Houris themselves would forsake that, and come out to us."

There was no limit to Hafiz's respect for the freedom of thought. His integrity, independence and individuality had no bounds. He claims that his ideas are manifestations of human dignity, dedication, love and kindness. "They are inspired by Heavenly inspirations, and their purpose is to alert humankind against greed and lust for power, and money and human exploitation." Man's mission was to help and to avoid hurting his fellow men!

Where is the pious doer? and I the estray'd one, where?
Behold how far the distance, from his safe home to here.
Dark is the stony desert, trackless and vast and dim,
Where is hope's guiding lantern? Where is faith's star so fair?

My heart fled from cloister, and chant of monkish hymn,
What can avail me-sainthood, fasting and punctual prayer?

What is the truth shall light me to heaven's strait thorough-fare?
Whither, O heart, thou hastest? Arrest thee, and beware.

See what a love adventure is thine unending quest.
Fraught with what deadly danger. Set with what unseen snare.
Say not, a friend to Hafiz, "quiet thee now and rest."
Calm and content, what are they? Patience and peace, O where?

Every song of Hafiz shows how little importance he attached to worldly success. He asserts the dignity of man and emphasizes service and decency as the greatest human virtues. To a rich man returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he says: "Boast not rashly of thy fortune, Thou hast visited the temple; but I have seen the Lord of the temple."

Oft have I said, I say it once more –
I, a wanderer, do not stray from myself.
I am a kind of parrot; the mirror is holden to me;
What the master of eternity says, I stammering say again.

Ah, Sufi, can you dream I will give up
A love like this – for pious platitude,
Or cease to crush the grape into the cup.
I, Sufi, may be wrong, you may be right –
Hafiz must tread his self-appointed way
And on her red lips find his heavenly food.
If you must talk, O talk some other day –
But not to-night.

Beloved, blame him not if, for relief,
The sanctuary of his ruined heart,
Nursing the precious treasure of his grief,
Unto the kindly tavern Hafiz brings;
Nor talk of shame to Hafiz-for his part,
Norwise ashamed is Hafiz of his shame;
That which the world accounts a spotless name
Hafiz, indeed, would be ashamed to bear.
Wine-bibber call him, and adulterer.
Go on. What else, he will not say thee nay.

Love is a sea that hath not any shore,
And help upon that shoreless sea is none;
Who sails it sets his eyes on land no more;
Yet gladly am I on that voyage gone –
For ah, how good it is to sail that sea.
What though the longest trip at last be o'er.
What though the proudest vessel must go down,
My love is on the same big ship with me,
And when she drowns, I drown.

Hafiz's mystical ideas had a great influence on Goethe. After the completion of the *Sonnet Cycle* and the *Wahlverw* and *Tschaften*, Goethe's fountain of inspiration went almost dry. For five years he could not produce any poetic work of significance. He sought some new experience mighty enough to "again quicken his creative force – something which would assail the whole inner man, spirit and heart."

The longed-for rejuvenation of his giant brain came from an unknown source – Hafiz.

In his youth Goethe had shown great interest in the Islamic tradition and ideas. He had studied the Quran carefully and had called Muhammad a religious genius. But his enthusiasm and inclinations waned when his Italian experiences made Greek antiquity his highest norm.

It was late in the summer of 1814 that Goethe came across the first German translation of Hafiz's odes, which had been freely translated by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall of Vienna. A new world was opened to him. "I had to respond with productivity," wrote Goethe, "because otherwise I could have not stood up to this imposing figure." The unexpected inspiration produced a new epoch of rich productivity for the aging man. How near were Hafiz's ideas to Goethe's mature mind? Very close:

An old man had made these poems; they showed the dark colours of a late love and the quenched glow of a joy in life which rested upon the tranquil ground of mature wisdom and free piety. In addition to sharing common spiritual and moral attitudes, both poets experienced a common historical fate. While kingdoms collapsed about him and usurpers sprang up, Hafiz imperturbably sang of nightingales and roses, of wine and love. This poetry was like a mirror which reflected to Goethe the image of his own situation in the transfiguring illumination of a great past. From the inspiring present and its crippling unrest Goethe could take refuge in the spiritual reality of this remote art.

Before Goethe was an example of a great poet who had raised himself above the chaotic events of his time into the realm of great spiritual values. He followed Hafiz's example:

North and West and South are breaking,
Thrones are bursting, kingdoms shaking:
Flee, then, to the essential East,
Where on Patriarch's air you'll feast.
There to love and drink and sing,
Drawing youth from Khizr's spring.

Pure and righteous there I'll trace
To its source the human race,
Prime of nations, when to each
Heavenly truth in earthly speech
Still by God himself was given,
Human brains not racked and riven.

When they honored ancestors,
To strange doctrine closed their doors.
Youthful bounds shall be my pride,
My thought narrow, my faith wide.
And all I'll find the token word
Dear because a spoken word.

Mix with goatherds in dry places,
Seek refreshment in oases
When with caravans I fare,
Coffee shawls, and mask my ware,
Every road and path explore,
Desert, cities, and seashore.

Holy Hafiz, you in all
Baths and taverns I'll recall,
When the loved one lifts her veil,
Ambergris her locks exhale.
More: the poet's love song must
Melt the houris, move their lust.

Now should you begrudge him this,
Even long to spoil such bliss,
Poet's words, I'd have you know,
Round the gate of Eden flow,
Gently knocking without rest,
Everlasting life their quest.

Goethe, in his *West-Eastern Divan*, like Hafiz, escapes from the painful world of conflict to the realm of love and hope. He admits that his knowledge of Hafiz and his philosophy enabled him to rejuvenate his life.

The poem at the beginning of Goethe's *Divan* is called "Hegira," after the Prophet Mohammad's flight from Mecca to Medina. Goethe's flight was "no flight into exile and frustrations: a man called to greatness sought conditions which would permit him to inaugurate his work." His escape from the paralyzing present was also a hegira.Goethe always sought truth; therefore it should not surprise anybody that the poet of the West, the follower of Plato and Homer, was ready and pleased to look for new ideas in the East, "the land of faith and of revelations, prophecies, and promises." Goethe found the philosophy of the Persian poet acceptable because of its deep and basic earnestness: Hafiz's odes and ideas differed from characterless and actionless yearning.

Goethe studied Hafiz's odes at a time when he was not happy with his world and what he saw in it. The powerful language of Hafiz's odes also displayed the maturity, the intellectual nobility and the universalism of an old and noble culture. "The invigorating incitement derived from the encounter with Hafiz was supplemented and enhanced by the mightily burgeoning feeling of a new youth." This produced the *Divan*, which "is not merely a book of lyric wisdom, it is also a compendium of late, mature love poetry." In his poems of wisdom based on Hafiz's *Divan*, Goethe, the aging master, is in complete control of his art, in complete control also of the inward life which finds expression in these poems. A social spirit is here everywhere apparent. Emotions and thoughts are uttered in these poems in a relaxed, frequently conversational style.

When the new morning flames upon the mountains,
All-gladdener, gladly I welcome thee,
And when the pure sky arches out above us,
All-heart enlarger, I know it breathes of thee.

If aught I learn by outward sense or inward,
All-learned teacher, I learn it all through thee,
And when I name the hundred names of Allah,
There echoes with each one a name for thee.
As on the day that brought thee to this earth
The sun stood in conjunction with the stars,
So art thou fashioned by the heavenly laws
That mark thy ways and walk with thee from birth.

Thus art thou stamped: thyself thou canst not flee.
Thus spake the sibyls, thus the prophets spake.
Not vastly time nor any power can break
The living form that grows eternally.

It comes at last. From heaven it falls, down-dancing,
Whither from ancient chaos up it flew;
Around it floats, now near, and then departing.
It fans the brow and breast the spring-day through:

Rousing vague longings for the Fair and True,
While most hearts fade away, unfixed, alone,
The noblest is devoted to the one.

Goethe believes that the general characteristic of Hafiz's poetry is the dominance of higher guidance. In those verses one witnesses the ripe intellectuality of an epoch which usually expresses itself as wit and irony.

Goethe's *Divan*, based and named after Hafiz's *Divan*, appeared in 1819 in his seventieth year. "An old man to whom the vigor of his prime was momentarily restored wrote the *Divan*. A man tired of life but not discouraged, a sagacious man, whose deeper insight has not made him a skeptic, speaks in it. Unexpectedly life is restored to him and grants him a last intensification. Once more love and the sense of full existence raise him to a state in which devout wisdom and the fire of passion interpenetrate and achieve unique fullness and wholesomeness."

He calls this part of his life a merger of the past with present exaltation. Spirit was the clear force of cosmic comprehension, not practical rationality, nor yet metaphysical speculation. Hafiz gave Goethe a spirit

of detachment and sovereign freedom. He admired in Hafiz's poetry that supreme soaring of the soul "where the tension between yearning and wise resignation is resolved in a unification of opposites – something man can achieve only in rare moments of life."

Goethe describes Hafiz: ". . .contented in straitness, joyous and wise, taking his own portion of the world's abundance, looking from afar into the secrets of the Godhead, but on the other hand rejecting alike religious practice and sensual pleasure. Intense delight in life keeps the spirit from becoming heavy and gloomy."

To Goethe, Hafiz's love poems enjoyed ever present rationality, always sure of itself, a perfection which was "the symbolic expression of the fact that here the marriage of form-fashioning consciousness and infinite passion has been consummated."

Hafiz, according to Goethe, produced a work of singular abundance and sublimity. "Wisdom and piety, the happiness of the senses and of the heart, love and beauty, lordly play of spirit and reverent earnestness are in it combined into an image of perfection."

Gertrude L. Bell, an orientalist who translated many of Hafiz's odes into English at the end of the nineteenth century, gives a critical, objective and masterful evaluation of Hafiz and his literary work:

> To Hafiz. . . modern instances have no value; contemporary history is too small an episode to occupy his thought. During his lifetime the city which he loved, perhaps as dearly as Dante loved Florence, was besieged and taken five or six times; it changed hands even more often. It was drenched with blood by one conqueror, filled with revelry by a second, and subjected to the hard rule of asceticism by a third. One after another Hafiz saw kings and princes rise into power and vanish "like snow upon the desert's dusty face.' Pitiful tragedies, great rejoicings, the fall of kingdoms and the clash of battle – all these he must have seen and heard. But what echo of them is in his poems? Almost none.
>
> But some of us will feel that the apparent indifference of Hafiz lends to his philosophy a quality which that of Dante did not possess.
>
> The Italian is bound down with the limits of his philosophy, his theory of the universe is essentially of his own age, and what to him was so acutely real is to many of us merely a beautiful or a terrible image. The picture that Hafiz draws represents a wider landscape, though the immediate foreground may not be so dis-

tinct. It is as if his mental eye, endowed with wonderful acuteness of vision, had penetrated into those provinces of thought which we of a later age were destined to inhabit. We can forgive him for leaving to us so indistinct a representation of his own time, and of the life of the individual in it, when we find him formulating ideas as profound as the warning that there is no musician to whose music both the drunk and the sober can dance.

My bosom graced with each gay flower,
I grasp the bowl, my nymph in glee;
The monarch of the world that hour,
Is but a slave compared to me.

Then let no moments steal away,
Without thy mistress and thy wine;
The spring flowers blossom to decay,
And youth but glows to our decline.

Sometimes in the verses of Hafiz one notices the voice of skepticism and resignation. He laments that most of life's abundance has been already taken from him; then he asks himself what is left to make life rewarding? His answer is: "Ideas and love."

A grievous folly shames my sixtieth year—
My white head is in love with a green maid;
I kept my heart a secret, but at last I am betrayed.
Like a mere child I walked into the snare;
My foolish heart followed my foolish eyes;
And yet, when I was young – in ages past – I was so wise.

Ah! It was always so with us who sing!
Children of fancy, we are in the power
Of any dream, and at the bidding we of a mere flower;
Yet Hafiz, though full many a foolish thing
Ensnared thy heart with wonder, never thou
Wert wont imagination's slave to be
As thou art now.

Forget not, O my heart, thine ancient friends:
The sweet old faithful faces of the dead,
Old meetings and old partings – all that ends;
So loved, so vivid, and so vanished;
Forget not, O my heart, thine ancient friends
The times are faithless, but remember thou

Those that have loved thee. though they love no more;
thou unto them art dim and distant now;
Still love them for the love they gave before—
The times are faithless; but remember thou.

Hafiz, take heart; love is a grievous lord;
But this will always be the lover's creed,
Under the very shadow of lover's sword;
No gentle deed,
And no sweet action fails of its reward.
Well, Hafiz, Life's a riddle-give up
There is no answer to it but this cup.

Hafiz, methinks, at last thou growest old:
Loving and drinking were so easy once,
A mighty wencher wert thou in thy day,
But now at both thou art a perfect dunce;
Now is thy soul aweary, thy warm blood cold,
and all thy spirit wasted quite away.

VERB BASE-PATTERNS IN THE JUDAEO-ARABIC DIALECT OF BAGHDAD

Jacob Mansour

In the Judaeo-Arabic dialect of Baghdad, the persons and tenses are marked not only by different affixes but also by a modification of the vowels of the base. There are three different base-patterns in the perfect, two in the Imperfect, and two in the imperative. (Henceforth we shall use the term 'patterns' for 'base-patterns').

It does not seem possible to explain by phonetic rules how the patterns of the Imperfect tense developed from those of the perfect tense. But it is possible to show how, by a simple phonetic process, the three perfect patterns developed from one pattern, and the two imperfect and two imperative patterns from another.

This may be illustrated by an examination of the different patterns of the verb *kátab* ('to write') in the first Form.

	PERFECT	IMPERFECT	IMPERATIVE
1st. s.	*ktábtu*	*'áktab*	
2nd. s.m.	*ktabt*	*táktab*	*ktab*
2nd. s.f.	*ktábti*	*tkatbēn*	*ktábi*
3rd. s.m.	*kátab*	*yáktab*	
3rd. s.f.	*kátbat*	*táktab*	
1st p.	*ktábna*	*náktab*	
2dn p.	*ktábtam*	*tkatbōn*	*ktábu*
3rd p.	*kátbu*	*ykatbōn*	

In the Perfect tense

a) the 3rd person sing. masc. is *kátab*; we shall call this pattern A.

b) the 3rd pers. sing. fem (*kátbat*) and the 3rd person plural (*kátbu*) have the pattern *katb*. We shall eall this pattern B.

c) 1st and 2nd persons, sing. and plural, masc. and fem., have the

pattern *ktab* (*ktábtu, ktabt, ktábti, ktábna, ktábtam*). We shall call this pattern C.

In the imperfect there are two more patterns:

d) 1st person sing. and plural, 2nd person sing. masc., and 3rd person sing. masc. and fem. have the same pattern *ktab* (*'áktab, táktab, yáktab náktab*). We shall call this pattern D.

e) 2nd pers. sing fem. (*tkatbēn*), 2nd pers. plural (*tkabōn*), and 3rd person pl. (*ykatbōn*) have the same pattern: *katb*. We shall call this pattern E.

The imperative of *kátab* has only one pattern *ktab*, but since in other Forms and conjugations the 2nd pers. sing. masc. pattern differs from that of the fem. and the plural, it is necessary to distinguish between them. For example, the verb *štáġal* ('to work' 8th form) is *štáġal* in the imperative 2nd pers. sing. masc., but *štaġli* and *štaġlu* (that is, without the vowel a) in the fem. and plural. We shall therefore distinguish, in the imperative, two patterns:

f) 2nd pers. sing. masc., which we shall call pattern F, and

g) 2nd pers. sing. fem. and 2nd pers. plural, which we shall call pattern G.

The following table lists the patterns of *kátab*, as described above:

	PERFECT			IMPERFECT			IMPERATIVE		
A	3rd s.m.	*kátab*	D	1st	s. *'áktab*	F	2nd	s.m.	*ktab*
				2nd	s.m. *ta-*				
B	3rd s.f.	*kátbat*		3rd	s.m. *ya-*	G	2nd	s.f.	*ktábi*
	3rd p.	*-u*		3rd	s.f. *ta-*		2nd	p.	*-u*
				1st	p. *na-*				
C	1st s.	*ktábtu*							
	2nd s.m.	*-t*	E	2nd	s.f. *tkatbēn*				
	2nd s.f.	*-ti*		2nd	p. *t - ōn*				
	1st p.	*-na*		3rd	p. *y - ōn*				
	2nd p.	*-tam*							

PERFECT

Patterns A-B

If we consider A as the basic pattern of the perfect, then pattern B can be shown to derive from it. Indeed, the addition of the fem. and pl. suffixes to patterns A (*kátab* + a*t*, *kátab* + u) would produce the

forms **kátabat, *kátabu*. But since antepenultimate stress is not a feature of the dialect and occurs only with a limited numbers of words[1], speakers of the dialect reduce these forms to *kátbat, kátbu*, eliding the vowel that follows the second radical. This type of elision is found too in other forms and conjugations.

If elision of the vowel results in a three-consonant cluster, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the second and third radical. For example, *tárjam* ("he translated") should become, in the plural, **tárjmu*, with a three-consonant cluster, but the speaker intuitively inserts a short vowel between the consonants *r* and *j*, and produces *tárajmu*.

It is only when pattern A consists of a single syllable that the addition of the suffixes produces no change in pattern B. as for example *qām* ("he arose") – *qāmat, qāmu;* or *swadd* ("he became black") – *swáddat, swáddu*.

Pattern C

Pattern C also appears to derive from pattern A by a phonetic process. Pattern A, *kátab*, has two vowels; in pattern C the first vowel is elided: *ktábtu*. The reason is loss of stress. In *kátab* the first vowel is stressed; in *ktábtu* the stress is on the second vowel. And in our dialect, a short vowel whose stress has shifted to a following vowel is usually elided. The same applies to nouns: *mága* ("a woman, wife") becomes *mġātu* ("his wife").

In *'ákal* ("he ate"), however, the first vowel is retained. We hear *'akáltu*. This occurs when the consonant ' precedes the initial vowel. The same holds true for nouns. For example *'ab* ("father") becomes *'abūnu* ("his father") with the vowel *a* retained even though it is unstressed.

Again, the verb *ḥārab* ("he fought", Form III) becomes, in pattern C, *harábtu* ("I fought"). Here, the first vowel, being a long vowel, is not elided but merely shortened as a result of loss of stress. The same applies to nouns with an unstressed long vowel: *ṣbā'a* ("a finger") becomes *sba'átu* ("his finger").

[1] See. J. Mansour, "Position of Word-Stress in the Judaeo-Arabic Dialect of Baghdad" in *Actes du XXIXe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Etudes Arabes et Islamiqes, II, vol, 3, Paris, pp. 102-108.

The verb *ftáham* ("he understood", form VIII) becomes, in pattern C, *fathámtu* ("I understood"). The explanation for this change may be as follows: The elision of the first vowel which produce **fthamtu*, a three-consonant phonemic cluster, which is difficult to articulate. Accordingly an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first consonant and the second: *fathámtu*. The same occurs in *tárjam* ("he translated"), which becomes *tarjámtu* ("I translated"), as well as in many other verbs and nouns.

In only one case is the anaptyctic vowel not inserted in a three-consonant phonemic cluster: when the first two consonants are *st* or *št*, as for example in *štáġal* ("he worked") which becomes *štġáltu* ("I worked").

IMPERFECT
Patterns D-E

The imperfect has two patterns: *ktab*, which we have called pattern D, and *katb*, which we have called pattern E. We may consider pattern D as the basic imperfect pattern, from which pattern E can be shown to be derived by a phonetic process.

In pattern D the stress is on the prefix: *'áktab, táktab, yáktab*. Pattern E has suffixes as well as prefixes, and since these suffixes have long vowels, the stress shifts to them. Consequently, the vowel whose stress has shifted changes in accordance with the rules of our dialect: A long vowel becomes shorter (as in *tqūm – tqumēn* "to arise"), and a short vowel is elided, and an anaptyctic vowel will, in certain cases, occur in the resulting consonantal cluster, as in our example: *tkatbēn*. In this case, elision of the unstressed short vowel would produce **tktbēn* with a four-consonant phonemic cluster. To avoid this, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first two consonants of the cluster and the last two, as is usual in our dialect.

In a five-consonant phonemic cluster, two anaptyctic vowels are heard, as in form VIII: *taftahmēn* ("you will understand", fem. sing.). This occurs in other verbs too, as well as in nouns.

IMPERATIVE
Patterns F-G

The imperative patterns are derived from the same pattern as the imperfect. Pattern F of the imperative is similar to pattern D of the

imperfect, and is also the basic pattern from which the second imperative pattern (where there is one), pattern G, is derived.

When pattern F consists of a single syllable, there is no difference between F and G, and the pattern remains unchanged in all the forms of the Imperative, as in *ktab – ktábi, ktábu* ("write!"). But when pattern F has two syllables, G differs from F.

The imperative *hārab* ("fight!") for example, becomes *ḥārbi* in fem. and *ḥārbu* in the plural. If we simply add the fem. or plural suffix to *ḥārab*, we get **ḥārabi*, **ḥārabu*, with antepenultimate stress. To avoid this, the second vowel is elided and we get *ḥārbi, ḥārbu*. This is the same process which occurs in deriving pattern B from pattern A.

In *stá'jal* ("hurry!", form X) the fem. is *stá'ajli* and the plural *stá'ajlu*. Here the elision of the vowel would produce a three-consonant medial cluster (**stá'jli, *stá'jlu*). Accordingly, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first and second consonant of the cluster.

To conclude, stress is the major factor in the base-patterns changes. When suffixes are added and the stress position remains unchanged, an antepenultimate stress is avoided by eliding one of the vowels. This occurs in deriving pattern B from pattern A, and pattern G from pattern F. When the stress shifts forward, the unstressed vowel undergoes a change: long vowel become shorter, and short vowels are elided. This occurs in deriving pattern C from pattern A, and pattern E from pattern D.

POETICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE THRONE VERSE (SURAH 2,255)

Claus Schedl

Introduction

As our studies may eventually show, Muhammad took up and reshaped biblical conceptions in his throne verse. The people of Israel of the Old Testament had already a throne of God. Moses received precise instructions on how to build the tabernacle with the throne of God. The tabernacles in the desert and later in the temple in Jerusalem, therefore, were nothing but the throne of God. This conception of the throne was then described in all its details by the prophets, especially by Ezekiel. But authors of the New Testament, also, took up the idea of the throne of God in order to illustrate the position of Jesus, the Kyrios, in God's plan of salvation. We are thus concerned with a central issue of biblical theology. Also, from the viewpoint of the history of religion it is of greatest importance to elucidate the literary structure and the theological accents of the throne verse in the Koran.

In the left-hand margin of the Arabic text below we record the number of sentences, in the right-hand margin the number of words.

Arabic Text

1.	Allāhu lā ilaha illā huwa lḥayyu lqayyūmu	7
2.	lā taḫuḏuhu sinatun walā naumun	5
3.	lahu mā fī lsamawati wamā fī l'arḍi	7
4.	man ḏā llaḏī yaśfa^{c}u ^{c}indahu illā bi'iḏnihi	7
5.	ya^{c}lamu mā bayna aydīhim wamā ḫalfahum	6
6.	walā yuḥīṭūna biśa'in min ^{c}ilmihi illā bimā śa'ā	8
7.	wasi^{c}a KURSIYYUHU lsamawāti wal'arḍi	4
8.	walā ya^{c}ūduhu ḫifẓuhumā wahuwa l^{c}aliyyu l^{c}azīmu	6
		50

Translation

1. Allah – there is no god beside him, the living, the lasting.
2. He is not seized by sleep nor by slumber.
3. His is everything in the heavens and everything on earth.
4. Who is he that may enter his abode unless with his leave?
5. He knows what was before them and what (will be) after them.
6. But they partake of his knowledge only what he deems fit.

7. His throne extends far over heaven and earth.
8. He tires not in sustaining them. He is the high, the mighty.

A. Literary Structure

In the context of surah 2, the throne verse 255 can be clearly delimited. The previous verses are nothing but an appeal to the faithful; verse 255, on the other hand, contains only statements concerning God. This delimitation was also strictly observed by Arab calligraphers who made a special display of their art in writing the throne verse.

There now arises the question of whether the throne verse was composed in accordance with a determined literary model. The verse comprises 50 words. In looking for a cue to the content of the number 50 in the ancient Orient and the world of antiquity, we shall find a trace which may also cast new light on the literary structure of the throne verse.

1. The Number 50 and the Throne of God According to Philo

From the Sumero-Babylonian world we know that gods are designated by numbers intead of names. More detailed information on the number 50, however, is only provided by Philo, who, in his "Life of Moses" (Book II (III), 80), explains that building is nothing but the reproduction of intellectual conceptions. Then he provides a detailed discussion of the structural model of the tabernacle with the throne of God set up by Moses in the desert. Philo simply takes over the technical data of Exodus 26, 15 ff. The framework is formed by the "boards": 20 on the south side, 20 on the north side, 6 on the west side (not counting the 2 invisible "twins"), and 4 "pillars" at the veil of the most holy.

For brevity's sake we cannot dwell upon these considerations in every detail; for our purpose it is only essential to note that, considering the construction plan of the throne of God in the desert, Philo stresses the importance of the number 50, which he explains as the number of the creation and the universe.

2. The Number 50 and the Biblical Throne of God (Exodus 26, 1 ff)

Leaving aside Philo's philosophical interpretation, there remains the fact that the tabernacle tent, which Moses visioned in heaven before building it in the desert, was laid out on the basis of the measures 20 + 20 + 6 + 4 = 50. This order applies not only to the pillars (*qᵉ šarîm*, "boards") marking out the north, south and west sides and the space of the inner veil, but also to the 50 loops and 50 taches connecting the 10 curtains. The measurements of the tabernacle court display a fivefold increase, having 100 + 100 + 50 = 250 cubits. In addition, it should be noted that the Hebrew text was also composed on the basis of these standard figures – most probably because the words of the text, too, were considered as sanctuary and throne of God.

3. The Structural Model of the Throne Verse

Reverting after this excursion to the throne verse of the Koran, we shall immediately understand its structure. The author uses 8 sentence units, which, following the principle of parallelism of members, can be grouped into 4 double verses. The key word "his throne" (in Arabic *kursiyyuhu*) does not occur until in the second last sentence. This seems clearly to mark an incision. Recording the words of the text, we obtain the following table:

Arabic Table:

1. Allāhu 7
2. lā tāḫuḏuhu 5
3. lahu mā 7
4. man ḏā 7
5. yaᶜlamu 6
6. walā yuḥîṭûna 8

7. wasiᶜa IV
8. walā yaᶜûduhu VI

50 = 20 + X + 20

Consequently, the standard values given for the construction of the tabernacle tent, i.e. the throne of God, become visible in the half verses: in sentences 1 – 6 the values 20 for the north side and 20 for the south side; in sentence 8 the value 6 for the west side; and finally in verse 7 the value 4 for the "pillars" at the veil before the most holy. These logotechnical findings might also show the right way to the interpretation of the text.

B. Theological Structure

1. The Throne of God in Ezekiel

The Prophet Ezekiel tries to describe the throne of God which he has seen in the vision of his vocation. As it seems, he is not quite successful in doing so and therefore keeps using particles of comparison: "It was *as if*. . .; it looked *like*. . ." In particular he tries to depict the four living creatures carrying the throne. These four bearers of the throne have a fourfold face: man – ox – eagle – lion (Ezekiel 1,5 ff).

Translating these images into abstract adjectives, we encounter the 4 attributes of the throne verse: "the mighty" (*alᶜaẓîmu*) is the poetical epithet of the lion; "the high" or "the lofty" (*alᶜaliyyu*) may point to the eagle, "the lasting" or "the standfast" (*alqayyumu*) to the ox or bull, and "the living" (*alḥayyu*) to the man.

Muhammad would thus just have translated Ezekiel's vivid imagery into abstract terms. The elimination of images and pictures is characteristic of Muslim art, as it is forbidden to represent other beings beside God. The basic conception of the fourfold throne of God; however, is still discernible in this abstraction.

2. The Throne of God as Place of Revelation

Sentences 4 – 6 are difficult to interpret. We shall first have a look at Paret's translation: "Wer (unter den himmlischen Wesen) könnte – ausser mit seiner Erlaubnis – (am jüngsten Tag) bei ihm Fürsprache einlegen? Er weiss, was vor und was hinter ihnen liegt." In English this might read as follows: "Who (among the heavenly beings) could intercede with him (on the day of judgement), except with his permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them."

Consequently, Paret sees in these two sentences a statement concerning the day of judgment, when the heavenly beings will intercede with God for man. As a matter of fact, the reason why Koran verses sometimes seem so difficult to understand is that Muhammad took it for granted that the entire complex of ideas was known to everybody. That angels surround the throne of God is a commonplace idea in both the Koran and the Bible, as well as that they have access to the throne of God. But there remain several questions to be answered: For which purpose do they have access? To intercede on the day of judgment? Or to receive revelation at the throne of God?

In analyzing the literary structure we have already proved that the

throne verse of the Koran has been constructed on the basis of the measures of the tabernacle built by Moses. Can this fact also be used for theological interpretation? Moses built the earthly throne of God in the image of the heavenly throne. The statements concerning the throne of God up in heaven and in the temple down on earth are therefore interchangeable. The throne of God over the cherubs of the Ark of the Covenant, however, was separated from the rest of the throne chamber by the veil with its four posts. It was only on the Day of Atonement that the high priest was permitted to enter for making expiation; God himself remained hidden. In surah 42, 51 (50), Muhammad enumerates the ways in which God can reveal himself; one of these possibilities is "from behind the veil" (*min warā'i ḥiǧābin*). Though there is no explicit mention of the veil in the throne verse, it has to be implied. There is an indirect reference to the existence of the veil in sentence 4, according to which nobody has access to him unless with his leave. Ancient Jewish, Gnostic and early Christian conceptions of the veil were collected and critically reviewed by O. Hofius in *"Der Vorhang vor dem Throne Gottes" (Wissensch. Untersuchungen zum NT 14* (1975) Tübingen). From it follows that the veil was understood as a "place of comprehensive divine revelation." "On this veil. . . are already inscribed all generations of the world and their deeds." "Only he who enters the sphere of divine presence lying beyond the veil can obtain knowledge of God's secrets by looking at the veil" (10).

When we return to the throne verse with these premises the sentences will immediately become clear. In sentence 4 is used the verb *šafaᶜa*, which in a figurative sense certainly may mean "to mediate, to intercede," but whose original meaning is "to enter (a person's house)." Enter how? Through the veil. Enter where? At the throne of God. That no being may enter on his own is already expressed by the rhetoric character of the question: "Who is he that may enter his abode, unless with his leave?" And finally there is the question: enter, what for? Certainly in order to obtain knowledge (*ᶜilm*). Because only God knows about the course of history. "What was before them" (in the past) and "what (will be) after them" (in the future) is woven into the veil. To him that may enter, God reveals as much knowledge as he deems fit.

Conclusion

If one has once recognized the structural principles of the throne verse one will gain new insight into Muhammad's literary and theological

working methods. In the throne verse, he built the throne of God not of transient cedar wood and costly cloth, but of immortal words. That God rules the universe from his throne is self-evident; but that God reveals himself is only due to his own spontaneous will. According to Christian tradition it was Jesus who obtained access to God, thus being legitimated as the final source of revelation. Jewish tradition ascribes this privilege to some angels and outstanding human beings, e.g. Moses. What does Muhammad say? Can we conclude from the present text that he considers himself entitled to step into God's throne and to receive revelation? The text does not offer much information in this respect. The major part of Koranic revelation was confided to Muhammad in the verbal form of first person plural. This "we" seems to point either to a number of angels, e.g. the 7 throne angels, or to one particular angel, e.g. Gabriel. By mediation of angels Muhammad receives a share of God's secret knowledge, thus becoming a bearer of revelation. As it was, his message is therefore firmly related to the very throne of God. Consequently, the throne verse may be traced back to the fundamental Islamic article of faith: "There is no God beside Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet."

From all this it may be concluded that the throne verse is not an eschatological text, according to which angels will intercede with God on behalf of man on the day of judgement, but rather a text aimed at proving that Muhammad's mission has its origin at the throne of God.

ASPECTS OF THE SOCIO-LINGUISTICS OF CONTEMPORARY ARABIC

Gustav Meiseles

The linguistic situation of present-day Arabic society presents a very confused picture of many language varieties, from straight colloquial in spoken idioms to puristic Classical Arabic. The description of such a picture is a very difficult task and it remains, even in our days, a major desideratum of Arabic studies as a whole.

I have chosen to deal, in this paper, with some methodological implications of a tentative hierarchization of the main varieties of contemporary Arabic which I propose, namely a state of quadriglossia.

The description of Arabic as a prime example of what has been called "sharp" diglossia is well known and there is no need to comment on it here.

Some scholars, as Joshua Blau[1] and Sami Hanna,[2] starting mainly from a philological approach, refer to an Arabic triglossia attempting to establish a distinction between CA and what was called Modern Standard Arabic (=MSA);[3] they distinguish a CA, i. e. the ancient prescriptive literary Arabic, a Modern classical or standard Arabic developing into an independent linguistic code, both as against all oral varieties of Arabic referred to as "dialects or idioms." But such a classification lacks an important point, which turns out to be the key for handling the whole problem: it is the emergence of an oral (and lately not only oral) use of a variety of Arabic which occupies an intermediate position between literary Arabic and the idioms. It is characterized by the fitting together

[1] *Pà raqim* II (1971), p. 86-87;

[2] *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava) VII (1971); p. 2o.

[3] For this term see, e. g. M. Sa' id, *Lexical innovation through borrowing in Modern Standard Arabic*, Princeton, 1967, p. 1f. See also W. Cowan, *Language learning* XVIII (1968), pp. 29-34, L. J. McLoughlin, *Archivum linguisticum* III (1972), p. 57. Cf. also A. F. L. Beeston, *The Arabic Language today*, London 1970, p. 12.

of classical and dialectal features, a kind of "inter-Arabic" or لغة وسطى, which is *de facto* an unchartered sea of varieties, far from forming a coherent linguistic code.

Fully aware of this situation, other scholars, such as Haim Blanc[4] and Muḥammad Badawi,[5] try to set up a five leveled scale of stylistic varieties:

1. Standard Arabic	or in Badawi's terms	1. فصحى التراث
2. Modified Classical		2. فصحى العصر
3. Semi literary or elevated colloquial		3. عامية المثقفين
4. Koineized colloquial		4. عامية المتنورين
5. Plain colloquial		5. عامية الأميين

But this classification is not firm either. Because in the concrete reality of Arabic speech (as Blanc[6] pointed out) "once one gets beyond homespun conversation in relaxed colloquial within a single dialect, it is the exception rather than the rule to find any sustained segment of discourse in a single one of the style varieties alluded to. Speakers tend to pass from one to the other, sometimes within a single sentence, so that over-all stylistic characterization of a given segment of discourse is a complex and delicate matter, quite beyond the usual techniques of descriptive linguistics."

A symptomatic example of this situation is General Gamasi's statement after the signature of the Kilometer 101 agreement: *ma-fi:š ᶜandi Ha:ga ?uḍifha ?ila ma: qa:lahu ?aljinira:l Silasvo* 'I have nothing to add to what General Silasvo said.'

We have here a half literary, half colloquial sentence centering around a hybride form as *?uḍifha* having at least a literary feature (the *?u-* prefix of the *?afᶜala* derived form of the verb) and a colloquial one (the afixation of the pronominal sufix to a pausal ending). How can we describe such a sentence in a coherent way?

More than that, the interplay between the different varieties of Arabic depends upon factors so difficult to control, that it seems imposible

[4] 'Style variations in spoken Arabic: a sample of interdialectal educated conversation,' in Ch, Ferguson, ed. , *Contributions to Arabic linguistics* Cambridge, Mass. 1960, p. 85.

[5] مستويات العربية بالقاهرة في مصر. ١٩٧٣. ص ٨٩.

[6] *Loc. cit.*

to determine predictability of any kind as for their use. The single possible conclusion is, then, that fixing borders of different Arabic varieties is not only a very difficult task, but it seems *prima facie* unnecessary.

In the same measure these varieties are yet a linguistic and social reality; their features are different and the speakers do distinguish the communicative value of every one of them. The delimitation of these diverse Arabic varieties and their boundaries is requested by the sociolinguistic reality, and furthermore – from a practical point of view – in order to solve such embarrassing questions as those connected with the teaching of Arabic or language planning in Arabic speaking countries.

In order to provide a solution for a question such as this, it is not enough only to take into consideration the outer aspects of Arabic, i. e. its functioning in the society (in other words extra-linguistic criteria), but it is of crucial importance to isolate and label the language differences between the diverse varieties and to establish the limits of relative tolerance.

Especially for practical purposes, which might be methodological and didactic, we propose here to recongnize the existence of a quadriglossic situation. By applying both linguistic and socio-functional criteria, and without losing sight of the great extent of overlapping, we may establish the following four varieties:

1. Standard Arabic
2. Substandard (generally oral) Arabic
3. Koinéized Colloquial Arabic
4. Basic or plain Arabic colloquials

The main feature of this hierarchization is –from a structural viewpoint – the return to a principially dichotomic classification.

The extremes of this hierarchy are *grosso modo* well known from the descriptions of the diglossia. Although the term SA requires some clarification.

SA is any of a variety of more or less prescriptive Arabic used generally in writting: the فصحى . For the average educated Arab speaker or writter it is only a single فصحى (as against عاميّة), indifferent if this construction/word/form etc., or other, is ancient, modern or a very recent innovation. In fact the "standard" is determined by the use, and this does not mean the grammar book, but the language habits a person does achieve in his formal and private education.

In his education, the average Arab does not read and learn only what may be called "classical" texts (namely Qur?a:n, Hadi:θ and ancient poetry) but later and modern literature (belles letres, historical, scientific etc., etc.), too. This literature is not written "classically," but its lan-

guage model as a whole is perceived as standard and suitable for imitation as is the language of the classical texts.

Almost every word written in Arabic is written in SA. It also has an oral manifestation in reading aloud, in recitation and in very formal liturgical speech. Unfortunately there is but little attention given by the scholars to SA, conceived in this way.

The fact that SA is a non-native, hardly learned language code, makes it very difficult for the speaker to get used to the current sustained usage of it. The variety termed SsA is exactly (in the words of Ch. Ferguson) "Arab's attempt to speak classical Arabic." The reconstruction of the SA model is the goal, but in spontaneous speech, because of the action of a host of factors (generally extra-linguistic), there are many deviations from SA norms, and, essentially, there is a mixing of dialectical features in the SA structure.

A study of more than five years of SsA did enable me to establish the existence of a coherent linguistic code of this variety, by setting up the peculiarities and trends of the deviations from SA and the dialectal admixture.

SsA has also a written manifestation in the extemporaneous informal writing. It is a pity that nobody has been concerned with it until now; it deserves scholars' attention, indeed.

KCA is the language generally used by the educated Arabs in their daily, ordinary or semi-formal speech, some لغة المثقفين. It is also the main means of Arabic interdialectical communication. What characterizes this variety is the more or less liberal introduction of leveling and classicizing devices in the local dialectal structure. A sample of this variety of Arabic was described by Blanc.

The question of issue for the whole system is to clarify the linguistic demarcation between the oral SsA and the KCA. Practically, the problem arose when I had to classify the texts of my recordings, and to set out criteria for such a distinction. The best criterion was found at the level of the sentence: a text belongs to SsA when the general character of the sentence structure is in accordance with SA norms; a text belongs to KCA when its sentence structure is in general dialectical.

Concretely, the literary or dialectal character of a sentence is drawn by a series of lexical, syntactical, morphological and phonological features.

The lexical differences are, as a rule, the easiest to detect. It may be stated that there are degrees of unacceptance of dialectal lexical items in SsA, and, reciprocally, SA lexemes unacceptable in KCA. So, e. g.,

dahaba, ra?a or the relative pronoun series of *?alladi* are almost universally felt to be Standard of Ss Arabic, while their homologues *ra:H, sa:f* and the relative particle *?illi* are felt to be dialectal. Further instances are, e.g., the future modifier *sa-/sawfa* vs. *Ha-* or an adverb as *faqaṭ* vs. *bass*, etc., etc.

But the lexical criterion alone is not always trustworthy since the importation of classical lexemes in KCA (as a classicizing device), is common, and from the other side there is a great opening of SsA to dialectal lexical admixture.

A very important indicator of SsA is its special tendency of restituting the short vowel "word-endings" (the معربات vowels as well as the functionless مبنيات) as against KCA which remains always characterized by their disappearance. The most regularly restituted word-endings in SsA seem to be the *-a* ending of the 3d person singular of the past (*kataba* vs. *katab*) and the *"tanwi:n"* forms.

One of the best indicators is the negation: it is very infrequent to find in SsA the dialectal negation by *ma:. . .š* or part ot it. An exclusive indicator of SsA is also the negative particle *lam* replacing the common SA and dialectal negation of the past by the particle *ma:*.

Another indicator, less sure, is the large use of syndetic *?an* constructions in SsA as against the dialectal preference for asyndeton: *yajib ?an yata 'allam ?aw ?an yukmil ?addira:sa. . .* 'he must learn or complete the study. . .' where KCA would have *la:zem yat 'allam . . .* This trend of SsA is confirmed by the spread of the use of *?an* constructions even in situations in which SA norms prefer asyndeton, as after verbs like *ka:da, ja / 'ala, ?axada*, etc., e. g., *fa-?inna-l masna' kullu:, yaka:d ?an yaku:n ramzan. . .* 'the whole plant is almost a symbol of. . .' or *?alma-Hatta ba'da?at ?an tudi: 'a ba 'da . . .* 'the station began to broadcast after. . .'

Indicators may be found on the phonetic and phonemic levels. So, e. g., a clear indicator of SsA is the speakers' concern with spelling pronunciation in restituting ethimological interdentals, *q* and the glottal stop, and in the permanent distinction between *ḍ* and *ḍ/ẓ* while they generally merge together in many regional varieties of KCA, reflecting the local BAC. Here must also be mentioned the [i] and [u] actualization of high vowels in SsA, as representing the learned orthoepic reflexes of the SA vocalization (optional), graphemes *kasrah* and respectively *dammah* while in KCA, as in the spoken dialects in general their actualization is softened toward [e], [o] or even toward the colourless [ə].

NARRATIVE ART IN 'UMAR IBN ABĪ RABĪ'A

Dustin Cowell

'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a, the renowed Ḥijāzī poet of the second half of the first century of the *Hegira*, achieved fame for his *ghazal* verse and the narrative style he developed, with its tightly controlled episodic adventures. He did not confine his *ghazal* to an introductory prelude, but rather made of the *ghazal* an independent poetic genre. Imru' al-Qais, it is true, was an important forerunner, and his influence upon 'Umar is easy to detect. Yet 'Umar went beyond Imru' al-Qais and completely broke with the standard form of the *qaṣīda*. Those thematic elements of the classical ode that do appear in his odes, such as the questioning of abandoned encampments and arduous desert travel are clearly subordinate to the principal narrative elements.

The literary life of the Ḥijāz in 'Umar's era, with its aristocratic literary salons, provided a fertile atmosphere for love lyrics, especially those of a light and easy style easily put to song. Paging through *Kitāb al-Aghānī* gives us an insight into the number of 'Umar's lyrics made into songs. To be sure, the exigencies of such songs were quite different from those of the long *qaṣīda*. Yet 'Umar had another audience as well – those who judged poetry in terms of the accomplishments of the *Jāhilīya* poets. To prove that he was a poet, worthy of the name, he had to demonstrate his talent in genres other than *ghazal*. This, perhaps, explains in part the occasional sections describing desert travel. It is doubtful that the desert themes truly reflect 'Umar's personal style; rather, they are most probably adaptations of themes developed by earlier Bedouin poets.

As representative of 'Umar's art at its best, I have chosen for the purposes of this discussion his famous *rā'īya* addressed to his beloved Nu'm, my translation of which appears at the conclusion of the paper. This seventy-five verse poem comprises three major parts, the first and third chiefly lyrical, and the second propelled by the thrust of an episodic love adventure. These parts are:

1. Verses 1-18: A description of the beloved and the poet's relation to her.

2. Verses 19-62. Narration of 'Umar's clandestine night visit to his beloved.

3. Verses 63-75: A description of desert travel and the arrival at a desolated well.

Perhaps one of the more meaningful ways of interpreting lyrical verse is to consider the poet's presentation of reality, or, alternatively, his departure from the reality he contemplates. Is his art primarily an imitation of the world before him – a mimesis? Is he trying to represent reality through a verbal picture which he tries to make to come to life in our imaginations? Or does he present certain aspects of the reality of the world he perceives and structure them according to the dictates of his own psyche, and consciously give us a very personal outlook upon the world? I believe that with the many assertions made by 'Umar's contemporaries that he described that which he did not do, coupled with what we know of the social restraints and mores of the society, we may conclude that many of the episodes filling his diwan are rooted in fiction, even though his heartfelt, experiences and emotions endowed these episodes with an unmistakable air of sincerity and authenticity. With respect to the episodic elements, we may consider the same questions we address ourselves to in analyzing the narrative technique of a novelist: point of view, the author's relations to the "I" of the autobiographical novel, and methods of dramatization. The first-person narrative technique and the dialogues so frequent in his poetry act together to create a fictional reality poignant with vital experience and emotion. And it is a perspective of a reality heavily biased in favor of the protagonists – 'Umar and his beloveds.

Let us first consider the perspective of time in the *qaṣīda*, that universal regulator of human experience.

1. **a-min āli Nu'min anta ghādin fa-mubkiru**
   ghadāta ghadin am rā'ihun fa-muhajjiru?
2. **li-ḥājati nafsin lam taqul fī jawābi-hā**
   fa-tubligha 'udhran, wa-l-maqālatu tu'dhiru

1. **Are you departing from Nu'm's people early in the morning and traveling into the dawn early some morning, or are you setting out in the midday heat, traveling into the evening?**
2. **(To fulfill) a need about which you say nothing if questioned, so**

as to convey an excuse; for in answering lies the negation of the excuse.

The opening line is clearly structured upon the opposition between two sets of times. The poet, in addressing himself and imagining the moment of his departure from a blissful encounter with his beloved Nu'm, raises the question of the time of his departure. But, more importantly, he is questioning if he is departing by reason of the need to keep his love secret, a secret he cannot divulge – for in speaking of it, there is no excuse. He must leave Nu'm, then to keep secret the love he bears her. But of what significance is the temporal dichotomy he presents us? It is in essence a rhetorical question to which no answer is anticipated. The dichotomy of early morning and evening travel is not so crucial as the desire to create a temporal imprecision – to avoid delimitation. Through his temporal imprecisions, all the specific departures of the past become blurred – so frequent are they.

In depicting the time he spent awaiting Nu'm's kinsmen to fall fast asleep upon his attempt to visit her by night, the poet creates the impression of an interval of interminable length. Line nineteen opens the love adventure with the words: "wa-lailata Dhī Daurāna" ("And upon the night at Dhū Daurān"). Rather than proceeding to narrate this episode through an enumeration of successive actions, the poet halts his narrative at specific points. Of special interest is a four-line sequence beginning with line 20 presenting three different perspectives of the same moment of time. Parallelism here establishes a sense of unity, with the introduction of each of these three perspectives by a conjunction (a *waw* or *fā'*) and a form of the verb *bāta* (to spend the night). The first sequence reads:

20. **fa-bittu raqīban li-l-rifāqi 'ala shafan**
uḥādhiru min-hum man yaṭūfu wa-anẓuru
21. **ilai-him matā yastamkinu -l- naumu min-humu**
wa-lī majlisun, laulā -l-lubānatu, au'aru

20. **I spent the night as a spy on the look-out for her kinsmen – being wary of him among them who goes about – looking**
21 **At them (waiting to see) when sleep might overcome them; and were it not for my need, my situation would have been most difficult!**

The "I/they" opposition stands out prominently with three verbs conjugated in the first-person singular: *bittu, uḥādhiru,* and *anẓuru*) and with the mention of *al-rifāq* (the companions, and here kinsmen) and three ensuing pronominal references (*min-hum, ilai-him,* and *min-humu*). The concluding hemistich of these lines, "and were it not for my need, my situation would have been most difficult," is in essence an observation or comment of the narrator looking back upon the experience, relating it to the miseries he underwent, which then seemed trifling throughout his endeavor to fulfill his desire. The ensuing unit (line 22) presents a second perspective – the magnitude of the poet's sacrifice by reason of his love.

22. wa-bātat qalūṣi bi-l- 'arā'i wa-raḥlu-ha
li-ṭāriqi lailin au li-man jā'a mu'wiru

22. My young she-camel spent the night upon the open plain, whilst her saddle was left exposed (and unguarded) to any night traveler or anyone passing by.

And lastly (in line 23), from the most personal perspective, the poet converses with his heart, wondering whether he will be successful in his endeavor.

23. wa-bittu unājī –l-nafsa aina khibā'u-ha
wa-kaifa li-mā ātī mina -l-amri maṣdaru?

23. I spent the night confiding in my soul, asking "Where is her tent, and how can I deliver myself from the situation into which I have put myself?"

Significantly, the rhyming word *maṣdaru,* the opposite of *wurūd,* literally means "returning from the water-hole." While traveling toward the water, he is concerned likewise by his ability to return. He cannot stay there on account of the kinsmen and the necessity to keep his adventure secret. From the psychological point of view, the desire to reach the beloved must be constantly reexperienced. There must always be a desire for fulfillment of an unfulfilled desire, the desire to quench a thirst. Part of the pleasure (and concommitant pain) is the journeying toward the desired object. But the desire can not be renewed unless the state of

fulfillment is curtailed. Perhaps this helps to explain the emphasis on the return in the opening line of the *qaṣīda*. *'Umarī* love, then, is dependent upon adventure. There is no delight without the risk and pain endured in the effort to reach the goal of one's desires. In summary, these three perspectives of one moment in time have functioned to give it dimension. The narrative action is enriched by the multiplicity of perspective, and in this way the audience comes to participate in a living experience.

Another set of three verses (lines 25-27) describes a number of concurrent actions which define the end of the long period of waiting.

25. fa-lammā faqadtu -l-ṣauta min-hum wa-uṭfi'at
maṣābīḥu shubbat bi-l-'ishā'i wa-an' uru
26. wa-ghāba qumairun kuntu ahwā ghuyūba-hu,
wa-rauwaḥa ru'yānun, wa-nauwama summaru
27. wa-khuffiḍa 'annī -l-ṣautu, aqbaltu mishyata -l-
ḥubābi, wa-shakhṣī l-ḥaiyi azwaru

25. When I no longer heard them making any noise and the fire and lamps which had been ignited in the evening were extinguished,
26. And (when) a little moon, whose setting I had wished for, set, and shepherds returned with their flocks, and night talkers fell fast asleep,
27. And all became quiet around me – I set forth walking like a serpent, my back bent over out of fear of the tribesmen.

These actions are introduced by the initial *fa-lammā* of the initial verse of the sequence. *Lammā*, then, governs a series of adverbial clauses having a single apodosis (or *jawāb ẓarf*) beginning with the verb *aqbaltu* (I set forth) in the middle of line 27. The first two actions are the lover's perception of silence and the extinguishing of the lamps and fires. The poet does not merely tell us that the lamps were extinguished; rather he tells us that these lamps had been ignited in the evening, and by so doing suggests the interval from nightfall until the tribesmen slept – the same period he was lying in wait. The setting of the moon is qualified by the words "whose setting I had wished for," a qualification conveying the poet's experience of time. The next two actions (wa-rauwaḥa ru'yānun, wa-nauwama summaru / and shepherds returned with their flocks, and night travellers fell fast asleep) are conveyed by words of parallel rhytmic quality. Now, all of these four actions act together to create a scene with cinematographic power – before our eyes we imagine the lamps being extinguished, the moon setting, the shepherds returning, and the night

conversationalists falling fast asleep. The last clause in the series (wa-khuffiḍa 'annī -l-ṣautu / And all became quiet around me) is actually a restatement of the first element (fa-lammā faqadtu -l-ṣauta min-hum / When I no longer heard them making any noise). This restatement serves to frame the scene, as it were, and with its lack of temporal progression gives us a feeling of a delay and halt in the action. Now with a long-anticipated, and yet sudden resumption of the action, he pronounces in line 27: "aqbaltu mishyata -l-ḥubābī" / "I set forth walking like a serpent." This line has its own special rhythm, for the word cluster *-l-ḥubābi* (serpent) bridges the two hemistichs and precludes the normal pause between hemistichs. Just as the poet snakes across the encampment, so do the words of this line crawl unevenly with the rhythm of a snake.

Three of the lines of conveying the bliss of love union express an interval of time the poet wishes were much no longer and which seemed so very short:

35. [fa-bittu qarīra -l-'aini, u'ṭītu ḥājatī
uqabbilu fāhan fī -l-khilā'i fa-ukthiru]
36 fa-yā-la-ka min lailin taqāṣara ṭūlu-hu
wa-mā kāna lailī qabla dhālika yaqṣuru
37. wa-yā-la-ka min malhan hunāka wa-majlisin
la-nā lam yukaddir-hu 'alai-nā mukaddiru

35. [I spent the night with my eye refreshed, my desire fulfilled whilst kissing a mouth in the open space time and time again.]
36. Oh for a night whose length has become short, whilst none of my nights had ever been short!
37. How wonderful was our encounter with pleasure then, with no one spoiling it for us!

In line 35 so much is said so simply, though it is not devoid of a passionate intensity.[1] The line opens with *fa-bittu,* but in opposition to the repeated usage of his word in lines 20-23. Time, once so interminably long, now seems ever so short.

Not only are distinct perceptions of time presented, but distinct perspectives of the action as well – that is, at times the action is viewed

[1] In this analysis I have considered line 35 an integral part of the poem, even though it is not found in all versions. The apparent incongruity of *-l-khilā'* (open space) might be resolved by reading *-l-khibā'* (tent) in its place.

from the vantage point of the various characters of the narrative. The personalities of the beloved and her handmaidens and sisters are often given life in 'Umar's poetry through the presentation of dialogues. Sometimes these dialogues are about 'Umar in his absence or when he is visible but out of earshot, as in lines 10-13, in which Nu'm asks one of her handmaidens if she can identify the man approaching them. This technique provides 'Umar with a way for the characters of his narrative to speak about him in the third person and praise him. The poet abruptly cuts short the dialogues between Nu'm and her handmaidens in lines 14-16 to interject as a narrator how Nu'm perceived him. Here 'Umar describes himself as a rough and weathered man burnt by the sun and covered with dust. Yet his description is not devoid of one element of beauty – his ornate cloak. And is this detail not in consonance with 'Umar's narcissistic character? It seems as though he is holding a mirror up to himself, with the eyes of his beloved serving as his mirror.

For dramatic effect, 'Umar introduces Nu'm's two sisters, who come to their sister's aid when she must find a way for 'Umar to escape at daybreak without being apprehended. The younger sister gives him her silk *miṭraf*, her blouse, and a third garment to enable him to make his escape with them walking across the encampment. He describes his get-a-way in line 56:

56. So my shield against those whom I feared was three persons-two full-breasted maidens and a girl who had just obtained womanhood.

It is almost a kind of pageantry, and yet a humorous and comic pageantry at that.

In this *qaṣīda* the love relationship is presented on two planes. Lines 3 and 4 present it in a fashion characteristic of the 'Udhrīte poets:

3. ahīmu ilā Nu'min: fa-lā -l-shamlu jāmi 'un
   wa-lā -l-ḥablu mauṣūlun, wa-lā -l-qalbu muqṣiru
4. wa-lā qurbu Nu'min – in danat – la-ka nāfi 'un
   wa-lā na'yu-hā yuslī, wa-lā anta taṣbiru

3. I thirst after Nu'm. Yet those things scatterred are not collected, nor is the rope (of union) (re) connected – while my heart remains unhindered.
4. The proximity of Nu'm, whenever she draws near, benefits you not – nor does separation from her console, nor are you patient.

In line four he states that proximity to Nu'm benefits him not, whereas he does indeed find pleasure in love union later in the poem. It seems as though the poet is trying to describe two states in relation to his beloved.

The notion of thirst and the search for water is central to the entire *qaṣīda* and unites all three sections. We note how line three begins with the words: "ahīmu ilā Nu'min" / "I thirst after Nu'm." We have mentioned how in line 23 the journeying to and from Nu'm is like the quest for water and the return from the water hole. The third section (lines 63-75), though it may have been inspired in large part by the audience's expectations, clearly centers upon the quest for water. The *qasīda* ends with the drinking of the life-giving force through the pleasure of drinking the water is perturbed by pollution, whereas the union with Nu'm is unperturbed. Comparing lines 37 and 75, we see that two different forms of the root *kadira* (to be polluted) are used.

37. wa-yā-la-ka min malhan hunāka wa-majlisin
    la-nā lam yukaddir-hu 'alai-nā mukaddiru
37. How wonderful was our encounter with pleasure then, with no one spoiling it for us!

75. fa-sāfat, wa-mā 'āfat, wa-mā radda shurba-hā
    'ani-r-raiyi matrūqun mina -l-mā'i akdaru
75. She smelled (the water) and didn't reject it, and putrid water sullied by animal wastes did not stop her from quenching her thirst.

Clearly the climax of the *qaṣīda* is union with Nu'm. Yet the optimistic note of the final line is like Nu'm's suggestion of another date at 'Azwaru (1. 42). These adventures, then, are not just reflections of the past, but of experiences which may be repeated. In this way 'Umar's stance differs considerably from the Jāhilīya tradition in which a remote past is evoked with sadness. For him it is the vitality of the moment which is important.

ORIGINAL TRANSLATION[2]

1. Are you departing from Nu'm's people early in the morning and

[2] Arabic text utilized: *Sharḥ Dīwān 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2nd ed. (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijārīya al-Kubrā, 1960), pp. 92-103.

traveling into the dawn early some morning, or are you setting out in the midday heat, traveling into the evening?[3]

2. (To fulfill) a need about which you say nothing if questioned so as to convey an excuse; for in answering lies the negation of the excuse.
3. I thirst after Nu'm. Yet those things scattered are not collected, nor is the rope (of union) (re) connected – while my heart remains unhindered.
4. The proximity of Nu'm, whenever she draws near, benefits you not – nor does separation from her console, nor are you patient.
5. Another (obstacle) has come between me and Nu'm, and yet another has forbidden the reasonable (to act with reason) – even though he were to return from error and contemplate.
6. Whensoever I visit Nu'm, her kinsman, whenever I meet him, becomes as angry as a tiger.
7. It is intolerable for him that I should frequent her house. He keeps secret his hostility whilst his deep hatred is apparent (upon his face).
8. Convey my greetings to her – for my frequenting her may be made known and be denounced –.
9. By the sign of what she said the morning I met her at Madfa' Aknān: "Is this he who has been made known?
10. Oh Asmā', stop and look, do you know, is this the Mughīrite who has been mentioned?
11. Is this the one whom you have praised so highly by way of description – and by your life – I will not forget him until the day I am buried."
12. She replied: "Yes, no doubt that traveling during the night – the end of which he spent awake – and the traveling through the heat of the day have changed his color.
13. If it really be he, then he has changed beyond recognition since I knew him; for a person may indeed change."
14. She saw a man such that if the sun came out he exposes himself and such that in the evening he feels cold (through exposure).
15. (Seeing) a brother of travel – a crosser of lands whom wide deserts toss about – such that (his hair) is tangled and (his head) covered with dust.

[3] According to the interpretation of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, which is that followed in the translation of this line (*Udabā' al-'Arab fī al-Jāhilīya wa-Ṣadr al-Islām*, 2nd ed. Beirut: Maktabat Ṣādir, 1934), the poet reversed the order of *rā'iḥ* and *muhajjir* by reason of the rhyme.

16 His shadow over the back of the beast is insignificant save that which the decorated cloak casts.[4]
17 Of the pleasant life there pleased her the shade of a palace, and green luxuriant gardens, with intertwining (trees),
18 As well as a husband, who took care of her every need. For nothing, did she stay up till the end of the night.
19 And upon the night at Dhu Dauran I was made to endure night-travel, for the death-daring lover might expose himself to terror.
20 I spent the night as a spy on the look-out for the kinsmen – being wary of him among them who goes about – looking.
21 At them (waiting to see) when sleep might overcome them; and were it not for my need, my situation would have been most difficult!
22 My young she-camel spent the night upon the open plain, whilst her saddle was left exposed (and unguarded) to any night traveler or anyone passing by.
23 I spent the night confiding in my soul, asking "Where is her tent, and how can I deliver myself from the situation into which I have put myself?"
24 There directed my heart to her a sweet fragance which I knew to be hers, as well as the love of the soul which almost betrayed itself.
25 When I no longer heard them making any noise and the fires and lamps which had been ignited in the evening were extinguished,
26 And (when) a little moon, whose setting I had wished for, set, and shepherds returned with their flocks, and night talkers fell fast asleep,
27 And all became quiet around me – I set forth walking like a serpent, my back bent over out of fear of the tribesmen.
28 I greeted her, coming upon her by surprise, and she gasped upon my muted greeting, almost crying out.
29 She said, biting her fingertips, "You have exposed me to shame! You are a man: your affair is easy, yet it is harder (for me)![5]

[4] So lean is 'Umar (as a weather-worn knight should be) that his own shadow is small. Yet so fast does he ride that his air-borne cloak fluttering in the wind elongates his shadow.

[5] Concerning the second hemistich of this line al-Bustānī comments (p. 301): "That which appears to him easy in fulfilling his need is (in reality) extremely difficult, for he is the target of the guardians." Taking this meaning, we could translate the hemistich: "You are a man whose affairs are most difficult, though they may seem easy (to you)." The interpretation given above in the next of the translation would seem more in harmony with the initial hemistich, however, inasmuch as it is an elaboration of Nu'm's own worries of shame and scandal. As a man, 'Umar can defend himself; yet she has no defense from shame if apprehended.

30 Tell me, inasmuch as you deem it easy (to reach) me, do you not fear – and may God protect you – those enemies of yours surrounding me?
31 By God, I know not, whether the urgency of a desire brought you by night or whether those against whom you take precaution have slept."
32 I said to her, "Passion and love have brought me to you, whilst no one has perceived (me)."
33 She said, having calmed down and her heart having become tranquil. "May your Lord the Most Great keep you safe.
34 You, oh Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, are not to be repelled. A prince for me are you, ruling over me as long as you stay!"
35 [I spent the night with my eye refreshed, my desire fulfilled whilst kissing a mouth in the open space time and time again.][6]
36 Oh for a night whose length has become short, whilst none of my nights had ever been short!
37 How wonderful was our encounter with pleasure then, with no one spoiling it for us!
38 From her mouth (displaying) bright front teeth most delicately pointed there wafts a far-reaching fragance of musk.
39 You think (her teeth), whenever displayed in laughing, hailstones or flowering camomile flowers.
40 She gazes upon me with her eyes as the young gazelle gazes upon his mother in the thicket.
41 When all but a little of the night had passed and its last stars almost disappeared.
42 She gave (me) to understand that the tribe was about to awake and said, "But (my) date with you is at 'Azwar."
43 There only frightened me one who called out: "Break camp," a light reddish acknowledgment of morning having appeared.
44 When she saw those among them who had awakened and those who were up and around, she said, "Advise me, what do you command?"
45 I said, "I'll show myself to them, and I will either make my getaway or else the sword will obtain its revenge and avenge."
46 She said, "(Will you do so) to verify that which our hidden enemy has said of us or to prove that which is rumored?
47 If that which must be must be, then there is another measure easier to conceal and hide.
48 I'll tell my two sisters our story from the beginning that they may know – and there is no time for me to lose.

[6] *See the note to this line in the text of the article.*

49 Perhaps they will seek a way out for you and perhaps they will open up their hearts to that which my heart conceals."
50 She arose sadly, her face paled by sadness, as she let loose tears trickling down.
51 Two noble ladies arose coming to her, each donning a garment of silk: one white and one green.
52 She said to her two sisters, "Help a young man who has come visiting, for every affair can be managed."[7]
53 They approached, became frightened, and then said, "Do not blame yourself so much, for the affair is most simple."
54 [The youngest said to her, "I'll give him my silk *miṭraf* and my blouse, and this streaky garment, if only he'll be careful.]
55 He should arise and walk with us incognito – then will our secret not be divulged nor made manifest."
56 So my shield against those whom I feared was three persons – two fullbreasted maidens and a girl who had just obtained womanhood.
57 When we crossed over the tribe's grounds, they asked me "Did you not fear your enemies whilst the night was moonlit?"
58 They said, "Is this your habit – always being heedless? Are you not ashamed, or do you not turn away from your recklessness, or do you not reflect?
59 When you come again, direct the glance of your eyes to other than us, so that they may think that love lies where you look."
60 The last time I saw her was when she turned away, with the orbit of her eye and her bright cheek in view.
61 But I had said, "Oh Nu'm," reprooving her, for (even) the noble thoroughbred camels of Arḥab must be goaded.[8]
62 Congratulations to the kinsmen of the 'Āmirite maiden for her delightful fragance and her scent which I remember.

[7] A possible alternative translation for the last clause is: "for every good turn may be repaid."

[8] Arḥab is a branch (*baṭn*) of the Yemenite tribe of Hamdān known for its noble thoroughbred camels termed *arḥabīyāt* (Lane, *TQ; Lisān al-'Arab, RḤB).* My translation conveys the rationalization that it is not unnatural to rebuke a noble lady like Nu'm, for even the most noble camels must be goaded to urge them on. Another meaning is suggested by the kind of she-camel termed *zajūr* (of the same root as the rhyming word) which Ibn Sīda describes as the she-camel which "yields milk to her weaned calf involuntarily only after being struck and which, if let alone, denies (her milk) to him" (*al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ,* Book 7, Chapter entitled: Nu'utuha fi -l-Ḥalbi). Using this meaning we might translate: reprooving her, for (even) the noble thoroughbred camels of Arḥab yield no milk unless slapped." This interpretation implies that Nu'm yields when surprised, after having turned away.

63 I mounted a strong she-camel, whose fat portions night travel has worn away, such that her flesh has diminished.
64 (There had likewise worn her away) my denial of her needs, so that it was as if she was the remainder of a board or a small howdah frame tied together with straps.
65 Oh for a waterhole in a desert frequented by few people – an arid land to which no one comes in summer.
66 There is a spider's web there – and it is like an untanned skin spread out over it.
67 I came to the waterhole – not knowing whether that part of the night following my arrival or that part which had already elapsed was greater.
68 I mounted a she-camel swift upon the earth, and whenever she glanced, it looked as though she were possessed.
69 She would try to pull her head away from me – craving water, whilst lying before that which she desired was a well with putrified water–
70 Trying (to reach) water, and were it not for her reins and my pulling her back, she would almost have become ferocious at times.
71 When I perceived her fatigue whilst I was in a desolate land with no refuge,
72 I made a new hole for her to drink by the side of the well, a span in width or less.
73 When she drank from it, there was not even the distance of a palm to spare where her lips touched the water.
74 Nor was there a bucket other than a cup whose drawing rope was none other than braided leather strips and thongs of the saddle girth.
75 She smelled (the water) and didn't reject it, and putrid water sullied by animal wastes did not stop her from quenching her thirst.

Arabic Text

١ - أَمِنْ آلِ نُعْمٍ أَنْتَ غَادٍ فَمُبْكِرُ ... غُدَاةَ غَدٍ أَمْ رَائِحٌ فَمُهَجِّرُ؟
٢ - لِحَاجَةِ نَفْسٍ لَمْ تَقُلْ فِي جَوَابِهَا ... فَتُبْلِغَ عُذْراً ، وَالنَّقَالَةُ تَعْذِرُ
٣ - أُهِيمُ إِلَى نُعْمٍ : فَلَا الشَّمْلُ جَامِعٌ ... وَلَا الْحَبْلُ مَوْصُولٌ ، وَلَا الْقَلْبُ مُقْصِرُ
٤ - وَلَا قُرْبُ نُعْمٍ - إِنْ دَنَتْ - لَكَ نَافِعٌ ... وَلَا نَأْيُهَا يُسْلِي ، وَلَا أَنْتَ تَصْبِرُ
٥ - وَأُخْرَى أَتَتْ مِنْ دُونِ نُعْمٍ ، وَمِثْلُهَا ... نَهَى ذَا النُّهَى لَوْ يَرْعَوِي أَوْ يُفَكِّرُ

٦ - إِذَا زُرْتُ نُعْمًا لَمْ يَزَلْ ذُو قَرَابَةٍ ... لَهَا كُلَّمَا لَاقَيْتُهَا يَتَنَمَّرُ

٧ - عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ أُلِمَّ بِبَيْتِهَا ... يُسِرُّ لِيَ الشَّحْنَاءَ ، وَالْبُغْضُ يُظْهِرُ

٨ - أُلِكْنِي إِلَيْهَا بِالسَّلَامِ فَإِنَّهُ ... يُشَهِّرُ إِلْمَامِي بِهَا وَيُنَكِّرُ

٩ - بِآيَةِ مَا قَالَتْ غُدَاةَ لَقِيتُهَا ... بِمَدْفَعِ أَكْنَانٍ : أَهٰذَا الْمُشَهَّرُ ؟

١٠ - قِفِي فَانْظُرِي - أَسْمَاءَ - هَلْ تَعْرِفِينَهُ ... أَهٰذَا الْمُغِيرِيُّ الَّذِي كَانَ يُذْكَرُ؟

١١ - أَهٰذَا الَّذِي أَطْرَيْتِ نَعْتًا فَلَمْ أَكُنْ ... وَعَيْشِكِ أَنْسَاهُ إِلَى يَوْمِ أَقْبَرُ؟

١٢ - فَقَالَتْ : نَعَمْ لَا شَكَّ غَيَّرَ لَوْنَهُ ... سُرَى اللَّيْلِ يُحْيِي نَصَّهُ وَالتَّهَجُّرُ

١٣ - لَئِنْ كَانَ إِيَّاهُ لَقَدْ حَالَ بَعْدَنَا ... عَنِ الْعَهْدِ ، وَالْإِنْسَانُ قَدْ يَتَغَيَّرُ

١٤ - رَأَتْ رَجُلًا : أَمَّا إِذَا الشَّمْسُ عَارَضَتْ ... فَيَضْحَى ، وَأَمَّا بِالْعَشِيِّ فَيَخْصَرُ

١٥ - أَخَا سَفَرٍ ، جَوَّابِ أَرْضٍ ، تَقَاذَفَتْ ... بِهِ فَلَوَاتٌ ؛ فَهْوَ أَشْعَثُ أَغْبَرُ

١٦ - قَلِيلٌ عَلَى ظَهْرِ الْمَطِيَّةِ ظِلُّهُ ... سِوَى مَا نَفَى عَنْهُ الرِّدَاءُ الْمُحَبَّرُ

١٧ - وَأَعْجَبَهَا مِنْ عَيْشِهَا ظِلُّ غُرْفَةٍ ... وَرَيَّانُ مُلْتَفُّ الْحَدَائِقِ أَخْضَرُ

١٨ - وَوَالٍ كَفَاهَا كُلَّ شَيْءٍ يَهُمُّهَا ... فَلَيْسَتْ لِشَيْءٍ آخِرَ اللَّيْلِ تَسْهَرُ

١٩ - وَلَيْلَةِ ذِي دَوْرَانَ جَشَّمَنِي السُّرَى ... وَقَدْ يَجْشَمُ الْمَوْلَ الْحَبِيُّ الْمُغَرَّرُ

٢٠ - فَبِتُّ رَقِيبًا لِلرُّفَاقِ عَلَى شَفَا ... أُحَاذِرُ مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَعُوفُ وَأَنْظُرُ

٢١ - إِلَيْهِمْ مَتَى يَسْتَمْكِنِ النَّوْمُ مِنْهُمُ ... وَلِي مَجْلِسٌ ، لَوْلَا اللَّبَانَةُ ، أَوْعَرُ

٢٢ - وَبَاتَتْ قَلُوصِي بِالْعَرَاءِ وَرَحْلُهَا ... لِطَارِقِ لَيْلٍ أَوْ لِمَنْ جَاءَ مُعْوِرُ

٢٣ - وَبِتُّ أُنَاجِي النَّفْسَ أَيْنَ خِبَاؤُهَا ... وَكَيْفَ لِمَا آتِي مِنَ الْأَمْرِ مَصْدَرُ؟

٢٤ - فَدَلَّ عَلَيْهَا الْقَلْبَ رَيَّا عَرَفْتُهَا ... لَهَا ، وَهَوَى النَّفْسِ الَّذِي كَادَ يَظْهَرُ

٢٥ - وَلَمَّا فَقَدْتُ الصَّوْتَ مِنْهُمْ وَأَطْفَأَتْ ... مَصَابِيحُ شُبَّتْ بِالْعِشَاءِ وَأَنْوَرُ

٢٦ - وَغَابَ مُثِيرٌ كُنْتُ أَهْوَى غُبُوبَهُ ، ... وَرَوَّحَ رُعْيَانٌ ، وَنَوَّمَ سُمَّرُ

٢٧ - وَخُفِّضَ عَنِّي الصَّوْتُ أَقْبَلْتُ مِشْيَةَ الْـ ... ـحُبَابِ ، وَشَخْصِي خَشْيَةً لِيَ أَزْوَرُ

٢٨ - فَحَيَّيْتُ إِذْ فَاجَأْتُهَا ، فَتَوَلَّهَتْ ، ... وَكَادَتْ بِمَخْفُوضِ التَّحِيَّةِ تَجْهَرُ

٢٩ - وَقَالَتْ وَعَضَّتْ بِالْبَنَانِ : فَضَحْتَنِي ... وَأَنْتَ امْرُؤٌ مَيْسُورُ أَمْرِكَ أَعْسَرُ

٣٠ - أَرَيْتَكَ إِذْ هُنَّا عَلَيْكَ أَلَمْ تَخَفْ ... وَقِيتَ وَحَوْلِي مِنْ عَدُوِّكَ حُضَّرُ؟

٣١ - فَوَاللهِ مَا أَدْرِي : أَتَعْجِيلُ حَاجَةٍ ... سَرَتْ بِكَ أَمْ قَدْ نَامَ مَنْ كُنْتَ تَحْذَرُ؟

٣٢ - فَقُلْتُ لَهَا : بَلْ قَادَنِي الشَّوْقُ وَالْهَوَى ... إِلَيْكِ ، وَمَا نَفْسٌ مِنَ النَّاسِ تَشْعُرُ

٣٣ - فَقَالَتْ وَقَدْ لَانَتْ وَأَفْرَخَ رُوعُهَا : ... كَلَاكَ بِحِفْظِ رَبِّكَ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ

٣٤ - فَأَنْتَ أَبَا الْخَطَّابِ ، غَيْرَ مُدَافَعٍ ، ... عَلَيَّ أَمِيرٌ مَا مَكَثْتَ مُؤَمَّرُ

٣٥ - [فَبِتُّ قَرِيرَ الْعَيْنِ ، أُعْطِيتُ حَاجَتِي ... أُقَبِّلُ فَاهَا فِي الْخَلَاءِ فَأَكْثِرُ]

٣٦ - فَيَالَكَ مِنْ لَيْلٍ تَقَاصَرَ طُولُهُ ... وَمَا كَانَ لَيْلِي قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ يَقْصُرُ

٣٧ - وَيَالَكَ مِنْ مَلْهًى هُنَاكَ وَمَجْلِسٍ ... لَنَا لَمْ يُكَدِّرْهُ عَلَيْنَا مُكَدِّرُ

٣٨ - يَمُجُّ ذَكِيَّ الْمِسْكِ مِنْهَا مُقَبَّلٌ ... نَقِيُّ الثَّنَايَا ذُو غُرُوبٍ مُؤَشَّرُ

٣٩ - تَرَاهُ إِذَا مَا افْتَرَّ عَنْهُ كَأَنَّهُ ... حَصَى بَرَدٍ أَوْ أَقْحُوَانٌ مُنَوَّرُ

٤٠ - وَتَرْنُو بِمَيْثَاءَيْهَا إِلَيَّ كَمَا رَنَا ... إِلَى ظَبْيَةٍ وَسْطَ الْجَمِيلَةِ جُؤْذَرُ

٤١ - فَمَا تَقْضِي الْأَيَّامُ إِلَّا أَقَلَّهُ ... وَكَادَتْ تَوَالِي نَجْمِهِ تَتَغَوَّرُ

٤٢ - أَشَارَتْ بِأَنَّ الْحَيَّ قَدْ حَانَ مِنْهُمُ ... هُبُوبٌ ، وَلَكِنْ مَوْعِدٌ مِنْكَ عَزْوَرُ

٤٣ - فَمَا رَاعَنِي إِلَّا مُنَادٍ : تَرَحَّلُوا ، ... وَقَدْ لَاحَ مَعْرُوفٌ مِنَ الصُّبْحِ أَشْقَرُ

٤٤ - فَلَمَّا رَأَتْ مَنْ قَدْ تَنَبَّهَ مِنْهُمُ ... وَأَيْقَاظَهُمْ قَالَتْ : أَشِرْ كَيْفَ تَأْمُرُ

٤٥ - فَقُلْتُ : أَبَادِيهِمْ ، فَإِمَّا إِنُوَتُهُمْ ، ... وَإِمَّا يَنَالُ السَّيْفُ ثَأْرًا فَيَثْأَرُ

٤٦ - فَقَالَتْ : أَتَخْفِينَا لِمَا قَالَ كَاشِحٌ ... عَلَيْنَا ، وَتَصْدِيقًا لِمَا كَانَ يُؤْثَرُ؟

٤٧ - فَإِنْ كَانَ مَا لَا بُدَّ مِنْهُ فَغَيْرُهُ ... مِنَ الْأَمْرِ أَدْنَى لِلْخَفَاءِ وَأَسْتَرُ

٤٨ - أَغَرُّ عَلَى أُخْتَيْ بَدْءٍ حَدِيثِنَا ... وَمَالِيَ مِنْ أَنْ تَثْلَمَا مُتَأَخَّرُ

٤٩ - لَعَلَّهُمَا أَنْ تَطْلُبَا لَكَ مَخْرَجًا ... وَأَنْ تَرْجِعَا سِرْبًا بِمَا كُنْتُ أُحْصَرُ

٥٠ - فَقَامَتْ كَئِيبًا لَيْسَ فِي وَجْهِهَا دَمٌ ... مِنَ الْحُزْنِ ، تُذْرِي عَبْرَةً تَتَحَدَّرُ

٥١ - فَقَامَتْ إِلَيْهَا خُرَّتَانِ عَلَيْهِمَا ... كَمَا آنَ مِنْ خَزِّ دِمَقْسٍ وَأَخْضَرُ

٥٢ - فَقَالَتْ لِأُخْتَيْهَا : أَعِينَا عَلَى فَتًى ... أَتَى زَائِرًا ، وَالْأَمْرُ لِلْأَمْرِ يُقْدَرُ

٥٣ - فَأَقْبَلَتَا ، فَارْتَاعَتَا ، ثُمَّ قَالَتَا : ... أَقِلَّ عَلَيْكَ اللَّوْمَ فَاخْطُبْ أَيَسَّرُ

٥٤ - [فَقَالَتْ لَهَا الصُّغْرَى : سَأُعْطِيهِ مُطْرَفِي ... وَدِرْعِي ، وَهَذَا الْبُرْدَ - إِنْ كَانَ يَحْذَرُ]

٥٥ - يَقُومُ فَيَمْشِي بَيْنَنَا مُتَنَكِّراً فَلَا سِرُّنَا يَفْشُو ، وَلَا هُوَ يَظْهَرُ
٥٦ - فَكَانَ بَجَفْنَيَّ دُونَ مَنْ كُنْتُ أَتَّقِي ثَلَاثُ شُخُوصٍ كَاعِبَانِ وَمُعْصِرُ
٥٧ - فَلَمَّا أَجَزْنَا سَاحَةَ الْحَيِّ قُلْنَ لِي : أَمَا تَتَّقِي الْأَعْدَاءَ وَاللَّيْلُ مُقْمِرُ؟
٥٨ - وَقُلْنَ : أَهَذَا دَأْبُكَ الدَّهْرَ سَادِراً؟ أَمَا تَسْتَحِي أَوْ تَرْعَوِي أَوْ تَفَكَّرُ؟
٥٩ - إِذَا جِئْتَ فَامْنَحْ طَرْفَ عَيْنَيْكَ غَيْرَنَا
لِكَيْ يَحْسَبُوا أَنَّ الْهَوَى حَيْثُ تَنْظُرُ
٦٠ - فَآخِرُ عَهْدِي بِهَا حَيْثُ أَعْرَضَتْ وَلَاحَ لَهَا خَدٌّ نَقِيٌّ وَمَحْجِرُ
٦١ - سِوَى أَنَّنِي قَدْ قُلْتُ يَا نُعْمُ قَوْلَةً لَهَا وَالْمِيثَاقُ الْأَرْحَبِيَّاتُ تُزْجَرُ
٦٢ - هَنِيئاً لِأَهْلِ الْعَامِرِيَّةِ نَشْرُهَا الْـ ـذِي يُزِيدُ وَرَيَّاهَا الَّذِي أَتَذَكَّرُ
٦٣ - وَقُمْتُ إِلَى عَنْسٍ تَخُونُ نِيبُهَا سُرَى اللَّيْلِ حَتَّى نَعْفُهَا مُتَحَسِّرُ
٦٤ - وَحَبْسِي عَلَى الْحَاجَاتِ حَتَّى كَأَنَّهَا بَقِيَّةُ نَوْحٍ أَوْ شِجَارٌ مُؤَسَّرُ
٦٥ - وَمَاءٍ بِوَعْثَاءِ قَلِيلٍ أَنِيسُهُ بَسَابِسَ لَمْ يَحْدُثْ بِهِ الصَّيْفَ بَحْفَرُ
٦٦ - بِهِ مُبْتَنَى لِلْعَنْكَبُوتِ كَأَنَّهُ عَلَى طَرَفِ الْأَرْجَاءِ خَامٌ مُنَشَّرُ
٦٧ - وَرَدْتُ وَمَا أَدْرِي أَمَاءً بِنَدَ مَوْرِدِي مِنَ اللَّيْلِ أَمْ مَا قَدْ مَضَى مِنْهُ أَكْثَرُ
٦٨ - فَثَبَّتُّ إِلَى مِغْلَاةِ أَرْضٍ كَأَنَّهَا إِذَا الْتَفَّتْ مَجْنُونَةٌ حِينَ تَنْظُرُ
٦٩ - تُنَازِعُنِي حِرْصاً عَلَى الْمَاءِ رَأْسَهَا وَمِنْ دُونِ مَا تَهْوَى قَلِيبٌ مُعَوَّرُ
٧٠ - مُحَاوِلَةٌ لِلْمَاءِ لَوْلَا زِمَامُهَا وَجَذْبِي لَهَا كَادَتْ مِرَاراً تَكَسَّرُ
٧١ - فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ الضَّرَّ مِنْهَا وَأَتَّنِي بِبَلْدَةِ أَرْضٍ لَيْسَ فِيهَا مُعَبِّرُ
٧٢ - قَصَرْتُ لَهَا مِنْ جَانِبِ الْحَوْضِ مُنْشَأً
جَدِيداً كَقَابِ الشِّبْرِ أَوْ هُوَ أَصْغَرُ
٧٣ - إِذَا شَرِعَتْ فِيهِ فَلَيْسَ لِمُلْتَقَى بِمَنْفَرِهَا مِنْهُ قِدَى الْكَفِّ مُنْفِرُ
٧٤ - وَلَا دَلْوَ إِلَّا الْقَسْبُ كَانَ رِشَاءَهُ إِلَى الْمَاءِ نِيٌّ وَالْأَدِيمُ الْمُضَفَّرُ
٧٥ - فَثَافَتْ، وَمَا عَافَتْ، وَمَا رَدَّ شُرْبَهَا عَنِ الرِّيِّ مَطْرُونٌ مِنَ الْمَاءِ أَكْدَرُ

THE BEGINNING OF THE EGYPTIAN NOVEL AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE MAQAMA AND RISALAT AL-GHUFRAN

S. Moreh

Some Arab writers believed that classical Arabic literature, and not popular literature, embraced all the literary trends and genres known in European literature. The main representative of this trend in Arabic fiction was the Egyptian writer and journalist Muḥammad al-Muwaylihī (1858-1930) who edited with his father Ibrāhīm the weekly journal *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq* (Abril 14, 1891 - August 15, 1903). Although Muhammad al-Muwaylihī lived for three years in Italy, France and England, was well-versed in Italian and French, and was a close friend of Alexandre Dumas fils, he adhered to classical Arabic and its literary heritage. His zeal for the classical heritage was demonstrated in his publishing of classical works in his journal, and his criticism of Ahmad Shawqī, the most prominent neoclassical poet of the Arab world for declaring in the preface to his *dīwān al-Shawqiyyat* (Cairo, 1898) that he intended to infuse Arabic poetry with a European influence, and for praising European poetry that describes nature. Muḥammad al-Muwaylihī ridiculed Shawqī in a series of sarcastic critical articles in *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq*. He asked what Shawqī could add to Arabic poetry; if he is writing in Arabic he has to use its vocabulary and style, he contended. Al-Muwaylihī added that he read European literature but he realized that there were no themes in European literature, even in those writings describing nature, that could surpass those of the Arabs. In fact, he believed that the opposite was true. Al-Muwaylihī's conclusion was that what an Arab poet should do was to go back to his Arabic heritage where he would find everything he was looking for. The same attitude was demonstrated by al-Muwaylihī in his various articles on Western customs and morals. He demanded that they be examined before being integrated into Egyptian culture.

The conservative attitude of al-Muwaylihī explains to us his zealous adherence to Arabic linguistic virtuosity and style and the form which

he used in his fiction criticizing Egyptian society, westernization in various sectors of administration, legal systems and customs in Egypt. This fiction entitled *Fatra min al-Zaman aw Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* was first published in *Miṣbāh al-Sharq* in serial form (November 17, 1898-1900) signed by his initial M. The episodes were rearranged and a few articles were added to them, when al-Muwayliḥī prepared them in book form, published in 1907.

The style of this work is eloquent; it is embellished with *saj'* synonymous and antithetic parallelism, metaphors, Qur'anic verses, poetry, maxims and proverbs in the form of classical Arabic prose resembling that of Shawqī in his novels mentioned above.

It is interesting to note that all scholars, writers and critics who have discussed al-Muwayliḥī's *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* agree unanimously that the author used the *maqāma* form of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (968-1007). Those who tried to be accurate stated that al-Muwaylihi adopted the *maqāma* form and modified it. It seems that H. A. R. Gibb was the main propagator of this assumption in his article "Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature, IV. The Egyptian novel," published in *BSOS* in 1933, and translated into Arabic in *al-Risāla* in the same year.

In order to prove their view that al-Muwaylihi imitated the *maqāmāt* or as Gibb stated, 'more or less modified and simplified,' they give the following points: a. the title of al-Muwayliḥī's work is *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām*, and ʿĪsā ibn Hishām is the narrator of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamādhanī. Besides, al-Muwayliḥī's different chapters and paragraphs start with the phrase: *qāl ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* ('Īsā ibn Hishām said). b. Like the style of the *māqāmat*, al-Muwayliḥī's work is also in rhymed prose (*Saj'*). c. In some *māqamāt*, there is criticism of Muslim society and Muslim judges, as in the case of al-Muwayliḥī's work.

However, these scholars immediately correct themselves, realizing the great differences between the two forms, by stating that while the *māqamāt* are individual units and separated episodes moving 'within the old circle of established themes,' their main aim is 'linguistic virtuosity,' 'verbal display, and the collation of abstruse words for lexicographical purposes.' Others argue that al-Muwayliḥī was able to delineate characters, or that a third of the fiction had a thread of narrative and a certain development of plot. Still, some of them would add that while the main concern of al-Muwayliḥī is 'social criticism,' the *maqāmāt* 'had but little connection with the life and problems of the age.'

In fact, these main elements in al-Muwayliḥī's work, namely: social criticism, the development of the plot, and the connection between the

various chapters, give room for doubting that the model which al-Muwaylihī intended to 'modify and simplify' was the *maqāma*. Moreover, there are two other elements in *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām* as well as *Layālī Saṭīh* by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871-1932) and *Layālī 'l-Rūḥ al-Ḥā'ir* by Muḥammad Luṭfī Jum'a (d. 1953) which are not to be found in the *maqāmāt* at all. It is the supernatural event at the beginning of these works that begins the journey as in the case of al-Muwaylihī's work, or the survey of successive problems as in Hafiz and Juma's work where the journey is intellectual. These elements are characteristic of an entirely different genre in classical Arabic literature. These are *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, composed about 1032 by Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (979-1058), and *Risālat al-Tawābi' wa 'l-Zawābi'* (c. 1025-26) by Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusi (992-1034). In both treatises a supernatural event starts the journey: The ascending of Ibn al-Qāriḥ on a ladder of silver and gold to Paradise in al-Ma'arrī's work, and the flight of Ibn Shuhayd on the back of the Genie's horse to the land of the genii. A similar supernatural event can be found in the other modern Egyptian works. The Pasha rises from his grave in al-Muwaylihī's work, the legendary sooth-sayer Satih speaks to the narrator in Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm's, and the spirit of a dead friend, Mustafā, appears before the author with a lantern in its hand, in the case of Jum'a's work. As in the case of the two treatises the journey starts, in al-Muwaylihī's work after the supernatural event. However, the purpose of the journey in *Risālat al-Ghufrān* is literary and theological criticism while the purpose of *Risālat al-Tawābi' wa 'l-Zawābi'* as James T. Monroe states: "is a literary one. . . for it examines the bases of artistic creativity and provides a uniquely original example of Andalusian literary criticism at its best," Also, "Ibn Shuhaid has. . . developed a metaphysics into an aesthetics to account for the origin of beauty and the creative process in Arabic literature." Monroe concludes, "He thus attempts to raise standards by exposing and criticizing the defects of the age, and by outlining a system whereby the truly gifted should be recognized as leaders." On the other hand, the main aim of the three works by the Egyptian writers was social criticism. Al-Muwaylihī criticizes Egyptian society and its westernization in the various sectors of administration, religion, legal systems and customs. Thus he provides us with a unique criticism of the chaos and corrupt situation of his society at a critical period when Western systems were being applied blindly alongside decayed religious systems without first trying to see what is suitable for Egyptian society. Nevertheless, in both Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm and Jum'a's works not only is social criticism the concern of the authors, especially with regard to the victims of society (the black slaves in

Egypt in the case of Jum' a), but also literary criticism. In the Sixth Night of "*Layālī Saṭīḥ*," Ḥāfiẓ criticized Shawqī's poetry, while Jum'a criticized the stagnation of Arabic poetry in his time and condemned the use of metre and rhyme with no metaphysical sensitivity. But because the subjects of criticism in these two treatises are poetic, literary, linguistic, and religious, concerning men who were already dead, the protagonists had to travel to Paradise and Hell, or to the Land of the Jinii, in order to meet them. As the subject dealt with by the three Egyptian writers was criticism of contemporary Egyptian society, the author had to raise the critical protagonists from the dead.

Because of the numerous subjects which these authors desired to treat, the journey was designed to take place in the various places to which the narrator takes the protagonist. (In the case of Jum'a and Ḥāfiẓ, because the spirit visits the protagonist to discuss various subjects, the journey is intellectual). In *al-Ghufrān* the hero and narrator go to Paradise and Hell; in *al-Tawābi'* they go to the familiar spirits of the poets, of the prose-writers, of the critics among the genii, etc. In *Ḥadīth* the journey is in Cairo and Europe, while in *Layālī al-Rūḥ al-Ḥā'ir* the spirit of the dead friend encounters the living victims of society and of the world of souls and tells the narrator what it has seen.

Again, because of the numerous subjects treated, the number of characters who meet the protagonists is great. In the case of the risālas the characters are famous poets and writers or their spirits from the time of the Jāhiliyya to the days of the author. In the case of the Egyptian writers the characters are also numerous in contrast to the limited number of characters of the *māqamāt*.

Another important element which distinguishes all these works when they are compared with the *maqamat* is the extensive use of dialogue, to the extent that Bint al-Shāṭi' has assumed in a recent book of hers that *Risālat al-Ghufrān* is in fact 'a dramatic text of the eleventh century' (*Naṣṣ masraḥī min al-qarn al-khāmis al-hijrī*). In many chapters, al-Muwayliḥī divided the dialogue in the same way as that of a play.

Therefore, there are greater similarities between these three Egyptian works and the medieval *risālas* than between them and the *māqamāt*.

In fact, the *maqāma* as it is elaborated by Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhani (968-1007) is a short and ornate, picaresque work in rhymed prose. It is couched in the first person singular, it usually contains a narrative element consisting of an amusing or surprising scene that occurs in the present tense. In each *maqāma* (standing séance or assembly), there is a narrator (*Rāwī*) called 'Isā ibn Hishām, and a hero, Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskan-

darī who generally appears as a disguised beggar who tries to earn his living by his wits, his linguistic virtuosity, and rhetorical talent. Nearly every *maqāma* begins with the sentence *Ḥaddathanā 'Īsā ibn Hishām, qāla. . .* ('Īsā ibn Hishām narrated to us, saying that. . .), and ends with the narrator's realization that the hero is, in fact, the same Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī. Therefore, each *maqāma* contains a separate scene or episodes in which the narrator meets the hero in a different place, with no connection between the *maqāmāt* except for the haphazard wandering of the narrator (a merchant) and the hero. Hence, there is no developing plot, no narrative thread, and no characterization. However, the underlying pretext or purpose of the *maqāmāt* is not only the exhibition of linguistic or didactic rhetorical talent, but also an attempt to express the frustration of the learned and intellectual who could not find a proper place in society.

From the above definition of the *maqāma*, it is clear that the common denominators of the *maqāmāt* and *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām* are the us of *saj'* (rhymed prose), the name of the narrator and the opening phrase of each episode.

The question that now arises is whether these denominators are sufficiently decisive to permit us to attribute such a great influence to the *maqāmāt* as that given to it by other scholars.

As for the use of rhymed and ornated prose in both works, it is worth noting that is not confined to the *maqāmāt*, but includes other genres in medieval Arabic literature. Moreover, while the *saj'* in the *maqāmāt* is used throughout each *maqāma*, the use of *saj'* by al-Muwaylihi and Ḥāfiz occurs mainly at the beginning and the end of chapters, in the descriptive passages. In the middle of the chapters, and usually in the dialogue, *saj'* is not used. In Jum'a's work, the use of *saj'* is rare. This use of *saj'* is not characteristic of the *maqāma*, but it is so of *Risālat al-Ghufrān* and *al-Tawābi' wa 'l-Zawābi'*.

It is true that the use of a *rāwī* (narrator) is not unique to the *maqāmāt*, but is used in popular literature, in the *Ghufrān* and *al-Tawābi'* where the narrators are the authors themselves. The hero of the first treatise is Ibn al-Qarih and of the second, the narrator himself, while the genie Zuhayr ibn Numayr is the guide who takes the author from place to place and from genie to genie. It is he who initiates the dialogues.

What seems to refute all the abovementioned arguments is the use of 'Īsā ibn Hishām, the narrator of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī by al-Muwaylihi, which clearly shows that al-Muwaylihi tried consciously to connect his work with the *maqāmāt* and not with *Risālat al-Ghufrān*.

If so, we must look for the reason for this attempt by al-Muwaylihī.

An episode mentioned by 'Ali al-Ra 'i 's *Dirāsāt fī 'l-riwāya al-Miṣriyya* related by Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, can shed new light on al-Muwaylihī's intention. Al-Ḥakīm tells us that some friends of al-Muwaylihī's family who were concerned about the good reputation of the family, warned Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī, its head, that his son Muḥammad had embarked on a step that could have dire consequences. The latter was composing a book in the vein of popular literature. This episode can explain Roger Allen's statement that al-Muwaylihī after his return from Istanbul in 1887, published articles in *al-Muqaṭṭam* which "were introduced by a narrator who calls himself al-Ṣadīq al-Amīn; this use of a fictional dialogue to discuss issues of current affairs," writes Roger Allen is "noteworthy as being a prelude to the more sophisticated use of this medium in *Ḥadīth ' Īsā ibn Hishām*." Moreover, Muḥammad al-Muwaylihī began to publish his episodes of *Fatra min al-Zaman* in *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq* in November 1898. On January 8, 1899, he began referring to his episodes as *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām.*

Bearing the above in mind, one wonders whether the change in title of these serialized episodes happened because readers began to connect *Fatra min al-Zaman* with the unprestigious genre of Arabic popular narrative literature, as we are given to understand by the episode related by Tawfīq al-Hakīm. It seems that in order to avoid this suspicion, al-Muwaylihi deliberately changed the title from *Fatra min al-Zaman* to *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām*, so that it could be connected in the mind of the readers with the more respectable genre of Arabic literature that was associated with the name of a great classical writer. Only in 1889 did Muḥammad 'Abduh, al-Muwaylihī's friend, edit *Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān* which he published in Beirut. Later on Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888-1956) solved the problem of connecting his own work *Zaynab* (Cairo, 1913) with narrative popular literature by using the pseudonym, Miṣrī Fallāḥ, to keep his name from being connected to this unprestigious genre.

Another question, which is no less important, is whether or not al-Muwaylihī was acquainted with *Risālat al-Ghufrān.* The answer is positive. Al-Muwaylihī not only quoted verses of al-Ma' arrī, as Ḥāfiz did in his work, but he also decorated his sitting-room with calligraphic slates of verses from al-Ma' arrī's poetry, as his friend ' Abd al-' Aziz-al-Bishrī asserted in his introduction to the Dār al-Hilāl edition of *Ḥadīth ' Īsā ibn Hisham* of 1959. A more decisive piece of evidence is that al-Muwaylihī transcribed *Risālat al-Ghufrān* and other classical Arabic literary

MSS in al-Fātiḥ library during his stay in Constantinople (1885-87). One can assume that a writer who transcribes a book, then edits and publishes it, will be inevitably influenced by its style and form.

Moreover, many critics were astonished that at the end of al-Muwayliḥī's *Ḥadīth* 'the Pasha is not safely relaid in his grave.' It seems that also in this case, al-Muwayliḥī followed al-Ma'arrī who does not return Ibn al-Qāriḥ safely from heaven to earth, but leaves him in Paradise.

These facts provide firm evidence that al-Muwayliḥī was influenced decisively by *Risālat al-Ghufrān* and only to a certain extent by *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī.

However, my conclusion is not invalidated by Roger Allen's findings that: "The main impression to be gained from this [Allen's] analysis of the structure of *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām* in its description of Egypt is that, despite al-Muwayliḥī's careful revision of the text which was obviously designed to produce a story which would hold together in a more convincing fashion than the episodes had done, the work is still clearly identifiable as a journalistic product. . . Each episode was a leading article in a newspaper and reflected in many cases what was reported in the other articles, and so it is almost inevitable that a collection of such articles should show differences of approach which demonstrate al-Muwayliḥī's attitudes and moods during the two-year period in which they were published."

If we are to believe Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's anecdote that contemporary readers of al-Muwayliḥī's episodes took them to be a popular narrative, that the following generation of the Arab writers look at *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām* as a novel, and that many journals in Egypt at that time, used to publish original or translated fiction in serialized form, with the intention 'to whet the reader's curiosity and make him buy the following issues as well,' the general form of *al-Ghufrān* seems to be ideal for such serialized fiction.

Moreover, the fact that al-Muwayliḥī used the term *Ḥadīth* in the title of his work, shows that he intended to write narrative fiction. Among the meanings of the term *ḥadīth* in classical Arabic literature, are 'tale' and 'narrative.' The term was used by Ṭaha Ḥusayn to denote a story in the introduction to his collection of stories *al-Mu'adhdhabūn fī 'l-arḍ* (Ṣaydā, 1949).

However, the division of *Layālī Saṭīḥ* by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm into chapters called 'nights,' as well as that of *Layālī al-Rūḥ al Ḥā'ir*, by Jum'a, seems to be a combination of the influence of the Arabian Nights (1835-37) and *Nuits*, by Alfred de Musset (1810-57). We know that Hafiz had read these two books and was deeply influenced by them, and that

Jum'a was well-versed in French literature, for he was a graduate of the University of Lyon.

The main aim of many Arab writers during the 19th century was to use the form of the novel for the purpose of social criticism. This was, in fact, what al-Muwaylihī was doing.

To conclude, al-Muwaylihī was acquainted with the novel and literature of Europe. According to his cousin, Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī Jr., he was a friend of Alexandre Dumas fils, as well as of many other famous European writers and intellectuals. However, because of his conservative attitude toward Arabic literature, he preferred to use a flexible classical Arabic form to express his ideas. He found that form in *Risālat al-Ghufrān*. Because he was concerned lest his work should be connected with a lowly genre of popular literature or with the modern novel, he

Similarities and Differences Between Hadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām, Risālat al-Ghufrān and the Maqāmāt

Hadīth	*al-Ghufrān*	*Maqāmāt*
1. Supernatural event	1. idem	1.
2. Aim: Criticism, Social	2. Criticism, Literary and Theological	2. Linguistic and rethorical abilities
3. Journey inside and outside the Egyptian society	3. Journey in Paradise and in Hell	3. Haphazard appearance in distant cities
4. Manipulating a certain narrative thread	4. idem	4.
5. A certain development of the main character	5.	5.
6. Various characters reappearing in other chapters	6. Various characters interviewed once	6. Limited number of characters
7. Opening sentence: *Qal 'Īsā ibn Hisham*	7. *Fayaqūl al-Shaykh*	7. *Haddathana 'Īsā ibn Hisham qal*
8. First person plural in the past tense	8. Third person singular in the present tense	8. First person singular in the present tense
9. Intensive use of dialogue with various characters	9. idem	9. Not such intensive use in all the *maqāmāt*
10. The main character is a famous and respected personality	10. idem	10. Witty beggar
11. Using rhymed and unrhymed prose	11. idem	11. Intensive use of rhymed prose
12. Different length of chapters on different themes: the Pasha does not return to the grave	12. idem. Ibn al-Qārih stays in Paradise	12. Short episodes with formulaic beginning and ending, and established, theme. No ending *maqāma*

changed the title of his work to that of *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām*, so that it would be associated with a respectable medieval Arabic genre, the *maqāma*.

Whether al-Muwayliḥī was able to write a novel of high standards that succesfully linked the narrative thread, and whether he was able to combine character and action in developing the plot, are two separate questions. It is unjustifiable to apply the sophisticated criteria of Western novels to a work stemming from a different background, and literary heritage, in a society with a different level of development.

STUDIES IN UGARITIC LEXICOGRAPHY AND PHILOLOGY

Mitchell Dahood, S.J.

The stunning discovery of nearly twenty-thousand tablets at Tell Mardikh-Ebla in 1974-1976 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in Syria would seem at first glance to overshadow the importance of the Ugaritic texts, but the arduous and steady examinations of the Ebla documents of circa 2500 BC by Professor Giovanni Pettinato of the University of Rome reveals that progress in understanding the third-millennium finds at Tell Mardikh will increasingly depend upon the interpretation of the second-millennium material from Ras Shamra, some 85 kilometers distant from Tell Mardikh. Hence the necessity for continued research on the Ugaritic texts, especially on those published in recent years.

In 1975 A. Caquot published[1] RS 34.126, a difficult text opening with the words *spr dbḥ qlm*, "a list of sacrifices to the fallen" (= the dead[2]). In Lines 18-19 it gives voice to the following prayer:

išḫn . špš	Heat up, O Sun,
wišḫn . nyr	yes, heat up, O Lamp!
ṭbt . ʿln	Be good to us
špš . tṣḥ	O Sun, be dazzling!

Caquot correctly renders *išḫn* by imperative "chauffe!" but offers no comment on its morphology.[3] To all appearances it is an *'ifil*

[1] *L'Annuaire du Collège de France, 75e Année*: Résumé des cours de 1974-1975 (Paris, 1975) 427-429.

[2] This sense of *qlm* is prompted by *Ugaritica V*, text 1:21-22, *ql il... kyrdm arṣ*, "El fell... like those gone down to the nether world". Compare also Hebrew *nᵉpilim*, "the fallen", associated with the Rephaim.

[3] Heretofore witnessed in Ugaritic only in the qal conjugation, causative *išḫn* may serve to clarify Prov 12:25, *dᵉʾāgāh bᵉleb ʾîš yašḥinēhû / dābār* (MT

causative, probably to be vocalized *'išḫīnī špš*, "Heat up, O Sun! The spelling with initial *alef* clearly sustains the position of those scholars who have posited a causative conjugation with preformative *'alef* in Ugaritic.[4]

Imperative *išḫn* is then balanced by the precative perfect *ṭbt 'ln*, "Be good to us!" a stylistic sequence well known from Hebrew poetry, especially from the Psalter where the suppliant implores divine help intermingling imperatives with precatives and jussives.[5] The association of *ṭb* with the sun recalls Qoheleth 11:7, *wᵉṭôb la'ênayim lir' ôt ' et haššamĕs*, "and good for the eyes to see the sun".

Precative *ṭbt* is in turn followed by an apparently jussive form *tṣḥ* from *ṣḥḥ*, "to be dazzling".

2. ṣd // mṣd.

In *Ugaritica V*, text 1:1-2, the chief problem seems to be stichometric. Unable to work out the stichometry, some scholars have assumed haplography,[6] but the appreciation of a stylistic usage obviates recourse to such expedients. The couplet reads:

il dbḥ.bbth.mṣd
ṣd.bqrb.hklh
ṣḥ.lqṣ.ilm

yašḫennāh wᵉdābār) *ṭôb yᵉśammᵉḫennah*, "Anxiety in a man's heart makes him feverish / but a friendly word gladdens him".

[4] Cf., e.g., M. Dahood, "Some Aphel Causatives in Ugaritic", *Biblica* 38 a(1957) 62-73, and, more recently, F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome 1967) 58; J.C. de Moor, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 26 (1969) 105; P.J. van Zijl, *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 2 (1972) 84, to list but several. J.C. Greenfield, *JAOS* 89 (1969) 175, thus appears to be wide of the mark when opining, "Dahood is perhaps the lone holdout in favor of the existence of the aphel in Ugaritic and this on the basis of extremely limited and doubtful evidence". In addition to shaphel and aphel, Ugaritic also possessed hiphil and yiphil causatives. In Hebrew, it might be noted, the number of identifiable yiphil causatives continues to increase; see my article "Poetic Devices in the Book of Proverbs" in the forthcoming *S.E. Loęwenstamm Festschrift* (Jerusalem, 1977).

[5] Consult M. Dahood, *Psalms III*, 422-423, and the newly discovered instance in Jer 11:18, *wayhwh hôdî ' anî wa' ēdā'āh / 'az hir ' îtanî ma'alᵉlêhem*,, "O Yahweh (*wa* = vocative particle), teach me that I may know / then show me their evil conduct!"

[6] Thus E.L. Greenstein, *Journal of Ancient Near East Society* 6 (1974) 92, and n. 27, citing M. Held who reads *il dbḥ <dbḥ> bbth*.

El slaughtered game in his house,
game in the midst of his palace.
He invited the gods to dine.

No problem of stichometry arises when *mṣd* and *ṣd* are seen as synonyms from the same root *ṣwd* "to hunt", the first formed with a performative *mem*. The A:B::B:A chiastic sequence further points to the synonymy of these terms: *b:mṣd::ṣd:b*. This balancing of two nouns from the same root but with different forms is a point of style not yet studied but whose appreciation will surely improve the translation and grammatical analyses of some biblical passages. Thus Psalms 37: 3b-4, *šîrû lānû mšyr* (MT *miššîr*) *ṣiyyôn /'ék našīr'et sîr yhwh / 'al 'admat nēkār*, "Sing for us a song of Zion / O how could we sing Yahweh's song / upon alien soil? Since the common pattern is *šîrû šîr* (Isa 42:10; Ps 33:3), MT *miššîr* with prepositional *min* has created difficulties for which different expedients have been proposed.[7] But the emergent balance between *mšyr* and *šyr* suggests that the psalmist employed the same morphological variation seen in ugar., *mṣd/ṣd*. Or again, if one assumes that in addition to 'îr, "city", Hebrew possessed a form with performative *mem*, one resolves the problem in Isa 25:2, *kî śamtā m'yr* (MT *me'îr*) *)aggāl / qiryāh bᵉṣûrāh lᵉmappēlāh*, "For you have turned a city into a stone heap /a fortified town into a ruin". Here unexplained *m'yr* looks like a sustantive parallel to *qiryāh*. Compare also Judg 20:48 with Deut 2:34 and 3:6

3. iṣr r't

One of the more disputed phrases in the alphabetic texts published by C. Virolleaud in *Ugaritica V* is *iṣr r't* occurring in text 3:2-4, *btk ġrh il ṣpn / b[tk] ġr tliyt / šb't brqm / [w] ṯmnt iṣr r't*, "in the midst of his mountain El Zaphan / in the midst of the mountain of his dominion / are seven bolts of lightning / [and] eight storehouses of evil winds".[8] This version recalls the *topos* in Ps 135:7, *bᵉrāqîm lammāṭār 'āśāh / môṣē' rûªḥ mē' ôṣᵉrôtāyw*, "He makes bolts of lightning for the rain/

[7] See my *Psalms III*, 271.

[8] This text may now be consulted in M. Dietrich – O.Loretz – J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* = *KTU* (AOAT 24; Neukirchen-Vluyn (1976), text *1.101*, pp. 108-109.

sends forth wind from his storehouses", but with the difference that Baal's winds are *r't*, "evil winds", where abstract 'evil' assumes a concrete denotation by reason of its pairing with concrete *brqm*, "bolts of lightning".[9] Biblical poets too were familiar with this motif. Jer 1:14, *miṣṣāpôn tiptāḥ* (MT *tippātah*) *hārā'ah / 'al kol yōšᵉbê hā'āreṣ*, "From Zaphon the evil wind will blow / over all the inhabitants of the land". Jer 4:6, *śᵉ'û nēs ṣiyyônāh / hā'ĩzû ' al ta'ᵃmōdû / kî rā'āh mēbî' / miṣṣāpôn wᵉšeber gadôl*, "Remove the banner from Zion[10] / seek refuge, stand not still / for an evil wind I am bringing / from Zaphon a great destruction indeed".[11] In Jer 1:14 the verb *pûᵃḥ*, "to blow", bestows specificity upon generic *rā'āh*, but it is the balance with *sa'ar*, "storm", that renders *rā'āh* specific in Jer 25:32, *hinnēh rā'āh yōṣē't / miggôy ' el gôy / wᵉsa'ar gādôl yē'ôr / miyyarkᵉtê 'āreṣ*, "See that evil wind spreading / from nation to nation / and a great storm is stirring / from the caves of the earth". Once again *rā'āh* is associated with *ṣāpôn* insofar as *yarkᵉtê 'areṣ* elicits *yarkᵉtê ṣāpôn*. Finally one may cite the motif in Jer 50:25, *pātaḥ yhwh 'et 'ôṣārô / wayyôṣē' 'et kᵉlê za'mô*, "Yahweh has opened his storehouse / and has brought out the weapons of his rage", and in Micah 6:10, *'ōṣᵉrôt rešaʿ* "storehouses of evil".[12]

4. irš 'm

I have had occasion to argue that *UT*, 2065:14-17, *irš 'my mnm iršṯk dḫsrt wank aštn liḫy*, "Request of me whatever your request for what is lacking, and I will send it to my brother", was relevant for the reading and rendering of Job 27:13, *zeh ḥeleq 'ādām rāšāʿ 'im 'ēl /wᵉnaḥᵃlat 'ārîṣîm miššāday yiqqaḥû*, "This is the wicked man's

[9] Explaining *tpṯḥ* as an infixed *–ṯ–* form from *pwḥ*, "to blow", thus creating on wordplay with Jer 1:13, *sîr nāpûᵃḥ*, "a cauldron fanned".

[10] As in Jer 1:14, *ṣāpônāh*, "from the north", the ending *–āh* of *ṣiyyônāh* designates provenience; for other examples of ambiguity with this *he-directionis*, see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 90e. Thus the ambivalence inherent in the ending *–āh* is of a piece with the ambivalence of the prepositions *b* and *l*.

[11] By interpreting the *waw* of *wᵉšeber* as emphatic, one obtains a more balanced stichometry of the bicolon.

[12] In *Psalms II* (1968) 287 and *Biblica* 50 (1969) 350.

portion from El / and the inheritance tyrants receive from Shaddai", where the evident parallelism with *min* points to the separative force of *'im*. In his third edition of *Job* (1973), p. 191, M. H. Pope accepted this line of reasoning with the comment, "This lone Ugaritic example of *'m* meaning 'from' is sufficient warrant for retaining *'im* as the counterpart of *min* in the parallel line, *'im 'ēl // miššadday*". The identification of a second instance of *'m*, "from" appreciably clarifies *UT*, 2009:rev.2-4, *mat š* [*al*] *išal 'mk ybl šdk*[13] "Hundreds of times I have urgently asked of you produce of your field". Virolleaud[14] could coax no sense from these lines, doubtless because he failed to relate *išal 'm* to *irš 'm*, or to compare Judg 8:24, *'ešᵃlāh mikkem šᵉ,ēlāh*. The Phoenician / Punic inscription from Pyrgi employs in line 6 the construction *'rš b: k 'štrt 'rš bdy*, "which Ashtoret requested from my hands".[15] In passing, one might note that in a bilingual vocabulary from Tell Mardikh–Ebla, Sumerian *al–du,, –ga*, "desire", claims as its Eblaite counterpart *i–ri–sa–tum*.[16]

The Ugaritic phrase *mat š* [*al*] *išal* imparts a certain respectability to my reading and translation Ps 27:4, *'aḥat šā' altt mē'āt* (MT *mē'et*), "One thing I have asked a hundred times".[17] The construct *chain ybl šdk*, "the produce of your field", compares with Heb. *yᵉbûl hā' āreṣ*, "the produce of the land", and with Job 40:20 which collocates the components of *ybl šdk: kt bûl hārîm yiśᵉ,û lô / wᵉkol ḥayyat haśśādeh yišḥᵃqû* (MT *yᵉśaḥᵃqû*) *šām*, "Because he carries off for himself the produce of the mountains / and all the wild beasts of the field he pulverizes there".[18] Here *bûl hārîm // ḥayyat haśśādeh* meris-

[13] Published also in *KTU* (see n.8) as text *2.34* where the editors read *šdk/t* for Virolleaud's *šd*. If the reading is *bl šdt* the translation becomes "the produce of the fields", where *šdt* answers to Heb. plural *šādôt*, "fields".

[14] In *Palais royal d'Ugarit V*, pp. 16-17.

[15] For a review of various attempts to interpret the phrase, see E. Lipiński, *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Bruxelles 39 juin – 4 juillet 1969 (Bruxelles, 1970) 35.

[16] Cf. G. Pettinato, *Biblical Archeologist* 39 (May, 1976). 50.

[17] *Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, Band I, col. 215.

[18] For a slightly different version of this line, see my effort in *Biblica* 57 (1976) 268.

tically describe the herbivorous and carnivorous nature of this extraordinary beast.

5. Emphatic k/ // temporal ky

The recognition of these values of *ky* improves the translation of *UT*, 2060:17-20, *wlḫt akl ky likt ʿm špš bʿlk ky akl bḫwtk inn*, "But a food list indeed you sent to the 'Sun' your master when there was no food in your village".[19] Contrast Virolleaud, "Et la tablette des vivres, quand tu l'as eu envoyée au Soleil, ton maître, alors il n'y a plus eu des vivres pour ("dans") ta subsistance".

6. Proclitic m– as vocative particle

Numerous are the studies on enclitic *-m* and its functions, among them that of vocative,[20] as in the one clear instance in 68:8–9, *ht ibk bʿlm*, "Now your foes, O Baal!" and more frequently when accompanying another vocative particle as in UT, 2 Aqht: VI:3–4, *ybtltm*, "O virgin!" but no one seems to have noticed the proclitic *m–* as vocative in Ugaritic and in Hebrew. The first example comes from *UT*, 51:II:29–30, *gm lglmh k[tṣḥ] / ʿn mkṯr k(?) pt[r*, "Aloud to her lad indeed she cried / 'Look, O Khotar of Caphtor!" When this address is compared with *UT*, 51:VII:52–54, *gm lg[lm]ḫ bʿl kyṣḥ ʿn [gpn] wugr*, "Aloud to his lad indeed Baal cried / 'Look Gapn and Ugar!' ", it becomes plausible to parse the *m–* of *mkṯr* as a vocative particle.[21] On this hypothesis the anomalous plural suffix is set right in *UT*, 1 Aqht:86, *abšrk m dn [il]*, "I announce to you, O Daniel". Since *dnil* is singular, the preceding suffix should also be singular. To be sure, merely two examples of this vocative particle can hardly

[19] Note the A:B::B:A chiasmas formed by *akl:ky::ky:akl* and for the other illustrations of this pattern in Ugaritic see A.R. Ceresko, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7 (1975) 75-76.

[20] Still useful is A.D. Singer's study, "The Vocative in Ugaritic", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 2 (948) 1-10.

[21] Failure to grasp the vocative role of proclitic *m–* has led A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques* (Paris, 1974) 199, to translate *ʿn mkṯr* "Regarde *le chef* d'oeuvre", with the comment "Nous supposons que *mkṯr* est un substantif dérivé de la racine qui a donné les noms de Kothar et des Kotharot".

be called adequate, but then only one good instance of enclitic *–m* as vocative has to date been identified. But when these two are joined to the biblical instances, the argument acquires consistency. Thanks to the parallelism, Cant 3:10–11 offers a convincing example of proclitic *mem* as vocative: *mibᵉnôt* (MT *mibbᵉnôt*) *yᵉrûšālāim ṣᵉ' eynāh/ûrᵉeynāh bᵉnôt ṣiyyôn*, "O daughters of Jerusalem, go forth / and look, daughters of Zion!" The chiastic parallelism shows that *mibᵉnôt yᵉrûšālāim* serves the same grammatical function as its counterpart *bᵉnôt ṣiyyôn*, which is clearly vocative. Compare vocative *bᵉnôt yᵉrûšalaim* without the proclitic *mem* in Cant 5:8.

With its purported plural *lākem*, Micha 1:11 presents the same syntactic problem as *UT*, 1 Aqht:86, *abšrkm*, cited above. If, however, instead of MT *'ibrî lākem yôšebet šāpîr*, with its numerical discord between singular *yôšebet* and plural *lākem*, we read *'ibrî lāk miyôšebet šāpîr*, "Pass by, O you who dwell in Shaphir", the problem of numerical discord is solved.

7. Dative suffix

Unable to extract sense from *UT*, 1020:1-4, *ḫnny lpn mlk šink itn*, J.C. de Moor[22] emended *šink* to *šilk* and rendered "your wishes I shall satisfy". As in Hebrew philology, so in Ugaritic textual emendation grows daily more hazardous and should be disallowed. Recognition of a dative suffix *šink* obviates the need for alteration and the request may be translated, "Plead for me before the king and what you lack I will give".[23] Analyzed into relative *š*[24] + *in* + dative *–k*, *šink* appears as the prosaic equivalent of poetic *UT* Krt:142, *pd in bbty ttn*, "But what is lacking in my house you will give"; cf. Ps 146:3, *še'ên lô teᵉšû'āh*, "who has no salvation". Thus one notes in *ḫnny lpn mlk šink itn* two dative suffixes - in *ḫnny* and *šink* - that compare with

[22] In *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965) 359-360.

[23] Cf. also W. Watson, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 6 (1974) 498, n. 6. For another instance of dative suffix with *'ên*, see Lam 3:49 *mā'ênāh pūgôt* (MT *mē'ên hᵃpūgôt*), "it has no respite whatever," where *mā'ênāh* is taken as the double negative studied by me in *CBQ* 37 (1975) 458-459.

[24] For other instances of relative *š* in Ugaritic, see J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, No. 2562; F.M. Cross, *BASOR* 190 (1968) 44-45.

RS 34.124:7-9, *lm tlikn ḫpṯ ḥndn p mšm't mlk inn*, "Why have you sent to me this simple soldier? Here I have no royal guard". where *tlikn* and *inn* are furnished with dative suffixes of the first person singular.[25]

The identification of the stylistic balance between a dative suffix and a prepositional phrase may serve to recover the root and definition of a disputed word in *UT*, 2 Aqht VI:34-35, *al tšrgn ybtltm / dm lġzr / šrgk ḫḫm*, "Lie not to me, o Virgin! / Be silent before a hero! / Your lies are thorns". For the construction *dm l*, cf. Ps. 37:7, *dôm layhwh*, "Be silent before Yahweh!" and for another possible occurrence of Ugar. *dm*, see *UT*, 'nt III:17-18, *dm rgm iṯ ly wargmk*, "Be silent, I have a word /and I shall speak to you".

8. Partitive beth

The partitive function of *b* is widely recognized by Hebrew grammars and lexica, a usage present also in such Ugar. phrases as *lḥm b lḥm*, "Eat some bread!" a common point of syntax further underlining the close relationship between Hebrew and Ugaritic. Here I would observe that the appreciation of the partitive function of *b* serves to recover the original, physical meaning of the verb *ḥṭ'* has been variously rendered in *UT*, 1 Aqht:150-151, *hm t' pn 'l qbr bny / tšḫṭann bšnth*,[26] "If they fly over my son's grave / cause him to lose any of his sleep". The physical sense of *ḫṭ'* is "to miss, lose", so that shaphel *tšḫṭann* would mean "to cause to miss, lose".[27] Here it is followed by the accusative suffix *–n* with the complement *bšnth*, "any of his sleep".

9. alp mru

A composite phrase denoting "a fattened ox" in economic text *UT*, 1128:16-17, it was split up by the poet and distributed over parallel

[25] Republished in *KTU, 2.72.*

[26] A. Caquot, *Textes ougaritiques*, 452, renders *tšḫṭann bšnth*, "(et) l'empêchent de dormir", with the note "litteralement 'ils le font manquer de son sommeil'". This version comes close but does not quite reproduce the partitive construction of the original. C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, pp. 74 and 401, subsumes *ḥṭ'* under *ḫṭ* II and explains the *–a–* as a *mater lectionis*, "they wake him up from his sleep".

[27] This meaning is also preserved in Hebrew; e.g., Prov 20:2, *naham hakk^{e}pîr 'êmat melek / mût 'ibb^{e}rô hôṭê' napšô*. "Asleep like a lion is the dread wrath of a king / but the man who provokes him forfeits his life". Instead of unexplained MT *mit'abb^{e}rô* I read singular *mût*, as in Ugaritic, and piel *'ibb^{e}rô*, with no relative pronoun expressed.

cola but without losing its unit meaning "a fattened ox" in *UT*, 51 V: 107-108, *št alp qdmh / mra wtk pnh*, "He set an ox in front of him / a fattened one right before his face". Failing to grasp both the poetic figure and the emphatic function of *w* in *wtk*, A. Caquot, M. Sznycer and A. Herdner[28] badly botch the stichometry and sense of the passage, scanning it as follows: *št alp qdmh wmra / wtk pnh t'db ksu / yttb lymn aliyn b'l / 'd lḥm št[y]*, "Il place un boeuf devant lui, une (bête) grasse / et en sa présence un siège est disposé. / (Kothar-Khasis) s'assied à la doite du Très Puissant Ba'al / tout le temps que les [dieux] mangent (et) boi[vent]". They thus put four words in each of first three cola and three in the last cola. The appreciation of the breakup of the composite phrase suggests rather this stichometry with three units in each of the four cola: *št alp qdmh / mra wtk pnh / t 'db ksu wyttb / lymn aliyn b'l / 'd lḥm št[y]*, "He set an ox in front of him / a fattened one right before his face / A chair is set and he is seated / at the right hand of Puissant Baal / eating, drinking all the while". In the final phrase I identify *'d* with Heb. *'ōd*, "ever, still", and take *lḥm* and *šty* as participles rather than as finite verbs.

10. The word-pair nwt, "homestead" //'r, "city"

In *Ugaritica V*, p. 570, C. Virolleaud renders laconic and enigmatic 607:61-62, *bḥrn pnm trġnw wttkl bnwth ykr 'r d qdm*, "Sur Horon elles... (leur) face et elles stérilisent sa virilité. (Alors), il quitte (?) la Ville de l'Est". The rendition of *ttkl bnwth* looks suspect since *tkl* normally denotes "to bereave" and not "to render sterile". Adherence to the basic meaning of *tkl* and cognizance of the word-pair *'îr // nāweh* in Isa: 27:10, *kî ' îr bᵉṣûrāh bādād / naweh mᵉšullaḥ wᵉneᶜzab kammidbār*, "For the fortified city is solitary / the homestead deserted and forsaken like the wilderness", suggest that *wttkl bnwth / ykr'r d qdm* be rendered "when she caused bereavement in his homestead / he

[28] *Textes ougaritiques*, 210. Faulty stichometry, sometimes the consequence of slighting the value of the particles, mars an otherwise excellent treatment of the text. Thus they render (p. 254) *tšu aliyn b'l lktp 'nt ktšth*, "Elle porte le Très Puissant Baal sur l'épaule de 'Anat / Quand (Shapash) l'a place", ignoring the emphatic function of *k* which often causes postposition of the verb. Render instead, "She lifted Puissant Baal / on Anath's shoulders indeed she placed him", and cf. Gordon, *UT*, 9.17, p. 76.

became acquainted with the City of the East"[29]. Here I identify *ykr* with Heb. hiphil *yakkîr*, "he became acquainted with"; cf. Job 7:10 24:17; Ps 103:16.

11. s'd=Heb. s'd, "to sustain".

The Ugar. verb *sad* occurs three times and in each instance it is associated with *lḥm*, "to eat"; e.g. *UT*, 2 Aqht:V:19-20, *šlḥm ššqy ilm / sad kbd hmt*, "Give the god food and drink / sustain, honor him!" Here *šlḥm // sad* and *ššqy // kbd*. Though scholars generally agree on the meaning of *sad*, no accord has been reached as to its Semitic cognates.[30] Z. Rin[31] has, however, passingly suggested a connection with Heb. *sā'ad*, but this equation has not received the consideration it deserves,[32] doubtless because Rin did not document his insight. Hence it may not be amiss to cite those biblical passages associating *s'd* with *leḥem*, just as Ugar. *s'd* contextually concurs with *lḥm* in each of its three attestations. Thus Gen 18:5, *w^e'eqḥāh pat leḥem w^esa^udû libb^ekem*, "So let me take a bit of food and refresh yourselves"; Judg 19:5, *s^e'ad libb^eka pat lehem*, "refresh yourself with a bit of food"; Ps 104:15, *w^eleḥem l^ebab 'enôš yis'ād*, "and with food he sustains the heart of man".[33] Perhaps the most instructive text is I Kings 13:7-8 because it describes how *sā'ad* is achieved. When invited by the king *s^e'ādāh*, "Refresh yourself!" the man of God declines with

[29] When the new instances of parallel word-pairs common to Ugaritic and Hebrew are published in L. Fisher, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels*, III (Rome, 1978), the total will exceed a thousand.

[30] G.R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 146, n. 29, merely writes concerning *s'd*, "root unknown".

[31] *'Aliloth Ha'elîm* (Jerusalem 1968) 73.

[32] J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern*, 69, finds Rin's equation "tempting" but declines to accept it. Instead he opts for a connection with Arab. *sayyid*, "chieftain, prince", and renders "to entertain like a prince". This option accords with de Moor's penchant for Arabic etymologies and his general slighting of Hebrew cognates, convinced as he is that Hebrew is not Ugaritic's closest kin.

[33] For the grammatical basis of this version, see M. Dahood, *Psalms III*, 41.

the affirmation *lō' 'ōkal leḥem wᵉlō' 'ešteh mayim bammāqôm hazzeh*, "I will not eat bread and I will not drink water in this place". This definition fits the Ugaritic passages as well, so that the equation of *s'd* and *s'd* becomes difficult to impugn.[34]

[34] On other roots showing this irregular correspondence, consult De Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, 69.

Belief and Thought

HUMAN PREDICAMENT IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AS EVIDENCED IN THE QUR'AN

M.S. Seale

My aim in this paper is to draw attention to a theme in the Qur'an which appears in a few scattered but highly concise passages that may be easily overlooked. I am referring to references, in the Qur'an, to man's condition in pre-Islamic times commonly known as the *Jahiliyya:* the age of ignorance, or rather the barbaric age. These passages show the Qur'an to be highly critical of the norms of social life that were not only pagan, but were also characterized by violence, anxiety and an utter lack of compassion.

1. The Poets

The view taken by the Qur'an of the Jahiliyya is totally different from the picture drawn by the poets of the classic age. These poets depict a society in which men are chivalrous, hospitable, generous to a fault, ready to sacrifice life for honor and exhibiting the whole range of nomadic virtues summed up in the word *muruwwa.* The truth is that the *muruwwa* sung by the poets represents the Beduin ideal rather than the Beduin reality. Life in the desert was harsh, merciless and often short and the Qur'an is a source to prove that this was the case.

The poets in the Jahiliyya, as we know, were men of immense prestige. They were the wise men, the thinkers and the historians of the tribe. The emergence of a poet was celebrated with dance and song. The poems which were preserved and memorized recorded the triumphs of the tribe and helped shape its identity. But these same poets are dismissed in the Qur'an as an evil influence. Sura 26:224reads: "The wicked follow the poets; you see them wandering in every valley, they say what they do not practice." To the Prophet the poets were trouble makers who were stirring up strife by their satires. Dependent on patronage, they were shameless flatterers and sycophants. By criticizing the poets, the Qur'an runs counter to the whole ethos of a society in which poets

and poetry were venerated. It thereby affirms that the values lauded in the poems were false, and that a society which based its morality on that of the poets was basically corrupt. The pursuit of wine, women and loot could not be accepted as man's prime objective. Life, the Qur'an says, is a a more serious affair, and was not created in sport.

2. Jahiliyya Characteristics in the Qur'an

There are two telling phrases in the Qur'an which between them sum up some of the serious flaws in pre-Islamic society: one is *ḥukm al-Jahiliyya* which may be rendered as the code of conduct in the age of ignorance (Sura 5:55); the other is *hamiyyat al-Jahiliyya:* the hot headedness of the age of ignorance (Sura 48:26). Irresponsible and unrestrained revenge was part and parcel of the code of conduct described as *ḥukm al-Jahiliyya.* In opposition to this, the Qur'an recommends the more sober lex talionis in which the punishment fits the crime: "a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and for wounds retaliation." (Sura 5:45) Excessive self-regard and touchiness caused them to take offense too easily and to kill in order to revenge an insult or a discourtesy. The Qur'an censures this vain pride in a passage which recalls the biblical phrase: "walk humbly with the Lord your God": The Quramic verse runs: "Do not strut haughtily, for you will neither split open the earth, nor rise to be as high as the mountains." (S. 17:2) Similarly, *ḥamiyyat al-Jahiliyya* refers to the impetuous violence characteristic of a predatory society in which raiding and looting were routine and in which conscience, remorse, regret or guilt were unknown. Against such excesses, the Qur'an warns that the day will come when man will say: "O, how much I regret my dissipations!" (Sura 26:225)

3. Tribalism

In another passage, the Qur'an briefly relates how the ancient Israelites angered both God and Moses by reverting to idolatry and worshipping the golden calf. In this context the Qur'an repeats Moses' prescription: "Slay one another", literally "Slay yourselves" (Sura 2:54)[1] This last

[1] Exodus 32:27 tells us that Moses told the Levites: "These are the words of the Lord . . . Arm yourselves, each of you, with his sword. Go through the camp from gate to gate and back again. Each of you kill his brother, his friend, his neighbour," i. e. all who worshipped the golden calf.

phrase, which has been the cause of much puzzlement, become clear when it is seen as a judgement on tribal solidarity. Tribal custom required members of a tribe to give each other protection, even if guilty of criminal acts, a practice which served to perpetuate tribal feuds and killings. In the words of an Arabian poet:

(I say to my soul) Take courage,
this is a recurring evil;
your people have involved me in carnage
and war is afoot again.

Such was the predicament from which the Qur'an sought to deliver them. Tribalism had to be crushed in the interests of a new community comprising members of different tribes, including Jews, foreigners and slaves. The injunction meant that men should be ready to punish members of their own family in the interests of true religion and law.

4. Infanticide

Another evil practice in the old society was that of infanticide: the killing at birth of female children. The birth of a baby girl was thought to be a source of possible future dishonor, if she should be taken prisoner and enslaved. Alternatively, her father might fall in battle and the girl would then be at the mercy of an unkind relative. This too would be a cause for humiliation. Another reason for destroying a female child was fear of poverty, of having too many mouths to feed.

The Qur'an graphically describes the dilemma of a father unfortunate enough to hear of the birth of a girl: "When one of them is told of the birth of a daughter, his face darkens with great anger. He avoids company because of the bad news. Should he keep the child in spite of the disgrace or bury it in the dust?" (Sura 16:58) Hence the Quranic strict injunction: "Do not kill your children fearing poverty; we will keep you and your children. It is wicked to kill them." (Sura 17:33)

5. Pessimism and anxiety

For most people in the Jahiliyya life hung by a thread, such were the hazards of their existence; like Esau, the biblical big-game hunter, everyone of them could say: "I am at death's door." The Arabian poet, Zuhayr ibn Abu Salma makes the same pessimistic judgement:

I see fate as a kick from a blind camel:
If it scores a hit, you are dead;
If a miss, you live until you are senile.

Ever present for the desert Arab was the knowledge that life was short and that time was running out. Time (*dahr*) was the killer, hence *dahri* came to mean an atheist: one who believed that time rather than God determined the span of our lives. We find the same pessimism in Tarafa's Golden Ode:

> I swear that we are all tethered beasts,
> with the end of the rope held fast by death.

6. The Old Religion: A Nonentity

The religion which Islam displaced could provide but little solace for this despairing fatalism. From the scanty evidence available, the Jahiliyya religion seem to have consisted of little more than a few meaningless rituals which the Qur'an contemptuously dismisses: Sura 8: 35 runs: "And their prayer at the House (i.e the Ka'aba) consists of nothing else but whistling and clapping of hands. "They had no scriptures no temple officials, no religious disciplines; their sacred places were trees or rocks which were in charge of a keeper, some of whom were equipped with divining arrows to help enquirers resolve their problems: One arrow advised action, another inaction, a third enjoined to wait and see."

The Ka'aba like Canaanite places of worship contained images of gods with sacred stones standing inside its perimeter. Ibn Hisham tells us that Hubal, its leading deity, was imported from Moab in Syria.[2] Its other deities such as al-Lat , al-'Uzza and Wudd were probably represented by statues, as is suggested by the old rhyme:

> We forsook at-Lat, al-'Uzza and Wudd,
> We stripped off their necklaces and earrings.[3]

The Qur'an is scornful of these goddesses, Sura 16:57 runs: "They father daughters upon God, but they themselves dislike having them." Then again in Sura 4:116: "Instead of praying to God, they pray to females."

The Black Stone was one of the sacred stones in the pagan Ka'aba. According to Ibn Ishaq, whether we believe him or not, stone worship originated with the sons of Ishmael. Leaving Mecca to settle in a new country, the Ishmaelite took with him a stone from the old country and

[2] Ibn Ishaq's *Sirat Rasul Allah,* translated by A. Guillaume, p. 701.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 36.

circumambulated it as he did the Ka'aba. This act led, in turn, to the worship of other stones.

To conclude. The Qur'an is a source of information about man's predicament. It emerged in an anxiety-ridden society where life was hard and full of danger, if not in Mecca itself, certainly in the rest of the country. To this anxiety-ridden society, the Prophet brought a measure of security, and more importantly a body of doctrine including a belief in a hereafter. When the Meccans came and said: "What, when we are bones and dust, shall we be raised again in a new creation?" (Sura 17:98) The Qur'an replied in effect: He who created you in the first place is able to remake you a second time.

A KHOJKI VERSION OF THE NIZARI ISMAILI WORKS THE PANDIYAT-I- JAWANMARDI

Azim Nanji

The Persian Nizari Ismaili text of the *Pandiyat-i- Jawanmardi* was first made available to students of Ismailism through an adition and translation prepared by the late Vladmir Ivanow.

In his Introduction to the work, he also drew attention to a version of the *Pandiyat* then in existence, among the Nizari Ismailis of the subcontinent, which was transcribed in Khojki and Gujarati characters. It appears that Ivanow had access only to lithographed and printed editions of these versions that began to appear in the first quarter of this century, and not to older manuscript versions. He was, therefore, unable to say anything definite about the origin of these Indian versions except to cite the oral tradition surrounding the entry of the Pandiyat into India.

On a trip to India and Pakistan to study the emergence and development of Nizari Ismailism there, I came across manuscript material that has only recently become available. These manuscripts are, for the most part, copied in Khojki or Khwaja Sindhi, a script unique to the Nizari Ismailis of the Subcontinent and one in which the entire literary heritage of the community came to be recorded and preserved.

Elsewhere I have argued that this heritage, consisting mostly of the Ginan Tradition, was preserved orally in the initial stages, and that it can be established that the earlier part of the Ginan corpus was being recorded in the Khojki script at least during the early part of the sixteenth century. The earliest manuscripts do not appear to have survived the vagaries of the tropical climate and humidity or the pressures of the chequered history of the persecuted Ismaili Da'wa. Nevertheless, a version of the *Pandiyat* is to be found in one of the oldest surviving manuscripts dating from 1736 and also in a series of manuscripts dating from the latter part of the eighteenth to the early part of the nineteenth centuries. The fact that it appears with such evident regularity in these manuscripts suggests that it had by this time become an integral part of

the Tradition. If we accept the chronology of the original Persian work established by Ivanow, and there seems to be no reason for challenging it, the *Pandiyat* was compiled by a devout Ismaili during the closing decades of the fifteenth century, who copied down the sayings and guidance of the Nizari Ismaili Imam Shah Mustansir billah, who died just before 1480 in Anjudan.

The next century of the Ismaili community's history both in Iran and India was a period of great crisis and it is in the context of these troubles that the *Pandiyat* comes to assume a special position.

In Iran, from 1498 onwards, the graves of subsequent Imams no longer appear in the Anjudan area until the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is clear that the Imams of this period were hampered by persecution and had to be constantly on the move. This is attested to by the available Ismaili sources which refer to the Imams of the time as being in *satr.*

In India, meanwhile, the community was split by a schism in the early part of the sixteenth century, as Nar Muhammad Shah, the son of Sayyid Imam Shah, laid claim to the *Imamat* and thus gave rise to the Imam Shahi sect causing the da'wa organization to be seriously disrupted. The da' wa had become quite widespread in Sind, Punjab and Gujarat following the work of the early figures in the da'wa such as Pirs Shams al din, Sadr al Din, Kabir al Din and Sayyid Imam Shah among others. The widely scattered followers in the Subcontinent had been held together by their allegiance to the Pir or Chief Dai who in turn relied on others from among his family and the local heads in each to hold the whole community together. The schism divided loyalties and the central function of the Pir no longer acted as a focal point. It is in the context of the crisis in Iran and this vacuum created by the split in India, that the *Pandiyat* came to play a significant role, as the symbol of authority and substitute for a Pir. The oral tradition prevalent in the community in India and cited by Ivanow in his Introduction to the text, maintained that the *Pandiyat* had been sent by the Imam of the time, the grandson of Shah Mustansir billah, Imam Gharib Mirza (who also used the title of Mustansir billah) to the *jamāat* in India to fulfill the function of the Pir. This is verified by our Manuscript sources. In one place, this tradition is recorded in a colophon to the text of the *Pandiyat* in Khojki. In another, it appears in a ginan called *Satveniji Vel,* a work that attempts to provide some historical data of a popular kind. Also, of course, the oldest manuscripts contain the list of *hujjats* where the *Pandiyat* is listed as the *hujjat* of the time. Further, there is evidence

from Iranian Ismaili sources such as the writings of Khayr Khwah that indicate that an organized attempt was being made in conjunction with the central da'wa in Iran to provide centers such as those in the Subcontinent with reliable materials for propagating the Nizari doctrine and for consolidating the community organization after its troubles. Undoubtedly it is at this time that the *Pandiyat* entered the scene and became part of the Nizari Ismaili Tradition in the Subcontinent and was probably recorded together with the earlier ginans in the Khojki script. India and Iran were by no means the only areas of Ismaili settlement beset with problems. The conflict between the Qasim Shahi line of Nizari Imams and the dissident Muhammad Shahis, which originated in the fifteenth century, was continuing to have its repercussions in areas such as Afghanistan and Badakhshan. It is by no means impossible that the *Pandiyat* was also sent to these areas. The text of the *Pandiyat,* in fact contains a reference to such a rift to which it addresses itself. The *Pandiyat* also occurs in the list of *hujjats* found in Badakhshan. It is of some significance that the manuscript used by Ivanow was copied in Hunza in 1935 from an older version originating in Sarikol in the Kashgar area. Such old manuscripts do indeed exist in Hunza and Chitral and I am grateful to Mr. Faquir Mohamed Hunzai, now of McGill University, for information about these. It appears that older manuscripts came to this area through Afghanistan with whose Ismailis, the people in Hunza and the Pamir region, were in constant contact. In due course, such manuscripts will undoubtedly become available and ultimately enable us to trace the chain of transmission through which the *Pandiyat* was made available to all such Ismaili communities.

In the meantime, the Khojki versions remain the oldest surviving texts we possess of the *Pandiyat* at the moment.

Having dwelt on the significance and overall context of the work, I just wish to indicate here very briefly by way of rounding off the discussion in what respect the Khojki versions differ from the Persian text.

One general conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of a preliminary study of the manuscript versions is that the material context of the *Pandiyat* is similar to the Persian text. Thus there are no differences in the substance of the texts. Considering the fact that the Pandiyat was indeed a "sacred work" and that it has been made available to the various communities at the instance of the Iman himself, one can understand that every effort was made to see that a uniform version was made available to the various scattered communities. On the other hand, however, there is the problem, that most of the scribes and copyists were ignorant

of Persian and in the process of copying the *Pandiyat* in Khojki, a lot of what Ivanow somewhat disparagingly called "amateurish remodeling" did take place but only it would appear in as much as it affected the phrasing of the Imam's utterances and the inevitable Khojki-ization of the text. This is not surprising since it was Pir Shihab al Din Shah towards the end of the nineteenth century who also drew the attention of the local Ismailis to the fact that they had even distorted the names of the Imams in the standard genealogy because of their ignorance of Persian and Arabic names. Thus though officially sanctioned texts did make their way to India from Iran, the task of recording the text in Khojki, which was for the most part undertaken by local scribes with little or no knowledge of Persian, does not appear to have gone through a precise process of verification of the literal wording of the work.

IDEOLOGY AND RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mourad Wahba

The social change now taking place in the Middle East signifies a revolutionary transformation. This leads to a questioning and re-evaluation of the traditional values of life, which were influenced by the traditional regions, especially Islam and Christianity. That is why the intelligentsia in the Middle East is committed to developing an ideology which can solve this situation.

Religion is, by its very nature, a *dagner,* an absolute. Ideology, on the contrary, is relative, by its very nature, and thus could develop and change.

This opposition between the relative and the absolute, ideology and religion, leads to three dilemmas.

The first dilemma is how to put the relative into the absolute, to put ideology into religion so that religion could be used as a means of changing the societies in the Middle East.

The second dilemma is how to put the relative into the absolute in a secular age, that is, in an age where the relative is separated from the absolute.

The third dilemma, which comes out of the second one, is that secularization, in the Middle East, does not constitute a social trend.

The political movements, which are prevailing in the Middle East, that is Marxism and the Moslem Brothers, are a proof of the previous statement.

On the one hand, the Arab Marxists, on the whole, try to prove that atheism in Marxism is an outcome of Western civilization, a response against the reactionary religious institutions. On this basis the Marxists, in Egypt, have recently coined a new concept, that is: Islamic Marxism, which is attacked severely by most of the religious thinkers.

On the other hand the Moslem Brothers movement insists upon refusing the whole Western civilization, a backward one, and proclaims the re-

construction of an Islamic society where God is the only ruler and where the individual is under his complete control. Consequently, the legitimate power, for this society, is the *Quran.*

Naturally, these two movements have an impact on the Arab thinkers as concerns the tackling of the problem of ideology and religion. So, I think it could be profitable if I expose their solution for this problem. I choose three eminent Arab thinkers:

Malek Ben Nabi (Algeria).
Zaki Naguib Mahmoud (Egypt).
René Habachi (Lebanon).

Ben Nabi's main theme is to re-construct an Islamic society, free of exploitation, imperialism and copying from modern civilization. But this is impossible unless the Islamic ideas become "efficient". Ben Nabi means, by "efficiency", the ability to radically change the world, to create history. He says that this kind of efficiency was realized during the Prophet's time, that is creating the Islamic empire and deepening the Islamic truth. One could object, saying that the Islamic truth was not identified with one point of view but with many. This objection could be acceptable, but none could deny efficiency at that time.

What does this mean, according to Ben Nabi?

It means that truth is subjective, while efficiency is objective. Hence, objective factors are required for the realization of efficiency. Unfortunately, these conditions are absent nowadays, and their absence is due to two reasons:

1) Presence of imperialism;
2) Absence of ideas.

The first reason is obvious but the second is obscure and has to be explained in detail.

According to Ben Nabi's ideology there are three worlds which are necessary for any civilization:

1) World of ideas;
2) World of persons;
3) World of things.

The leading world is the world of ideas, because man is distinguished

from animal by reason and this means that our idea of a thing precedes its realization in reality. Therefore, ideas have this ability for changing a world of persons and a world of things.

Here, a question is to be raised: What is the matter with the world of ideas in the Islamic world at the present time?
Ben Nabi's answer is that the world of ideas is absent and its absence is due to two factors:

1) Objective factor;
2) Subjective factor.

According to Ben Nabi, imperialism represents the objective factor. It negates creative powers of man by involving him in the world of things instead of the world of ideas. In this way, man retreats to the infantile period which is characterized by handling things without knowing what they are. That is why imperialism is always keen to sell us things and not ideas, and even if it accepts to sell us ideas, it sells them after distorting and falsifying them.

But imperialism as an objective factor is valueless without the subjective factor which designates the "ability towards imperialism", that is, the refusal to utilize one's potentialities to raise the standard of living. Ben Nabi, is his book "Vocation of Islam" (Beirut, 1970, p. 105), says that liberation from imperialism implies liberation from ability towards imperialism. Hence, any revolution neglecting this subjective factor, condemns itself to failure.

How could a revolution avoid such failure?
Through cultural revolution, but such revolution is not sufficient, though it is necessary. It is in need of an "explosive economic policy" to liberate productive forces and in this way the Islamic idea retains its efficiency. But what is the definition of this technical term, "explosive economic policy"?

Ben Nabi's definition is that it is neither the capitalistic pattern nor the Marxist pattern.

What it is, then?

We get no answer from Ben Nabi and that is his dilemma, because one cannot control and orientate social change if he lacks a clear idea of what is required for such a change.

What about Zaki Naguib?

In one of his later books, entitled "Revival of Arab Thought" (Beirut,

1971, P. G-20), he says that his aim is to reconcile Arab legacy with modernism.

What is meant by Arab legacy?

According to Zaki Naguib, Arab legacy is the technique used by our ancestors for living. Our task is to choose the technique which can help us in promoting our living. Hence, Arab legacy is not a matter of ideology but technology.

What is meant by modernism?

According to Zaki Naguib, "logical positivism" represents the spirit of modernism. That is why it is an essential part in Zaki Naguib's philosophy to affirm a legitimate distinction between factual judgement and value-judgement. One is scientific, the other is not.

As a consequence, one cannot advocate a scientific approach to the study of social change. Hence, ideology also is non-scientific, and what we call ideological struggle is nonsense.

That is why, according to Zaki Naguib, these terms "capitalist or socialist society" have been replaced by "technological or advanced industrial society".

This trend has become the main theme of modern burgeois ideology and it has received the name of "de-ideologization", which is an attempt to implant an apolitical state of mind that does not care either for social change or for society. That is why Zaki Naguib is consistent with his philosophy when he wrote in his book *Days in America*, (Cairo 1955):

> **"Owing to my philosophical trend, I approve of anything that could strengthen the individuality of the individual and that could destroy society in case social solidarity is to grow up at my own expense. There is no real fact except my own being and everything else is but an instrument for strengthening this being"**

This statement confirms our point of view: "de-ideologization" is an ideological weapon to combat against social change.

As for René Habachi, he is claiming what he calls "mediterranean civilization". He defines it in a negative way: it is neither East nor West, because both have an "aggressive Ego" that hates others.

What it is, then?

Habachi's answer is that it is an amalgamation of our past and our present.

According to Habachi, existentialism represents our present. We live in an existentialist atmosphere; we care for the crisis against the individual as a result of weapons of destruction invented by science. Hence, what

matters is not death as universal concept but the death of the individual

What is be done?

Our past should be injected by our present; in other words, *essentialism* should be injected by existentialism.

Against what?

Against "atheism" coming to us from the European civilization. Here, Habachi offers a formula that could help us in combating atheism, that is, injecting the temporal by the spiritual so that separation becomes impossible. That is why Habachi is for the Islamo-Christian dialogue which is going on in our present time.

Now, a question is to be raised: Is atheism the basic problem in developing countries in the Middle East.?

My own answer is negative for quite an obvious reason; the basic problem, in such areas, is not the contradiction between religious faith and atheism but the contradiction between exploitation and liberation of human beings.

To conclude, let me say that the ideologies described in this paper, suggest that the "would-be-ideology" for pushing social change in the Middle East towards social progress is in the making.

And this "in-the-making" faces an essential obstacle, that is, the absence of the spirit of the secularization, the spirit of an epoch, that is, the separation of the relative from the absolute.

AN ISMĀʿĪLĪ REFUTATION OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ

Ismail Poonawala

Al-Ghazālī wrote his refutation of the Ismāʿīlīs entitled *al-Mustaẓhirī*, or *Faḍāiḥ al-Bāṭinīyah wa-faḍā il al-Nustazhirīyah*, at the behest of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir around 487/1093-4 or 488/1094-5, shortly before suffering a nervous breakdown and leaving Baghdad.[1] Although al-Ghazālī had refuted and attacked Ismaʿilis in his numerous writings, *al-Mustazhiri* was the first Sunnite attempt to wrestle with the intellectual problems raised by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's new teaching.[2]

After his return from Cairo in 474/1081-2, Ḥasan-i, Ṣabbāḥ reinvigorated the *daʿwah* in Iran by adopting a new and aggressive policy. At the political and military level he tried to storm the rising Saljuk power by seizing mountain strongholds and spreading terror by selective assassination of his enemies; at an intellectual level he developed the doctrine of *taʿlim* and turned it into a sharp intellectual tool to be used in arguments against his adversaries. Because of this new teaching the Persian *daʿwah* became known as *al-daʿwah al-jadīdah* in contradistinction to the old Ismaʿili movement called *al-daʿwah al-qadimah*.

At the time al-Ghazālī wrote his refutation, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was becoming known.[3] In his spiritual biography, *al-Munqidh min al-dalal*, al-Ghazālī admits that besides the scholastic theologians (*mutakallimūn*), philosophers, and Ṣūfīs, the *taʿlimiyah* played an important role in the

[1] Maurice Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazālī*, édité et mis à jour par Michel Allard, Beyrouth, 1959, 30-32; Al-Ghazālī, *Faḍā'iḥ al-Bāṭinīyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Badawī, Cairo, 1964, 2-3.

[2] See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., s.v. "Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ;" Marshall Hodgson, *Order of Assassins*, Hague, 1955, 51 ff.

[3] F. Jabre in his "La biographie et l'oeuvre de Ghazālī reconsiderées a la lumière des *Tabaqat* de Sobki," *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'études Orientales*, 1 (1953), 92-4, suggests that al-Ghazālī left Baghdad because of his fear of the Ismāʿīlīs (Assassins) who had murdered Niẓām al-Mulk in 485/1092.

development of his thinking.[4] Therefore, when al-Ghazālī mentions the *ta'līmīyah* denoting contemporary Ismā'īlīs he is thinking of a group of expounders of new doctrine.[5] In his refutation, al-Ghazālī shows less interest in the early Ismā'īlīs and their doctrine, but gives greater prominence to the circle of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. It was the doctrine of *ta'līm* and not the neoplatonism of early Ismā'īlīs which engaged his attention.[6] *Al-Mustaẓhirī* was first published in an abridged form, with introduction and analytical summary by Ignaz Goldziher, from the British Museum manuscript in 1916.[7] The complete text was edited by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī with an additional manuscript from Qarawīyīn mosque, in Fās, in 1964.[8]

'Ali b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid (d. 612/1215), the fifth *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Musta'lī-Ṭayyibī *da'wah* in Yaman, wrote a refutation of *al-Mustaẓhirī* entitled *Damigh al-bāṭil wa-ḥatf al-munāḍil.*[9] The author of this refutation was an illustrious *dā'ī*, and was closely associated with the Ḥāmidī family in consolidating the *da'wah.*[10] Although the *ta'limīyah* which later became known as the Nizārīs came under al-Ghazali's scathing attack, *al-Mustaẓhirī*, written before the Musta'lī-Nizārī split, was directed against all Ismā'īlīs. In contrast to the Nizari ascendancy, declaration of the doctrine of *qiyāmah* and abolition of the *sharī'ah* by Hasan *'alā dhikrihi al-salām* in 559/1164,[11] the Musta'lī-Ṭayyibī *da'wah* in Yaman was passing through a difficult time after the collapse of the Ṣulayḥids. Hence, it is not surprising that al-Ghazālī was refuted by a Musta'lian *dā'ī*. Throughout *Damigh al-bāṭil* the author draws sharp distinctions between different groups within the Ismā'īlīs which deviated from the original doctrine and went astray. The Musta'lī-Ṭayyibī *da'wah*

[4] See Al-Ghāzalī, *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, ed. and tr. F. Jabre, Beyrouth, 1959, 28.

[5] Ibid., 28.

[6] The refutation of the doctrine of *ta'līm* is the longest chapter in *al-Mustaẓhirī*; *see* al-Ghazalī, *Faḍā'iḥ al-Bāṭinīyah*, 73-131.

[7] Ignaz Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinija-Sekte*, Leiden, 1916.

[8] See al-Ghazālī, *Faḍā'iḥ al-Bāṭinīyah.*

[9] For the life and works of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature*, in preparation.

[10] See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., s.v. "al-Ḥāmidī."

[11] Marshall Hodgson, op. cit., 148 ff.

which considers both *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* as two integral parts of religion, is shown as the true Ismā'īlī *da'wah*.

Dāmigh al-bāṭil is in two bulky volumes, each comprised of more than 600 pages. I have been able to locate two complete copies, each in the private collections of A. A. A. Fyzee[12] and Dā'ūdī Atbā'-i Malak Wakīl in Bombay. Another two copies of volume one are to be found in the University Library of Tübingen,[13] and the Ṣan'a' Mosque Library, respectively.[14] As a first step toward full evaluation of this work and that of al-Ghazālī, I hope to offer its critical edition which will yield two important results. First, it will help in establishing and improving the text of *al-Mustaẓhirī*, because in his refutation, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd has reproduced the almost complete text of al-Ghazālī. A cursory comparison of the two reveals many variants, additions, and omissions. Secondly, *Dāmigh al-bāṭil*, being the only detailed Ismā'īlī reply to the charges levelled against them by their opponents, explains the Ismā'īlī position which is very often distorted by their adversaries.

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd has divided his refutation into twelve chapters: the first deals with the life of al-Ghazālī, the second concerns al-Ghazālī's intention in writing *al-Mustaẓhirī*, and the remaining ten chapters are devoted to the refutation of corresponding chapters in *al-Mustaẓhirī*.[15]

Al-Ghazālī's confessions in *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, when he passed through a phase of scepticism and studied various Islamic schools of thought in his search for a more satisfying intellectual position, have been twisted by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd to his own advantage.[16] Al-Ghazālī is depicted as shaky and unstable, in his belief as one who kept on changing from one school to another to gratify his worldly needs. At one place the author of *Dāmigh al-bāṭil* states: Al-Ghazālī's faith never struck deep roots in any school of Islamic thought, he kept

[12] Fyzee has donated his manuscripts to the Bombay University Library, see *A descriptive catalogue of the Fyzee collection of Ismaili manuscripts*, compiled by M. Goriawala, Bombay, 1965, 81-2.

[13] This Ismā'īlī collection, recently acquired, is not yet catalogued.

[14] Information given by Professor Abbas Mambani who discovered it during his visit to Yaman in 1974 and asked the Arab League mission to microfilm it.

[15] For this paper I have used the copy of *Dāmigh al-bāṭil* in the Fyzee collection.

[16] Al-Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, 9 ff.; see also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., s.v. "al-Ghazālī."

on vacillating between philosophy, Mu'tazilism, Ash'arism, and Ṣūfism. How can an unbalanced person like this be relied upon? Certainly, he was misled, and he misled those who followed him."[17]

Next, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd points out a contradiction in al-Ghazālī's thought by citing diverse passages from the latter's works composed at different times. *Al-Mukat al-'uyūn,*[18] a spurious work ascribed to al-Ghazālī and supposed to have been composed by the latter toward the end of his life, is frequently cited in *Dāmigh al-bāṭil.* By quoting lengthy passages from the aforesaid book 'Alt b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd tries to demonstrate that al-Ghazālī had adopted a more philosophical position during the later part of his life. It further establishes two points. First, as stated in *al-Mukat al-'uyun,* al-Ghazali himself held esoteric views not to be divulged to the commonalty, how can he then reproach the Isma'ilis for maintaining the same view? Second, the philosophers consider *sharā'i'* laid down by the prophets to be superfluous; al-Ghazālī being their disciple, therefore, rejects the Islamic *shari'ah.* Hence, he is a *māriq, mutamarrid,* and *mulḥid.*[19]

A detailed analysis of *Dāmigh al-bāṭil* is beyond the scope of this brief paper, so I will conclude by making some general remarks. Al-Ghazālī, who argued against the doctrine of *ta'lim* by using *reductio ad absurdum* arguments, himself recognized the justice of the argument that reason alone is inadequate to arrive at truth, and that it must be supplemented by an imām. He has, therefore, replaced the Ismā'īlī imām with an Abbasid imām in his *al-Mustaẓhirī.*[20] As regards the Ismā'īlī doctrine, it should be pointed out that al-Ghazālī tried to understand some parts before submitting it to reasoned criticism, while he distorted others in his presentation. At times he evoked the then current anti-Ismā'īlī stories in slandering them, and sometimes he followed the anti-Ismā'īlī trend set before him as he sought their origins among the Mazdakites, dualists, and atheist philosophers as a plot to undermine Islam from within.

17 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, *Dāmigh al-bāṭil,* I, 12-3.

18 M. Bouyges, op. cit., 92; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Mu'allafāt al-Ghazālī,* Cairo, 1961, 99. The Manuscript of this work exists in Lāleli collection, Istanbul. Neither Bouyges nor Bādawi have examined this copy.

19 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, *Dāmigh al-bāṭil,* I, 21.

20 For arguments see ibid., I, 481 ff.; M. Hodgson, op. cit., 126 ff., 325-8.

TYPES OF JUDGMENT IN ISLAM ABOUT OTHER RELIGIONS

Jacques Waardenburg

Introduction

This paper has been put in the section "Cultural Contacts", probably for the good reason that judgments given from within one civilization about others' influence, to a certain degree, the contacts which take place between these civilizations. An important element in the contacts between Islamic civilization and others is Islam as a religion and ideology. The judgments given from the point of view of Islam about other religions and ideologies constitute an important factor in the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims.

The main purpose of this paper is to present a typology which can serve analytical purposes: that is to say, which can help us to understand the inner mechanisms and rules according to which religions and ideologies other than Islam are judged by Muslims. Other kinds of typologies are possible, but it would seem that this one is the most satisfactory as an analytical instrument and tool for the study of Muslim judgments about other religions and ideologies.

The same problem as is treated here in the case of Islam presents itself for all major ideological movements and religions with universalistic claims, such as, for instance, Christianity and Buddhism. The judgments which they give about other ideologies and religions are highly interesting since such judgments show something of their deeper intentions which manifest themselves in the encounter of rival ideologies and religions.

For reasons of time we cannot deal here with the historical context in which the Muslim judgments under consideration originated, with the historical development of these judgments according to external conditions and to an increase in knowledge of religions other than Islam, and with the question of under what specific circumstances such judgments were actually expressed either within the Muslim com-

munity or, in fact, to the adherents of the other religions themselves. Such a historical approach would show that the appreciation by Muslims of religions other than Islam had more nuances during Islamic history than has generally been assumed until now.

Evaluations made within a given religious community about other religions

Goldziher, in his "Muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl al-Kitab", already drew attention to the fact of the polemical nature of the Arabs and the pleasure they take in the *mujādala* (debate). He correctly saw that, for the people concerned, such a debate was not only an intellectual exercise, but also a way of identifying the others and of giving shape to oneself. The art of debate and refutation, as it still reveberates in the Koran, precedes the writing of compendia which contain sets of arguments. To this observation, which specifically applies to Arab Islam, we can add some general remarks concerning evaluations of other religions, made from within a given religious community. Such evaluations occur on basically two levels. In the first place, each constituted religious community is, by that fact, distinct from other communities and will feel so. Naturally, it will tend to develop positive views about itself, to express its own character and values, and to strengthen its self-respect and self-confidence so that people would like to belong to it. On this level there may be a certain depreciation of others, but this is secondary to the need of expressing one's own identity. In the second place, certain religious communities have explicitly been constituted in order to have a place above and superior to others, on grounds or assumptions which are beyond rational argumentation and which simply have to be accepted or believed. In religions like Islam and Christianity, reference is made to a truth which imposes itself by "revelation", and it is believed that such a truth is absolute, generally valid, and that is has to be spread over mankind. Such a religion has a missionary nature and takes forms which allow for its expansion, including a more or less negative appreciation of other religions. The community claims to do this by virtue of the truth to which it submits itself, and which is supposed to have come by divine revelation. In its relations with other religious communities it is often less these communities themselves which are judged than the particular doctrines which hold sway over them, and which are denounced as half-truths or untruths, depending on the religious position of the speaker or author.

In its judgment of other religions, a religious community uses arguments which are derived, in principle, from what is held to be the community's own truth, or which are implicit in that truth. Typically, however, these arguments are thought to be generally valid. Conversely, the way in which a religious community presents its own religion when judging others is, precisely through the apologetic tendency involved, very different from the way in which the data present themselves when no judgment of other religions is being given and no apology of the community's own religion is being made. If, in its manner of judging, a particular religion shows a pronounced diffidence or distrust of other religions, particularly when accusing them of bad faith, such a judgment is revealing of some basic intentions in the judging religion itself.

In scholarship we study conflicts without necessarily taking sides, for instance physical wars, struggles between groups and classes, and also ideological conflicts. The latter are particularly interesting for an analysis, from our point of view, if they are legitimized religiously and if an explicit appeal is made to a particular religious system or revelation. One of the ways in which an ideological conflict can be fought out is by immediate debate, another way is by producing controversial literature. Such polemical writings may fulfill different functions, and according to circumstances they can be used as a weapon. They can always be appealed to. In this way controversial literature consists of arguments against other religions which are held in reserve but which can be produced and used whenever an ideological conflict with another religion develops from a latent state to becoming manifest in people who oppose and fight each other. Muslim authors have, in this way, been judging other religions since the beginning of Islam: religions of idolatry and other religions without recognized scriptures (like Manicheism), and religions with scriptures (like Judaism and Christianity).

Sources

There exists an abundant literature written by Muslims in which appreciations and judgments are given about religions other than Islam. Such writings are of various kinds; they were written by Muslims of different education, of different times and places with different professions, belonging to different ethnic communities and adhering to different schools. At least six kinds of literary sources can be distinguished:

1) the Koran, with the tafsīr-literature which offers, in particular, interpretations of those verses in which non-Muslims are judged. A number of hadīths contain reports in which non-Muslims are mentioned, and implicitly suggest attitudes to be taken towards them;
2) technical works of kalam in which doctrines other than the Islamic ones are discussed. Such doctrines may be refuted directly or attacked indirectly when certain Muslim thinkers are reproached for showing non-Islamic, "foreign" tendencies in their theological thought. Similarly, there are fiqh books in which certain non-Islamic, "foreign" ways of behaving are forbidden to Muslims;
3) typically polemical writings of a less technical nature and meant for a larger public, condemning specific non-Islamic beliefs and customs, or non-Islamic thought and action in general. Such writings may also refer to the place of non-Muslims in Muslim society and they nearly always originate in specific circumstances implying tensions;
4) polemical writings of a more general nature, that is to say which are not based on religious norms only. Such writings may have a more literary-esthetical or a more socio-political character;
5) incidental appreciations of non-Muslims in general or of specific groups of them. They may be found in different contexts: in poetry and literary prose, in oral traditions, in religious formulas, etc;
6) accounts and descriptions of religions other than Islam insofar as they also contain explicit or implicit evaluations of such religions or of parts thereof. Such descriptions may be of a more scholarly or of a more popular kind.

A typology of judgments

This typology has been constructed according to what is the subject of judgment, and it has been elaborated according to the way in which judgments are given. Its analytical value is given with the distinction between theological and non-theological types of judgments according to Muslim criteria, and with the distinction made for each type of judgment between its basis, its categories of classification, its structural factors, and the structure of its arguments.

The first kind of subject of judgment is the *doctrines and rites of a particular religion.* In Muslim literature this falls under a *theological judgment* proper. The *basis* of this judgment is: (1) revelation as a firm and fixed norm (but still to be interpreted), and (2) reason (either as an instrument in order to interpret revelation, or in terms of a given philosophical system leading to a particular rational truth). The *categories of classification* are: (1) Muslims within the Muslim community (with discussions about the place of the sects), (2) other ahl al-kitāb (with discussions about the place of these people and of the people "with a semblance of a book"), and (3) mushrikūn (with discussions about the presence of monotheists among polytheistic people). These categories constitute themselves an evaluative scale, since assigning a religion to a specific category implies giving an evaluative judgment. The *structural factors* of these judgments are the schools of kalam and fiqh according to which the judgments are given. Discussions within these schools led to different theological-juridical positions, the extremes of which would be a completely negative and a completely positive judgment. In practice middle-positives were chosen. Examples of items under discussion are: a wider or a more narrow interpretation of the Koranic texts containing a negative judgment, more or less stress laid on those koranic texts which contain a positive appreciation, the interpretation of key concepts (like dīn, 'umma, aslama and amana), a wider or a more narrow relation put between islam and iman, more or less freedom assigned to dhimmīs on particular points. The *structure of arguments* lies in the kind or reproaches made against specific religions and in the way of proving the excellence of Islam. Such theological-juridical judgments are formulated within the framework of an elaborated scholastic system. The norms are firm and fixed, although they still have to be interpreted. These judgments have a theological-juridical character in the technical sense of the word; the personal nature of a judgment is expressed in fixed theological and juridical terms.

The doctrines and rites of a religion can also be judged, of course, in other ways than by a theological-juridical judgment. In that case there is no recourse to revelation, and we come technically to the second kind of judgment.

The second kind of subject of judgment is the *way of life, the culture, society or civilization* of non-Muslims, insofar as these are considered to be connected with their religion, and insofar as Islam is used as an argument and norm in this judgment. This calls for *judgments other than the properly theological-juridical ones.* The *basis* of these

judgments can be the author's own social values (values considered to be those of Islamic civilization, values in local Muslim social practice), values recognized by the author as being universally valid (mostly of a humanistic nature), personal views, etc. *Categories of classification* can be, for instance: the unreasonable character of the other religion as opposed to Islam as a rational religion, the supernatural character of the other religion as opposed to Islam as a natural religion, one of two bad extremes into which the other religion has fallen as opposed to Islam which keeps a middle position between those two extremes. The *structural factors* of these judgments are put on the social reality within which such judgments are given. These factors are intimately connected with the overall relationships between the Muslim group to which the author belongs and the religious community which he judges. There may be special reasons for an author to call for loyalty to the Muslim community while using Islam as a solidarity symbol, or to take distance from a particular non-Muslim community by judging it negatively from a Muslim point of view with reference to Islam, or conversely to seek for a rapprochement with the other party by appreciating the non-Muslim group positively stressing qualities which these non-Muslims have in common with Islam. The *structure of arguments* lies in the kind of reproaches made to the specific way of life, society, culture or civilization of the non-Muslims on which the author passes judgment, and in the way in which over against these reproaches the excellence of Islam is asserted.

These non-theological judgments show a greater variety than the theological ones, depending on the change of external factors and situations. They have also a more personal character and go back on norms which are flexible since they are related to a specific historical and social context. We often find here an ideological interpretation of Islam.

Some observation about Muslim judgments of other religions

At the back of many of the judgments pronounced by Muslims about other religions, or about elements thereof, there are some fundamental visions, largely inspired by the Koran, on reality and on man's place in it. In order to appreciate Muslim judgments of other religions, and the norms contained in these judgments, it will be necessary to reconstitute these fundamental visions, including the concept of religion they

implied. Such visions should be studied both as subjects in themselves and within the specific historical context in which they arose, developed and functioned.

Accepting the existence of such fundamental visions and norms, we should not overestimate the impact of the intellectually articulated judgments, for instance in theology, on the broader factual relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims. If we look closer at the attitudes taken by concrete individuals and groups toward people of another faith or religion, theological ideas appear to constitute only one factor in the way in which such attitudes take shape in social practice. In fact, although such attitudes may legitimate themselves religiously in Muslim society, Koran, Sunna and kalam are only exceptionally their only source. In a number of cases such attitudes have only a remote connection with religion. The function of theology and of theological judgments, even in a religious society like a Muslim one, should not be overestimated. Judgments by professional theologians and jurists are not always known or taken fully serious by everyone.

There was an intricate interplay of different kinds of norms in Muslim judgments of other religions. Besides (1) the basic universalistic religious norms contained in the koran which refer for instance to the order of creation, there were (2) the more particularistic religious norms which developed in the course of the history of Islam and its relations with the outside, non-Muslim world. We have to do here with norms of a more "historical" character from a Muslim point of view, and they imply more particularistic views, bound as they are to the specific historical Muslim community. Here Islam has developed as a historical entity (civilization, religion and ideology), to some extent in response to challenges from outside, specially from larger non-Islamic religions like Christianity and Manicheism. Such more "historical" norms would superimpose themselves on the more general "universalistic" notions of which they claim to be an elaboration. Besides such specifically religious norms, (3) other social rules and norms played a role in Muslim judgments of other religions. They had as such little to do with Islam as it started out, but they could obtain in many cases religious overtones in the course of time. Underneath all this there were (4) many implicit social perceptions and judgments with regard to non-Muslims, which went back to various kinds of sensitivity. Such perceptions and judgments existed mainly in a latent, unexpressed way but they could come to the surface in situations of stress and conflict in which non-Muslims were involved.

For a correct appreciation of the judgments which were given by Muslims about non Muslims we should take into account also certain basic structural relations which call as such for particular responses and judgments. It made of course a tremendous difference whether certain groups of non-Muslims were seen as subjected enemies, depreciated minorities, enemies in war, foreigners at a distance, occupants of Muslim territory, or potential partners of cooperation. It is also mandatory for a correct appreciation to analyze the cultural, intellectual and religious situation of those particular Muslims who passed judgment, and to compare their situation with that of the non-Muslims whom they judged.

We may add here two hypotheses which seem to be pertinent to the present subject. In the first place it may be contended that the defensive position which Islam had to take at its beginning with regard to the great religions at the time (in particular Christianity and Manicheism), precisely when the Arab Muslims had great successes in the military and political fields, gave to Islam a certain tradition of apologetic thought. This tendency to apologetic became the more manifest later, when Muslim societies were threatened in their survival by the military and political force of non-Muslim enemies and occupants, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries.

In the second place it may be contended that Muslims throughout their history have been inclined to perceive and judge reality according to particular predicates which were given earlier to it. This accounts for the importance of language in Muslim civilization: it is very much through language and sensitivity that reality has been perceived. Religious language in the broadest sense of the word, including the descriptive language about religious matters, has been heavily determined by the Koranic vocablulary. So it were indeed Koranic concepts which largely determined the way in which non-Muslims were perceived and judged. These judgments, in fact, were given in the first place not so much on the basis of a previously acquired knowledge and understanding of these non-Muslims, but rather according to certain given categories and values which were part of the whole of the predicates with which reality in Muslim civilization, implicitly or explicitly, was structured, classified and judged.

Conclusions

1. A distinction should be made between, on the one hand, judgments

of non-Muslims and their religions when they are dhimmīs living in the dār al-islām, and on the other hand judgments on "foreign" non-Muslims living outside Muslim political control. Equally, a distinction should be made between judgments of non-Muslim people on the one hand, and of non-Islamic religions on the other hand.

2. Muslim judgments of other religions go back, fundamentally, upon two basic claims:

a) the presence of a revelation of divine origin, showing man the right view of God, the right view of reality, and the right norms for his action. This is the Koran.
b) The presence of a religion which is reasonable and natural, and which provides the setting of the right social order. This is Islam.

3. It makes a fundamental difference for Muslim judgments of other religions, whether such judgments are given on the basis of either of these two claims mentioned.

a) If the judgment is pronounced on the basis of the claim of revelation, we call it a theological judgment. *Tafsīr* and *kalām* developed such theological judgments as part of an overall scholastic system, and until now there have been only a few serious attempts to develop an authentic theological judgment beyond this system. It would seem that for all theological judgments, based on the claim of revelation, the existence of other claims of revelation presents a problem to be taken seriously.
b) If the judgment is pronounced on the basis of the claim that Islam is reasonable, that it is a natural religion and that it provides the best social order, this does not mean that the judgments of other religions become softer. It rather means that we have to do with a basically different level of argumentation. Although there may be theological starting-points and intentions, we are here outside the realm of theology based on revelation. It would seem that for such non-theological judgments the existence of other views of reason, nature and society presents a problem to be taken seriously.

4. Muslim judgments about religions other than Islam are structurally dependent on the way in which the Muslims who pass judgment interpret Islam and identify themselves. Such an identification can take place by means of religious faith as defined in kalam and to which the author adheres, by means of the religious tradition within which the

author wants to stand, by means of the religious community to which the author extends his loyalty, or by particular combinations of all of these. As a rule, non-Muslims will be judged on a level which runs parallel to the level on which the Muslim author identifies himself.

5. In the history of Islamic civilization there are many examples that contacts between Muslims and non-Muslims were not hampered by religious controversy. In times of crisis, however, an appeal could be made by Muslims on the essentials of Islam. The difference between Muslims and non-Muslims was then accentuated, and given interests could transpose this difference as a motivation for negative attitudes and conflictive action. A thorough analysis of tensions and conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims existing in particular situations may succeed in identifying the interests which play a role on both sides. Such interest can use religious arguments which make the parties involved see the confrontation as definite and irremediable.

THE INCIDENT OF THE 'SATANIC VERSES' (ALLEGEDLY INTERPOLATED INTO SURA 53 AL-NAJM OF THE KUR'AN): A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MYSTICAL EXPLANATION BY THE 17TH CENTURY NAQŠBANDI AUTHOR MULLĀ IBRĀHIM AL-KURĀNĪ (D. MADINA 1101/1690)

A. H. Johns

The 'incident of the Satanic verses' refers to an event in the early career of the prophet Muhammad which is held to have occurred in 615, after the emigration of some of his followers to Abyssinia. It is alleged that while at the Ka'aba, in company with the elders of Qurayš, he recited the surat al-Najm (53) and after verse 20 'Have you considered al-Lāt, al-'Uzza and Manāt, the third, the other' added the words: 'these are exalted cranes whose intercession is to be hoped for.'

It is reported in numerous biographies of the prophet, and all the major commentaries – Zamakhsari al-Bawdawi, al-Jallalayn, and ibn Kathir refer to it at length, either denying that it occurred, or explaining it away, by, for example claiming that the words were only heard by the Qurayš, or that Satan uttered them, imitating the prophet's voice. It has been taken-up by non-Muslim biographers of the Prophet, such as William Muir, who explains it as a short-lived attempt at compromise on Muhammad's part with the religious beliefs and interests of the Meccan trading aristocracy.[1] Tor Andrae provides an ingenious explanation, deeply sympathetic to the Prophet, albeit rather patronizing, by suggesting that the story is a distortion from another kernel associated with the role of angels in Eastern Christianity which represented something which had been vitally religious in the piety of his childhood –something that he could not, and did not wish to discard.[2] Montgomery Watt accepts the incident as reported, and explains it by the notion of development in Muhammad's understanding of the message that was being

[1] Sir William Muir, *Mohamed and Islam* The Religious Tract Society, London, 1887 pp. 42-43.

[2] Tor Andrae, *Mohammad, the Man and his faith*, London, 1956 Allen and Unwin, pp. 19-20.

revealed to him.[3] Muhammad Haykal, on the other hand, devotes an entire chapter to refuting the occurrence of the incident, following in the steps of Muhammad Abduh.[4] In fact the latest author of note to accept the story seems to be al-Ṭabari.[5]

It is this fact that adds a special interest to the short treatise by the Naqšbandi author, Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. Madina 1101/1690) *al-lum'at al-sanīya fī taḥqīq al-ilqā' fī 'umniya*[6] (The Illuminating insight into the reality of the casting into the recitation), which argues uncompromisingly for acceptance of the event as a historical fact. Ibrahim, although relatively unknown, was one of the outstanding Naqšbandi figures of the 1₁/17th century; over a hundred works are attributed to him in notices in various biographical dictionaries.[7] (He even finds a mention in al-Jabarti). He was an independent minded man, and the North African biographer ibn al-Tayyib in the Našr al-Maṭānī devotes an extensive entry to him in which he condemns him for his views on *Kasb*, for a treatise on the faith of Pharoah, for a treatise on the material character (*šay'iyya*) of non-being, which accepts the views of the Mu'tazilites, and for the treatise we are now discussing - on the historicity of the *garāniq* verses. All these treatises and the views they contain are described as hideous (*šanī'a*). Ibrahim however welcomed debate and he answered the objections which his views on the *garāniq* aroused among the Moroccans, a letter sent to Fez in 1675 *al-nibrās li kašf al-iltibas al-wāqi' fi'l-asās*[8] (An illumination to uncover the ambiguity based on the foundation).

Ibrahim's arguments for the historicity of the incident show the same skill in dialectic that he displays in other of his works. He sets out possible views of the story in the traditional fashion, attributing them

[3] W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1953 pp. 104-107.

[4] Mohammad Hosayn Haykal. *Hayāt Mohammad*, Cairo, 1975 (13th impression) pp. 175-182.

[5] Quoted by A. Guillaume in *The Life of Muhammad*, Oxford University Press, 1955 pp. 165-166.

[6] A. Guillaume 'al-lum'at al sanīya fī Taḥqīq al-ilqā' fi 'il-umniya by Ibrāhīm al-Kurani' BOAS, 1957 pp 291-303.

[7] e.g. Ibn al-Tayyib *Našr al-Maṭānī* al-Jazā'ir 1310 Vol. II, pp. 130-137; Muhammad Sadīq Khān Bahadūr al-Ḥusayni *Abjad al-'ulūm* India 1296, p. 846 al-Jabarti (ed. Husayn Muḥammad Jūhar et al) *'Ajā'ib al-āṯār fī 'l-tarājim wa 'l-agbār* Cairo, 1958 Vol. I p. 171.

[8] Brockelmann Gal II, 521 (al Kūrāni No. 21).

to a questioner, that it is false, that in one way or another the events it relates only appeared to occur and then concludes that if both these possibilities are excluded, it must be true.

Ibrahim gives short shift to the argument that the story is a fabrication by quoting the line of transmission as it is presented in al-Suyūṭi's al-Durr al-manṯūr in which it is traced through trustworthy authorities to ibn Abbās.

The most sophisticated explaining away of the incident, Ibrahim attributes to Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī who suggested that Muhammad fell asleep when in the trance-like state which accompanied many of his revelations, and Satan took the opportunity to imitate his voice, thus interpolating the offensive words, to the pleasure of Qurayish and the dismay of his followers. Ibrahim's demolition of this suggestion is elegantly done. It is evident, he remarks, from a narration which is both sound and unambiguous (sarīh) that Muhammad uttered these words twice: on one occasion, in the presence of the Quraysh near the Ka'ba, and on the second, in the privacy of his home when Gabriel came to him and said to him: 'Recite what I brought to you'. So he recited until he came to the words ('these are exalted cranes whose intercession is to be hoped for') in accordance with what (Satan) had cast into him. So Gabriel said: I did not bring you this! It was brought to you by the devil! Now if the speaker (utterer) of these words was Satan, imitating the voice of the prophet while he was asleep, the prophet s.a.w. would not have recited them when Gabriel asked him to recite, because he only asked him to recite what he had brought him, and Gabriel certainly had not brought them. So if it is supposed that Muhammad did not utter the words interpolated by Satan, but it was Satan uttering them, imitating Muhammad's voice while he was asleep, however could he have recited them to Gabriel, when Gabriel asked him. It is quite inconceivable, as is abundantly clear to the fair-minded.[9]

Having argued that the incident did take place, Ibrahim addresses himself to arguing the modality of it. His starting point is the Quranic verse revealed to comfort Muhammad for having been deceived in this way. 'We have not sent before you an Apostle or Prophet without Satan casting something into his recitation' (umniyatihi) Qur: 22:52.

To prepare the ground for his discussion, he quotes at length from

[9] Guillaume *al-lum'at*, p. 299.

two chapters of al-Tirmidī's *Ḫatm al-awliyā'*[10] chapter ten, *'Alāmāt al-awliyā'* (distinctive features of the saints) and chapter eleven, *Ilqā' al-šaytān wa nasḫ al-raḥmān* (the casting of Satan, and the abrogation of the merciful).

Ibrahim's citations from chapter 10 serve to set out the distinction between prophecy and saintship, and to show that a muḥaddaṯ –one who receives a personal revelation– is a category of saint, and that both share some of the features of prophecy, while allowing a difference in the way a message is communicated and safe-guarded, and in the authority it commands. Prophecy is a *kalām* from Allah, guarded by *wahy* and *al-Rūḥ;* saintship receives a hadīt from Allah. guarded by *al-haqq* and *al-sakīna;* to deny the message of the prophet involves infidelity; to deny the message of the saint involves spiritual detriment. The special role of the muhaddat, on the authority of ibn 'Abbās, is guaranteed by a specific mention in the Qur'ān together with *rasūl* and *nabiyy*, in the Qur'an 22:52 although in the canonical text of the Qur'an, the word muḥaddaṯ does not now occur. Special divine teachings passed on by hearsay, may be suspect, but the power of the *sakīna* is a sure defense against a garbled message being received by the muḥaddaṯ himself.

The following chapter discusses the question whether the Enemy can interfere the message given to prophet or saint. Al-Tirmidī's answer is that Allah does test his apostles by permitting Satan to interfere with the message, but then correcting it Himself. This interference only occurs once –al-Tirmidī then quotes the Qur'an 22:52. 'And we have not sent before you an Apostle or Prophet (or *muḥaddaṯ* - recipient of a private revelation) without Satan casting something into *umniyatihi* (either: 'his yearning', or: 'his recitation').

He goes on to explain why Satan attempts this interference, and how he contrives to do it. His purpose is to introduce uncertainty into the revelation through the yearning of the soul. Now the yearning of the soul consists of thoughts; and when it is put to the test by one thought, the Enemy finds a way into the heart through that one thought. This is because when a person gives his attention to a thought (or yearning), he opens a locked door, and the Enemy casts a sentence (*kalima*) to that opening, and it passes through it; then the door is closed again as it had been before, and this sentence (*kalima*) becomes blended with the

[10] Othmān I. Yahyā (ed.) al-Tirmidī *Kitāb Ḫatm al-awliyā'* Imprimerie Catholique Beyrouth 1965. (Unfortunately this edition was not available to Professor Guillaume in 1957. In fact, until Othmān Yaḥyā discovered the first Ms in Istanbul in 1954, scholars regarded the work as lost), pp. 346-359.

speech (*Kalām*) of Allāh, hidden and concealed from the heart under the cover of that yearning, until, when the heart became aware of what is within it, and an unspeakable horror and fear seizes it, Allāh consoles it for the greatness of the misfortune which has come upon it, on account of which Allāh says: 'We have not sent before you an apostle or prophet without, when a yearning came upon him, Satan cast something into his yearning' - and this remained with him. (So you are not the first to be troubled in this way!)[11]

Such is also the case with the muḥaddaṯ. If something of this sort happens to him, Allāh does not abandon him, but wipes out from his heart what Satan has insinuated into his *ḥadīṯ* (private revelation). Otherwise what would be the work of *al-sakīna?* Where would be the efficacious protection that Allah gives through al-Haqq! The station of a *muḥaddaṯ* is too exalted for his ḥadīṯ to be treated lightly![12]

Al-Tirmidī in this work nowhere explicity associates his explanation with the incident of the Satanic verses. He appears to be using the word *umniya* in the sense of 'yearning', not recitation. It is only by inference that we can gather that the prophet Muhammad too was a victim of this insinuation. Osman Yahia's text has (Does not Allāh put to the test the apostles [*al-rusul*] and there are no variant readings. Guillaume's manuscript read *al-rasūl* - *the* apostle.[13] Is it a slip on the part of one or the other, or is there a deliberate sleight of hand? Al-Tirmīdī certainly perpetrates an adroit sleight of hand first by distinguishing *nubuwwa* and the nabī and *wilayat* and the *walī*, then showing what they have in common, somewhat disingenuously putting up as an objection to be refuted: 'I fear the statement that anyone other than the prophets should have any prophetic character',[14] then establishing the *muḥaddaṯ* as a category of person favored with revelation on the basis of a Quranic reading longer canonical; and finally, having established the function of the apostle as superior to that of the prophet says just as an apostle may be tried and corrected, so is the *muḥaddaṯ* - thus bracketing the highest and lowest categories of those favored with a divine revelation.

Ibrahim too perpetrates a similar sleight of hand when he takes advantage of the two meanings of *umniya,* i.e. recitation and yearning.

[11] Yahya *Hatm* p. 355.

[12] Yahya *Hatm* p. 356, Guillaume *al-lum'at,* p. 302.

[13] Yahya *Hatm* p. 350, Guillaume *al-lum'at,* p. 301.

[14] Yahya *Hatm* p. 347.

Let it be remarked, however that al-Tirmiḏī's psychological analysis of the way in which a holy person, by becoming temporarily absorbed in a single thought or yearning, can be tricked by the devil is acute. And Ibrahim's contribution to the argument is that it was this single-minded yearning to convert the Quraysh that gave Satan the opportunity to insinuate evil words into the prophet's heart through the door opened by that yearning. He also notes –and I believe this is original– that since the devil was the instigator of the evil words, and that Muhammad uttered them without the intention of compromising with the Quraysh, and indeed without realising they were from Satan, the prophet's impeccability (*'isma*) was not violated.

It is clear that Ibrahim was well acquainted with this part of the *Ḫatm al-awliyā'*, and that he, no less than al-Tirmiḏī is concerned with the special prerogatives of the mystics. He accepts that the muḥaddaṯ, for all his spiritual gifts is human, that his work is to preach what is in conformity with the Law, not to abrogate any part of it; the sole function of his *ḥadīṯ* is to confirm the Law and serve as an additional clarification of it.[15] This is a point that Ibrahim in other works makes many times. But when Ibrahim wrote nearly 700 centuries later, the works and concepts used by al-Tirmiḏī had changed radically as a result of the infusion into Islam of the theosophical concepts produced by the creative genius of Ibn 'Arabi, to whose tradition Ibrahim belonged. Thus Ibrahim is defending and pleading for far more than the recognition of a private inspiration: he has at heart the status of the whole ibn 'Arabi tradition.

His treatment of the issue of the prophet's impeccability is based on a principle that he regularly applies: that if two traditions which appear to contradict each other are equally supported then the obligation is to find a means of reconciling them - not to choose either one of them or the other.

Non-Muslim authors, not accepting the doctrine of the prophetic *'iṣma* have found no difficulty in accepting the story, and according to the period in which they wrote, or their personal inclinations, either condemmed or excused what appeared as a short-lived compromise between Muhammad and the wealthy Meccans. For Muslims authors on the other hand the sinlessness of the Prophet has been the primary consideration, hence the story has either been rejected out of hand, or explained away.

[15] Yaḥyā *Ḫatm* p. 353.

Ibrahim's concern in his discussion then has been to defend both soundly based tradition, *and* the prophet's impeccability. In doing this he has depended upon two thoroughly Islamic principles: respect for the chain of authorities on which a report is based, and the strongly voluntarist ethic implicit in Islam –that whether an act is good or evil depends on the intention with which it is performed.[16]

Apart from this characteristic inclination to reconcile conflicting principles and authorities when both are soundly based, is there another dimension to Ibrahim's exercise? From the manner of his treatment of the prophet's sinlessness, and his extensive citation from al-Tirmiḏī, it seems that there is, for there is no obvious reason why Ibrahim should have written on this topic in itself, which was not a burning issue in his day. Perhaps then the key to his motivation in writing the treatise, is to be found in the way he draws attention to the words *wa lā muḥaddaṯ* (and no recipient of a private inspiration) according to al-Tirmiḏī omitted from Qur. 22:52.

In other of his works, notably *Itḥaf al-ḏakī fī šarḥ al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā'l-nabī*[17] (The presentation of the Discerning by way of an explanation of the gift addressed to the prophet), Ibrahim strongly defends the concept of Kašf–i.e. a private revelation bestowing a mystical understanding of specific Quranic verses in a way not to be gleaned from the standard, time-honoured exegetic procedures. A person, a *wali* who receives *kašf* is in a sense a muḥaddaṯ - he has received a private inspiration. Ibrahim's purpose, then, is to support the authority of the teaching of mystics and saints. For the mystic who teaches a personal doctrine is like a prophet in that he is subject to temptation and confusion by Satan - if Allāh wills. But he is also like a prophet in that in the last resort, there is a guarantee that his message will be preserved from error despite human weakness and the guile of Satan. Therefore the teaching of a mystic or saint, a *muḥaddaṯ*, who has received a special inspiration is true, and by implication so is the ibn 'Arabi mystical tradition.

It may even be possible to follow the implications of Ibrahim's reconciliation of two opposing principles a little further. In seeing Muhammad as at the same time sinless, but subject to temptation, Ibrahim offers a way of seeing Muḥammad as the man he said he was, and the Qur'an itself said him to be, enabling us to discern a kind of

[16] e. g. Innamā'l-a'mal bi 'l-niyya etc. Bukhari *al-Saḥīḥ* 1:1.

[17] Brockelmann, GAL II, p. 251, (al-Kurānī No. 22).

counterpoint between two levels of his personality: the dialogue between his idealistic, though not yet perfected human aspirations, and the divine guidance and correction. There are several instances of this 'counterpoint' in the Qur'an - for example *sūra* 80:1-2 which tells how the Prophet frowned, and turned away from the blind man; *sūra* 66:1 in which the Prophet is counselled not to regard as unlawful what Allah had made lawful to him after he divorced Ḥafsa, and disregarded 'A'isha and his other wives for a month because of their jealousy of Mary the Copt, and perhaps most moving, his over anxiety to repeat the revelation that Gabriel brought to him in case any of it was lost, referred to in 75:16-17; *la tuharik bihi lisanaka li taj'ala bihi. Inna 'alayna jam'ahu wa qur'anahu.* Such tensions, illustrating the sometimes imperfect reactions in his yearning, *umniya*, which in others could lead to culpable acts, in Muhammad were no more than trials by which he was helped and strengthened. Thus we see him the more clearly as a man in whom there was a tension between his human well-intentioned impulses, and the demands that the Divine Will made upon him, a man who came gradually to realize the implications of his call as a prophet.

ISLAM AND OTHER FAITHS

Isma'il R. al Faruqi

I The World's Need for Humane Universalism

This century, the fourteenth A.H. and twentieth A.C., has witnessed the growth among humans of a new awareness, namely, that mankind must live together, every group of it interdependent with all the other. The old clichés of inter-human relationships which dominated the last half millennium –master-subject, faithful-heathen, *colon-indigene*, home-overseas, we natives-they foreigners– have broken down and are being constantly elbowed out by the new. The unity of mankind is being felt, with ever-growing intensity, around the globe. The almost universal self-identification of the world with the Algerians and Vietnamese in their past struggle, and with the Palestinians in their continuing struggle, for human dignity, is positive evidence of this new awareness. Violation of the human rights of the Algerians, Vietnamese and Palestinians has itself stirred up as well as confirmed these rights in the consciousness of mankind.

This new awareness is practical, oriented toward cases of violation and fulfillment; but it has no clear ideational base, no system of first principles which everybody can call his own. The lack is in our contemporary human consciousness. Once upon a time, the Western world recognized such a base in the Enlightenment. Nineteenth century Romanticism, and Western failure of nerve in defending the rationalist universal ideal against its attackers allowed the gains to be dissipated. A temporary revival was brought about by the world's fight against fascism in World War II. It gave us the forgotten Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter and the Bill of Human Rights, to which many nations of the world still pay little more than lip service. Colonialism's last battles, neo-colonialism, the cold war and the epidemic spread of nationalist particularism combined to neutralize the recent gains; and the voices calling for one humane world-order were muted by the strongest wave of skepticism and cynicism since the last days of Athens and

Rome. Fortunately, all these forces, including the mightiest, namely modern skepticism, have not dissuaded modern man from recognizing humanity in all men, and defending its rights on behalf of them; this in spite of the fact that skepticism denied all principles on the basis of which this humane universalism was based in the past and affirmed no new idea instead. Analytical philosophizing and positivism stood on the ready to destroy any system of ideas capable of supporting any humane universalism. And while existentialism hesitates between nihilism and another round of Germanic idealism, Christian theologians continue to spend their energies on accomodating Christian dogma to the intellectual vicissitudes or fashions of the various schools of the day.

There is in consequence an emptiness in the world calling for the highest intellectual vision. Mankind's practical awareness needs to be articulated and given permanent place in man's system of evident truths. If we are to appropriate the new truth, teach it in our schools and prevent our children from having to acquire the vision through tragic experience as our generation did, and if we are to convince the billions of its validity and timeliness, we have to give it some creative thinking. Fortunately, Islam presents us with an excellent base, rational and critical, as well as tested by fourteen centuries of history. Wherever the Muslims followed and applied its principles, their success has been spectacular. Nothing in mankind's religious history is comparable to it. Our need for a sure and promising foundation on which to build a world-order of human relations, at once humane and universalist, imposes upon us to listen, to consider and to learn from Islām.

II. The Lesson of Islām

A. The Essence

Islām's view of other faiths flows from the essence of its religious experience. This essence is critically knowable. It is not the subject of "paradox," nor of "continuing revelation," nor the object of construction or reconstruction by Muslims. It is clearly comprehensible to the man of today as it was to that of Arabia of the Prophet's day (570-632 A.C.) because the categories of grammar, lexicography, syntax and redaction of the Qur'anic text, and those of Arabic consciousness embedded in the Arabic language, have not changed through the centuries. This phenomenon is indeed unique; for Arabic is the only language which remained the same for nearly two millennia, the last fourteen centuries of

which being certainly due to the Holy Qur'ān.[1] Nobody has denied that Islam has a recognizable essence, readable in the Holy Qur'ān.[2] For Muslims, this essence has been on every lip and in every mind, every hour of every day.

The essence of Islām is *tawḥīd* or لا إله إلا الله, the witnessing that there is no God but God. Brief as it is, this witness packs into itself four principles which constitute the whole essence and ultimate foundation of the religion.

First, that there is no God but God means that reality is dual, consisting of a natural realm, the realm of creation, and a transcendent realm, the Creator. This principle distinguishes Islām from Ancient Egypt and Greece where reality was taken to be monophysite, consisting of one realm, nature or creation, parts or all of which were apotheosized. Greek and Egyptian gods were projections of various components of nature idealized beyond their created empirical creaturely naturalness. *Tawḥīd* distinguishes Islām from the religions of India where reality is also monophysite, but where the natural realm is taken to be the transcendent realm itself but in a state of ephemeral objectification or individuation. Finally, *tawḥīd* distinguishes Islam from trinitarian Christianity where the dualism of creator and creature is maintained but where it is combined with a divine immanentism in human nature in justification of the incarnation. For *tawḥīd* requires that neither nature be apotheosized nor transcendent God be objectified, the two realities ever remaining ontologically disparate.

Second, that the one and only God is God means that He is related to what is not God as its God; that is, as its Creator or ultimate cause, its master or ultimate end. Creator and creature, therefore, *tawḥīd* asserts, are relevant to each other regardless of their ontological disparateness, which is not affected by the relation. The transcendent Creator, being cause and final end of the natural creature, is the ultimate Master

[1] Controversies have arisen, as they certainly may, in the interpretation of Qur'ānic text. What is being affirmed here is the fact that the Qur'ānic text is not bedevilled by a hermeneutical problem. Differences of interpretation are apodeictically soluble in terms of the very same categories of understanding in force at the time of revelation of the text (611-632 A.C.), all of which have continued the same because of the freezing of the language and the daily intercourse of countless millions of people with it and with the text of the Holy Qur'ān.

[2] Except Wilfred C. Smith (*The Meaning and End of Religion*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962) who did so on the basis of a Heraclitean metaphysic of change! His theory has been analyzed by this author in "The Essence of Religious Experience in Islām," *Numen*, Vol. XX, Fasc. 3, pp. 186-201.

Whose will is the religious and moral imperative. The divine will is commandment and law, the ought of all that is, knowable by the direct means of revelation, or the indirect means of rational and/or empirical analysis of what is. Without a knowable content, the divine will would not be normative or imperative, and hence would not be the final end of the natural; for if the transcendent Creator is not the final end of His own creature, creation must be not the purposive event consonant with divine nature but a meaningless happening to Him, a threat to His own ultimacy and transcendence.

Thirdly, *tawḥīd* or, as we have seen, that God is the final end of the creature, means that man is capable of action, that creation is malleable or capable of receiving man's action, and human action on malleable nature, resulting in a transformed creation is the moral end of religion. Contrary to the claims of other religions, nature is not fallen, evil, a sort of *Untergang* of the absolute; nor is the absolute an apotheosis of it. Both are real and both are good; the Creator being the *summum bonum* or supreme good and the creature being intrinsically good and potentially better as it is transformed by human action into the pattern the Creator has willed for it. We have already seen that knowledge of the divine will is possible for man; and through revelation and science such knowledge is actual. The prerequisites of the transformation of creation into the likeness of the divine pattern are hence all, but for human resolve and execution, fulfilled and complete.

Fourthly, *tawḥīd* means that man, alone among all the creatures, is capable of action as well as free to act or not to act. This freedom vests him with a distinguishing quality, namely responsibility. It casts upon his action its moral character; for the moral is precisely that action which is done in freedom, *i.e.*, done by an agent who is capable of doing, as well as of not doing, it. This kind of action, moral action, is the greater portion of the divine will. Being alone capable of it, man is a higher creature, endowed with the cosmic significance of that through whose agency alone is the greater part of the divine will to be actualized in space-time. Man's life on earth, therefore, is especially meaningful and cosmically significant. As Allah has put it in the Holy Qur'ān, man is God's *khalīfah*, or vice-gerent on earth.[3] It is of the nature of moral action that its fulfillment be not equivalent to its nonfulfillment, that man's exercise of his freedom in actualizing the divine imperative be not without difference. Hence, another principle is necessary, whereby

[3] Holy Qur'ān, 2:30; 6:165; 10:14, 73; 35:39; 7:68, 73; 27:62.

successful moral action would meet with happiness and its opposite with unhappiness. Otherwise it would be all one for man whether he acts, or does not act, morally. Indeed, this consideration makes judgment necessary, in which the total effect of one's lifetime activity is assessed and its contribution to the total value of the cosmos is acknowledged, imbalances in the individual's life are redressed and his achievement is distinguished from the non-achievement of others. This is what "The Day of Judgment" and "Paradise and Hell" are meant to express in religious language.

B. Implications for Other Faiths

Tawḥid, the essence of religious experience in Islam, carries a number of implications for the theory of God, the theory of revelation, the theory of man, the theory of society. Every one of these carries in turn implications for the place of other faiths in Islām's consideration.

1. *Theory of God.* Islām's insistence on the absolute unity and transcendence of God is an affirmation of God's lordship over all men. To hold God as Creator means that all men are His creatures. The measure of His absoluteness as Creator is at once the measure of the creature-likeness of all creatures. In being creaturely, they are all one though they may be distinguished among one another. But *vis-a-vis* God, they are all one and the same.

As human creatures, therefore, all men are God's vice-gerents on earth. All men stand absolutely on a par under the obligation to fulfill the divine will and are judged on a scale of justice that is absolute for one and all. God's transcendence does not allow discrimination between the creatures as such. Therefore, God could not have given any special status to any person or group. His love, providence, care for and judgment of all men must be one if His transcendence is not to be compromised. Certainly, men receive differing judgments because their individual merit and demerit are different, and these in turn are different because its endeavors, capacities, and achievements are different. But God will not have with any human being a relationship to which every other human being does not stand equally entitled. Thus Islām knows no theory of election, not even an election of Muslims, such as Judaism teaches for the Jews, under which the Jew remains God's elect even if he goes astray, indeed even if he apostacizes.[4] In Islām, all men, Muslims and non-Muslims, stand to God in identically the same relation,

[4] Deuteronomy, 6:6-8; 9:5-6. Hosea, 1,2.

i.e., they fall under the same imperative and are judged indiscriminately by the same law.[5] God's covenant is one and the same with all men. It is not a "Promise" but a two-way contract in which man obeys and God rewards or man disobeys and God punishes. Because Allah is absolutely One and Transcendent, the non-Muslim is not a "gentile," a *"goy,"* an "estranged" or "lesser" human being in any way, but a being who is as much the object of divine concern as the Muslim, as much *mukallaf* or subject of moral responsibility as the Muslim.

2. *Theory of Revelation.* In Islām the divine will, the ought or content of the religious and moral imperative, is knowable directly through revelation or indirectly through science. Revelation is not a privilege peculiar to the Muslims, but a blessing granted to all mankind. This is not to argue that the content of prophecy is aimed at mankind which is especially true in the case of Muḥammad, *ṣallā Allahu alayhi wa sallam* but that the phenomenon of prophecy is common to and present in every people and nation. Allah, *subḥānahu wa ta ālā,* has said: "There is no people unto whom We have not sent a prophet-warner;"[6] and that "We have sent no Prophet but that We have revealed to him that men should worship and serve Allah and avoid all evil ways."[7] Revelation, therefore, is a common prerogative of mankind; and so is its content, the divine will, the ought or religious and moral imperative; though this does not preclude Allah's revelation of messages addressed to some people alone, in their own language and for their own peculiar benefit.[8] The non-Muslim is hence not underprivileged by comparison to the Muslim in this regard. He has been as much the object and subject of revelation as the Muslim, though, unlike the Muslim, he may have dissipated, lost, tampered with or confused what has been revealed to him. Universalism of prophecy follows from God's transcendence.[9] Revelation being an act of mercy, necessary for certain knowledge of the divine will, it would not be consonant with divine transcendence to give it to some and to deny it to others. Instead of being the forsaken

[5] Holy Qur'ān, 2:286; 99:6-8; 101:6-11; 103:1-3.

[6] Holy Qur'ān, 35:24. See also 16:84, 89.

[7] Holy Qur'ān, 16:36.

[8] "To every people we sent a prophet-guide" (Holy Qur'ān, 13:8); "We sent every prophet that guidance may be conveyed in his people's own tongue. . ." (*Ibid.*, 14:4).

[9] "We would pronounce no judgment until after We had sent a prophet" (Holy Qur'ān, 17:15).

who benefits from what has been gifted to others, the non-Muslim is the proud partner who is as much the benefactor of this divine gift as the Muslim.

As to science, the indirect way of learning the divine will, its prerequisites are the senses, intellectual curiosity and the will to research and discovery, the availability of data and communicability of experience, memory and the preservation of knowledge, reason and understanding or the capacity to grasp, synthesize and develop knowledge. All these prerequisites are indiscriminately gifted to all mankind. No people or group may lay exclusive claim to them. Great in God's eye are those who seek, promote, keep and distribute knowledge of the truth.[10] Education is one of the greatest Islamic duties, and knowledge of the truth is of the greatest virtues. Every Muslim stands under the obligation to develop his own faculties as well as those of humanity, to gather all existent knowledge regardless of source and to disseminate such knowledge to all mankind. Every piece of knowledge achieved and established becomes the property of mankind. Non one has exclusive title to it.

The content of science is the pattern God has implanted in creation. It is His will insofar as it is relevant to the creature in question. The divine will in nature is natural law. It is the pattern of being peculiar to each creature, which realizes itself necessarily, thus constituting natural law.[11] The human psyche, human consciousness and personality, the human group and the patterns of its political, economic, sociological and cultural behavior are all equally subject of this comprehensive "science." So is moral knowledge also discernible, knowledgeable through a "scientific" (that is, rational) analysis of moral phenomena. Such knowledge is wisdom. Its acquisiton is especially meritorious; its dissemination as free counsel and advice for the sake of God earns for its author no less than Paradise.

Here, as in the science of nature, the non-Muslim stands absolutely on a par with the Muslim. Each is by nature equally capable of it, equally obliged to honor it and equally deserving if he offered it to all men. The

[10] "Those who know and those who do not, are they ever equal?" (Holy Qur'ān, 39:9). "Nor are they equal, the blind and the man of vision, darkness and enlightenment, that which is shaded and that which is in full light" (*Ibid.*, 35:19). "Read! For your Lord is the more generous. He it is Who taught man use of the pen; Who taught man that of which man had no knowledge" (*Ibid.*, 96:3-5).

[11] "Everything We have created, We gave it its pattern" (Holy Qur'ān, 54:49); "He created everything and gave it its measure" (*Ibid.*, 25:2); "To every creature God has assigned a pattern) (*Ibid.*, 65:3).

only differences allowed are those which pertain to personal aptitudes which may vary from subject to subject as widely among Muslims as among non-Muslims. Also legitimate are differences in the personal zeal and application of the pursuer of wisdom, the personal purity of motive and intention in its acquisition and dissemination; but of these, the Muslim is, again by nature, as capable as the non-Muslim. In themselves, these differences have nothing to do with adherence or otherwise to the Islāmic faith, though such adherence may consolidate the wisdom and add to the merit of the subject. Universal egalitarianism in men's capacity to discover and recognize God's will in creation is a consequence of God's will itself. For a divine will that is beyond human grasp and understanding will either remain ignored or be followed in puppet-like fashion. In either case, the requirements of morality would not be met and, in consequence, the divine will would not be adequately realized. Indeed, the most important part of it, namely the moral, would remain unrealized. A frustrated God would not be God.[12]

An atheist may ask, May not the good – whether as moral norm, or as natural law – be discovered, pursued and observed for its own sake, rather than as divine will? Certainly, we may answer; for man's innate capacity for science and wisdom may be developed and successfully exercised without the realization that the truth and the good being discovered are the will of God. That is why God has implanted in all men yet another faculty, one especially designed to recognize God as transcendent Creator of all that is. This is the *sensus numinis,* the faculty by which man apprehends the sacred quality or dimension of reality. Its insights are the raw material, the data *sui generis,* on which the mind can build the system of ideas known as religious knowledge. It is an innate faculty, a natural endowment by which man knows or comes to know God. The Holy Qur'an asserts that there is no creature but that which in its own peculiar way, recognizes its Creator and serves Him.[13]

Recognition of God and awareness of His existence, of His transcen-

[12] "The power to determine everything on earth and in heaven is His" (Holy Qur'an. 42:12); "God is He Whose will is always fulfilled" (*Ibid.*, 11:108; 85:16); "God's will or commandment will always be fulfilled" (*Ibid.*, 11:108; 85:16); "God's will or commandment will always be fulfilled" (*Ibid.*, 4:46; 33:37; 8:42, 45).

[13] "All that is on earth and heaven praises God; He is the Almighty, the Wise" (Holy Qur'ān, 57:1); "To God give praise the seven heavens and the earth, all that is in them and all that exists. You do not perceive their praise" (*Ibid.*, 17:44). See also, 24:41; 59:24; 62:1; 64:1; 17:44.

dent creatorship, is therefore the prerogative of all men. It is a universal birthright, guaranteeing man's consciousness of God to all. Here too, the Muslim stands at no advantage when compared with the non-Muslim. Both are equally endowed and equally capable since religion itself is rooted in their innate capacity to sense the holy.

C. Theory of Man

a. Man's Innate "Perfections." *Tawḥīd*, or the essence of religious experience in Islām, means that man is a creature upon whom falls the obligation to worship or serve God, *i.e.*, to actualize the divine will. This is man's *raison d'être*.[14] He was created for no other purpose than to serve God. It follows from this that God would create a capable servant if He is not to be frustrated, or to work in vain. That is why God had implanted in man a *sensus numinis*, a moral faculty and placed him in a theater – the cosmos – capable of receiving his action, of being remolded in accordance with His plan.

From this it follows that man is not fallen, but innocent; that far from creating him hopelessly impotent to fulfill His will and thus to achieve salvation, God has created him in the best of forms and endowed him with all the favorable prerogatives abovementioned.[15] Man stands in no predicament except that of serving God; and this demands of him positive, affirmative action designed to remold himself and creation. Far from beginning his life on earth with a minus, man starts his life with a definite and significant plus. Islām entertains no idea of fall, of original sin, or of a predicament from which man may not extricate himself by his own effort.[16] Allah says in His Holy Book: "We have

[14] "We have created neither mankind nor the jinn except to serve Me" (Holy Qur'ān, 51:56). "O men, serve Allah. For it is He Who created you" (*Ibid.*, 2:21); "We have sent no prophet but we have revealed to him that there is no God but Me. Therefore, Serve Me" (*Ibid.*, 21:25). See also 6:102; 10:3; 3:79; 23:32.

[15] "Praise the name of your Lord on high, Who created everything in the best of forms" (Holy Qur'ān, 87:1-2); "Would you not believe in Him Who created you from dust, then made you flesh, then perfected you into a man?" (*Ibid.*, 18:37); O man, what confuses you about your generous Lord? Who created you, Who endowed you completely. Who made you straight and perfect? He could have created you in different form. . ." (*Ibid.*, 82:5-8).

[16] Unlike the Bible, the Holy Qur'ān tells us that Adam did indeed commit a misdemeanor by eating of the tree which God forbade. But it also tells us that Adam repented and his repentance was accepted (Holy Qur'ān, 2:35-37; 20: 115-122). Furthermore. Islām upholds the principle of personal responsibility absolutely, and rejects every shade of vicarious guilt or merit. "No soul may

created man in perfect form and breathed into him of Our spirit."[17] The Muslim, therefore, does not look upon the non-Muslim as a "*massa peccata,*" a fallen, hopeless creature, but as a perfect man capable by himself of achieving the highest righteousness. He recognizes in him, as non-Muslim, not an incompletely human being, but a perfect one, possessing high dignity which belongs to him as man.

b. *Ur-Religion* or *Religio Naturalis.* Coupled with this dignity is another of even greater importance, namely, that the non-Muslim possesses what Islam calls *dīn al fiṭrah* or natural religion.[18] This consists of the unerring discoveries of the *sensus numinis* by which man recognizes God as transcendent and holy, and hence worthy of adoration. This is not a repetition of man's natural capacity to know through science. It is a new knowledge, a knowledge of the Holy, of the numinous, of God. This natural vision of God, or *din al fitrah,* stands to be enriched by man's other natural knowledge, *i.e.,* the discoveries of his theoretical and axiological consciousness. Man's reason and sense of value stand on the ready to enlighten his service to God. Both faculties, the numinous and the theoretical-axiological, belong to man by virtue of his humanity. As he grows older, the cumulative products of science and morals are his as shortcuts to the truth, just as previous revelations are equally his as shortcuts to certainty of what the divine imperative is.[19] Islām reminds him, however, that *dīn al fiṭrah,* or *religio naturalis,* which Muslims and non-Muslims possess by birth, is always to be kept distinct from the religious traditions of history. This distinction makes it possible for him to approach his or any religious tradition critically, yet religiously; and it constitutes a permanent source of reform and creative dynamism for the historical religion. What God has implanted in human nature, *viz.,* the recognition of His transcendence, unity, holiness and ultimate goodness is prior to any tradition. Hence, *dīn al*

carry the burden of another; nobody may assume the guilt of another however closely related he may be" (*Ibid.*, 35:18). "Whoever does a good deed, that will be reckoned only unto him; and whoever does a bad deed, against him" (*Ibid.*, 45:15).

17 Holy Qur'ān, 15:29; 38:72; 21:91; 66:12.

18 "Lift up your face toward *the* religion, like a *banīf.* That is the natural religion with which Allah has endowed all men at their creation. No exception or change befalls Allah's creation" (Holy Qur'ān, 30:30).

19 "As far as religion is concerned, God has instituted for you the same religion which He had instituted for Noah, this and what has been revealed to you Muḥammad being one. It is the same which we have revealed to Ibrahim, to

fiṭrah is, properly speaking, *Ur-Religion*, or original religion. Its possession by every man, regardless of the religious tradition or culture in which he was born or nursed, defines his humanity and casts upon him a very special dignity. It entitles him to full membership in the religious community of man, the universal brotherhood under God.[20]

Islām calls this *dīn al fiṭrah* or *Ur-Religion*, "Islām." It identifies itself completely with it, subjects itself totally to its principles and dictates. In Islām's view, the historical religions are outgrowths of *dīn al fiṭrah*, containing within them differing amounts or degrees of it.[21] It explains their differences from *dīn al fiṭrah* as the accumulations, figurizations, interpretations or transformations of history, *i.e.*, of place, time, culture, leadership and other particular conditions.[22] Islām therefore agrees that all religions are religions of God, issuing from and based upon *dīn al fiṭrah*, and representing varying degrees of acculturation or attunement with history,[23] In a moment of high vision, the Prophet Muḥammad, *ṣallā Allahu alayhi wa sallam*, said: "All men are born Muslims (in the sense in which Islam is equated with *dīn al fiṭrah):* it is his parents that christianize or judaize him."[24] In the same sense, the Holy Qur'ān named the adherents of *dīn al fiṭrah "ḥanīfs"* and declared the ancient

Moses, to Jesus. Observe therefore *the* religion; and do not divide yourselves" (Holy Qur'ān, 42:13). "Felicitous are those who believe in God and all His prophets without distinguishing between them" (Holy Qur'ān, 4:152). "How many prophets did We send to those that went before you! . . .We sent no prophet before you (Muḥammad) but We have revealed to him that there is no God but Allah; that service is due Him" (*Ibid*, 43:6; 21:25). "God has revealed this Book to you Muḥammad, in truth, in confirmation of previous revelations; for it is He Who revealed the Torah and the Evangel" (*Ibid.*, 3:3).

20 "With Allah, *the* religion is Islām" (Holy Qur'ān, 3:19).

21 "With Allah, the religion is Islām. Those to whom revelation was sent before you did not disagree with *the* religion except after some of them claimed their own illusions to be genuine knowledge of religion" (Holy Qur'ān, 3:19).

22 "Allah has sent the prophets to proclaim (the religion) and to warn. He revealed to them the Book in truth to put an end to their disputes in religion, disputes which did not arise until their false claims had intermingled among them" (Holy Qur'ān, 2:213). See also 5:14.

23 Those who were given the Book did not disagree among themselves concerning religion except after their introduction of what they thought to be evident information (which was far from being the case). For they were never asked to worship but Allah and to serve Him sincerely in *ḥanif* spirit (in the spirit of natural religion); that is to observe the prayer, and to pay the *zakāt*. That is the true religion" (Holy Qur'an, 98:4-5).

24 A popular tradition reported by all traditionists.

prophets of God to be *hunafā* (pl. of *ḥanīf*), *i.e.*, recipient of revelation from God confirming their natural religion or *din al fiṭrah.*[25]

In addition to the dignity conferred upon him by his reason, moral sense, and the *sensus numinis*, all of which he shares equally with the Muslim, the non-Muslim enjoys the Muslim's respect as carrier of *dīn al fiṭrah*, the religion of God, as well as carrier of his own religious tradition as one based on *din al fiṭrah.* His Christianity or Judaism or Hinduism or Buddhism is hence to the Muslim, *de jure, i.e.*, legitimate religion despite its divergence from traditional Islam. Indeed, the Muslim welcomes the non-Muslim as his brother in faith, in *din al fiṭrah*, which is the more basic and the more important. The Muslim as well as the non-Muslim are hence members of one family, and their religious differences are domestic, *i.e.*, referrable to, and corrigible in terms of a common parental origin which is *dīn al fiṭrah.*

c. Innate World-Ecumenism. Islām's discovery of *din al fiṭrah* and its vision of it as base of all historical religion is a breakthrough of tremendous importance in interreligious relations. For the first time it has become possible for an adherent of one religion to tell an adherent of another religion: "We are both equal members of a universal religious brotherhood. Both of our traditional religions are *de jure*, for they have both issued from and are based upon a common source, the religion of God which He has implanted equally in both of us, upon *dīn al fiṭrah.*[26] Rather than seek to find out how much your religion agrees with mine, if at all, let us both see how far both our religious traditions agree with *dīn al fiṭrah*, the original and first religion. Rather than assume that each of our religions is divine as it stands today, let us both, cooperatively wherever possible, try to trace the historical development of our religions and determine precisely how and when and where each has followed and fulfilled or transcended and deviated from, *din al fiṭrah.* Let us look into our holy writ and other religious texts and try to discover what change has befallen them, or been reflected in them, in history." Islam's breakthrough is thus the first call to scholarship in religion, to critical analysis of religious texts, of the claim of such texts to revelation status. It is the first call to the discipline of "history of

[25] Holy Qur'ān, 2:135; 3:67, 95; 4:123; 6:79, 162; 10:105; 16:120, 123; 22:31.

[26] "Say, O People of the Book! Come now to agreement with us, based on a fair principle common to both, namely, that we shall all worship none but Allah; that they shall never associate any other with Him; that we shall never take one another as lords beside Allah" (Holy Qur'an, 3:64).

religion" because it was the first to assume that religion had a history, that each religion has undergone a development which constitutes that history.

Islām puts the lowest premium on the "act of faith", or self-identification with a religious tradition. Unlike Augustinian and Lutheran Christianity which makes salvation a function of faith and assigns little or no value to works, Islām assigns to the confession of faith the value of a condition, only a condition. Unlike the act of faith in Christianity, which is personal and secret,[27] works are public. Islam not only acclaims the good works wherever and by whomever they are done, it regards them as the only justification in the eye of God and warns that not an iota of good work or of mischief will be lost on the Day of Reckoning. The non-Muslim therefore has the public record of works he has done to justify him in Muslim eyes; indeed, to establish him as a man of great piety and saintliness. For, in Islām, works earn merit with God regardless of the religious adherence of their authors.[28] Moreover, salvation consists of nothing more than such merit as the good works earn. The act of faith is itself a work which is added and whose inclusion affects the whole. But the *ḥanīf*, who has never heard of the revelation of Muhammad, but who has observed *dīn al fiṭrah* and done the good works, is as much saved and the occupant of paradise as the one who did, who believed and achieved identically the same record of "good works,"[29] Finally, it must be remarked that the nature of "meritorious work" in Islām has nothing to do with sacraments since Islām has none, or with secret personal acts of devotion since all of Islām's devotions are public and communal.[30] Islām's ethic being totally world-affirming, positive, of-the-world and governed by public law, the non-Muslim has

[27] "Those who have believed, the Jews, the Christians, the Sabeans – all those who believe in Allah and in the Day of Judgment, and do the good works, their reward is surely with their Lord. No fear shall befall them; nor shall they grieve" (Holy Qur'ān, 2:62).

[28] "Religious goodness does not consist in your ritual worship, turning your faces towards the East or toward the West. Rather, it consists in believing in Allah, in the Day of Judgment, in His Angels, Books and Prophets, as well as in sharing one's wealth, for His sake, with the relative, the orphan, the destitute, the wayfarer; in spending it for the ransom of those who are not free, as well as in observing the prayers, paying the *zakāt*, fulfilling one's contracts and promises, in holding firm in good times and ill times, or under constraint; in being always truthful. Those are the truly felicitous" (Holy Qur'ān, 2:177).

[29] See n. 27, 28 above.

[30] Wing-tsit Chan, *et al, The Great Asian Religions.* New York: The Macmillan

as much potential and room for meritorious works as the Muslim. No religion allows its adherent to call the non-adherent a better adherent to itself than the professed adherent, and do so religiously, except Islām and, perhaps philosophical Buddhism, which has relatively few adherents and no religious community anyway.

4. *Theory of Society.* Islām has defined the will of God, the norms of human conduct and ends of human desire, in terms of values which are societal. The *ummah*, or Islamic society, is therefore a *conditio sine qua non*, necessary and indispensable if the Muslim is to achieve the divine imperative.[31] This necessity of society derives partly from Islām's world-affirmation, and partly from its insistence that ethics is one of action rather than intention. Both of these considerations require the Muslim to engage himself in the woof and web of society and discourage – nay, condemn – individualism and isolationism.[32] Islām condemned monasticism as an unfortunate invention of some Christians, not commanded by God.[33] Islām demanded that Islāmic life take place in the midst of the rough and tumble of village, city, state and community. The *ummah*, furthermore, is not a mystical body, but a concrete real and political body, membership is which cannot be exercised except in the open and under the vigilant eye of public laws and institutions. This being the case, one would think that the non-Muslim is a "gentile" or *"goy"* who has no shadow of a chance for admission and with whom no cooperation with the *ummah* is possible.

In fact, the opposite is the case. We have already seen that divine transcendence implies that all men are equally creaturely, and hence, that nothing differentiates them from one another except personal achievement. All men are thus equally the object of the Muslim's

Co., 1969, pp. 348-358. For specific social values of Islāmic rituals, see Holy Qur'an, 29:45 for prayer, and *ibid.*, 22:28 for pilgrimage.

[31] "Let there be of you an *ummah* which calls men to the good, enjoins the good deeds, forbids the evil. Such would be the felicitous" (Holy Qur'an, 3:104).

[32] "Those who have done injustice to themselves; when they are asked 'Why is your condition so miserable?' they answer: "Our weakness was exploited by our enemies.' Then will they be told: 'Isn't the earth of Allah large enough? Why then didn't you emigrate and get out from under your yoke?' Such people will have the eternal fire as their abode. Theirs will be a sad fate, except the impotent among men, women and children, who are utterly incapable of means of action" (Holy Qur'an, 4:97-98).

[33] "We have sent to them Our prophets. We sent Jesus, Son of Mary, and revealed to him the Evangel. We endowed the hearts of his followers with compassion and mercy. But monkery We did not prescribe to them. They invented it. . ." (Holy Qur'ān, 57:27).

attention, care and actual salvific work. The Muslim cannot rest until all men have achieved the divine will to the full extent of their personal abilities; until every inch of ground in creation has been transformed by his effort into the fullest possible actualization of the divine pattern. The Muslim is thus a world-missionary, a world-scout, a world-guardian and a world-worker. He not only calls men to God but carries them there if they are lethargic, for his life-purpose is to get them there. Only strategy decides the priorities of his conduct, the nearer being always first entitled to his energies; but the most distant being finally just as entitled to those energies as the nearest. 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb used to worry that he, personally, would have no excuse before God on the Day of Judgement that an unrepaired pothole in the pavement of the farthest village road may have caused a beast of burden to fall and injure itself. Knowing human nature for what it is, Islam stressed the importance of the relative, the neighbor, the compatriot, and commanded the Muslim never to forsake him but to give him the first and most tender loving care.[34] It even legislated that care by fixing inheritance and alimony rights to the proven relative regardless of real distance in space or of biological descendence as long as he establishes absence of a supporter nearer to him in either respect than the defendant. The reality of the forces of nepotism, tribalism, ethnocentrism, and nationalism in human conduct is recognized, and a place in the general scheme is given them. Thus they are brought under the law and are not allowed to dominate. Their worth is a deduction from the general relevance of all men in the Muslim's scheme of action. Indeed, Allah has condemned to eternal fire the person who stops his concern and work at the frontier of neighbor, relative, tribesman, or compatriot. God's transcendence implies the equality of all men; His divine mastery or lordship implies that all men be the object of the Muslim's love, concern and action.[35]

While it is morally proper that nature everywhere be the object of the Muslim's remolding and transformation, it is morally insufficient that all men be object of that care. Certainly, a vast proportion of humanity would benefit most by no more involvement in the cosmic process than by being object of the loving energies of the Muslim cosmic worker. But the moral sense of man and the divine will never be

[34] Holy Qur'ān, 2:82, 177; 4:7, 35; 8:41; 16:90; 17:26; 24:22. 30:38; 42:23; 30:38.

[35] Holy Qur'ān, 34:28; 3:110; 2:143; 22:78; 4:135.

satisfied by such involvement alone. Man is a moral subject. As such, whatever happens to him is of no moral worth, despite its utilitarian worth, unless it happens by his own personal and free decision. *Dār al Islām* (The House of Islām) will therefore seek to envelope the world and to transform it and mankind into a perfect actualization of the divine pattern or will. But it will be morally of little value unless mankind is called to the task and convinced of its moral and utilitarian value; unless mankind freely decides to have the job done and participate in it, each man to the full extent of his capacities. This requirement implies that the non-Muslim become active participant in the *engagement* of the Muslim in cosmic work.

The first condition Islām lays for such participation is that it involve no coercion or cumpulsion. To be itself, it ought to be free. "No coercion in religion. Virtue and wisdom are manifestly different from vice and misguidance. Whoever believes does so for his own good; whoever rejects faith does so at his own peril."[36] A responsible decision from every non-Muslim in favor of such participation in cosmic engagement and cooperation with the Muslim in the work, is an absolute requirement. Its violation is capital sin, besides being Islāmically worthless, and earns for its perpetrator eternal punishment.[37] No Muslim, therefore, may spread his faith or bring non-Muslims to join in his enterprise by force.

Knowing the trickery of interhuman relationship and the wide possibilities of brainwashing, of influencing decision, and pressuring human conduct, the Holy Qur'ān specified the means of persuasion to be used by the Muslim. "And call men forth unto the path of our Lord by wisdom and argument yet more sound. Argue the cause with them (the non-Muslim) but with the more comely arguments."[38] If they are not convinced by these methods, Allah commanded the Muslim to leave the non-Muslims alone.[39] Ceratinly, the Muslim is to try again and never give up that Allah may guide the non-Muslim to the truth. If he is to, change his tactics at all, it is for the better, the better in wisdom, in truthfulness. The example of his own life, his personal embodiment of the truths and values he professes should constitute his final argument.

[36] Holy Qur'ān, 2:256.

[37] Holy Qur'ān. 10:99.

[38] Holy Qur'ān, 16:125.

[39] Holy Qur'ān, 5:108; 3:176-177; 47:32.

If the non-Muslim is still not convinced, the Muslim is to strive after better embodiment of Islamic truth and value in his own life and leave the rest to God.

By God's commandment and under His sanctioning authority, the Muslim is to bring about world-order through the free, responsible and comely interchange of ideas. The world is to be turned into a seminar of global scale, and the best idea, the soundest argument, the noblest exemplification are to win the hearts and minds of men. This new world-order is not to be a monolithic unity, even if Islām, as the best idea, did win over the majority. The majority, no matter how large or overwhelming, has no right to coerce even a single deviationist in religion. If that single non-Muslim adamantly refuses to accept the position of the majority, the latter is bound by Islamic law to honor his judgment and to anable him to exercise his convictions, to practice his faith, in freedom and dignity.

Much as the Muslim hopes to win mankind for Islām, he knows that many non-Muslims will continue to resist. As long as this resistance is ideational, the Muslim is bound to respect it. Once the resistance puts obstacles in the way of preaching, that is, once it interferes in the free and responsible interchange of ideas to obstruct, subvert or stop it, then Islām prescribes that the obstacle be removed by force. If religious resistance picks up the sword, then Islam prescribes that it be fought with the same.

Armed resistance, it should be noted, is not merely resistance to religious proposing which should not be countered except by counter-proposing and, if possible, a better argument. Here, armed resistance means forceful opposition to the proposal that religious differences be solved by argument, through persuasion and dissuasion. It is the sword drawn in answer to a proposal of "let the best argument win." Certainly, it deserves to be stopped and broken by the sword. But the action should never have for purpose the coercion of the resistance into Islām.[40] Its aim is no more and no less than stopping the violent action taken by the non-Muslims. It should stop immediately upon the cessation of their violence. The recourse to violence is justified only to put an end to the violent obstruction, never to coerce the non-Muslims into conversion to Islām. No power may convert him to Islam except himself.[41]

[40] Holy Qur'ān, 47:4; 8:62; 10:99; 2:256.

[41] Holy Qur'ān, 13:12; 8:54.

Islām prescribes the most tolerant *modus vivendi* for the Muslims and non-Muslims living under its aegis. Where the Muslims are the dominant majority, or where the state is an Islamic state, the non-Muslims who agree to live with the Muslims in peace constitute an *ummah,* alongside the Muslims. This term *"ummah"* used by the Prophet Muḥammad, *ṣallā Allau alayhi wa sallam,* in the convenant of Madinah with regard to its Jewish minority population, means a society governed by its own law, carrying its own political, economic, educational, judicial, cultural and religious institutions.[42] Allah, the Prophet, the Islamic state and the whole world-ummah of Islām are their guarantors and protectors.[43] Their defense against external attack as well as any internal encroachment whether by Muslims, non-Muslims, or by their own members, is a duty imposed by God upon the Muslims. They are supposed to render the *jizyah,* a poll tax that is a far lesser economic and financial burden than the *zakāt* imposed upon Muslims, and are to live in virtual independence from the Muslims except in matters of security and prosperity of *Dār al Islām* as a whole. Most important, however, is the recognition not only that the non-Muslim is not to be coerced or subversively influenced to convert, but that he is fully entitled to pursue his non-Muslimness and pass it on to his descendants. From the view of any religion or–ism whose stand is not one of skepticism, this is indeed the supreme and ultimate demand that the foreigner can make. Islam fulfills it beautifully.

D. The History

The above-mentioned lesson we learn from the essence of Islām is not a fanciful projection of a daydreamer, of a man wishing for felicitous inter-religious relationship. It is, rather, the vision of an actual movement in history. It is a vision which has been translated into directives for daily living and action, crystallized permanently into law (the *sharī'ah*), actually observed by millions of people, across fourteen centuries, in areas covering a wide and long belt of the surface of the earth.

In Makkah, before the existence of the Islamic state, indeed before

[42] The "Covenant of Madīnah" was the constitution of the first Islāmic state. It was dictated and enacted by the Prophet in the first week following his emigration from Makkah to Madīnah. For the full text, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allah,* tr. By Alfred Guillaume under the title *The Life of Muḥammad.* London: Oxford U. Press, 1955, pp. 231-234.

[43] *Ibid.*

the formation of the Muslims into an organic *ummah,* Islām declared itself a confirmation of all previous revelations and identified itself with Judaism and Christianity.[44] But noticing the baffling array of doctrines, creeds and practices of Jews and Christians, Islam distinguished between these phenomena of history and the original Judaism and Christianity which God gave to His prophets.[45] By its criticism of the discrepancies and contradictions, it incepted objective study of the history of the two religions, critical study of their scriptures, the Torah and the New Testament. It recognized the divine base of both and ascribed the historical growth to human effort, whether well or ill-meaning. It identified itself with the religion of Abraham, Moses and Jesus and, before them, with the religion of Adam and Noah. It rehabilitated the whole of mankind religiously by recognizing a *religio naturalis* innate in all men; and related to them all without exception by declaring itself as a claim to no more than the content of that primal, original, *Ur-Religion,* or gift of God to every human being.

When Makkan persecution became unbearable for many of his followers, the Prophet ordered them to seek refuge in Ethiopia, the Christian Kingdom, confident that the followers of Jesus Christ are moral, charitable and friendly, promoters of the worship of God.[46] His high regard for them was well in its place. For their Christian emperor rejected Makkah's demand for extradition of the Muslim refugees and acclaimed the Qur'ānic recognition of the prophethood of Jesus, the innocence of his mother and the oneness of God.[47]

Upon arrival in Madīnah, where the Prophet founded the first Islāmic state, the Jews were recognized as an autonomous *ummah* within The Islāmic state.[48] Henceforth, Jewish law, religion and institutions became a sacrosanct trust whose protection, safe keeping and perpetuation became a Muslim responsibility imposed by the religion of Islām itself. Only questions of external war and peace fell outside the jurisdiction of the sovereign Jewish *ummah* and even on this level, the Islāmic state was not to act without *shūrā* consulation with all its

[44] Holy Qur'ān, 29:46; 16:22; 18:111; 21:108; 41:6.

[45] Holy Qur'ān, 2:79, 101: 3:23, 64-65, 70-71, 78, 98-99; 4:43, 50, 78; 5:16, 51: 7:169.

[46] A. Guillaume, *op. cit.,* pp. 146-154.

[47] *Ibid.,* pp. 150-151. The event has been confirmed by revelation of 5:83-85.

[48] A. Guillaume, pp. 146ff.

constituents, including the non-Muslims. Likewise, the Christian Arabs of Najrān came to Madīnah following the Prophet's launching of the new Islamic state to negotiate their own place in the emerging society. The Prophet himself called them to Islām and argued with them at length with all the eloquence at his disposal. Some of them converted; but the majority did not. Muḥammad nonetheless granted them the same autonomous status accorded to the Jews, loaded them with gifts, and sent them home under protection of a Muslim bodyguard and a Muslim statesman, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, to organize their affairs, solve their problems and serve their interests.[49]

As the Muslims fanned out of Arabia into Byzantium, Persia, and India, large numbers of Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Hindus and Buddhists came under their dominion. The same recognition granted to the Jews and Christians by the Prophet personally was granted to every non-Muslim religious community on the one condition of their keeping the peace.[50] The case of Jerusalem was the *typos* of this Muslim tolerance and good will on the religious level as well as on the social and cultural. The brief but illustrious charter reads:

> "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This charter is granted by 'Umar, Servant of Allah and Prince of the Believers, to the people of Aelia. He grants them security for their persons and their properties, for their churches and their crosses, the little and the great, and for adherents of the Christian religion. Neither shall their churches be dispossessed nor will they be destroyed, nor their substances or areas, nor their crosses or any of their properties, be reduced in any manner. They shall not be coerced in any matter pertaining to their religion, and they shall not be harmed. Nor will any Jews be permitted to live with them in Aelia.
>
> Upon the people of Aelia falls the obligation to pay the *jizyah*; just as the people of Madā'in (Persia) do, as well as to evict from their midst the Byzantine army and the thieves. Whoever of these leaves Aelia will be granted security of person and property until he reaches his destination. Whoever decides to stay in Aelia will also be granted same and share with the people of Aelia, in

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 270-277. Muḥammah Ḥusayn Haykal, *The Life of Muḥammad*, tr. by I. R. al Faruqi. Indianapolis: The North American Islamic Trust, 1976, pp. 477ff.

[50] Muḥammad 'Alī bin Ḥāmid ibn Abū Bakr al Kūfī, *Shāh Nāmah: Tārīkh-i-Hind wa Sind*, tr, A. M. Elliott, in *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*. Allahabad: Kitāb Mahal Private, Ltd., n.d. Vol. I, pp. 184-187.

their rights and the *jizyah*. The same applies to the people of Aelia as well as to any other person. Anyone can march with the Byzantines, stay in Aelia or return to his home country, and has until the harvesting of the crops to decide. Allah attests to the contents of this treaty, and so do His Prophet, his successors and the believers.

Signed: 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb

Witnessed by: Khālid ibn al Walīd, 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ, 'Abd al Rahman bin 'awf and mu'āwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān.

Excecuted in the year 15 A.H."[51]

Nothing is farther from the truth and more inimical to Muslim-non-Muslim relations than the claim that Islam spread by the sword. Nothing could have been and still is more condemnable to the Muslim than to coerce a non-Muslim into Islām. As noted earlier, the Muslims have been the first to condemn such action as mortal sin. On this point, Thomas Arnold, an English missionary in the Indian civil service of colonial days and no friend of Islam wrote:

". . . of any organised attempt to force the acceptance of Islām on the non-Muslim population, or of any systematic persecution intended to stamp out the Christian religion, we hear nothing. Had the caliphs chosen to adopt either course of action, they might have swept away Christianity as easily as Ferdinand and Isabella drove Islām out of Spain, or Louis XIV made Protestantism penal in France, or the Jews were kept out of England for 350 years. The Easter Churches in Asia were entirely cut off from communion with the rest of Christendom throughout which no one would have been found to lift a finger on their behalf, as heretical communions. So that the very survival of these Churches to the present day is a strong proof of the generally tolerant attitude of the Muhammadan governments towards them."[52]

Compared with the histories of other religions, the history of Islām is categorically white as far as toleration of other religions is concerned.

[51] Quoted in Alistair Duncan, *The Noble Sanctuary*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1972, p. 22. Also Thomas W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith*. Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1961 (first pub. 1896), pp. 56-57.

[52] Thomas Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Fortunately, we have on record many witnesses from those days of Muslim conquest to whom we should be very grateful for clearing up this matter once and for all. Michael the Elder, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, wrote in the second half of the twelfth century: "This is why the God of vengeance . . . beholding the wickedness of the Romans who, throughout their dominions, cruelly plundered our churches and our monastries and condemned us without pity – brought from the region of the south the sons of Ishmael, to deliver us through them from the hands of the Romans."[53] Barhebraeus is author of an equally powerful witness in favor of Islām.[54] Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, a Dominican monk from Florence who visited the Muslim East about 1300 A. C., gave an equally eloquent witness of tolerance –nay, friendship– to the Christians.[55] And yet, if the Muslims were so tolerant, the Christian persistently asks, why did his coreligionists flock to Islam by the millions? Of these coreligionists, the Arabs were the smallest minority. The rest were Hellenes, Persians, Egyptians, Cyrenaicans, Berbers, Cypriots, and Caucasians. Cannon Taylor once explained it beautifully at a Church Congress held at Wolverhampton. He said:

> "It is easy to understand why this reformed Judaism (*sic*!) spread so swiftly over Africa and Asia. The African and Syrian doctors (*sic*) had substituted abstruse metaphysical dogmas for the religion of Christ: they tried to combat the licentiouness of the age by setting forth the celestial merit of celibacy and the angelic excellence of virginity –seclusion from the world was the road of holiness, dirt was the characteristic of monkish sanctity– the people were practically polytheists, worshipping a crowd of martyrs, saints and angels; the upper classes were effeminate and corrupt, the middle classes oppressed by taxation, the slaves without hope for the present or the future. As with the besom of God, Islām swept away this mass of corruption and superstition. It was a revolt against empty theological polemics; it was a masculine pro-

[53] Michael the Elder, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. J. B. Chabot. Paris, 1899-1901, Vol. II, pp. 412-413. Quoted in Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[54] Gregorii Barhebraei, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, Louvain, 1872-1877, p. 474.

[55] *Et ego inveni per antiquas historias et autenticas aput Saracenos, quod ipsi Nestorini amici fuerunt Mochometi et confederate cum eo, et quod ipsi Machometus mandavit suis posteris, quod Nestorinos maxime conservarent. Quod unique hodie diligenter observant ipsi Saraceni* (Laurent, J. C. M., *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*. Lipsiae, 1864, p. 128).

test against the exaltation of celibacy as a crown of piety. It brought out the fundamental dogmas of religion – the unity and greatness of God, that He is merciful and righteous, that He claims obedience to His will, resignation and faith. It proclaimed the responsibility of man, a future life, a day of judgement, and stern retribution to fall upon the wicked; and enforced the duties of prayer, almsgiving, fasting and benevolence. It thrust aside the artificial virtues, the religious frauds and follies, the perverted moral sentiments, and the verbal subtleties of theological disputants. It replaced monkishness by manliness. It gave hope to the slave, brotherhood to mankind, and recognition to the fundamental facts of human nature."[56]

III. Basis for Inter-Religious Cooperation: Islāmic Humanism

This brilliant theory of the other faiths presented by Islām is unmatched and unmatchable. While Vatican II has in condescending and paternalizing manner decreed twenty centuries after Jesus, that Judaism is religiously acceptable as a *preparatio* for Christianity, and fourteen centuries after Muḥammad, that Islām is a tolerable approximation of Christianity, it asserted that outside the Roman Catholic Church no salvation is possible, thus withdrawing with one hand what it granted with the other. That no one will be saved unless he is a member of the Catholic Church of Rome consigns to eternal damnation not only the Muslims and the Jews but all the Protestant Christians as well. As to Protestantism, we have still heard nothing regarding Islām except rumors and hearsay from individuals. The World Council of Churches has so far not spoken on these issues. Indeed, it has even turned down Libya's invitation to join the Islāmic-Christian dialogue of Tripoli (1976). Apparently, it participates only in dialogues held under its own auspices. Previously, the W.C.C. did hold its own dialogue sessions with Islām (Bḥamdūn, Brummānā, Hong Kong, etc.) but under its own terms and with Muslim representatives of its own choosing.

Judaism and Hinduism are ethnocentric religions by nature. In modern times, they have resurged more ethnocentric than ever. Their religious exclusivism is incompatible with dialogue with the other world religions. But their traditions are not devoid of strands favorable to ecumenism and encouraging to dialogue. An ethical monotheistic Ju-

[56] Quoted by Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

daism, born in the Middle Ages under the aegis of Islāmic philosophy, culture, and mysticism has gained strength since the Emancipation, under the influence of the Enlightenment and of Western humanism. But it has been severely weakened in recent times by Zionism, which is the archetype of ethnocentric exclusivism. Likewise, Hindus can recourse to an established tradition of philosophical Hinduism which provides ample room for interreligious dialogue and universalist human fellowship. Both these tendencies in Judaism and Hinduism deserve encouragement.

Islām's theory of other faiths, backed by the experience of fourteen centuries, still commands the loyalty and support of a billion Muslims around the world. It provides us with the best foundation for a religious world-ecumene in which the religions honor one another's claims without denying their own. It also provides us with the only legitimate foundation for seeking the religious unity of mankind. If inter-religious dialogue is to move beyond the exchange of information and courtesies, it has to have a religious norm in terms of which it can compose the differences between the religions. This religious norm must be common to the dialoguing parties. Islām finds this norm in *dīn al fiṭrah.* It is also essential that the dialoguing parties feel a measure of freedom *vis-a-vis* their historical religious traditions. No idea is more conducive to such freedom than Islam's suggestion that the religious tradition is a human outgrowth from primal *dīn al fiṭrah.* It was this Islāmic idea which incepted in history the academic study of religion involving a critical assessment of the historical authenticity of the religious traditions of mankind, of their holy texts, traditions and practices. Scholarship in religion, *i.e.,* critical analysis of texts and history, has begun in the West in the Englightenment. Islāmic scholarship in religion is a whole millennium older, and has an advantage over the most advanced scholarship of today, namely, that its stand is not one of skepticism. The skeptic may ask questions in religion; but he may not answer them.

The Islāmic theory is particularly strong as regards Judaism and Christianity which it treats not as "other religions" but as itself. Its recognition of the God of Judaism and of Christianity as its God, of their prophets as its prophets, and its committment to the divine invitation to the People of the Book to cooperate and live together under God constitute the first and only real step towards religious unity of two world religions ever made. An Abrahamic unity of Judaism, Christianity and Islām based on the Ḥanīfī religion of Abraham, the *dīn al fiṭrah,* is a real possibility. It did in fact exist in the Muslim World

until Western imperialism, colonialism and Zionism came to subvert it. Their effort, however, has been in vain. The Muslim will continue to believe in and work for this unity, confident that his God Whom he knows to be one as truth is one and the moral law is one, cannot but desire one religion, to be entered into by all men freely deliberately, because it is itself when it is the result of personal conviction, not of a blind wager *a la Pascal,* but a certainty reached after a critical weighing of all the options, of all the evidence. In following up this ideal, nothing could be more worthwhile to the Muslim to subsidize and to promote whether in the Muslim World, or the non-Muslim World, than the comparative study of religion.

The Islāmic stand toward the other faiths thus combines three crucial distinctions: First, it is not only tolerant, but assumes the Holy of the other religions to be Holy, their prophets to be prophets of God and their revelations to come from God. Tolerance implies dualism and basic difference between the subject and object of tolerance. Islām does away with the basic difference as it eliminates the dualism itself. It identifies itself with Judaism and Christianity and enjoins upon its adherents at least as much, if not more, religious respect and devotion to the Prophets and revelations of Judaism and Christianity. No religion preserved the shrines of another in its own base, and indeed enabled them to prosper in its midst, except Islām. And no tolerance whatever has ever reached the point of enforcing the other religions' laws in its own territory, except in Islām. Nay more, no religion has ever countenanced, or can ever countenance, teaching its own adherents as well as having them enforce the idea that it is part of their religion, and hence their religious obligation, to enforce the observance of the other religions' laws as long as their adherents live in their midst. And only in the Muslim World and under an Islamic government would it be true to say that neither Jew nor Christian is free to dejudaize or dechristianize himself in rebellion against or defiance of his own religious authority.

Secondly, the Islāmic stand toward the other faiths, having brought all faiths under the single roof or *dīn al fiṭrah,* satisfies the only condition for constructive dialogue and inter-relation. Under it, all differences between the religions are domestic family squabbles. Criticism, argument and counter-argument mutually affect all the members on account of this organic relationship in which Islām has bound them to one another. Such criticism across the lines of various religions is brought forth by constituent members concerned about the total system which houses, includes and unites them. Unless the

religions become conscious of and emphasize this common bond, they may never be able to meet and surmount their present difficulties. Besides this advantage, the Islāmic stand furnishes the religions with the groundwork necessary for an effective purge, a creatively constructive reform of their own traditions. Given *dīn al fiṭrah* or the first presuppositions of human religiosity, any religious tradition should be able to face the strongest criticism without fear. For its ultimate concerns, namely God, the purposiveness of existence, the real possibility of salvation and the final redressing of the balance of happiness—all these are safeguarded. Skepticism in epistemology and metaphysics or cynicism in ethics, value-theory and religion, cannot be silenced by the religious authoritarianism of an *ex cathedra* pronouncement, or of a dogmatic assertion. Only reason and experience can do so. That is what the Islāmic stand offers us. Islamic rationalism has indeed achieved what the Enlightenment and its followers in the West have failed to do; namely, to absorb the criticism of the skeptics—the empiricists and romantics of the nineteenth century – and so press forth creatively and critically for a rational authentication of the religious traditions, a rational validation of their diverse claims. Such scholarship is not an idle wish. It is a genuine hope stemming from a religious conviction which looks upon creation with the eyes of the most fastidious and critical science and exclaims: O Lord, You have not created all this in vain, in sport![57]

Thirdly and finally, the Islāmic stand toward the other faiths constitutes a new humanism because it is founded on a new faith in man. Man's nature is being badly abused in the world today. Having lost the battle of establishing man as a lump of sin, a *massa peccata,* Christianity has practically given up contending in the matter of the nature of man. Skepticism, ethnocentric particularism and materialism divide the field of the theory of man. While materialism defines man in little more than teeth, hands and stomach, nationalist madness declares him a Jew, or a German to the exclusion of all other men. In the meantime, skepticism stands by and mocks at man and his crucifiers. It is no wonder that the serious among Westerners are all skeptics. For skepticism is the most rational of the three stands prevalent in the West.

Islām's *dīn al fiṭrah* is the only idea capable of pulling Western man out of his predicament and launching him on a dynamic and creative

[57] Holy Qur'ān, 3:191; 23:115.

road to self-fulfillment. As it did for the ancient Mesopotamian, *dīn al fiṭrah* can do for man today: it gives him the world to reknead and remold in the service of God. To serve God is hence to create culture and civilization. But this is none other than to attain the highest possible self-fulfillment.