

ORIENTALIA SUECANA

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Some Cuneiform Texts from the Haldar Collection. Two Old Babylonian Contracts

Jakob Andersson
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It was brought to my attention some time ago that a small number of cuneiform texts were housed in a private collection in Uppsala, Sweden.¹ The texts had previously been part of the collection belonging to docent Alfred Ossian Haldar. In this article two Old Babylonian documents, their known history and their cultural setting are presented and commented on.

A brief history of the Haldar collection

Born in 1907, Haldar was active as a researcher in oriental languages and cultures from the 1940s well into the 1970s. He received his doctoral degree in 1945 for his dissertation on prophetic traditions, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*,² taking into account not only cuneiform evidence, but also the Hebrew scriptures and early Arabic sources. Though his interest may have lain in the Near East as a whole, Assyriology remained one of his passions. Beside numerous contributions to scholarly journals and textbooks on the subjects of Near Eastern archaeology and religions, he authored several monographs, among others: *Who were the Amorites?*³ Haldar passed away in 1986.

The history of parts of Haldar's collection can be established with some degree of certainty. The five texts which now make up the remainder of Haldar's collection are the remains of a much larger collection. Between the years 1961 and 1981 Haldar sold or donated – among other things – inscribed objects and cuneiform tablets to The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm⁴ and to the Danish National Museum.⁵ At least one of the texts

¹ I thank Professor Olof Pedersén for drawing this collection to my attention and for reading this article through during various stages of its production, and for making important comments on matters of formality. Heartfelt thanks also go to the owner of the collection for allowing me to publish the texts. Abbreviations follow the system of *Archiv für Orientforschung* with the addition of *MMB* for *Medelhavsmuseets Bulletin*, Stockholm 1961–. Dates are sometimes given in abbreviated form: Si 4 means that a text is dated to the fourth regnal year of king Samsuiluna of Babylon; RS is used for year in the reign of king Rīm-Sîn of Larsa. A colon after a text number means that in the primary publication no indication is given as to where the reverse begins. Signs with unknown reading are given in upper-case letters, or, if unintelligible, as X.

² Published under the same title, Uppsala 1945.

³ *Who were the Amorites? Monographs on the Ancient Near East*, Leiden 1971.

⁴ An Old Assyrian text was made public by K. R. Veenhof *MMB* 19 (1984) pp. 3–9. Three royal inscriptions were treated by O. Pedersén, *MMB* 26–27 (1991–92) pp. 3–16, nos. 2, 4 and 8. Ten Ur III texts were published by M. Widell *Medelhavsmuseet* 2 (2005) pp. 11–44. Note that text no. 8 in that article came from another donor.

⁵ C. Halvgaard & C. Johansen *RA* 98 (2004) p. 2. This article saw the publishing of nine Ur III texts which had entered the museum's collections by means of Haldar in 1981. In all, Haldar donated 24 texts, along with other objects, to the Danish National Museum.

had been acquired by Haldar during a visiting fellowship at Yale.⁶ It is very probable that Haldar acquired several other texts during his time at Yale. But exactly when the other texts entered into Haldar's possession, and from where they originated has proven to be worthy of some detective work.

The two Old Babylonian contracts under scrutiny here were both originally published by Theophilus Goldridge Pinches in 1917 in *The Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* volume 39. The texts were by then part of a British collection: the "Relph Collection". Reginald A. Smith, once Curator of the Department of Antiquities at The British Museum, alluded to the Relph Collection in at least two different periodicals.⁷ Scholarly literature contains a few other references to Mr. Relph or to his collection. It seems that he had partaken in the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Howletts, Kent. At least, a later article on another Anglo-Saxon cemetery contains a reference to him.⁸

Pinches does not report much on the collection save that all tablets had been "acquired by purchase."⁹ As pertains to the collector, Pinches referred to the owner at a point in his tripartite article on the collection. Concerning the text labelled no. 18, he notes: "The envelope was opened by Dr. Relph on September 8th, 1916".¹⁰ Thanks to Pinches' subscript to the second part of his article, we know that this "Dr. Relph" was in fact, Dr. Arthur E. Relph, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons (M.R.C.S.), "Lecturer upon Dental Surgery at University College Hospital Medical School".¹¹ In 1936 the upcoming sale of the Relph Collection at the hands of Sotheby's was announced.¹² The auction was scheduled to take place on June 9–10 the same year. How the cuneiform texts once part of the Relph Collection fell into Haldar's hands is at present not known.

The texts published in hand copy, transliteration into latin characters, and commented on by Pinches – eight in all – were internally numbered in a sequence seemingly based on chronological considerations. At least, the text sequence 17 through 24 are all from the Old Babylonian period (ca. 2000–1595 BCE, following the middle chronology). The title of Pinches' article¹³ leads one to believe that these

⁶ A. Haldar *BiOr* 10 (1953) p. 134: "In my private collection is another sample of the same inscription, which I obtained in 1949 through the kindness of Professor F. J. Stephens". Haldar is describing an inscription of Enmetena, ruler of the Sumerian city state Lagaš, ca. 2400 BCE, edited by E. Sollberger *CIRPL*, Ent. 45–73 (exemplar 70 in the index on p. xiii).

⁷ R. A. Smith *Man. A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science* 18 (1918) p. 187, a discussion of prehistoric British flint tools from a named site. The second reference to the collection of Mr. Relph by Smith can be found in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, volume 57 no. 328 (Jul. 1930) pp. 3–5, 8–10. A bronze-gilt buckle is illustrated on pl. II (G), and stated in the notes as coming from Howletts, Kent, and dating to the late sixth century (CE). The note was accompanied by a parenthesis giving the name "Mr. A. E. Relph".

⁸ S. E. Chadwick *Medieval Archaeology* 2 (1958) p. 38⁸⁵: "Some doubt will always remain about the accuracy of the grave-groupings of the Howletts cemetery; as yet unpublished, they are based on rough notes by Mr. A. E. Relph". Excavations at the Howletts cemetery were carried out between 1913 and 1918, see J. M. Cook, *Early Anglo-Saxon Buckets: a Corpus of Copper Alloy- and Iron-Bound, Stave-Built Vessels*, Oxford 2004, p. 67.

⁹ T. G. Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) p. 55.

¹⁰ T. G. Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) p. 62.

¹¹ T. G. Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) p. 72.

¹² A. C. R. Carter *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* vol. 68 no. 399, pp. xxi–xxiv. Neither clay tablets nor flint objects were mentioned in this connection.

¹³ "Some Texts of the Relph Collection, with Notes on Babylonian Chronology and Genesis XIV".

were not the only cuneiform texts in the Relph Collection. Logic dictates that there were at least 16 more. The texts with which we will be preoccupied here carried the numbers 17 and 23 in the Relph Collection and in Pinches' original publication. The latter text (Haldar 2/Relph 23) still sports a round label with the number '23'. Collation of the texts have added little to Pinches' excellent hand copies.

Written contracts

Cuneiform writing was the culmination of a long process leading toward a fixed system of recording transactions. Though assyriologists may disagree as to the nature and steps of this process, few would argue against there being a long history behind the first true written texts, which appear around 3200 BCE on sites in southern Iraq and south-western Iran.¹⁴

The script was continually refined and adapted to the spoken languages of the area. The majority of texts written up until the Old Babylonian period were in the Sumerian language. Even when Sumerian ceased being a spoken language around the turn of the second millennium BCE, texts continued being written to a large extent in Sumerian. Legal texts were no exception. Two law-collections known from Mesopotamia, one from late Sumerian times, and one from the early Old Babylonian period, were written in Sumerian.¹⁵

Documentation for legally binding agreements was as important then as it is today. Contracts and receipts in the form of inscribed clay tablets were stored in family archives as proof of a family's right to the plot of land or the estate concerned. The same was valid for other types of documents with legal implications such as contracts of adoption, leases for fields, renting of oxen for plowing, deposition of goods for safe-keeping, or silver-lending activities. In the Old Babylonian period, King Hammurapi of Babylon (ruled ca. 1792–1750 BCE) gave several examples in his laws of cases in which it was necessary to have a written receipt for, or witnesses to, an agreement involving shifting ownership of property.¹⁶

Sealings

One finds a wide-spread use of a special type of seal characteristic of the Mesopotamian cultural sphere – the cylinder seal, even before the earliest literate times. Many but not all seals had writing on them to identify the owner. The seals were often quite small and were made of stone, but other materials were also used. As opposed to stamp seals (which were in use before and after the heyday of cylinder seals) the motifs and writing on cylinder seals were carved around the body of a cylinder-

¹⁴ D. Schmandt-Besserat *Before Writing. From Counting to Cuneiform*. Cf. R.K. Englund's review *Science* 260 (June 1993) pp. 1670f.

¹⁵ An overview and translations of early Near Eastern laws are given by M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*.

¹⁶ As is summarized in Codex Hammurapi §7: "If a man bought or received for safekeeping either silver, gold, a manservant, a womanservant, an ox, a sheep, an ass or whatever it may be, from the hands of a(nother) man or from a manservant without witnesses or a written receipt, that man is a thief; he shall be killed".

shaped piece of stone which, when rolled over moist clay, left behind a continuous impression. The use of cylinder seals spread throughout the Near East, and they were subject to differences in local styles and iconographic preferences which changed with time.¹⁷ Seals could be reused and have their original identifying inscriptions replaced by a new one, but they could also remain unchanged by the new owner.¹⁸

In legal transactions either the witnesses or the primary parties themselves sealed the tablet. This could be done before or after the tablet was inscribed with the text reporting the transaction. Sometimes there was also a clay envelope, made to encase the tablet, and then seals could be rolled exclusively on the envelope. Instead of using seals, there are examples from different periods and places in Mesopotamia of persons impressing their fingernails or the hem of their robe into the clay.¹⁹ In cases or areas where private persons had no seal of their own an ad-hoc seal could be made on the spot from less expensive materials.²⁰ Sometimes sons could seal a document using their father's seal,²¹ and colleagues could borrow each other's seals.²² It is therefore not fully understood how ownership of a seal ties in with the usage of it. It is clearly not to be considered as corresponding fully to a modern-day personal signature.²³ In legal disputes over property, testimony of witnesses carried greater weight than the sealed document in itself. One must therefore imagine a more flexible conceptual framework for the use and legal weight of seals.

The two texts here examined were written and sealed only a few years apart, near the end of the Old Babylonian period in two cities in Southern Mesopotamia. Apart from the information we may get about the buying and selling of goods and services or the division of estates we also get information about the people witnessing the transactions who may well turn up in other documents from about the same time. As we shall see, the ceremonials which accompanied the agreement can be of some help in locating the document in time and space. For as is sometimes the case, these two documents lack an archaeological context.

Text no. 1: a contract recording the sale of a prebend.

The first text is a contract of a most interesting kind. It stems from the city of Ur, in the south of present day Iraq. In the contract a son and his mother sell a prebend duty as courtyard sweeper in the sacred precinct of the city; a duty most probably inherited by the boy from his father. The courtyard ought to have been situated near the

¹⁷ An introduction to the history and character of cylinder seals, their spatial diffusion and iconography can be found with D. Collon *First Impressions, passim*.

¹⁸ See some examples listed by J. D. Muhly *JAOS* 101 (1981) p. 401.

¹⁹ J. Renger *BiMes* 6 pp. 76ff.

²⁰ In the Old Babylonian Diyala-area, private persons seemingly did not have the right to seal documents or even to own a seal. There, tablets were sealed beforehand by a royal emissary and the parties involved had their names carved on an ad-hoc seal. The matter is discussed by J. D. Muhly *JAOS* 101 (1981) p. 401.

²¹ See below, commentary to text 2.

²² An example of this practice is given by D. Charpin *BiOr* 38 (1981) col. 533.

²³ J. Renger *BiMes* 6 p. 79.



Left edge



Obverse



Right edge



Reverse



Lower edge



Bottom of reverse

main temple in Ur – the Ekišnuḡal²⁴ – devoted to the cult of the moon-god, Nanna in Sumerian, Sîn (or Su'en) in Akkadian. The position as courtyard sweeper is defined as limited in time to the first 12 days of the month of Abum, corresponding to the second half of July. Since minted currencies of coins were not yet invented, the price for the prebend duty was measured out in silver of a predetermined weight; 2 sheqels, or approximately 16.5 g. The two parties in the transaction swore an oath together, solemnly promising not to dispute the agreement.

A formula at the end of the text gives the name of the year in which the transaction took place. Such formulae had been used for several hundreds of years. The year got its name from a significant event in the kingdom during the previous year.²⁵ Since at times there were several parallel dynasties based in different cities, a wealth of year names are known. This specific tablet bears a date belonging to an upstart

²⁴ For the name and history of the Ekišnuḡal, see A. R. George *MC* 5 p. 114, no. 653. Exactly where in the sacred precinct the E₂-maḡ courtyard was situated is uncertain. For an attempt at a localization of different installations belonging to the main temple, see D. Charpin *Clergé* pp. 325–340, esp. pp. 333ff.

²⁵ For an overview of the material and its problems, see D. Charpin *OBO* 160/4 pp. 45ff.

king from the South – Rīm-Sîn II – whose claim to power was short-lived. He reigned for about 1 ½ years during the early third of the reign of his contemporary Samsuiluna of Babylon (reigned ca. 1749–1712), whose father Ḫammurapi had established control of the South some 15 years earlier.²⁶

The fact that we have several contracts of this type shows that it was not altogether uncommon to sell less important duties in the temple.²⁷ A private archive from Old Babylonian Nippur has yielded about two dozen contracts of this type. In most of those documents, the person acquiring duties in the temple was one and the same person.²⁸ Exactly what benefits the prebend entailed are not known. It is probable that, besides piety and the status that could come from actually working on the private domains of the deity, some more mundane advantages like partaking in the considerable amounts of food destined for the god's table may have played a part. Also, the potential for networking and rubbing shoulders with celebrities and learned folk must not be underestimated. But in the end, people would for some reason actually pay to do menial work. And at that, as in this case, in the middle of the hottest season, with temperatures at mid-day averaging just short of a staggering 50°C.

Haldar 1 (Ex-Relph 17)

Publication history: T. G. Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) no. 17, pp. 55–60, with copy on pl. IV (facing p. 56); D. Charpin *Clergé* p. 190f.; J. N. Postgate *Early Mesopotamia* p. 125 (Text 6:7). Provenience: Ur (Tell Muqayyar). Photo of obverse and reverse, p. 12.

Transliteration

- Obv. 1 mu 1-kam u₄ 12-kam kisal-luḫ e₂-^dEN.ZU / kisal-maḫ
 bala gub-ba iti NE.NE-ġar iti dub saḡ
 𐎶ki𐎶 Qi₂-iṣ-ti-E₂-a dumu Li-pi₂-it-E₂-a
 𐎶u₃𐎶 A-li-tim ama-ni
 5 ¹A-pil-^dAšnan(še.tir) dumu Lu₂-diġir-ra
 in-ši-sa₁₀
 2 gin₂ ku₃-babbar sa₁₀ til-la-ni-še₃
 in-na-an-la₂
 inim ġal₂-la in-na-an-gub-bu
 10 u₄ kur₂-še₃ inim-ma nu-ġa₂-ġa₂
 mu ^dRi-im-^dEN.ZU𐎶 lugal in-pa₃
 Rev. 1 iġi A-aḫ-kal-la es₃-a-ab-du
¹Lu₂-^dNanna(šeš.ki) gudu₄
¹A-pil-ša kisal-luḫ
¹Lu₂-Amar-^dEN:ZU-ka kisal-luḫ
 5 ¹U₂-se₂-li dumu Ku₃-^dNin-gal

²⁶ A study on the chronological difficulties of this king has been carried out by M. Stol *Studies* pp. 53ff.

²⁷ For the general nature of prebend duties in ancient Mesopotamia, see the overview with references by G. van Driel *RIA* 10:7/8 (2005) pp. 518–524 (“Pfründe”).

²⁸ See A. Goetze *JCS* 18 (1964) pp. 102–113 with a list of similar documents from other archives, 102².

¹sig⁷-er-še-tim dumu Šil₂-li₂-E₂-maḥ
¹El-lu-mu-šu kisal-luḥ
 iti ziz₂-a u₄ 23-kam
⁷m⁷u ⁴Ri¹-im-⁴EN.⁷ZU⁷ lugal
 10 Uri₂(šeš.unug)^{ki} ki eden ŠE₃ bi₂-in-ĝar-[ra]

Seals

1. A-aḥ-kal-la / es₃-a-ab-du / [dumu ^d]EN:ZU-na-di-[in] / [arad₂] ^dNin-⁷gal⁷ – Left edge, obv.
2. Lu₂-Amar-^dEN:Z[U-ka] / [dumu] Ni-di-i[t-tum] / [ara]d₂ ^dNin-ĝiš-[zi-da] – Bottom obv.
3. ⁷A-pil⁷-[^dAšnan[?]] / dumu Lu₂-diĝir[?]-[ra[?]]. (?) – Rev. between list of witnesses and date. Large seal, ca. 2,5 cm high.

Translation

- Obv. 1–6 Apil-Ašnan, son of Lu-diĝira, bought a 12-day per year turn of duty for the beginning of the month of Abum the position as courtyard sweeper in the great courtyard of the temple of Šin from Qīšti-Ea, the son of Lipit-Ea, and from Alittum, his mother.
- 7–11 He paid them the full price, 2 silver sheqels. The seller shall be responsible for future claims. Unto a distant day the agreement shall not be overturned. They swore by the name of Rīm-Šin, the king.
- Rev. 1–7 Witnessed: Aḥ-kalla, the *esabdû*-official, Lu-Nanna, the gudu₄-priest Apilša, the courtyard sweeper, Lu-Amar-Šinaka, the courtyard sweeper, Uselli son of Ku-Ningal, Ipqu-eršetim son of Šillī-Emaḥ, Ellu-mû-šu, the courtyard sweeper.
- 8–10 Month of Šabātum, being the 23rd day. Year (a) of Rīm-Šin II.

Seals

1. Aḥ-kalla / the *esabdû*-official / [son of] Šin-nadi[n] / [servant of] Nin⁷gal⁷.
2. Lu-Amar-Šin[aka] / [son of] Nidi[ttum] / [servant of] Ningiš[zida].
3. Apil-Ašnan ? / son of Lu-diĝira ?

Commentary

Seal 3. The impression is very light and little can be added to Pinches's description. It would be unusual for the buyer in a contract like this to have sealed the document. Reading uncertain.

Obv. 2 The contract implies a division of the months into three 10-day periods which is obvious from another text from Ur.²⁹ The underlying structure of the Sumerian expression *iti dub saĝ* is perhaps to be understood as a periphrastic genitive with a locative: *iti(-ak) dub saĝ(-bi-a)*, “on the first tablet of the month”, referring perhaps to prevalent book-keeping practices.

²⁹ See the discussion D. Charpin *Clergé* 209f.

Rev. 1 Formerly read as ab-(a-)ab-du₍₇₎, but reading es₃-sa₂-ab-du now makes reading of the first sign as es₃ certain.³⁰ More about Ah-kalla and his family, D. Charpin *Clergé* pp. 242f.

Rev. 5 Uselli, from Akkadian *sullû(m)*, “to petition”, demands a direct object, so the name must be a hypocoristicon for a theophorous name. The name of the father indicates that this person may be identical with Sîn-uselli, son of a high official in the temple of Enki in Ur.³¹

Rev. 6 The attestations for *ip-qu₂*-DN in Old Babylonian Ur texts by far outnumber names spelled *i-pi₂-iq*-DN in the same corpus. Also, this name is spelled *ip-qu₂-er-še-tim* in the only phonetic rendering of the name from Ur, H. H. Figulla *UET* 5 607 rev. 25. The verb *epēqu(m)* in Akkadian appears only in personal names, see D. O. Edzard *RIA* 9 (1998–2001), p. 107, §3.1, with references.

Rev. 7 The name Ellu-mû-šu probably represents a parallel to an epithet – at least in late sources – ascribed to the moon-god,³² *ellam mê*, “pure of powers”. The adjective in this type of construction is normally in the accusative and is not bound by the number or gender of the noun it is attached to. The adjective *ellum* here conforms to the number of the one signified by the epithet. Both main nouns *mû* being formally plural, would take an adjective in the corresponding number: *ellûtu(m)-mû-šu*, as would have to be the case if one followed the attempted interpretations of J. J. Stamm *MVAeG* 44 p. 123¹: “Rein sind seine Ordnungen” or “Rein ist sein Wasser”.³³

Rev. 9f. This year formula has so far evaded interpretation. Fuller writings show it to be an abbreviation for: mu Rîm-Sîn lugal Uri₂^{ki}-ma E₂-mud-kur-ra-ke₄ ki edin KU/ŠE₃ bi₂-in-ġar-ra. All instances lack the ergative marker -e after lugal; and the extended genitive marker -k(e₄) after the name of the temple can hardly be taken as part of the royal titlature: “King of Ur (and the) Emudkura”. The verb ġar could be taken in relation to KU/ŠE₃, which share the reading dur₂ – in the few instances in which the sign is featured in the formula – to form the intransitive compound verb dur₂-ġar. This as opposed to ġar taken by itself, being essentially transitive.³⁴ A tentative translation could thus be: “Year, Rîm-Sîn, the king, took (his) seat in Ur, by the Emudkura, the KI.EDIN”.³⁵ In fact, Rîm-Sîn is only mentioned as having been “raised to the kingship of Larsa” in an inscription of Samsuiluna which was probably composed more than ten years after the Rîm-Sîn interlude.³⁶ Otherwise, the place of origin of Samsuiluna’s enemy is not expressly referred to. What the “place of (?) / on (?) the steppe”, the KI.EDIN, should be taken to imply, is un-

³⁰ W. Heimpel *N.A.B.U.* 1995/11.

³¹ See D. Charpin *Clergé* p. 191, and for Sîn-uselli’s family, *op. cit.* pp. 51–91.

³² W. von Soden *JNES* 19 (1960) p. 164.

³³ The construction – sometimes called *damqam ġnim* – has been discussed by several able scholars. For the most recent analysis and an overview of previous literature, see E. Cohen *BSOAS* 71 (2008) pp. 49f.

³⁴ M.-L. Thomsen *The Sumerian Language* pp. 305f.

³⁵ For other attestations and interpretations of this date and for information on the temple Emudkura, see the references collected by D. Charpin *OBO* 160/4 pp. 338f.¹⁷⁶².

³⁶ See translation and discussion by M. Stol *Studies* p. 52f.

known. The Edin was likely the stretch of land between irrigated areas or river banks. It could also be an epithet of Emudkura, or, less likely, of Ur.

Text no. 2: a division of inheritance.

The city where the second text was originally drawn up is probably Larsa,³⁷ around 30 km North-West of Ur in Southern Mesopotamia. Larsa had for quite some time been the home of a royal dynasty before the advent of the dynasty of Babylon under Ḥammurapi, and his annexation of the city and the other cities of the South.³⁸ Larsa was the home of the sun-god Šamaš, the god of justice, and his court. Larsa was largely deserted around Samsuiluna's 10th regnal year.³⁹ This fact supplies us with a fairly certain date for the composition of the tablet: somewhere between 1749–1740 BCE.

The contracts concerning the division of paternal estates from Old Babylonian Mesopotamia amount to around 200. Most recipients of an inheritance were men – either as sons of the deceased male head of a household, or as brothers of certain types of female religious functionaries. The division of the estate could take place over a longer period of time and could involve several stages of divisions where we are often left with only part of the procedures. In some places, a larger share was allotted to the oldest brother. Brothers could also in unison opt not to divide some types of inheritances. Sometimes a brother would buy another brother out of the inheritance for monetary compensation.⁴⁰ But brothers could for different reasons also choose not to partition the estate.⁴¹ Some inheritance documents feature references to the drawing of lots to decide who received which parcel of land or what piece of furniture from the estate of the parents. This was perhaps in order to minimize the risk of disagreement over the partition.⁴²

Due to pure chance, the document here studied can be connected with the activities of a well-off family in Larsa. This document gives information on the 4th known generation of the family of Šîn-nūr-mātim and his descendants, his great-grandson Lipit-Ea being the person concerned in this document. It deals with the division of a paternal estate between a number of children, though only Lipit-Ea is named.⁴³ Entered in list form are a number of doors along with landed property in the region of Larsa and beyond which Lipit-Ea is said to have shared with his

³⁷ D. Charpin *BiOr* 38 (1981) col. 533 left the question open, pointing to Ur and Larsa as places mentioned in the different texts seemingly related to the present text. Below in the notes to the text we will argue for a Larsa origin, at least for this text.

³⁸ Historical reconstructions of good parts of Larsa's history before Ḥammurapi can be found with D. O. Edzard *Die „Zweite Zwischenzeit“ Babylonians*, pp. 100ff., 108ff., 142–151, 167–180; and with D. Charpin *OBO* 160/4 pp. 68–74, 76ff., 101–127, 317–323. No comprehensive survey of the history of Old Babylonian Larsa in English is known to me.

³⁹ Documentation from major Southern cities as Uruk, Ur and Larsa ceases by the end of Samsuiluna's 11th regnal year, D. Charpin *OBO* 160/4 pp. 342, 411.

⁴⁰ G. Kalla *RIA* 9 (1998–2001) pp. 37ff. (“Nachlaß. B. Altbabylonisch”).

⁴¹ M. Stol *OBO* 160/4 pp. 714ff.

⁴² G. Kalla *RIA* 9 (1998–2001) p. 38. (“Nachlaß. B. Altbabylonisch”).

⁴³ Lipit-Ea and his siblings were in fact heirs to one of the more well-known personas in late OB Larsa history: Balaḡunamḫe. The exact relationship between Lipit-Ea and Eridu-liwwir (appearing here on the obv. lines 16–18) is debatable. See references to previous literature on the family of Balaḡunamḫe with G. Kalla *AOAT* 296, pp. 133 and 163; Larsa: Familie 2, with family tree *op. cit.* p. 148.



Left edge



Obverse



Right edge



Reverse



Lower edge

brothers.⁴⁴ The other beneficiaries ought surely to have had similar documents drawn up. Maybe there was even a main tablet, where all the shares of the siblings were listed together, and the exact placements of their fields and gardens in relation to each other were documented. The qualities of the different types of land parcels mentioned in the document largely remain enigmatic.

Haldar 2 (Ex-Relph 23)

Publication history: T. G. Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) no. 23, pp. 89–95, with copy on pl. X (facing p. 90), and seals on pl. XI (facing p. 94); D. Charpin *BiOr* 38 (1981) cols. 533, 546f. (complementary notes in *N.A.B.U.* 1987/36). Photos of obverse, reverse and right edge, p. 13.

Transliteration

Obv.	[x sar e ₂ du ₃ -a ? ...]
1'	[...] 𐎶X 𐎶 [...] [... iš]-tu sila a-di ḥa-la 𐎶x 𐎶 [...] [... iš-tu sig ₄ -zi za ₃ -ġar-ra 𐎶X 𐎶 [...] [...] ^{ḡiṣ} ig i ₃ -šeš ₄ mi-[ri ₂ -za ...]
5'	[...] [...] [x gin ₂ igi].4.ġal ₂ 6 še šu-tum ka ₂ 𐎶AN 𐎶[...] [x sa]r ši-ki-tum 4 ² / ₃ gin ₂ sar ki-šub-ba [...] [...] Larsa(ud.unug) ^{ki} 1 sar 8 gin ₂ ki-šub-ba [...] [x s]ar š[i-k]i-it-tum 2 ¹ / ₂ sar ki-šub-ba 𐎶x 𐎶 [...]
10'	4' sar ki-šub-ba 𐎶ka ₂ 𐎶Inana(muš ₃) Zabalam ₂ (za.muš ₃ .unug) ^{ki} [...] 1 sar ši-ki-it-tum 2 sar ki-šub-ba ša ₃ 𐎶x 𐎶[(x [?]) ^{ki} ...] 6 ² / ₃ sar ki-šub-ba ša ₃ Ġa ₂ -nun-edin-na [(x [?])] 60(1 šu-ši) sar ^{ḡiṣ} kiri ₆ li-wi-tum an-ta 60(1 šu-ši) sar ^{ḡiṣ} kiri ₆ li-wi-tum ki-ta uš ki-ta
15'	10 iku ^{ḡiṣ} kiri ₆ ḥa-za-nu-um ša ₃ Larsa(ud.unug) ^{ki} 1 iku ^{ḡiṣ} kiri ₆ i-ta Eridu(nun) ^{ki} li-wi-ir ša ₃ Bad ₃ -tibira ^{ki} 73 sar ^{ḡiṣ} kiri ₆ ša ₃ ālim I-di-ilum-ma i-ta Eridu(nun) ^{ki} li-wi-ir 10 iku [?] ur-ba-tum i-ta Eridu(nun) ^{ki} li-wi-ir uru X-na-nu an-ta 10 ^{ḡiṣ} ildag ₂ Ġa ₂ -nun-edin-na ša ₃ lu ₂ unug erin ₂
20'	ḥa-la Li-pi ₂ -it-E ₂ -a ša i-na mi-it-gur-ti-šu-𐎶nu 𐎶 it-ti aḥ-ḥi-šu i-zu-zu ḥa-la ša i-zu-zu la i-in-nu-u ₂ -ma mu ^d Nanna(šeš.ki) ^d Šamaš(utu) ^d Marduk(amar.utu) u ₃ Sa-am-su-i-lu-na [in-pa ₃]
Rev.	1 igi ^d EN.ZU-še-mi dumu ^d EN.ZU-im-gur-an-ni ¹ ^d EN.ZU-im-gur-an-ni dumu E ₂ -a-ši-li ₂ ¹ Il ₃ -šu-ib-ni-šu a-bi aš-lim ¹ I ₃ -li ₂ -tu-ra-am dumu I-bi- ^d Šakan ₂ (gir ₃)
5	¹ ^d Nin-urta-illat(kaskal.kur)-su ₂ dumu Ša-al-lu-ru-um ¹ Be-el-šu-nu dumu Bu-un-gu-ru-um ¹ Šil ₂ -li ₂ -Il ₃ dumu ^d EN.ZU-a-ša-re-ed ¹ Is-qi ₂ ¹ (di)-i ₃ -li ₂ -šu dumu dumu- ^d Mar-tu ¹ Ta-ri-bu-um šeš ^d EN.ZU-i-ku-lam

⁴⁴ Note, however, that the term *aḥḫū*, “brothers,” could also cover “nephews” and “cousins,” M. Stol *OBO* 160/4 p. 695⁺³⁷¹.

- 10 ¹*Pi*₄-^dŠamaš dumu Mu-ad-da-ĝu₁₀
¹*Sa*₃-*ni-iq-pi*₄-^dŠamaš dumu *Im-ta-ga-ar*-^dŠamaš
¹*E-tel-pi*₂-Eš₄-tar₂ dumu ^dEN.ZU-^dŠakan₂(gir₃)
^dŠamaš(utu)-*ba-ni* šeš-a-ni
¹*Puzur*(sud₄.ša)-^dNa-zi šitim [x[?]]
15 ¹*A-bu-wa-qar* dumu NI [(x[?])]
^u₃ *A-wi-il*-^dŠamaš(utu) ^Γdumu[?] ^dEN.ZU¹-[x-x]
^Γkišib lu₂ ki inim-ma¹-bi-me[š]
[i]b₂-ra-aš
[mu Samsuiluna lugal-e ...]

Seals

1. *Il*₃-*šu-ib*-[*ni-šu*] / dumu A-pil-^d[x (x)] / arad₂ ^dNin-[x (x)] – Left edge.
2. [*Šil*(₂)]-*li*₂-*i*₃-[*lum*[?]] / [dumu] ^Γ^dEN:ZU-*a-ša-re*-[*ed*] / arad₂ ^dΓNin[?]-*si*₄ na – Bottom obv.
3. *Ma-ri*-^dMa[r-tu] / [du]mu *Wa-ra*-[*a-a*] / arad₂ ^dMar-tu – Left & right edge.
4. ^Γ^dΓNin-urta-illat-[*su*(₂)] / [dum]u *Ša-al-lu-ru*-[*um*] / [ara]_d ^dEN-[x] – Left edge, obv.
5. *Be-el-šu*-[*nu*] / dumu *Bu-un-gu-ru*-[*um*] / arad₂ ^dEN-^Γx[?] / ^u₃ [^dx (x)] – Rev.
6. *Sa*₃-*ni-iq-pi*₄-^d[Šamaš] / dumu *Im-ta-ga-ar*-^Γ^d[Šamaš] / arad₂ ^d[x (x)] / ^u₃ ^dMar-t[u] – Bottom edge.

Translation

- Obv. 1'-5' [x m² of house in good repair ?... fr]om the street to the share [of ...], [...] from the wall of the (family) chapel [...], [x] oiled picket door(s) [...], [x] picket door(s) [...]
- 6' [...] (and) 0.35m² ... the gate of [DN] ?
- 7'-12' [Xx36] m² house plot, 90 m² uncultivated plot [in ...], [... in[?]] Larsa, 40.8 m² uncultivated plot [...], [Xx36] m² house plot, 90 m² uncultivated plot [...], 144 m² uncultivated plot, *by the gate of* Ištar of Zabalam [...], 36 m² house plot, 72 m², uncultivated plot in [...], 240 m² uncultivated plot in Ganunedina.
- 13'-19' 2160 m² garden, region upstream(?), 2160 m² garden, region downstream(?), longer side(?), 36000 m² garlic garden in Larsa, 3600 m² garden, next to (the property of) Eridu-liwwir in Badtibira, 2628 m² garden in the township of Idi-ilumma next to (the property of) Eridu-liwwir in Badtibira, 36000 m² shrubbery, next to (the property of) Eridu-liwwir in upper X-*nanu*, 10 poplars (in) Ġanunedina in (the territory of) *the leader of Uruk's workers*.
- 20'-24' The inheritance of Lipit-Ea, which he divided with his brothers in mutual agreement. The inheritance which they divided they shall not alter. [They swore] by the names of Nanna, Šamaš, Marduk and Samsuiluna.
- Rev. 1-16 Witnessed: Sîn-šemi, son of Sîn-imguranni, Sîn-imguranni, son of Ea-illī, Ilšu-ibnišu, the surveyor, Ilī-tūram, son of Ibbi-Šakan, Ninurta-illatsu, son of Šallurum, Bēlšunu, son of Bun-gūrum, Šillī-Il, son of Sîn-ašarēd, Isqi-ilīšu, son of Māri-Amurrim, Tarībum, brother of Sîn-ikulam, Pū-Šamaš, son of Šumi-abīya, Saniq-pī-Šamaš, son of Imtagar-Šamaš, Etel-pī-Eštar, son of Sîn-Šakan, Šamaš-*bani*, his brother, Puzur-Nazi the builder [(x[?])], Abu-waqar, his son (?) [(x[?])] and Awīl-Šamaš, ^Γson of[?] Sîn-[x-x].

- 17–18 The witnesses sealed (it).
 [19–20] [Month, Date, Year X Samsuiluna]

Seals

1. Ilšu-ib[nīšu] / son of Apil[...] / servant of Nin[...].
2. [Šil]lī-i[lum³] / [son of] Šīn-ašarē[d] / servant of 𒀭Nin³-si₄.na.
3. Māri-Am[urrim] / [so]n of Wara[ya] / servant of Amurru[m].
4. Ninurta-illat[su] / [son] of Šalluru[m] / [servant] of EN- [...].
5. Bēlšu[nu] / son of Bun-gūru[m] / servant of EN-^𒀭x^𒀭 / and [...].
6. Saniq-pī-[Šamaš] / son of Imtagar-[Šamaš] / servant of ^d[x (x)] / and Amurr[um].

Commentary

The tablet is probably not missing more than one or two lines at the top of the obverse, and two or three at the bottom of the reverse. At the top of the obverse there ought to have been some general reference to a house to which the inventory later mentioned would have belonged. At the bottom of the obverse, a date made up of month, day and a year formula of Samsuiluna is expected.

Seal 5 At the lower left end of the reverse, a fourth line beginning with *u*₃ looks like it belonged to the seal of Bēlšunu.

Obv. 2'-3' These two lines seem to refer to the division of the main estate; perhaps the family estate. Unfortunately the beginning and end of each line at the top of the tablet are damaged, so the readings remain tentative. For *za*₃-ġar-ra = *aširtum* as 'chapel', see references with K. van der Toorn 40 *CRAI* p. 69f.².

Obv. 4'-5' For the *mi-ri₂-za* type of door, see G. T. Ferwerda *TLB/SLB* 5 pp. 24f., note to no. 12, line 1.⁴⁵ "Oiled picket door" qualified as *gu-la*, "big", appears in C.-F. Jean *TCL* 11 172 obv. 9.

Obv. 6', 10' Signs transliterated as *ka*₂ here and in line 6' were read by Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) pp. 89f. as *šubat*, implying a reading DAG. This is much closer to the truth than the rendering by B. Groneberg & M. Stol *Rép.* 3 p. 256 who read *bīl*, i.e. *E*₂. The sign clearly has two verticals to the right, and is slightly higher and slightly wider than copied by Pinches, giving a more quadrangular shape than in Pinches's copy. *E*₂ seems therefore out of the question. In line 10' a reading *ka*₂ referring to the area near the gate of Inana/Ištar of Zabalam was opted for. It is hard to tell whether this gate should be a North-Eastern gate in the city wall or a gate placed in the vicinity of the temple of said goddess, known to have existed in Larsa in the Old Babylonian period; see for example references with J. Renger *HSO* p. 146 and D. Charpin *Clergé* 258¹.

⁴⁵ Using Old Babylonian inheritance documents K. Reiter calculated the price of household appliances, including doors. On average a door would be equal to 1.5 sheqels of silver; a *mi-ri₂-za* door somewhat cheaper: 1 sheqel. This can be compared to the price of a cow at 7.5 sheqels of silver, a sheep or goat at 2 sheqels and a swine at 1 sheqel of silver, 40 *CRAI*, p. 269. G. Kalla, *RIA* 9 (1998–2001), p. 41 ("Nachlaß. B. Altbabylonisch"), stated that the *mi-ri₂-za* doors were actually the most expensive ones, ranging in price between ¼ sheqel and 2 sheqels of silver. G. T. Ferwerda, *loc. cit.* gave the value of a *mi-ri₂-za* door as between ½ and 2 ¼ sheqels of silver.

Obv. 7' *ši-ki-tum* here and *ši-ki-it-tum* in lines *obv. 9', 11'* are in all probability just variant writings for the same type of property.⁴⁶ It is significant that in every case it precedes references to *ki-šub-ba* land and that in *obv. 11'* the parcel qualified as *šikittum* is not very large. The *ki.šub.ba*-land could then be taken as belonging to the *šikittum* parcels, and was probably adjacent to these, as they could be considered to be too small to merit separate mention. M. Stol has suggested that some references to a barn and a second floor taken together were summed up as *šikittum*.⁴⁷ In no way do our passages here contradict such a suggestion. Maybe, then, the instances where *šikittum* and *ki-šub-ba* appear together are they to be taken as “barn” and “barn-yard”. Unfortunately we are not able to see exactly where these parcels were situated, as the text is broken at the critical points.

Obv. 12' No traces remain of a place determinative after the name $\hat{G}a_2$ -nun-edin-na here or in line 19'. Correct B. Groneberg & M. Stol *Rép.* 3 p. 78, s.v., accordingly.

Obv. 13'–14' Tentative. I have no suggestions as to the understanding of these lines.

Obv. 15' There is no compelling reason to take *hazannum* in this line as a rare Old Babylonian reference to the civic official translated as “prefect”, by Pinches.⁴⁸ Instead, what is meant here is most likely a handsome-sized garden plot assigned for growing garlic.⁴⁹

Obv. 16f'. As D. Charpin, *BiOr* 38 (1981) col. 546, correctly points out, the family's properties in Badtibira and Idi-ilumma are known from elsewhere.

Obv. 17' Pinches left out a horizontal wedge to the left of what he interpreted as IB. I take the middle vertical to be slightly displaced toward the right, but otherwise conforming to the shape of a MA. The reference to the name of the township Idi-ilumma should be added to B. Groneberg & M. Stol *Rép.* 3 p. 106, and the reference to *Idi-Uraš* for this text should be stricken. The entry should read Idi-ilumma, as this is the way it is written both here and in F. R. Kraus *AbB* 4, 122:6.

Obv. 18' The first sign in the name of the town *X-na-nu* is clear enough but does not make any sense to me. Correct thus B. Groneberg & M. Stol *Rép.* 3 p. 270 (not ^𒀭[x x]-na-nu, but ^𒀭X-na-nu). We could be dealing with a town named after a tribal unit, like Sippar-Amnānum, but the lack of mimation – otherwise consistently present in the document – is disturbing.

Obv. 19' The order of the last three signs is problematic. *erin*₂ in this context has been taken as “worker” or “team-worker” in general, for which meaning, see P. Steinkeller *N.A.B.U.* 1990/12 with fn. 5. Two documents mention the movement of, and disbursements for workers under Urukian leadership, M. Stol *Studies* p. 51f. (Stol talks of soldiers, but also of the delivery of harmless tools in the same context.)

⁴⁶ CAD Š/2 has all the lines booked p. 430 *sub šikittu* A, c) 2'.

⁴⁷ M. Stol *OBO* 160/4 pp. 686f.⁺³¹². Cf. however *op. cit.* p. 691⁺³⁴⁴ for an example of a large residential house qualified as *šikittum*.

⁴⁸ T. G. Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) p. 91f. The *hazannum* was appointed by the king and in charge of the city's guards, A. L. Oppenheim *JESHO* 10 (1967) p. 7.

⁴⁹ For references to garlic in ancient Mesopotamia, see references with M. Stol *OBO* 160/4 pp. 856f.⁺¹⁵⁶⁷.

The texts referred to by Stol were both dated to Rīm-Sîn II, year (b), and one of them came from the Relph collection.

Obv. 20'-22' Collation shows a small, mangled sign to the right of ŠU in line 21'. Circumstances pretty much demand the form to be in the plural since we are dealing with a number of persons greater than two. A parallel formulation, but with other clauses of contention, is found in C.-F. Jean *TCL* 11 218 rev. 2, *ša i-na mi-it-gur-ti-šu-nu i-zu-zu* (Si 7). Cf. *op.cit.* no. 200 rev. 3-5 (Si 4), referring to the drawing of lots. Both texts stem from Larsa and feature oaths parallel to our document.

Obv. 24' Beside the texts mentioned in the preceding note, the oath formula parallels other Larsa documents from Samsuiluna's reign: S. I. Feigin *YOS* 12 73 (Si 3), 156 (Si 5), 214 (Si 7), 278 (Si 7), 290 (Si 8a), 353 (Si 11); C.-F. Jean *TCL* 11 198 (Si 3). Note that the same order of gods and king appears also in a Larsa text from Ḥammurapi's times, C.-F. Jean *TCL* 11 174 (H 40a).

Rev. 1 The same PN with a homonymous father appears as witness also in M. Anbar *RA* 69 (1975) p. 122, no. 8:24, from Larsa (Si 3). The seal of Sîn-šemi, *loc. cit.*, seal c, is damaged.

Rev. 3 *Ilšu-ibnīšu* the surveyor was probably called as witness due to his partaking in the measuring of the different parcels of the document. Whether as a field or a house surveyor. For more texts featuring the *abi ašlim*, see list with M. Anbar & M. Stol *RA* 85 (1991) p. 36, note to l. 12.

Rev. 6 A *Bu-un-gu-rum*, mušen-du₃, "bird-catcher" from Larsa is entered in the index of PNN, D. E. Faust *YOS* 8 p. 9. But the copy of the relevant text, no. 3, has in line 17 instead of GU a sign with an extra horizontal, similar to the LUM in the line above. The name does not feature in M. P. Streck *AOAT* 271, but looks Amorite. The name ought to consist of "offspring" *bunum/binum* with a noun or nominalized adjective containing the radicals *g* or *q* and *r*. A middle-weak root *gwr* > *gūr* exists in West Semitic dialects with the meaning cub of canine animals or lions.⁵⁰ A reading *Bun-gūrūm* with the interpretation, "the son, a lion cub", could be considered.⁵¹

Rev. 8 Isqi-ilīšu thankfully for us used his father's seal when sealing this tablet, giving us the names of three generations in that family. Māri-Amurrim's name is spelled out phonetically on his seal: *ma-ri-*, T. G. Pinches *PSBA* 39 (1917) pl. xi, no. 3. Māri-Amurrim's father was named Waraya (*Wa-ra-a-a*). Māri-Amurrim also appears as a witness in the Larsa text *YOS* 8 152:30, dated to year 58 of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa. In S. I. Feigin *YOS* 12 312 (Si 8), another son of Māri-Amurrim, Amur-rum-ibbīšu sealed the document, like here, using his father's seal (only the first two lines of the seal are preserved). One or more persons named Waraya can be found in several contracts dating to the period before Babylon's dominion over Larsa.

⁵⁰ L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* p. 185 s.v. *gūr*. The root is found in the 1st millennium Akkadian word *gerru*, W. von Soden *AHw* p. 285, *gerru* II.

⁵¹ For *bunum* as variant of *binum* in Amorite names, see M. P. Streck, *op. cit.* p. 168 §2.35, and note 1, and especially p. 170 §2.38.

Rev. 10 Reading Šumi-abīya seems justified when looking at the number of cases with different writings recorded in the OB Ur tablets, H. Figulla *UET V* pp. 61f. See further J. J. Stamm *Die akkadische Namengebung* p. 303. mu-ad-da-ĝu₁₀ would then be a “learned” writing of the same type as ^dUtu-lu₂-ti for Šamaš-muballiṭ, which is the likely reading of the name in M. Anbar & M. Stol *RA* 85 (1991) p. 47, no. 20, seal d, from Ur (RS 2).

Rev. 14 Puzur-Nazi’s presence as builder in the document may be due to the fact that the main estate was to be, or had already been, partitioned between the beneficiaries to the estate.

The references to Larsa and environs in the text are in themselves not evidence enough to place the document firmly in Larsa. However, when considering the prosopographical connections to Larsa texts, and the similarities in the oath accompanying the division of the estate, it is very likely that this text also should have come from Larsa. As to the date of composition, it is perhaps safest to envision it as having been composed before the rise to power of Rīm-Sîn II, around 1742 BCE, thus in harmony with the dated oath formulae from Samsuiluna’s regnal years 3–7. At any rate, it is probable, with the usual reservations, that the text was composed before the city of Larsa was abandoned a few years later in the reign of Samsuiluna, as remarked above. Against a date before Rīm-Sîn II one must hold the questionable reference to lu₂ unug erin₂, which could indicate a date shortly after Samsuiluna’s reconquest of the Babylonian South, i.e. after 1740 BCE.

Concluding remarks

It is hoped that this brief article has managed to show how much information two texts which have already been published once can still add to our knowledge about the times in which they were written. Also, they may be indicative of how much work still has to be done and how imperfect our knowledge of the period they represent in fact is. The search for parallels in lexical matters or the study of prosopography is an ongoing task nowhere near completion. But for each and every document studied we are brought closer and closer to the people whose daily lives, beliefs, joys and hardships these texts are persistent reminders of.

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An A mdo Tibetan New Year: food and visiting

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The Tibetan New Year, or Lo sar,¹ is arguably the most important ritual Tibetan families celebrate. Surprisingly, a review of the literature provided not a single detailed study of this ritual at the village level, making this the first such study.² We focus particularly on food and visiting, two critical components of the ritual for ordinary Tibetans, in an A mdo³ Tibetan village, and also provide an historical perspective by comparing contemporary Lo sar observations with the past. We also comment on how Lo sar is experiencing rapid change in the face of modernity.

Ske ba Village

Ske ba Village is a Tibetan farming village located in Mang chu Township, Mang ra County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province, PR China. Mtsho lho is situated in east-central Mtsho sngon Province, and is one of five Tibetan autonomous prefectures in the province.⁴ The population of Mtsho lho is approximately 375,000. The non-Han population occupies sixty-three percent (of which Tibetans constitute 53.3 percent) and Han Chinese thirty-seven percent. Other residents include Hui Muslim, Mongol, Monguor (Tu), Kazakh, and Salar, but the exact percentage of each is unclear. Mang ra County is in eastern Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, 157 kilometers from Chab cha, the prefecture capital. It has six townships and a population of 60,000, of which Tibetans constitute ninety-four percent. Mang chu Township, in which Ske ba Village is situated, has 7,000 people (twenty-six percent Hui, twenty-two percent Tibetans). The percentage of Han is comparatively higher than in other areas of Mang ra County, but the exact number is unclear.⁵

Ske ba Village is one kilometer from the county town and borders Mtha' ba, a

¹ Literally 'year new'.

² Prins (2006) provides a case study of Lo sar in the Rgyal rong region focusing on changing regional identity. A Google search done 9 December 2007 for 'Tibetan new year' returned 24,400 hits—a collection of travel entries, announcements for public activities related to Lo sar, youtube.com offerings, and so on.

³ A mdo refers to northeastern Tibetan areas in China.

⁴ The other four Tibetan autonomous prefectures are: Rma lho, Mtsho byang, Yul shul, and Mgo log Tibetan autonomous prefectures. Qinghai's fifth prefecture is Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

⁵ Population statistics are from http://www.qhmq.gov.cn/qinghai_mz/zlqx.htm, accessed 21 August 2007.

Tibetan village in the north and Hezhou, a Han Chinese village, in the south. To the west is about 580 *mu*⁶ of land which is farmed by Ske ba. To the east, a 500 *mu* government-owned forest named People's Park is situated at the foot of a mountain range⁷ near Klu tshang Monastery. Klu tshang Monastery is also called Rnye dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling. It was founded by the Fourth Rnye blo bzang chus gyi nyi ma (1850-1909) in 1889 and had 320 monks in 2007 (Mtsho lho bod rigs rang skyong khul nang bstan mthun tshogs dang krung go'i bod brgyud nang bstan mtho rim slob gling nang bstan zhib 'jug khang 1999:456). In 2006, Ske ba Village had 400 residents (seventy-five households) of which two families were classified as Han.⁸

History

Ske ba is also the name of a village in adjoining Khri ka County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, 175 kilometers from the prefecture seat. In 1942, certain residents of Khri ka Ske ba moved to the current Ske ba Village in Mang ra County, bringing the village name and beliefs with them. Certain elders stated that they moved to seek a better livelihood. Before 1949, increasing numbers of people from Dpa' lung County in Mtsho shar Region and Gcan tsha County in Rma lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province escaped to Mang ra County, fleeing the oppressive rule of Muslim warlord Ma Bufang.⁹ Most Ske ba villagers relocated during Ma Bufang's time. Gradually, the current village of 400 residents emerged. After Liberation, people from Dpa' lung continued to marry into Ske ba Village families, for a chain of family relationships existed between these two places, and people familiar with the two areas became matchmakers. Twenty-six families in Ske ba Village in 2006 originated from Dpa' lung County.¹⁰

⁶ One *mu* is 0.067 hectares.

⁷ The mountain range lacks a specific, widely used name. Villagers residing along it use different names for the parts they face. The part Ske ba Village faces is locally called Ri bo rtse gsum, or Three-peaked Mountain.

⁸ Younger members of both Han Chinese families speak Tibetan which is indistinguishable from the Tibetan spoken by local ethnic Tibetans. However, older Han people, whilst fluent in Tibetan, speak with an accent. The two Han Chinese families in Ske ba Village follow the Tibetan way of celebrating Lo sar. They invite helpers to butcher pigs, make red bread, put ice atop their walls, receive visitors on Lo sar night, and send representatives to other families. However, they do not offer the first bowl of milk tea to mountain deities and do not visit temples and *la tse* on the third day of Lo sar. They are also unconcerned about anything related to Thab lha while cleaning before Lo sar, and they do not observe Lo sar for livestock.

⁹ Ma Bufang (1903–1975) was once chairman of the Qinghai Provincial Government. During his rule in the 1930s and 1940s, there was much bloody conflict with Tibetans in Qinghai. In the summer of 1948, the Communist Army arrived and defeated Ma Bufang's forces (Yan and Wang 1994:1,131).

¹⁰ The families from Dpa' lung are Nor bu rgyal, Don 'grub rgyal, Shes rab, Tshe lo thar, Lha mgon 'tsho, Lha mo don 'grub, Rdo drug, Yul lha tshe ring, Bstod ldan, Khyung thar rgyal, Don mkho, Yul lha, Stag lha rgyal, Tshe ring don 'grub, 'Phags mo rdo rje, Pad ma bkra shes, Tshe ring, Ban te, Don 'grub, Tshe dbang, Mgon po rdo rje, Dpa' rtse rgyal, Mgon po tshe ring, Pad ma dbang rgyal, and Klu rgyal.

Religion

Ske ba villagers follow the Dge lugs pa (Yellow Sect) of Tibetan Buddhism, and visit Klu tshang, the local Dge lugs pa monastery, to worship and circumambulate on special occasions, including the fifteenth of each lunar month and on the birthdays and death days of Buddha Shakyamuni and Tsong kha pa (1357–1419).¹¹ Villagers consult lamas in the monastery for the most auspicious dates of ceremonies such as weddings, when to purchase trucks and cars, and when to begin pilgrimages. They also ask for advice about which school their children should attend, and seek medicine and medical advice from monks in the monastery clinic. If villagers worry that storms may devastate their crops, they ask monks to chant to prevent such disaster. Most villagers, and especially elders, fast on either the eighth or fifteenth day of each lunar month.

All villagers dream of going to the sacred city of Lha sa at some point in their lives and also, to visit the three great Dge lugs pa monasteries, Se ra, 'bras spungs, and Dga' Idan located in the Tibet Autonomous Region, but few people achieve this for the expenses are too high for the villagers.

The village temple consecrates images of Buddha Shakyamuni, Tsong kha pa, White Tara, Blue Tara, a prestigious local lama (Lwa mo yongs 'dzin blo bzang mkhas grub rgya mtsho), and the local mountain god (Yul lha).¹² Individual families have their own shrines, too. Generally, a family shrine is a small room in which images of Buddha Shakyamuni, White Tara, and pictures of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama (b. 1935), the Tenth Panchen Lama (1938–1989), Lwa mo yongs 'dzin blo bzang chos gyi nyi ma, and Yul lha are set in a case, in front of which rapeseed oil lamps are lit daily in the early morning and late afternoon. It is separated from other rooms. Seven small copper bowls are filled with clean water and set by the mistress of the family in front of the case. The bowls are cleaned and the water is changed every morning.

Ske ba villagers burn roosters and rams as sacrifices to please Yul lha and to gain assistance when such problems arise as conflicts with other villages over grazing rights and usage of irrigation water. However, as there are fewer such conflicts nowadays, the main purpose of animal sacrifice is to defeat rival villages during archery contests held during Lo sar.

The deity Khyung mdon is also venerated in Ske ba Village. Every summer, Tibetans from Mtha' ba and Ske ba villages and Tibetans in Sum mdo Township, Mang ra County gather and renew his *la tse*.¹³

¹¹ Mnyam med tsong kha pa chen po rje btsun blo bzang grags pa'i dpal was born in Tsong kha, A mdo, near the current Sku 'bum Monastery located twenty-five kilometers south of Zi ling City. The founder of the Dge lugs pa Sect (Yellow Sect), he was the first Dalai Lama and first Panchen Lama's teacher (Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002:1,655–1,659).

¹² Yul lha is often translated as 'local god', but here 'Yul lha' is the actual name of the god. He is thought to originally have been a Han man named Wenchang and historically has been worshipped by Tibetans and Han in Khri ka County (see Buffetrille 2002 for an account of Yul lha in Khri ka County). When Ske ba Village's original inhabitants immigrated to Mang ra County, they brought Yul lha with them.

¹³ The mountain altar of the mountain god is renewed annually on the eleventh day of the fourth lunar month with poles resembling arrows that are made from poplar trees and tied with silk and sheep wool.

Khyung translates as ‘garuḍa’. Locals believe that Kyung mdon was the personification of a sacred garuḍa, one of the many descendents of A myes rma chen—a mountain deity widely venerated throughout A mdo. According to one account, the area of Mang ra was full of serpents, and Khyung mdon despised serpents, for they were always harming other sentient creatures. He killed thousands of serpents until there were none left. One day, after accomplishing his work, he was drinking water from the Mang chu River of Mang ra County, and was transformed into a mountain range. Local people established a *la tse* for him, worshipped him, and he thus became a local mountain god. Locals say the mountain range resembles a garuḍa, and the garuḍa head,¹⁴ which is near the county town, resembles a garuḍa drinking water from the Mang chu River.

Language

All Ske ba villagers are A mdo Tibetan speakers. The county town is only a twenty-minute walk from the village. Many Han and Hui butcher sheep, sell meat, and operate restaurants and shops there. Consequently, Ske ba villagers, especially men, can speak at least a smattering of the local Qinghai Chinese dialect. Their close contact with Han and Muslims has also resulted in rapid Sinicization. For example, Ske ba children increasingly speak Tibetan mixed with many Chinese words.

Education

The village had a primary school with grades one-three until 2000, when the school building was appropriated by the village committee¹⁵ for a meeting hall. Today, children attend Hezhou Village Primary School in the county town. Most families have at least one child attending schools nowadays but, until the year 2006, the village had produced only one BA graduate (Southwest Nationalities University), and twenty-two graduates from Mtsho lho Nationalities Teacher’s School in Chab cha. In general, there has been an increase in the school dropout rate after children finish nine years of compulsory education, because of the need for labor in the family and the strain of paying for senior middle school tuition.¹⁶ Certain villagers also claim that they fear their children will not obtain official employment after they complete their studies; there were many jobless university graduates in Mang ra County in 2006. The twenty-two graduates of Mtsho lho Nationalities Teacher’s School in

¹⁴ It was made into a red-brick factory after struggles between local people and the government about twenty years ago. The factory has been operating since then.

¹⁵ The Village Committee consists of three to seven people, both men and women. The Committee offices include: the head of the committee, the vice-head, and members. All must be over the age of eighteen. They are chosen by the villagers every three years. They reconcile conflicts between villagers, distribute donations given by the government among the villagers, and manage and supervise collective work, such as digging ditches. The committee is mandated by the township government, but members do not receive regular payments. Sometimes, they may receive 500 RMB as an annual gift.

¹⁶ Tuition and accommodation for senior middle school generally costs about 1,000 RMB per year. Food is an additional 200 RMB per student per month.

Chab cha mentioned above gained official jobs because they graduated before 1997, the period during which all who received a diploma from Mtsho lho Nationalities Teacher's School were given official jobs. However, after 1997, no Ske ba villagers went to that school for the government provides no jobs; finding employment is up to individuals. The BA graduate from Southwest Nationalities University graduated in 2001 and is now working in the Tibetan Studies Center of Bde chen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province.

Livelihood

Ske ba has a maximum of 2.3 *mu* of farmland per person. A decade ago, the village had much more grazing and farming land, and villagers owned sheep and cattle. Many locals then led semi-nomadic lives and were embroiled in never-ending feuds with the Tibetan nomad community of G.yon gzhis over use of grazing land. Local lamas and government officials were often called upon to reconcile differences. When local government reformed land divisions in all of Mang ra County in 1998, the conflicts were settled. The new policy dictated distribution of a relatively small amount of land per inhabitant. Ske ba villagers then had no option but to sell their livestock. Now the only sheep in the village are dedicated to the local mountain deities. It is forbidden to kill or sell these animals. Some cows are kept and fed straw saved after autumn harvest. The village's transformation from a semi-nomadic life to a fully farming village is now complete.

Planting trees and grass on previously cultivated land is a recently-implemented government policy called either Tui geng huan cao 'return cultivation to grass' or Tui geng huan lin 'return cultivation to forest'. It was done because down-stream floods in southern China were blamed on up-stream desertification and deforestation. As a result, Ske ba villagers have lost most of their farmland. Villagers now depend on the land that may still be cultivated (2.3 *mu* per person) and yearly receive 154 RMB per *mu* in compensation for the land confiscated by the government. This policy was implemented in 2002. Villagers were told they would receive such payments for only eight years. Ske ba villagers have seen requirements for farm labor reduced. Living near the county seat, where there is often paid construction work, has meant that most young villagers do such work, for which they receive at most twenty RMB per day. Many village families receive loans from the government to purchase small trucks to do such work as delivering sand to construction sites and transporting products for Han businessmen from Zi ling and Chab cha to Mang ra County Town. They also transport sand to their homes and produce concrete blocks by themselves, which they sell to construction companies in the county town and to individuals.

During summer, most young Ske ba Villagers leave the village to dig caterpillar fungus (*Cordyceps sinensis*) in high altitude areas of Mang ra County and Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province. Often only children attending school and elderly people remain in the village to do family chores such as feeding pigs and irrigating fields.

Ske ba Village Families

Before the Family Planning Policy¹⁷ started in 1982, families in Ske ba Village consisted of grandparents, parents, and an average of five children. However, family size in 2007 was much smaller. Families in Ske ba Village now commonly consist of six people: grandparents, parents, and two children.

The youngest male child in a family is expected to stay at home, get married between the age of fifteen and eighteen, and care for the parents and grandparents. Female children, if not sent to school, are married into other homes at the age of fifteen to eighteen. Separate houses are built for older male children after they marry, and a share of furniture and farmland is given to them. The amount and size of furniture and land given to the older children differs from family to family. It is dependent on the father or grandfather.

Economically, the division between rich and poor in Ske ba Village depends on the number of people in a family. As described before, caterpillar fungus and construction work are the main sources of cash income in Ske ba Village. On average, a Ske ba villager currently earns 8,000 RMB a year from digging caterpillar fungus and doing construction work. Such families support at least one child in the family to attend school, believing that if the child gets an official job in the future, the family and the child will benefit from the salary received. Those with official jobs then support their families during Lo sar by buying liquor, candies, cigarettes, fireworks, vegetables, and meat. As a result, families with more members in Ske ba Village are relatively rich. In contrast, poor families, or families with few members, lack surplus labor to work at construction sites and dig caterpillar fungus while also doing field work. It is also difficult for them to send children to school because they lack funds to pay for tuition and they need members to do farm work. As a result, the families lack members with official jobs to support them economically and purchase New Year necessities.

Housing

Every family in Ske ba Village has a square-shaped courtyard of about 625 square meters in area, surrounded by packed adobe walls about four meters high. One of the four sides has a *rgya sgo* 'gate'. Rooms are built around the courtyard.

About fifteen years ago, Ske ba villagers lived in one-story, flat-roofed bungalows made of adobe bricks and poplar wood. Men of the families designed the houses and built them with other family members. In recent years, however, people have invited carpenters from nearby Han villages to build houses featuring pitched roofs made of a combination of red bricks, adobe, wood, and red tiles. Red bricks are often used to build the four exterior walls, for they are thought to be solid and

¹⁷ This Chinese government policy (*Ji hua sheng yu*) was implemented in 1982 with the aim of reducing overpopulation. A Han Chinese couple may have one child, and minority couples may have two children. Fines for breaking this policy differ regionally. In Mang ra County, a minimum fine of 2,000 RMB is enforced for having one extra child, and 2,000 RMB more is added to the previous amount for each additional child.

sturdy. Adobe, which is very cheap, is mainly used to build walls between rooms. Wood is used for the roof-frame, onto which red tiles are placed. Traditional buildings have been almost totally replaced by what has just been described. However, in both sorts of homes, the kitchen features adobe stoves with two top holes one meter in diameter for holding large pots. The stove is connected to the *tsha thab*, a hollow sleeping platform made of concrete and red brick. The heat from the smoke channels through the hollow *tsha thab*, warming it, and is led outside through a chimney. Smoldering straw, and sheep and cow dung are put inside the *tsha thab* to warm it.

Clothing

Ske ba villagers wear western-style clothes in daily life. On special occasions such as weddings, Lo sar, and Kalachakra, they wear Tibetan robes called *phrug* (dark-red Tibetan robes with otter skin stitched on the bottom edge). In early 2006 however, a powerful Buddhist teaching resulted in animal skins no longer being worn. Some families detached the otter skins from their robes and burnt them, others threw them away, and still others kept them. Besides *phrug*, villagers also may wear *tsha ru*, or lambskin robes. It has fleece inside and silk or fabric outside. These two kinds of robes are worn seasonally; *phrug* is for warm seasons and *tsha ru* is for cold periods. Sometimes *tsha ru* is worn inside *phrug*. Villagers have two reasons for doing this: first, when traveling far away to participate in such ceremonies as weddings, wearing *tsha ru* inside *phrug* is very warm, especially at night when folk-singing and dancing continue till dawn; and second, it is a symbol of wealth. It costs several thousand RMB to make these two robes, and many families cannot afford it. With villagers no longer herding, access to more convenient transportation, and the notion that the weather is warmer than in the past, the popularity of *tsha ru* has declined and most villagers no longer wear it unless it is extremely cold.

Wa zhwa ‘fox skin hats’ were also a former ubiquitous personal decoration in Ske ba Village.¹⁸

Cultural Interactions and Change

Ske ba Village’s geographical location and convenient transportation drives it to interact frequently with the dominant Han Chinese culture. Village homes have easy access to multiple TV channels in the Chinese language; consequently, young people have little interest in hearing folktales, stories, and songs from their parents and grandparents. Elders now die without passing on traditional knowledge to younger generations. In 2006, villagers’ language and religious practices were the most outstanding features associated with their Tibetan ethnic identity.

¹⁸ Dbang bha (b. 1953), an elder in Ske ba Village, said that in the past making somebody wear *wa zhwa* was a way to humiliate him after he ran away from battles, indicating he was as cowardly as a fox, but now, without wars, most people have forgotten such symbolism.

Lo sar Economy

Most A mdo areas follow the Chinese Lunar Calendar for such ceremonies as Lo sar, which is celebrated from the first till the fifteenth day of the first Chinese lunar month in Ske ba Village. This period is *rgya lo* 'Chinese Year'. Certain A mdo Tibetans traditionally celebrated Lo sar in the twelfth Chinese lunar month, which they called *bod lo* 'Tibetan Year', but nowadays, although they still use *bod lo* to refer to the twelfth Chinese lunar month, they celebrate Lo sar from the first till the fifteenth days of the first Chinese lunar month. The reasons for this are unclear. Some say when the Mongols took power in China, Han Chinese, the Mongol emperor, Tibetans, and diviners met and designated the first day of the first Chinese lunar month as a common time to celebrate the New Year. Subsequently, Tibetans in A mdo and Khams¹⁹ began celebrating *rgya lo*. Others argue that this custom began during the time of the Mi nyag Kingdom, which had frequent interaction with the Song Dynasty, and also celebrated the New Year according to Chinese tradition. Later, when the Mi nyag Kingdom controlled areas of A mdo and Khams, it forced Tibetans to stop their own Lo sar tradition and follow their custom of celebrating *rgya lo* (Reb gong rdo rje mkhar 2006:79, 82–84).

One month of preparation is needed before Lo sar. Villagers go to the county seat to purchase *kha btags*,²⁰ liquor, cigarettes, tea bricks, vegetables, candy, fireworks, and clothes. There are no specific dates for shopping; it depends on the individual. The amount of *kha btags* and tea bricks bought before Lo sar depends on the number of relatives and elders' families the buyer's family will visit, for they are bought to give to visited families.

Ske ba villagers offer guests barley liquor made in Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County, Mtsho sngon Province, that costs five to twenty RMB per bottle. Dbang bha (b. 1953), a Ske ba Villager, said that *nas chang* or barley liquor was unavailable for purchase when he was a child; his father made *nas chang* and offered it to guests during Lo sar. Today, Huzhu barley liquor is seen in nearly all shops in the county town. People no longer make liquor themselves because they think that Huzhu barley liquor is tastier and of better quality. Liquor is bought partially because it is needed for visiting, along with tea bricks and *kha btags*, and because males drink excessively during Lo sar. Therefore, each family in Ske ba Village buys at least twenty bottles in preparation.

When villagers buy candies for Lo sar, they have a general idea of how many children under the age of eighteen are in the village, for candies are given to them. A decade ago, candies received during Lo sar were considered to be very precious, because children mostly received roasted beans and sunflower seeds. Candies are now a symbol of wealth, with richer families giving five to ten pieces of good quality candy to children while poorer families give fewer. In terms of income, rich families spend approximately one hundred to one hundred and fifty RMB to buy

¹⁹ Khams refers to southeastern Tibetan areas in China.

²⁰ *Kha btags* are strips of white silk offered to friends, respected people, and when soliciting favors. They are also offered to deity images in temples. The delicacy and quality of the material, their length, width, and if they have been used before or are brand new, signal the degree of esteem in which the recipient of the *kha btags* is held, as well as the means of the person giving the *kha btags*.

candies while poor families spend sixty to one hundred RMB. Recently, certain rich families began giving one or two RMB to each child in the village, a gift that is replacing the previous symbol of wealth—candy.

Vegetable dishes are very popular during Lo sar in Ske ba Village. This requires purchase of cabbage, mushrooms, onions, and so on. Villagers also eat vegetable dishes outside Lo sar, but mostly cheap ones such as potato dishes. Vegetable prices often increase sharply before Lo sar. Therefore, many villagers wait to make vegetable purchases starting around the third day of Lo sar.

Fireworks are mostly used by village children as entertainment, and they are another symbol of wealth; rich families buy larger amounts of fireworks to set off on Lo sar Eve and on the last day, the fifteenth of the first month, while poorer families buy fewer fireworks. In terms of income, rich families spend about fifty RMB to buy fireworks while poor families spend about twenty to thirty RMB.

Housecleaning

The sixteenth and nineteenth of *bod lo* are designated as days to clean houses. Certain families clean on the sixteenth, and others clean on the nineteenth. Certain extended families use both days for cleaning. People move stools, desks, TV sets, sofas, cooking utensils, and bedding out of the house on these two days, and cover big, immovable items such as cabinets and wardrobes, with fabric and plastic. They sweep and scrub the furniture, ceilings, walls, floor, adobe stoves, and so on. Care in disposing of dirt and trash is crucial after cleaning. Thab lha, or the God of the Stove, holds power over harvests. Throwing dirt in the direction of Thab lha's abode means insulting Thab lha, and those who do it might bring disastrous harvests to the village that year. Consequently, monk astrologers in Klu tshang Monastery are consulted by village elders. News of Thab lha's whereabouts are then delivered to villagers before cleaning time begins. Villager elders think that Thab lha does not stay in the same place every year. When the villagers are told, for example, that Thab lha is in the north this year, they throw the trash to the south. This is done by adults and elders for they worry that children might mistakenly throw the dirt towards Thab lha's residence, bringing misfortune.

Butchering a Pig

Each family butchers at least one fat pig that they have raised since the beginning of the year. Butchering pigs before Lo sar is necessary, for it is an essential Lo sar food. There are no specific dates for butchering pigs. Instead, families butcher pigs whenever they are free and have the necessary helpers. Rich families may butcher two pigs, or a pig and a sheep. Additional helpers are needed other than family members when butchering. A family likely asks their male relatives and village friends for help. The soon-to-be-butchered pig is not fed anything the day before its death. This makes it easier to wash its empty intestines.

A big copper pot around two meters in diameter is filled with water by the family, early on the morning of the butchering day. Next, family males and helpers heat the

pot by burning straw outside the courtyard gate. Meanwhile, some people enter the pigsty, apprehend the pig, tie its front and hind legs separately, and tie its snout shut with a rope, while a short stick is forced inside its mouth to prevent the rope from slipping away. They place the tightly-bound pig on a large plank and stab a sharp knife into its heart. The stabbing is something that no one wants to do, for killing is considered a great sin. Therefore, before the helpers are invited, the concerned family has already ensured that there is no confusion over who will kill the pig. A family member or a very close family friend does it. A butter lamp is lit in the family shrine and the six sacred syllables²¹ are chanted by an elder family member during this process to absolve the killer of sin.

When the pig stops breathing and its heart quits beating, the men tie up its bleeding wound in order to prevent further blood loss. Then they place the carcass in the pot of water, which is at the point of boiling. Five minutes later, they remove the carcass, put it on the ground, rub it with soil until the skin is very rough, then rub the pig with rough, coarse materials such as fragmented red bricks and gravel until its bristles are removed. Next, the pig is washed with clean water and the carcass is carried into the courtyard.

The pig is cut open by the men and blood inside its chest is removed with a small bowl and placed in metal basins, where it is later mixed with small pieces of pork, onion, and salt. This mixture is then stuffed into intestines that have been washed repeatedly with hot water, to make *khrag rgyu*, or blood sausages. At the same time, wheat flour, pieces of pork fat, sugar, and salt are also mixed together, and stuffed into other intestines to make *phye rgyu* ‘flour sausage’.

As men cut the carcass into pieces, the female family members boil the pork, leaving only the pig head and legs to be boiled on *Lo sar Eve*. During this process, a special, brief lunch, *kha mgyogs ma* ‘fast mouth’ is prepared by cooks for the butchers. It is a plate of pork pieces mixed with chili, vinegar, and MSG. The butchers finish eating very quickly and continue their work, which explains the name.

In the afternoon, when butchers are done with their work, the host family invites them to sit on the sofa in the living-room, or on the *tsha thab* in the kitchen, to eat meat. The family head brings liquor, sits with them, and drinks. Pork, sausages, and bread are offered. Other family members, especially children, are busy. Adults cut blood and flour sausages into pieces about ten centimeters long and chop some pork into small pieces that are stung together with strings of straw. This is *skal* ‘share’. The number of *skal* equals the number of relatives the family has in the village. Putting a bunch of *skal* on a big plate covered with a towel, children go to each relative’s home to give them their share, starting with the oldest relative.

Dusk comes, the butchers are gone, and children have finished delivering *skal*. Adults then put the pork into a large metal box outside the houses to freeze, thus storing it for *Lo sar*.

²¹ oM ma Ni pad Me hUM.

Bread Preparation

Gor dmar 'red bread' is also an important Lo sar food. Although it is called 'red bread' in Tibetan, it is actually golden-brown. Ske ba families make it on the fifteenth to twenty-fifth days of *bod lo*. It requires much labor; helpers outside the family are needed. Village women and girls make bread during the year, but mostly women who are considered very skillful at making *gor dmar* are invited.

At most, two big basins of red bread, which are used as decoration, are all that are needed during Lo sar. The amount of red bread a family produces relates to the number of family members. For example, an extended family is likely to use around fifty kilograms of wheat flour while a family of two or three uses around twenty-five kilograms of wheat flour. Ske ba Village mostly consists of extended families, therefore fifty kilograms of wheat flour per family is the norm.

Leavened dough is prepared the night before the bread-making day by the mistress of the family and is stored in several basins. The next morning, female helpers, who are usually relatives, come to the home and start work. Wood is chopped by males and burnt in the adobe stove to heat a pot of rapeseed oil while women make the dough.

There are two kinds of red bread: (1) round and ten centimeters in diameter. Women cut the dough into small pieces, flatten them with rolling pins, and make two or three knife slashes on the pieces so they will not explode in the bubbling oil. These are tossed into the boiling oil. A man uses a wooden fork to stir the bread in the oil until the pieces are cooked golden-brown. The color indicates how well the pieces are cooked. When the pieces are golden-brown, the man removes them, brings them to a kitchen corner where clean, dry straw lies, places them on the straw, then returns to the pot and resumes a new stirring job with a new batch. The mistress of the home takes the bread on the straw to the family cellar when it cools. (2) Square-shaped, the same size as the round ones. Large dough pieces are flattened and then chopped into squares. The frying process and other work are done as just described.

Sog sog and *rde'u phru* are also made the same day, at the same time, in the same pot, and by the same people. Using their hands, women roll dough until it resembles a thin rope. Then it is handed to the stirrer who takes it by twisting it onto two chopsticks, making a double helix. He then carefully places it into the bubbling oil, holding the chopsticks until the bread is firm enough to hold its twisted shape. Next, he releases it, stirring it until it becomes golden-brown. This is *sog sog*. *Rde'u phrug* is made in a way similar to square red bread, but it is chopped into pieces as small as a person's thumb. *Rde'u phrug* is not used as decoration; it is made for everyday consumption and is made at any time of the year. When a Ske ba villager is going far away to do construction work or herding, the family makes *rde'u phrug* for them. It is convenient to carry, does not break into smaller pieces, and does not easily spoil.

Traditionally, when family members make red bread (*sog sog*, *rde'u phrug*), they lock the courtyard gate the moment after helpers enter. They also lock the kitchen door no matter how smoky it is. It is very inauspicious to open the courtyard gate and kitchen door when making red bread. If someone becomes thirsty during

bread-making, they are not allowed to drink water, because that might lead the boiling oil in the pot to quickly dry up. However, this tradition is now mostly gone because living standards are better and rapeseed oil is common in people's lives; they are no longer fearful of the oil 'drying up'.

Thab lha's Lo sar

The twenty-fourth day of *bod lo* is Thab lha's Lo sar. Females repair and clean adobe stoves on this day. They glue together broken and fallen-off parts of the stoves with fresh mud, and make every corner of the stove as clean as possible. In the evening after the repairing and cleaning are done, the family mistress cooks noodles with much added meat, trying to cook the best noodles of the year. A dragon-decorated bowl (a utensil for offering food and liquor to important guests) is used to offer noodles to Thab lha. It is the very first bowl of noodles and shows how much Thab lha is venerated. After all the family members finish eating, the housekeeper washes the pot, cleans the adobe stove again, and the bowl of noodles is set at the corner of the adobe stove with a small plate of red bread and a plate of candies. Offerings to Thab lha vary from one family to another. The bowl of noodles is a traditional consecration; the other offerings depend on a family's economic condition. When darkness covers the village, the mistress pours some *bsang rtsi*²² into the adobe stove and then all the family members retire at an earlier time than usual. They make no noise the whole night, even children's cries are considered disturbing to Thab lha's festivity. Silence is considered essential, for villagers believe that after all the necessary offerings, Thab lha visits each family to celebrate his Lo sar.

The next morning, the family mistress takes the offering from the adobe stove and adds it to the breakfast she cooks for the family. Thab lha's Lo sar ends and the family resumes their ordinary life.

Two Days Before Lo sar

Most families make steamed buns and steamed stuffed dumplings the day before Lo sar Eve. They are often made by females, and it requires a day's labor. Three bamboo steamer trays, which are exactly the size of the perimeter of the copper pot attached to the adobe stove, are placed on the pot, one atop another. Around nine trays are steamed. Rich families stuff the dumplings with mutton and radish while poor ones use pork and radish. Meat stuffed dumplings are only available during Lo sar. Villagers use radish, carrot, potato, and leek as stuffing during the rest of the year.

Supper is steamed stuffed dumplings on the day they are made. After family members prepare the stuffed dumplings, the mistress stores those not eaten for supper in a cold room to freeze for Lo sar.

The day of Lo sar Eve is the busiest of the month. Family members wash their

²² A mixture of such sacrificial offerings as flour, sugar, wheat, barley, and conifer needles for mountain gods and deities.

hair one after the other. A person good at barbering cuts male family members' hair. Taking a shower or a bath before a new year arrives is very important. There is not a certain moment during which the shower or bath takes place; villagers bathe whenever they have free time during the day. Younger villagers go to shower in the county town at a public bath while older people bathe at home in large metal basins. To be clean, to wear new clothes, and eat good food during Lo sar bring good luck and prosperity in the coming year.

Women boil pork and mutton to be eaten at night and sweep the rooms and courtyard. The family head burns some of the remaining bristles on the pig's head and feet on a metal stove. The head and feet are then scraped with a knife until they are very clean, and are given to the mistress to boil. Meanwhile, boys and men drive tractors to nearby Klu tshang Monastery to fetch ice from a place believed to have one hundred and eight springs. Ske ba and Mta' ba villagers come to take ice. Ice on courtyard walls is a conspicuous symbol of Lo sar. While the sun is setting in the late afternoon, all the family members come and break the ice into pieces, each as big as a boy's head. Then one or two adult men climb up on the walls and set the pieces atop the walls and edges of the rooms. The distance between two pieces is around one meter. The pieces are also taken to the family threshing ground and put atop walls there, and in the middle of the nearest fields.

If a close relative passes away, the concerned family does not celebrate Lo sar and the preparations described above are not done. When villagers visit each other during Lo sar, they only visit households which have ice on the courtyard walls. Courtyard walls without ice signify that the family is not celebrating Lo sar, or a relative has passed away. This mourning period lasts for a total of 365 days from the day of death.

Before New Year's Eve dinner, people visit Dur brgya lung ba 'One Hundred Tomb Valley', which is about two kilometers west of Ske ba Village. Village ancestors are buried there. These days there are almost no signs of graves in the valley, because people cremate the dead instead of burying in the valley. Villagers think that cremation is a better practice than burying the dead. Cremation became more common after a crematorium was built in Chab cha and the road leading there was improved. Each family head brings a bag of *bsang rtsi* mixed with apples, candies, red bread, and *sog sog* to Dur brgya lung ba. Fires are made with cow dung in front of the ancestral graves. *Bsang rtsi* is burnt and liquor is splashed onto the fire while chanting the six sacred syllables. Those gathered prostrate three times while the *bsang rtsi* burns and then return home. Visiting the deceased is the first Lo sar visit.

Pig's head and feet are eaten on Lo sar Eve during a family gathering. All the family members, except men and women who have married into other homes, gather and sit around a table in the kitchen or around a low table on the *tsha thab*.

Family members start making food decorations when Lo sar Eve dinner is over. Pork that has been boiled during the day is stacked up on a large platter. On two other platters, *sog sog* and red bread are arranged in the same way. Rich families prepare two platters of meat: one of pork and one of mutton. Normally, however, there is only one plate of pork. Candies, sunflower seeds, cakes, apples, and oranges

that were previously purchased, are placed in small plates. Traditional families place a long, low table on the *tsha thab* and place prepared food on it. In less traditional families, food is put on tables in front of chairs. Meanwhile, a bit of all the various foods, except meat, is offered by an elder to Buddhist deities, goddesses, and well-known lamas in the *mchod khang* 'family shrine'. After all the food is placed on the tables, most family members, especially elders, sleep, while younger ones stay awake, go to the homes of their friends and relatives to have fun drinking, singing, and playing cards. At about midnight everyone returns home to begin Lo sar visiting. By this time, elders and people who previously slept, are awake and out of bed.

The First Day of Lo sar

The minute the clock strikes twelve a.m., fireworks are competitively set off by every household. Every family head makes a sacrificial fire on the roof of his or her own house where previously a *bsang khri* 'altar' (a round platform made of soil about twenty centimeters high) has been made. It is renewed each year before Lo sar to make this sacrificial fire. The family head puts *bsang rtsi* into the fire, chants scriptures calling the mountain god and protector deity of the village and family to enjoy Lo sar, and wishes that no illnesses come to family members and no catastrophes come to livestock and crops. Most villagers are dressed in their best Tibetan robes in preparation for visiting other families. However, most children under the age of fifteen generally wear new, western-style clothes. *Phrug* and *tsha ru* require a great deal of money, consequently parents make Tibetan robes when their children are around twenty. These robes are big enough for them to wear throughout their lives.

Before any visiting, the family head brings a dragon-decorated bowl of milk tea outside the kitchen and sprays it into the sky. The first offering of milk tea is to the two mountain deities—Yul lha and Khyung mdon—and to the protector deity, Dpal ldan lha mo. Everyone in the family drinks a bowl of milk tea after this ritual, then goes to the family shrine and does seven prostrations. In a family where the grandparents are still living, children and adults prostrate to them three times and then to their parents three times. Those prostrated to say *kha g.yang* 'auspicious prayer', to their children:²³

Khyod tshe ring lo brgya,
Kha las rlung rta dar la,
'gro rta thog dang gzugs khri thog yin,
Khyos (khyod kyi) gos gsar ba gon na,
Zas rnying ba za la,
Mi brgya yi mgo nas gtam bshad la,
Rta brgya yi mgo nas lcag gyug ba.

You will lead a long life of one hundred years,
May *rlung rta*²⁴ always be with you,

²³ Source: Shes rab (b. 1946). Collected by Tsering Bum.

²⁴ *Rlung rta* or wind horses, are pieces of paper with scriptures written on them. They are often thrown into the sky during religious ceremonies with the hope of this bringing good luck.

Horses will be your transportation when you travel,
 Thrones will be your seats when you sit.
 You will wear new silk,
 Eat old food,²⁵
 Make speeches to one hundred people,
 And brandish whips at one hundred horses.

At about one a.m., the courtyard gate of every household in Ske ba Village opens, except those who are not celebrating. It is a bad omen if a family's courtyard gate remains closed by then; people think the family is lazy, stingy, and wants no one to visit.

Normally, children under the age of sixteen go in groups with children from neighboring homes, friends, or children who are their relatives, to visit every village household. There are no specific rules about the order of visiting. Children visit households in whatever order they like. They yell "A khu XX lo sar bzang!"—"Uncle XX Happy New Year!"—when they reach a family's courtyard gate. The first word *a khu* 'uncle' is repeated during the visitation as a display of respect, and this name calling embraces all family members. When somebody in the family hears the yelling, the person comes out of the room where the New Year food decorations are displayed and welcomes the young visitors with "Lo sar bzang!" "Happy New Year!" The family mistress gives New Year gifts, candies, or money to the children once they are inside. The children hurry away to the next home after they receive the gifts.

About a decade ago, when villagers gave roasted beans and sunflower seeds to children, the children saved them in big plastic bags and ate them after Lo sar. Candies received as gifts at that time were considered as valuable as gold.

Personal Account (Tsering Bum)

Snowflakes fell languidly onto the earth the whole night, but they were not enough to quilt the ground with whiteness, for it was not snowing heavily. People remained active the whole night and largely ignored the snow, for it was Lo sar night. I was twelve. Leading my ten-year-old nephew, we visited each household in our village. We each had a big plastic bag to put candies, sunflower seeds, and beans in. We started visiting at one a.m. and finished at dawn. During this period, our bags became so full that we had to hurry home and store them and then resume visiting with empty bags. In the morning, as my nephew and I counted candies proudly, we found we each had about 200, and a pile of sunflower seeds and beans mixed together. I didn't eat the candies, even after Lo sar. Instead, I stored them in a drawer in the living room. When school started, I brought several candies to school every day, to show and share with my school friends. Other children in the village school did the same.

Elders sit on *tsha thab* and in chairs the whole night at their homes, meet, and talk to guests while an adult in each family receives guests and serves them. A family representative visits relatives and elders' homes. They are usually young men or

²⁵ If the food is old, then a family has saved the food for a long time, suggesting that the family is rich and has much stored food. In contrast, new food suggests that the family is poor and its members have to eat the food just after it is produced in order to fill their stomachs. Saying 'eat old food' means the person will have wealth.

women who bring Lo sar gifts to the families they visit. Gifts vary. For example, if the representative visits an extremely close relative's home, they bring a brick of tea, a bottle or two of liquor, and a *kha btags*. The representative places the *kha btags* around the liquor, sets the liquor bottle atop the tea brick, and hands this to the family guest receiver. When the representative visits an ordinary relative's home, they bring a tea brick and a *kha btags*, or a tea brick and a bottle of liquor. When visiting an elder's home, the representative brings a small plastic bag of crystal sugar and a *kha btags* for the family, and one or two apples specially prepared for each family elder.

A representative first visits both his paternal and maternal relatives in the order of the oldest to the youngest. If there are two elders of the same age in a representative's family, they visit one first this year and the other first the next year. It is very important to show equal respect. If an elder is well-known and holds a crucial position in an extended family, then it is likely that everyone in the younger families come in a group to visit. After finishing visiting all the relatives, the representative goes to non-relative elders' homes in the order of oldest to youngest.

The representative shouts as do the village children described earlier when reaching a home. However, he prostrates three times in the family shrine after handing over the gift, and then prostrates to the elders sitting on the *tsha thab* or the sofa. The elders never ask to be prostrated to. Instead they say, "We are not lamas," and order family members to stop the prostrations. This leads to much ceremonial resistance on both sides. However, the prostrations are always done.

A male representative often takes a bottle of liquor, which has a piece of sheep wool around its neck, out of his robe pouch²⁶ and presents it to the family elder before he sits. Offering the liquor bottle does not mean the elder is asked to drink; the elder may only stick his or her right ring finger into the bottle three times and flick it skyward three times, replace the lid, return the bottle to the representative, and ask him to sit on the *tsha thab* or on a chair. Elders mostly sit in the corner of the *tsha thab*, and the representative is asked to sit cross-legged by the elder or in front of the elder. He never sits with his back facing the elder, for this is a serious sign of disrespect.

Customarily, female representatives do not bring liquor during visitations. They follow the same prostration ritual as do men after presenting their gifts however, traditionally, females do not join the elders and sit on *tsha thab*. Instead, they sit on stools with other family women or sit in a chair.

Visitors do not stay in a home very long, for there are many village elders and they must visit each before dawn. Each visit lasts around twenty minutes. Visitors come and go during this time. Whenever an older visitor arrives, all the younger ones stand to show respect, and welcome them. Younger visitors sitting on the *tsha thab* cross-legged get up and sit on a chair, leaving the honored position for the newcomer. Folk songs are sung by guests of both sexes. A singer stands, holds a small bowl of liquor as he sings, and offers it first to the elders and then to younger

²⁶ A sash is tied around the middle of the robe. This forms a large pouch in the front of the robe, which may be used to carry anything from a small child to several bottles of beer.

people. Those receiving the liquor dip their fingers in the liquor as described above. People who drink have a sip and those who do not return the bowl to the singer. An example of a folk song sung during this time follows:²⁷

Stod rgya gar nas me tog gad
Gad pa'i me tog stong ldan red
De nang na sang rgye stong sku bzhugs
Me tog mang por mchod pa 'bul

Smad rgya nag yul nas me tog gad
Gad pa'i me tog byams pa red
De nang na rgyal ba byams pa bzhugs
Me tog mang por mchod pa 'bul

Bod kha ba'i yul nas me tog gad
Gad pa'i me tog pad ma red
De nang na rje btsun sgrol ma bzhugs
Me tog mang por mchod pa 'bul

Flowers blossom up in India,
Thousands of blossomed flowers,
A thousand images of Buddha Shakyamuni are seated inside them,
Make offerings to the many flowers.

Flowers blossom down in the Chinese area,
Those blossomed flowers are *byams pa*,²⁸
Maitreya Buddha is seated inside,
Make offerings to the many flowers.

Flowers blossom in the snow land of Tibet,
Those blossomed flowers are lotuses,
Tara is seated inside,
Make offerings to the many flowers.

During the night, steamed stuffed dumplings and pork and mutton are warmed and served to the guests constantly, but these are extra food preparation for the guests. The original food decoration is left untouched for all the fifteen days of Lo sar. Guests heartily drink tea, but eat little of the food. Eating much in someone else's home is considered shameful.

Representatives taking gifts to homes during the all-night visitation does not result in a net loss of wealth, because visitation is reciprocal. After a representative visits a home, that home sends a person to the visitor's home with gifts of the same value they received. Villagers know from their shopping experience about the costs of the gifts, so it is easy for them to judge the gifts' value. At the end of all visits, the total value of gifts given and gifts received is roughly the same. If a family receives more and gives out less, then the villagers consider the family stingy, and from the next year, people will bring less valuable gifts to that family. If a family receives less and gives out more, then people think the family is very generous, and next year people try to match that family's generosity.

²⁷ Source: Dbang bha (b. 1953). Collected by Tsering Bum.

²⁸ *Byams pa* is the name of a flower, which is the same as Maitreya Buddha in Tibetan.

Most people complete visiting by dawn. A man in each family goes to Klu tshang Monastery to visit the lamas. Some also visit monk relatives and friends. Certain villagers visit the lamas before visiting anyone else, but most go to the monastery in the morning. A representative of each family is also sent to visit families not celebrating Lo sar early in the morning, to show respect and to comfort the family. Visitors usually bring a tea brick, a bottle of liquor, several apples, and a *kha btags*. Unlike families celebrating Lo sar, there is no sign of festivity. They serve visitors, and the visitors leave after talking to the family members for a short time.

Women and men who are married and live in neighboring Tibetan villages return home with their spouses and children to visit their parents on the first day of Lo sar, but since there are many visitors during this time, most leave on that day to receive visitors in their spouses' villages. They return several days later again and stay for a few days when there are fewer visitors.

The night of the first day of Lo sar is unusually quiet; people are exhausted from their previous night's activities and most rest early.

The Second Day

The second day of the New Year is Lo sar for livestock; a day for owners to serve their animals. In the morning, cattle, sheep, dogs, and pigs are given human food such as red bread and noodles. Cattle and sheep are given fresh winter grass. Livestock owners never beat animals on this day, for doing so brings bad luck.

Lo sar activities focus on renewing ties with relatives from the second day onwards. A family invites all their relatives for lunch or dinner. Invitees bring small gifts such as a bag of crystal sugar or a tea brick with them. Usually, only one family member goes, for they know that a home is not large enough to accommodate many relatives. Pork, mutton, vegetable dishes, beer, and liquor are prepared by the host family. This group eats heartily as folk songs are sung. Another family extends the same invitation for the next lunch or dinner and the same value of gifts as were received are taken to that family. This type of Lo sar invitation circulates until all the families in a kin group have been hosts. At times, some families may miss the chance to host others for there are too many members in a kin group for the fifteen days of Lo sar to accommodate. This results in competition between families to invite relatives.

Personal Account (Tsering Bum)

It was the fifth day of the Fire Female Pig Year (2007). My cousin's seventeen-year-old daughter came to my home early in the morning when we were having breakfast and invited us, on behalf of her father, to come to her home for lunch. "All of you should come, otherwise my father will scold me!" she said. Father and Mother agreed, and invited her for breakfast, but she politely refused, saying that she needed to go to other relatives' homes and invite them. The day before my family had received the same invitation from my aunt's family, and both my parents went, while my brother, sister-in-law, and I stayed at home.

Bringing a tea brick and a bag of crystal sugar, my father and I went at the designated time. More than twenty relatives were sitting on *tsa thab*, chairs, and stools. Seeing my father, the oldest relative, they stood and made way for him to

sit on the *tsa thab*. I was given a stool to sit on in a corner. My cousin's daughter brought tea for my father and me, as she did for others. I didn't drink it; I didn't have to; serving tea shows hospitality. A while later, my cousin's wife and his daughter brought two plates of pork and mutton, four plates of steamed stuffed dumplings, and more than ten plates of dishes and placed them on the tables around which people sat. No one touched the food until the oldest guest, Father, took a steamed stuffed dumpling and had a bite; then the others picked up their chopsticks and started eating. Much drinking was going on among the males as they ate while female relatives chatted with each other. Females generally do not drink and smoke. My cousin's family members stood ready to serve tea, liquor, and food at any time. Being the host family, their mission was to make others happy and they would eat only after the guests departed. My father and I bid farewell to the others and left after eating. We had stayed in my cousin's home for about three hours. The other guests began leaving one after the other at about the same time.

The Third Day

The third day of Lo sar is considered to be the Lo sar of deities. Almost all male villagers take *bsang rtsi*, ride motorcycles, or drive tractors to Khyung mdon La tse on a hill surrounded by rapeseed fields, about four kilometers south of Mang ra County Town. They also visit Yul lha Temple located in the county town. Afterwards, all villagers gather at the village temple to prostrate, and place candies, money, and *kha btags* before images of Tsong kha pa, Buddha Shakyamuni, and Tara. Families with sheep and goats may make *tshe tar* of the livestock in the morning, which means to free the sheep and goats from man-caused death. Two mountain gods, Yul lha and Khyung mdon, are summoned by a family elder through scripture chanting while a man in the family holds the sheep or goat tightly. The elder ties a piece of silk on the left shoulder of the sheep or goat and purifies the animal with smoldering conifer needles. It then becomes the property of the god to whom it is given; a Lo sar gift from the family in exchange for luck, health, and success. Dancing and singing are held in the village temple at noon by young villagers. Elders are invited to sit in the front where tables and chairs are set for them. Other villagers stand around the performers and watch. This lasts for about two hours. About a decade ago, almost all the villagers performed traditional Tibetan *sgor bro* 'circle dancing' as they sang traditional competitive antiphonal songs. Nowadays, most villagers stand and watch while young people perform disco dancing and modern Tibetan dancing, which is often accompanied by songs with Tibetan melodic characteristics, but with Chinese lyrics.

After the Third Day of Lo sar

There are no specific ritualistic or ceremonial rules after the third day of Lo sar. Marriage ceremonies and archery contests begin the fourth day of Lo sar. People believe that the seventh day of Lo sar is *nyin nag* 'black day', and they do not leave the village. If a festivity is to be held and guests are invited from far away, villagers skip this day and resume the festival afterwards, for they know people will not come.

If activities are not to be held between the fourth and fourteenth days of Lo sar,

villagers resume their ordinary life except for relatives inviting each other for meals. The food decoration remains untouched until the end of Lo sar.

On the fifteenth day, villagers dress in their best robes as they did on the first day, and gather in the village meeting hall. Liquor, cigarettes, apples, candies, sunflower and watermelon seeds, and so on, are bought by the village committee and put on the desks. Elders sit in the front and other villagers sit beside them. First, an adult man sings a folk song to open the ceremony. Next, about ten boys and ten girls dance and sing for the villagers, a performance that they have prepared a month before Lo sar. They sing modern Tibetan songs with Chinese lyrics, and dance to the music. This lasts for about two hours. After this, villagers who want to dance make a circle and do Tibetan circle dancing according to traditional music played on a tape player. Those who do not wish to dance, watch the others. Late in the afternoon, villagers return home and resume their family life.

Family members gather and have dumplings for dinner in the evening when the round moon hangs in the sky. Families that butchered more than one pig, now eat pig head. Usually, women married into other families in distant villages or even in other counties have returned home by this day. Eating dumplings, which is an influence of Chinese culture, or pig head, is recently considered a symbol of reunion. Traditionally, pig head is considered the best food to be eaten when all family members are reunited.

Older male family members drink and talk after dinner. Women also participate, but they do not drink. Children set off fireworks. Family members drink and talk until midnight. Afterwards, they all go to bed, putting a full stop to Lo sar.

On the sixteenth, the mistresses of the families collect the food decorations, and store the food in the kitchens and cellars for the families to be later eaten as part of their usual meals.

Conclusion

Ske ba Village's traditional Tibetan culture is rapidly changing. The reasons for this include the close proximity of Ske ba Village to a booming, rapidly growing county capital town with internet bars, vibrant markets, bordellos, small DVD/VCD parlors, and where the Chinese language is the lingua franca. Every village home has a television and nearly every village child completes at least primary school. Villagers also have, on average, far more money than ever before because of access to work opportunities outside the village, such as doing construction work in the county town, prefecture town, and other areas. These work opportunities and much improved public transportation expose villagers to a world that is much larger and more diverse than their village. All of these factors lead residents to reduce and simplify traditional ways of life.

Non-English Terms

Wiley Tibetan	Tibetan	<i>pinyin</i>	Chinese Characters	English
		Tui geng huan cao	退耕还草	Return Cultivated Land to Grass
		Tui mu huan lin	退耕还林	Return Cultivated land to Forest
		RMB	人民币	RMB
		Ma Bufang	马步芳	
		<i>mu</i>	亩	
		<i>jin</i>	斤	0.5 kg
'bras spungs	འབྲས་སྤྱངས།			
A mdo	ཨ་མདོ།	Anduo	安多	Amdo
A myes rma chen	ཨ་མྱེས་རྩ་ཆེན།			
<i>bod lo</i>	བོད་ལོ།			
<i>bsang khri</i>	བསང་ཁྱི།			
<i>bsang rtsi</i>	བསང་རྩ།			
Chab cha	ཆབ་ཇ།	Qiabuqia	恰卜恰	
'char ldan bu skye	འཆར་ལྡན་བུ་སྐྱེ།	Ji hua sheng yu	计划生育	Family Planning Policy
Dbang bha	དབང་བ།			
Dga' ldan	དགའ་ལྡན།			
Dge lugs pa	དགེ་ལུགས་པ།	Gelupai	格鲁派	
Dpa' lung	དཔའ་ལུང་།	Hualong	化隆	Hualong (Hui Autonomous County)
Dpal ldan lha mo	དཔལ་ལྡན་ལྷ་མོ།			
Dur brgya lung ba	དུར་བརྒྱ་ལུང་བ།			
G.yon gzhis	གཡོན་གཞིས།			
Gcan tsha	གཅན་ཚ།	Jianzha	尖扎	
<i>gor dmar</i>	གོར་དམར།			
<i>kha btags</i>	ཁ་བརྟགས།	<i>hada</i>	哈达	
Kha che'i rigs	ཁ་ཆེའི་རིགས།	Huizu	回族	
<i>kha g.yang</i>	ཁ་གཡང་།			
<i>kha mgyogs ma</i>	ཁ་མགྲོགས་མ།			
Khams	ཁམས།	Kangqu	康区	Kham
<i>khrag rgyu</i>	ཁྱག་རྒྱ།			
Khri ka	ཁྱི་ཀ།	Gui'de	贵德	
Khyung mdon	ཁྱུང་མདོན།			

Klu tshang	ལུ་ཚང་།	Lucang	鲁仓	
Lha sa	ལྷ་ས།	Lasa	拉萨	Lhasa
Lo sar	ལོ་སར།	Xinnian	新年	Tibetan New Year
lwa mo yongs 'dzin blo bzang mkhas grub rgya mtsho	ལཱ་མོ་ཡོངས་འཛིན་ བློ་བཟང་མཁས་ གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ།			
Mang chu	མང་ཆུ།	Mangqu	茫曲	
Mang ra	མང་ར།	Mangla	茫拉	
<i>mchod khang</i>	མཚོད་ཁང་།			
Mchod rten thang	མཚོད་རྟེན་ཐང་།			
Mgo log	མགོ་ལག	Guoluo	果洛	Golok
Mi nyag	མི་ཉག	Xixia	西夏	
Mstho sngon dba' res	མཚོ་སྐོན་དཔའ་རི ས།	Huzhu	互助	
Mtha' ba	མཐའ་བ།	Tawa	塔哇	
Mtsho lho	མཚོ་ལྷོ།	Hainan	海南	
Mtsho nub	མཚོ་ལུབ།	Haixi	海西	
Mtsho shar	མཚོ་ཤར།	Haidong	海东	
Mtsho sngon	མཚོ་སྐོན།	Qinghai	青海	
Na gor mo	ན་གོར་མོ།	Geermu	格尔木	
<i>nas chang</i>	ནས་ཆང་།	<i>qingkejiu</i>	青稞酒	barley liquor
<i>nyin nag</i>	ཉིན་ནག			
<i>phrug</i>	ཕུག			
<i>phye rgyu</i>	ཕེ་རྒྱ།			
<i>rde'u phrug</i>	རེ་འུ་ཕུག			
<i>rgya lo</i>	རྒྱ་ལོ།			
<i>rgya sgo</i>	རྒྱ་སྐོ།			
Ri gsum rtse	རི་གསུམ་རྩེ།			
Rnye blo bzang chus gyi nyi ma	རྟེ་བློ་བཟང་ཆོས་ ཚུལ་ཉི་མ།			
Rnye dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling	རྟེ་དགོན་བཤད་བླ་ བ་དར་རྒྱས་དགེ་ འཕེལ་གླིང་།			
Se ra	སེ་ར།			
<i>sgor bro</i>	སྐར་བོ།	<i>guozhuang</i>	锅庄	circle dancing
Shes rab	ཤེས་རབ།			
<i>skal</i>	སྐལ།			

Ske ba	སྐེ་བ།	Hezhou	河州	
sog sog	སོག་སོག			
Sung rgyal rabs	སྐུང་རྒྱལ་རབས།	Songchao	宋朝	Song Dynasty
Thab lha	ཐབ་ལ།	Zaowang	灶王	
tsha ru	ཚ་རུ།			
tsha thab	ཚ་ཐབ།	kang	炕	heatable sleeping and eating platform
tshe tar	ཚེ་ཐར།			
Tsong kha pa	ཙང་ཁ་པ།	Zongkaba	宗喀巴	Tsongkhapa
Hor	ཁྱར།	Tu	土	Monguor, Mongghul, Mangghuer
wa zhwa	ཁ་ཞྭ།			
Yul lha	ཡུལ་ལ།	Wenchang	文昌	
Zi ling	ཟི་ལིང་།	Xining	西宁	

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Female Sufi Saints and Disciples: Women in the life of Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī

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Woman is a ray of God.
She is not just the earthly beloved;
she is creative, not created.¹

In the same way as Christianity has been formed by women mystics such as Hildegard of Bingen and Teresa of Avila, female spirituality has left its mark on the history of Sufism. Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya (d. 801), who is usually regarded as the first love-mystic in Islam, is associated with Sufism more than any other woman. In addition to her, there are numerous women who have travelled on the Sufi path and who have been venerated as saints. Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī (d. 1021) mentions some eighty female Sufis from the two first centuries of Islam in his work *Dhikr al-niswa al-muta‘abidāt al-ṣūfiyyāt* (On Female Sufi Devotees).¹ In the course of history many women among the higher strata of society have been patrons of Sufi masters and promoted the spread of Sufism. One example is the Mughūl Princess Jahānārā Bīgum (d. 1681), who promoted the Qādirī order in India. She interpreted the teachings of her master Miyān Mīr in *Risāla-yi sāhibiyya* (Treatise on Lordship) and instructed the Mughūl family in Sufism. Many Sufi poets also describe God, the Beloved, in the shape of a woman. In his *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Ringstones of Wisdom) the Andalusian writer Ibn ‘Arabī claims that God’s inmost reality or *dhāt* (essence) is feminine, and that this reality is revealed in women.²

Among the most fascinating memoirs in the history of Sufism is the biography of Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī (1207–1273). At its zeniths, his life story is as inspiring as his poems. His encounter with the charismatic dervish Shams al-dīn of Tabrīz is well-known, as is his close relationship to his father, the theologian Bahā’ al-dīn Walad. But what roles did women play in his life? The aim of this article is to explore Rūmī’s relationship to various women and analyse how they are portrayed in the hagiographic literature. This subject has hitherto not been the object of any exhaustive analysis in literary and historical research. The German writer Annmarie Schimmel (d. 2003) was among the first to request an examination of the subject, but no systematic study has yet been done. Not even Franklin D. Lewis deals with the topic in his monumental study *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teaching and Poetry of Jalāl al-Din Rumi* (Oxford, 2000). One of the first obstacles facing research on the position and role of women in Rūmī’s life is the fragmentary

¹ Cf. as-Sulamī 1999.

² Cf. Ibn ‘Arabī 2004:280–286.

character of the sources. None of Rūmī's biographers devote any separate section to women or produce any full treatment of their presence. Instead they appear behind the scenes or around the setting of the main events. They are described in a fragmentary, almost rhapsodic manner and frequently in relation to a leading male character.

The first biography of Rūmī was written by Farīdūn ibn Aḥmad Sipahsālār (d. 1325). His life-sketch, *Risāla* (Treatise) was begun soon after Rūmī's death and was completed around 1320. He was himself an eye-witness to many of the events he describes and his accounts are therefore usually judged as reliable by modern research. His accounts lack the excessive hagiographic spirit which characterizes later Rūmī biographies. Sipahsālār was a disciple of Rūmī for almost forty years, and belonged to the inner circle around the master. A few years before Sipahsālār's death, Shams al-dīn Aflākī (d. 1360) initiated his extensive biography *Manāqib al-'arīfīn* (Feats of the Gnostics) on the order of Rūmī's grandchild, Amīr 'Arif Chalabī. This work was completed in circa 1354. Contrary to Sipahsālār, Aflākī's anecdotes are based on oral hearsays since he was born after Rūmī's death. To both form and content, he follows earlier Sufi hagiographic works, such as Farīd al-dīn 'Attār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* (Memorial of the Saints) and Muḥammad ibn al-Munawwar's *Asrār al-tauḥīd* (The Secrets of Unity). Modern research usually treats Aflākī's accounts with suspicion, for instance when he attributes miracles and supernatural powers to certain individuals. Important information about Rūmī's family life can also be found in his collected letters. He corresponded with close relatives as well as governors and aristocrats of the Saljūq royal family. In order to reconstruct a complete biography, especially regarding his relationship to various women, there is, however, a need for more documented material.

Before exploring the subject of women in the life of Rūmī it would be valuable to mention something about the historical and geographical milieu. Rūmī spent the greater part of his life in Qunya (modern Konya), a city which is located in a wide valley in central Anatolia. Qunya experienced its golden age as a capital of the Saljūq Empire (1077–1307), which had conquered parts of the Eastern Roman Empire or Byzantium. The city preserved its ancient Greek name after the islamization, and under the Saljūqs an important part of the population was still Christian, mostly of Greek, Georgian and Armenian origin. The larger part of the population were however Turks of Muslim confession who had immigrated to Anatolia from the East. There were also many Muslims of Persian and Arabic origin among the city's aristocracy and learned elite. The Saljūqs inheriting a Roman name from their Byzantine enemies called themselves the Sultanate of Rūm, from which Rūmī's name is derived. As regards political life, Rūmī did not have any close relations with the royal court. In contrast to other scholars, such as the Sufi master Ṣadr al-dīn Qunawī, who enjoyed official support from the Saljūq Sultans, Rūmī favoured the company of the ordinary people.³ Despite the fabulous claims of the hagiographical literature, Rūmī did not have a distinguished position among Qunya's religious elite during the reign of Sultan Ghiyāṭ al-dīn Kay Khusrau II (d. 1246) which coincided

³ Ṣadr al-dīn Qunawī (d. 1273) was the most eminent disciple of Ibn 'Arabī, who is the author of the Sufi masterpieces *Futuhāt al-makkiya* (The Meccan Revelations) and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (The Ringstones of Wisdom). He lived all his life in Qunya and enjoyed the protection of the Saljūq court.

with the peak of his intellectual career. The historical literature rather mentions many other scholars who attracted the favour of the Sultan, among them Sirāj al-dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (d. 1283), the city's chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*).⁴

In 1246 Ghiyāṭ al-dīn Kay Khusrau II was succeeded by his oldest son 'Izz al-dīn Kay Kāwūs II (d. 1260) who unlike his father was a patron of Rūmī. Under his reign, which coincided with Rūmī's activity as a Sufi master in Qunya, the Sultanate was politically destabilized. The Mongols forced their way into Saljūq territory and imposed a cease-fire, by which the Empire indirectly became subject to foreign rule. Kay Kāwūs II sought protection in exile and fled to the Byzantine city of Antalya. From the Sultan's correspondence we know that he often asked for advice from Rūmī, who encouraged him to trust in God's compassion in times of defeat (A 443–444).⁵ Rūmī's letters also reveal his close relationship to the Sultan's Persian governor Mu'īn al-dīn Parwāna (d. 1277) who was one of his most faithful disciples (Mak 99–101, 203). Parwāna was in reality the most powerful man of the Sultanate during the weak reign of Kay Kāwūs II. He used his political position skilfully to promote Sufi activities during his twenty years in office.

Rūmī's Parents: Bahā' al-dīn Walad and Mu'mina Khātūn

Rūmī's father Bahā' al-dīn Walad (d. 1231) originated from Balkh in present Afghānistān. He was a religious scholar and earned his living as a teacher of Islamic theology and jurisprudence. Polygamy is allowed by Islamic law, and Bahā' al-dīn had several wives. The pleasures of sexual intercourse are a recurring theme in his memoirs *Ma'ārif* (Meditations). His first wife Mu'mina Khātūn (d. 1226) was more or less of the same age as him. She was a princess and the daughter of the governor Rukn al-dīn of Balkh. She gave birth to Rūmī, his brother 'Alā al-dīn and his sister Fāṭima. Fāṭima studied Islamic jurisprudence and became a scholar of Islamic law. According to Aflākī (A 15–16) she married at a young age and stayed in Balkh until her death. Mu'mina Khātūn is revered in the Maulawī tradition for her piety and her upbringing of Rūmī.⁶ She was responsible for his literary education, and it is said that she initiated him into such arts as painting, music and poetry. She is venerated in the Maulawī tradition as the *mādar-i sulṭān* (Sultan's mother) and her burial place in Karaman is still today a pilgrimage site for Anatolian women.

In his memoirs Bahā' al-dīn expresses his love for two other women called Bībī Khātūn 'Alawī and Dukhtar-i Qāḍī Sharaf. Since by his own accounts he had sexual relation with them we may assume that they were his lawful wives. He also men-

⁴ The main historical work that gives an overview of Saljūq scholars in the Sultanate Rūm is Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Aqsarā'i's *Muṣammirāt al-akhbār wa muṣayirāt al-akhiyār* (The History of the Names and Places of Religious Men). Among the scholars who are mentioned in this work are Sirāj al-dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī, Ṣadr al-dīn Qunawī, Fakhr al-dīn 'Arāqī and Sa'īd al-dīn Farghānī.

⁵ Cf. M 174–175.

⁶ Maulawī (Ar. *Maulawīyya*) is the name of a Sufi order that was founded after Rūmī's death by his son Sulṭān Walad. This order expanded within the Saljūq and Ottoman Empires and its members were prominent in the artistic sphere, producing many famous musicians, calligraphers, and poets. Today, Maulawī *khāniqāhs* can be found in Turkey, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Cyprus, Egypt, the United States and Switzerland.

tions his love for a Turkish woman called Tarkān. She was probably his fourth wife or a concubine. In spite of Bahā' al-dīn's contemplative temperament he did not reject sexual desire in the manner of Christian ascetics. His perspective reflected the Islamic view of sexuality as something divinely good that should be practised within the marriage. He relates that one early morning he was in deep meditation when he suddenly was awakened by barking. Bībī Khātūn entered the room to see if he was unharmed and her beauty aroused his desire. At first he made an effort to maintain his concentration but his lust was too strong. As he describes, he viewed his enthusiasm as "a sign from God," interrupted the meditation and went to bed with her (Bahā' al-dīn Walad 1955–59:381).⁷

In the view of Bahā' al-dīn there was no opposition between contemplation and sexuality. He considered sexual intercourse as an intermediate level between marriage and divine union, something sacred that only should be practised within the marriage. As strongly as he emphasised the equilibrium that must be observed between religion and sexuality, he was quick to condemn decadent behaviour and fornication. Aflākī (A 24) relates his dismay over encountering the carnival atmosphere that prevailed in Larendē (modern Karaman) during a circumcision ceremony. Unveiled women, some of them bare breasted, danced and drank wine with unmarried men according to Khotanese customs.⁸ When Bahā' al-dīn arrived in Qunya he also refused to accept the invitation from the court since the Sultan was addicted to wine and devoted himself to his young female dancers. Bahā' al-dīn's view on gender relations was based on the *sunnat* ("way") of the Prophet Muḥammad and popular Islamic piety. He did not recommend social segregation between the sexes but underlined that the husband is the moral and religious head of the family. Bahā' al-dīn permitted women to attend his religious classes, and held theological discussions with his female students and colleagues. His memoirs indicate that he sought different ways to combine contemplative life with profession and family. His descriptions of love and ecstasy are both vivid and intimate.⁹

Rūmī's Wives: Gauhar Khātūn and Kirā Khātūn

During their journey from Balkh to Qunya, Bahā' al-dīn and his family stayed four years in the village Aqshahr, which is located outside the city of Arzangān (modern Malatya) in East Anatolia. Aqshahr was known since ancient times by the name Thymbriion or Filomelion. Bahā' al-dīn established himself as a religious scholar and authority in this village under the protection of 'Iṣmatī Khātūn, the wife of the Manguchak Prince Bahrām Shāh (d. 1218). She became a disciple of Bahā' al-dīn and built a school (*madrassa*) for him where he taught theology and mysticism. This school, which is named after her, is called 'Iṣmāṭiyya and still exists today. In the thirteenth century, Arzangān was known for its Armenian taverns, and Bahā' al-dīn therefore refused to visit the city on the invitation of the governor. Instead, he asked

⁷ Cf. Bahā' al-dīn Walad 1955–59:175 och 327–328.

⁸ This ceremony probably has its origin in the Kingdom of Khotan that ruled along the southern edge of the Silk Road from the first century until it came under Islamic rule in the eleventh century.

⁹ Cf. Meier 1989.

the governor to visit him in Aqshahr. Bahā' al-dīn taught at 'Iṣmāṭiyya until the death of his patron in 1221. She is one of many examples of the role women have played as patrons of Sufi activities. Aflākī (A 24) refers to her as a saint (*waliya*) and "the Khadīja of her age with regard to virtue and chastity" alluding to the wife of the Prophet Muḥammad.

After leaving Aqshahr with his family, Bahā' al-dīn moved to Larende, located north of the Taurus Mountains in south-central Anatolia. At the age of seventeen Rūmī married Gauhar Khātūn, the daughter of Khāja Sharaf al-dīn Lālā of Samarqand. Her father, who was a prince, had joined Bahā' al-dīn on his travels from Balkh, and his wife and daughter were disciples of Bahā' al-dīn. The marriage was therefore pre-arranged, which was customary in that period. According to Aflākī, Gauhar Khātūn was exceptionally beautiful, and despite her young age she was cultivated and also artistically talented. She was a gifted dancer and the first person who convinced Rūmī of the spiritual effect of dance on the soul (A 26 och 995). When the family settled in Qunya in 1226, Gauhar Khātūn had given birth to the twin boys Sulṭān Walad and 'Alā al-dīn Muḥammad. In the same year Rūmī's mother Mu'mina Khātūn and his elder brother passed away. In Qunya Bahā' al-dīn was introduced to the Sultan 'Alā al-dīn Kay Qubād, who came into power shortly before their arrival. Saljūqī Khātūn, the daughter of 'Iṣmāṭ Khātūn and widow of the former Sultan 'Izz al-dīn Kay Kāwūs I, introduced them to the city's nobility.

Rūmī devoted his first years in Qunya to studies in the traditional Islamic sciences, especially law, literature and theology. He also travelled to Syria where he entered deeply into his studies at the religious seminaries of Damascus. When he returned to Qunya in 1237, his father as well as his spiritual mentor Burhān al-dīn Tirmizī had passed away. The sorrow over his father's death increased when his wife Gauhar Khātūn fell ill and died. Rūmī became the new head of the family and succeeded his father as a religious scholar and teacher at a theological seminary in Qunya. He married a Christian woman, Kirā Khātūn, the widow of Muḥammad Shāh of Khārazm. Kirā Khātūn was a disciple of Rūmī's father who had held her mother in high esteem. He revered the mother's saintly character and claimed that they shared "the same spiritual station (*maqām*)" (A 681). At the time of her marriage with Rūmī, Kirā Khātūn had a four-year-old daughter from her first marriage by the name Kīmiyā Khātūn.

Rūmī, himself a widower, chose to marry a widow, and according to the sources it was a relationship based on mutual affection. From their union a boy, Muẓaffar al-dīn 'Ālam, and a girl, Malika Khātūn, were born. Muẓaffar al-dīn was recruited as a chief treasurer by the Saljūq governor Mu'in al-dīn Parwāna, but to his father's delight he eventually became a dervish (Mak 180, 202). Malika Khātūn married a merchant from the area by the name Shihāb al-dīn Qunawī. From correspondence between Rūmī and his son-in-law we know that Shihāb al-dīn from time to time was on the point of ruin because of bad business. Rūmī frequently had to intervene to save their turbulent marriage (Mak 95–96).

Kirā Khātūn's marriage with Rūmī remained lasting and happy despite the struggles they experienced together. She survived him by nineteen years. In his last moments she grieved that she was not to die before him as he had promised. When she

herself left this earthly existence all the dignitaries and notables of Qunya escorted her bier to the sepulchral shrine. Aflākī (A 779–780) relates that all the companions in the entourage of Sulṭān Walad threw off their turbans in reverence. When the bier reached the Chāshnagīr Gate it suddenly halted before the shrine for half an hour and would move no further. People wept in extreme perplexity. At last it proceeded and her body was buried. The same night Kirā Khātūn revealed herself to one of the esteemed men who asked her about the circumstances of her bier coming to a halt. She replied: “Yesterday a young couple was stoned to death below that gate accused of adultery (*zinah*). I felt pity for them, and delivered them from that blow and conveyed them to the mercy of the Compassionate One (*rahmat-i raḥmān*). That was the reason for the funeral bier coming to a halt.”

According to Sipahsālār (1946:182) Kirā Khātūn was exceptionally beautiful. He eulogizes her as the “second Sara” referring to Abraham’s wife who was legendary for her beauty. Annmarie Schimmel emphasizes that Kirā was a spiritually sophisticated woman who was revered by the people of Qunya not just for her position as Rūmī’s wife, but for her profound piety. Aflākī (A 92–93) relates that she was superstitious on occasion and that Rūmī had to calm her with his spiritual firmness. One day she complained to him that their premises were inhabited by a group of genies (*jinn*), supernatural creatures which sought to harm them by interrupting Rūmī in his vigils. Kirā assumed that the lights in the house annoyed the genies since these creatures were thought to detest light. She was worried that something unpleasant might occur and warned her husband. When Rūmī heard her complaint he said: “After today do not worry. The genies have become my disciples and believe in me. They will not cause harm to any of our offspring and friends.”

Like his father, Rūmī regarded sexuality as something divinely good that should be practised within the marriage. He considered the sexual relationship as a divine gift which has been given to man and women for their mutual enjoyment and not just for reproduction. Like his father Rūmī raised two sons from his first marriage. But in contrast to Bahā’ al-dīn he did not practice polygamy, but remarried after the death of his first wife. On the basis of his letters Rūmī gives the impression of a responsible husband and father who struggled to combine profession, family and spiritual life. As the head of the family he had the role of arbitrator in disputes and occasionally had to intervene to solve conflicts, not least in his children’s marriages. Rūmī’s discourses with his disciples reveal a pragmatic view on the relationship between man and woman. He is in agreement with the psychological tension that exists between the sexes and advises the husband to observe moderation in conflicts within the marriage. The husband should not limit the woman’s physical space since compulsion and force only increases her inclination to rebel:

The more you order a woman, ‘Keep yourself hidden,’ the greater her itch to show herself; and people through her being hidden become more eager for that woman. So there you sit in the middle, augmenting eagerness on both sides; and you think yourself a reformer! Why, that is the very essence of corruption. If she has in her the natural quality not to want to do an evil deed, whether you prevent her or not she will proceed according to her good temperament and pure constitution (*tab’-i nīk wa sirisht-i pāk*). So be easy in mind, and be not troubled. If she is the opposite, still she will go her own way; preventing her in reality does nothing but increase her eagerness (F 88).

Rūmī and Shams al-dīn

In 1244 Rūmī's world changed when Shams al-dīn of Tabrīz entered Qunya. The biographical literature portrays how Rūmī abandoned his theological instruction, threw away his books and devoted himself to the stranger. Shams al-dīn, a wandering dervish, had travelled immensely and met with Sufī masters such as Shihāb al-dīn Suhrawardī, Ibn 'Arabī and Abū Bakr Sallibāf. But in none of them had he found a companion (*hamdam*). He searched for a spiritually enlightened man and found Rūmī, whereas Rūmī searched for a master and found Shams al-dīn. In Sufi literature, the affectionate friendship between them exemplifies how the mystic is capable of opening his heart to a kindred soul, the master, and let it be reflected in his heart, so as to surrender it to God. Rūmī emphasizes that mysticism contains earthly *hamdamī* (companionship, Lat. *sympathia*), in that the mystic cannot do without a friend with whom to share his experiences of the states (*aḥwāl*) of love. According to Rūmī, *hamdamī* ultimately reflects the mutual attraction that exists between God and Man, between Heaven and Earth. In the words of Sulṭān Walad (1937:41), the divine and human aspects of this attraction were fused together in their first encounter:

After waiting for a long time, Rūmī saw the face of Shams al-dīn. The mysteries were revealed to him as bright as clear daylight. He saw Him who cannot be seen and encountered him who nobody before had encountered. Rūmī fell in love with Him and he disappeared himself.

Shams al-dīn not only acted as an intermediary of divine love for Rūmī, but also embodied this love. Shams al-dīn (his name meaning "sun of religion") personified God's light with its beauty and majesty (*jamāl wa jalāl*). Transformed by this light, Rūmī observed the world around him in a different light and expressed his love in poetry and dance. His private life was also transformed, as Shams al-dīn moved into his household. By some scholars, Shams al-dīn has been regarded as something of an uneducated bohemian but his memoirs *Maqālāt* (Articles) reveal that he was well read in law and theology, as well as advanced philosophical and mystical speculation. Perhaps this is the reason why a learned man with Rūmī's reputation could accept his spiritual authority and surrender to his will. From Shams al-dīn's memoirs it is evident that he was more than a common master (*pīr*) for Rūmī. He used to find faults with Kirā Khātūn's cooking and complain that Rūmī paid too much attention to her. The following words illustrate his presence in the younger couple's house:

He [Rūmī] allowed me to enter his house and spend time with him in the company of his wife. He could be jealous that the archangel Gabriel himself would see his wife unveiled but she behaved with me as a son behaves when he asks for food at his father's feet. (Tabrīzī 1994:120)¹⁰

Rūmī's friendship with Shams al-dīn provoked deep envy among his family, disciples and former students. They blamed Shams al-dīn for various things, and did not hesitate to demonstrate their contempt for him. Even Rūmī's favourite son

¹⁰ Cf. Tabrīzī 1994:260.

Sulṭān Walad (1937:43) describes his dislike of him in his own memoirs: “We all waited for him to disappear or depart in some unexpected way.” Sixteen months after his arrival in Qunya Shams al-dīn left the city and departed for Damascus. But Rūmī could not be separated from the friend and begged him in a lengthy correspondence to return (M 242). When Shams al-dīn reluctantly accepted his request he was escorted to Qunya by Sulṭān Walad. The son describes the unforgettable moment when Shams al-dīn entered the city on horseback and embraced his father: “They fell to their knees and nobody who saw them could discern who was lover and who was beloved” (Sulṭān Walad 1937:44). Sipahsālār and Aflākī therefore designate this encounter as “the merging of the two oceans” (*majmaʿ al-bahrain*). Rūmī’s Sufi spirituality is essentially a unitive form of mysticism where the lover and the beloved are unified in love.

Kīmiyā Khātūn

After Shams al-dīn’s arrival Rūmī reproached those who continued to blame and harm his friend. He declared that they were blind to Shams al-dīn’s spiritual nature and therefore incapable of valuing his friendly and affectionate character. In his lectures *Fīhī mā fīhī* (It is what it is) he answers an irritated disciple by claiming that analogical reasoning does not operate in the realm of love:

This time you will experience greater joy in the words of Shams al-dīn. For the sail of the ship of man’s being is belief. When there is a sail, the wind carries him to a mighty place; when there is no sail, all words are mere wind. [...] One cannot call any lover proof of the beauty of the beloved, and one cannot establish in any lover’s heart proof of the hatred of the beloved. Hence it is realized that in this matter proofs do not operate. Here one must be a seeker of love (F 89).

A few days after his arrival Shams al-dīn proposed to the young Kīmiyā Khātūn with the intention of strengthening his social bond to Rūmī. Kīmiyā Khātūn was the daughter of Kirā Khātūn from her first marriage with Muḥammad Shāh of Khārazm. She was thus Rūmī’s stepdaughter and had grown up in their house. At the time of Shams al-dīn’s proposal she had recently reached maturity and was around fourteen years old. Kīmiyā had an introverted character, and her shyness was interpreted as consent to marriage. Shams al-dīn, in his early sixties, was so attracted to this girl that he was almost possessed by her sheer presence. According to Sipahsālār (1946: 133), their wedding was celebrated in November 1247. Among those who vehemently opposed their union was Rūmī’s younger son ‘Alā al-dīn who may have had romantic feelings for Kīmiyā himself. He attempted to come to her rescue, but in vain. In his memoirs Shams al-dīn boasts pridefully how he chased away ‘Alā al-dīn who had visited her without his sanction (Tabrīzī 1994:224). A few weeks after their wedding Kīmiyā fell ill for unknown reasons. One day she was found dead in the Marām gardens on the outskirts of Qunya. The aversion towards Shams al-dīn increased among Rūmī’s relatives after this incident. His wife Kirā Khātūn deeply mourned the loss of her daughter. ‘Alā al-dīn threatened to physically harm Shams al-dīn, and the matter of his presence was brought to a head. Only seven days after Kīmiyā’s death Shams al-dīn disappeared and was gone with the wind. Rūmī

searched through the city and even travelled to Damascus to find him. But his efforts were in vain, since this time the friend had not left any traces behind.

The Iranian author Sa'īda Quds has portrayed Kīmīyā's life in vivid manner in a novel entitled *Kīmīyā Khātūn*. She depicts Kīmīyā's destiny from the first moment she entered the house of her new stepfather to her tragic death. The novel was published in Tehrān in 2004. It soon became a success and has been printed in seven editions. The author has a fresh and innovative reading of events in Kīmīyā's life and portrays Shams al-dīn as a very narcissistic figure. She succeeds in recreating the milieu of thirteenth century Qunya and highlights Kīmīyā's affection for her stepfather, her close bond to her mother and her playful relationship to Rūmī's sons. But Kīmīyā's innocent feelings disappear from the day Shams al-dīn proposes to her. Even if she is prepared for the wedding by her female relatives, and her mother assures her that she does not have to consummate the marriage on the wedding night their union becomes the beginning of her end. Shams al-dīn isolates her from the outside world and when he once catches her outside their house in the company of her mother she is physically punished. Kīmīyā who cannot bear the situation and her mother's absence becomes sick and dies three days later during a flight alone to the Marām gardens outside the city (Quds 2004).

Who murdered Shams al-dīn?

Aflākī is the first biographical author who presents the hypothesis that Shams al-dīn was murdered. This notion was thereafter reinforced in the literature of the Maulawī order and has also been adopted by a segment of modern scholarship. Aflākī suggests that none less than Rūmī's son 'Alā al-dīn was behind the murder. His description of the incident is based on an oral account by Fāṭima Khātūn, the wife of Sulṭān Walad. According to her version, Shams al-dīn was in Rūmī's house on the evening of the 5th of December 1247. They sat and conversed until the late hours when suddenly somebody knocked at the door. The anonymous man asked to see Shams al-dīn who stood up and told Rūmī: "They are calling me in order to murder me (*bi kushtan-am mīkhahand*)". He then went out to be brutally stabbed to death by 'Alā al-dīn and six of his companions. The body was thrown in a well behind Rūmī's house, a well that still exists today. Sulṭān Walad, who had been informed of the plan, buried Shams al-dīn's dead body on a secret spot close to his father's house (A 683–684).¹¹ If Fāṭima Khātūn's account is correct Sulṭān Walad probably concealed the crime from his father in order to preserve the honour of the family. Later on, a simple mausoleum was erected on the spot above Shams al-dīn's supposed tomb.

According to Schimmel as well as the Turkish historian Abdūlbaki Gölpınarlı (d. 1960), Rūmī suspected that 'Alā al-dīn was involved in Shams al-dīn's disappearance, but he accepted it as God's predestined will. He broke off the relationship with his son and no longer considered him as his rightful heir (M 101–102). Upon 'Alā al-dīn's death in 1262, Rūmī did not attend the funeral and did not say any blessings over him. According to Aflākī, he did not forgive his son until Shams al-dīn ap-

¹¹ Cf. A 700.

peared in a dream and called for compassion. In this way, Gölpınarlı (1996:155) claims that Shams al-dīn became a martyr for Muslim mystics side by side with Maṣṣūr Ḥallāj and ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī.¹² Despite the fact that ‘Alā al-dīn was buried next to his grandfather Bahā’ al-dīn (in Rūmī’s mausoleum) his descendants have not been accepted as members of the Maulawī family. Aflākī also interprets ‘Alā al-dīn’s early death as a sign of divine punishment, and claims that those who were involved in the murder met the same destiny. In general, Aflākī (A 766 and 843) has a denigrating view of ‘Alā al-dīn who is condemned because of his disobedience and insubordinate attitude towards his father.

Among those scholars who question if ‘Alā al-dīn actually was behind Shams al-dīn’s disappearance are Franklin D. Lewis. He argues that we must be very cautious about accepting Aflākī’s account of a supposed murder since we have access neither to a murder weapon nor a dead body. According to Lewis (2000:187–191), the fact that Rūmī travelled two times to Damascus in search after Shams al-dīn is evidence that he believed his friend was still alive. He also points to the fact that Aflākī’s report of the events is not mentioned in Sipahsālār’s work.¹³ However, he accepts that there was a high threat level against Shams al-dīn and thus a motive to kill him. It is probable that ‘Alā al-dīn wanted revenge for the tragic fate of Kīmīyā and for the fact that the stranger had stolen his father’s attention. There were also other persons in the immediate surrounding who had a motive to get rid of Shams al-dīn. Rūmī’s correspondence testifies that the relationship between father and son was strained even before Shams al-dīn’s arrival in Qunya. On several occasions Rūmī asked ‘Alā al-dīn to return to the family home which he for some reason had abandoned. Before two Saljūq office-holders Rūmī also expressed his grief over his son’s absence (Mak 71, 92, 146). The reason for this dispute is, however, unknown. Aflākī is known for his stylistic excesses and temerarious treatment of his sources. But if we accept his account anyhow, the question remains how Sulṭān Walad could secretly bury Shams al-dīn’s body without informing his father. And if Shams al-dīn was not murdered the question remains why he never returned to Qunya or made himself known. Whatever the case may be, it is significant that Sulṭān Walad remained silent on the matter even after his father’s death.

In any case, Rūmī was unstrung by Shams al-dīn’s departure, and addressed the master of Tabrīz in poems permeated by spiritual love. In these poems Shams al-dīn is portrayed as the spiritual axis (*quṭb*), or *axis mundi*, the very centre of the spiritual sphere. He is the axis of all lovers (*quṭb-i hama ma’shūqān*), the supreme saint (*walī*) and esoteric vicegerent (Sipahsālār 1946:122). The idea of divine vicegerency is of central importance to Rūmī’s teachings. He asserts that the world cannot exist without a living saint, and describes the *quṭb* as the perfect man around whom the seven heavens rotate in circumambulation (M 942). He exhorts the disciple to consider his or her master as the axis of the age, since the master is the inner secret of the esoteric way (M 357). According to Rūmī, the spiritual sphere first rotated

¹² See also Schimmel 1994:22–23.

¹³ Aflākī never mentions Sipahsālār or his *Risāla* in his own biography. The reason may be that Aflākī and Sipahsālār represented two contrary interpretations of Rūmī’s life and also two divergent tendencies within the emerging Maulawī order.

around his Sufi teacher Burhān al-dīn Tirmizī before it turned successively around Shams al-dīn and Rūmī's disciples, Salāḥ al-dīn Zarkūb and Ḥusām al-dīn Chalabī. The latter inspired him to compose his masterpiece, the *Maṭnawī-yi ma'nawī* (Spiritual Couplet). The abundant hagiographical literature of the Maulawī order also attests to the fact that Rūmī himself was considered the *qutb* of the age by his own disciples.

Fāṭima Khātūn

According to some scholars, such as Gölpınarlı (1996:351), Rūmī had a more open attitude to women than other contemporary Muslim theologians. In contrast to those theologians and mystics who prevented women from educating themselves, or only instructed them privately (mostly women of the nobility) Rūmī held public classes for women of various backgrounds. He encouraged women to educate themselves at the religious schools and welcomed their participation at the *samā'*-ceremony.¹⁴ Gender was obviously not a reason to exclude anyone from acquiring religious knowledge, and instead the intention and devotion of the seeker were more important. According to Aflākī's hagiographic reports many women had a deep attraction to Rūmī. Among those women who were attracted to his teachings were not only women of the nobility but also of the craftsman class and the lower strata of society. As a matter of fact, one may assume that his strongest sympathizers were among the latter because of his popular image.

Among the women who had a central role in Rūmī's life was Fāṭima Khātūn, the wife of Sulṭān Walad and daughter of Salāḥ al-dīn Zarkūb (d. 1258), one of Rūmī's closest disciples. Fāṭima Khātūn displayed a remarkable spiritual talent already as a child. Rūmī was therefore entrusted with her upbringing and education. He taught her to read and write and initiated her into the esoteric interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Qur'ān. According to later sources, she was considered to be his most distinguished female disciple. The Persian literary scholar Sa'id Nafīsī claims that she was not only well-versed in the esoteric sciences but also in jurisprudence and theology (Sipahsālār 1946:371). Aflākī (A 720–721) praises her as “the second Mary” and calls her “the faithful” (*al-ṣiddīqa*). He describes her ascetic nature and mentions that she used to distribute food among the poor. She devoted the day to fasting and the night to vigil. Her motto was “little food, little sleep and little speech (*qalīlun mīn al-akali wa al-nawmī wa al-kalam*)”. Aflākī ascribes miracles (*kirāmāt*) to Fāṭima Khātūn and claims that she possessed knowledge of the Unseen (*ṣuwwar-i ghayb*) and was endowed with telepathic powers. Sipahsālār (1946:169, 179) eulogizes her as “God's saint on earth” (*waliya Allāh fī al-arḍ*) and compares her nature to “the pure milk of paradise”. As an adult Fāṭima Khātūn seems to have been an exceptionally independent woman who often opposed her husband Sulṭān Walad on different mat-

¹⁴ The word *samā'* means “listening” in Arabic and is a meditative form of music and dance that is practised by Sufis. Originally the concept was used to describe musical performances at the royal courts, but gradually came to be used to denominate mystical compositions. *Samā'* is especially associated with the whirling dance of the Maulawī order which initially was performed by Rūmī och Shams al-dīn. The dance is used by the Sufis as a support for invocation (*dhikr*) of God and symbolizes the disclosure (*kashf*) of His secrets in creation.

ters. For instance, she opposed his approval of the selection of Ḥusām al-dīn as Rūmī's successor and criticized him for not taking responsibility over the community himself.

Rūmī also cared for Salāḥ al-dīn's younger daughter, Haddiya Khātūn. She married a calligrapher by the name Nizām al-dīn who came from a simple background. With Rūmī's help Nizām al-dīn could offer his wife a satisfactory bride-gift. Rūmī is reported to have said: "All women who visit me come to me veiled, except Fāṭima Khātūn och Haddiya Khātūn. Fāṭima is my right eye and Haddiya my left eye" (A 719).¹⁵ Rūmī was responsible for their education, but it was especially Fāṭima who benefited from his esoteric instruction. It was therefore not unexpected that he gave his favourite son Sulṭān Walad to her in marriage so as to also strengthen his social bond to Salāḥ al-dīn. After Shams al-dīn's departure Rūmī had found a new companion in Salāḥ al-dīn. Sulṭān Walad and Fāṭima Khātūn appear to have remained happily married, since they were both devoted to the spiritual life. When a dispute arouse Rūmī intervened, however, in the favour of his daughter-in-law (M 132). From their marriage a son, Amīr 'Ārif Chalabī, and two daughters, 'Ābida and 'Ārifa, were born. According to Aflākī, all these children became prominent spiritual masters in the Maulawī order. Miracles are ascribed to 'Ābida and 'Ārifa who were revered as saints and acted as masters to numerous women in Anatolia in the thirteenth century. After Fāṭima Khātūn's death Sulṭān Walad married his two concubines Nuṣrat Khātūn and Sunbula Khātūn.

Gurjī Khātūn and Fakhr al-Nisā'

In contrast to his brother 'Alā al-dīn, Sulṭān Walad was obedient to his father and devoted to the spiritual way. After the death of Ḥusām al-dīn Chalabī in 1284 he emerged as the true founder of the Maulawī order. He institutionalized the *samā'*-ceremonies with the sacred dance and the reading from Rūmī's poetical work (*maṭnawī-khānī*) and supervised the new organization of the community. Among the disciples of Sulṭān Walad were many women who continued to play an important role for the spiritual, social and cultural life of the Sufi order. The burial places in Rūmī's mausoleum, where many women are buried, give evidence of their existence. Among the women who rest in Rūmī's mausoleum are Gurjī Khātūn and Saljūqī Khātūn, wife and daughter of the Saljūq Sultan Ghiyāṭ al-dīn Kay Khusrau II.

Gurjī Khātūn, who was of Georgian descent and bore the name Tamara, was a notable patron of the Maulawī order. As the daughter of the Georgian Queen Rosudan (d. 1247) and the wife and mother of two Saljūq Sultans she exerted great influence on the nobility of Qunya. When her first husband passed away she married the city's governor, Mu'in al-dīn Parwāna, who was a disciple of Rūmī. From her first marriage she gave birth to a boy, Kay Qubad II, and a girl, Saljūqī Khātūn. Kay Qubad II was appointed Sultan over the Sultanate of Rūm east of the Qizil River between the years 1249–1257. Because of his young age the actual power was exercised by the governor Parwāna and his advisers. After her encounter with Rūmī,

¹⁵ See also M 98–99, 117–118, 135–136 and 179–180.

Gurjī Khātūn entered Islam and became, according to Aflākī, one of his most distinguished disciples (*murīdah-yi khāṣṣ*). In a letter he addresses her as the “glory of women” (*fakhr al-khawātīn*) and appoints her as supervisor of matters relating to the female members of the community (Mak 118).

Aflākī (A 425) praises Gurjī Khātūn as the *malaka-yi zamān* (Queen of the Age) and asserts that she used to be so attached to Rūmī that she “continually burned in the fire of her passion for him” (*dāiyim dar ātash-i shauq-i maulānā*). He relates that one day Parwāna received an invitation to Qaysariyya (modern Kayseri) from the city’s governor. Gurjī Khātūn, who could not be separated from Rūmī, called on the painter ‘Ayn al-Daula to draw a portrait of the master which she would bring with her on the trip. ‘Ayn al-Daula turned to Rūmī with her request who said that it would be alright if he was able to draw a portrait. The drawer took his pen in his hand and started to draw. But as often as he looked he beheld a different portrait of the figure. In the end, he had sketched different pictures on twenty sheets of paper and was taken aback in bewilderment. He let out a shout and broke his pens. Like someone who is helpless he prostrated himself. That moment Rūmī comforted him with the following verses:

Oh how devoid of colour and sign I am!
 How will I see myself the way I am?
 You said: “Bring the secrets into our midst!”
 Where is the mid-point in this midst where I am?
 How will this soul of mine grow calm,
 Being both fixed and in motion as I am?
 My sea has actually drowned within itself.
 What a wondrous sea without a shore I am!
 Alas, where is space and where am I?
 How can the soul find peace
 when the oceans drown within me?

Gurjī Khātūn thanked ‘Ayn al-Daula and put the sheets of paper in a box. As Aflākī relates, each time she felt overwhelmed by passionate longing for Rūmī, he immediately took on form and shape so that she would grow calm (A 426).¹⁶ After Rūmī’s death Gurjī Khātūn funded the building of the Qubbat-i khadrā, the green sepulchral shrine which was erected over his tomb. She played an important role as counsellor in the Maulawī community, and her second daughter ‘Ayn al-Ḥayāt also became a dervish. She arranged special *samā’*-sessions for women together with Fāṭima Khātūn which were attended by Rūmī. These gatherings were hosted by Gumāj Khātūn Dukātī, the wife of Amīn al-dīn Mīkā’il who was the Sultan’s special lieutenant. Every Thursday night, which is of specific significance in Sufism, the wives of the prominent men (*akābir*) of Qunya assembled in her mansion to perform the sacred concert. Gumāj Khātūn strewed rose and jasmine petals over Rūmī and followed him in the whirling dance.¹⁷ Rūmī, in the midst of roses and rose-water,

¹⁶ This story resembles a legend connected to the first icon of Jesus. According to the legend Abgar V of Edessa (50 A.D.) suffered from leprosy and sent his court painter Hannan to Jesus, since he had the power to heal people. Hannan could not however accomplish his mission because of a shifting light that radiated from Jesus’ face. See Evagrius Scholasticus 2000.

¹⁷ From these rose petals the women made souvenirs of benediction.

would be immersed in sweat and until midnight he would “engage in uttering mystical meanings and secrets” (*bi ma’ānī wa asrār mashghūl shudī*). Slave-girls recited songs, and played the flute and tambourine. Aflākī (A 490) describes how the enraptured women went into ecstasy:

Rūmī would begin performing the *samā’* and an ecstatic state would come over the assembled women such that they did not know their head from their legs or their veil from their socks. They would cast all the jewels and gold garments they had into the shoes of this Sultan of Unveiling (*sulṭān-i kashf*), in the hope that he might accept some small thing or pay them some regard. He would not glance at anything at all. Having performed the dawn prayers with them, he would then depart. No saint or prophet in any age behaved in such a way or adopted such a path, except in the time of the Chief of the Messengers [the Prophet Muḥammad] – God’s blessings and peace be upon him – when the Arab women would come to the Messenger and having asked about the secrets of the sacred law, would obtain benefit.

From Rūmī’s correspondence we have information about other women who were attracted by his teachings. One letter is addressed to an anonymous female Sufī master who founded a *khāniqāh* (gathering-place for mystics) in Qunya. Rūmī inquires about her health and prays for her physical well-being. With deep reverence, he speaks of her as a “knower of God” (*khudā-shinās*) and “an angel of the Divine Attributes” (*firishatih-yi šifāt*). In another letter, he mentions an anonymous disciple who used to work as a dancing-girl at Diyā’s caravanserai outside Qunya (M 148, 164 and 220). The girl was initiated to Sufism and found a spiritual master in Rūmī. Another woman in Qunya who had a close relationship to Rūmī was Fakhr al-Nisā’. According to Aflākī (A 288), she was revered by the population as a saint and had a following of her own. She used to attend the religious ceremonies in Rūmī’s house and consulted him in her disputes with her husband.

Aflākī relates that one night Fakhr al-Nisā’ sought guidance from Rūmī and went to his house. She had been advised by her disciples to go on pilgrimage to Makka and asked Rūmī for his opinion. He answered that it was a good intention and that the journey was blessed. The other companions were perplexed, wondering what the situation was and what had gone on between them. After midnight, Rūmī went up onto the roof to occupy himself with his nocturnal prayers. When he was finished he started shouting very loudly and called for Fakhr al-Nisā’. She saw that the Ka’ba was circumabulating above Rūmī and turning in a circle. A state of bewilderment came over her and when she recovered her senses she completely renounced her desire to go on pilgrimage (A 288–289). After Fakhr al-Nisā’s death her burial place became a site of pilgrimage. During the time of Aflākī women used to gather in her mausoleum on Thursday nights to pray and to invoke God. He also mentions another female saint (*waliya*) called Niẓām Khātūn who kept company with Fakhr al-Nisā’. Niẓām Khātūn, who frequently visited the spiritual gatherings in Rūmī’s home, came from a very modest background. She observed strict asceticism and her only belonging was a piece of white cloth from Bursa (called *būrī*) which she intended to use as a shroud. Since she could not afford to invite Rūmī for an evening meal and arrange a *samā’* she considered selling the cloth. But Rūmī became aware of her plans and went to her house. He told

her: “Here in this world you are destitute (*būrī*) but do not sell your shroud (*būrī*). You will have need of it. Behold I have come to your *samā*’!” According to Aflākī (A 601), Rūmī participated in a spiritual gathering with Fakhr al-Nisā’s group of disciples for three days and nights.

Conclusion

As demonstrated in this article, women and female spirituality have significantly influenced the mystical tradition of Islam. In their capacity as mothers, wives, and daughters, but perhaps more particularly as individuals, women had a noteworthy presence in Rūmī’s life. His mother Mu’mina Khātūn was well-known for her piety and is revered by the Maulawī tradition as the *mādar-i sulṭān* (“Sultan’s mother”). She was in charge of his upbringing and his early education in poetry, music and painting. Her tomb in Karaman is still in our day a site of pilgrimage for Anatolian dervishes. Rūmī’s first marriage with Gauhar Khātūn, the daughter of Sharaf al-dīn Lālā of Samarqand, was pre-arranged according to the customs of that period. She was endowed with artistic talents and initiated him into the sacred rhythms of the whirling dance. She also gave birth to his two sons Sulṭān Walad and ‘Alā al-dīn. After the death of Gauhar Khātūn, Rūmī married Kirā Khātūn who survived him by nineteen years. According to the hagiographic literature, they entered marriage out of mutual affection. Kirā was known for her beauty, and stood by her husband through the trials of their marriage after his encounter with the charismatic dervish Shams al-dīn of Tabrīz.

Unlike his father, Rūmī did not practice polygamy, and remarried first as a widower. He had a more liberal view of gender relationships than his father, and disapproved of the segregation prevalent in the Islamic education system. This is attested by his religious practice as well as his teaching of women such as Fāṭima Khātūn, his daughter-in-law, who had a prominent role in the early history of the Maulawī order. Aflākī bases large sections of his hagiographical work *Manāqib al-‘arīfīn* on accounts by Fāṭima Khātūn. She was a self-determined woman and did not hesitate to declare her opinion publicly when she disagreed with her husband Sulṭān Walad. Among Rūmī’s closest disciples were women with aristocratic and artisanal backgrounds as well as women from the lower classes. One female disciple who is frequently mentioned by Aflākī is Gurjī Khātūn, the wife of two Saljūq Sultans. She and Gumāj Khātūn hosted *samā*’ gatherings in the latter’s palace which were attended by the women of Qunya. Rūmī was present at these gatherings, joined them in the invocation and performed the whirling dance. Gurjī Khātūn supervised the affairs of the female initiates and also funded the building of Rūmī’s mausoleum. Another prominent female disciple of Rūmī was Fakhr al-Nisā’, who was revered as saint by the people of Qunya.

From historical documents we know that women continued to enjoy a prominent position in the Maulawī order until the beginning of the sixteenth century. In comparison with other Sufi orders its female initiates had a relatively independent role in its formation and organization in Anatolia. They participated in the religious ceremonies and even acted as “deputies” and “masters” in cities like Qunya and Dukāt.

Among those mentioned by name is Khushlaqā Qunawī who was the order's deputy (*khalīfa*) in Dukāt.¹⁸ Women also played a distinguished role as transmitters of hagiographic material in the early Maulawī tradition. For instance, our information regarding the disappearance of Shams al-dīn is based on reports made by Fāṭima Khātūn. Despite the women's important social role, their presence in the hagiographical literature is unfortunately too fragmentary for us to reconstruct their biographies on the basis of this material.

This lack of factual knowledge has gradually been compensated in modern times as Sufi women have started to record their spiritual experiences and learning. Among them is Esin Chalabī Bayru (b. 1949), Rūmī's only descendent in the twenty-second generation and the present leader of the Maulawī family. She plays a vital role for the survival of the Maulawī tradition in contemporary Turkey, and also supports the dissemination of the order in the West. Camille Helminski, the co-director of the Threshold Society, is among the major Maulawī teachers in contemporary America. In her book *Women of Sufism: A Hidden Treasure* she introduces the contribution of women to the Sufi tradition. In Turkey, there also exists various branches of the Maulawī order, such as that of the Macedonian master Ḥasan Dede (1935–), where women perform the *samā'* ritual. Accordingly, women continue to participate in the religious education and the sacred ceremonies of the order in line with Rūmī's own teachings and practice.

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From mártys to martyr: Remarks on the multi-cultural proto-history of martyrdom

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Martyrdom is primarily a historical phenomenon. It is not an anthropologically, sociologically or otherwise universal category. It appears only within certain historical contexts. These can, despite the global distribution of martyrdom in the post-modern age, without exception be traced back to common origins.¹ Most of these lie in the early history of Christianity, mainly in its first three centuries. The term “martyrdom” did not exist prior to this period.

However, the Christian notion of martyrdom did not appear out of the blue. Research on martyrdom has established a number of historical prototypes that were influential to the creation of Christian martyrdom. The present contribution gives a survey of the most important ones, but adds material and interpretation. Its central thesis is based on a close reading of the Book of Job, which seems to offer a key to understanding the evolution of Christian martyrdom out of the Jewish and Hellenistic cultures of the last centuries B. C. Finally, the various factors that contributed to the historical development of Christian martyrdom in a complex process of interaction are integrated into a synopsis.

Subsequent to the establishment of its Christian terminology in the first centuries of our era, martyrdom has had a long, intense and complex history, and in our days it has dramatically reappeared on the stage of global interest. This later history of martyrdom is not dealt with systematically in the present investigation; extensive references are to be found elsewhere.²

¹ See Friederike Pannewick: *Introduction*. In: Idem (ed.): *Martyrdom in Literature. Visions of Death and Meaningful Suffering in Europe and the Middle East from Antiquity to Modernity*. Wiesbaden 2004, p. 1–25; here p. 1, who stresses the “historicity” of the notion of martyrdom, which, according to her, does not belong to the “supra-temporal ontological facts”.

² General cross-cultural introductions to martyrdom are Eduard Christen, *Martyrium III/2*. In: Müller, Gerhard (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Vol. 22. Berlin, New York 1992, p. 212–220; Peter Gerlitz: *Martyrium I*. In: Gerhard Müller (ed.): *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Vol. 22. Berlin, New York 1992, p. 197–202; Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Martyrium II*. In: Gerhard Müller (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Vol. 22, Berlin, New York 1992, col. 203–207; M. Lamberigts/ P. van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in multidisciplinary perspective. Memorial Louis Reekmans*, Leuven 1995; Todd Lawson, *Martyrdom*, in: John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3, New York, Oxford 1995, p. 54–59; Friederike Pannewick, *Martyrdom in Literature. Visions of Death and Meaningful Suffering in Europe and the Middle East from Antiquity to Modernity*, Wiesbaden 2004; Friederike Pannewick, *Introduction*; Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, *Märtyrer. I. Religionsgeschichtlich*. In: Hans Dieter Betz (ed.):

From μάρτυς to martyr

Practically no general introduction to martyrdom³ fails to mention that the word “martyr” is derived from the Ancient Greek word μάρτυς (*mártys*) “witness (i.e. witnessing person)”.⁴ There is widespread agreement that the transition from the original meaning “witness” to the specialized sense of “martyr” was realized in the context of the Christian religion in its first centuries (until around the beginning of the fourth century). However, interpretations of the *pre-Christian* origins of martyrdom have so far remained rather vague and rudimentary.

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³ See the literature mentioned in footnote 2.

⁴ “Witness” in the sense of the act of witnessing is μαρτύριον in Greek. For the sake of brevity, I shall use the translation “witness” instead of “witness (i.e. witnessing person)” for the original meaning of μάρτυς, unless the context could lead to ambiguity. In the present contribution, μάρτυς is frequently used as a global designation for the word itself and its derivatives with identical or very close basic meaning. – On the etymology of μάρτυς see Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Elmar Seebold (ed.). 23rd ed. Berlin, New York 1999, p. 542, s.v. *Marter*.

The following remarks try to give a more precise interpretation of some of the pre-Christian conditions that led up to the formation of the concept of martyrdom, and thereby to complete and extend the perspective presented in current approaches to the subject.

My thesis is that although martyrdom was not developed as a concept of its own before the advent of Christianity, many important preparations for it had already been made in the time before Christ. These preparations are verifiable in three main areas: pre-Christian figures who strikingly resemble martyrs for one or another reason, the history of the Greek lexeme μάρτυς, and, most crucially, in the books of the Old Testament, in particular the Book of Job. Naturally, these three fields overlap and interact, but they are nevertheless recognizable as the *linguistic, historical* and *scriptural* spheres where the formation of martyrdom had been thoroughly prepared before it was gradually but firmly established in the first three Christian centuries.

Before dwelling on the linguistic, historical and scriptural prehistory of Christian martyrdom, some basic facts about its creation are briefly recalled in the following section.

The gradual evolution of the notion of martyrdom in early Christianity

In the Greek dialect of the New Testament, μάρτυς has sometimes been understood as denoting a martyr. One of the most famous testimonies to this effect is Revelation 2: 13. Here, a certain Antipas is referred to as μάρτυς. In the King James translation, this verse reads as follows:

I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.⁵

Here is the Greek text for comparison:

Οἶδα ποῦ κατοικεῖς; ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ; καὶ κρατεῖς τὸ ὄνομά μου, καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὴν πίστιν μου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός μου, ὃς ἀπεκτάνθη παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅπου ὁ Σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ.⁶

The text clearly states that Antipas was killed, that he was “faithful” (πιστός) – i.e., shared the Christian faith – and that he was a μάρτυς. However, it does not by any means follow from these facts that μάρτυς would denote somebody who was killed *for* his faith, as seems to be suggested by the King James translation. For while the determinatum of the attributes μάρτυς and πιστός and the relative clause “who was slain among you” is Antipas, neither of these attributes need to be understood as a determinans of any of the others, which would be a necessity if the meaning of μάρτυς was to be linked to the act of being killed. Also, even if the relative clause

⁵ Text quoted from <http://www.hti.umich.edu/cgi/k/kjv/kjv-idx?type=citation&book=Revelation&chapn=2&startverse=13&endverse=13>, accessed November 20, 2006. Emphasis and Greek word added by M. H. See also Henry George Liddell/ Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Sir Henry Stuart Jones et al. (eds.), Oxford 1985, p. 1081, s.v. μάρτυς, who also translate this word in this passage by “martyr”.

⁶ Hē Kainē Diathēkē, 11th ed., Eberhard Nestle (ed.). London 1920, p. 626.

“who was slain among you” was regarded as an attribute to μάρτυς – which is not a compelling assumption, as we have just seen – it would rather speak *against* translating μάρτυς by “martyr” than in favor of it, for why should the text have stressed the importance of the μάρτυς violent death at all if the latter was already expressed in the lexical meaning of the word? The whole citation therefore *does not* say that somebody may be called μάρτυς or πιστός only if he is slain. Therefore, there is no absolute compulsion for a translation of μάρτυς as “martyr” in Rev. 2: 13. The word could just as well mean “witness”. The same is true of the qualification of Stephanos as a μάρτυς in Apc. 22: 20. Correspondingly, Hiltbrunner doubts whether μάρτυς is used in the technical meaning of “martyr” in the New Testament at all.⁷ Instead, “witness” is still the most frequent denotation of the word μάρτυς.⁸ For instance, it occurs in the meaning of “eyewitness” (as said of the Apostles).⁹

However, even if Rev. 2: 13 may not yet be quoted as an instance for the establishment of the notion of the martyr, some other passages of the New Testament offer a bridge between the original meaning of μάρτυς, “witness”, and the later designation “martyr”. In the following two quotes from the Gospel of John the verb μαρτυρεῖν has the special meaning of testifying about a spiritual truth. This meaning is clearly a development of the original sense of μάρτυς, which superimposes onto the fact of witnessing a new, spiritual dimension. As John is considered to be one of the late synoptics, this innovative sense might reflect a growing development toward spirituality among the Christians at the end of the first century. However, this evolution is not yet complete, as μαρτυρεῖν has not yet reached the conclusive development into the sense “to be martyred”. It should be noted that the grammatical subjects of μαρτυρεῖν are both the ordinary Christians (“*vos*”) and the Holy Spirit (“*ille*”). This may be a distinct echo of the arrangement of persons around the term μάρτυς in the Book of Job, which will be discussed below.¹⁰ In the Vulgata translation the texts read as follows (with the King James Version translations added):

Cum autem venerit Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre, Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit, ille *testimonium perhibebit de me* (μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ); et vos *testimonium perhibebitis* (μαρτυρεῖτε), quia ab initio mecum estis. (John 15: 26f.)¹¹

But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me: And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.¹²

⁷ Otto Hiltbrunner, *Martys*. In: Konrat Ziegler/ Walter Sontheimer (eds.), *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*. Vol. 3. Munich 1979, col. 1059f., here 1059.

⁸ Cf. Wilhelm Gemoll, *Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, Karl Vretska (ed.), Munich, Vienna: 1988, p. 485, s.v. *martyros/ martyrs*.

⁹ Hiltbrunner, *Martys*, col. 1059.

¹⁰ See p 15.

¹¹ Latin text quoted from *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*. Gianfranco Nolli (ed.), Vatican City 1981, p. 569. Emphasis by M. H. The Greek words were taken from the text in *Novum Testamentum*, p. 568.

¹² The Bible, King James Version, in: <http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=KjvJohn.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=15&division=div1>, accessed November 21, 2006.

Cum haec dixisset Iesus, turbatus est spiritu: et *protestatus est* (ἐμαρτύρησεν), et dixit:... (John 13: 21)¹³

When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said: [...] ¹⁴

It is only towards the middle of the second century A. D. that the use of μάρτυς in the meaning of “martyr” takes firm root in the Greek idiom used by the Christians.¹⁵ From that time onward, the word μάρτυς regularly denotes “the witness who confesses [to Christianity – M. H.] and who dies for the truth in the struggle against their [sc. the Christians’ – M. H.] enemies”.¹⁶

Of course, the development of this technical meaning ran parallel to the ongoing persecutions of Christians in the Roman Empire. A notable date in this context is the year 64 when membership in the Christian sect was for the first time declared a crime according to Roman law, as emperor Nero made the Christians scapegoats for the burning of Rome.¹⁷ Equally important to the development of the notion “martyr” was the activity of early Christian theorists. Above all Tertullian (about A.D. 160–220) must be mentioned here, who coined the famous dictum “the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Christians” (*semen martyrum sanguis Christianorum*).¹⁸

The establishment of the term martyr in by and large the same technical sense in which it is still used today can thus be approximately dated to the period between the beginning of the first century AD and the last half of the second. The above data illustrate that the new meaning ‘martyr’ did not spontaneously replace the older meaning ‘witness’, but that both senses existed side by side within the same lexeme, μάρτυς, for quite some time. The development of the notion of martyrdom in this crucial phase of Christian history reveals itself to be a gradual process, the linguistic mechanism of which is the superimposing of a new meaning on an existing one. The term martyr was not created as a neologism.

This gradual linguistic formation process of the notion “martyr” has been extended backwards in several scholarly publications on martyrdom. The following sections

¹³ Novum Testamentum, p. 558. Quotation principles as stated in footnote 11.

¹⁴ The Bible, King James Version, in: http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=KjvJohn_sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=13&division=di_v1, accessed November 21, 2006.

¹⁵ Hiltbrunner, *Martys*, col. 1059 refers to this variety as “chr. Sondersprache”. One must not forget that these linguistic data refer to a time when the Christians were a tiny minority with no official status.

¹⁶ Hiltbrunner, *Martys*, col. 1059: “des bekennenden und für die Wahrheit im Streit gegen ihre Feinde sterbenden Zeugen”. Wischmeier 2005a: 862 finds the first use of μάρτυς in its technical sense – somebody who suffers “death through the hostile state power [sc. of the Roman Empire – M.H.]” “*Tod(es) durch die feindliche staatliche Macht*” – in the third quarter of the second century.

¹⁷ Castelli, *Martyrdom and memory*, p. 42.

¹⁸ Wischmeier 2005a: 864. On Tertullian’s contribution to the history of martyrdom see Marc Vandamme, Rabghuzi’s Qışaş al-Anbiyā’, reconsidered in the light of Western Medieval Studies: Narrationes vel exempla. In: *De Turcicis Aliisque Rebus. Commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati. Feestbundel voor professor emeritus H. F. Hofman ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzeventigste verjaardag aangeboden door vrienden en studenten*, Utrecht 1992, p. 7–37, here 9. Also cf. Pannewick: *Introduction*, p. 5.

attempt to systematize these backward extensions, using the three categories mentioned initially (linguistic, historical and scriptural). At the same time, some new material will be added during the discussion of these categories.

On the word history of μάρτυς

Already in the oldest Greek sources, including Hesiod and Homer, μάρτυς denotes a “witness”.¹⁹ The word cannot be derived from other Greek lexemes. Accordingly, to my knowledge there has been no attempt to go beyond the meaning of ‘witness’ in scrutinizing the etymological background of martyrdom.

However, the horizon of etymological observation may be pushed further back if one includes non-Greek material. For ultimately, the Greek word μάρτυς turns out to be a nomen agentis belonging to an Indo-European root **mer-*, which signifies “to remember”.²⁰ To this root belong, among other words, the Latin *memoria* and English *memory*. Accordingly, a μάρτυς in the deepest reconstructible sense would be “something/somebody that remembers or marks”.²¹

This rather distant outlook on the prehistory of μάρτυς within the Indo-European language family is no arbitrary or superfluous game of constructing connections, but it has some relevance for the history of martyrdom. For the relationship between martyrdom and memory, as reflected in the linguistic link between **mer-* and μάρτυς, has been felt from the earliest times to the present day. For instance, in the Later Empire, the Latin word *memoria* was used as a synonym of μαρτύριον (*martyrion*) in denoting a place of commemoration of a Christian martyr or a location of other religious significance.²² In addition, recent scholarship has established the creation of a collective or cultural *memory* as one of the central functions of martyrdom across times and cultures.²³

Anyway, the above linguistic and historic correlation is at best a marginal phenomenon, and there seems to be no positive proof that it was consciously realized during most of the Greek literary history from Homer to the New Testament and after.

To find positive proof of how the Christian understanding of martyrdom is to be linked to the general history of the Greek language, a glance at the usage of μάρτυς

¹⁹ See Liddell/Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1081, s.v.v. μάρτυς and μαρτυρέω; 1082, s.v. μάρτυρος, ὁ and 1082, s.v. μάρτυς (with citations, also from later authors). According to Liddell/Scott, μάρτυρ and μάρτυρος are dialectal forms, the standard form being μάρτυς, as generally given in the literature on martyrdom.

²⁰ Gemoll, *Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, p. 485, s.v. *martyros/martys*; Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 542, s.v. *Marter*.

²¹ Note that μάρτυς can be either feminine or masculine (see Liddell/Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1081f.).

²² Koch, *Martyrion*, 876f.

²³ See Castelli, *Martyrdom and memory* and Christian Szyska, *Martyrdom, A Drama of Foundation and Transition*, in Friederike Pannewick (ed.), *Martyrdom in Literature. Visions of Death and Meaningful Suffering in Europe and the Middle East from Antiquity to Modernity*, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 29–45, here p. 33.

in actual Greek texts that were written well before the creation of the Christian religion is helpful. The following quotation from Plato's "Theaitetos" reveals a tendency that can be considered an indirect preparation for the later Christian usage of the word μάρτυς – and this independently of any possible parallels to the "martyr-like" figure of Socrates, which will be discussed separately below. In fact, one need be careful to distinguish the manifold cultural strands that eventually determined the creation of Christian martyrdom. There were many layers of influence from the Hellenistic culture, and just because they all were somehow Greek, they must not be directly associated with each other.

The context of the "Theaitetos" passage is rather cheerful. Young Theaitetos has been elaborately praised by the other participant in the dialogue, the mathematician Theodoros. Still in a jocular fashion, Socrates responds to these compliments by affirming that Theodoros meant what he said, before finally joking about the possibility that the mathematician might in theory be forced to formally witness (*martyréō*) to his own statement, if doubts remain about the truthfulness of his utterings:

Οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος Θεοδώρου; ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀναδύου τὰ ὡμολλογημένα σκηπτόμενος παίζοντα λέγειν τάδε, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀναγκασθῇ μαρτυρεῖν – πάντως γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐπισκηψεταιὐτῷ – ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν ἔμμενε τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ.

Nein, so etwas liegt Theodoros nicht. Mache also keine Ausflüchte in dem, was du zugegeben hast, und schütze nicht vor, Theodoros habe nur im Scherz geredet. Sonst *sieht* dieser sich *gezwungen*, unter Eid auszusagen, und sicher wird niemand dagegen Einspruch erheben. Bleibe also unbesorgt bei deinem Zugeständnis.²⁴

I have chosen to represent the German translation by Ekkehard Martens, because his rendering of μαρτυρεῖν (literally, "to be a witness, to witness") by "unter Eid auszusagen" ("to testify under oath") is clearly indicative of the legal dimension of the word. As the tribunal is one of the core elements of both Christian and later forms of martyrdom,²⁵ the usage of μαρτυρεῖν in this passage may be connected to the later Christian usage. At least it is safe to say that the legal dimension of martyrdom was already prepared in the Classic Greek literature.

Equally important is the fact that in the above quote μαρτυρεῖν is syntactically dependent on the verb ἀναγκάζειν "to be forced": ἀναγκασθῇ μαρτυρεῖν. Even if the whole passage is a jovial and joyful address, the statements of which must not necessarily be understood literally, it is clear that in Socrates' words, "to witness" is not something that Theodoros would do entirely without compulsion. Thus, the

²⁴ Text and translation in Platon, *Theätet*, Ekkehard Martens (ed. and transl.), Stuttgart 1981, p. 14f. Emphases by M. H.

²⁵ According to Rakotonirina, *Märtyrer VIII*, col. 873, the tribunal and the execution are the two essential theatres of martyrdom. For later figurations in Islam cf. the fate of al-Hallāḡ as illustrated in Louis Massignon, *Akhbar al-Hallaj*. 3. ed., Paris 1957; Al-Halladsch, *Märtyrer der Gottesliebe*. Annemarie Schimmel (ed.). Cologne 1968; Husayn Mansūr Hallāj, *Dīwān*, Louis Massignon (transl.). Paris 1981 and Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallāj. Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, Herbert Mason (transl.), 4 vols., Princeton 1982. Cf. also Gerlitz, *Martyrium I*, p. 199.

text reveals μαρτυρεῖν to be something rather serious. Again, this usage of μαρτυρεῖν contains an interesting connection to the Christian history of martyrdom, because in the Christian and post-Christian (above all, Islamic) history of martyrdom, the two aspects of compulsion and testimony also frequently go hand in hand.²⁶ In Classical Antiquity, testifying could be tantamount to being tortured for those who, unlike the participants in Plato's "Theaitetos" dialogue, were not free citizens.²⁷ The juxtaposition of testimony and compulsion is particularly important to the history of martyrdom because martyrs frequently (but not automatically) belonged to socially marginalized or inferior groups. If one wants to understand the origins and development of martyrdom, we must be aware of this particular historical dimension of the words μάρτυς and μαρτυρεῖν. Concretely, we must not forget that these Greek terms in their pre-Christian conceptual history involved a higher degree of compulsion, up to the threat of violence against socially inferior witnesses, than we in our Post-Enlightenment understanding of the term "witness" may expect.

Historical prototypes of martyrs

Another strain of research into the origins of martyrdom besides the lexeme group around μάρτυς has concentrated on pre-Christian *figures* that resemble martyrs, even if technically they can not yet be called 'martyrs'. These figures may be either literary inventions or real existing historical figures, or both. As the difference between literary figurations and real historical personae does not play a role as regards their status as potential models of the martyrs, and because such a distinction is in many cases hard to determine – for instance, the 'real' historical Socrates we know is heavily entangled with Plato's literary portrait of him – the term "historical" will be used as an umbrella term for all figures that are discussed as precursors of martyrs in the literature.

Such precursors have been discovered in two main fields: Greek antiquity and Judaism. In addition, Peter Gerlitz draws a comparison between martyrdom and the veneration of heroes in the Gilgamesh epic, which was probably written down around the 12th century B.C., but whose origins lie much further back in history.²⁸ Even if veneration of heroes, especially dead ones, is related to the topic of martyrdom – in particular, as regards the continuation of ancient Greek and Roman forms of worship for heroes in Christian martyrdom²⁹ – the parallel drawn by Gerlitz is

²⁶ On Islamic martyrdom, see Walter Björkman, Şehîd, in: T. Yazıcı, et al. (eds.): *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 11, Istanbul 1970, p. 389–391; Etan Kohlberg, Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom. In: *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen* 60, 7 (1997): 279–307; Etan Kohlberg, Şahîd, in: C. E. Bosworth et al. (eds.): *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*. Vol. 9, Leiden 1997, col. 203–207 and Pannewick, *Martyrdom in Literature*.

²⁷ On torture and witnessing in the ancient Greek and Roman world cf. Robert Zagolla, *Im Namen der Wahrheit. Folter in Deutschland vom Mittelalter bis heute*. Berlin 2006, p. 21.

²⁸ Gerlitz, *Martyrium* I, p. 197.

²⁹ On the interaction between pre-Christian heroic cults and martyrdom see Henten, *The Martyrs and the contributions collected in Lamberigts/ van Deun, Martyrium and Henten/ Avemarie, Martyrdom and*

altogether quite vague and speculative, and it lacks the force of direct evidence. His singular thesis has found no echo in the secondary literature, as far as I know.

As for Greek Antiquity, there is broad agreement that “Hellenistic patterns”³⁰ have strongly influenced the Christian concept of martyrdom. Besides the antique tradition of hero veneration already mentioned, these patterns are comprised of Greek philosophers. The ultimate ancient Greek figure who has been claimed as a precursor of the Christian martyrs is Socrates. His death is credited as being a testimony for the truth he believed in.³¹ In the shape of voluntary death, faith, truth and witnessing central elements of Christian martyrdom are already present in his fate. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that this figuration is not yet associated with the word family of *mártys/martyrion* in the writings of Plato.³² Therefore, there is a clear breach in the philological tradition, which separates such figurations of Socrates from the Christian martyrs. If the figure of Socrates did indeed have an impact on the later development of martyrdom, which is fairly likely given the universal familiarity with and veneration of him in Antiquity, this impact was, at least at the beginning, dissociated from the word history of μάρτυς, which we have been looking at above. Of course, this does not exclude that these two particular strands of the prehistory of martyrdom later became mutually intertwined. In the discussion about the Book of Job we will learn about some concrete examples of the complexity with which the various sources of martyrdom are interrelated, sometimes even reaching the point of being obscure. On the whole, the inclusion of Socrates in the prehistory of martyrdom is still somewhat speculative.

In contrast, it is beyond any speculation and has been firmly established that Christian martyrdom displays influence from the Stoa philosophy. In particular, Epiktetos’ (ca. A.D. 50–138) understanding of the term *mártys* has been demonstrated to have “structural relationship with the Christian conception of the martyr”.³³ Equally important in this context is Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B. C. – A. D. 65). He not only developed Stoic ideals such as *tranquillitas animi* / ἄταραξία, but also gave a personal example of a heroic philosopher’s suicide. If a link between the death of Socrates, the antique heroic cults, and martyrdom is to be upheld, it is probably via the Stoic philosophers’ attitude towards death, of which Seneca is both a prominent practical example and a theorist. This is particularly true as the direct influence of

Noble Death. Cf. also Jan Mikrut, *Die christlichen Märtyrer des Nationalsozialismus und Totalitarismus in Mitteleuropa 1938–1945*, Vienna 2005, p. 27. However, Mikrut exaggerates the importance of Greek veneration of heroes for martyrdom (see his statement “Das Martyrium war schon bei den Griechen und im Alten Testament bekannt.”).

³⁰ “Hellenistische Muster” (Gerlitz, *Martyrium I*, p. 197).

³¹ See Gerlitz, *Martyrium I*, p. 197: “der Philosoph [i.e. Socrates – M.H.] bezeugte im Leben wie im Sterben die Wahrheit dessen, was er lehrte”.

³² Gerlitz, *Martyrium I*, p. 197.

³³ “Formale Verwandtschaft zur christlichen Anschauung vom Märtyrer” (Gerlitz, *Martyrium I*, p. 197). The expression “formale Verwandtschaft” is ambiguous, as it can indicate an outward similarity as well as a structural congruence.

Epiktetos and Seneca on the development of early Christianity has been amply documented.³⁴

The pre-Christian Greek influence on martyrdom can be summarized as consisting of two areas of distinct cultural influence – the cult of heroes and philosophy – which nonetheless converge in certain figures, such as Socrates or Seneca. A similar convergence can also be observed in Christian martyrdom, which at the same time contains the elements of action and of theoretic reflection, (pre)meditation and rationalization. Considering this, not only certain features of martyrdom are already discernible in the pre-Christian era, but their modes of combination and association prefigure later developments.

Concerning the roots of martyrdom in *Jewish* history, several examples are mentioned in the research literature.³⁵ Of particular importance is the story about the three Jews who refuse to worship the gods of Nabuchodonosor and are consequently thrown into a hot furnace, which, however, miraculously does not harm them (Dan. 3: 12–29). This narrative already contains several central elements of mainstream early Christian and later martyrdom narratives, such as public confession of faith, persecution, torture and violent death, but also spiritual/ transcendent triumph. Note that the element of torture is a new characteristic in the Jewish tradition, as compared to the absence or underemphasising of torture in the Hellenistic patterns quoted above.

Other important Jewish figures who are interpreted as forerunners of Christian martyrdom are the Maccabees, who were leaders in the revolt against the Seleucid ruler Antiochos IV Epiphanes between 175 and 164 B.C.³⁶ Using the term “martyrdom” anachronistically, Ephraim Kanarfogel even refers to “Jewish mass martyrdom” as having occurred during this insurrection.³⁷ Those Jews preferred death over obedience to the anti-Jewish legislation of the ruler, which is an instance of *le-qiddush hash-shem* or *‘al-qiddush hash-shem* (“for the sake of the sanctification of the name of god”), which allows Jews to kill themselves if they would otherwise be forced to violate the commandments of the Lord, e.g. by committing idolatry.³⁸ The events during the rule of Antiochos IV Epiphanes are part of the Fourth Book of the Maccabees.³⁹

³⁴ See Paul Berry, *Correspondence between Paul and Seneca: AD 61–65*. Lewiston etc. 1999; Gerard Boter, *The “Encheiridion” of Epictetus and its three Christian adaptations: transmission and critical editions*. Leiden etc.: 1999; Joël Schmidt, *L’apôtre et le philosophe: Saint Paul et Sénèque, une amitié spirituelle*, Paris 2000 and Lincoln E. Galloway, *Freedom in the Gospel: Paul’s exemplum in 1 Cor 9 in conversation with the discourses of Epictetus and Philo*. Leuven etc. 2004. See also Manfred Fuhrmann, *Seneca und Kaiser Nero: eine Biographie*, Berlin 1997; Pasqua Colafrancesco, *Dalla vita alla morte: il destino delle Parche (da Catullo a Seneca)*, Bari 2004 on Seneca, and Arthur Bodson, *La morale sociale des derniers stoïciens, Sénèque, Épictète et Marc Aurèle*. Liège 1967 on Seneca, Epiktetos and the late Stoa in general.

³⁵ See Kanarfogel, *Martyrium II*; Mikrut, *Christliche Märtyrer*, p. 24.

³⁶ On martyrdom in the Books of the Maccabees, see Hermann Spickermann, *Martyrium und die Vernunft des Glaubens. Theologie als Philosophie im vierten Makkabäerbuch*. Göttingen 2002, particularly 9ff.

³⁷ Kanarfogel, *Martyrium II*, col. 203.

³⁸ On *le-qiddush hash-shem/ ‘al-qiddush hash-shem* see Kanarfogel, *Martyrium II*, col. 203.

³⁹ Kanarfogel, *Martyrium II*, col. 203.

Both the narrative from the Book of Daniel and the one related in the Book of the Maccabees prove that historical precursors of martyrs have entered the Scriptures before the creation of the Christian faith.⁴⁰ This adds plausibility to the theory that the use of μάρτυς in the Septuagint – in which all four Books of the Maccabees are included⁴¹ – prepared the Christian use of the term. This theory will be developed in the following section.

The preparation of martyrdom in the Book of Job

As we have seen above, some figures from the pre-Christian Jewish history show considerable similarity to martyrs and are therefore regarded as martyrological prototypes. We also know that these figures did not only exist as historical data, but are reflected in the *scriptures* of the Old Testament, notably the Books of Daniel and the Maccabees. However, the parallels between the Old Testament and the subsequent martyr figures of Christianity extend even further, i.e. onto the *terminological* level. That is, in addition to the semantic substance which μάρτυς had inherited from the non-Abrahamitic Greek tradition the word acquired a great deal from Jewish Old Testament sources, too. Given the parental relationship between the Jewish and Christian cultures and the ubiquitous references in the New Testament to the scriptures of the Old Testament, this Jewish imprint on the Christian terminology of martyrdom is perhaps even more important than the non-Abrahamitic Greek and Roman influence sketched above.

The most crucial parallel between the use of the term μάρτυς in the Old Testament and the later Christian terminology is the fact that this legal term is integrated into a religious discourse. In his despair about his fate and his mockers, Job implores the Lord (Job 17: 1–3):

My spirit is consumed, my days are extinct, the grave is ready for me. Surely there are mockers with me, and mine eye abideth in their provocation. Give now a pledge (שִׁמְה־נָּה, *simā-nā*), be surety for me with Thyself (עֲרַבְנִי עִמָּךְ, 'arbeni 'imakh); who else is there that will strike hands with me?⁴²

The Hebrew imperative forms שִׁמְה־נָּה “give now a pledge” (literally, “put down”) and עֲרַבְנִי עִמָּךְ “be surety for me with Thyself” both clearly belong to the legal vocabulary.⁴³ The idea in this text is that God shall create somebody or something – the

⁴⁰ In addition to these, Mikrut, *Christliche Märtyrer*, p. 27 quotes Old Testament prophets as examples of “martyrdom” (“*Martyrium*”), but without specifying any names.

⁴¹ See *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. 2 vols., Alfred Rahlfs (ed.), Stuttgart 1979, vol. 1.

⁴² English translation and Hebrew quotes from the Masoretic text are from: *A Hebrew–English Bible according to the Masoretic text* and the JPS 1917 edition. In: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt2718.htm>, accessed November 16, 2006. Cf. Luther’s translation, based on the Masoretic text, in *Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Nach der deutschen Übersetzung Martin Luthers*. Stuttgart 1969, p. 586. The Septuagint has a very different text, see *Septuaginta*. Vol. 2, p. 299.

⁴³ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Frants Buhl (ed.), Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg 1962, p. 614f., s.v. 'rb (here p. 615) explicitly states the legal meaning

difference cannot be told, because the text uses two *verbal* morphemes – who or which will act as a quasi-legal representative of Job before God. There is an evident paradox in this idea if one takes the legal imagery seriously. For God appears both as the One who pleads and the One before whom something is pleaded. However, this paradox may be resolved against the backdrop of the highly emotional tone of Job's words. In his utter despair, he either ignores this contradiction, considers it insignificant or, what seems most likely, even uses it as a hyperbole to emphasize his distress: Job makes himself appear in such a helpless situation that he even begins to demand absurd things from God.

How this inclusion of legal vocabulary into a revealed text relates to the conceptual history of μάρτυς can be seen in the Septuagint translation of another passage of the Book of Job (16: 19), which precedes the above by only six verses:

Καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὁ μάρτυς μου, ὁ δὲ συνίστωρ μου ὁ ἐνύψιτοις.⁴⁴

And now look: in Heaven is my *witness* (μάρτυς), and my *attestor* (συνίστωρ) is in the heights.⁴⁵

We see that in the Greek text of Job 16: 19 the word μάρτυς itself appears (which had not been the case in 17: 1–3, for the reason indicated in footnote 40). This means that this testimony can legitimately be directly included in the conceptual history of the term martyr. In Job 16: 19, the word μάρτυς is syntactically (i.e., paratactically, asyndetically) coordinated with συνίστωρ. Both expressions are legal termini technici and near synonyms with the meaning of “witness”.⁴⁶ A look

of 'arbeni 'imakh by translating the Kal forms by “verpfänden, als Pfand hingeben” and “Bürgschaft leisten” (with *accusativus personae*). Cf. also the indications for similar uses of the Kal of 'rb in the Old Testament given in Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 614f., s.v. 'rb. On the legal meaning of *simā-na* see Karl Budde, *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament. Abth. 2.: Die poetischen Bücher. 1: das Buch Hiob*. Nowack, Wilhelm et al. (eds.), Göttingen 1896, p. 88. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Martin Tremel (Berlin, London) for providing this citation. I am also indebted to Helen Przibilla M. A. (Berlin) for her invaluable comments on the Hebrew texts quoted in this chapter.

⁴⁴ Greek text in *Septuaginta*. Vol. 2., p. 299 and La Septante. In: http://ba.21.free.fr/septuaginta/job/job_16.html, accessed November 16, 2006. Emphases by M. H.

⁴⁵ Translation and emphases by M. H. I use my own translation, because there are differences among the existing translations. Close in meaning to the original text seems to be Luther's German translation (“Siehe, auch jetzt noch ist mein Zeuge im Himmel, und mein Fürsprecher in der Höhe”, Die Bibel 1969, p. 586). The translations given in the two online sources from which I have drawn the Hebrew texts deviate from the original: “Even now, behold, my Witness is in heaven, and He that testifieth of me is on high” (*A Hebrew–English Bible according to the Masoretic text and the JPS 1917 edition*. In: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt2716.htm>, accessed November 16, 2006) and (“J'ai maintenant mon confident au ciel; le confident de mes pensées est au plus haut des cieux”, La Septante. In: http://ba.21.free.fr/septuaginta/job/job_16.html (accessed November 16, 2006).

⁴⁶ The legal meaning of Greek συνίστωρ as “witness” is fixed from the end of the fifth century B.C. (Sophokles, Thukydides) onward, see Liddell/ Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon*, p. 1719, s.v. συνίστωρ. See also W. Pape, *Griechisch–deutsches Handwörterbuch*. 2 vols., Graz 1954, vol. 2, p. 1027, s.v. συνίστωρ, who indicates a testimony from Polybios in which συνίστωρ and μάρτυς are used in parallel (syntactically connected by καί). The original sense of συνίστωρ is “a person who shares knowledge with another”, hence the other attested old meaning of “privy to a crime or other act” (Liddell/ Scott, *Greek–English*

at the Masoretic version of 16: 19 reveals that this is true for the Hebrew text, too.

גם-עתה הנה-בשמים עדי וְשֹׁהֵדִי בְּמִרְוִימִים⁴⁷

Here, μάρτυς μου corresponds to עֲדִי ('*edi*) and συνίσταω μου to שֹׁהֵדִי (*sah^adi*). In strict parallel to the Septuagint translation, each of the Hebrew expressions has the lexical meaning "my witness". The use of the terms for 'witness' (מָרְדֵּךְ, שֹׁהֵדִי, *⁴⁸שֹׁהֵד and עֲדִי) in 16: 19 belongs to the same register as that of שִׁמְה־נָּה and עֲרֵבְנִי עִמָּךְ in 17: 1–3, as all of them are legal terms which are inscribed into a theological context. Job says that his "witness" – meaning the Lord – is in Heaven.

Incidentally, Luther translated שֹׁהֵדִי/ συνίσταω μου with a different term: "mein Fürsprecher" ("my intercessor").⁴⁹ German *Fürsprecher* has both a legal and a more general meaning. Even if it is not evident how Luther's translation by "intercessor" relates to the lexical meaning of the words שֹׁהֵדִי/ συνίσταω μου, it offers a very plausible interpretation. For the nearer context of this citation (Job 16: 18–22) presents us a Job in despair about his situation on earth, but hoping that "He would set aright a man contending with God, as a son of man setteth aright his neighbour!"⁵⁰ That is, in contrast to the complete hopelessness and unhappiness of his situation down on earth, Job still does not give up the possibility of a heavenly intervention or intercession. The fact that intercession, independent of the vocabulary used, plays *de facto* a role in this passage is quite noteworthy for the general cultural history of martyrdom. For from the beginning of the Christian era onward, the notion of intercession will be tightly bound up with the figuration of the martyr, in particular in the Muslim tradition. Is it a coincidence that the Arabic word for martyr (*šahīd*) etymologically belongs to the same root as the Hebrew (< Aramaic) word שֹׁהֵד translated by Luther as "intercessor"? Or could the great importance that the Muslim tradition later put on the intercession (Arabic : *šafā'a*) of the martyrs with God⁵¹ be in some way historically linked to this passage? The intercession of the Muslim martyrs with Allah has an obvious parallel in the role of the μάρτυς/συνίσταω/*שֹׁהֵדִי/ עֲדִי of the Book of Job.

If we take Job 16: 19 and 17: 1–3 together, another interesting possibility of interpretation arises, even if it is somewhat speculative. This rests on the hypothesis that the paradoxical personal structure in 17: 1–3 (see p. 15) is also applicable to the term

Lexicon, p. 1719, s.v. συνίσταω). The Masoretic correspondences of course suggest that in Job 16: 19 the meaning 'witness' is meant. Cf. also the discussion about συνίσταω below.

⁴⁷ *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. 5th ed. K. Elliger, K./ W. Rudolph (eds.). Stuttgart 1997, p. 1244.

⁴⁸ As Job 16: 19 seems to be the only testimony for this word, it is only attested in the suffixed form שֹׁהֵדִי. Thus, the absolutus *שֹׁהֵד is a reconstructed form (see Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 780, s.v. *שֹׁהֵד).

⁴⁹ *Die Bibel* 1969, p. 586.

⁵⁰ *A Hebrew–English Bible according to the Masoretic text and the JPS 1917 edition*. In: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt2716.htm> (accessed November 23, 2006).

⁵¹ On the martyr's *šafā'a* in Islam, see Björkman, *Šahīd*, p. 390; Kohlberg, *Shahīd*, col. 204. Cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom*.

μάρτυς in the Septuagint translation of 16: 19. Even if this is not directly proven by the wording of the text, it is a plausible interpretation, as the two passages are closely linked and there is no indication that Job's addressee would have changed from 16: 19 until 17: 3. If the paradoxical personal constellation was accepted as being applicable to μάρτυς, another parallel between the book of Job and the Christian – and even Islamic – martyr figurations would become manifest. Compare John 8: 14, where Jesus speaks about “witnessing” (μαρτυρία) about himself, and John 8: 18, where the verb μαρτυρεῖν is simultaneously applied to the Father and to Jesus himself. In particular, in John 8: 18 the personal constellation is similar to Job 17: 3, with a witness being present close to God (which in John is identified as Jesus, whereas the identification is left vague in the Book of Job). As to the Koran, in it Allah is qualified as a “witness” (*ṣahīd*, the translation and etymological cognate of *שֹׁהֵד)⁵² and, by inference, the term also applies to those killed fighting for him, i.e. the martyrs.⁵³ Could it be that the peculiar flexibility of the term “witness” as regards its grammatical referents in the Christian and Muslim tradition were related to Job 16: 19 – 17: 3?

There are other examples of the use of legal terms in describing Job's relationship to the Lord in the Book of Job. In 19: 25 Job speaks of God as גֹּאֲלִי (*go^ali*)⁵⁴ “my Redeemer”.⁵⁵ The translation by “Redeemer” with its Christological associations is somewhat misleading,⁵⁶ as גֹּאֲלִי is not a soteriological term but, again, one taken from the legal sphere.⁵⁷ Job 19: 25 continues the legal use of vocabulary begun in 16: 19 and 17: 1–3.

As has been demonstrated initially, the transfer of legal terminology into the divine sphere is a pivotal feature also of Christian martyrdom. Given the use of identical vocabulary (μάρτυς) both in the Septuagint and in the New Testament (and subsequent Christian literature), it is plausible to assume that the Septuagint translation of Job must be regarded as part of the development of the Christian notion of martyrdom. And as the Septuagint literally agrees with the Masoretic text in 17: 1–3, it must be acknowledged that there was not only agreement between the Septuagint and the Christian texts, but also between these and the Hebrew Masoretic text.

The prefiguration of the martyr in the Book of Job is extremely meaningful not only for the history of martyrdom. It also sheds light on the general process of Christianity's development away from its Jewish sources. How the relationship between figurations in the Book of Job relate to their Christian interpretations can be illus-

⁵² See, for instance Koran 3: 98 and 4: 79.

⁵³ See Koran 3: 169.

⁵⁴ *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, p. 1247.

⁵⁵ *A Hebrew–English Bible according to the Masoretic text and the JPS 1917 edition*. In: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt2719.htm> (accessed November 23, 2006). The capital of “Redeemer” is in the original.

⁵⁶ As is Luther's translation with “Erlöser” (cf. *Die Bibel* 1969, p. 588).

⁵⁷ See Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 123f., s.v. *g'li* and cf. the critical remarks in the editor's footnote in *Die Bibel* 1969, p. 588.

trated by involving another figure from the Book of Job: Satan. For also in his case the interaction between the divine (the Lord) and earthly spheres (here: Job) is illustrated by means of a legal figure, this time that of the accuser. For this is the role Satan regularly plays in the Old Testament. It is already inscribed in his name, as “accuser” is one of the original meanings of the Hebrew name of Satan (שָׂטָן, *Satan*), and equally of the verbal root to which it belongs.⁵⁸ In chapters 1 and 2 of Job, Satan does exactly the opposite of Job’s μάρτυς/συνίστωρ activity in 16: 19: He denigrates Job in front of the Lord by insinuating that Job’s piety (praised in Job 1: 1ff.) in reality is neither profound nor pure.⁵⁹ Despite this negative activity of the Satan, there are similarities between him and the μάρτυς/συνίστωρ mentioned in 16: 19. For both are imagined as interlocutors with God, who are close to (or, in the case of the μάρτυς/συνίστωρ perhaps even identical with) Him, and both act in a similar way as legal representatives would before a court. The difference lies in their speaking in favour of or against Man.

Even more explicit is the function of Satan as an accuser in the Book of Zechariah.⁶⁰ In Zech. 3: 2, we find “Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him”.⁶¹ The Hebrew word used for “to accuse” is again the *Ḳal* imperfect of the root *štn*, which gave Satan his name. The Septuagint translates this verb with ἀντικεισθαι “to be opposed”.⁶² In a similar way, the *Ḳal* of *štn* is also used in Psalm 109: 6.⁶³ It would be interesting to carry out a comparative study of the development of the opposing figures of the “witness”/μάρτυς and Satan from the Old to the New Testament. For not only do their origins display parallels, as can be seen in Job 1–2, 16: 9 and 17: 1–3, but they later on also acquire a comparable significance for the Christian religion, Satan being gradually transformed into the paramount personification of evil,⁶⁴ while the μάρτυς gains the status of an incarnation of the highest degree of sanctity. Both figures, μάρτυς and Satan, undergo a similar process of elaboration and extension from rather rudimentary Old Testament concepts to full-fledged and detailed personifications.

The Septuagint is a unique document of the cultural contact between the Jewish religion and the Hellenistic world. For this reason, there can be no doubt that the term μάρτυς in Job 16: 19 has both a Jewish and a Greek dimension. However, it seems hard to determine the exact proportions of these distinct cultural elements,

⁵⁸ See Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 782, s.v. *Štn* and *Satan*. Gesenius gives as meanings of the *Ḳal* of *Štn* “1. anfeinden, befehlen” and “2. durch Anklagen anfeinden, anklagen” (quoting Zech. 3: 1) and for Satan “1. Widersacher, Gegner” and “2. übermenschliches Wesen, das die Menschen schonungslos bei Gott anklagt” (quoting Zech. 3: 1–2 and Job 1: 6–8, 12 and 2: 1–4, 6.f.).

⁵⁹ Gustav Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*. Nördlingen 1987, p. 187.

⁶⁰ On Satan as accuser (“Ankläger”) in Zechariah see Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*. p. 189f.

⁶¹ *A Hebrew–English Bible according to the Masoretic text and the JPS 1917 edition*. In: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt2303.htm> (accessed November 23, 2006).

⁶² *Septuaginta*. Vol. 2., p. 547.

⁶³ *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, p. 1192. The Septuagint translates already nominally (διάβολος), see *Septuaginta* 1979. Vol. 2, p. 122 (the number of the psalm is 108 there).

⁶⁴ For the historical development of the Satan figure, see Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, which still seems to be the most comprehensive history of the Devil.

to locate the origins of the peculiar use of μάρτυς in the Book of Job or to establish whether it is to be ascribed to one or the other of the two cultures, or to both.

The dimensions of this problem can be understood if one recalls that some Hebrew (or Aramaic) text must have existed prior to the LXX translation, but that the Hebrew (Masoretic) text at our disposal today was fixed *after* the Septuagint. For according to the current *communis opinio*, the LXX translation project was realized between about 250 and 130 B.C., while the Masoretic text was completed in the first century A. D. The principles of text originality and historical sequence may therefore contradict each other, which means that we cannot with absolute certainty say whether the LXX or the Masorah is to be preferred as a historical source for our interpretation of the term μάρτυς. To a considerable degree, the difficulties of interpretation are also due to our merely fragmentary and half-legendary knowledge about the creation of the LXX, and in particular, due to the extremely complicated and obscure text history of the Book of Job.⁶⁵

A good example to illustrate the trickiness of interpreting the Septuagint against the background of the Masoretic text is the term συνίστωρ from Job 16: 9. In Classical Greek, the word has two principal meanings: “privy to a crime or other act” and “witness”.⁶⁶ As we have seen, the word συνίστωρ translates *יְהִי in the Masoretic text. As the latter is a *hapax legomenon* in the Old Testament, it is unclear whether or how it can be etymologized. Gesenius explains it to be an Aramaic loan,⁶⁷ and it is clearly linked to the Syriac and Arabic terms for “martyr” (*sahda* and *šahīd*). However, the etymology of its root remains unclear. In particular, it is unknown whether it could be regarded as a literal adaptation of the Greek συνίστωρ, which literally means “he who knows together with (somebody) or at the same time with (somebody)”.⁶⁸ Due to the obscure etymology of *יְהִי the question to ask here is whether the συνίστωρ merely is a translation of a word (*יְהִי) meaning “witness”, as suggests the parallelism μάρτυς/συνίστωρ – *יְהִי/ דַּע, or whether something of the original sense of the Greek word is important to the meaning of the verse.

This second alternative is not entirely implausible if one considers that in Sophocles’ “Philoktetos” the phrase ὡς θεοὶ ξυνίστορες “as the Gods are witnesses” occurs,⁶⁹ and in Thukydides’ work the invocation θεοὶ, ξυνίστορες ἔστε “you Gods, be witnesses!”⁷⁰ As these testimonies demonstrate, συνίστωρ may already transport the idea of an invocation of the Gods as witnesses long before the LXX.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Cf. Budde, *Handkommentar*, p. 88.

⁶⁶ See footnote 46.

⁶⁷ Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 780, s.v. *יְהִי.

⁶⁸ Pape, *Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*. Vol. 2, p. 1027, s.v. συνίστωρ.

⁶⁹ Text and translation quoted from Liddell/Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1719: s.v. συνίστωρ. Again, see also Pape, *Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*. Vol. 2, p. 2: 1027, s.v. συνίστωρ.

⁷⁰ Pape, *Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*. Vol. 2, p. 2: 1027, s.v. συνίστωρ.

⁷¹ Of course, it would be tempting to read the above discussion of συνίστωρ and μάρτυς against the conceptual history of the psychological terms *conscience* and *consciousness*, which in the end appear to

Thus, the use of this term in the translation of the Job story might well have been influenced by much older Greek patterns, in addition to the more general tendency towards the employment of legal terms in theological contexts discussed above. At present, the precise direction of the cultural influences between the Jewish and Greek spheres cannot be established, and it must be the object of future intensive scrutiny.

Conclusions

To sum up, the preceding reflections have demonstrated the development of the Greek word μάρτυς into a technical term for Christian martyrdom, which took place between approximately the end of the first and the end of the second century, to have been fed by various strands of cultural history. These can be listed as follows (with brief aide-mémoires in brackets):

- a) Greek and Roman law (μάρτυς = “witness”);
- b) the word history of Greek μάρτυς (IE **mer-*; Greek use of μάρτυς “witness”);
- c) the history of Greek philosophy (Socrates; ...; the Stoa: Epiktetos, Seneca);
- d) antique hero cult;
- e) Jewish heroes and insurgents (the Maccabees);
- f) Jewish Old Testament Scriptures (The Books of the Maccabees, Daniel, Job);
- g) the Septuagint.

However, a schematic listing of these influences is insufficient, as the interactions between them played a crucial role in the genesis of Christian martyrdom, as well. Important interactions took place, such as:

- between a) and c) (quote from “Theaitetos”);
- between a) and g) (example of συνίστωρ);
- between c) and d) and e) (figurations of Socrates and Seneca);
- between d), e) and f) (Maccabees);
- between f) and g) (see the discussion of the Book of Job).

All these interactions (plus many still to be discovered) contributed to the genesis of Christian martyrdom.

The results obtained in the present investigation reveal the intensive intertwinement between the Semitic and Greek words for “witness”. It remains to link them to

be related to συνίστωρ. This could only be the ambition of a separate investigation using widely different sources.

the history of martyrdom in the Christian era, in particular, as regards Islamic martyrdom. The Arabic word *šahīd*, with its obvious etymological and conceptual connection to the Book of Job, will no doubt be better understood. For the completion of the historical reconstruction of the Christian and Muslim history of martyrdom, material from Aramaic and Syriac sources will have to be included.

Fronting of the voiceless velar plosive in Persian

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*Overview**

The fronting of the voiceless velar plosive /k/¹ in Persian² has been described in several grammars. However, no complete study has been made of this phenomenon in different phonological environments. This article is an attempt to make a complete survey of the /k/ phoneme in Persian in different environments in order to establish allophonic rules for its pronunciation.

Previous studies

By ‘velar fronting’ we mean the phenomenon whereby a velar plosive is articulated further forward in the mouth (typically on the postpalate or rear of the hard palate) than is the case for a non-fronted velar (generally articulated on the soft palate). In many languages this may also involve palatalization, whereby the velar becomes a coronal consonant with a sibilant component, such as [tʃ], or acquires a secondary palatalization, such as [kʲ] (Guion 1996: 4).

The phenomenon of velar fronting before front vowels is noted in several descriptions of Persian. Salemann and Shukovski (1925: 5) note that both /k/ and /g/ are “schwach palatal”. Fouchecour (1957: 19) writes that /g/ and /k/ “ont un point d’articulation variable, sensible à l’antériorité ou à la postériorité de l’entourage vocalique”.

A slightly fuller description is found in Boyle (1966: 6) who writes that /k/ is “[p]alatalized in final position and before ā [probably a mistake for the central vowel /a/, in Boyle’s transcription represented with *a*, CJ], *e*, *i*, and *eĭ*” and that “/g/ is palatalized according to the same rule as /k/” (Boyle’s transcription; see also Lambton 1953: xvii for a similar statement; she specifies that final position may mean syllable-final or word-final). Meanwhile, Poljakov (1988: 87) states that so called ‘palatal consonants’ are pronounced as velar before the back vowels /a, o, u/,

* Many thanks are due to our patient language consultants in both Iran and the United Kingdom; and also to Dr. Pétur Helgason and Dr. Martin Barry for their helpful advice. Any remaining errors are our own responsibility.

¹ All the voiceless plosives, including /k/, are aspirated in Persian.

² The term “Persian” is here used for Modern New Persian. The dialect variant investigated here is that spoken in Iran (sometimes called Farsi, as opposed to Dari and Tajiki spoken in Afghanistan and Tajikistan respectively). The phonetic symbols here are those suggested by the International Phonetic Association (*Handbook* 1999: ix). Note that the words are represented the way they are pronounced in Persian, not necessarily the way they are written. A list of all Persian words cited, together with their English translations, is provided in Appendix B.

but that these consonants before the front and central /e/ and /a/ and especially before the close front vowel /i/ become palatalized. Windfuhr (1997: 681) makes the same observation, and adds that “[f]ronting is part of a major cross-linguistic isogloss that begins in central Iran and stretches across Azerbaijan and the Caucasus.”

Our analysis below seeks to develop the common generalization that velars tend to be fronted before front vowels (e.g. Guion 1996: 37) into a coherent set of principles for the fronting of /k/ in Persian, based on acoustic phonetic evidence from burst frequency and palatography data.

Methodology

Consultants and elicitation

The two main language consultants were male, mother-tongue Persian speakers: C1, aged 55, born in Esfahan but educated and brought up in Tehran; and C2, aged 36, born and brought up in Tehran. A list of 38 Persian words containing the phoneme /k/ in different phonological environments was elicited from each consultant in May 2006. Two tokens of each word were recorded using a condenser microphone, laptop computer and Audacity (v1.2.6) recording software.

Data from a number of other consultants was also elicited during February 2006 and October 2007 from students in their twenties at the University of Sistan and Baluchestan, Zahedan. Data from two main consultants was recorded (C3 and C4), both mother-tongue Persian speakers, along with some data from consultants who spoke local languages in addition to Persian. The data of one of these latter consultants (C5) is also provided below, along with the data from the four mother-tongue Persian speakers (C1 to C4). This data was recorded using a condenser microphone and Sony recording Walkman, then converted into digital format using Audacity recording software.

Acoustic analysis

Acoustic analysis (using Praat v4.6.15 software) was carried out in order to ascertain the burst frequency at the moment of the articulation of /k/ in each token. When the point of articulation of a velar moves further forward in the oral cavity, the size of the resonating chamber is reduced, resulting in a higher frequency. A comparison of the burst frequencies for the articulation of /k/ in different environments can thus be used to identify in which environments the plosive is fronted.³ For each token, approximately 5 milliseconds of the burst frequency was selected (Figure 1).

The spectral slice for this selection was then viewed, and the peak frequency noted in Hertz. A margin of error of ± 50 Hz was assumed, and data was rounded to the nearest 100Hz.

The researchers also noted their own auditory impressions of whether the /k/ in each token was fronted or not.

³ See Guion (1996: 39-47) for an overview of studies investigating the predominant spectral peaks of burst frequencies as a means to establishing degree of velar fronting.

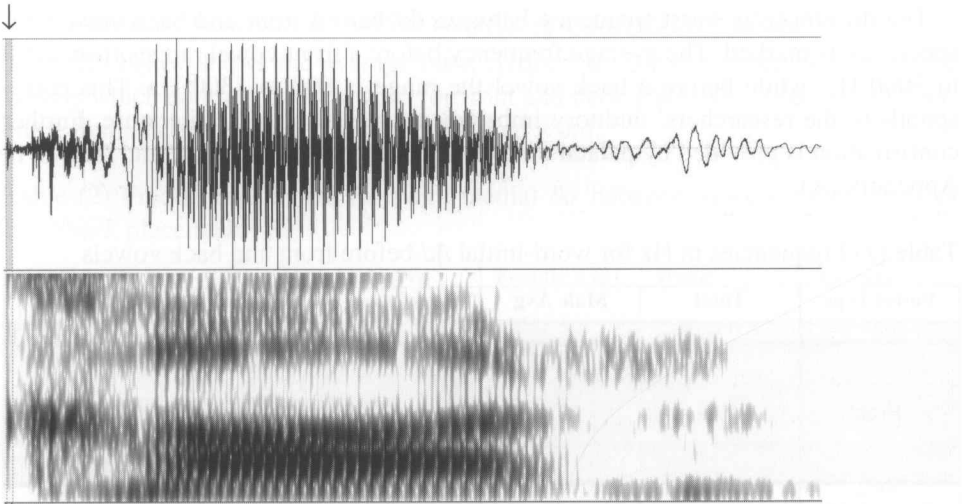


Figure 1: Waveform and spectrogram of /kac/ with 5ms of the burst frequency of /k/ indicated by the arrow.

Palatography

Palatographic analysis was conducted with consultant C1 on some Persian words containing /k/, in order to provide further physical confirmation of the range of fronting involved. A black contrast medium consisting of powdered charcoal and olive oil was painted onto the top surface of the speaker's tongue. He then pronounced the token once only. A flash photograph of the speaker's palate was taken using a Sony DSC P150 digital camera and a small mirror, which was inserted into the mouth.

Each picture resulted in an image showing the mark left on the upper palate through contact with the tongue. Lines were drawn on the picture connecting the anterior edges of the 2nd premolar and 2nd molar to delineate the boundaries of the front-palatal/mid-palatal and back-palatal/front-velar zones, following Butcher and Tabain (2004: 29) (see also Firth 1957: 151). These pictures are shown in Appendix A.

Results

The results confirmed that there is a significant contrast between fronted and non-fronted /k/ in different environments. /k/ is not fronted when immediately followed by a back vowel (u, o, a); but some fronting occurs in every other environment (word-finally, and before any consonant and the vowels i, e, a).

Word-initial position before front and back vowels

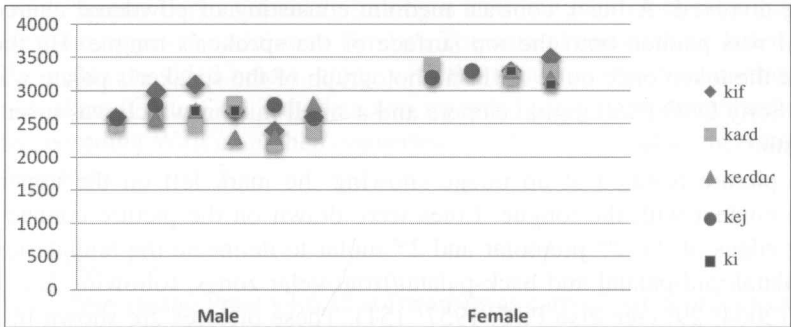
Table (1) below shows the average burst frequencies for word-initial /k/ before front and back vowels respectively, together with average frequencies by gender and by individual word.

The difference in burst frequency between /k/ before front and back vowels respectively is marked. The average frequency before a front vowel ranges from 2700 to 3000 Hz, while before a back vowel the range is 800 to 1300 Hz. This corresponds to the researchers’ auditory impressions, and also to the literature. Further confirmation is provided by palatal images, shown for the words /kif/ and /kaf/ in in Appendix (A).

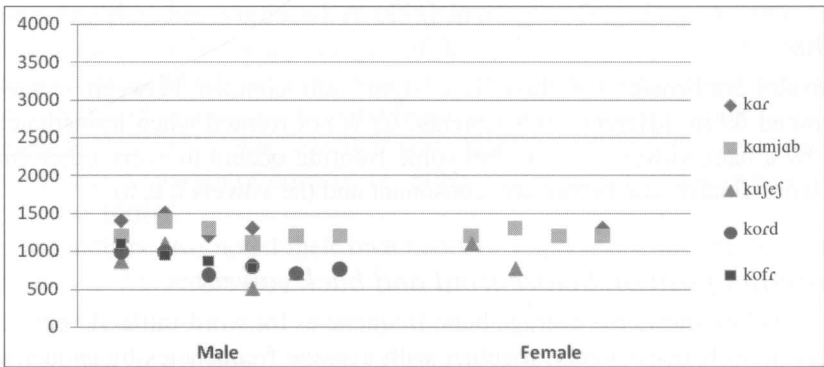
Table (1) Frequencies in Hz for word-initial /k/ before front and back vowels

Vowel Type	Total Average	Male Avg	Female Avg	Word	Average
_Front	2800	2600	3300	ki	3000
				kif	2900
				kej	2900
				kard	2800
				kerdar	2700
_Back	1100	1000	1200	kar	1300
				kamjab	1200
				kofr	900
				kord	800
				kufej	800

Graphs (1) and (2) provide a more detailed, visual breakdown of the data.



Graph (1) Burst frequencies in Hz for word-initial /k/ before front vowels



Graph (2) Burst frequencies in Hz for word-initial /k/ before back vowels

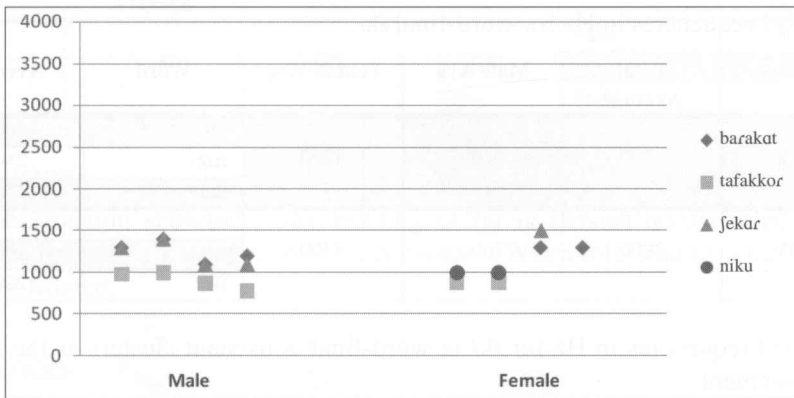
Word-medial position between vowels of contrasting place

Table (2) below shows the average burst frequencies for word-medial /k/ between vowels which contrast in each word for front and back placement, together with average frequencies by gender and by individual word.

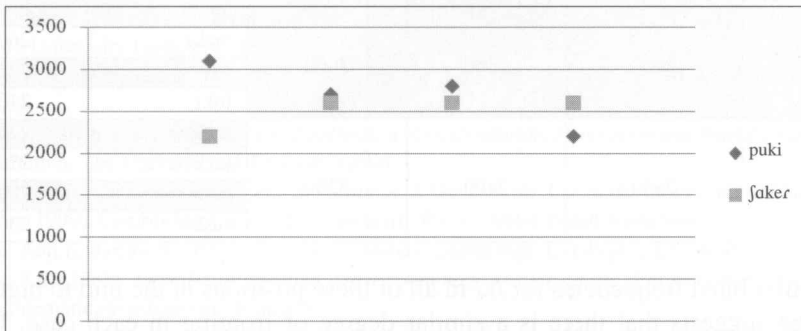
Table (2) Frequencies in Hz for word-medial /k/ between vowels contrasting for front/back placement

Vowel Type	Total Average	Male Avg	Female Avg	Word	Average
F_B	1100	1100	1100	barakat	1300
				jekar	1300
				niku	1000
				tafakkor	900
B_F	2600	2600	–	puki	2700
				ʃaker	2500

Graphs (3) and (4) present the full range of data:



Graph (3) Burst frequencies in Hz for word-medial /k/ between front and back vowels



Graph (4) Burst frequencies in Hz for word-medial /k/ between back and front vowels (male only)

Again differences between burst frequencies are significant, ranging from 900 to 1300 before back vowels and 2500 to 2700 before front vowels. Given that the respective ranges for /k/ in word-initial position before front and back vowels mirror these ranges extremely closely, it may be concluded that the fronting of /k/ in word-medial, inter-vocalic position is entirely dependent on the vowel that follows it, as is the case word-initially. The front-ness of the preceding vowel is immaterial.

Palatal images of the words /niku/ and /puki/ are provided in Appendix (A). The place of articulation of /k/ in the second word, where the following vowel is +front, is significantly further forward than in the first word (with a succeeding -front vowel).

Word-finally and in word-final consonant clusters

Tables (3) and (4) below show the average burst frequencies for /k/ word-finally after +front and -front vowels; and in word-final consonant clusters, as the first and as the second consonant in the cluster respectively:

Table (3) Frequencies in Hz for word-final /k/

Vowel Type	Total Average	Male Avg	Female Avg	Word	Average
BackV_	2700	2400	3200	tak	3000
				rok	2800
				puk	2500
FrontV_	2900	2600	3300	tak	2900
				jek	2900
				jik	2800

Table (4) Frequencies in Hz for /k/ in word-final consonant clusters as the first or second segment

Position	Total Average	Male Avg	Female Avg	Word	Average
_C	2400	2300	3000	hokm	2900
				makr	2600
				aks	2200
				ʃokr	2100
C_	2600	2400	3200	sabk	2700
				ʃerk	2700
				potk	2700
				susk	2300

The similar burst frequencies for /k/ in all of these positions in the mid to high 2000 Hz range suggests that there is a similar degree of fronting in each case. For /k/ word-finally this conclusion is supported by both the literature and the researchers' own auditory impressions. For /k/ as the first element in a word-final consonant cluster the literature is more ambiguous; a fact explained by the greater difficulty in

hearing fronting of the first element in a cluster. However, the burst frequencies for /k/ in this position are only slightly lower than for fronted /k/ word-finally, and much higher – at an average of 2400 Hz – than the range we would expect were it not fronted at all (800–1300 Hz). The palatal images for the words /sabk/ and /fekr/ (Appendix A) also suggest that /k/ is fronted to an equal degree whether it is the first or second segment in a word-final consonantal cluster.

Finally, it was necessary to investigate Poljakov's (1988: 128) claim that if the consonant cluster /nk/ follows the front and central vowels /i, e, a/, the whole cluster becomes palatal in pronunciation, whereas after the back vowels /ɑ, o, u/ the consonants are pronounced as velar. In this case we would expect to see a velar /k/ with no fronting in words such as /bank/, /tanker/ and /mankan/. However, table (5) below shows that in fact the burst frequencies of /k/ in these words is consistent with the same degree of fronting as the fronted /k/ discussed above in other environments.

Table (5) Frequencies in Hz for /k/ after back vowel and nasal

Position	Total Average	Male Avg	Female Avg	Word	Average
BN_	3000	2900	3100	bank	3000
				tanker	3100
				mankan	2900

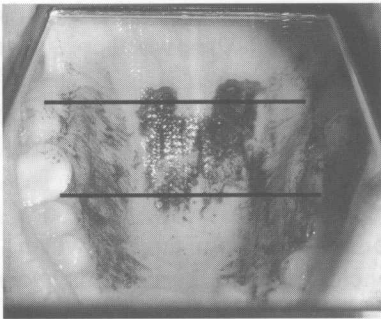
Conclusions

This investigation shows that the fronting of /k/ in Persian occurs word-finally, and when preceding a front vowel or a consonant. When followed by a back vowel /k/ is not fronted.

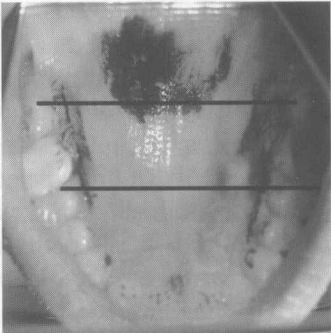
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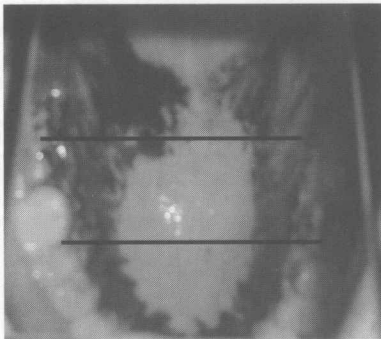
Appendix A: Palatographic Analysis



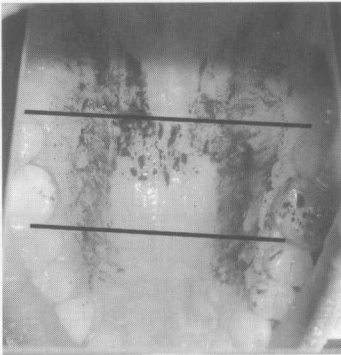
kif



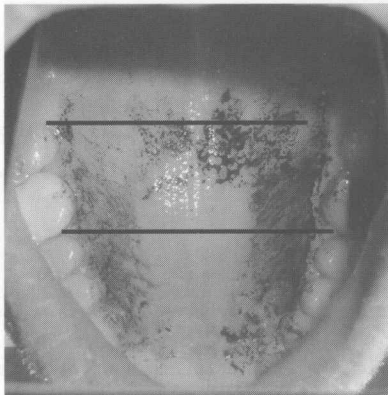
kaf



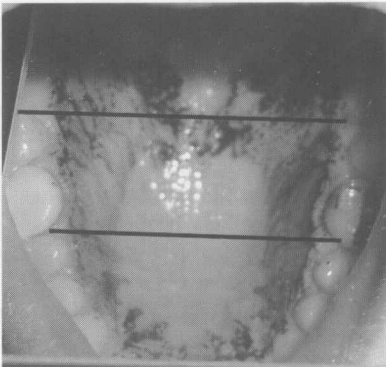
niku



puki



sabk



fekr

Appendix B: List of Persian words cited

In all words cited, stress falls on the final syllable.

aks	picture, photograph, image
bank	bank
barakat	blessings
hokm	command, sentence, verdict
kaf	name of the letter 'k'
kamjab	successful, prosperous
kar	work
kard	he/she/it did
kerdar	act, deed, manner
kej	when
ki	who
kif	purse, bag, briefcase
kofr	blasphemy
kord	Kurd
kuſeſ	effort, attempt, struggle
mankan	mannequin, fashion model
makr	trick, deceit
niku	good
potk	sledge, smith's hammer
puk	hollow, empty
puki	hollowness, emptiness
rok	frank, straightforward, sincere
sabk	method, style, manner
susk	cockroach
ſaker	thankful
ſekar	hunting, prey, game
ſerk	polytheism
ſik	stylish, fashionable
ſokr	gratitude, thanks (to God)
tak	vine
tanker	tanker
tafakkor	thought, reflection
tak	single, unique
jek	one

Religious Instruction among the Shī'ites of Jabal 'Āmil (Southern Lebanon 1370–1780)

Khalid Sindawi

Emek Yezreel

There can be no doubt that the political, economic and social situation had a considerable effect on the educational system among the Shī'ites of Jabal 'Āmil during the period in question. Certainly the political situation played an important role in the facilitation of educational, cultural and social activities, while economic considerations had an effect on education both with respect to the possibilities for self-study by students and in the establishment and financing of educational institutions, since paying for the costs of education is considered by Shī'ites as one of the tasks of their society. Social factors, too, play a certain role; as we shall see, family affiliation of students and teachers as well as the division into social classes affected education.

In the following pages we shall clarify in some detail the effect of political, economic and social factors on instruction and education in the Jabal 'Āmil region. First, however, let us present some background information concerning the region itself.

A historical and geographical survey of Jabal 'Āmil

Jabal 'Āmil is the rather small region known today as Southern Lebanon. Its southern boundary is formed by Nahal Keziv, which flows from north of the town of Tarshiha westward, and empties into the Mediterranean Sea south of the village of al-Zīb.¹ Its northern boundary is the Awwalī River, which empties into the Mediterranean north of Sidon. Its western boundary is the Mediterranean, and in the east its boundary follows Nahal Snir in the Ḥūla Valley, to the village of al-Baṣṣa. One scholar defines the region as follows: “When we speak of Jabal 'Āmil from a geographical point of view we refer to that region of the Levant whose historical boundary lies between the Awwalī River, Jizzīn and Mashghara to the north, Marj'ayūn, Bānyās and the Ḥūla to the east, al-Zīb, Wādī Qarn, Sa'sa' in Palestine and Wādī Fāra to the south, and which today constitutes the province of Southern Lebanon”.² Some historians claim a connection between Jabal 'Āmil or 'Āmila and the tribe of one of the ten children of Sheba, who emigrated to the Levant after the flood of al-'Arim and settled in the vicinity of Damascus, in an area known as Jabal 'Āmil to this day.

It is at any rate almost universally agreed that the inhabitants of Jabal 'Āmil origi-

¹ Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 48.

² Nūr al-Dīn, *Muṭāraḥāt shī'riyya fī Jabal 'Āmil*, 17.

nally came from Yemen.³ Lammens⁴ states that the Mitwālīs, who live in Syria, joined Twelver Shī'ism but that they are original inhabitants of Syria, who did not intermingle with other, foreign elements.

During the Ottoman period the Jabal 'Āmil region was known as "the land of Bishāra", after a person of that name,⁵ and later as "the land of the Mitwālīs",⁶ which was the word used to refer to the Shī'ites there. Most scholars agree that the name Jabal 'Āmil is derived from the Yemeni tribe of 'Āmila b. Sabā.⁷ Jabal 'Āmil used to be divided into eight counties (*nāhiya*, *muqāṭa'a*), each consisting of a number of villages ruled by a single governor. The four southern counties were Jabal Hūnīn, county seat Bint Jubayl; Jabal Tibnīn, county seat Tibnīn; Qānā Shore, county seat Qānā; and Ma'raka Shore, county seat Tyre. The four northern counties were Shaqīf, county seat al-Nabaṭiyya; al-Shawmar, county seat the base of Anṣār; al-Tuffāḥ, county seat Jab'; and Jizzīn, county seat Jizzīn.⁸ The total area of the region is three-thousand km². The great majority of the populace belongs to Twelver Shī'ism, with small Sunnī and Christian minorities.

In Ottoman times the Metwālīs in Jabal 'Āmil were divided into three large groups: the Banū Ṣa'b in the county of Shaqīf; the Banū Munkar in the counties of Shawmar and al-Tuffāḥ; and the Banū 'Alī al-Ṣaghīr in the "land of Bishāra". They enjoyed a great deal of autonomy under their own sheikhs. The only sign of their subservience to the Sublime Porte consisted in some annual taxes.⁹

As happened in the other provinces of Syria, Jabal 'Āmil came under the Ottoman tax-farming system; it was ruled by a long series of local feudal families, some of whom owed their loyalty directly to the Emir of Mt. Lebanon Province, whether of the Ma'in or the Shihāb clan; others were subordinate to the governor of Damascus

³ Āl Ṣafā, *Ta'riḫ Jabal 'Āmil*, 33–49.

⁴ Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, 2:182, 2:184.

⁵ Āl Ṣafā, *Ta'riḫ Jabal 'Āmil*, 24.

⁶ According to Aḥmad Ridā this word (in Arabic *matāwila*, singular *mutawālī*) has been used to refer to the Shī'ites of Jabal 'Āmil, the Biqā' Valley and Kisrawān since the end of the seventeenth century CE (see Aḥmad Ridā, "al-Matāwila aw al-shī'a fī Jabal 'Āmil", 425ff.). The origin of the name goes back to epithets by which the various feuding ethnic and regional groups in the area were known. Each such group depended for its survival during calamities on the strength of its members. The Shī'ites were given this name because of their zeal (for details see: al-Zayn, *lil-Baḥṭh 'an tārikhinā*, 481). The word itself is connected to the loyalty (*walā'*) of Shī'ites to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his descendants. According to Muḥsin al-Amīn the specific form *mutawālī* originated in a Shī'ite battle cry: *mut waliyyan li-'Alī* (literally: Die in loyalty to 'Alī). This explanation is mentioned by Muḥammad 'Abdu, who offers another one as well: Shī'ites attended (*tawallū*) to 'Alī and his sons (see: al-Amīn, *Khīṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 67). Elsewhere he explains as follows: "The word *al-mutawālī* is a present participle of the verb *tawālā*, derived from the word *wilā'*, 'loyalty', in reference to their love for their masters, the Prophet's family" (idem, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 1:20). The latter is the explanation given by Aḥmad Ridā, according to Muḥsin al-Amīn, in *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām* (see: 'Alī, *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām*, 251–156). Recently Amir-Moezzi has shown that in the early days of Islam the name *mutawallī al-a'imma* was given to faithful Shī'ites (for details see: Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin*, 74, n. 151; Mervin, *Ḥarakat al-iṣlāḥ al-shī'i*, 31–32; Aḥmad Ridā, "al-Matāwila aw al-shī'a fī Jabal 'Āmil", 425ff.; Ende, "Mutawālī", 780–781; 'Alī, *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6:252–253; al-Faqīh, *Jabal 'Āmil fī al-tārikh*, 31).

⁷ Sa'd, *Jabal 'Āmil bayna al-atrāk wal-faransiyyīn*, 15.

⁸ For more details on the divisions within Jabal 'Āmil, see: al-Amīn, *Khīṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 131–135.

⁹ See: al-Ṣabbāgh, *Tārikh al-shaykh Ṣāḥir al-'Umar*, 11; al-'Awra, *Tārikh wilāyat Sulaymān Bāshā al-'adl*, 111; Charles, *Les Echelles de Syrie et de Palestine*, 207.

or the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem or Acre. The feudal system in the region was in force from 1516 CE to 1865, with the exception of a short interlude during Ibrāhīm Pa-sha's campaign to Syria in 1831.¹⁰

The political situation

The geographical location of Jabal ʿĀmil, the religious affiliation of its inhabitants, and their political views made the region a fertile source of wars, conflicts, and political and intellectual innovation. Geographically it connected the center of government in Mt. Lebanon and the more distant provinces ranging from Palestine, with its important city of Acre, to Sidon and Tyre. It also connected the Biqāʿ Valley and Wādī al-Taym, which descends down to the seashore, the gateway to the outside world.

The fact that the local inhabitants belonged to a different religious community often put them on a direct collision course with the authorities. The Shīʿite inhabitants of Jabal ʿĀmil, who opposed the authorities and fought them politically and militarily, were put under economic pressure. The region, like all the provinces of Syria, came under the rule of the Mamluks, who built their state on the ruins of the Ayyubid regime and extended their rule over the whole area, which had known considerable political, demographic and religious upheavals. Before their time, too, the rulers of the Jabal ʿĀmil region had a different religious and social background than the local inhabitants.

Very little is known of the region before the sixth century AH (the twelfth century CE), except that the area was under the feudal rule of local families whose authority came directly from the central government. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century it was alternately under the rule of Bānyās, the county seat of Wādī al-Taym, of Ṣafad, or constituted a county on its own.¹¹ When the Fatimids of Egypt extended their rule over Syria Jabal ʿĀmil also came under their jurisdiction. When the area came under the rule of Saladin, who wrested it from the Crusaders, it received an appellation from the Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Bishāra al-ʿĀmilī, whom Saladin appointed governor. He was a Shīʿite, and the fact that the region was named Bilād Bishāra after him is an indication of the esteem in which his administrative qualities were held.

After the Ayyubids came the Mamluks, whose main interests were military in nature. They became involved in matters of education and culture only if they had political consequences. This permitted the emergence of some independent educational activity in regions such as Jabal ʿĀmil, which were far removed from the district towns. The Mamluks took over the administrative division of Syria from the Ayyubids, and gave district (*niyāba*) governors considerable independence.¹² Individual districts were thus ruled as practically independent units, with the district governor as a sultan in fact if not in name: he could wage war and even establish relations with foreign powers independently of the central government without, however, cutting himself off completely from it.

¹⁰ Farahāt, *al-Thulāthī al-ʿāmilī fī ʿāṣr al-naḥḍa*, 26.

¹¹ ʿĀl Ṣafā, *Tārīkh Jabal ʿĀmil*, 43.

¹² Ḥittī, *Tārīkh Lubnān wa-Sūriyya*, 274.

This political disintegration was accompanied by military and intellectual repression, since district governors were afraid that the counties they ruled would become independent, just as they had shaken off the yoke of the central government. This state of affairs had considerable consequences for the Jabal 'Āmil region, whose inhabitants were Shī'ites, unlike their rulers in Damascus, to whom they were subordinated politically, administratively and militarily. As a result, the cultural and educational flowering of the beginning of the fourteenth century waned. At the end of that century a crucial change occurred in the lives of the Shī'ites of Jabal 'Āmil. After the Mamluks succeeded in killing a well-known Shī'ite historical figure, Shaykh Muḥammad Makkī al-Jizzīnī, known as "the first martyr" (d. 1384 CE), a Shī'ite educational revival occurred in the Jabal 'Āmil region.

Already in the mid-fourteenth century CE the region became a place of refuge for Shī'ites from Aleppo, Tripoli and Sidon. The clerics who came with them initiated a religious intellectual movement designed to strengthen the local population's adherence to the Shī'ite creed on the one hand and, on the other, to provide defenses against the campaigns which the region's changing rulers waged against Shī'ites.

Culture and education remained domains that were relatively free of foreign intrusion. Before that time local Shī'ites had already established contact with Shī'ite centers of education in Iraq. A representative from Iraq was sent, Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājakī, a student of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd; he lived in Sidon and Tyre and wrote a number of books and epistles, among them *Talqīn awlād al-mu'minīn* (*Teaching the Children of the Believers*). Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥusaynī al-'Awdī al-Jizzīnī was the first to go to Iraq to study (580/1184). He was followed by Ṭūwmān b. Aḥmad al-Manārī from the town of al-Manāra. Such educational journeys continued until the mid-fourteenth century without giving rise to an independent local educational system, since conditions in the area made it impossible to establish religious schools along the lines of the academies at al-Najaf and al-Ḥilla, which provided education for Shī'ite students from all lands. This changed with Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Jizzīnī from the town of Jizzīn. He made the journey to Iraq to further his education. For about ten years he moved between al-Ḥilla, Baghdad, Damascus, Egypt, Mecca and Medina, studying with scholars of the various Islamic schools of jurisprudence. He then returned to his native Jizzīn where he began efforts to bring about a Shī'ite intellectual and political revival. He succeeded in opening the first Shī'ite religious school around the year 1370, after the schools in Iraq and their libraries had been destroyed in the Mongol invasion. The Mamluk rulers of the region, however, were suspicious of Ibn Makkī's motives, and feared his growing influence and the possible emergence of an autonomous Shī'ite authority. Charges were brought against him and he was executed. He thus became the local Shī'ites' "first martyr".

Ibn Makkī's execution and the failure of his political movement did not, however, prevent a Shī'ite revival in Jabal 'Āmil and the neighboring Biqā' Valley. This took the form of schools which were established by Ibn Makkī's students in the towns and villages of the region, in which they taught their teacher's views and political

theories. In a short time these students became recognized religious and judicial authorities whose cultural influence was dominant as well.¹³

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Syria came under Ottoman rule. Turkish ethnic and religious partisanship had a deep effect on the region. Matters were exacerbated by the conflict between the Ottomans and the Safawid state in Iran, who were followers of the same religious creed as the inhabitants of Jabal ʿĀmil. One of the first victims of the new policy was the religious scholar Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Jibāʾī (996/1559), known as “the second martyr”. He is the author of *Munyat al-murīd fī ādāb al-mufīd wal-mustafīd* (*Object of Desire for Seekers of the Useful and Beneficial*), the only extant educational book from that period. Following his death local Shīʿite scholars emigrated to Iran, Iraq and India, and Shīʿite education in the region regressed.

During most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries political events cast a shadow over education and instruction in the Jabal ʿĀmil region. The constant warfare between the local people and the Muʿīnī and Shihābī governors of Mt. Lebanon left the region in constant turmoil. The inhabitants tried to keep the wars away from their own country, but enemy attacks occasionally penetrated deeply into their territory, and as a result many of the region’s mountainous areas fell into ruin.¹⁴

The entire period can be characterized as one of political upheaval and conflicting alliances. The one unifying characteristic was the enmity between the Ottoman governors and the local Shīʿite rulers of Jabal ʿĀmil. The resulting political instability had widespread effects, including an education. Many educated families therefore left for Iran and settled there, leaving behind a vacuum. Such periods of regression alternated with periods of educational expansion in times of greater stability.

A good example of how the political situation affected education is provided by the wars which Aḥmad Pasha, known as al-Jazzār, waged against Jabal ʿĀmil: “His troops attacked Jabal ʿĀmil, burnt down the villages, destroyed the houses, and took books and rare manuscripts from the libraries there, which they subsequently burned in Acre. The religious leaders of Jabal ʿĀmil complained to Istanbul, but the government of the Porte forwarded the complaint to him verbatim, so he avenged himself on those who had signed it. His men exceeded all bounds in their killing and slaughter of this people. He arrested a group of notables and had them strangled to death in the prisons of Acre. Those of them who survived he expelled into the neighboring lands. The religious leaders and other people of erudition emigrated to distant Muslim lands such as India, Iraq and Afghanistan”.¹⁵ One of the results of al-Jazzār’s war against Jabal ʿĀmil was that the latter lost the autonomy which it had enjoyed previously for a certain period of time, during which religious schools flourished, as did the writing of religious literature. It is reported that al-Jazzār burned five-thousand manuscripts taken from the Jabal ʿĀmil region in the bakeries of Acre: “The books of Jabal ʿĀmil kept the ovens of Acre hot for a whole week; this was a very great blow to knowledge and to the erudite”.¹⁶ At the same time Shīʿite religious

¹³ Al-Muhājir, *al-Hijra al-ʿāмилиyya*, 59.

¹⁴ Āl Šafā, *Tārīkh Jabal ʿĀmil*, 113.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁶ Aḥmad Riḍā, “al-Matāwila aw al-shīʿa fī Jabal ʿĀmil”, *al-ʿIrḩān*, vol. 2 (1910), 8:387.

leaders were dragged to Acre and burned or strangled to death. The resulting desolation also meant that the existing Shī'ite schools were closed. A whole political and educational period came to an end. Only with al-Jazzār's death did a new phase begin.

The economic situation

Education in the Jabal 'Āmil region was not affected by the overall economic situation, since the local society was not integrated into the central government which ran the economy. The local enmity towards both the Mamluk and the Ottoman authorities prevented the emergence of economic institutions and workplaces. The Shī'ites had to finance their religious teachers by themselves. The teachers either established schools or taught at their own homes. A school's power and the number of its students thus depended on the legal and financial wherewithal available to them, which the authorities did not put their hands on. These religious schools were not part of an organized system; rather, each school was completely controlled by its owner, who was teacher, headmaster and financier rolled into one. When he died, often the school would close, unless someone was found who was willing to continue his work.

During the whole Mamluk period, and also for a great part of the Ottoman period, Jabal 'Āmil's economy was not in any way different from that of other parts of Syria. Agriculture was the main occupation in the villages and the areas in the vicinity of rivers; commerce was the profession of many in the coastal areas, especially Tyre. Passable roads permitted the movement of goods to even the most remote villages and markets were held in the larger towns. The most important of these were the market in al-Nabatiyya, held every Monday, at Bint Jubayl every Thursday, at Jawayya every Saturday and at 'Adīsa every Wednesday. Some of these markets still take place today.

The local economy was affected by political developments, although both Mamluk and Ottoman authorities adopted the same practice of giving land to feudal families in return for an annual tax. The feudal families bought the land and the farmers worked it on behalf of these families. The authorities did not intervene at the local level as long as the tax due to them was paid.¹⁷

This feudal arrangement was of a local character, not in accordance with a general system. The local leader or head of family had absolute power, as long as their actions were in keeping with the interests of the provincial governors under whose jurisdiction the Jabal 'Āmil region was located.

To the two afore-mentioned groups we must add that of Shī'ite religious scholars. These came from the peasant class, but enjoyed considerable prestige. These religious leaders, who were entrusted with dispensing justice, lived off the fifth-tax¹⁸

¹⁷ Āl Ṣafā, *Ta'rikh Jabal 'Āmil*, 90.

¹⁸ The "fifth" was a voluntary tax of 20% on annual earnings, based on an interpretation of Q 8:41: "And know that whatever booty you acquire [in war], one-fifth thereof belongs to God and the Apostle, and the near of kin, and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer". This verse was interpreted to require the payment of the fifth to clerics, who exerted themselves on behalf of the faith. The payment also included "the Imam's share", i.e. the share of the twelfth, occulted, Imam. For more on the "fifth" see: Abdul Aziz Sachedina, "Al-Khums: The Fifth in the Imamite Legal System", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 39 (1980), 275–289.

and alms. More importantly, among Shī'ites they represented religious authority, as the heirs of the Imāms.

The social situation

In the period between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries CE social disparities were considerable, due to the differences in the economic situation and the social standing of various groups in Jabal 'Āmil society.

A distinct social group relevant to the topic at hand consisted of families of the religiously erudite. These were given the name of "the religious families". At least one member of each household in this group was well-versed in religious matters. This knowledge was usually transmitted from father to son. The families in question possessed their own unique social, religious and cultural customs, and enjoyed the respect of the other social groups in the region, thanks to the fact that the local authorities showed a keen desire to earn their favor.¹⁹

The continued existence of these families, due to the prestige enjoyed by their members, ensured that Shī'ite religious education in the region in fact never ceased completely.

Social factors were thus paramount in preserving religious education. The establishment of schools was nearly always associated with "the religious families", one or more of which would take the initiative and establish an institution of learning, often in the home, where the children of these families would naturally be among the first students. In this way a number of families emerged in which learning was passed on from one generation to the next for centuries. Some such families still do this to this very day, among them al-Ḥurr, Faḍl Allāh, Amīn, and Shams al-Dīn.

The sources used in the present study

With the exception of a single book, Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī's above-mentioned *Munyat al-murīd fī ādāb al-mufīd wal-mustafīd*, none of the sources used in the present study focus exclusively on religious instruction in the Jabal 'Āmil region. Most of the sources, as will become clear below, are of a historical character. Below we list the most important compositions we used:

A) *Al-Lum'a al-dimashqiyya*, a book on religious jurisprudence (*fiqh*) by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn b. Makkī al-Jizzīnī al-'Āmilī, known as "the first martyr" (d. 786/1384). The author wrote this work in seven days while imprisoned in Damascus, awaiting his execution. The only relevant reference available to him was *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi'*. After the author's death, an Introduction was added by Muḥammad Mahdī al-Āṣafī, who provided some biographical details about the author, an account of his educational activities, and some pointers on matters of jurisprudence. The book quickly became a favorite text in Shī'ite institutions of learning, and remains so to this day. It is well-organized, concise and written in rhymed prose.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

B) *Munyat al-murīd fī ādāb al-muḥīd wal-mustafīd* by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Jab'ī, known as "the second martyr" (d. 966/1559). This is the single work that is most relevant to our study, written by a pioneer of Shī'ite education in the Jabal 'Āmil region. The book deals with the importance of education, the student-teacher relationship, characteristics of students and teachers, and so on. It provides a good indication of the educational concerns of the time and place dealt with in the present study.

The book consists of four chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction gives an outline of the virtues of knowledge and its bearers according to the Qur'ān and prophetic tradition. Chapter One deals with the proper ways of teaching and learning. Chapter Two concerns the rules of giving judicial rulings (*fatwa*). Chapter Three provides rules of argumentation. Chapter Four gives rules for writing books, the instruments of passing on knowledge. The conclusion provides an overview of the kinds of knowledge, and gives some advice to those who want to learn. The book exists in a great number of manuscripts and printed editions, owing to its continuing great popularity among Shī'ite scholars and students.

C) *Amal al-āmil* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Āmilī, known as al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (d. 1104/1692). This is a biographical work, dealing with prominent Shī'ite religious leaders in the Jabal 'Āmil region, including teachers and the schools where they studied and taught. The work is significant for our purposes mainly because its author lived in the period covered in the present study and provides a genuine picture of education in his times.

D) *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil* by al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn (d. 1952). This is a most important source for the present study, since it gives a broad introduction to the region's history, geography and demography. It describes the history of Shī'ite religious schools, the topics taught there and the instruction methods they used.

E) *A'yān al-shī'a*, by the same author. This is an encyclopedia of Shī'ite scholars. The entries on erudite members of the Jabal 'Āmil Shī'ite community contain information on schools and teaching methods.

F) *Tārīkh al-tarbiya 'inda al-imāmiyya wa-aslāfihim min al-shī'a* by the contemporary writer 'Abd Allāh Dakhīl al-Fayyāḍ. The book describes educational aims and textbooks among Shī'ites in general. Much of what appears in it is relevant to the Shī'ites of Jabal 'Āmil as well.

G) *Shī'ī Scholars of the Nineteenth Century* by Meir Litvak. This book deals with religious education in the Shī'ite *ḥawzas* of al-Najaf and Karbalā' in Iraq and provides information on the social and political relations among teachers, the stages of religious instruction, how the schools support themselves financially, and also the community leadership role of Shī'ite scholars and their confrontations with the scholars of the Sunnī government in Baghdad. Much of what is said in this work can be applied to the Shī'ites of Jabal 'Āmil as well, in light of the fact that a great many of the region's scholars were graduates of the Iraqi *ḥawzas*, and that the educational aims of the latter were consistent with the aims of Shī'ite education everywhere.

Shī'ite places of instruction

Shī'ite educational activities in the Jabal ʿĀmil region took place in a number of locations, as follows:

A) Elementary schools (*kuttāb*)²⁰

The term *kuttāb* in Arabic refers to a place where the young are taught.²¹ This pre-Islamic institution was retained following the emergence of Islam, thanks to the importance which adherents of the new religion attached to literacy. *Kuttābs* are of two types; those whose main function is to teach reading and writing are generally located in teachers' homes, whereas those specializing in teaching the Qurʾān and the principles of the Muslim religion are usually located in mosques.²²

The present study has found only fleeting signs of the establishment of Shī'ite *kuttābs* in the Jabal ʿĀmil region during the period in question. This is probably due to the fact that since these institutions dealt with primary education they differed in no respect from similar institutions among other Muslims and in other regions. It would indeed appear that as far as the topics taught in their *kuttābs* are concerned, i.e. reading, writing, Qurʾān and Arabic, they did not differ from those of their Sunnī neighbors, although it is likely that they sent their children to separate schools and not to the Sunnī institutions financed by the government. Muḥsin al-Amīn reports that in the region some *kuttābs* were financed by the inhabitants and others by the government²³ without, however, providing any further details.

B) Scholars' homes

A number of Shī'ite jurists (*faqīh*) in the Jabal ʿĀmil region turned their homes into centers of instruction; in time these developed into full-fledged educational institutions which provided a complete course of instruction in the religious sciences.

In order to be able to give instruction at home, an appropriate space was of course needed. A scholar's home would therefore contain a relatively large hall where he could give lessons to students. The number of students depended crucially on the teacher's personality, prestige and financial wherewithal. The teacher would spend on his students' upkeep as the amount of money he received from the fifth and alms permitted him. A scholar's first students would be his own sons, who grew up in an atmosphere conducive to study. Often a teacher would eventually be succeeded by his sons. To take one example, "the first martyr" (Shaykh Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī) began his own scholarly career at home, where his father, Shaykh Makkī Jamāl al-Dīn, provided a strong impetus to learning, and where he would also be present at meetings where the region's most prominent scholars would provide him with an opportunity for thought, debate and expressing his opinion.²⁴

²⁰ For details on this institution see J.M. Landau, "Kuttāb", *EP* (1986), vol. V, 567–570; Khalil A. Totah, *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education*, New-York, 1926, 15ff.; Ahmad Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, Beirut, 1954, 16–23.

²¹ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. "k t b".

²² Al-Rashadāt, *al-Madkhal ilā al-tarbiya wal-taʿlīm*, 139.

²³ Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal ʿĀmil*, 186.

²⁴ Al-ʿĀṣafī, *Muqaddimat al-lumʿa al-dimashqiyya*, 81.

"The second martyr" (al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-Jab'ī al-'Āmilī), too, learned Arabic and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) from his father, until the latter's death.²⁵ Some scholars gave the task of educating their sons to one of their students, as "the second martyr" did with respect to his own son Ḥasan:²⁶ "And so he entrusted his instruction in the hands of one of his students, al-Sayyid 'Alī al-Ṣāyigh".²⁷

A complete survey of the biographies of all the region's Shī'ite scholars in the period between "the first martyr" and the middle of the eighteenth century, whether those mentioned in al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī's *Amal al-āmil* or in Muḥsin al-Amīn's *A'yān al-shī'a*, would reveal that most of them at first studied either with their father or with someone whom their father entrusted with their education. After the end of the primary stage of learning the Qur'ān and Arabic, in what can be considered a kind of *kuttāb*, students would move on to the next stage, either with the same teacher or with another.

In this kind of education no specific system or method was followed. Each teacher taught his students as he saw fit, in accordance with his own abilities and those of his students. The number of students and their ages were of less importance than their ability to understand the lesson.

Students came to the schools of Jabal 'Āmil from outside the region as well. For example, Nāṣir b. Ibrāhīm al-Buwayhī²⁸ betook himself to the town of 'Aynāthā in order to study with Shaykh Ṣāḥir al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusām al-'Āmilī al-'Aynāthī²⁹ and remained there until his death.

Others who came to Jabal 'Āmil from abroad; one of them was the *mawlā* 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tustarī (d. 1021/1612), a prominent scholar from Iran who came to be confirmed by the Shaykh Ni'mat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Khātūn al-'Āmilī al-'Aynāthī and his son Aḥmad b. Ni'mat Allāh b. Khātūn al-'Aynāthī. Another one was Aḥmad b. Fahd al-Ḥillī (d. 1437 CE), author of *'Uddat al-dā'ir wa-najāḥ al-masā'ir*, who came to Jizzīn to be confirmed by Shaykh 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Jizzīnī al-'Āmilī, son of "the first martyr".³⁰ Shaykh 'Alī b. Hilāl al-Jazā'irī also invited Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar al-Karakī al-'Āmilī (d. 1665 CE) to Karak Nūḥ, where he taught.³¹

Among the scholarly families of the Jabal 'Āmil region, instruction was passed on from one generation to the next. In every family at least one member of every generation studied with his father, who provided the proper atmosphere of learning. There were, however, other reasons as well why instruction was given in the home. The

²⁵ Darwīsh, *Jabal 'Āmil bayna 1526–1697*, 178.

²⁶ His full name is Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1586 CE). Originally from Jabal 'Āmil, he eventually moved to Iraq and studied there. His most important composition is *Ma'ālim al-dīn wa-malādh dh al-mujtahidīn*; see his Introduction, 4.

²⁷ Al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 41:167.

²⁸ The writer, poet and jurist Nāṣir b. Ibrāhīm al-Buwayhī al-'Āmilī al-'Aynāthī (d. 1439 CE). He is mentioned by al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī among the scholars who came to the region in his youth. He lived and died in 'Aynātha. For more details on him see: al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, 1:187.

²⁹ A scholar and jurist who taught in the town of 'Aynātha. Al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī describes him as a prominent shaykh and jurist. For more details see: *ibid.*, 1:188.

³⁰ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, 1:64.

³¹ Baḥr al-'Ulūm, *Rijāl al-sayyid Baḥr al-'Ulūm*, 2:107.

overall unsettled political conditions made it prudent to stay out of the public eye. Even where the local feudal rulers belonged to the Shī'ite community and did not interfere in educational activities, the Mamluk and Ottoman authorities were never loathe to keep such activities under supervision and control. The frequent wars in the region were another cause for unease and instability, since schools were primary targets for destruction, as were libraries, whose books were often burned. As a result many Shī'ite scholars in the Jabal 'Āmil region chose to set up schools in their own homes. In this way they ensured that education did not cease in the region despite the political unrest.

Economic considerations were also important. The costs of running a school in one's home were naturally lower than if a separate institution had to be maintained. Students would come to their teacher's home to study and then go back to their own homes, and thus the teacher did not have to look after his students' physical needs.

Yet another reason for the emergence of schools in scholars' homes was that prospective students would seek out scholars known for their erudition, in preference to attending a regular school with its fixed curriculum. This happened in particular in the case of scholars who taught subjects such as mathematics, arithmetic and philosophy, which were not required subjects in the schools and were only taught as time permitted.

C) Schools

Shī'ite religious schools are first attested in the Jabal 'Āmil region in the thirteenth century CE. Since that time some such schools always existed; if one school was closed, another opened in its stead. In the fourteenth century schools appeared in many towns and villages in the region. Some of these schools became quite well-known, and drew students from the neighboring lands as well. In what follows we describe these schools and their academic activities.³²

The school in Jizzīn

This was the first school to be established in the Jabal 'Āmil region.³³ It was founded by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Jizzīnī al-'Āmilī, known also as "the first martyr"³⁴ (d. 1384 CE). The town of Jizzīn was chosen as the site of the school because of its reputation as a historical Shī'ite strongpoint which defied attacks by the Crusaders, and later the Mamluks. It was home to a number of prominent Shī'ite scholars before the founding of the school and had connections to the village of Mashghara, a historical Shī'ite settlement, "a fountain of Shī'ite scholars in Jabal 'Āmil until the beginning of the thirteenth century AH, and populated entirely by

³² Al-Ḥurr, *Ma'ālim al-adab al-'āmilī*, 79–80.

³³ Al-Bustānī, *Tārīkh al-ta'lim fī lubnān*, 169.

³⁴ Muḥammad b. Makkī b. Shams al-Dīn; he was born in Jizzīn (1334 CE) and studied first there and later in the town of al-Ḥilla in Iraq. Later he traveled to Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Jerusalem and Egypt, and eventually returned to Jizzīn and opened a school there. A well-known Islamic jurist, he wrote a voluminous book on jurisprudence entitled *al-Lum'a al-dimashqiyya*. He also wrote mystical poetry. For more details see above and Makkī, *al-Ḥayāt al-fikriyya wal-adabiyya fī Jabal 'Āmil*, 29.

Shī'ites".³⁵ A number of factors, political and intellectual, as well as geographic and demographic, affected the choice of Jizzīn as the place where the school was established. The establishment of a school in the region at the time was probably due to the Mongol invasion of the Middle East, which brought an end to teaching in the school at Najaf, caused great destruction in Baghdad, and was attended by burning of schools and libraries throughout Iraq. Until that time Shī'ites from the Jabal 'Āmil region who wanted an education went to al-Najaf. "The first martyr" therefore decided that in the wake of events in Iraq it was time to establish a school in the region, as a sign of its cultural independence, in addition to the relative political independence it enjoyed at the time.³⁶

The school's prestige was derived from that of its founder, who did his utmost to enhance the level of religious instruction in the town, which as a result "was filled with eager students who came from near and far; it was the first time that Jabal 'Āmil was the center of a significant activity".³⁷

The school in Jizzīn was a success. Many of its graduates became scholars and jurists who spread the Shī'ite creed and established schools in the region.³⁸

One of the school's unusual virtues was that it accepted a number of women students, who attained a level of knowledge which was rare in those days when women were generally oppressed. Among them was Fāṭima, Umm al-Ḥasan, sister of "the first martyr, whom her male colleagues entrusted with legal rulings having to do with the religious affairs of women."³⁹

The school's great prestige is described as follows in one of our sources: "The school of Jizzīn became known far and wide. It was heavily populated, with a large mosque and a tall minaret. Among its staff were twelve senior scholars. Jizzīn thus attracted travelers, seekers of knowledge and lovers of literature".⁴⁰

The school was visited by numerous prominent scholars, as demonstrated by the poets who vied with each other in creating verses for the celebrations held in the school.⁴¹

The school survived the execution of its founder in 1384 CE,⁴² but the conflict between Shī'ites and Druze eventually undermined its foundations after centuries of activity. The town of Jizzīn is located on the border between Jabal 'Āmil and the Druze area of Bilād Shūf, and many Shī'ites left it after a battle between the two camps⁴³ which took place in 1171/1757. They were replaced by Christian peasants.⁴⁴

³⁵ Al-Amīn, *Khīṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 364.

³⁶ Al-Ḥurr, *Ma'ālim al-adab al-'āmilī*, 79–80.

³⁷ Al-Muhājir, *al-Hijra al-'āmilīyya ilā Īrān*, 6.

³⁸ Āl Ṣafā, *Tārīkh Jabal 'Āmil*, 235.

³⁹ Al-Amīn, *Khīṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 150; al-Ḥurr, *Ma'ālim al-adab al-'āmilī*, 80.

⁴⁰ Muruwwa, *Tārīkh Jubā'*, 33.

⁴¹ For example, at the beginning of the thirteenth century CE a well-known Shī'ite legist, Ismā'il b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-'Awadī al-Asadī died. He was elegized by the local poet Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusām. For details see: Muruwwa, *Tārīkh Jubā'*, 33; Makkī, *al-Ḥaraka al-fikriyya wal-adabiyya fī Jabal 'Āmil*, 29.

⁴² He was executed in Damascus after having been imprisoned in the local fortress for eleven months. After the execution he was put on a cross and then his body was burned, on June 29, 1384. See Āl Ṣafā, *Tārīkh Jabal 'Āmil*, 235.

⁴³ Abū Shaqrā, *al-Ḥarakāt fī Lubnān...*, 157.

⁴⁴ Al-Amīn, *Khīṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 150; Abū Shaqrā, *al-Ḥarakāt fī Lubnān*, 157.

The school in Mays al-Jabal⁴⁵

Historically and educationally this school was second only to the one in Jizzīn.⁴⁶ It was founded by Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Ālī al-Maysī, known among Shī‘ite scholars as “the first authority of Mays” (d. 1526 CE).⁴⁷ The school achieved fame thanks to the prestige of its founder, and to its standing as a scientific *hawza* with a well-organized curriculum. For this reason it attracted students from Syria, Iraq and Iran. At times the number of students approached four-hundred. Among the well-known personalities who attended it were Zayn al-Dīn b. ‘Alī al-Jab‘ī al-‘Āmilī (“the second martyr”) and the erudite scholars Aḥmad b. Tāj al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī al-Maysī and Shaykh Luṭf Allāh al-Maysī, and others.⁴⁸

The biographies of many of its graduates provide proof that the school remained in operation for a considerable time after its founder’s death.⁴⁹

The school in Shaqrā’⁵⁰

This school was founded by the scholar Abū al-Ḥasan Mūsā b. Ḥaydar al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Āmilī (d. 1780 CE) in the middle of the eighteenth century. It was able to flourish and excel in religious studies thanks to an income from numerous endowments (*waqf*), which made it independent of outside aid.⁵¹

The school was large, with over four-hundred students and more than forty classrooms. Its heyday was during the lifetime of the founder, who died in 1780. Subsequent mismanagement and academic weakness caused it to deteriorate, until the school’s students brought in the founder’s grandson, ‘Alī al-Amīn.

The school was famous for its promotion of literature. The students were known for their frequent poetry contests. It is related that their voices, as they committed their lessons to memory at night, could be heard in the neighboring village of Majdal Silim.⁵²

The civil strife in the region eventually proved too much for the school, which closed its gates in 1896. Among its prominent graduates were Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī, the poet Ibrāhīm Yahyā⁵³ and others, the majority of whom emigrated to Iraq and Iran.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ The village of Mays al-Jabal is located in the county of Marj‘ūyūn, about 114 km south of Beirut. For more details see: *Lubnān tārikh siyāsa wa-ḥadāra – dalīl al-mudun wal-qurā wa-‘ā’ilātihā*, 15:182.

⁴⁶ Al-Bustānī, *Tārikh al-tarbiya wal-ta’lim fi Lubnān*, 170.

⁴⁷ Ḥamāda, *al-Ta’lim fi Jabal ‘Āmil*, 23.

⁴⁸ Āl Ṣafā, *Tārikh Jabal ‘Āmil*, 137; al-Ḥurr, *Ma’ālim al-adab al-‘āmilī*, 81–82.

⁴⁹ Many of the scholars who graduated from the school in Mays al-Jabal are mentioned by al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī in his *Amal al-āmāl*. For details see the work in question, 6.

⁵⁰ The village of Shaqrā’ is in the county of Bint Jubayl, some 116 km south of Beirut. For more details on it see: *Lubnān tārikh siyāsa wa-ḥadāra – dalīl al-mudun wal-qurā wa-‘ā’ilātihā*, 15:114.

⁵¹ This was the first school in the region with endowments, consisting of land, olive trees, a house and a bakery. Some of these are still extant. For details see: al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal ‘Āmil*, 183; Makkī, *al-Ḥayāt al-fikriyya wal-adabiyya fi Jabal ‘Āmil*, 32.

⁵² Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal ‘Āmil*, 150.

⁵³ For details about him see our “The Shī‘ite Poet Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā al-‘Āmilī: a Faithful Picture of His Age”, *al-Karmal* 27 (2006), 37–94 (Arabic).

⁵⁴ Āl Ṣafā, *Tārikh Jabal ‘Āmil*, 279; al-Ḥurr, *Ma’ālim al-adab al-‘āmilī*, 84; al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal ‘Āmil*, 183.

The school in 'Aynāthā⁵⁵

The village of 'Aynāthā is home to two of the region's best-known scholarly families, the Khātūn and the Faḍl Allāh. Sayyid Najīb b. Yahyā al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Ḥusaynī established the school there.⁵⁶ It was attended by students from outside the region as well. Nāṣir al-Buwayhī, from Iran, lived there and studied under its scholars.⁵⁷ The town became a center for advanced Islamic studies after the Khātūn family founded a *hawza* there toward the end of the nineteenth century.

The school in Juwayyā⁵⁸

Members of the Khātūn⁵⁹ family moved to Juwayyā and founded a religious school in this village.⁶⁰ Among its graduates were numerous scholars. Like other schools in the area it experienced a period of decline during the region's occupation by al-Jazzār, which did not end until the latter's death, when a new period in the intellectual life of Jabal 'Āmil began.

Teaching methods in the schools of Jabal 'Āmil

The scholars who founded the Shī'ite schools in the Jabal 'Āmil region adopted the teaching methods they had learned in Iraq, and adapted them to the intellectual and financial capabilities of the local students.

Teaching methods in organized schools differed from those used in scholars' homes. We possess two sources that deal with the teaching methods used in the region, "the second martyr's" *Munyat al-murīd fī ādāb al-mufīd wal-mustafīd* and Muḥsin al-Amīn's *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*.

At night students went over the lesson they had read the preceding day, or the teacher would read a lesson which he would explain on the following day. In class during the day, each student came with the book containing the lesson to be read. All opened their books to the place where the lesson was, and one of the students would read a clause while the rest listened. The reading would begin with the formulas "In the name of Allah the kind the merciful", "There is no God but Allah" and "We pray for the Prophet and his family", followed by a recitation of the text to be learned. If the student made a mistake he would be corrected by the teacher or one of the other students. Once the recitation was over the teacher would take a

⁵⁵ 'Aynāthā, today of town of 13,000 inhabitants, is located in southern Lebanon, some 120 km south of Beirut. In some periods it hosted more Shī'ite scholars than any other town in the region. For more details see: "'Aynāthā manba' al-'ulamā' wal-shu'arā'" (in Arabic) at <http://hassan.isom.com>; al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 327–331; *Lubnān tārikh siyāsa wa-ḥaḍāra - dalīl al-mudun wal-qurā wa-ā'ilātihā*, 5:135.

⁵⁶ Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 186–187.

⁵⁷ Sharaf al-Dīn, *Majallat al-'irfān* 71, 10:75.

⁵⁸ Juwayyā is in the county of Tyre, 97 km south of Beirut. For more details on it, see: *Lubnān tārikh siyāsa wa-ḥaḍāra - dalīl al-mudun wal-qurā wa-ā'ilātihā*, 72:15.

⁵⁹ The Khātūn family, one of the "religious families" of Jabal 'Āmil with many scholars among its members, is an offshoot of the Umayya clan. The village, close to Rashāf, is in ruins today. For more details see: Āl Ṣafā, *Tārikh Jabal 'Āmil*, 270, note no. 1.

⁶⁰ Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 183–184.

book from one of the students, and after the usual formulas begin to explain the passage.⁶¹

The preceding description fits the method of instruction at the elementary level, where the only aids to teaching were the teacher's own explanations and the discussion in the classroom. The teacher's explanation of the text being studied could also include criticism, whenever the teacher's own opinion differed from that of the author. The teacher would also explain passages in which the author was unclear or there was an error in the text. Students asked about points in the text which they did not understand or argued with the teacher if his explanation did not seem correct to them. Other students in the class would also participate in the discussion.⁶²

Unlike direct dictation or inculcation, the method described here encouraged debate among students, and created an atmosphere of dialogue concerning issues on which there was disagreement. The method called for the teacher's approval; it was in any case the preferred way for students of religion in the Jabal 'Āmil region.⁶³

The climate of study was dictated to no small degree by the teacher's personality: "If a student disturbed or misbehaved his teacher would stop him and give him a rebuke. The students sat before the *shaykh* on their knees until the end of the lesson".⁶⁴

In a school the teacher was required to stick to the schedule and to the books he was told to teach; it was his task to explain the text and give his own comments as he saw fit, and also to keep order in the classroom. The teacher's explanations, however, were supervised by the students themselves. The questions they posed made it necessary for the teacher to prepare well for the lesson. In the afternoon the students would gather to review the lesson and commit it to memory.⁶⁵ Every Friday night the teacher would bring his students together and ask them questions, in a kind of weekly exam.

How the schools were financed

Shī'ite religious education in the Jabal 'Āmil region was financed by income from the "fifth" (*khums*),⁶⁶ charitable contributions, as well as bequests and endowments. As we saw above, the first school in the region with endowments of its own was in Shaqrā', "which had land, olive trees, a house and a bakery".⁶⁷ Income from the "fifth" provided the means to build schools and also provide for students' needs.

This state of affairs had the effect of making schools quite independent of the central government, and even of the local leadership. As a result the freedom of instruction was maintained and when political pressure was brought to bear on scholars, for example in cases where they were summoned to Iran, it was not always effective. Thus Shaykh Muḥammad b. Makkī, the founder of the school in Jizzīn, did not heed

⁶¹ Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 190.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Al-Fayyāḍ, *Tārīkh al-tarbiya 'inda al-imāmiyya*, 240.

⁶⁴ Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 190.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁶⁶ Cf. above, footnote 8.

⁶⁷ Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 183.

the summons of the king of Khurasān, 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad⁶⁸ (ruled 1364–1381 CE). In the same manner “the second martyr”, his son and his grandson all refused to leave Jabal 'Āmil and move to Iṣfahān.

In some cases the local scholars' worry lest they be forced to leave caused them to refrain from the pilgrimage to the shrine of the eight twelfth Imam, 'Alī al-Riḍā⁶⁹ (d. 818 CE). Despite their great desire to do so, they stayed put so as not to be summoned when they were closer to centers of Shī'ite rule.⁷⁰

The Islamic jurists who worked as teachers lived a simple life, devoid of luxury. The contributions and direct assistance they received from the local populace sufficed for their needs. They did not get a salary, since Shī'ite clerics consider the teaching of religion to be an act of piety, especially since it was conducive to the dissemination of the Shī'ite creed. Local scholars continually resisted any interference by local political leaders in the affairs of their schools, and guarded their independence even in the face of dwindling financial resources. Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn relates of his grandfather, Sayyid 'Alī al-Amīn, that he “used to write to neighboring villages asking for alms for his students. One day he was informed that some villagers said “We want to give away Ḥamad Albīk's”⁷¹ (1269/1852) horsemen and Sayyid 'Alī al-Amīn's students”. The latter was angered by this comment and stopped writing to his students that they should accept alms. He said to them: “Whoever is capable of looking after himself can stay, and those who cannot should go where they want”. So a number of students left and some remained, but the school suffered”.⁷²

This example demonstrates how tightly the school's fate was bound up with that of its founder, and how much it depended on his own financial situation. When money became scarce the number of students dropped, and did not rise again until the necessary funds had been found. In most cases during the period discussed in the present study, when the founder died the school closed down. The only exceptions occurred when someone else was found who was willing and able to take over.

From the preceding discussion we conclude that Shī'ite religious education, whether in scholars' homes or in *kuttābs* or schools, were quite unlike educational institutions in the normal sense of the word. Rather, they arose out of a society to which they conformed and into which they were integrated, so that they participated in all the crises and wars which that society experienced.

⁶⁸ 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī, a governor of the province of Khurasān in Iran; for more details on him see: al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 6:4.

⁶⁹ For more details on him see: B. Lewis, “‘Alī al-Riḍā”, *EP* (1960), vol. I, 399–400.

⁷⁰ Al-Muṭṭaharī, *al-Islām wa-Īrān*, 323.

⁷¹ Ḥamad Albīk al-Maḥmūd was one of the best-known leaders of the al-Ṣaghīr family after Nāṣir al-Naṣṣār. He rebelled against the Egyptian and Shihābite rule in the Jabal 'Āmil region and allied himself with the Ottoman army in fighting against the Egyptians. His bravery earned him the praise of the Ottoman commander 'Izzat Pasha, who appointed him governor of Jabal 'Āmil and gave him the title of “Chief Shaykh of the Land of Bishāra”. When he died in 1852 his brother's grandson buried him in the shrine of the Prophet Joshua. For details on him see: al-Faqīh, *Jabal 'Āmil fī al-tārīkh*, 295ff.; Yāsīn Suwayd, “Jabal 'Āmil in the period of the two principalities, the houses of al-Ma'nī and Shihāb (1516–1842)”, URL: www.tibneen.com (Arabic).

⁷² Al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal 'Āmil*, 183.

Classification of teachers

The teachers who provided Shī'ite religious instruction in the Jabal ʿĀmil region can be classified into a number of groups, in accordance with the level of education in which they were involved:

A) Teachers in *kuttābs* taught young boys the principles of reading and writing, in general by way of learning and memorizing the Qurʾān. Such teachers were called *muʿaddib* (literally: “chastisers”), since disciplining their wards was one of their tasks.

B) Teachers of the “preliminaries” (*muqaddimāt*) stage.⁷³ This was the first stage of instruction, usually in the scholar’s home. The teachers are usually more advanced students.

C) Teachers of advanced studies. These are teachers who have completed their juridical and theological studies. The teachers at this stage of instruction, called “surfaces” (*suṭūḥ*),⁷⁴ specialize in certain topics, such as religious jurisprudence, grammar, etc.

D) Jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) and *mujtahids* (scholars capable of independent judgment). These are the teachers of the highest rank, who give lectures not dependent on a specific text. These lectures are written down by students and turned into textbook material. The students of these teachers are often those at the most advanced stage of study, called “outside research” (*baḥṭh khārij*). The topics on which these teachers lecture are quite varied, but the focus is on teaching jurisprudence by way of inference and deduction, at times also using books on the topic written by the teachers themselves.

The economic and material condition of teachers

The economic standing of a teacher depended on the educational level at which he taught and on his professional expertise. The teachers in a *kuttāb* were usually intellectually inferior to those at more advanced stages, and this was reflected in the compensation they received. We have no specific information about the economic situation of *kuttāb* teachers in the Jabal ʿĀmil region, since our historical

⁷³ At this stage instruction is usually given on an individual basis, or in very small groups. Students remain at this level for between two and four years, depending on their progress. The topics in the curriculum include morphology, syntax, rhetoric, logic and Arabic literature. For more details see: Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muzaḥḥar, “Jāmiʿat al-Najaf wa-jāmiʿat al-qarawiyyīna”, *Majallat al-majmaʿ al-ʿilmi al-ʿirāqī* 11 (1964), 297; Khalid Sindawi, “Modern Shīʿite Religious *Hawza* Instruction and Its Role in Shaping Shīʿite Identity (The *Hawzas* of al-Najaf and Qum as a Case Study)”, *Middle Eastern Studies* (Forthcoming).

⁷⁴ This stage consists of two parts, “surfaces of jurisprudence” (*suṭūḥ al-fiqh*) and “upper surfaces” (*al-suṭūḥ al-ʿulyā*). In addition to Islamic jurisprudence and theology, studies at this stage also include introductory philosophy astronomy, and Qurʾānic exegesis. Studies at this stage, which can last between four and five years, are usually on an individual basis or in very small groups. Students can choose courses and books freely, and are not supervised. Student and teacher are free to debate and criticize, since the purpose of study at this stage is to enhance the student’s powers of observation. For more details see: Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muzaḥḥar, “Jāmiʿat al-Najaf wa-jāmiʿat al-qarawiyyīna”, 297–298; Sindawi, “Modern Shīʿite Religious *Hawza*.” *Middle Eastern Studies* (Forthcoming).

sources have not deemed the topic worthy of mention. What we do know is that such teachers were paid by their students as long as they refrained from teaching religious subjects (because of certain traditions which explicitly forbade taking money for teaching the Qur'ān).⁷⁵ Teachers at all the more advanced levels refused to be paid, since they considered what they did to be an act of piety and a religious mission.

The material needs of Shī'ite teachers in the Jabal 'Āmil region were met by the society in which they lived. The village provided lodging and a yearly stipend, and the "fifth" covered the teacher's monthly expenses as well as the needs of students and the poor. The situation of teachers was thus not very different from others in their vicinity. They were often quite poor, unless they were members of well-to-do families.

Teachers enjoyed considerable prestige, especially among the pious, since they were perceived as helping disseminate the message of religion.⁷⁶ The relatively high social standing of teachers is reflected in the various titles of veneration used by students to refer to their teachers, and by historians in their biographies. Thus, for example, "the second martyr" in his Introduction to his commentary on *al-Lum'a al-dimashqiyya* describes "the first martyr" as "our *shaykh*, our *imam*, the indubitable, the meticulous scholar, who combines the virtue of knowledge and happiness and the rank of work and martyrdom, the felicitous imam Abū 'Abd Allāh, the martyr Muḥammad b. Makki".⁷⁷ The son of "the second martyr" describes his own teacher as "the venerable master, our Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī".⁷⁸ An examination of the titles used in these descriptions reveals a mixture of religious ("scholar", "imam", "martyr") and social ("shaykh", "master") characterizations, reflecting the respect given to teachers, viewed as carrying on a mission going back to the times of the Prophet and the imams of Twelver Shī'ism.

Teachers' titles

Teachers were given numerous titles in accordance with their various positions. Most of these titles were common among Muslims and not given just to teachers. The following titles deserve mention.

A) *Al-Mu'addib* (literally: "the discipliner"). This title was given to teachers of the very young, because of their job of instilling their charges with general Islamic values. Some Shī'ite scholars and local leaders hired private tutors of this type for their children, who were taught at home the basics of reading and writing, prayer, and the principles of religion.

B) *Al-Shaykh*. Literally this word means "old man".⁷⁹ Figuratively it is used to denote a person of knowledge and standing. The title of *shaykh* was often used for referring to teachers, in particular when they were prominent personalities. Thus it is

⁷⁵ Fayyād, *Tārīkh al-tarbiya 'inda al-imāmiyya*, 127.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁷⁷ "The second martyr", *al-Rawḍa al-bahīyya fī al-lum'a al-dimashqiyya*, 1:5.

⁷⁸ Zayn al-Dīn, *Ma'ālim al-dīn wa-malādhidh al-mujtahidīn*, 10.

⁷⁹ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. "sh y kh".

related of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd that “he produced a number of superior *shaykhs*”.⁸⁰ This was the title used by students when addressing their teacher. For example, when al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī speaks of his teacher al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, he says: “our Shaykh Abū ‘Abd Allāh” or “the Shaykh said”.⁸¹ In the Jabal ‘Āmil region the title of Shaykh was used for teachers at all levels, both as a form of address and when referring to teachers in biographies. Thus the Shaykh Ḥasan in his *Ma‘ālim al-dīn* relates “what I was told with the permission of a number of our friends, among them the venerable master, our Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī”.⁸² Since the title could refer to teachers at any level, a “shaykh” could be both teacher and student at the same time, as well as a jurist and a *mujtahid*.

Teachers’ tasks and responsibilities

According to “the second martyr” teachers have a number of tasks and responsibilities, which he formulated in eight points which must be observed in order to succeed in the profession:

- 1) “A person should not begin teaching before acquiring the proper competence; this should be clearly seen in his demeanor and his language, and confirmed by the more pious of his shaykhs”. Confirmation was usually given in the form of a written certificate. A teacher’s “demeanor and language” were judged by his students, since there was no professional supervisory body to judge a teacher’s qualifications.
- 2) A teacher should not stoop to teaching undeserving students. Knowledge should be guarded and preserved, and used only for purposes of instruction and not in order to obtain material or political benefits.⁸³
- 3) A teacher should practice what he preaches.
- 4) A teacher should be modest and of good moral character.
- 5) A teacher should not refuse to teach anyone whose intentions are not pure; rather, he should accept him and give him proper guidance.
- 6) A teacher should not withhold any of his knowledge from a deserving student.
- 7) A teacher should be careful not to have his actions contradict his teachings.
- 8) A teacher should speak the truth openly, and not withhold it to flatter anyone.⁸⁴

Responsibilities towards students

“The second martyr” gives the following advice to teachers concerning the way to behave towards students.

⁸⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 1:11.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1:3.

⁸² Al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, *Ma‘ālim al-dīn*, 7.

⁸³ “The second martyr”, *Munyat al-murīd*, 73–79; Shams al-Dīn, *Zayn al-Dīn b. Aḥmad*, 155ff.

⁸⁴ “The second martyr”, *Munyat al-murīd*, 78.

- 1) A teacher should instill virtuous habits and piety in his students.
- 2) A teacher should instill respect for knowledge and its bearers.
- 3) A teacher should make students love what he loves, and hate the evil which he hates.
- 4) A teacher should rebuke a student for committing sinful acts or behaving immorally, but by intimation, not accusation.
- 5) A teacher should accustom his students to be polite to each other and to cooperate in the performance of good deeds.
- 6) A teacher should be modest and forgiving towards his students, treating them as a father treats his sons. He should know their names, where they come from, and how they are getting along.
- 7) A teacher should be able to instruct every student in accordance with the latter's mental abilities.
- 8) A teacher should see to it that students spend their free time going over the lesson; he should show respect towards those who remember their lessons and deal harshly with those who are slack.
- 9) A teacher should test his students in unusual problems so that they get used to them and keep them in mind.
- 10) A teacher should treat all his students alike in the classroom, and not show preference towards any.
- 11) A teacher should not show a liking to one student more than to another.⁸⁵
- 12) A teacher should ask a student who was absent about his studies and about why he was absent. If a student remains absent, the teacher should send someone to his home or go there himself.
- 13) A teacher should be forthcoming in his instruction, and not withhold from students knowledge which they may need.
- 14) A teacher should discourage his students from activities which are not part of his course of study.
- 15) A teacher should not revile religious topics which he does not teach.
- 16) A teacher should not molest students who occasionally study with another teacher.
- 17) A teacher should give public praise to students who finish their course of study.
- 18) A teacher should commend outstanding students.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 79ff.; Shams al-Dīn, *Zayn al-Dīn b. Aḥmad*, 162–173.

⁸⁶ "The second martyr", *Munyat al-murīd*, 87.

A teacher's duties when teaching

"The second martyr" has the following to say on a teacher's duties in the classroom:

A teacher should always be careful about his personal appearance and behavior, since personal cleanliness, prayer at the appointed time, greeting those who are present, maintaining a calm and dignified posture, and demonstrating a desire to teach and disseminate the truth, command respect for the teacher and his profession. A teacher should always sit where everyone in the classroom can see and hear him, and refrain from fussing with his hands or his beard. He should neither raise his voice unnecessarily nor lower it so much that some students will not hear. He should be polite and considerate, and start the lessons on time. A teacher must see to it that the classroom is free of anything harmful or bothersome, such as smoke. If a new student comes he should be made to feel welcome. If a teacher is asked a question to which he does not know the answer he should say "I do not know", and if he realizes that he has given a wrong answer he should correct himself before the students leave. At the end of the lesson he should give advice and praise God. He should remain behind for a bit after the students leave, so that anyone with a question can come and ask him. A teacher should appoint one of the students to maintain discipline in the classroom, and another to teach those who are ignorant or want to review the lesson.⁸⁷

The afore-mentioned tasks mentioned by "the second martyr" are general principles which were in force before his days and were also adopted by his successors. They should, however, not be thought of as binding regulations, but rather as advisory precepts.

Note that some of the tasks listed above concern personal aspects of behavior and appearance, whereas others have to do with the way instruction should proceed and how students should be treated. Together they constitute a didactic system used by Shī'ite teachers of religion in the Jabal 'Āmil region in the period with which the present study deals.

Rules of decorum and behavior for students

"The second martyr" in his *Munyat al-murīd fī ādāb al-muḥīd wal-mustafīd* provides some advice to students on how they should behave towards themselves, their teachers and their studies. In what follows we present a short outline of the behavior which "the second martyr" expected of his students.

Students' behavior towards themselves

The advice given to students in this respect can be divided into two: the general attitude one should have when intending to study, and specific advice on how to study.⁸⁸

Before one begins to study, "the second martyr" says, a student should purify his

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 89ff.

⁸⁸ "The second martyr", *Munyat al-murīd*, 101–105; Shams al-Dīn, *Zayn al-Dīn b. Aḥmad*, 186–191.

heart and take advantage of youth's mental abilities and lack of worldly cares. A prospective student should be able to overcome obstacles which fate puts before him, be satisfied with the food and garments with which he is provided, put off marriage until the course of study is completed, stay away from anyone who distracts him from his studies, and use all his time for gaining knowledge.

As for the specific advice on how to study: a student should organize his studies in order of importance, so that the most important things are studied first. Whenever he is immersed in a certain subject he should not leave it for another until he has mastered at least one book, if not more, in it. He should also take care to take what is best from every field of knowledge.

How a student should behave towards his teacher⁸⁹

"The second martyr" lists a number of rules of decorum which students should adopt in their dealings with their teacher. One of the most important preliminary rules is to choose a teacher from whom one can expect to learn proper behavior. Here are some of the other rules:

A student should treat his teacher as if he was his actual as well as his spiritual father. He should show him respect, addressing him with deference and referring to him respectfully in his absence. He should also be patient with his teacher, even if the latter is harsh.

Among the other rules of recommended behavior are the following. A student should make an effort to come to class before the teacher. He should refrain from going to the teacher outside class time without the teacher's permission. He should come to the lesson with an open heart, and not attend the lesson if he is preoccupied with other matters. If he comes to where the teacher should be and he is not there, he should wait for him and not use his absence as an excuse for missing the lesson. A student should sit respectfully before his teacher, pay attention to what he says, speak softly, not interrupt what he says, not ask irrelevant questions, not be ashamed to ask if there is something he does not understand, and not say "I understand" before the matter has become clear to him.

A student's obligations and responsibilities during his studies⁹⁰

Students are expected, according to "the second martyr", to begin their studies by learning the Qur'ān by heart and becoming familiar with Qur'ānic exegesis. A student should study matters which he is capable of understanding. When coming to class he should bring with him the requisite study materials. A student's time should be divided as follows: at dawn he should go over his lesson, since dawn is the best time for memorizing; the daytime is the best time for writing and research; at night he should do his homework.

A student should behave politely towards his comrades. He should not compete

⁸⁹ "The second martyr", *Munyat al-murīd*, 106; Shams al-Dīn, *Zayn al-Dīn b. Aḥmad*, 192–197.

⁹⁰ "The second martyr", *Munyat al-murīd*, 126–134; Shams al-Dīn, *Zayn al-Dīn b. Aḥmad*, 215–225.

with anyone, nor sit in the middle of the circle, speak during the lesson, or read, unless given permission by the teacher.

These rules of behavior constitute a representative sample typical of the educational approach propounded by “the second martyr”. The rules are a mixture of ethical and educational maxims, whose analysis can tell us about students’ relations with their comrades and teachers, and the teaching methods used in class. The rules can be viewed as relating to three aspects:

A) The student as an individual – a student must want to learn and prepare himself for becoming a member of a student body seeking religious instruction.

B) Ethical considerations – a student must abide by rules of proper conduct towards his fellow students and his teacher.

C) Academic considerations – the rules of this type concern the way to choose one’s teacher, the subjects to be studied and the procedure by which one moves on to more advanced stages of study. The latter is mainly up to his colleagues and teachers, since in the system of study instituted by “the second martyr” there were no examinations, only the tasks given by the teacher, such as going over the lesson.

The financial and social situation of the students

Among Shīʿites, education is not limited by social or financial considerations. Neither the teacher nor the school demands payment, and so anyone who desires to study can do so. In the time and the place dealt with in the present paper, we find students from very different social backgrounds. The reason for attending a school was not monetary need. Since the only material obstacle to finishing one’s education was the need to support oneself, “the second martyr” urged his students not to let economic considerations affect their decision to study, and to be satisfied with the means they had.⁹¹

Still, the fact that one belonged to a family of scholars often helped considerably in easing a student’s financial worries. If one’s father was also the teacher, obviously a student’s financial worries were less. On the other hand, every student received a monthly stipend, in accordance with his academic diligence and attainments, in accordance with the Shīʿite practice of giving support to those engaged in learning and scholarly pursuits.

Some students combined study with work. “The second martyr” himself watched over his orchard at night and worked in commerce in order to support his family.⁹² Some students whose families owned land or engaged in trade were supported financially by their parents. Such families often sent one child to study and covered his expenses.

Although students can be said to have come from families with very different financial means, most were quite poor, with no steady source of income. However, what contributed to a certain extent to stability in their material situation was the

⁹¹ “The second martyr”, *Munyat al-murīd*, 102.

⁹² Al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, 7:138.

Shī'ite belief that although in general it was the duty of a person to pursue a livelihood, students of religion would have their economic needs met by Providence. This belief encouraged people to devote themselves to study without worrying about their livelihood. Another article of faith among Shī'ites was that patience was a necessary ingredient in the striving after knowledge; this made students willing to study even under difficult material conditions.

Socially, students were treated with respect, even if they were poor, and especially if they wore religious garb, consisting of a robe (*jilbāb*), a cloak (*'abā'a*) and a turban (*'imāma*). Greater respect was accorded to students who could trace their ancestry back to the Prophet. These would be called "Sayyid" and wear a black turban, in contrast to the "Shaykh", who wore a white turban. Students with the title of "Sayyid" were entitled to a "sayyid's share" of the "fifth", equal to half of what people would pay to the Prophet's descendants, as a contribution intended solely for students and scholars.⁹³

In learning there was no difference between "Sayyids" and "Shaykhs". In the Jabal 'Āmil region there arose families of scholars in which a tradition of religious study was passed on from one generation to the next. The male members of such families were all called "Shaykh"; this was the case, for example, with the families of "the first martyr" and "the second martyr".⁹⁴

A perusal of the biographies of students in the Jabal 'Āmil region included in al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī's *Amal al-āmāl* shows that relatively many belonged to well-known scholarly families. Such students would study, at least initially, with their fathers, and when they grew up and founded families of their own they would teach their own sons in turn.

Further education outside the Jabal 'Āmil region

Some local students were not content with what the local schools had to offer, and went to Iraq to further their education in the fields of Islamic jurisprudence and tradition. Others went in their quest for a broader horizon to countries such as Iran and India. Quite a few students from Jabal 'Āmil spent a considerable part of their lives seeking out teachers abroad in order to broaden their religious education.

Among the most popular places sought out by local students were the schools at al-Hilla and al-Najaf in Iraq. These were the preferred institutions for advanced studies, and the diplomas awarded by their teachers were much sought after. Thus, for example, both "the first martyr" and "the second martyr" studied at a number of schools in Iraq, as did many others as well. Going to Iraq to further one's studies became a tradition in the Jabal 'Āmil region, one which is still in force to this day. This is quite a natural development, in view of the fact that the schools in Iraq are older, and their teachers enjoy great prestige. Thus, for example, Shaykh Ḥasan, son of "the second martyr", went to Iraq after finishing his "preliminary" studies in his own country. He took up residence in al-Najaf, where he pursued advanced religious studies.⁹⁵

⁹³ Muṭahharī, *al-Islām wa-Īrān*, 321.

⁹⁴ Al-Amin, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 7:144.

⁹⁵ Al-Ḥasan, son of "the second martyr", *Ma'ālim al-dīn*, 6.

Although Iran, too, boasted of good schools, especially in Qumm and Iṣfahān, Jabal ʿĀmil students preferred to study in Iraq. There were a number of reasons for this. First of all, the language of instruction in Iraq was Arabic, so language was not a barrier. Secondly, Najaf was the site of the shrine of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 661 CE). Thirdly, the *ḥawza* in Najaf had an excellent reputation and offered a rich selection of subjects.

The custom of seeking further education in Iraq began before the period which the present study addresses. The earliest documented case of a student going to Iraq is that of Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUḏī al-Jizzīnī. He went to study in al-Ḥilla, where many subsequent students from Jabal ʿĀmil went as well. Later al-Najaf and other places, outside of Iraq, also became popular. The people of the Jabal ʿĀmil region were in constant contact with the scholars of Iraq, who answered the former's questions on Islamic jurisprudence. Thus, for example, the Shīʿites of Jabal ʿĀmil maintained contact with al-Sharīf al-Murtaḏā (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn) (d. 436 AH / 1044 CE), as well as with al-Shaykh al-Mufīd and his student Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Karājakī (d. 449/1057), who made his home in the city of Sidon.⁹⁶

Among the local Shīʿites who went to Iraq we may mention Shaykh Najam al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-Manārī (728/1327) in the middle of the seventh century AH, who was accredited by the scholars of al-Ḥilla, and Shaykh Ṣāliḥ b. Mushrif al-ʿĀmilī, grandfather of “the second martyr”, a student of the well-known scholar al-Ḥillī (al-Hasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭahar, 1325 CE). Such study journeys continued into the period covered by the present study. After their period of study abroad, students would return equipped with a solid intellectual and cultural basis that enabled them to teach at home. This process culminated with the journey of “the first martyr” (Muḥammad b. Makkī, 786/1384) who upon his return founded the first religious school in the Jabal ʿĀmil region.

Many students wandered among the various institutions of Shīʿite learning in order to expand their knowledge, and eventually taught in one of the three main centers of Shīʿite education: Jabal ʿĀmil, Iraq and Iran. For example, al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī studied with his father in Jabal ʿĀmil, then moved to Iraq, and later went to Iṣfahān to complete his studies.⁹⁷

Many local students also travelled to Iran, in particular after the founding of the Safavid state there (1501–1722), under whose auspices Shīʿism, pronounced the state religion, became widespread, and Shīʿite religious education flourished. In Safavid Iran, students from the Jabal ʿĀmil region found respite from Ottoman repression. Iran remained popular with local students throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries CE. The immigrants would take their families with them and send their sons to school in Iran, or teach them at home. For example, Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, d. 1030/1620), who held the post of Shaykh al-Islām in Iran, came there with his father Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (d. 984/1576), who fled from the Turks after the death of “the second martyr”.

⁹⁶ Makkī, *al-Ḥaraka al-fikriyya wal-adabiyya fī Jabal ʿĀmil*, 25.

⁹⁷ Al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, 9:59.

In fact, immigrants from Jabal ʿĀmil came to occupy a distinguished position in Safavid Iran. Many attained the post of Shaykh al-Islam, the most prominent being the magistrate al-Karakī (d. 940/1533). They built schools and mosques, and wrote books in Arabic and Persian on religious topics as well as mathematics and astronomy. Another wave of emigration of students from Jabal ʿĀmil to Iran took place after the governor of Sidon, Muḥammad Pasha, known as al-Jazzār, took over the region in 1781,⁹⁸ massacred the local inhabitants, imprisoned scholars, and burned their libraries. Subsequently entire families moved to such Iranian cities as Aṣfahān and Qumm, where many remained for generations, thanks to the political and military stability in Iran.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century some students from the Jabal ʿĀmil region journeyed as far as India and the city of Hyderabad. Among them were Jamāl al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Jabī (d. 1687 CE), who attained a prominent position in Hyderabad,⁹⁹ and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Niʿmat Allāh al-ʿĀmilī, also known as Ibn Khātūn (d. after 1589), who journeyed to Iran and India, eventually settling in Hyderabad, where he rose, in the reign of the sultan ʿAbd Allāh, to the position of Grand Vizier and mediator between the sultan and the Shah of Iran.

Our inquiry into the lives of teachers and students can provide a glimpse into the character of the educational system in the Jabal ʿĀmil region during the period with which the present paper deals. Among the characteristics of this system we may mention the lack of a specific age at which one became a student, and also an indifference to material matters, since teaching and learning were considered religious duties. Islamic jurisprudence formed the basis of learning. Both teachers and students were required to possess certain specific virtues.

An interesting aspect of the educational system under consideration is its voluntary character. Students were limited to a specific curriculum and could choose their teachers; teachers could choose their own curriculum and textbooks, and could also accept or reject students as they chose.

The voluntary nature of education did not depend on the type of institution. It was as true of study groups in teachers' homes as well as of schools. In all cases the teacher was the main focus of educational activity, and students could change teachers and even schools without any problem.

It is worth noting, too, that relations between teacher and students did not have a financial or economic dimension, since students did not pay their teachers, who considered their teaching duties the fulfillment of a religious commandment.

Conclusion

We have seen that the Shī'ites of the Jabal ʿĀmil region developed a system of religious education in the period with which the present study deals. This system took into consideration the needs and possibilities of their surroundings, but was also in-

⁹⁸ For more information on al-Jazzār's occupation of Jabal ʿĀmil see: Gharīb, *Naḥwa tārikh fikrī-siyāsī li-shīʿat Lubnān*, 1:192; Suwayd, *al-Tārikh al-ʿaskarī lil-muqātaʿāt al-lubnāniyya fī ʿahd al-imāratayni*, 2: 512–518; ʿAl Šafā, *Tārikh Jabal ʿĀmil*, 136.

⁹⁹ Al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, 8:130.

fluenced by inherited Shī'ite educational habits brought in from outside, especially from Iraq.

Shī'ite education in the region was in the main of a voluntary and individual nature, rather than possessing an institutional character. It was based mainly on the desire of the student to learn, and on the student-teacher relationship. The Shī'ite scholars in the region did make efforts to set up a system of schools whose educational activities would be continuous and uninterrupted, but in fact schools remained dependent on their founders' presence and financial support, and were unable to impose an abiding system of rules which students and teachers would obey.

Education was thus constrained by individual voluntary relations between students and their teacher. Students could freely choose their teachers, and teachers were not compelled to accept a student they did not want. The student-teacher relationship was thus based on mutual liking and trust, in addition to religious requirements concerning ethical aspects of the relationship.

The local populace of the Jabal 'Āmil region made an effort to provide the necessary material support for education in the form of the "fifth" and other charitable contributions. It also provided an appropriate atmosphere for scholars and students by giving them the social status they deserved. Due to the great respect accorded to religious scholars, families of scholars became a focus of social polarization.

Scholars' and students' social status was not associated with financial or political power, for in the Jabal 'Āmil region learning meant becoming well-acquainted with Shī'ite religious sciences in a society ridden with poverty, due to its political and geographical circumstances. These circumstances gave rise to a number of pressing educational goals. The most important of these was the establishment and dissemination of the Shī'ite creed by means of schools and other places of learning. For that reason local scholars made an effort to establish schools where local and foreign students could receive an education. Eventually political pressures put an end to these efforts and forced local students to emigrate and study in far-away places such as Iran, where they continued the work of disseminating the Shī'ite faith.

We also saw that the doctrines of Twelver Shī'ism constituted the foundation of education in the Jabal 'Āmil region, in line with the beliefs of the local populace. Although "the second martyr" wanted to expand the spectrum of subjects taught in the local schools and include such subjects as mathematics, astronomy and medicine, which he believed were socially useful, the social and political conditions in the region during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods made it impossible to offer such subjects, which require encouragement and support from the state. Unfortunately the state in this case focused its attention on other groups, whose members belonged to the official state religion.

Although, as we saw, the main focus of study was religious, the study materials themselves were divided into numerous separate disciplines, such as jurisprudence, tradition, doctrine and language. In each of these specialized subjects important books were written, in particular by "the first martyr" and "the second martyr", the two most prominent educational figures in the period under discussion. In fact, some of their books are still used in Shī'ite *hawzas* to this day.

Schools, we saw, played an important part in the educational system of the Jabal 'Āmil region. These were boarding schools, where local and foreign students lived and learned. The schools provided a stable learning environment in which students and teachers were in constant contact, to their mutual benefit. The founder of a school would usually concentrate on carrying out the various stages of education, at the expense of developing new subjects. This had the effect of impeding the progress of curriculum development. The geographical isolation of the schools, established in the wild mountainous areas of Jabal 'Āmil, contributed to this as well, but also provided a modicum of security. Another result of this isolation was a focus on jurisprudence and on repetition, which was considered an appropriate way to preserve the Shī'ite heritage and identity. As we saw, in recent generations religious scholars have attempted to introduce new subjects into the curriculum to make it more appropriate to modern needs, without ignoring more traditional subjects. This gave rise to some new textbooks and some changes in the curriculum.

In conclusion we may say that in the period in question the Shī'ites in the Jabal 'Āmil region succeeded in establishing an educational system which helped bring about a cultural revival under very difficult political and economic circumstances. This revival resulted in the dissemination of Shī'ite culture and thought, and enriched Shī'ite literature with original works on jurisprudence, doctrine and language, some of which are still being used today in religious instruction.

The system of religious instruction considered here was appropriate for its time and place. It achieved its goal of preserving the Shī'ite heritage and disseminating it among the adherents of Shī'ism. This does not mean, of course, that it is still appropriate today; certainly Shī'ite scholars and intellectuals have a duty to develop a new curriculum more in keeping with modern times and modern educational goals.

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or

Early Oriental Studies at Uppsala

I

Studies of the Orient and of languages from the Middle Ages to the 19th century

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Swedish scholarship cannot be separated from the wider European culture, and thus, when trying to depict Oriental Studies in Sweden and Uppsala,¹ it is necessary to ask the question of what was going on in the rest of the scholarly world. How was the Orient conceived and what was the position and form of its study after the Middle Ages during the following centuries?

At Swedish universities, as in the rest of Europe the study of the Bible was for centuries the essential concern, and the Faculties of Theology held the foremost position. It was within such a tradition that the original study of the Oriental languages, with Hebrew at the core, was originally pursued at the Academy. Moreover, even when a new professorship designated *Professor linguarum* was established in 1605 within the Faculty of Philosophy at Uppsala University, the purpose was to promote the languages of the Bible: Hebrew and Greek. After a few decades the study of the two languages was separated, and two different chairs came to exist side-by-side in the same faculty. In such a culture of learning, with no clear boundaries between Biblical and language studies, all aspects of Oriental Studies were of interest; the kind of language studies that was pursued might most adequately be called philological studies.

The Faculty of Theology had the highest rank in the academic setting, a tradition which was now and then challenged by the other faculties. This could give rise to certain conflicts in the case of Oriental Studies and especially delicate were, of

¹ Oriental studies in Sweden up to the 1720s have been exhaustively recorded (in Swedish) by Göran Bäärnhielm, "Orientalistiken i Sverige fram till 1720-talet" in: *En resenär i svenska stormaktstidens språk-landskap. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710)*. Ed. by Éva Á. Csató, Gunilla Gren-Eklund and Folke Sandgren, pp. 39–87. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Skrifter rörande Uppsala universitet. C. Organisation och historia 81.) Uppsala 2007. An article (in English) about the Chair of Oriental Languages in Uppsala was published by Frithiof Rundgren, "Semitic Languages", in: *Faculty of Arts at Uppsala University. Linguistics and Philology*, pp. 99–112 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Uppsala University 500 Years 6.) Uppsala 1976. The Chair of Oriental Languages is also well treated – though under the anachronistic title of "Semitic Languages" – by Håkan Malmberg (in English) "The Professorship of Semitic Languages 400 years – a detailed history of the first three centuries", pp. 11–36 in: *The Professorship of Semitic Languages at Uppsala University 400 years*. Ed. by Bo Isaksson, Mats Eskhult and Gail Ramsay (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 24) Uppsala 2007. In the same volume information is also gathered in an article by Sigrid Kahle "Semitic scholars – philologists, humanists, historians", pp. 37–67.

course, all claims to orthodoxy in treating the Biblical texts. Professors of Oriental Languages could in certain cases be more inclined to unorthodox ideas than the theologians. But generally these professors tended to be cautious and kept to orthodox religious views, since they usually strived to be raised to one of the theological chairs, which also were better paid.

Language studies thus had its role, albeit a secondary one, in the Faculties of Philosophy through the chairs of Greek, Oriental Languages, and also Rhetoric (Latin). These three together preserved the academic ideal of the Renaissance of the *homo trilinguis*; such was the situation during the 17th century and on into the 18th century. Later on, when natural sciences were promoted and the educational ambitions of the universities were widened to other professions than the clerical one in the latter part of the 18th century, many new chairs were established in new and quite different fields. Professorships of other languages than the Oriental and Classical ones, however, were still not established until a century later.

Representatives of Oriental studies in Sweden from the Middle Ages to the 18th century

The study of Oriental languages as closely connected with the Bible and the Old Testament was underway long before it gained a place in the academies. In Sweden Hebrew was initially studied privately or at German universities. The first evidence of teaching Hebrew is to be found in the records of the gymnasium of Nyköping in the 1580s, the teacher bearing the name of *Olaus Martini*.

Uppsala University (established 1477) was re-established 1595 after a period of decay during the 16th century caused by opposition to the evangelical reform of the church. At an originally Jesuit college in Stockholm that flourished for some decades at the end of the 16th century a certain *Nicolaus Olai Bothniensis* titled himself *Hebraicarum Literarum Professor*; after 1595 he came to be one of the professors of theology at Uppsala University. His activities are attested by the fact that he also was the author of a (lost) grammar of Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic and Syriac. During the 17th century the Professor of Oriental Languages – the chair established in 1605 as mentioned above – gradually took on the responsibility also for languages other than Hebrew. The tasks of this professor of the Faculty of Philosophy were expanded to include teaching Rabbinic literature and instructing the students in writing verses in Hebrew. This was codified in the long time valid 1655 charter of the university, which expressly prescribed that the professor of Oriental Languages should lecture on: Hebrew from the Old Testament; Chaldean (i.e. Aramaic) from *Esra* and *Daniel* as well as from the *Targum*, Syriac from the *New Testament* and the *Psalms* etc; Arabic from old translations of the Bible and from other reliable Arabic texts; and Rabbinic, mainly from the commentaries to the Bible. Furthermore it was prescribed that dissertations should be written about disputed texts from the Holy Bible in order to establish the orthodox meaning. If theological dogmas were discussed in a dissertation, censorship must be exercised by the Faculty of Theology before publication.

The first professor of the Uppsala Chair of Oriental Languages, *Claudius Johan-*

nis Opsopaeus (Kock),² served between 1605 and 1608, then left the Academy, as was most common, for service in a parish. His successor was *Johannes Rudbeckius*,³ subsequently bishop in Västerås and father of the famous Uppsala polyhistor *Olaus Rudbeck*.⁴ The career path of professors of Oriental Languages normally passed through the most prestigious Faculty, that of Theology, and from there often to some ministry of the church.

During the 17th century there were a number of highly learned professors of Oriental Languages in Uppsala who were held in good repute. As students they had nearly without exception journeyed abroad to study, often for some years. After such *peregrinationes* they usually maintained their contacts with the famous teachers and fellow students at the universities they had visited. The academic society of Europe was clearly international; there were no boundaries for scholarship.

In 1650 an extra professor of Oriental Languages was appointed by Queen Christina, *Christian Ravius* from Berlin. He had a special connection with a future holder of the ordinary chair, *Gustaf Peringer* (acting professor 1681–1695), who will be introduced in more detail in this paper, and through whom Oriental Studies at Uppsala University will also be exemplified in the following articles.

Of the followers of Peringer who held the chair in Uppsala might be mentioned certain names, *Johannes Palmroot*, *Daniel Lundius*, and *Olof Celsius senior*.⁵ Some of the orientalist worth mentioning here, *Michael Eneman* and *Johan Gabriel Sparfvenfeldt*⁶ also travelled in the Orient and brought back important Oriental manuscripts to Sweden.

The first masters of language (“språkmästare”) were employed at the university at the time of Gustaf Peringer, also to improve the students’ knowledge of Hebrew and Rabbinic. During the lifetime of Peringer, other universities also were established in the realm of Sweden. The university of Lund was founded in 1666, and already in 1667 a professor of Oriental Languages was appointed, *Petrus Holm*. His successor, *Haqvin Stridzberg*,⁷ was actually a pupil of Peringer in Uppsala. The studies developed, as in Uppsala, in very close contact with the Biblical studies in the Faculty of Theology.

In Åbo, then in the Finnish part of Sweden, a Swedish university was established

² He lived 1578–1616.

³ Living 1581–1646, professor of Oriental Languages 1609–1611.

⁴ In Swedish an impressive monograph is devoted to him by Gunnar Eriksson, *Rudbeck 1630–1702: liv, lärdom, dröm i barockens Sverige*. Stockholm 2002. In English by the same author there is a shorter monograph *The Atlantic vision: Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque science*. (Uppsala Studies in History of Science 19). Canton, Mass. 1994.

⁵ The dates of these as professors of Oriental languages were Palmroot (1659–1727) 1696–1703, Lundius (1666–1747) 1703–1712, and Celsius Sr (1670–1756) 1715–1727. All were raised to the Faculty of Theology after their possession of the chair of Oriental Languages.

⁶ Eneman (1676–1714) held the chair 1712–1714. Sparfvenfeldt (1655–1727) was a private scholar, familiar with Oriental culture but especially devoted to studying the Slavonic world, see *J.G. Sparfvenfeldt's Diary of a Journey to Russia 1684–87*, ed. by Ulla Birgegård. (Slavica Suecana 1.) Stockholm 2002.

⁷ Petrus Holm (1667–1671), professor of Oriental Languages at Lund University 1667–1671, then returned to Uppsala for a chair in the Faculty of Theology. Haqvin Stridzberg (1660–1718) held a disputas 1683 in Uppsala on a passage in Leviticus and was professor in Lund 1684–1712. After that he moved on to a chair in the Faculty of Theology.

as early as 1640 and the professor responsible for Oriental studies held the title *Professor Linguarum*. This also included the study of Greek. The language study, as well as the theological studies of the Biblical languages, were represented by a number of renowned scholars up until the end of the 18th century.

Even earlier than Åbo University, a Swedish university was established in 1630 in Dorpat (Tartu, Estland); after an interlude (from 1656) it was re-established in 1690, but the town had to surrender to the Russians in 1710. During the Swedish period of the history of the university, there were also important studies performed in the fields of Oriental Languages and Biblical Studies, and the university was a resource for humanities in all respects for Swedish scholars, both in their period of education and as professors.

Some Swedish Oriental scholars were also students and professors at the universities of Pernau (in Estland) and Greifswald, both under the rule of Sweden during the 17th century. Moreover, at two of the Swedish gymnasia, connected to the dioceses of Strängnäs and Västerås, Oriental Languages were taught and future Oriental scholars were fostered.

Some Swedes travelled in the Orient during the 17th and 18th centuries, and through their journeys and reports a general interest in the cultures in the East, outside of the areas of dominant interest for the church and the academies was promoted. Such travellers were *Bengt Oxenstierna* and *Nils Mattsson Kiöping*.⁸ Politicians and diplomats, such as *Claes Brorsson Rålamb* and *Nils Bielke*⁹ also contributed to the knowledge of other cultures.

The study of the “Oriens” at the academies

What forms did academic Oriental Studies take at the time of the establishment of many European universities and during the subsequent period until the 19th century? And what legacy may have been maintained until the present day? There has been a continuous process of change with the field, and the risk of being anachronistic must be considered when describing such studies. Changes of terminology are connected with the building of new worlds, call it changing paradigms or whatever; but in any event this makes it difficult to look at history without modern preconceptions.

It seems to be the most rewarding to choose the 17th century as the pivot for a historical view on Oriental Studies and the present survey will be augmented with other articles presenting elucidating examples from that time in this field of studies at Uppsala University.

There are two terms of central import, preliminarily in need of being adequately outlined as they were understood in past times, viz. “Oriental Studies” and “language studies”. Briefly put, the word “Oriens” is etymologically and semantically akin to such notions as Anatolē and Levante, all of them which suggest Morgenland. It is a well known fact that from ancient times, as an adjective, this merely generally

⁸ Oxenstierna (“Resare-Bengt”=“Bengt the Traveler” 1623–1702) and Kiöping (1621–1680) both wrote about their journeys in the Orient.

⁹ Rålamb (1622–1698) and Bielke (1644–1716) are examples of well-informed politicians with wide interests.

describes anything in the East. In the academic world of Oriental Studies in past times, it was a rather precise geographical notion of which the main idea was the same that today is usually termed "The Middle East". The term was not used to convey a geographically wider content until the 19th or even 20th century. Above all, "The Orient" or "The East" was certainly in early times not the conceptual counterpart of "The Occident" or "The West". It is furthermore probable that in this Orient, the Middle East, one would feel more or less at home, since its places as well as its people were quite well known in a world where the stories of the Bible were alive.

As concerns scholarship about languages, there were during 16th, 17th and 18th centuries basically no methodical changes. There were more or less vital debates going on also during this span of time, and the focus was not always one and the same. It might, however, be claimed that the 18th century was the most conservative period, before the field was profoundly renewed starting in the 19th century. The availability of texts was provided for, but Biblical and Classical texts were nearly the only ones that were the subject of study and publication. An interest in publishing texts in other languages was lacking. After the 16th century on the other hand, the ecclesiastical texts came to include even those translated into the vernacular languages. The practice of interpretation of texts naturally raised certain theoretical questions about language, at least about what was right or wrong in the specific language, a reflection that, however, was expressed not theoretically but practically. The situation for languages at the academies as especially bound to the Classical and Oriental languages thus came to give the scholarship in precisely these fields a central and long-lasting importance for the development of language studies, a matter that deserves a more detailed survey.

Background and development of studies of languages

The undertakings of the professors of *linguae*, languages, were mainly philological, and so it remained for many centuries at the universities until the emergence of a purely linguistic – theoretical and practical – study of language. The emphasis was on the interpretation of texts, the Biblical and Classical ones. Even the instruction leading to competence in using languages was confined to such languages, i.e. Latin and to a certain extent also Greek and Hebrew. Even though scholars undoubtedly were competent in speaking modern European languages as well, due to the international nature of scholarship, this was a private matter, and not included in the education at the universities. Society, especially academic society, was until the 19th century not merely a local affair but rather an international one. It seems that the professors of Uppsala University really did learn many European languages, to varying degrees of mastery. This was due especially to their early studies abroad, which gave them lasting contacts with the scholarly world. During the 16th and 17th centuries the German universities were of importance, as well as the Dutch ones. Also universities in England and France and even in Italy and Spain were visited. The tradition of studies abroad was upheld to a certain extent in the 18th century as well, even though to a lesser degree.

The importance of language in the life of the academies seems clear when we

consider that they had inherited the medieval system of learning built on *trivium*, for which language was the essence – i.e. grammar, dialectics and rhetoric. This was a practice of undisputed dominance all through the 16th and 17th century in basic education. Even though the academic fields of Oriental Languages, Greek and Latin were not much concerned with topics about the structure of the languages, certain special linguistic matters were being continuously discussed, not least in the 17th century. There are, in fact, two particular questions in the thinking on language which have persisted since rather early times. They are traceable even in the most ancient documentation available, both among the Greeks, and also in the Indian and Arabic cultures. These questions concern the *function* and also – at least in a special sense – the *nature* of language, including its genesis.

The function of language

Firstly, language as function has incessantly provoked interest, i.e. as *an expression of thoughts*. A discussion in this respect was headed by Aristotle, and extensively discussed during the Middle Ages and in the vein of Aristotle, at least until the 18th century. The question could be said to be inevitable within the discipline of logic – the very basic issue of whether natural language was of use for logic.

In the field of logic and philosophy the possibility of a common structure of language was discussed during the period in terms of “rational grammar” (*grammaire raisonnée*). This discussion was centred around the French school of Port Royal,¹⁰ where the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* was published in 1660. It was in fact based on the logic of the Middle Ages, and there was also a link to certain ideas of Descartes. The impact of the *grammaire générale* was not immediately evident, but such discussions on theoretical questions of language were renewed during the Enlightenment, and taken up a century later in the *Encyclopédie*. A similar discourse about questions of language was also to a certain extent conducted within English empiricism from Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and in the latter part of the 17th century represented by the philosopher John Locke (1632–1704).

In Sweden the European intellectual tradition of discussing theoretical matters in certain fields does not seem to have been very well known.¹¹ There is not much evidence to suggest that there was any interest at the Nordic academies during the 17th and 18th centuries in discussing philosophical issues about language – or other scholarly matters. There are no obvious traces even in the works of the specialists of philosophy. Scholars claiming to be specialists in philosophy devoted their studies to metaphysics, not to mention theosophy; they were as a rule not very interested in

¹⁰ Port Royal was the scholarly, jansenist and anti-jesuitic school which produced works on dogmatics, logic and grammatical theory during a number of decades in the middle of the 17th century (1637–1661). The severe Christian morals and the jansenist message of the school brought about a conflict with the Sedes, and it was closed down after some decades.

¹¹ Even though the students who later became professors in Uppsala – especially in the 17th century – made their peregrinations and stayed at various European universities, it is well known that, for example, such a general issue as the Cartesian ideas were late to become a topic of discussion and subsequent conflict at Uppsala University; as late as 1689 Cartesian anti-biblical interpretations were forbidden at the academy, nearly 40 years after the death of Descartes.

questions about language. Language was there to reveal the ontological mysteries, and even if there were schools of logic and debates about the great masters of logic, the logical methods were nothing else than inherited instruments for discussing the eternal truths. Significantly, the Chair in Philosophy at Uppsala University was not very coveted, and its holders seem to have regarded it as a transitional position, soon leaving it for other ones, even for the philological chairs, not to mention the theological ones.

Such a weak interest in theoretical matters should also be seen in the light of the fact that the academies from the very beginning and also during these centuries were mainly looked upon as educational institutions, teaching professional skills rather than research institutes and sites for theoretical discussions. The most common reference to a scholar of languages in academic works in Uppsala¹² for several centuries and up until the 18th century, concerned the editorial philologist Joseph Justus Scaliger and his view on language as a means for the study of texts.¹³

On the origin of language

The second theme of reflection on language, its nature, was more or less a question of ontology, from early times quite close to theological questions, and it received increasing attention in the centuries after the Middle Ages. The precise question asked, and answered in different ways, concerned *the primary genesis of language and languages*.

This question had a connection with certain general ideas of language, even if it in practice applies the language material in a particular way. It must here especially be remembered that during the period preceding the 19th century such ideas were not at all historical, at least not according to our idea of history. Whether there was something common to all languages that could be explained by solving the riddle of its origin has been a standing issue until modern times, but the solutions have been changing. At the outset the solution to the genesis of languages was clearly religious. For centuries, in the Middle Ages and so on, the discussion centred on which was the original language and thus the ideal language of greatest authority. As long as scholarship was dominated by theology and the message of the Bible, monogenesis was a basic assumption, not only of the whole world as such, but also all its manifestations, including language. It was even the responsibility of the theologians and of the professors of Oriental Languages to promote this message.

According to the text of the Bible, languages arouse in great numbers when the sons of Noah spread all over the world.¹⁴ Actually this was not discussed in the dissertations on language (either in Uppsala or in Europe in general) with any onto-

¹² Such works were mostly dissertations, mostly written by the professors; there was in fact no abundance of other independent scholarly publications by the professors.

¹³ Scaliger (1540–1609) had already in the 16th century broken since long (13th century) dominating ideas of the Modistae intricate ideas of grammar foreboding a general grammar, though based on Latin, in favor of an orientation towards sheer text interpretation which aimed at historical criticism.

¹⁴ *Genesis* 11,1 “Once upon a time all the world spoke a single language and used the same words.” *Genesis* 11,7 “Come, let us go down there and confuse their speech, so that they will not understand what they say to one another.”

logical depth, but instead clung to and reported as an undisputed and – in our view – ahistorical truth, based merely on the idea of the divine and the myths of creation.

Apart from the established idea of Hebrew as the primeval language, other ideas about the genesis of languages that might be called more secular had long since been floating around in Europe, probably taken up by scholars versed in classical texts. Such ideas actually came to have an influence on Swedish academic minds. It was held by more and more scholars that “Scythian” was the primeval language, often also connected with Celtic. Such a choice of ideas did connect to learning about both Classical and Oriental Languages, since Scythian was identified as a real language in the East, and as such often referred to in Greek texts. One of the representatives of the theory was the philosopher Leibniz,¹⁵ who gave much thought to language, both in terms of its theory and its genesis. Leibniz’s main discussion partner on the topic was the philologist and Oriental scholar Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704). The supposition that the Scythian language was primeval, turned out to be rather flexible, and not least of interest to Nordic scholars, who could connect their language more easily to Scythian than to Hebrew, especially in a time of growing rational thinking. One effect of this conception – or perhaps a cause of its spread – was that, when a more secular kind of genesis was assumed, a good deal space was given to various manifestations of “goropianism”, in Sweden known as “rudbeckianism”. The idea was promoted in the debates of the Academic world and treated in not a few academic dissertations.¹⁶

The thoughts on the origin of language, and how and where it arised, had a certain connection with the Oriental Languages and the Classical texts, but a prime factor for implementing such thoughts was the general *material* of languages made available at the time.

¹⁵ Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716), philosopher and mathematician. For more on Leibniz’ ideas of language, see the subsequent discussion about him as an early pathfinder for modern linguistics.

¹⁶ This started with *Johannes Bureus* (1568–1652) who through his recording of the runic inscriptions initiated an interest in the Nordic linguistic heritage. The focus on the Gothic language emerged in the 17th century when *Codex Argenteus* was edited 1665 by *Franciscus Junius*, who also edited a Gothic glossary in 1684. Other Swedish scholars adhering to the same idea were *Georg Stiernhielm*, *Olof Rudbeck Sr* and *Jr* and *Erik Benzelius Jr*. Junius placed the Gothic language within the group of German languages, but did not assume it to be the original language. *Georg Stiernhielm* (1598–1672), in the introduction to his translation of the Gothic Bible, mentioned the idea of a Japhetic language group, the name deriving from one of the three sons of Noah. Japhet and his group was equated with the Scythians, well known at the time in the discussions of the genesis of languages. The connection established by Stiernhielm was then used also by the two Olof Rudbecks, father and son (who in any case both still reverently, pointed at Hebrew as the most important language) and by *Erik Benzelius Jr* (1675–1743), who had been a pupil of Leibniz. Still in the 18th century one of the more famous innovators of language studies at Uppsala University, *Johan Ihre* (1707–1780) held on to the ideas and wrote in the introduction to his *Glossarium Suiogothicum* roughly: *The Greek and the Gothic languages are similar, both with Scythian as their origin. The Scyths called themselves Goths or Getes. The Celts are also Scyths by origin and they founded Rome, which is why Latin is akin to their language. Also the Slavic languages, to which Finnish, Hungarian and Lappish belong, also directly originate from Scythian. The reason that Persian is similar to Gothic is that Scythians once dominated Persia. Hebrew is different, though very ancient, but cannot be proved to be the origin of other languages.*

The recording of languages

A rather intense activity to document languages in grammars and dictionaries had begun after the Middle Ages. In Europe projects were introduced giving evidence of and promoting knowledge of many different languages, not only the Classical and Biblical ones; also languages in far-away countries were dealt with. Grammars of European languages like French, Italian, Spanish, Polish and Church Slavic had seen the light already during the 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁷ In connection with a world at that point open to colonization, and subsequently Christian missionary work outside of Europe, the horizon widened. New political and economic contacts gave rise to knowledge about other cultures. Some of the persons involved in such projects – not least Jesuit missionaries – showed a special interest in languages, which led to the publication as early as the 16th century of grammars of what could be termed “exotic” languages; this went so far that even American Indian languages were recorded. As far as Asia was concerned, grammars and glossaries were written in the 17th century for Japanese, Vietnamese and certain Indian languages, and for Persian as well. The latter, due to its being related to Scythian, turned out to have a special significance for the discussion on the genesis of languages.

One consequence of the language documentation enterprises was that different languages might be put side-by-side to be compared. Postellus¹⁸ was the first scholar with such an ambition; in 1538 he edited a seminal work treating 12 different languages, one of the earliest representatives of the interest in compiling such a composite material. A special genre was then developed, the so-called polyglottic collections,¹⁹ which in the long run came to be an important resource for language studies. In the course of time, more and more languages were added and the genre developed into real dictionaries; by about 1800 these documented up to 800 languages. This became a rich source of material even for the more modern comparative linguistics, as it came into being in the 19th century. There was more than one work of this kind, gathering and comparing glosses and even morphological features of different languages.²⁰

In view of the entire discussion about the original language of mankind, it must be stressed that it was not the *history* of the language or languages that was in focus, and by no means was the internal development of the languages reflected upon. Neither was a grouping together of languages of any interest, especially not accord-

¹⁷ Such a unique language of Europe as Basque was treated already 1562 in a book by the Spaniard Franciscus Sanctius on Latin syntax.

¹⁸ Guillaume Barentonius Postellus (1510–1581). *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum introductio* (= Introduction to 12 Languages with Characters of Different Alphabets). Postellus, however, clearly claimed that Hebrew was the primeval language.

¹⁹ *Mithridates* by Konrad Gesner is usually singled out as the first of these collections. The title came to apply to all works of the kind, originating from the king Mithridates of Pontus in the first century BC, who was told to have conquered 22 nations and learnt the languages of all of them. The original *Mithridates* was published in 1555, and the first edition contains the Lord's Prayer in precisely 22 languages.

²⁰ A particular contribution to the genre was by a scholar from Uppsala, a geographer and cartographer also interested in ethnography, Philip Johan Strahlenberg (1676–1747). He was mainly concerned with “Tatarian” languages and people in his work, *Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa och Asien* (1730), but he also gathered 32 languages in a section of the work entitled *Harmonia Linguarum*, recording the numerals in particular.

ing to a genealogy constructed on a historical basis. My contention is that historical linguistics in our sense actually was not possible without the impetus of an idea of evolution in the vein of Darwin; also, a historian like Ranke must probably be presupposed for judging changes of language as a historical process, just as a Saussure was needed in order to look at language as structure in a productive way. Moreover, a new view on phonetic facts was necessary to find sound laws. None of this occurred earlier than the 19th century, which is also when such terms as “Indo-European” and its complement, “Semitic”, were finally applied.

The path to modern linguistics

The basic method of comparing words was in our view a rather primitive one. Even so, this did not mean that the results were always wrong. The contribution below by Bo Utas will give an example of findings of connections that later were confirmed by the new methods of historical language studies in the 19th century. The method for comparison developed in the 16th/17th centuries was still mainly dominant in the first half of the 18th century, namely an idea of “permutations”. The method had a rather primitive view of phonetics, and the explanation of changes referred to letters rather than to sounds. The changes were not recorded as diachronic events, but the differences were registered schematically and synchronized. However, now and then there did occur a fragmentary registration of the changes as following certain laws, in the vein of what later on came to be developed as systemic laws. Leibniz, who was the most prominent philosopher at the gate to the 18th century, displayed an interest in the matter of the structure of language, but he also held theoretical ideas about its genesis²¹ in a way that anticipated modern thought within language and linguistics. The most far-seeing work of his, which on a philosophical basis treated all the at that time current questions about language, was his *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement humain*, written in 1704, though not printed until 1765. The main topic was knowledge and human understanding, and concerning language he concentrated on its relation to thought, the philosophical question ever since Aristotle. In addition, he described some methodological demands for etymologies which stressed that a kinship between words must be based on affinities between both sound and meaning. On this point he clearly anticipated modern comparative linguistics as it emerged in the 19th century, for which phonology and semantics were the two cornerstones. Not until such a method was firmly established did it become possible to find recurring patterns and sound laws. Still, during the 18th century, the concept of etymology mostly remained a mapping of the forms of words, both with and without the ambition of comparison, and in fact really not finding their history.

Hints about the essential fact that languages change over time were thus already present in the 17th century, but it was not until the growing historicism of the 19th century, that, as pointed out above, an idea based on language change was clearly expressed. A breeding ground for such ideas is found in the Enlightenment and its

²¹ Cf. above about his more concrete standpoint about Scythian as the primeval language.

Dictionnaire raisonné, which at least to a certain extent advanced the idea of a genetic and historical affinity between different languages, at the same time as the text of the Bible was challenged as not being the primary source for explaining the world. But in no way did the texts of the Enlightenment show any definitive break with tradition. Even many persons renowned as “enlightened” held rather unreflectingly traditional views; this can be said not only of the rather conservative philologists at the academies. Even studying the great *Encyclopédie* you will find very traditional descriptions of the genesis and development of languages, to a certain extent presenting a sort of Gaulish goropianism. Thus, in the general article on languages, the contention is that French is similar to the language of the Druids and subsequently close to Celtic, a language, which in turn displays similarities with Hebrew. It also seems that the authority of the Bible is still not obliterated, though it is somewhat moderated.

A main contention should be that language studies went through a gradual process of development during the centuries, and in fact not many bold leaps are discernable. The shift to positioning all instances of human behaviour in a historical framework, close to evolutionary ideas, was most influential for the study of languages as well as of all the humanities. William Jones, at the end of the 18th century, certainly had an impact on language studies by opening up the world, but in view of everything that had already been discussed by scholars for centuries, he did not establish the starting-point; his contribution should merely be seen as one modest step in the development of language studies. The decisive point for the emergence of comparative linguistics, on the other hand, was the material and its analysis that Franz Bopp presented some decades into the 19th century. But he, in turn, also had his forerunners, and was integrated within a process of development of scholarly thinking. Even the new ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt in the 19th century about the inner essence of languages – obviously prefiguring structuralism – were certainly founded on tradition, even if expressed in an innovative form. At any time in the world of ideas there is a dependence on tradition.

By the end of the 19th century the interest in the history of languages shifted to a deeper interest in the structure of language, though even then historical linguistics survived. The two questions mentioned above have, in fact, had an abiding interest – where does language come from and how does it express thought?

A scholar in the field of Oriental Studies in Uppsala at the end of the 17th century

If we try imagine one particular phase of the ongoing academic activities in Oriental studies we might pick out the year 1685. At 9 a.m. the Old Auditory Minor,²² the building adjacent to the more recent university building Gustavianum from 1625, a lecture will be given on the *Psalterium* by David. At the start of the term it has been announced that the lectures are devoted to the close study of the holy words of the

²² The actual building was replaced in the 18th century by the “Old Consistory House”, which remains at that location to-day.

text, and that various versions will be compared.²³ The Biblical text this morning is not to be interpreted by a professor of Theology but by a professor of Oriental languages. The audience of students at the lecture are mainly future priests, even bishops, some of whom will probably also be serving in academic positions. A very small number of students, but to increase some decades later, will become civil servants. The acting *Professor Linguarum Orientalium* is Gustaf Peringer.

This professor, who lived between 1651 and 1710, had a good reputation and deserves a closer introduction. As mentioned above, an extra professor of Oriental Languages at Uppsala University, Christian Ravius, was summoned by Queen Christina in 1650. Ravius became controversial both in relation to his colleagues and to the students, but was a learned scholar of Oriental languages with international contacts. In Sweden, he had married Christina Andersdotter, daughter of the mayor of Norrköping, Anders Mattsson. She was the maternal aunt of Gustaf Peringer and he was obviously taken under the wing of his uncle Ravius with whom he even came to spend some time abroad.

Gustaf was born in Strängnäs as the eldest son of Fredrik Peringer, who had immigrated from Germany and was the headmaster of the Strängnäs gymnasium. Gustaf's mother Anna and her sister Christina, the wife of Christian Ravius, were descendant from a Swedish family of clergy and scholars. Their uncle was the former Bishop in Strängnäs, Johannes Matthiae, well known as the teacher of Queen Christina. Gustaf had three brothers and three sisters surviving childhood. The nearest brother, three years younger Johan, also came to be a prominent person in Swedish cultural life, known as the Royal Antiquarian Johan Peringskiöld.

Already at the age of 13 Gustaf came to Uppsala and enrolled as a student, obviously under the protection of Christian Ravius and his maternal aunt. Briefly, the story of Gustaf Peringer's professional life was the following. After successful studies in Uppsala, during which he gained the attention and praise of his teachers, he embarked on two periods of academic *peregrinationes* in order to pursue Oriental studies in European countries, spending a total of eight years abroad in the 1660s. In the course of these studies he met many of the great scholars in the field. One of them, a highly famous scholar of the time, was the hebraist and latinist Johann Christoph Wagenseil, with whom Peringer came to maintain a lasting relationship and scholarly exchange.

As early as at the age of 21 his name was brought up in connection with the professorship of Oriental Languages. Two years later he gave a famous lecture in praise of the Oriental Languages, recorded in the here subsequent contribution by Hans Helander. Returning from the continent in 1681 Peringer was appointed – at the age of 30 – to hold the chair of Oriental Languages. In 1690 he received a grant from king Charles XI to make a research trip to Lithuania to investigate the Turkish speaking Jewish sect of the Karaims, about which there is more to tell; the testimonia are recorded below in the article by Éva Csató.

²³ GUSTAVUS PERINGERUS *Orient. Lingv. Prof. Ord. Psalterium Davidis Hebraicum publice explicabit; inquirendo praecipue in vim vocum phrasiumque sacrarum, variasque Versiones inter se conferendo. Docebit in Audit. Vet. Min.*

In 1693 due to his academic merits Peringer was elevated to the nobility, as Lillieblad. The same year the university celebrated the centenary of its reestablishment, and Peringer was elected to make one of the speeches, in which he manifested his ability to use the Hebrew language; in the article below by Mats Eskhult the speech is recorded. In 1695 he seems to have become fed up with academic duties and conflicts and resigned from the chair at Uppsala University to become a member of the Royal Secretariate in Stockholm as Censor Librorum. Already at that time he was involved in the administration of the Royal Library, and in 1703 he was appointed Royal Librarian. During his time in Stockholm he took part in rescuing the collection of books of the Royal Library in connection with the great fire of 1697 that destroyed the Palace. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad died in 1710 and is buried in the Peringer family grave in the cathedral of Strängnäs.

It is of interest to try to identify the role of Gustaf Peringer in the contemporary setting of Oriental Studies at Uppsala, as being a representative scholar at the time when Sweden was a major nation in Europe and the scholarly world was open and international. His relation to languages is also representative, as covering both the reading of scholarly texts and using languages. Gustaf Peringer reports in his letters about studies of modern European languages. Besides the interest in Oriental studies referring to ancient times and the Bible also a travelling student could be interested in his contemporary world and the situation in the Orient. That Gustaf Peringer was a man also of such interests is indicated by more than one reference in his letters from abroad to the then contemporary political situation. It must be noticed that in his time there existed great powers – though on the verge of being eclipsed – in the Orient, both the Osman and the Safavid Empires. This too could have enticed him to learn the contemporary languages Turkish and Persian.

We find personified in Gustaf Peringer a scholarship that was open to both the severe demands of theology as well as from a world which was heading for new kinds of scholarship. It can be mentioned that he also, when twice acting as Vice Chancellor of Uppsala University, had to be chairman in some of the most fervent discussions on Cartesianism – it had arrived late in Uppsala –, which was necessary for him to become acquainted with.

About the professors' main duties and activities in teaching at the academy, the schedules issued for lecturing at the beginning of the autumn term bear witness of the academic everyday life. The schedule for 1693 announces what will be read at Uppsala University that year by the professor of Oriental languages, adding that when reading the prophet Isaiah, he will strive for a philological interpretation that considers not only the meaning of the expressions but also the syntax and the semantics, and furthermore explores the deviations in different versions of the text.²⁴

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The different contributions in the following series of articles have as the core the time and the undertakings of Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad in the field of Oriental stu-

²⁴ *Philologiae curam maxime habiturus, sic ut de dictionum significato tum in se, tum in vario nexu & indole, tum de versionum discrepantia, sollicitus sit.*

dies, showing his abilities and interest not only in Hebrew, but also in Oriental languages in general, as well as his very special mission to make the Jewish Karaims in Lithuania better known. Making him an example of Oriental studies in Uppsala can help define the field; during his epoch Turkish and Persian also came to be of interest for studies, especially such studies that led towards a new and broadened interest in both languages and in Oriental cultures.

II

Gustaf Peringer's speech in praise of the Oriental languages (1674)

Hans Helander
Uppsala

In June 1674, Gustaf Peringer, future Professor of Oriental languages, gave a speech at Uppsala University, in which he extolled the study of various Oriental languages. The speech was held in Latin, as was usual on all official academic occasions at this time in Sweden.

The leading ideas of this oration are well worth a closer analysis. It would be wise, however, first to give a general picture of the background and general conditions of the study of Oriental languages, in Sweden and in Europe, during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Oriental languages that young Peringer and his contemporaries embraced with such enthusiasm were those of the Near and Middle East (as we would describe the area to-day). And it was – of course – Hebrew studies that were the origins and the primary reason for scholarly activity in this area.

The Protestant Reformation had given a strong impetus to linguistic Oriental studies. To the Reformed Churches, the *original text* of the Bible was programmatically at the centre of interest; this added strong stimuli, from the very beginning, to the philological study of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek text of the New Testament. In such a perspective and with such ambitions, the Vulgate was no longer sufficient. Scholars of philology were enrolled into the service of theology.

As regards the Hebrew of the Old Testament, scholars had long realized that the exegesis of the text was extremely complicated, in the first place because the language is known only through the books of the Old Testament. It cannot be interpreted with the help of other texts representing the same kind of Hebrew, since there are no such texts. There are a number of later Hebrew texts, written in the Talmud tradition, but they represent a much later stage of development of the language, and are of little use to the interpretation of Biblical Hebrew. Given this situation, the obvious method seemed to be a comparative study, in this case to take recourse to languages in the region that appeared to be related to Hebrew.

Consequently, scholars turned to other languages in the region that were obviously similar to Hebrew and – this was clearly understood – somehow related to this language. Hence, the Chaldean language (i.e. what we call Aramaic today), and also the Syrian and the Arabic languages came to be objects of linguistic investigation.

Their vocabulary was studied, as well as their syntax and morphology. During the 17th century, Biblical scholars gradually became even more polyglot, through the investigation of Ethiopian and even more exotic tongues. The learned Hiob Ludolf of Frankfurt (1626–1704), who founded the study of Ethiopian, is said to have mastered 25 languages.¹ The basis of their knowledge was always the Classical languages, and they all published their treatises in Latin.

These studies were held in high esteem, and this kind of Biblical exegesis attracted many of the best talents of the period. It goes without saying that the investigation of Hebrew and its cognate languages was cherished and supported in Sweden, where schools and learned activities were dominated by and controlled by Lutheran orthodoxy. Hebrew was already studied at the gymnasium level. At Uppsala University, we find a series of learned professors of Oriental languages during the middle of the 17th century, among them the eccentric German scholar Christian Ravius, who had been summoned to Uppsala by Queen Christina and held the chair of Hebrew, Chaldean and Syrian during the years 1659–1661,² Johan Petri Buskagius (who was Professor 1661–1672), and Uno Johannis Terserus (Professor 1672–75).

Such was the situation when the young, talented and ambitious Gustaf Peringer held his oration on the Oriental languages, at the age of 23 years. Half a year earlier he had returned from his first learned peregrination, which had lasted four years.

The Speech

Peringer held his speech on the 17th of June, 1674, in the so-called Gustavianum, which was then the main University building. His oration had been publicly announced by the Rector Magnificus, who was then the above-mentioned Uno Joannis Terserus, to begin at 10 a.m.³ It was later that year to be printed in Stockholm. The title is *Concio laudibus ac eulogiis nobiliorum in Orbe Eoo idiomatum dicta in Athenaeo Upsaliensi septentrionalium Principe, XV Cal. Quintil. Anni Christiani MDCLXXIV a Gustavo Peringer, viz. Public speech in praise of the more noble among the languages of the Oriental world, held at the Upsalian Atheneum [i.e. Uppsala University], the most outstanding in the North, on the 17th of June, by Gustaf Peringer.*

On a solemn occasion like this, a number of Professors would of course be present, and other academic teachers and students.⁴ We have reason to believe, however, that the audience may have been somewhat smaller than usual, considering the time of the year. In the Academic program, Rector Magnificus in fact explicitly

¹ Christian Gottlieb Jöcher 1750–1751, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* ... Leipzig 1750–51: "Er war ein ausserordentlicher Liebhaber der Sprachen, redete die meisten europäischen, wusste die orientalischen, verstand deren zusammen fünf und zwanzig."

² Ravius was apparently primarily an expert in Persian, Ottoman Turkish and "Tataric", and less familiar with what we call the Semitic languages. Cf. Frithiof Rundgren, 1976, "Semitic languages" (*Faculty of Arts at Uppsala University. Linguistics and Philology*, pp. 99–112) Uppsala 1976, p. 103.

³ Ernst Meyer, *Program utgifna vid Upsala Universitet 1599–1700*. Uppsala 1905, p. 82. Uno Jo(h)annis Terserus was the son of Johannes Terserus, Bishop of Åbo and himself an outstanding Hebraist.

⁴ According to the University programs, there were 16 such solemn gatherings during 1674.

states that many students may be absent this time of the year (*si quae juventutis Academicae in hoc anni tempus incidit infrequentia*), and he therefore urgently requests all students that still remain in Uppsala to attend the meeting.

In the printed version, the speech of the young orientalist is very long. It comprises 51 pages in octavo. If it was really read *in extenso*, the performance ought to have taken 2 ½–3 hours. It is not at all improbable that it did last that long. The habits and expectations of 17th century scholars were radically different from ours. They were used to listening to sermons that were approximately that long, and we know of recitations of poems that took two or three hours, or more.⁵

I shall try to summarize what Peringer told his audience about the Oriental languages and also comment upon the leading ideas in the speech. The oration is highly eloquent, but it certainly does not consist of idle talk. On the contrary, Peringer wants to inform and teach his listeners about things that he considers to be of great importance, and the speech is a perspicuous and intelligent summary of the knowledge about the Oriental languages that was available in the middle of the 1670s. Peringer takes great care to refer to the eminent scholars who have elucidated this area during previous generations, and he is proud and eager to tell his audience about the rapid and conspicuous progress that had been made in this field.

It is reasonable to assume that the listeners who had gathered could keep awake during the session, in spite of the summer temperature.

The speech starts with a declaration of modesty, exactly as is to be expected, since this *topos* is almost compulsory at the beginning of a eulogy at this time. Peringer states, with emphasis, that he is totally unqualified to elucidate the subject of his speech in a satisfactory way. He compares the task he has undertaken to a voyage on a vast and stormy ocean. (This is a simile that he will adhere to throughout his speech, as we shall see.) After this elegant introduction, he summarizes his purpose: He will, he says, in his oration, shed light on the oriental languages quite generally, their geographical distribution, etc.; but also treat their **usefulness** in the fields of Theology and Philosophy (*earum ... in Theologiae et Philosophiae palaestris utilitate*). The theme of the usefulness of the various branches of Oriental Studies, their benefits, the advantages to be derived from this area, turns out to be the great theme of the oration, as we shall see in the following.

To stress the utility of the Oriental languages was traditional in Peringer's time: The first Swedish professor of Hebrew had already in 1605 held a speech on "the benefit and excellence of the Hebrew language", and his immediate successor had further enlarged upon the matter.⁶

Peringer starts his survey of the Oriental languages with **Hebrew**. It is *ling-*

⁵ Andreas Stobaeus (1642–1714), professor *poeseos* i Lund, wrote long hexameter poems, extolling the deeds of Charles XI and Charles XII; in several instances they are longer than 1000 lines and some of them must have taken more than two hours to recite. Cf. Maria Berggren, *Andreas Stobaeus, Two Panegyrics in Verse, edited, with introduction, translation and commentary*. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Latina Upsaliensia 22.) Uppsala 1994, pp. 32 and 283 f.

⁶ The first professor of Hebrew, Claudius Johannis Opsopaeus (1578–1616) was succeeded by Joannes Rudbeckius. See Rundgren 1976, pp. 100 f.

varum omnium mater et princeps, the mother of all tongues, ranking above all other languages. Among those who have been liberated from the oppression of the Papal church there cannot be one single person who would not like to learn Hebrew and in this way be able to understand, without an interpreter, the words of God in God's own language (*verbum Numinis aeterni ... in Dei ipsius idiomate*). All this is so self evident, says Peringer that he feels entitled to go directly to the next language in the series, which is **Chaldean** (that which we to-day call Aramaic). The region where this tongue was spoken was originally larger than the realms of the Assyrians and the Chaldeans, says Peringer, and it grew even greater after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity.⁷ The study of Chaldean is extremely rewarding. In the first place, it is absolutely necessary in order to understand the aforementioned passages of Daniel and Ezra, which are written not in Hebrew, but in Chaldean; secondly, we may understand, through Chaldean, Hebrew words that have earlier been obscure to us. "When we hold forth this torch of Chaldean, a light emanates, clear and beautiful as in broad day-light" (*admotā istā Chaldaismi faculā lux adeo clara et venusta, ut cum sudum est caelum, refulget*). The immense importance of Chaldaean has been clearly demonstrated by Efras Edzardus, whom divine grace has given to our time, says Peringer. Edzardus is the miraculous Phoenix of all Hebraists, who has refuted and vanquished the impudence of the Jews.⁸

Peringer then passes to **Syrian**. This is very close to Chaldean, he contends; it borders on that language. Peringer never abandons the metaphor of voyage that he used in his introduction. On the contrary he elaborates upon it all the time, and here he adds a new aspect. Several sailors navigating on the sea (the sea of Philology, that is) have believed that they are dealing with just one continent, but if we consult a more reliable map, we see that it actually consists of two different continents divided by a strait, which is narrow but nevertheless cannot be so easily crossed. You have to *sail* to the Syrian continent. Peringer declares his ignorance concerning the cause of the similarities, but ventures the guess that Syrian is a descendant of the Aramaic language. We ought to remember, in this connection, that Peringer and his contemporaries did not have access to the term "Semitic languages" – or the concept underlying it. This term was coined by August Ludwig von Schlözer⁹ at the end of the 18th century. Scholars, knew, in Peringer's day, that these languages were related, but they were never gathered together under one common designation.

Peringer explains that Syrian is extremely valuable for the further elucidation of

⁷ Peringer contends that Chaldean was written in two different ways. The older alphabet is still unknown to European scholars (he is probably referring to the Nabatean or the Palmyrenic alphabets, or both). The younger alphabet is the same as the Hebrew, which we can see from passages in Daniel and Ezra, and the so-called Chaldean periphrases.

⁸ The German Orientalist Efras Edzardus lived 1629–1708. Without a formal position, he devoted his life to the conversion of those who had not seen the Evangelical light. Cf. Jöcher: "[dass er] nicht nur unterschiedene Catholische, Reformierte und Anabaptisten, sondern auch eine grosse Anzahl Juden, Türken und Mohren von ihren Irrthümer befreyet hat".

⁹ 1735–1809. Professor at Göttingen from 1769. The term was introduced in the treatise *Von den Chaldäern* (1781).

the Bible, especially the New Testament, for Syrian was the language commonly spoken in Palestine in the days of our Saviour and his disciples. It then stands to reason that Hebrew and Syrian idioms are actually hidden behind many of the Greek phrases of the New Testament. Peringer here quotes the great Hottinger.¹⁰ Even if the text of the New Testament was Greek from the very beginning, its Greek is not pure and unmixed; you will look in vain for the *logos* of Demosthenes here, since the flow of the language is saturated with the waters of Hebrew and Syrian. The entire discourse breathes Orient, Hebraism and Syriasm

... illud tamen affirmare, etiamsi N.T. phrasis originaliter Graeca dici possit, non tamen meram et puram fluere, sed Hebraei Syriue sermonis liquore infectam, ut frustra Demosthenicum λόγον heic requiras, cum tota phrasis Orientem, id est Hebraismum et Syrias-mum magis spiret.

Only those scholars who are familiar with Syrian will be able to understand the nuances and shades of meaning that are hidden in the text in this way.

“Then let us again set sail”, Peringer goes on, faithful to the metaphor he used at the very beginning. “Let us continue our voyage to **the Arabic language**. This is a region that surpasses all the others in extension, in ruling majesty and almost heavenly splendour. This tongue serves as a link of communication between the most powerful nations, from the far East to Western countries.” Peringer here quotes another eminent Orientalist, Guillaume Postel¹¹: “No language has ever been so widely spread. With its help we shall be able to talk to Mauretanians, Egyptians, Syrians, Persians, Turks, Tatars and Indians, in a word, to communicate with almost the whole world”:

Nulla lingua hodie, nec usquam olim in tot partibus orbis locum habuit. / - - - / Ejus beneficio valebimus sine interprete conversari cum Mauro, Aegyptio, Syro, Persa, Turcho, Tartaro, Indo, et ut semel dicam, fere in toto terrarum orbe.

Having mentioned the different types of script, the old Cufic and the later variant, and having summarily treated the main dialects, Peringer passes to the vocabulary of Arabic. It is incredibly rich, he says. This has been clearly demonstrated by Pocockius,¹² the shining star among English scholars in this field. There are several thousand words for “sword”, two hundred words for “snake”, five hundred for “lion”.¹³

The study of Arabic is extremely useful, says Peringer, in the first place for the exegesis of the Old Testament. There are so many difficult words and expressions in the Hebrew text that had not before been properly understood, since many of them occur just once or very rarely. Now, it is often possible to find the corre-

¹⁰ Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), taught at Heidelberg and Zürich.

¹¹ 1510–1581, *professor matheseos et linguarum orientalium* in Paris.

¹² Edward Pocock (1604–1691) taught at Oxford. He had traveled in Syria and other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

¹³ Similar lists seem to have been a commonplace at this time: Daniel Morhof, *Polyhistor literarius, philosophicus et practicus*. Ed. quarta. Lubecae/Lübeck 1747 (the first edition appeared in 1687, i.e. 15 years after Peringer’s speech), 1,4,5,6, p. 769. Morhof gives roughly the same information about the richness of the Arabic vocabulary. Morhof refers to Petrus Angelus a Sancto Josepho who had contended that Arabic has 1000 words for sword, 80 for honey, 500 for lion and 200 for snake.

sponding words, of the same origin, in Arabic which is closely related to Hebrew, and thus at once understand the proper sense of the Hebrew word. There are many who compare translations in an old-fashioned way, says Peringer – he is here referring to the many polyglot Bible editions – but those scholars will be more successful who devote their time to methodically studying the various languages of the Orient that are closely related to Hebrew, since an obscure Hebrew word will be efficiently explained from our knowledge of the corresponding Syrian or Arabic word, in a much better way than the results obtained from comparisons between various translations.

Peringer's speech is clear and lucid, throughout. His thoughts were, of course, not new. The rapid progress made in the study of Oriental languages during the previous 150 years had furnished him with every piece of information that he provides, every argument that he uses. This comparative study was for the most part the work of Protestant scholars, and the heroes of this area of scholarship were the Buxtorfs, father and son,¹⁴ and in later generations Johannes Hottinger, who mastered all the languages that we call "semitic" to-day, and Pocock in Oxford. Peringer mentions them all several times in his oration. The key to the amazing scholarly progress was the comparative study of what were called "the four languages": Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian and Arabic.¹⁵

As regards the utility of Arabic, Peringer adduces additional arguments: There are in Arabic many treatises (some of them translations from Greek) that shed light on ecclesiastical matters. And another argument of extreme importance is the question of the conversion of the Muslims. "Let our great task be the conversion of the Muslim world!" Peringer exclaims. "The only reasonable way to achieve this is through an intense study of Arabic":

... conversio Muhammedanorum, cordi nobis ac curae sit. Quae non alia via, non mediis aliis, quam frequentiore penes nos Arabismi cultu tentari potest aut ad felicem eventum perduci.

The heathens can not be converted through sword and violence. We must not teach them the truth at spearpoint but by means of the point of the pencil, not through the shedding of the blood of human beings, but through the blood of the octopus. "The Koran should be refuted in Arabic!" (*Alcoranus ... Arabice confutandus*).

These words are explicitly directed to the Theologians. But the representatives of the other Faculties of the University would also profit greatly, according to Peringer, from the study of Arabic. The *jurisconsulti* ought to study Arabic law, as manifested in the contemporary Turkish Empire. The physicians ought to realize how important Arabic scientists have been for the advancement of medicine. Just think of Avi-

¹⁴ Johann Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), Professor of Hebrew in Basel; his son Johann Buxtorf the Younger (1599–1664), his father's successor.

¹⁵ In the *Constitutiones* of Uppsala University, published in 1626, these languages were called "de fyra tungomålen" ("the four tongues"). Johan Petri Buskagius, mentioned above, had studied all these languages under Buxtorf the younger, Hottinger and Pocock during his peregrination. (Rundgren 1976, p.103.)

cenna, Averroes, Rhazes, Serapio; they should all be read in their native tongue, since the Latin translations are often less reliable. In Arabic there are many treatises by Greek authors that are preserved only in Arabic translations. Quite generally Arabic science can enrich European science in many areas, *in universa Encyclopaedia*, as Peringer says.¹⁶

After this long eulogy of the Arabic language, the speaker expresses his intention to continue his voyage and hurry to **the Persian language**, rowing swiftly, as he says (*Ad PERSICAM celeri remigio properamus*). Persian is a venerable tongue and it leads our thoughts to the old Persian Empire.¹⁷ Peringer contends that there are two ways of writing Persian, the old and the new one. The oldest is still unknown to Western scholars. The old writing ought to be the Pahlavi script, Parsik. The new one is, of course, the Arabic script.¹⁸ It is typical and revealing of his attitude that he says that the older script is *still* unknown to Western scholars. As an orientalist of the dynamic 17th century he must have been under the impression that knowledge in his field was growing constantly. Soon we will understand this also, he probably thought.

For theologians it is extremely important, says Peringer, to understand the old Persian words that occur in the books of Esther and Ezra in the Old Testament.

The Persian language is characterized by a considerable number of Arabic loan-words, he says. It surpasses other European languages in elegance, charm and beauty, and is so widespread as a literary and cultural language that it is used as the common medium of conversation at the Ottoman court. The information that Peringer then gives about the Persian language is most interesting. It is not related to the other languages that he has treated, he contends. But it is clearly related to our Gothic language. This affinity is quite obvious, and Johannes Elichman, the famous professor of Oriental languages at Leiden,¹⁹ has been able to demonstrate that the Gothic and the Persian languages are of the same origin.

*Quae cognatio adeo est evidens et manifesta, ut ex eadem utramque [lingvam] origine pro-
manasse invicto rationum firmissimarum nexu perspectum habuerit ... Elichmannus.*

Peringer tells his audience that the kinship of Gothic and German languages and Persian has been known for a long time; it is mentioned by the great Justus Lipsius, in his letters almost a hundred years earlier.²⁰

¹⁶ The long passage on Arabic forebodes a treatise that would be printed twenty years later, in 1694, under the presidency of Peringer, then *Professor linguarum Orientalium*, namely *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, "Description of the language and learning of the Arabs". This treatise is much longer (199 pages) than the normal dissertations at that time, an excellent specimen, whose respondents (and co-author) was Olof Celsius Sr, future Professor of Oriental languages.

¹⁷ To Peringer and to his contemporaries, the Succession of the Four Monarchies still functioned as a basic historical idea about the development of human history; the Persian Empire was the second of these Monarchies.

¹⁸ Cf. Bo Utas, The "Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad och det persiska språket", p. 116, in: *En resenär i svenska stormaktstidens språklanskap. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710)*. Ed. by Éva Á. Csátó, Gunilla Gren-Eklund and Folke Sandgren, pp. 111–125. Cuneiform script was not known in Europe in the 1670s. It was about one decade later, in the 1680s that the first reports on Cuneiform inscriptions appeared in Europe.

¹⁹ Johannes Elichman (d. 1639), physician and Orientalist; taught at Leiden and other universities.

²⁰ Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum quinque centuriae*. Paris 1602.

What Peringer here says can be regarded as a vague idea about the family relations between what we today call the Indo-European languages. The breakthrough of this insight had to wait, as we know, for another hundred years, until February 1786, when Sir William Jones read his famous paper at a meeting of The Asiatic Society in Calcutta and contended that Latin, Greek and Sanskrit must be derived from a common mother tongue.²¹

So much for the Persian language. Peringer now passes to **Turkish**, to its “violence and lightnings”, as he says (*vehementiam et fulmina*). Having mentioned Turkish, he feels that he must in a way apologize: “I can see, dear listeners, that you start murmuring between you, and that you, who have hitherto listened to me with great readiness and with an expression of hilarity and brightness, now (on hearing this name) draw your foreheads together in wrinkles and that you seem to reject the praise of the Turkish language in the same manner as you scoff at the eulogies of such things as baldness, the quartane fever, stupidity, blindness, dirt, Busiris, Thersites, Injustice, flies, lice and donkeys. For you think that nothing can be expressed in a proper way in that language except threats, wounds, murders, crimes, battles, blood, knives, sabres, daggers, bows, ballistas, cannons, in a word anything that is horrible, and you believe that the words themselves of that language, blasphemous against God and faithless and ferocious towards men, ought to be hurled forth as a war cry from a barbarian tongue, accompanied by a terrifying deformation of the mouth, lips and sharply gnashing teeth”:

*unde et vos, A.O., invicem mussantes cerno. Quique huc usque dicentem proluxa aurium facilitate, hilarique vultuum nitore estis prosecuti, nunc fronte severius caperata, Turcicae linguae laudes tantopere videmini aversari, ut eas ceu encomia Calvitii, Quartanae, Pulicis, Stultitiae, Coecitatis, Luti, Busiridis, Thersitae, Injustitiae, Muscae, Pediculique et Asini derideatis. Nil enim hac lingua digne efferri posse existimatis, praeter comminationes, vulnera, homicidia, scelera, praelia, cruores, sicas, acinaces, pugiones, arcus, ballistas, tormenta, brevi horribilia quaeque / ... verba ipsa in Deum blasphema, in homines perfida ac truculenta, terribili linguae immanis barritu, oris, labiorumque et dentium torvum frendentium deformatione formidanda, oportere vibrari.*²²

Peringer wants to correct this opinion. “But it is not like that, at all. We suffer here from a serious prejudice”: *Verum aliter se res habet. Praejudicio heic gravi laboramus*. And in an eloquent passage he shows how rich and elegant the Turkish language is.²³ The Persians themselves, who are the sworn enemies of the Ottoman Turks, have quite a different opinion on the Turkish language. They appreciate it, and actually Turkish is regularly used at the Persian court at Isphahan, in the same way as Persian is spoken at the Ottoman court of Constantinople!

... Praejudicio heic gravi laboramus. Longe aliter de Turcarum lingua Persae sentiunt, juratissimi alias eorundem ... hostes, qui tanta eam honoris praerogativa dignantur, ut in Palatio Regis Persici sola, vel certe praecipua usurpetur, quemadmodum enim

²¹ The founding fathers of Indo-European linguistics are Franz Bopp (1791–1867), Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) and the German linguist Jacob Grimm (1785–1863). Bopp’s *Vergleichende Grammatik* appeared 1833–52.

²² *Concio laudibus ac eulogiis nobiliorum in orbe Eoo idiomatum dicta*. F.

²³ *Ibid.* F 2.

*Constantinopoli omnes qui dignitate et fastigio supra vulgus eminent, Persicam loquuntur.*²⁴

Turkish is the native tongue of nearly as many peoples and nations as Arabic, says Peringer. Ottoman Turkish has spread with the Sultan's victorious armies and is now spoken all over the Balkan peninsula. This variant is rich in Arabic and Persian loan-words.

Knowledge of Turkish is extremely useful. Peringer mentions the possibility of diplomatic exchange with the Sublime Porte and with the Tatar Khan of the Crimea and the ability to communicate with the councillors of these Princes without an interpreter. (His audience must have thought that this was a good argument; Ottoman Turkey and the Crimean Tatars were natural allies of Sweden at this time, in the event of war with Russia.)

It is now time to weigh anchor, says Peringer, for some final voyages, to the ports of **the Ethiopian, the Armenian** and the **Egyptian languages**. He treats these languages very briefly, and it is reasonable to guess that his knowledge in these areas was not very deep.

In the peroration, the concluding speech, Peringer summarizes his arguments. He lets his enthusiasm for Oriental studies flow over. This area is certainly demanding, he says, but the fruits of the study are wonderful. All the knowledge of the Eastern World will be available to us. And, above all, The Eastern, Muslim World, must be conquered, not with the weapons of Mars, but with the weapons of Pallas (*Oriens ... vincendus, idque Pallados, non Mavortis armis*). And it would be a suitable task for the glorious Swedish nation to undertake such a mission. Just think of the Goths, how they subdued all of Europe and parts of Asia! Among all nations, it is always the Swedes that courageously intend to perform great things, that dare to undertake even greater things, that indeed achieve the most glorious deeds, always with the help of God and assisted by the Genius of the North.

Unos hominum Suedos magna semper magno animo agitare, audere majora, maxima assequi, Numinis benignitate, genio Orbis Arctoi favente, adjutos.

"I have finished my voyage," Peringer exclaims, "I have reached the port!" *In portu navigo!*

²⁴ On this point, Peringer's description is slightly misleading. The listeners must have got the impression that the upper classes in Istanbul and Isphahan in a remarkable way had changed languages. This was not actually the case. Instead the situation was the following: Persian was indeed an important language for the Turkish elite. When Mehmet Fatih in 1453 rode into Constantinople at the head of his victorious army, through the streets that were littered with corpses, he quoted to his staff and attending officers a poem of the Persian poet Sadi about the vanity of human life. All Turks with some education knew Persian well. But the Persians in Isphahan had certainly not borrowed Turkish from the Ottoman Turks. What Peringer ought to have said is that the military class (the *noblesse d'épée* that governed the Persian Empire) were Azeri Turks and thus for natural reasons Turkophone. The intellectual Persian élite, that was in charge of the civil administration (the *noblesse de robe*) expressed themselves in Persian or in Arabic, if they discussed questions of theology.

Concluding remarks.

Peringer's speech is interesting and thought-provoking in many ways. His Latin deserves a special treatment, since it clearly represents non-Ciceronian stylistic ideals; it is archaizing and more Lipsian than Erasmanian. Travel and voyage at sea as a metaphor not only for human life, but also for intellectual endeavours for research and the composition of treatises is highly frequent at this time, according to my experience, and it would be worthwhile to go deeper into this matter. Another field that deserves further development is the awareness of various language families and of the affinity of Persian and European languages, as a mirror of the general rapid development of philological knowledge in the 17th century. The space available for this paper will not, however, allow me to go more deeply into these matters.

I shall confine myself to a short comment on studies of the kind that we have encountered. There is a strange paradox here. The ambition of elucidating the texts of the Bible by means of intense comparative studies of the languages of the Orient was, as we know, and as Peringer repeatedly states, generated by a pious desire to understand the infallible words of the Almighty. What then happened was that these studies gradually became more and more dependent on the well-known philological methods of classical philology and on historiographical investigations. It is quite obvious that scholars who worked in this field gradually became more and more attracted by the fascinating new horizons that opened up as a result of their work. Their purpose became (at first secretly of course) not the purposes of theologians but of scholars in search of truth. Peringer's speech bears witness, I think, to an enthusiasm for knowledge and intellectual pursuit per se (although he feels that he has to invoke theological justifications, in the same way as we today have to pay lip service to various kinds of political correctness). In this process, the outcome was inevitable. In her fascinating book on the printing press as an agent of change, Elizabeth Eisenstein says about Biblical studies that "a remarkable impetus was given to erudite studies of all kinds, as exotic territory was explored, strange languages mastered and archeological data stored".²⁵ And this is the paradox: As knowledge in this way grew and expanded, Biblical literalism and orthodoxy were slowly but irrevocably undermined, and the path was paved not for Faith and Orthodoxy, but for historical criticism and the Enlightenment.

²⁵ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1997), p. 336. See also pp. 609 ff. on the seemingly paradoxical results of pious theological research.

III

Gustaf Peringer as Hebraist

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In February 1664, shortly before his thirteenth birthday, Gustaf Peringer had his name entered at the University of Uppsala. His purpose was to study Oriental languages under the auspices of his uncle the renowned German linguist Christian Ravius, who had been bestowed the Chair of Oriental Languages in 1651 by Queen Christina. When he left Uppsala in 1669 for a professorship in Kiel, young Gustaf Peringer went with his uncle. Thanks to a royal scholarship, the promising student could continue his journey so as to obtain a more solid professional training as Orientalist at several European universities, and stayed abroad until 1673.

Christian Ravius

In the 1650's Ravius was one of the most outstanding European philologists invited to the Swedish court – along with Claudius Salmasius, Nicholas Heinsius and Isaac Vossius. He had spent a long time in the Orient and had held several academic positions in the Netherlands and England before he came to Uppsala, where he discharged the duties of his chair for eighteen years.¹ In all likelihood, Ravius' conception of the Oriental languages and his method of studying them had a strong influence on young Peringer. Ravius communicates his ideas to posterity in *A discourse concerning the Easterne tongues* (1648) and in *A general grammar for the ready attaining of Ebrew, Samaritan, Chalde, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic* (1650). In these works he expresses the revolutionary idea that all Oriental languages – Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic and Ethiopic – are nothing but manifestations of one and the same original tongue,² just as Eolic, Attic, Ionic and Doric are dialects of the Greek language.³ For him the Oriental tongues are one and the same in

¹ Some of these years (1655–1659) he was at the same time royal librarian. Thus, his teaching was at times sporadic. His colleagues regarded his appointment as one that had been forced on the university, and soon he also found himself to be in a theological conflict with them. All this contributed to his bad reputation in the official history, which fails to draw attention to Ravius' greatness as a scholar. Cf. C. Annerstedt, *Upsala Universitets historia*, vol. 1 (1877), p. 293 and p. 408; K. U. Nylander, "Semitiska studier i Sverige under flydda tider", *Ny svensk tidskrift*, 1889, pp. 197 f. See further G. Gren-Eklund's article in this volume.

² According to the common opinion of the period, Hebrew was the original language from which all other Oriental languages descended. Ravius dissociates himself from this view by affirming that these Oriental languages "were before and after the confusion of Babel and therefore the mother tongue of all tongues in the world", *Discourse*, p. 12.

³ *Discourse*, p. 45 f.; *Grammar*, p. 165.

essence though different in accident.⁴ He also attempts to find the underlying *reason* of the Oriental languages, because reason, he thought, is common to all languages.⁵

In his *Grammar* Ravius states that the unity of the Oriental languages has remained concealed due to the fact that grammars and dictionaries do not present a combined study of them.⁶ In his *Discourse*, he emphasizes that there is only one grammar underlying all Oriental languages; there are the same basic rules for the syntax and the same vocabulary based on the same roots and radical significations. Therefore, he states, Arabic will not prove less helpful for the apprehension of the Hebrew Bible than “all the Rabbines and the Talmud it selfe”.

Ravius, accordingly, turns out to be an early spokesman for a comparative approach to the Oriental languages, an idea that recurs as a main theme in Peringer’s speech in the honour of the noble languages of the Orient: *Concio laudibus ac eulogiis nobiliorum in orbe eoo idiomatum dicta* (1674).⁷

Peringer’s main works

In the autumn of 1673, after a four year study tour, Peringer returned to Uppsala and in February 1676 he defended his *pro gradu* dissertation *De Messia Judaico* under the presidency of Eric Benzelius the Elder, professor of theology. The thesis deals with ideas about the Messiah in Jewish tradition literature and medieval commentaries on the Bible. After this Peringer stayed abroad for another four years, studying with among others Edward Pococke of Oxford and Johan Christoph Wagenseil of Altdorf. Under his stay in Altdorf 1680 he edited the Mishnah tractates *Abodah Zarah* and *Tamid* with a commented translation in Latin. This was actually a pioneer work, since G. Surenhusius’ commented edition of the Mishnah with Latin translation was not published before 1698–1703.

During the period of Peringer’s professorship of the Oriental languages, 1681–1695, he attracted several well-witted young men to his subject. In his lectures he treated Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, as well as the Old Testament background and Jewish topics.

Among those who graduated under his supervision were the future skilled librarian Eric Benzelius the Younger and Peringer’s successor on the Chair, the strict Lutheran future Bishop of Strängnäs Daniel Lundius, as well as his next successor, the erudite Olof Celsius, who was as well-versed in Oriental languages as in runology and botany. In all, no less than forty dissertations of various lengths were submitted and defended under Peringer’s presidency.

During the academic year 1691–92 Peringer lectured on a manuscript containing an itinerary written by Samuel ben David, who in 1641 travelled from Crimea via Is-

⁴ *Discourse*, pp. 45 and 47.

⁵ Cf. Ravius, *Discourse*, pp. 3 and 16ff. The emphasis on *reason* as common to all languages in fact anticipates the school of Port-Royal, as manifested in *Grammaire générale et raisonnée*, 1660.

⁶ Ravius, *Grammar* p. 165. As exceptions to this general shortcoming he mentions: L. de Dieu, *Grammatica linguarum orientalium* (1628) and J. E. Gerhard, *Harmonia linguarum orientalium* (1647).

⁷ Cf. article by Hans Helander above.

tanbul and Egypt to Jerusalem. This manuscript contained useful information about Rabbinic and Karaite congregations in the Orient. Peringer had obviously acquired it during his journey to Lithuania in 1690.⁸

In 1693, two years before Peringer was promoted to the position of *Censor Regium Librorum* in Stockholm, the university entrusted him the glorious task of delivering an oration in Hebrew at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the Uppsala Assembly, on which occasion the Lutheran doctrine was finally adopted.

It seems convenient to discuss Peringer's achievements as a Hebraist under the following headings:

- (a) The pro gradu thesis *De Messia Judaico*
- (b) The edition of *Abodah Zarah* and *Tamid*
- (c) The unfinished edition of R. Samuel's *Itinerarium*
- (d) Lectures according to the University programme
- (e) Theses under Peringer's presidency including those written by himself
- (f) *Oratio Hebraea*

De Messia Judaico

The movement of Humanism had brought into the Church a renewed interest in the Bible, its language and its historical and cultural background. Christian Hebraists were heavily dependent on Jewish scholars both in linguistic and exegetical matters at the same time as they could not renounce precedence concerning the interpretation of the Old Testament – a circumstance that explains the polemic tone that Peringer shared with most contemporaries. The topic of Peringer's thesis – the Jewish Messiah – was also of current interest, since a flood of messianic expectation had been inundating Eastern European Jewry for decades. In addition, Lutheran late orthodoxy nourished a hope of a general conversion of the Jews, which promoted a more or less benignant interest in Judaism and a sincere study of its sources.

In the short preface of his thesis of in all eighty-four pages, Peringer airs some reservations. The delimitation of the source material is difficult, almost hopeless. Nevertheless "it is better to hope for a benevolent reader than to fear a malevolent", he says. He avows his dependence on other scholars, which however has furthered his endeavour to be as descriptive as possible. For his aim is not to be polemical in details, but rather to put together the various ideas about the Messiah from Jewish sources; and this approach, he says, suits his overarching idea, namely to expose preposterous and contradictory conceptions in the rabbinic literature. The contents of the thesis is as follows:

Part one (pp. 1–9) explains the term "Messiah" and discusses rabbinic designations of the Messiah, whereas part two:

Ch. 1 (9–12) depicts messianic expectations in antiquity in general.

⁸ In his *Hofnung der Erlösung Israelis*, Nürnberg & Altdorf 1707, pp. 25f., Joh. Chr. Wagenseil mentions that his dear friend Gustaf Peringer, formerly *Professor Hebraeae Linguae* in Uppsala, and at that time *Censor Regium Librorum* and *Secretarius Regius* in Stockholm was once sent to Lithuania and other distant provinces to make inquiries about the Karaites, their way of life, customs, doctrines and prayers. On the karaites, see also article by Éva Á. Csátó below.

Ch. 2 (pp. 12–18) discusses Bethlehem as the actual birthplace of the coming Messiah, refutes the rabbinic exposition of the Micah prophecy.

Ch. 3 (pp. 18–22) accounts for where and how the Messiah will come according to the Rabbinis.

Ch. 4 (22–35) accounts for rabbinic ideas about the time when the Messiah will appear.

Ch. 5 (pp. 35–51) deals with the signs that will foreshadow the coming of the Messiah.

Ch. 6 (51–56) traces the discussion whether the Messiah has been born as yet, and – if so – where is his present abode.

Ch 7 (pp. 56–70) discusses the idea of a double Messiah: the son of Joseph and the son of David.

The treatise concludes with three digressions: the first treats messianic expectations among the Jews as known from history (pp. 71–76), the second is an account of various Messiah pretenders (pp. 76–81), and the third contains a discussion of the idea of Anti-Messiah (pp. 81–84).

Peringer opens by pointing out that the Greek form *μεσσίας* derives from the Aramaic *m'shā* a notion that in the Old Testament connects to an anointed king, prophet or high priest; a passage like Ps 45:8 illustrates the messianic connotations of the verb 'anoint'.

With short references to biblical passages and Jewish conceptions Peringer comments on a number of designations of the Messiah:⁹

צמח – *šəmaḥ* 'branch' – Zech 3,8. Peringer refers to Isa 4,2 and Jer. 23,5 and to Aben Esra and Abarbanel,¹⁰ who says: "*šəmaḥ w'hū' m'elāḥ hammāšīāh*".

מנחם – *M'naḥem* 'Comforter' – Lam 1,16. Peringer refers to Kimchi¹¹ on Zech 3,8, who points out that the numerical value of מנחם is the same as for צמח.

שילה – *šilō* 'Shiloh' – Gen 49,10 (thus AV). Peringer points out that both Targum Onkelos and Targum Jerushalmi, i.e. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, interpret *šilō* as the Messiah. He mentions a proposed emendation *šālūāh* as well as the Septuagint reading τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ reflecting the interpretation *šəllō* "to whom it belongs".

ינון – *Yinnōn* 'Yinnon' – Ps 72,17 *lifnē šəmaš yinnōn š'mō* "his name shall be continued (*yinnōn*)". Peringer *inter alia* refers to Talmud Babli, *Sanhedrin*, ch. 11, where *Yinnōn* is suggested as a designation of the Messiah.¹²

גואל – *Gō'el* 'Redeemer' – Isa 59,20. Peringer points out that the Syriac version of this verse as quoted in Rom 11,26 reads *pārōqā*, which coincides with the rendering of the Isaiah passage in Targum Jonathan.

חנינא – *H'nīnā* 'Hanina' – Jer 16,13 (AV has "favour"). Peringer briefly refers to *Sanhedrin* (98b), where *H'nīnā* is suggested as a designation of the Messiah.

⁹ For rabbinic designations of the Messiah, see A. Goldberg, "Die Namen des Messias in der rabbinischen Traditionsliteratur" in *Mystik und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums*, Gesammelte Studien I, eds. M. Schlüter & P. Schäfer, Tübingen 1997, pp. 208–274.

¹⁰ I.e., Abraham Ibn Ezra, (1089–1164) and Don Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508). After the first occurrence, the spelling of Jewish scholars will henceforth adjust to that found in *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

¹¹ David Kimḥi (1160–1235).

¹² Actually, *Sanhedrin* 98b discusses several names: Shilo, Yinnon, Hanina, M'naḥem and the Leper of the Academy.

ראם – *R'’em* ‘Bullock’ – Deut 33,17 & Ps 92,11. Peringer shortly states that this designation, proposed by R. Eliezer, is deemed improbable by Vorstius.¹³

Among designations that have no actual scriptural reference are:

חורא – *hiwwārā* ‘white from leprosy’ – In the rabbinical interpretation of Isa 53,4: “yet we esteemed him to be plagued, smitten of God, and afflicted”, the word “smitten”, Hebrew *nā?ūā*, is expounded as meaning leprous, and hence a description of the Messiah. Cf. Talmud Babli, *Sanhedrin*, 98b. Peringer doubts the antiquity of this interpretation.

חדרך – *ḥadrāk* ‘Hadrach’ – Zech 9,1. Peringer refers to a number of rabbinical sources in which *ḥadrāk* is analysed as composed of *ḥad* ‘sharp’ and *rak* ‘soft’ and hence a name of the Messiah.

מטטרון – *meṭaṭrōn* ‘Metatron’ – is chiefly found in Jewish mysticism. As for its origin as a messianic designation, Peringer refers to Talmud Babli, *Sanhedrin*, 38b, and to Buxdorff, *Lexicon rabbinicum*¹⁴ and Hottinger *Theologiae Judaicae*¹⁵. The basic passage is Ex 23, 20ff. This passage mentions the angel of the Lord, about whom it is said: “my name is in him”. The Talmudic passage states: *meṭaṭrōn šāššēmō kšēm rabbō* “Metatron, whose name is that of his Lord”. This indicates that Metatron is nothing but another name of the Almighty – שדי *šadday* – whose numerical value is tantamount to that of *meṭaṭrōn*, Peringer argues. The origin of the very word *meṭaṭrōn*, he continues, connects to its two senses, viz., that of ‘lord’ and that of ‘emissary’; the first associates to post-biblical Hebrew *maṭrōnā* ‘matron’, the second to Greek *μῆτρον* ‘show’; a third possibility is that *meṭaṭrōn* derives from Aramaic *maṭṭarēt*.

The belief in a coming Messiah belongs to the thirteen main religious doctrines, formulated by Maimonides: “I fully believe in the coming of the Messiah”. Referring to Abravanel’s *Sefer Rosh ’Amanah*, he quotes another dictum: “Whoever denies the coming of the Messiah denies that the Law is perfect.”¹⁶ The antiquity of this faith – not only among the Jews – is illuminated by Jesus’ interview with the Samaritan woman in John chapter four, as well as by quotations from *inter alia* Tacitus, *Historia* book 5, sect. 13, namely that most people among the Jews believed that their ancient priestly writings contained a prophesy that this was the time when the Orient would grow strong and that men starting from Judea would seize power.

Concerning the place of birth of the Messiah (ch. 2), the ancient synagogue certainly knew that it would be Bethlehem, as appears from Matthew 2,4–5: “the chief priest and scribes of the people...told him: in Bethlehem of Judea”, referring to Micah 5,2. Concerning the interpretation of: “you Bethlehem, little to be, *šā’ir lihyōt*, among the chiefs of Judah”, Peringer discusses the interpretations of Kimḥi and Abravanel and that of Lightfoot in his *Horae Hebraicae*,¹⁷ and points out that

¹³ W. Vorstius: *Capitula R. Elieser, continentia inprimis succinctam historiae sacrae recensionem ... cum veterum Rabbiorum commentariis* (Leiden 1644). Also *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, a commentary on Genesis from the 8th century, probably quoted from the Venice edition (1608).

¹⁴ Johannes Buxtorf, the Elder and the Younger, *Lexicon chaldaicum, targumicum et rabbinicum*, Basel 1639.

¹⁵ Johan Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1677), *Compendium Theologiae Judaicae*, Zürich 1662, with reference to p. 261.

¹⁶ Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), *Sefer Rosh ’Amana*, ed. with Latin translation by W. Vorstius, Amsterdam 1638, ch. 14.

¹⁷ John Lightfoot (1602–1675) *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in quatuor evangelistas*, Cambridge 1658.

Jewish scholars hold the view that the Hebrew wording: *ūmōšā'ōtāw miqqəḏēm mīmē 'ōlām* refers to the Davidic origin of the Messiah, only. Abravanel reformulates: "his family's origin is from of old, from ancient days, i.e. from the lineage of David". Rashi,¹⁸ however goes too far, in Peringer's eyes, in paraphrasing: "You, Bethlehem of Ephrathah from where David came forth" – as he ignores the future form "will come forth" and thus conceives Bethlehem as the ancestral city of the Messiah only, not his own place of birth. Peringer himself prefers to connect the Micah passage with Ps 72,17, "ante solem subolescet nomen ejus". Finally, he touches on the fact that Bethlehem here stands with the apposition *Ephrata* (in Matthew the apposition is *Judah*) and concludes that this is simply to keep it apart from Bethlehem in Zebulon (Josh 19,15).

In his discussion on the appearance of the Messiah, Peringer first comments on John 7,27: "when the Messiah comes, no one will know where he is from" and goes on with the idea about the Messiah appearance among the ruins of Rome, which in his eyes is a late conception. Drawing from Hottinger, *Cippi Hebraici*,¹⁹ he here refers to several Jewish authorities, among others, Abravanel, who in his comment on Daniel 7,14 says that the King Messiah will appear after the destruction of Rome.

As to the mode in which the Messiah will appear (ch. 3), Peringer quotes, *Sanhedrin*,²⁰ where King Shapur says to R. Samuel: "You say that the Messiah will come on a donkey; I shall send him my pied horse" (98a). He also refers to *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 23: the donkey that Abraham saddled when he set out to Mount Moriah is the same donkey that Moses rode when he headed for Egypt, and the same donkey that the Son of David will sit upon.²¹ This idea is echoed in Rashi's comment on Zech 9,9, where he says that the Messiah will appear on the same donkey that Abraham saddled when he set out to offer Isaac. On this point Peringer refers to treatises by Heinsius and Carpzov in which this topic is discussed.²²

Concerning the time when the Messiah will appear (ch. 4), Peringer discusses a number of Jewish authorities and maintains that the messianic notions that circulate in the Synagogue are not founded on a sound biblical exegesis. The confusion, he says, originates in the dictum by R. Eliah in *Sanhedrin* (97b): "The world will stand six thousand years: two thousand in chaos, two thousand under the Law and two thousand under the rule of the Messiah." Referring to Schelomo Virga,²³ Peringer mentions the disputation of Tortosa (1413–14), where the convert Hieronymus de Sancta Fide attacked the Jewish position on this point. Moreover, Peringer refers to Rabbi Lipman,²⁴ entry no. 335, which deals with the time of the

¹⁸ Acronym for R. Salomo Isaac of Troyes (1040–1105).

¹⁹ J.H. Hottinger, *Cippi Hebraici*, Heidelberg 1662, p. 74; this book is a translation of Uri ben Simeon of Biala, *Yihus Avot*, a description of holy places in Eretz Yisrael; see *Encyclopedia Judaica* 16, cols. 6–7.

²⁰ The Talmud Babli tractates will be quoted by name and folio-page.

²¹ Cf. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, translated and annotated by G. Friedlander, London 1916, pp. 224–225.

²² Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), *Aristarchus sacer*, Leiden 1627, and Johan Benedict Carpzov (1639–1699) *De Asino Messiae*, Leipzig 1671.

²³ Salomon ibn Verga (1460–1554), *Shebeṭ Jehuda*, ch. 32 f. 43b, likely quoted from the Amsterdam edition (Immanuel Benvenishti) 1655.

²⁴ Lipmann Mühlhausen, *Sefer ha-Nišṣaḥon* (15th century).

Messiah. In short, the calculation made there is that not later than 170 years after the beginning of the messianic era of two thousand years, the Messiah will build the third temple, which will stand 830 years, i.e., a period as long as the time of the first and the second temple together (410 plus 420 years). Several Jewish authorities, however, hold that the Messiah will appear – not at a fixed time – but when Israel will show repentance and devotion. Quoting from *Sefer Chasidim*²⁵ Peringer names certain sins that according to Jewish belief will certainly delay the messianic era.

In conclusion, quoting from the polemic works of Christian Gerson²⁶ and Anton Margarita,²⁷ Peringer maintains that the rabbis certainly are reluctant to calculate any exact time for the coming to the Messiah, but nevertheless support a folkloristic idea about a second coming of the prophet Elijah.

Concerning the signs that will predict the coming of the Messiah (ch. 5), Peringer enumerates: outrage upon morality; Roman supremacy; Jewish distress; heresies; violation of justice; war between the Turks and the Christians; the destruction of Rome; a period of seven years characterized by famine and abundance, by turn, and eventually war; monstrous people, dangerous heat of the sun and poisonous dew and darkness.²⁸ He also mentions the angel Michael's blowing the Shofar; the miraculous opening and closing of the temple doors, and springs of water ascending from under its thresholds.²⁹ More important among these signs, however, is the idea of the domestication of the wild beasts, Isa 11,6, and the notion of a forerunner, viz. Elijah. On the latter topic Peringer quotes Kimḥi on Malachi 4,4: before doomsday the Lord shall send the prophet Elijah – whose soul he will restore to his body.³⁰ According to Jewish belief, the messianic era begins with the resurrection of the dead, which means that those whom the Lord has made alive will no more return to dust, *Sanhedrin* (92b); and as pointed out by Ibn Ezra on Daniel ch. 12, they will not eat nor drink but only enjoy the sight of the divine majesty. Moreover, there is an idea found in Abravanel's and Rashi's comments on Isa 30,26: "the light of the sun will be sevenfold, as the light of seven days", namely that a salubrious light of the sun will increase in strength, and people will live long enjoying a healthy air.

Next issue (ch. 6) is whether the Messiah is already born – that is, if he has a terrestrial pre-existence – and if this is the case, where is he at present. Peringer shows that there is a widespread view that the Messiah was born the very day on which the temple was destroyed.

From this Peringer concludes that the Jews admit that the Messiah was born AD 70 and since then has hid himself. The question is: where? The answer given in *Sanhedrin* (98a) is: among the poor in the gate of Rome. Peringer, drawing on some

²⁵ Judah ben Samuel he-Ḥasid (c. 1170–1215), *Sefer Chasidim*, with reference to entries no. 67 and 499.

²⁶ Chr. Gerson, *Der Jüden Thalmud fürmembster Inhalt und Widerlegeung*, Erfurt 1659, ch. 14.

²⁷ Anton Margarita, *Judaismus*, p. 27, i.e. *Der ganze jüdische Glaube*, Frankfurt am Main 1689.

²⁸ For the last four topics Peringer refers to J. Buxtorff (1564–1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, Basel 1641.

²⁹ For the latter topics Peringer refers to *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, cf. Friedlander, *op. cit.* pp. 414–416.

³⁰ Reference is also made to David Gans (1541–1613), *Zemah David*, in the translation of W. Vorstius, Leiden 1613, p. 249.

polemic work, rhetorically asks how can it be that so many Jews live in Rome and no one has come across him. However, other authorities maintain that the gate of Rome is actually Gan Eden, i.e., the Paradise, a view put forward in *Shebet Jehuda*, ch. 32. Still others maintain that he dwells at the miraculous river Sambation.

Next (ch. 7) Peringer discusses the common Jewish idea about a double Messiah, which he thinks originates in the fact that the rabbis in antiquity could not conceive a double coming of the Messiah: a first in a humble condition as Redeemer, a second in supreme majesty as Judge. Therefore, they interpreted the prophecies of the Old Testament about the contemptible state of the Messiah as referring to an invented Messiah, called the Son of Joseph, while the victories and glorious deeds were ascribed to the Son of David. However – Peringer points out – this picture is not entirely consistent, as the Messiah Son of Joseph was also conceived as a excellent commander who subdued the Gentiles until the coming Messiah Son of David; but finally he would fall in battle against Armillus, the leader of the Christian armed forces.

Abravanel in his comment on Zechariah 12:10: “I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced,” explains this passage as referring to Messiah Son of Joseph, or Son of Ephraim. He describes him as a brave man who will arise from the tribe of Joseph and become a bold commander of the hosts of heaven. He will not die by mere accident but rather by the will of God, so that that the kingdom can be restored to the House of David. Both Rashi and Kimḥi agree that the Messiah Son of Joseph will suffer a violent death. From this Peringer infers that the Jews themselves hold the Messiah, who will be thus pierced and killed, to be the Son of Joseph – a circumstance that fits in with Luke 3,23.

Then Peringer turns towards the notions about the Messiah Son of David, which was the most common name of the expected Saviour among the Jews, a name recorded in so many passages in the Talmud as well as the New Testament. He was also called Messiah Son of Jehuda, and even the Son of God. Whether believers in the Old Covenant really held the Messiah to be God is difficult to determine, since the ancient Jewish sources are scanty on this topic, Peringer thinks. Unlike the Messiah Son of Joseph, who was to be born by a pagan mother, the rabbis are silent about the birth of Messiah Son of David. Thus, Maimonides says that when the Messiah appears no one will know who is his father, his mother or his descent. However, drawing on the Pythagorean idea of transmigration, the Kabbalists have dared to maintain that the soul of Messiah is the same as that of Adam and of David. Peringer thinks that this idea is easily refuted by pointing to the resurrection of David, which the Jews expect to happen in the days of the Messiah: With what soul would he arise, if it has migrated in the Messiah? As often, this argument is indebted to L’Empereur.³¹

The criteria of the true Messiah are summarized on the basis of Abravanel. (1) He will be from the lineage of David and surely in the line of Salomon. (2) He will be an outstanding prophet superior to Moses and the angels – even though Maimonides

³¹ Constantine L’Empereur (1591–1648) Dutch Hebraist.

doubts this point. (3) He will be equipped with six conspicuous qualities, five of those of the mind (viz., wisdom, intelligence, judiciousness, bravery and knowledge) and one of the will (viz. the fear of God). (4) He will possess a perfect desire for obeying the divine law. (5) He will be entirely righteous. (6) He will be a wonderworker. (7) He will make peace to the whole world. (8) He will possess supreme power over all peoples, who will obey him of their own accord. (9) He will gather all Israel. (10) Finally, he will make a wonder similar to the dividing of the sea at the exodus from Egypt.

The excellence of the Messiah Son of David will surpass that of Messiah Son of Joseph, but this inequality will not cause any envy and strife between them, as Rashi says in his comment on Isaiah 11,13. Peringer continues to survey the great deeds that this Messiah are expected to perform: According to Abravanel the Messiah will defeat Armillus and his forces completely, not by means of human but divine weapons. However, a passage in Joseph Caro's (1499–1575) *Avkat Rokhel* describes the defeat of Armillus in eschatological terms, *inter alia* with reference to Ezekiel 38,22, Peringer points out. The Messiah will gather all the Jews of the Diaspora to Jerusalem, where he will muster them according to tribe and family and at that time raise the third temple, which will have the appearance that is described in Ezekiel, chs. 46 and 47. Maimonides states in *Hilkhot Melakhim*, ch. 11, that the Messiah will restore the empire of David to its previous greatness, rebuild the sanctuary, where everyone will bring his offerings, and the jubilee years will be re-introduced according to all the commandments of the Law. However, Peringer points out that *Yalqut*³² to Ezra contends that all offerings will be abolished in the time of the Messiah except that of thanksgiving.

The Jews do not doubt that the Messiah will have the resources to carry out such a building project – Peringer says – because they imagine that the gates of the second temple, the Ark of the Covenant and precious treasures collected by King Uzziah will be found underground at the site of the previous temple. Some rabbis have nonetheless questioned the building of a third temple, among whom are Maimonides and the Kabbalist Moses Alschech (1508–1600), who in his comment on Haggai 2,7 expressly states that the third temple will be a spiritual one. Furthermore, the Messiah will promulgate a new law according to the prophecy of Jeremiah 31,31. He will finally take a wife and concubines and his sons will after his death succeed him on the throne. As to the question how many years the Messiah will reign, the rabbis display “an uncertain certainty”, Peringer says.

The dissertation ends with a second part concerning practical lessons from history. It begins with what the Jews expect from the kingdom of the Messiah: they confine themselves to worldly delights, Peringer reproaches. He enumerates (1) the royal banquet at the proclamation of the Messiah as king with every kind of dainty dishes, (2) a full dominion over all Christians and gentiles, (3) a marvellous fertility of the earth and the women, (4) peace and continuous happiness, and finally (5) a wonderful longevity among the humans, like that of trees. Some think that the reign of the Messiah will last for a thousand years, whence millenarianism has crept into

³² Cf. H.L. Strack – G. Stemmerger, *Introduction to Talmud and Midrash*, Edinburgh 1991, pp. 383f.

the Christian church. However, there are divergent opinions as well: some interpret the rule of the Messiah allegorically, as they place the rule of the Messiah above all worldly concerns and make no distinction between the messianic and the present age, except for the abolition of tyranny.

The next chapter surveys the appearance of different pseudo-Messiahs throughout history. Referring to Philippe de Mornay (1549–1623),³³ Peringer establishes that not before the birth of Jesus, only in the first century AD, were there Messiah pretenders. At this time, however, arose messianic ideas concerning John the Baptist (Luke 3:15, John 1:20), and people were confidently awaiting the kingdom of God immediately (Luke 19:11). Hence so many pseudo-Messiahs seized the opportunity for deceptions. The first of them was King Herod, whom some Pharisees and rabbis regarded as the Redeemer in order to enjoy favour at his court. From those flatterers the sect of the Herodians arose, Peringer infers, relying on Mornay and Scaliger. The first Messiah-pretenders to be punished for their insanity were Theudas and Judas, as is evident from Acts 5,36–37. The next was a certain bar Kokhba, who appeared shortly after the time of Christ and who said to the rabbis: “I am the Messiah”. In that way the prediction of the Lord in John 5,43: “I have come in my Father’s name, and you do not receive me; if another comes in his own name, him you will receive”, was confirmed, Peringer concludes. Another more famous bar Kokhba, viz. Simon, appeared around forty years after the destruction of the temple and he was proclaimed by Rabbi Akiba to be the King Messiah, but his revolt against the Romans was dreadfully repelled. Peringer goes on enumerating several Messiah-pretenders in the Middle Ages, among whom David Almuster and David Alroi are known by name. He finishes with Sabbatai Zevi in the middle of the seventeenth century, that is his own time. Relying on a work by Frederik Ragstat van Weile (1648–1729),³⁴ Peringer relates Sabbatai Zevi’s apostasy from the Jewish religion and conversion to Islam.

The dissertation ends with a brief discussion of Armillus as the anti-Messiah, the last enemy of the Jews. Armillus will be accepted as the Messiah among the Christians, but he will not be recognized by the Jews. Consequently, he will combat those who oppose him and surround Jerusalem and kill the one Messiah, but be killed by the other (viz., by the Messiah Son of David). Peringer thinks that the doctrine of an anti-Messiah might have been influenced by the similar idea of an Anti-Christ in Christianity. A denouncement of the Jewish opinions of the Messiah and a wish for their conversion conclude the dissertation.

It is not easy to assess Peringer’s thesis. In several passages he seems to have worked in a hurry that not always secures accuracy. Nevertheless, it can easily be established that the articles “Messiah”, “Pseudo-Messiah” and “Eschatology” in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York & London 1901–1906, confirms his outline of the subject. Thus, the article “Messiah” begins with a discussion of the name Messiah, its etymology and how the notion developed to its specific meaning of ideal king

³³ *De veritate religionis Christianae*, Antwerp 1583, ch. 29, p. 521.

³⁴ *Teatrum Lucidum exhibens verum Messiam, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ejusque honorem defendens contra accusationes Judaeorum*, Amsterdam 1671.

and ruler of the world. There is a note on messianic expectations in Roman times, with reference to Tacitus. Then comes a paragraph on the Messiah in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings, *inter alia* mentioning Metatron in the Enoch literature. Both the celestial and the terrestrial pre-existence of the Messiah are treated, as well as the idea that he suddenly will make his appearance after having lived hidden, perhaps in Rome. Furthermore, it is stated that the idea of Messiah ben Joseph has its origin in Talmud Babli, but the details about his appearance belong to a much later Midrashic literature. The article “Eschatology” and “Pseudo-Messiah”, discuss *inter alia* the “world-week”, i.e., a period of three times two thousand years plus one thousand years, as well as the messianic labour pains, the ingathering of the dispersed, the messianic kingdom of peace and Messiah pretenders that have stepped forth from time to time. In view of these articles from a trustworthy source, one can safely say that Peringer, as one of the first who has treated Jewish messianic expectations in the history of learning, in scope and outline most meritoriously represents a scheme that was still current in the beginning of the 20th century.

The Mishna tractates

In the preface to his edition of *Abodah Zarah* and *Tamid* Peringer states that this proof of erudition was made on the request of his supervisor the famous Wagenseil. These tractates, he informs, belong to the earlier part of the Talmud, namely the Mishna, which contains the discussion within early Judaism. He remarks that the task of the accompanying translation is to mirror the contents, because – he explains – if the text is rendered word by word it will appear obscure. In order to grasp the correct sense, Peringer has consulted the greatest commentators, viz., Maimonides and Bertinoro.³⁵

The basic idea in *Abodah Zarah* is that a Jew may under no circumstance promote idolatry, whether publicly or privately. Peringer mentions the suspicion that *Abodah Zarah* may have suffered from Jewish self-censorship, lest its contents would give offence to the Christians, as “idolatry” may be taken as referring to *their* religion. He rejects this idea, by pointing out that Rabbi Jehuda the Holy actually edited the Mishna at a time when Christianity was still not so strong that it could possibly give rise to fear among the Jews. True, he admits, there are some passages that are directed against the Christians, but these have been interpolated during periods of persecution and are easily identified, a fact that has been demonstrated by Peringer’s teacher Edward Pocock of Oxford. The reason for editing *Tamid*, Peringer says, is to shed light on some obscure passages in the Bible concerning the daily offering in the temple of Jerusalem and to elucidate these rites: if we find delight in reading about Greek and Roman rites, how much more should we not be engrossed in the sacrifice to the true God, he says.

When assessing Peringer’s achievements, it should be borne in mind that he did a huge pioneer work in translating the logics of the lapidary Mishnaic style into Latin. He draws on the commentaries of Maimonides and Bertinoro, and thus he represents

³⁵ Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), Obadiah Bertinoro (c. 1450–before 1516).

an early link in an academic scholarly tradition that has seen very little change throughout the centuries. Of course, modern editions have a lot of material that is not found in Peringer's edition, but a comparison between his explanatory notes and those found in the editions by Albeck and Blackman,³⁶ shows a considerable coincidence in commented issues, and at times the same wording.

As an example of minor notes may be adduced Peringer's comment on *Abodah Zara* 1,6–7, where there is a prohibition against selling a white cock, or cattle to a Gentile, and to partake in the building of a stadium (Peringer has amphitheatre). The cock, Peringers explains, could be used for sacrifice, the cattle might be put to work on the Sabbath,³⁷ and the amphitheatre was used for fights between men and wild beasts. A longer note is on *Abodah Zarah* 4,5 and the discussion of what actually profanes statues of pagan gods: a statue is not profaned if somebody has spat at it, urinated before it, or thrown filth at it, but solely if the tip of its nose, ears or fingers has been cut off. The reason for this is that a broken nose, ear or fingers showed that a statue was abandoned, Peringer explains, while spittle and urine only indicated incidental anger on the part of someone whose wishes had not been fulfilled; such a statue was, however, soon to be worshipped again.³⁸ A bit more sensitive case is dealt with in connection with *Abodah Zarah* 2,1, where a daughter of an Israelite is forbidden to deliver a Gentile woman, as not to deliver a child into idolatry. Peringer points out that for the sake of peace, a Jewess by paying corresponding redemption money may be released from this decree.³⁹

Peringer's teaching

According to the university catalogue, the newly inaugurated professor Gustaf Peringer in 1681 announces lectures on Genesis under comparison with rabbinic commentaries. Also, he will give tuition to beginners of Hebrew and assist those who wish to be introduced in Arabic and rabbinic literature. The following year he announces lectures on the Talmud tractate *Sheḳalim* and on Maimonides' tractate *Hilkhoth tephilla we-birkhat ha-kohanim*, i.e., on Jewish prayer and the priestly blessing.

In this way he continues through the following years. He lectures on Exodus, Psalms, Proverbs and Isaiah in comparison with the ancient versions. He teaches elementary Arabic followed by exercises in Arabic literature. He lectures on the Mishnah tractate *Tamid* and on Maimonides' exposition of the Jewish halakha in *Mishneh Torah* or *ha-Yad ha-ḥazaqah*, and more precisely, then, the tractates

³⁶ Chaim Albeck, *Shisha Sidre Mishna*, Jerusalem 1953–58, and Philip Blackman, *Mishnayoth*, New York 1965.

³⁷ Cf. Albeck, *ad loc.*, "E.g. an ox or a horse, by means of which a gentile would perform work on the Sabbath".

³⁸ Cf. Albeck, *ad loc.*, "Because he did so only out of anger but in the end he would reconcile and worship it again."

³⁹ See, e.g. J. Wiener, *Maimonides Commentar zum Tractat Aboda Zara*, Berlin 1895, *ad loc.* Also, the words: "so as not to deliver a child into idolatry" are missing in some manuscripts possibly due to self-censorship; but save for the introductory general remark on this issue, Peringer does not enter text-critical problems.

Hilkhoth beth ha-bekhirah and *Hilkhoth bi'at ha-mikdash*. For the academic year beginning in 1689, he announces lectures on *Shalshleth ha-Ḳabbalah*,⁴⁰ and more precisely the section about Alexander the Great and Aristotle. For the academic year beginning in 1690, Peringer, after his journey to Lithuania publicly reads and explains *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* from a manuscript written by the Karaite Samuel ben David (d. 1673); this series continues in 1692.

The unfinished edition of R. Samuel's travelogue

The first 16 pages of Samuel's travelogue – those few that had been set in types and printed – were collected by Eric Benzeliuſ and sent to Joh. Chr. Wolf who published them in *Bibliotheca Hebraea*.⁴¹ The author opens by telling how deeply he longed for coming to Jerusalem. As he learnt that R. Isaac and R. Salomo Levi were about to make that journey, he decided to accompany them. They left by boat on the 14th of August 1641 from Gozlow (Eupatoria). They reached first Constantinople and from there they went to Gallipoli. For different reasons they went by Rhodes and Lindos on the way to Alexandria, from where they continued to Cairo. R. Samuel describes the synagogue of his fellow-believers the Karaites, whom he finds most well bred and decent. He mentions inns and coffee houses, the latter named *qahwā' ḥ^anūt* and in Latin rendered *chavehanae* with the explanation *ubi potus cahve dividitur* “where the drink coffee is sold”. The little book abounds in names of phenomena, places and persons that in all likelihood were unacquainted to Peringer. The full account – published only in 1865 – contains descriptions of the Karaite congregations of Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo and Constantinople.⁴²

Dissertations under Peringer's presidency

Out of the forty dissertations that were submitted under Peringer's presidency,⁴³ seventeen are stated to be *pro gradu*, while sixteen bear the subtitle: “publice censura submittit”, or a similar wording. In these cases it is most likely that the respondent authored his thesis. The dissertations differ considerably in length, averaging between twenty and fifty pages. Most of them treat cultural and historical topics of the Bible in the light of Jewish antiquities. The following ten listed below are fairly representative: five are on biblical and Judaic subjects, one deals with the legacy of the Hebrew literature, two treat Arabic topics and two are text editions:

⁴⁰ This work was written by Gedaliah ben Joseph ibn Yahya (1515–1578) and printed in Venice 1586. It contains a mixture historical facts and pure folklore. See *Encyclopedia Judaica*, “Historiography” (Spanish and Portuguese) and “Ibn Yahya”.

⁴¹ Johann Christoph Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. 3, Hamburg 1727, pp. 1081–1094, under the title *Mas'ōt šael R. šmū'el haḳ-Ḳādōš b(ān) ha-R(abbī) David Jemsel*. In an introductory note Wolf states that Benzeliuſ had in vain inquired Peringer's heirs about the rest of the book. Peringer's unfinished edition is mentioned by O. Celsius in his *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, Uppsala 1694, p. 140, solely to state the point that the Karaites wrote many books in Arabic.

⁴² R. Samuel's travelogue was published by J. Gurland, *Ginzei Yisrael*, 1865 and by A. Yaari, *Masot Erez Yisrael*, 1946, pp. 221–266. See further *Encyclopedia Judaica*, “Samuel ben David”, and N. Schur, *The Karaite Encyclopedia*, (Peter Lang) Frankfurt a/M 1994, pp. 256f.

⁴³ See J.H. Lidén, *Catalogus disputationum...sectio I, disputationes Upsalienses*, Uppsala 1878.

C. Jernfeldius, *De Nasiraeis* (1683)

J.A. Esbergius, *De ieiuniis Hebraeorum* (1684)

G. Skragge, *De Senatu Hierosolymitano vulgo Sanhedrin* (1685)

A. Wibjörnsson, *Neṭilat yadayim seu Lotionem manuum secundum morem Hebraeorum* (1688)

N. Swabilius, *De tephillin seu Phylacteriis* (1690)

J. Ritterhusius, *Cura literaturae Hebraicae, praecipue inter Europaeos* (1688)

A. Orostander, *Hegira Muhammedis* (1694)

O. Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum* (1694)

E. Benzeliuss, *Siclus Judaicus*, Maimonides' tractate *De siclis*, edited on the basis of printed texts and manuscripts, with Latin translation and some notes (1692)

C. Skunk, *Officium Messiae Judaici*, ch. xi in Maimonides' tractate *De regibus*, edited on the basis of printed texts and manuscripts, with Latin translation and notes (1692)

Five dissertations from 1694 constitute a series of small booklets containing in due order chapters i, ii, iii, iv–v and vi–vii of Maimonides' *Hilkhoth bikkurim* or *Tractatus de primitiis*, paged in consecutive order, in all 203 pages. Most likely, Peringer authored them all.⁴⁴ The text of this tractate, collated with printed editions and a manuscript from the Royal Library, is provided with a Latin translation; text-critical notes are supplied within brackets.

The remaining two dissertations are explicitly stated to be *pro exercitu*,⁴⁵ which means that they were written by the professor under whose presidency they were submitted. These two are: J.O. Wingius, *De Sanchoniatione* (1686) and N. Sundberg, *De Templo Herculis Gaditano* (1695). Constituting a part of Peringer's scholarly work they deserve to be accounted for specially.

The thesis on Sanchuniathon

The theme of this treatise is the Phoenician historian Sanchuniathon, who is preserved in fragments in the neo-Platonist Porphyry of Tyre (d. 305 AD) and the Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339 AD). In the second half of the seventeenth century biblical and classical philologists began to investigate the fragments of Sanchuniathon and the reception history reached its highest point in Peringer's time. Renowned polyhistor, such as Joseph Scaliger and Hugo Grotius considered Sanchuniathon as an authentic source of Philon of Byblos, but others called his authenticity into question.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ E. Hydren, *De fatis literaturae hebraeae*, Uppsala 1755, (Pres. A. Boberg), mentions these dissertations along with Peringer's other writings.

⁴⁵ The idea about an "exercise thesis" was to test the erudition and eloquence of the respondent (who also was supposed to defray the printing costs).

⁴⁶ See Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon*, vol. 33, col. 1772, Leipzig & Halle 1742: „Allein wiegleich viele Gelehrten den Sanchuniathon zu einem erdichteten Namen machen, also halten sie auch seine Historie vor ein untergeschobenen Werck des Philobyblius." For a survey of "die Wirkungsgeschichte", see O. Eissfeldt, *Taaotos und Sanchunjon*, Berlin 1952, pp. 52f. and U. R. Jeck, *Platonica orientalia: Aufdeckung einer philosophischen Tradition*, Frankfurt am Main 2004, p. 111. Since the discovery of the Ugaritic texts containing Canaanite mythology, Sanchuniathon has been re-evaluated. The similarities of the mythological themes between these texts and those attributed to Sanchuniathon suggest that his writings furnished a reliable source for Philon of Byblos. See further O. Eissfeldt, *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjon*, Halle 1939, pp. 67–71, where "die Urschrift" is dated to the 13th century; cf. also O. Eissfeldt, *Sanchunjon von Beirut und Ilumilku von Ugarit*, Halle 1952.

The introduction deals with the value of those antique sources that give access to the most remote times beyond the range of Greek historiographies. Peringer points out that the preserved fragments of Sanchuniathon help us to form an opinion about the origin of Greek mythology and pagan philosophy, an origin that would otherwise be wrapped in obscurity. The guiding idea is that Phoenician cosmogony and theology were borrowed from the Hebrews and that the Greeks, in turn, were indebted to the Phoenician traders and colonists for acquiring this heritage.⁴⁷ Peringer also enumerates some writers of Phoenician history in the Graeco-Roman world, among others: Philon of Byblos (ca. 70–160 AD), who in his Phoenician history to a large extent was indebted to Sanchuniathon; and furthermore Moschus of Syracuse (ca. 150 BC), who wrote a poem on Zeus' abduction of the Phoenician princess Europa, and Menander of Ephesus (early 2nd century BC), who wrote a history of Tyre.

In his discussion of Sanchuniathon, Peringer draws on the Church father Eusebius as well as scholars contemporaneous to himself, such as Gerhard Vossius (*De historicis Graecis*, 1624) and Samuel Bochart (*Geographia sacra seu Phaleg et Chanaan*, 1651). The following issues are addressed: the decipherment of Sanchuniathon's name, his descent and date, and his writings and sources.

Unlike the modern etymology (*skn* "Sakon" and *yn* "give"), Peringer ventures to derive Sanchuniathon from the Hebrew roots *šnh* "teach the law" and *qn* "to be zealous", with the sense: "the law is his zeal", which is thought to imply that among his Phoenician countrymen he was known as "a friend of truth and a searcher of choice teaching". He also thinks that Sanchuniathon was Phoenician by origin, and consequently the whole paragraph goes on to discuss the etymology of the word *Phoenicia* and the ethnicity of its inhabitants. The derivation from the Greek word for palms (*phoinikes*) is rejected in favour of *bn 'nq* "son of trade", contracted to *b'nq*, which developed to *f'nq*. On the basis of Eusebius, it is stated that Sanchuniathon lived before the time of the Trojan War and that he dedicated his work to King Abibalus of Berytus (Beirut), and presumably he was himself a citizen of that town. A mixture of history, philosophy, mythology and theology characterizes his writings, Peringer says. Among the underlying sources are city-chronicles (*annales*) and books given to the temple in Berytus by a priest of *Ieuo*, named Hierombalus, who is held to be the same as Jerubbaal, i.e. Gideon (Judg 6:32), allegedly a priest of YHWH. In fact, a large part of Sanchuniathon's work is taken from the Mosaic history although misunderstood or distorted. One of Philon's other informants is a certain Tautos, who is identified with the Egyptian god Thoth and Hermes Trismegistus, the originator of art and craft. The style of Sanchuniathon is signified as allegorical (*mythologicus seu symbolicus*).

The third part of the dissertation discusses the intellectual impact of the Phoenician civilization on Europe. The Phoenicians, Peringer maintains, communicated their wisdom to foreign peoples and ancient pagan theologians, such as the Seven Sages, Pythagoras, Platon and Zenon. This idea, in turn, gives rise to the question to

⁴⁷ The same idea is expressed in the dissertation *Hellenismus Judaicus*, Uppsala 1688, submitted under the presidency of Laurentius Norrmannus. See further Bo Lindberg, "Filosemitism och biblicism – om synen på det judiska i det karolinska Sverige," in *En resenär i svenska stormaktstidens språklandskap*, ed. by É.Á. Csátó, G. Gren-Eklund, F. Sandgren, Uppsala 2007, pp. 158 f.

what extent Greece is the origin of culture (*literarum artiumque parens*). Peringer answers that literature and science were not born in Greece, but brought up there (*litteras et disciplinas non in Graecia primum natas, sed educatas esse*); Platon himself says that wisdom is of foreign extraction, Peringer points out; but it was the Greeks that brought art and science to the high level that it still enjoys today. The last paragraph affirms that the alphabet was invented by the Phoenicians and brought to Greece.

The thesis on Hercules Temple in Cádiz

The dissertation *De Templo Herculis Gaditano* combines classical philology with oriental scholarship. Ancient Latin authors of all kinds – geographers, historians, grammarians and poets – furnish the referential framework; references to Hebrew sources are less frequent. The thesis begins by describing Cádiz as a city of proverbial renown in antiquity, being situated at the end of the known world and forming the utmost limits of the glorious deeds of Hercules, a prosperous city inhabited by prudent people.

After the introduction three major issues are addressed: (a) The foundation of the city on the island of Cádiz and its different names. (b) The origin of the name Hercules and his mythological connections with Cádiz. (c) The question whether the entrance of the temple of Hercules faced the east or the west.

According to Josephus (*Antiquitates* 1,2), the descendants of Japhet settled on the island of Cádiz, while Pomponius Mela states that the Tyrians founded the colony. The Poenicians called their new trading centre *Gades* in their own language (Isodorus, *Origines* 15,1), but the Punians called it *Gadir* (Rufius Avienus, *Descriptio orbis terrae*, verse 611). For that reason Peringer associates *Gadir* with the Syrian city name *Gadara* (fortification). The Greeks, however, called the colony *Gades*, since they changed the sound [r] to [s], a phenomenon that Peringer compares to the contrary rhotacism of the Romans (Varro, *Lingua Latina*). The city was also named Cotinussa, Erythia, Aphrodisia, and finally *Urbs Julia Gaditana*, after Caesar had bestowed Roman citizenship on it. The opportune site of the island made the colony a commercial city, especially for the trade of a precious stone called *Tarsis*. Peringer quotes Abraham Ibn Ezra to explain what this kind of gem looked like.

Peringer is persuaded that the Pillars of Hercules are to be identified with the columns that stood in front of his temple, referred to by Pindar as *Gadeiridas pulas*. Peringer discusses some etymologies of the name of Hercules, whom he – referring to Samuel Bochart, *Geographia sacra* – believes was a contemporary to Moses. The English philologist Nicholas Fuller in his *Miscellanea theologica* thinks that it derives from the Hebrew *h^a’ārat kol*, “all-lightning” (*omnia intuens vel lustrans*), whereas those who believe that Hercules was the son of Hera derive it from *heras kleon* “the fame of Hera”; Peringer himself thinks that the name Hera relates to *hor* “nobleman”, which indicates that Hercules means “famous nobleman”.

The temple of Hercules (destroyed in the 3rd century AD) was in antiquity conspicuous on account of its great age (*vetustas*) and its huge dimensions (*amplitudo*). The height of the temple surpassed the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Peringer affirms.

It was situated on the western promontory of the island of Cádiz, in a place dedicated to religious contemplation. In all probability, the entrance of the temple faced the east (*vestibulum ... solis surgentis regione obversum*). Peringer infers this from a passage in Hyginus, *Constitutio limitum*, which shows that the temples in ancient times were oriented towards the west, but later on towards the east.⁴⁸ Peringer finally discusses on which side the temple of Jerusalem had its entrance.

The Hebrew Oration 1693

Peringer's solemn speech in Hebrew on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Uppsala Assembly is interesting from different points of view.⁴⁹ The outward circumstances were as follows:⁵⁰ The jubilee was inaugurated in the Cathedral, on Monday the 3rd of February at 3 p.m., by Rector Jesper Svedberg who recited the Assembly's decision. The following morning Professor Petrus Rudbeck delivered an opening address in the big university auditory in the presence of his Majesty the King. Solemn addresses succeeded during the week, and *inter alia* the erudite Lars Norrman orated in Greek. The celebration culminated on Friday the 7th with the great conferment festival of doctor's degrees. After the opening week – honoured by the King – the celebration went on until the anniversary day of the endorsement of the Assembly's decision the 20th of March. At that day at 9 a.m. Gustaf Peringer held his speech.

A somewhat abbreviated translation of the speech will give an idea of style and contents. After an apostrophe to his auditory and a self-derogatory remark, Peringer depicts the history of Reformation in Sweden:

I turned and considered bygone days, when the word of God was rare and there was no frequent vision and people worshipped what is worthless and empty. The Lord saw that the whole congregation was as sheep without a shepherd. He inspired a king to stand in the breach, namely the great Gustavus I, who ruled with great dominion, from sea to sea, and exercised lovingkindness, justice, and righteousness. The days of his youth, however, were evil as he was a fugitive in a foreign land, where his kinsfolk and close friends failed him; but through the mercy of the Lord he escaped and walked day and night back to his homeland.

He met with wise and erudite men, who hearkened to the law of the Lord and with them he spoke all day long, those who fought the war of the Lord, the men of renown. Having read from book of the law of God, they decided to translate all the Twenty-four books as well as the New Testament. In order that this holy book would become pre-eminent in dignity and power and to gladden the heart of those who heard it, the king ordered it to be published.

The Lord himself had made the king a sign and a portent that he would become the redeemer of his people: he came forth from his mother's womb with what looked like a helmet of bronze on his head and a red mark in the shape of a cross between his shoulders. He

⁴⁸ The matter is treated in *Lexicon universale historiam sacram et prophanam ... explanans* (1698) by Johann J. Hofmann, s.v. *ad OCCIDENTEM precandi ritus* "the practice of turning one's prayers towards the west".

⁴⁹ The speech was published by K.V. Zettersteén (with biblical citations and allusions annotated) in *Teologiska studier tillägnade Erik Stave*, Uppsala 1922, pp. 11–28.

⁵⁰ See E. Wrangel, "Jubelfesten 1693", in *Sammlaren*, Extra häfte, 1893, pp. 65–114.

came to save his people from cruel lords and to make their evil council surrender to the hope for an eternal salvation through the Messiah our righteousness. The king thus subdued the heretics, especially Knipperdolling and Melchior Buntmakare, those who from lack of wisdom gainsaid the doctrine of the Trinity.

However, a day of trouble, rebuke and disgrace came upon the people, when the king was stretched on his bed of sickness. Death came up into his windows, took the knife to slay the king and slew him according to common manner. His spirit passed away as he ascribed his power to his God. And the daughter of Zion was left like a booth in a vineyard without stay and staff; and his son reigned in his stead.

After some time, there arose a new and foolish king, who turned his heart to hate his own people and deal craftily with his servants. He estranged himself from those who loved the true belief; the noble leaders who formerly sat first in the kingdom, and next to him were instead those who were of his own kind. The former fled for their lives to the mountains, dismayed in his presence, as they saw that their supreme leader had fallen, their champion was dead. In addition, base fellows arose, who intended to lead the upright people astray. They put together a vain and foolish book in their tongue named the Book of Liturgy, in order to lay a stumbling block before the simple ones. Yet, it pleased the Lord to bruise all this for his righteousness' sake, to magnify his law and make it glorious. The Lord encouraged the pious among his people, the noblemen, the priests, the elders of the people and their officers, to direct their heart to fulfil what is good, right and wise, so as to take counsel together – in this lecture hall. They did not cease to search and inquire concerning the important task that they were to investigate. They agreed upon making a fence round the law and the belief and to restore them according to their original essence. They wrote down all these words – few in number but decisive in weight – and on this very day the 20th of Nisan, one hundred years ago, all the work made for the house of the Lord was finished, bearing the seals of all. A copy of the document was to be issued as a decree in every province by proclamation to all the peoples to be ready for that day. Would that it becomes clear to all people how awesome is this place. It is not only a lecture hall but also the house of God, where our fathers let us come to recognition. For in this place the Lord made his covenant with our fathers, and even with us who are all here, both small and great.

On this law and this faith our righteous and victorious King Carolus takes his stand. He is great in counsel and mighty in deed when ruling the county in time of peace and time of war. He helps his servants to the best and upholds their spirit; apart from all the good things he did to them from the day he ascended the throne. With great delight we sit in his shadow. He has proclaimed freedom to all the country and made a great festival for all his servants. Let us rejoice and be glad! The sum of my words is: Long live the king, long live King Carolus! May God remember for his best his kindness and honesty. May he be among those who turn many to righteousness, beaming like stars forever.

And you, O generation, pay heed to the virtues bestowed on the Academy of Uppsala, for here the Lord let us understand his law and his testimonies. There are those who slander us and bring out evil report against us, shameful things without adequacy. Behold, there is a witness in heaven and one who vouches in the heights. Truth and good judgment are with us. Every man of wisdom loves the truth more than the burning of myrrh and frankincense, all the fragrant powders of the merchant. Thus were also the words of our beloved philosophers: Aristotle, Socrates and Plato; but the truth is even more beloved among us. May the Lord bless his people with peace and success to achieve wealth in the holy mission that we have before us; let him magnify his law and make it glorious. Amen. May it be God's will.

As we see, Peringer shared to common view that the Reformation was chiefly a royal exploit – later jubilee celebrations in Sweden paid homage to reason (1793) and to the Swedish nation (1893). The opponents mentioned by name, Bernt Knip-

perdolling and Melchior Buntmakare, belonged to a Baptist movement in Stockholm during the reign of Gustaf Vasa.⁵¹

Most of the speech is a skilful composition of quotations and allusions to the Bible – all annotated by Zetterstéen – and in this structural arrangement Peringer's own parts bind the whole together. Without any discrimination, Peringer draws on almost all books of the Old Testament, prose, poetry and prophecy alike. In some cases it would seem that he is too dependent on the biblical expression, with the effect that the form, so to speak, overruns the message. For a modern mind the description of the normal death of King Gustaf seems a bit dramatic, as being taken from Jer 9,20: "For death has come up into our windows, it has entered our palaces" and Gen 22,10: "Abraham put forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son". Perhaps Peringer felt this and therefore added: "according to the common manner". Gustaf Vasa's son King Johan III endeavoured to reintroduce Catholicism in Sweden and put pressure on the clergymen in this matter. Peringer carries on this point, saying that some fled "to the mountains, dismayed at his presence, as they saw that their supreme leader had fallen, their champion was dead", thus quoting from Gen 14,10: "the rest fled to the mountain", and Gen 45,3: "for they were dismayed at his presence" and finally 1 Sam 17,51: "the Philistines saw that their champion was dead". Being confined to biblical wordings, Peringer's choice of expressions does not seem wholly adequate, especially as Goliath is called to one's mind; but in fact, some of those who opposed the king were forced to flee for their lives.⁵² The Uppsala Assembly secured the Reformation and the document from the meeting was given official status. On this point, Peringer's quotation from Esth 3,14 and 8,13 is well founded, but the end: (a decree was issued) "to all the peoples to be ready for that day," apparently goes beyond what is known from history.

Zetterstéen describes Peringer's Hebrew manuscript as characterized by an elegant and legible hand, though not altogether free from *lapsus calami*. As was said, the oration depends heavily on quotations and allusions. Some forms and expressions are, however, picked up from the post-Biblical literature, such as *'anū* "we" and *'ellū* "these", and moreover *mīn* "heretic" *hægmōn* "bishop, ruler" *kāmūt* "quality" and *'ēkūt* "quality", as well as the expression *s^eyāg la-Tōrā* "a fence round the Law", an expression found in the Mishnah tractate *Pirke Aboth* and connected to what is in the New Testament named "the tradition of the elders" (Mark 7,3). In a few places there are Aramaic forms, such as *rēš millīn* "the sum or the words". Instead of the later designation for the New Testament *ha-b^erīt ha-ḥ^adāšā* Peringer uses *diatēqē ḥ^adāṭā*', made up by a Greek and an Aramaic word, thus nicely mirroring its Aramaic-Greek origin.

Final remark

In conclusion, Gustaf Peringer, professor of Oriental languages in Uppsala (1681–95), was an excellent Hebraist, both in view of contemporary and modern standards.

⁵¹ Zetterstéen refers to H. Lundström, "Om det s.k. vederdöpareofoget i Stockholm under Gustaf I:s regering", *Kyrklig Tidskrift* II, pp. 375ff.

⁵² See H. Cnattingius, *Uppsala Möte 1593*, Stockholm 1943, pp. 36–39.

In his *pro gradu* thesis *De Messia Judaica* he proves himself well versed in the Hebrew sources and in the contemporary discussion. His editions of the tractates *Abodah Zarah* and *Tamid* display erudition and accuracy, as does the edition of Maimonides' *De Primitiis*. The theses *On the Hercules temple in Cádiz* and *On Sanchuniathon* indicate a vast learning in Classical literature and a sincere interest in issues concerning the history of religions. Regrettably, his edition of Rabbi Samuel's itinerary was never to be completed. As teacher Peringer fostered several future scholars in the area of Oriental languages. His last minor masterpiece, his Hebrew oration, gives evidence of a scholar of remarkable proficiency in his main subject, but also of a man who wished to show his sincere gratitude to the Lutheran faith that was bestowed on him and on our country.

In this article by Mats Eskhult is Josef Eskhult responsible for the text on Christian Ravius and Peringer's dissertations: *On the Hercules temple in Cádiz*, *On Sanchuniathon* and *De Messia Judaico* from p. 60 to 84. He has also kindly scrutinized the rest of the English text vis-à-vis the Latin sources.

IV

Karaim studies at Uppsala

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Peringer's studies

When in 1664 the 13 years old Gustaf Peringer began his studies at Uppsala, Christian Ravius was professor in Oriental Languages. Ravius was married to Peringer's aunt Christina. Thus, it was Ravius, who came to take care of the boy's education, to become his mentor, to guide the boy in his studies and, consequently, to exercise a decisive impact on his academic interests. When Ravius – presumably at least partly because of academic hostilities – left Uppsala and moved to Kiel, Gustaf followed him.

Ravius, who had previously worked at Oxford, was a highly competent scholar. He had a good command of several languages, among others of Ottoman Turkish and Tatar. He had spent time in the Orient, mostly in Turkey, in the 1630s. Turkic languages spoken at the Ottoman and Safavid courts and in the Crimean Tatar Khanat, together with Persian, played important roles in Swedish diplomacy. Peringer in his *Oratio* defended Turkish against the widely spread prejudice that it is an uncivilized language and emphasized the importance of Turkish as the language of diplomacy.¹ Ravius's competence in Turkic languages was in fact needed, for example, in order to read the letters brought to Queen Christina by the Crimean Tatar Khan's legate. It could be mentioned here that even Peringer's father spent some time, although not voluntarily, in the Ottoman Empire. He had, as a young man, been imprisoned by the Turks.

Thus, Gustaf Peringer, whose main field of interest lied in Hebrew studies, also learned Turkic from his uncle. His knowledge of Turkic became an important resource when he turned his interest to the tradition of Hebrew Bible studies in the small community of the Turkic speaking Karaims in the Baltic area.

In Peringer's time scholarship was a servant of theology. Thus, the value of academic studies was measured by their usefulness for Bible exegesis. It was the task of Biblical philology to achieve a better understanding and interpretation of the Scripture. Hebrew and other Semitic languages, such as Aramaic, Syriac and even Arabic, were of academic interest mainly because of their presumed usefulness for understanding and interpreting Hebrew Biblical texts. In interconfessional debates between Christians and Jews, and between Catholics and Protestants, arguments based on new interpretations of the Scripture played a crucial role. "Orientalism (in the

¹ Cf. article by Hans Helander, above.

sense of Oriental studies) developed in the shade of the much grander discourses of the Bible and of the classics”.² In the seventeenth century, Oriental Studies were mostly pursued in Protestant countries. “Most Catholics had come round to the view that the Latin Vulgate sufficed for faith, whereas Protestants were more committed to close philological study of the biblical text.”³

During his university studies outside Sweden, his *peregrinatio academica*, Peringer studied with famous orientalists, such as Hiob Ludolf, the outstanding German scholar in Ethiopian studies,⁴ and the British orientalist Eduard Pococke, who was probably the greatest in this field in the seventeenth century.

Orientalists of the time were much interested in manuscript hunting. The British scholar Pococke, for instance, went to Istanbul to search for manuscripts. The orientalists’ basic motivation was to get hold of new Biblical texts, previously unknown translations of the Scripture, which could shed new light on the interpretation of the texts. Scholars undertook journeys to Oriental countries sponsored by royal courts and aristocrats in order to find new manuscripts.

When Peringer returned to Uppsala and took up his duties as professor in Oriental Languages in 1681, he had already forged his plans as a result of discussions with European orientalists, his teachers, to engage in the study of the Karaim Jews and to contribute to Biblical studies by learning about of the Karaim Biblical texts. It was this enterprise that gained him the fame that has lived until today and established his special position in Turcological scholarship. His name became known outside Sweden not because of his contribution to Biblical or Hebrew studies, and not because of the importance of his work for the political interests of the royal court. He won an international reputation in Turcology because he called attention to the Karaim translation of the Genesis and thereby to the Turkic language of the Karaim community in Lithuania. Peringer had the necessary competence for this. He was familiar with the Turkic languages, and he was a scholar who could read the texts written in Hebrew script.

Who were these Karaims who had translated the holy Hebrew books into a Turkic language?

Karaism

Karaims are followers of a sect that arose in the eighth century A.D. The name is derived from the Hebrew root *kara* “read”. The Karaims got their name because they relied on the “reading” of Scripture itself, rejecting the Rabbinic interpretations of the Scripture found in the Talmud.

Initially, supporters of this Jewish movement were called Ananites, after Anan ben David, the first literary figure of the group, who worked out a code of life independent of the Talmud. In 770 Anan wrote the definitive code of his order, the *Sefer ha-mitzwot* (“Book of Precepts”). During the 9th or 10th century, the name Karaim was adopted to underscore the group’s emphasis on personal reading of the Bible.

² Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*, London 2006, p. 2.

³ *Op.cit.* p. 96.

⁴ Sune J. C. Lindqvist, “Hiob Ludolf och Sverige.” In: *Donum Grapeanum, Festskrift tillägnad överbibliotkarien Anders Grape på sextiofemårsdagen den 7 mars 1945*. Uppsala 1945, pp. 605–625.

An important feature of Karaism is that it repudiates oral tradition as a source of divine law and defends the Hebrew Bible as the sole authentic source of religious doctrine and practice. In dismissing the Talmud as man-made law substituted for the God-given Torah, Karaism set itself in direct opposition to rabbinic Judaism.

Karaism proclaimed the Bible to be self-explanatory and sanctioned personal interpretations of the Scriptures. This is an important issue with regard to the use and maintenance of the native Turkic vernacular of the Turkic Karaims.

For a long time the movement suffered from numerous schisms and from a lack of competent scholars to defend its position on the Bible. Sa'adia ben Joseph (10th century) was an outspoken and effective opponent of Karaism and tried to exclude Karaims from Jewish communities. He and others, however, were forced by Karaism to develop Jewish philosophy and sharpen their exegesis to defend rabbinic Judaism's use of oral tradition (and the Talmud in particular). These controversies stimulated both sides to produce a great amount of polemic literature in Hebrew and Aramaic, the largest collection of which is now in the St. Petersburg Public Library.

The Karaims were treated as full, though heretical, Jews in the Middle Ages. Many Rabbinic authorities permitted marriages between Rabbinites and Karaims. But eventually the breach between the two communities widened to the extent that neither saw the other as belonging to the same religion.

Although the Karaim movement began in the 8th century in Babylonia, its members spread to Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. The earliest settlement of the Turkic Karaims was in the Crimea.

The Karaim communities today fall into two groups: The Karaims of the Middle East and the Karaims in Eastern Europe. The latter group is originally Turkic-speaking.

The Eastern European Karaims have had three main communities: the Crimean community, the Halich community in Galicia and the Troki/Trakai community in Lithuania. The common feature of these Karaims is that they speak a Kipchak Turkic language.

The earliest Karaim settlement was, as mentioned, in the Crimea. From the Crimea, some Karaims emigrated to Lithuania in the 13th and 14th centuries. Their main, and probably their oldest, settlement was the old Lithuanian capital, Trakai (Polish Troki). From there they spread to more than thirty other towns and villages in Lithuania. The Karaims of Galicia and Volhynia, including Halich, Lutsk, Nove Myasto and Kukizov, arrived in this territory earlier, after the Mongol invasion.

Peringer's journey to the Karaims⁵

As mentioned, the orientalist were highly interested in learning about the Karaims. In the seventeenth century, many academic circles were engaged in discussions con-

⁵ Peringer's journey was explored by the karaim Simon Şişman before World War II and first recorded in an article "Gustaf Peringers Mission bei den Karäern". In: *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 102: 2 (Neue Folge 27), 1952, pp. 215–228. He also wrote 1957 (under the form of his name Szyszman) "Die Karäer in Ost-Mitteleuropa." In: *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 6:1, pp. 24–54 and in 1989 was published at) Uppsala universitet *Les karaïtes d'Europe*. (=Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia 7.)

cerning Karaism. As there was a Karaim community in Constantinople, early scholars tried to establish contact with this community, e.g. William Postel (1510–1581), who was the ambassador of the French king Francis I to Süleyman the Magnificent's court.⁶ Many outstanding scholars discussed different aspects of the Karaim traditions, e.g. Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), Jean Morin (1591–1659) in Paris, Johannes Buxtorf Sr (1546–1629) and Johannes Buxtorf Jr (1599–1664) in Basel, Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667) in Zurich, John Selden (1584–1654) in London, and Johann Heinrich Zedler (1706–1751) in Leipzig.

Peringer's plan was to use Uppsala's geographical proximity to the Baltic area to visit the Lithuanian Karaims. It should be mentioned that Peringer had been preceded by another scholar. In 1641, Johannes Stephanus Rittangelius (d. 1652), professor in Oriental Languages at Königsberg, had visited the Karaim community in Trakai. He had managed to acquire manuscripts, but these got lost when pirates attacked the ship on which he was returning.

According to the polyhistor Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705), who spent his youth in Stockholm and had good contacts in Swedish academic circles, it was king Charles XI who took the initiative to Peringer's journey to the Karaims. Wagenseil writes about this in his work *Hoffnung der Erlösung Israels oder Klarer Beweis der bevorstehenden Judenbekehrung*, published posthumously in Leipzig in 1707.⁷ This was most probably only a token of politeness towards the king. In fact it was Peringer himself who informed the king about the Karaims in the letter of application which he wrote in 1690 to the Count Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna (1623–1702).⁸

In this letter, Peringer sums up what was known about Karaism at that time. He gives a full account of what he had learned about this topic during his studies at European universities. He emphasizes the importance of learning the Karaim system of writing the Hebrew texts. The Karaims had developed their own system to vocalize Hebrew texts and had their own version of the Hebrew Bible. Peringer gives a reason for why Karaim scholarship had been previously unknown to outsiders. The reason according to Peringer was that the Rabbinite Jews persecuted the Karaims. Therefore the Karaims in Constantinople kept their books in subterranean hiding places. But if one has money, Peringer writes, one can buy their books. That is what Peringer himself wanted to do. In this letter, he thus applies for leave and funding.

His application is accepted and he receives a permission and the necessary grant. Peringer leaves Sweden the 22nd of June 1690, arrives in Riga on the 25th of June. He stays there until the 4th of July. He intends to travel further to Kurland, Semigal, Lithuania, Prussia, Poland, Silesia and Pomerania as he writes in a letter, in which

⁶ Paul B. Fenton, "The European discovery of Karaism in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.". In: Meira Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism. A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources*. Leiden & Boston 2003, pp. 3–7.

⁷ Joh. Christophori Wagenseilii. *Hoffnung der Erlösung Israels oder Klarer Beweis der annoch bevorstehenden und wie es scheint allgemach-herannahenden grossen Jüden-Bekehrung: sammt unvorgreiflichen Gedancken wie solche nächst Verleihung Göttlicher Hülffe zu befördern*. Nürnberg 1707.

⁸ Gustaf Peringer, Letter to Count Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna 1690. Original in Linköping: Codex lincop. Br 2: 133. Copy in the National Archives, Helsinki: Suecicia c.

he mentions several Karaim settlements in Birze (Lithuanian Biržai), Poswole (Lithuanian Pasvalys), Nowomiasto (Lithuanian Naujamiestis), Troki (Lithuanian Trakai), Kronie (Lithuanian Kruonis, close to Trakai) and Luck (Ukrainian Luts'k). We do not know how many of these places he could actually visit. Peringer finished his journey in Stettin (Polish Szczecin) and returned to Uppsala on the 12th of November. His journey lasted more than four months. He reported about his journey in four letters. These letters do not contain much novel information. His letter written in 1691 to Erik Benzelius⁹ was published by Carl Christopher Gjörwell.¹⁰

Peringer's letter to professor Hiob Ludolf dated the 15th of April 1691 is written in Latin.¹¹ It has been known as *Epistola de Karaitis Lithuaniae* and is famous because it contains the beginning of *Genesis* in Karaim Turkic. This is the first documentation of this language in Western scholarly circles. The letter was published in 1691 in the German journal *Monatliche Unterredungen*. The editor of this periodical was Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel (1659–1707). Tentzel added to Peringer's letter some further remarks about the Karaims. This confirms the scholar's interest in the subject. The Turkic texts reads as follows:

Enk baştan jaratty Tenri oşol ol köklerni da oşol jerni. Da ol jer edi veran da boş da qaranhylyq edi jüzü üstüna derjanyň da küçli jel şuvuldaredi jüzü üstüna ol suvlarnyn. Da ajtty Tenri bolsun jaryq da boldu jaryq.

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was unsightly and unfurnished, and darkness was over the deep, and the Spirit of God moved over the water. And God said, "Let there be light"; and there was light.

After Peringer's return

The list of lectures of the professors in Oriental Languages at Uppsala University, *Prælectiones Linguarum Orientalium Professorum Upsalensium*,¹² contains items attesting that Peringer held lectures on Karaim topics after his return.

Claes Annerstedt mentions in his history of Uppsala University that Peringer had collected 36 manuscripts.¹³ We do not know how many of these were Karaim books. Unfortunately, the books were lost in the fire in the Royal Library in Stockholm on the 7th of May 1697.

Peringer was interested in the Karaim community because it had its own tradition of Biblical and Hebrew studies. The interest in Karaim studies was, however, also motivated by missionary reasons. One of the aims of the interconfessional dialogues

⁹ Peringer, Gustaf, Letter to Erik Benzelius, bishop in Strängnäs 1690. Original in Linköping: Codex lincop. Br 2: 134. Copy in the Royal Library, Stockholm.

¹⁰ Volume 4 of *Swenska Biblioteket*, Stockholm 1760, p. 82–85.

¹¹ Gustaf Peringer, Letter to Hiob Ludolf April 15 1691. Reprinted in W.E. Tentzel (ed.), *Monatliche Unterredungen Einiger Guten Freunde von Allerhand Büchern und Anderen Annehmlichen Geschichten. Allen Liebhabern der Kuriositäten zur Ergezligkeit und Nachsinnen heraus gegeben Junius 1691*, pp. 572–574.

¹² Published in: *En resenär i svenska stormaktstidens språklandskap. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710)*. Ed. by Éva Á. Csató, Gunilla Gren-Eklund and Folke Sandgren. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Skrifter rörande Uppsala universitet. C. Organisation och historia 81.) Uppsala 2007, pp. 81–85.

¹³ Claes Annerstedt, *Upsala universitets historia*, 2:1–2, 1655–1718. Uppsala 1908–1909, p. 294.

in this period was the hope to convert Jews to Christianity. This issue, and several aspects of Peringer's scholarship, have recently been examined in a Uppsala dissertation by Josef Eskhult *Andreas Norrelius' Latin translation of Johan Kemper's Hebrew commentary on Matthew*.¹⁴ It was widely assumed at Peringer's time that it would be easier to convert Karaims than Rabbinite Jews. Therefore, it became important to learn more about their confession.

The results of Peringer's visit to the Karaims were rather meagre. He does not seem to have learned much about the Karaims beyond what he had known before his visit to Lithuania. As mentioned, even the books he brought to Sweden perished in the fire in Stockholm. The European scholar who finally managed to get hold of manuscripts was Levinus Warner (1619–1665), who visited Constantinople and bought 30 important Karaim works, which were acquired by the University of Leiden in the 18th century. European scholars engaged in Karaim studies used these texts.

Swedish-Karaim contacts after Peringer

After Peringer's visit other Swedish scholars made efforts to establish contacts with the Karaims. Two important Karaim works were authored in response to Swedish inquiries about Karaism.¹⁵

In 1676, Johann Uppendorff (1654–1698) traveled to the Karaims in Lithuania. Uppendorff, who was born in Skolemand in Tønder and had studied at the universities of Rostock and Kiel, was appointed as rector at the German school in Stockholm and later, in 1677, in Riga. His friend David Caspari (1643–1702), who was professor at the German school in Stockholm, joined him on his trip to Riga. These two scholars managed to establish contact with the Karaims in Trakai and invited, in 1696 and 1697, the Karaim scholar Solomon ben Aaron to Riga to lecture on Karaism. Uppendorff asked questions about the differences between Rabbinism and Karaism, and Solomon ben Aaron answered to these questions in a treaty that was published in 1866.¹⁶ Solomon's visit to Sweden is still known in the Karaim community. However the Karaims mixed up Riga and Uppsala, believing that Solomon had visited Uppsala. The memory of this alleged visit to Uppsala is still vivid. In a *Festskrift* for Folke Sandgren, Lars Johanson and I published a Swedish translation of a Karaim short story describing Solomon's adventures in Uppsala.¹⁷

¹⁴ Josef Eskhult, *Andreas Norrelius' Latin Translation of Johan Kemper's Hebrew Commentary on Matthew. Edited with introduction and philological commentary*. (Studia Latina Upsaliensia 32.) Uppsala 2007.

¹⁵ Heinrich Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden von der dauernden Ansiedelung der Marranen in Holland (1618) bis zum Beginn der Mendelssohn'schen Zeit (1760)*. (= Geschichte der Juden: Von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart 10.) Leipzig 1882², pp. 209–303.

¹⁶ Solomon ben Aaron Troki. *Appiryon 'Asah Lo* (Short version). In: Adolf Neubauer, 1866. *Aus der Peterburger Bibliothek*. Leipzig 1866, pp. 1–29.

¹⁷ Silvia Berti, "Erudition and religion in the Judeo-Christian encounter: The significance of the Karaite myth in seventeenth century Europe", p. 117. In: *Hebraic Political Studies* 1, 2005, pp. 110–120. See also Erik Gren, "Bidrag till Michael Enemans biografi. Studier och bokförvärv." In: *Donum Grapeanum, Festskrift tillägnad överbibliotekarien Anders Grape på sextiofemårsdagen den 7 mars 1945*. Uppsala 1945, pp. 445–494; Éva Á. Csató & Lars Johanson, 1998. "Två karaim i Uppsala." In: Anders Burius et alii

A second contact took place between some Swedes and Karaims in Galicia. A relative of Solomon, Mordecai ben Nissan of Kukizow (a place near Lemberg), wrote a small book, *Levush Malkhut*, about Karaism. This book contains responses to questions allegedly asked by Charles XII when the king entered Poland in 1702. According to Mordecai the king asked: "From which nation are you? What is your confession? What are the differences between the Karaims and the Talmudists?"¹⁸

Another traveler in Charles XII's time was Michael Eneman, who visited the Karaims of Constantinople and Cairo at the beginning of the 18th century in order to collect information about their traditions.¹⁹ In 1710, twenty years after Peringer's visit, the Karaim population was decimated by a disastrous plague. The settlements were weakened, and several of them disappeared. After this catastrophe, the Karaims could never regain their earlier position in the Baltic area. Today, only two of the settlements visited by Peringer in the 17th century remain.

Karaim communities today

There are still Karaim communities in Lithuania, Poland, Russia and Ukraine. The largest Karaim ones are on the Crimea and Moscow. Until the first half of the 20th century the Karaims lived in small, relatively autonomous communities (*džymat*) which ensured them a certain degree of economic security and the possibility to practise their religion. The Soviet Union dissolved these communities. As a result, community members dispersed, became rootless, cut off from their traditions. The transfer of the language and religious traditions to the younger generation stopped.

The most vivid Karaim community today is the one in Trakai and Vilnius. After 1990 when the independence of Lithuania was reestablished community life was re-organized here by the older generation which still had cultural, religious and linguistic competence. The Lithuanian state supported the revitalisation of minority cultures and languages and the leaders of the Karaim community used this opportunity well. They managed to start a strong movement with the support of the younger generation.

Uppsala University, with the financial help of the Swedish Institute, has recently been engaged in supporting the Lithuanian Karaims in their effort to revitalize community life. The most urgent task is to revitalize the language. There are still about thirty full-fledged speakers. Most of them are over seventy years old. In the summer 2008 the sixth Karaim language school was organized in Trakai. Karaims from all communities have participated and taken language classes. It is to be hoped that this

(eds.) *Några hyll(nings)centimeter: Festskrift till Folke Sandgren den 15 februari 1998*. (Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis, 58.) Stockholm, pp. 49–65. *Album Academicum der Universität Dorpat (Tartu) 1632–1710*. (Staatliche Universität Tartu. Publicationes Bibliothecae Universitatis Litterarum Tartuens V.) Tallin. 1984

¹⁸ Fred Astren, "Karaite historiography and historical consciousness", p. 54. In: Meira Polliack (ed.). *Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*. Leiden & Boston 2003, pp. 25–69. Astren quotes Mordecai ben Nissan. *Levush Malkhut*, p. 30. (Published in: Adolf Neubauer, 1866. *Aus der Peterburger Bibliothek*. Leipzig 1866, pp. 30–66.)

¹⁹ I refer to Erik Gren's article of 1945. More recently, Johan Heldt has been working on an account of Eneman's travels. We hope to learn more about Eneman's Karaim contacts through this research.

positive movement for language maintenance will continue and the language Peringer documented will not die out.

By the present author on the topic, see also:

"Caraimica upsaliensia" in: *En resenär i svenska stormaktstidens språklandskap. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710)*. Ed. by Éva Á. Csató, Gunilla Gren-Eklund and Folke Sandgren. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Skrifter rörande Uppsala universitet. C. Organisation och historia 81.) Uppsala 2007, pp. 181–213.

"The Karaim community in Lithuania." In: Witold Maciejewski (ed.) *The Baltic Sea Region. Cultures, Politics, Societies*, Uppsala 2002, pp. 272–275.

"The Karaims: The smallest group of Turkic-speaking people." In: Ergun Çagatay (ed.) *The Turkic Speaking World. 2000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans*. Munich 2006, pp. 384–403.

With coauthor David Nathan, *Spoken Karaim*. Multimedia CD-ROM 2002

Gustaf Peringer and the Roots of Comparative Philology

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Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710) lived in a time when profound changes were taking place in the European study of languages. The traditional ties with theology, biblical philology and the centrality of Hebrew (as God’s own language) were breaking up. The continuously growing knowledge of various languages in this age of discoveries brought new insights in their possible interrelations. Already during the Middle Ages, Jewish and Christian theologians had noticed striking similarities between Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, with the result that even Arabic words were adduced in order to explain difficult passages in the Old Testament.¹ After the Reformation, interest in studying the Biblical texts in their original languages, including Greek and Latin, grew quickly, which led to observations of similarities and dissimilarities between the various languages. In the Mediterranean region, languages of typologically quite different characters were used in close contact, languages that later came to be classified as belonging to the Semitic, Indo-European and Turkic language families. Hence, it did not require a great leap to notice that some languages were more alike than others.

Already before the 17th century there were isolated attempts at comparing languages in a systematic way. Among them we have the Austrian envoy to Constantinople in 1555–62, the Fleming Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (Busbequius, 1522–1592). In a letter published after his death in 1592 he gives a list of words that he found to be used by a group of people who lived together with the Tatars in Crimea but that showed a close similarity to German. He concludes that those people must either be a group of immigrants from Saxony or a remnant of the Goths.² Towards the end of the century a number of scholars began to discuss obvious similarities between various Persian and Germanic words.³ Franz von Ravelingen (Franciscus Raphelengius,

¹ Cf. Frithiof Rundgren: “Semitic languages”, *Faculty of Arts at Uppsala University: Linguistics and Philology*, Uppsala 1976, p 99.

² *Avgerii Gislenii Bysbeqvii legationis tvcicae epistolae quatvuor*, Paris 1595, pp. 136–137 (transl. *The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554–1562*. Newly translated from the Latin of the Elzevir edition of 1993, by E. S. Forster, Oxford 1927).

³ Interesting overviews of those early attempts at “etymologizing” German(ic) words are found in Daniel Georg Morhof: *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie*, 1700; hrsg. v. H. Boetius, Bad Homburg etc. 1969, and Georgius Eccardus: *Historia studii etymologici lingvae germanicae*, Hanover 1711. For an annotated Swedish translation by Gunilla Gren-Eklund of chapters 23 and 25 of the latter, see the

1539–1597), professor of Hebrew in Leiden, was perhaps the first scholar to compose a list of corresponding Persian and Germanic (Dutch) words. He wrote about this in a letter to the professor of history and then Rector of the same university, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), in 1584.⁴ Lipsius in turn wrote about such correspondences in a number of letters, e.g. in 1599 to another eminent philologist of the time, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), and the same year to Henricus Schottius. In the latter letter he presents the following lists: one of 35 Persian words with “Germanic” parallels and Latin translation, and another with eleven Persian words with Latin parallels.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Auar, Ouer, Super</i> | 19. <i>Fadar, Vaeder, Pater</i> |
| 2. <i>Aual, Aenual, Initium</i> | 20. <i>Grift, Begrypt, Tenuit</i> |
| 3. <i>Achterraatz, Achteraedt, Cautio</i> | 21. <i>Garm, Gram, Ira</i> |
| 4. <i>Band, Bandt, Vinculum</i> | 22. <i>Garph, Graph, Profundum, transpositione litteræ, vt sæpè</i> |
| 5. <i>Berader, Broeder, Frater</i> | 23. <i>Iock, Iock, Iugum</i> |
| 6. <i>Batsa, à Latratu, Catulus</i> | 24. <i>Madar, Moeder, Mater</i> |
| 7. <i>Begryst, Fleuit</i> | 25. <i>Madah, Maechde, Femilla.</i> |
| 8. <i>Beuast, Clausit : &</i> | 26. <i>Mah, Maen, Luna</i> |
| 9. <i>Beuastand, Clauserunt</i> | 27. <i>Na, Nee, Non</i> |
| 10. <i>Cah, Caf, Palea</i> | 28. <i>Näm, Naem, Nomen</i> |
| 11. <i>Cäl, Cæl, Caluus</i> | 29. <i>Nambar, Naembaer, Nominatus</i> |
| 12. <i>Casti, Casse, Cista</i> | 30. <i>Nau, Neu, Nouus</i> |
| 13. <i>Cebar, Gebaer, Rumor</i> | 31. <i>Neber, Neue, Nepos</i> |
| 14. <i>Coda, Godt, Deus</i> | 32. <i>Nazdic, Nastich, Propinquus</i> |
| 15. <i>Dandan, Tand, Dens</i> | 33. <i>Nuh, Nun Germ. Nouen</i> |
| 16. <i>Däre, Duere, Ianua</i> | 34. <i>Phristar, Vyrster, Ancilla</i> |
| 17. <i>Dochtar, Dochter, Filia</i> | 35. <i>Stär, Sterre, Stella</i> |
| 18. <i>Drog, Bedroch, Mendacium</i> | |
-
- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Chus, Sus</i> | 7. <i>Nectar, Optima pars</i> |
| 2. <i>Du, Duo</i> | 8. <i>Parah, Pars</i> |
| 3. <i>Deleri, Deletio</i> | 9. <i>Sag, Canis. quasi Sagax</i> |
| 4. <i>Lab, Labium</i> | 10. <i>Tu, Tu, & Tuus</i> |
| 5. <i>Mast, Mustium</i> | 11. <i>Biua possit addi, Vidua</i> |
| 6. <i>Mucz, Mus</i> | |

These lists include a great number of historically correct identifications of cognates, such as the well-known “*Fadar* [properly Pers. *pedar*], *Vaeder, Pater*”, “*Berader, Broeder, Frater*”, “*Dochtar, dochter, Filia*”, “*Madar, Moeder, Mater*”, “*Dandan, Tand, Dens*”, “*Nau, Neu, Nouus*”, and “*Lab, Labium*”. Finally, Lipsius raises the question of what the interpretation of such correspondences could be.⁵

Appendix to my article “Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad och det persiska språket”, in Éva Á. Csató, Gunilla Gren-Eklund & Folke Sandgren (eds.), *En resenär i svenska stormaktstidens språklandskap. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710)* (= *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. C. Organisation och Historia*, 81), Uppsala 2007, pp. 109–125.

⁴ Oral communication from J.T.P. de Bruijn; see also the Appendix to my article of 2007, p. 122 n. 10.

⁵ *Ivsti Lipsi epistolarum selectarum quinqve centvriae*, Paris 1602, pp. 258–259.

The successor of Lipsius in Leiden, the afore-mentioned Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), laid the foundations for the study of Oriental languages there. His pupil Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) wrote the first European grammar of Arabic, *Oratio de lingua Arabica*, published in 1613. In 1628 his colleague in Leiden, the Presbyterian theologian Lodewijk (Ludovicus) de Dieu (1590–1642) published his *Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium*, a comparison between Hebrew, Syriac and so-called Chaldean (i.e. Aramaic).⁶ In 1639, de Dieu also published a Persian grammar, *Rudimenta Linguae Persicae*. Among other things, de Dieu shows that the verbal system of Persian is completely different from that of Arabic. He must have understood the fundamental structural difference between those two languages. According to Éva Jeremiás,⁷ the main teacher of de Dieu in both Arabic and Persian was the famous collector of Oriental manuscripts, Jacob Golius (1596–1667), who was also the author of a posthumously published Persian–Latin dictionary (1669).⁸

Soon after the grammar of de Dieu, another Persian grammar appeared, this time in England, the *Elementa Linguae Persicae* published in London in 1649 by John Greaves (Johannes Gravius). This is a surprisingly comprehensive grammar, which testifies to a good first-hand knowledge of Persian. Concluding his grammar, Greaves remarks that there are many Persian words that are “congruent” with words found in European languages, and he also presents a list of 14 Persian nouns with both Latin and English correspondences.⁹ This time Persian appears in Arabic script (here given in transcription):

1. Tonitru	<i>Thunder</i>	<i>tundur</i>	8. Tonsor	<i>Barber</i>	<i>barbar</i>
2. Malus	<i>Bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	9. Ostium	<i>Doore</i>	<i>dar</i>
3. Melior	<i>Better</i>	<i>bihtar</i>	10. Labium	<i>Lip</i>	<i>lab</i>
4. Lemures	<i>Fairies</i>	<i>parī</i>	11. Cervical	<i>Boulstar</i>	<i>bustar</i>
5. Frater	<i>Brother</i>	<i>birādar</i>	12. Supercilium	<i>A brow</i>	<i>abrū</i>
6. Filia	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>duxtār</i>	13. Umbilicus	<i>Navel</i>	<i>nāf</i>
7. Fæmina	<i>Maid</i>	<i>mādah</i>	14. Vinculum	<i>Bond</i>	<i>band</i>

A second list presents 16 more Persian words (in Arabic script, transcribed here), this time with only Latin correspondences:

1. padar	<i>pater</i>	9. jangar	<i>jecur</i>
2. māda	<i>mater</i>	10. sitārah	<i>astrum</i>
3. sīnah	<i>sinus</i>	11. nah	<i>ne</i>
4. hunar	<i>virtus, honor</i>	12. nām	<i>nomen</i>
5. ark	<i>arx</i>	13. kal	<i>calvus</i>
6. mūsh	<i>mus</i>	14. yūgh	<i>jugum</i>
7. dand	<i>dens</i>	15. nau	<i>novus</i>
8. khurd	<i>curtus</i>	16. pārah	<i>pars</i>

⁶ Cf. É. M. Jeremiás: “The Impact of Semitic Linguistics on the First Persian Grammars Written in Europe”, Shaul Shaked & Amnon Netzer (eds.), *Irano-Judaica IV*, Jerusalem 1999, p. 165.

⁷ *Op.cit. ibid.* p. 166.

⁸ Jacob Golius: *Dictionarium Persico-Latinum*, in Edmund Castell: *Lexicon heptaglotton*, Leiden 1669.

⁹ Johannes Gravius: *Elementa Linguae Persicae*, London 1649, pp. 89–91.

Many of the words in these lists coincide with words already found in the lists given by Lipsius in his above-mentioned letter. Such lists were obviously circulating among the scholars of the time.

The next Persian grammar to be published in Europe was written by a Carmelite monk, Ignatio à Jesu, and appeared in Rome in 1659 under the title *Grammatica Linguae Persicae*. This grammar is simpler than its predecessors. It does not use the Arabic script at all and the transcribed words seem to come from the spoken rather than written language. It is uncertain where the author could have come into contact with spoken Persian, but according to the title page of the book he had been active as a missionary in “Tripolis and Mons Libani”. It is probable that it was there, in Lebanon, that he had met and studied the living Persian language. In spite of his obviously practical purposes, the author makes serious attempts at fitting the Persian language into the pattern of Latin grammar.

As seen from these examples, Persian attracted special attention at an early stage as the Oriental language showing the closest similarities to the main European languages. Two other pioneers in this field were Johannes Elichmannus from Silesia (1601–1639) and the Frenchman Claudius Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise, 1588–1653, Scaliger’s successor as professor in Leiden from 1631 and subsequently called to the court of the Swedish Queen Christina in 1650). In an edition of the Arabic version of the so called *Tabula Ceбетis*, in Greek original and Latin translation by Elichmannus, published posthumously in 1640, Salmasius writes a long introduction that adduces rich materials on Arabic and Persian political and linguistic history.¹⁰ The “table” in question, also known as *Aenigma Ceбетis*, is based on a short Arabic text called *Lughzu Qābusa sāhibi Aflātuna* (“The enigma of Qābus, the friend of Plato”), where Qābus of course refers to the Persian (Sasanian) king. (Translation of the Arabic text: “And this thing is most similar to the affairs of the world and what there is in it and urges the wise man to find complete happiness and avoid the evil that is in it.”)

As pointed out by Hans Helander,¹¹ the famous humanist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), in his *Prolegomena* to the *Historia Gotthorum* (1655), states that Persian has hundreds of words in common with the Germanic languages, especially words for kinship, parts of the body and numerals; the reason for this must be that the Scyths passed them on to the Parthians, who were their descendants, and also to the Germans. Another source that was much quoted is an historical investigation entitled *Veteris Linguae Persicae Leipsana*, which the Englishman Burtonus (William Burton, 1609–57) published in London in 1657.¹² Among other things it contains a comprehensive alphabetical list of Iranian names and terms with plentiful Classical references and explanations. Incidentally, his book is dedicated to the “young, highly learned” Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), translator (or rather transcriber) of the Penta-teuch to Persian and author of the epoch-making work *Historia religionum veterum Persarum* (1700).

¹⁰ Johannes Elichmannus: *Tabula Ceбетis Graece, Arabice, Latine*, Leiden 1640, pp. 3–34; see also Utas, “Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad och det persiska språket”, App. p. 123.

¹¹ “Peringers tal år 1674 till de orientaliska språkens ära” (p. 102), in *op. cit.* (footnote 3, above) *En resenär*, Uppsala 2007, pp. 89–107.

¹² Cf. Georgius Eccardus: *Historia studii etymologici lingvae germanicae*, Hanover 1711, p. 209.

At about the same time direct European knowledge of Persia was greatly enhanced by the travelogue published by the German Adam Olearius (1603–71) after a diplomatic mission to the Safavid court in Isfahan in 1636–38: *Beschreibung der Muskowitischen und Persischen Reyse* (1647), later in an enlarged edition, *Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse* (1656). Olearius had acquired a good practical knowledge of Persian and noticed the presence of a large number of Arabic words in this language. From this he drew the somewhat rash conclusion that Persian is more closely related to Arabic than to Turkish, but it is interesting to see that he talks in terms of “relatedness” (*Verwandtschaft*). He also noticed the close similarity between a number of Persian and German words and gave two lists of examples – similar to the other lists that were current at the time.¹³ One is a list of twelve Persian words with German correspondences:

1.	brader	<i>Bruder</i>	7.	nahm	<i>Namm</i>
2.	dochter	<i>Tochter</i>	8.	nau	<i>New</i>
3.	berber	<i>Barbier</i>	9.	bend	<i>Band</i>
4.	leb	<i>Lippe</i>	10.	beheter	<i>Besser / sax, bether</i>
5.	kal	<i>Kahl</i>	11.	der	<i>Thür / sax, Döhr</i>
6.	stareh	<i>Stern</i>	12.	buster	<i>Polster Sax?? Pust</i>

And the other is also a list of twelve Persian words, this time with Latin correspondences:

1.	pader	<i>Pater</i>	7.	musch	<i>Mus</i>
2.	mader	<i>Mater</i>	8.	dend	<i>Dens</i>
3.	calem	<i>Calamus</i>	9.	du	<i>Duo</i>
4.	ne	<i>Ne</i>	10.	no	<i>Novem</i>
5.	jug	<i>Jugum</i>	11.	de	<i>Decem</i>
6.	tu	<i>Tu</i>	12.	pare	<i>Pars</i>

In this connection he quotes the Leiden professor Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius, who in a letter to Nicolaus Blancardus suggests that the similarities between Persian and German ought to be the result of a common origin in the Scyths,¹⁴ i.e. more or less the same explanation as that given by Grotius. The common Scythian origin was thus a favoured hypothesis among many scholars in the second half of the 17th century, though not uncontested.¹⁵

Speculations about the similarities between Oriental and European languages were thus rife at the time when the young Gustaf Peringer was trained as a philologist. His most important teacher in the Oriental field was the German professor

¹³ Adam Olearius: *Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse*, Schleswig 1656 (repr. 1971), pp. 614–616.

¹⁴ Olearius, *Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung*, pp. 615–616, Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius: *Epistolae & poemata*, Amsterdam 1662, p. 128.

¹⁵ Cf. Eccardus *apud* Utas 2007, App. 124–125.

Christian Ravius,¹⁶ who had been invited to Sweden (from Oxford) by Queen Christina. Although he was a controversial person and never got on well with his Swedish colleagues, there is no doubt about his competence in Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Tataric. His knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic has been called in question, but that may be due to his continuous disputes with our theologians.¹⁷ Ravius was married to an aunt of Gustaf Peringer, and when he left Sweden in 1669, he brought his young protégé Gustaf with him to Kiel. From there the 18-year-old Peringer started his “grand tour” in order to study with the leading Orientalists on the continent and in England. Through these studies he was introduced to the lively contemporary debate on the character and interrelations of Oriental as well as European languages.

When, after a “peregrination” of five years, he came back to Uppsala, he was – at the age of 23 – already an accomplished Orientalist. His great oration in honour of the Oriental languages in 1674,¹⁸ which has been presented above by Hans Helander, may be seen as a grandiose oral examination in front of the faculty that had sponsored his journey (together with a royal scholarship). As we have seen, his oration presented a panorama of what was regarded as “Oriental languages” in his time, a kind of state of the art. Of course, he starts his periplus with Hebrew, “the mother of all languages”, and sails on to Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish (with Ottoman, Azerbaijani and Tatar variants subsumed under one), Ethiopic, Armenian and Egyptian (though still not readable) before reaching his safe port in the Athenaeum of Uppsala.

It is most interesting to see how he conceives of the similarities and dissimilarities of these languages. He obviously regards Hebrew, “Chaldean” (the kind of Aramaic found in the Biblical books of Ezra and Daniel), Syriac and Arabic, i.e. what we nowadays refer to as Semitic languages, as somehow closely related. He even refers Ethiopic to this group. He argues that the comparative study of these languages is useful for the interpretation of difficult passages in the Old Testament, but makes no systematic attempt to describe or explain the similarities. When he says that “Syriac is derived from Chaldean”, this is probably more a cultural-religious than a linguistic-historical statement. As for Ethiopic he refers to Scaliger’s argument that the Ethiopians had come from Arabia.

The Persian language, on the other hand, is seen as different from Arabic, in spite of the fact that it is written in the Arabic script and has adopted a great number of Arabic loan words. Instead, Peringer maintains, it is “obviously related to our own Gothic language”, both having the same origin (!), “as demonstrated by Elichmanus and many others”. He also refers to Claudius Salmasius, Justus Lipsius and Bochartus. An explanation of this turns up towards the end of his speech, when he talks of “our ancestors, the Scyths,” as being older than the Egyptians. Thus he followed the tradition that viewed the Scyths as the common ancestors of the Germanic

¹⁶ Ravius is also introduced by Gunilla Gren-Eklund, Hans Helander and Éva Csató Johanson in the series of articles on Oriental studies in this volume.

¹⁷ Rundgren, “Semitic languages”, p. 103.

¹⁸ Gustavus Peringerus: *Concio laudibus ac eulogiis nobiliorum in orbe Eoo idiomatum dicta in Athenaeo Upsaliensi septentrionalium princepe*, Stockholm 1674.

peoples and the Persians. Surprisingly, he mentions neither the Persian grammar by Gravius of 1649 nor the travelogue of Olearius from 1647 (1656). Turkish, in its turn, is presented as a very widespread language, spoken “in its original form” in Tartary, where it is still not mixed with Arabic and Persian. This is again evidence, although negative, that what we now call Semitic, Turkic and Iranian languages were beginning to be seen as separate types.

In his oration, Peringer speaks about the two writing systems of Persian, one built on that of Arabic and the other an old type of writing “still unknown” (*hactenus ignotus*) to the philologists. The latter most probably refers to the peculiar Pahlavi form of writing which is based on a variety of the Aramaic alphabet. With his contemporaries Peringer shares the belief that Persian may be useful for the interpretation of certain words in the Books of Esther and Ezra as well as the fact that this language is characterized by an unusual elegance and beauty. He also underlines the importance of the Persian translations of the Bible, especially the translation of the Pentateuch by Iacobus Thusius (= Persian Ya‘qūb Ṭūsī), referring to his teacher Christian Ravius.

In this oration we can see a summary of the current European attempts at a comparative study of languages. In many ways the picture painted of these languages is remarkably precise, but there was obviously still no firm method of comparison and thus also no historical or chronological dimension in the understanding of these phenomena. The establishment of systematic correspondences between sounds and morphemes that made a true understanding of the evolution or historical change of languages was still a hundred years ahead. However, as described by Gunilla Gren-Eklund,¹⁹ the philosopher Leibniz (1646–1716) made an early attempt at formulating methodological requirements for the establishment of etymologies and comparisons, where meaning and sound, i.e. semantics and phonology, were made the corner-stones (in a correspondence with Hiob Ludolf in Frankfurt).

At the time of his oration, Peringer was still a young scholar, and in order to advance his knowledge further he soon went abroad again for another four-year study tour to the main European centres of theological and linguistic learning (1676–1680). He spent his time with, among others, the famous polyglot and Ethiopologist Hiob Ludolf in Frankfurt and the Orientalist/Arabist Edward Pococke in Oxford, both of whom he had already quoted in his oration. After his return to Uppsala in 1680, he must have been regarded as a fully trained Orientalist, since in January 1681 he was appointed professor of Oriental languages at his mother university, a position that he held until 1695. We can follow his activities during the fourteen years in the lists of his recorded lectures and the dissertations defended by his pupils. Both reveal that his main preoccupation was Old Testament philology and exegesis including Talmudic studies.²⁰

Still he must have taken part in the linguistic speculations that even flourished

¹⁹ Article above by Gunilla Gren-Eklund on Oriental studies.

²⁰ About Peringer’s academic career, see also article by Gunilla Gren-Eklund, above. For his Hebrew and Talmudic studies, see article by Mats Eskhult, above.

in Uppsala in his time. It is enough to mention the well-known Japhetic speculations of Olof Rudbeck the Elder (as presented in his *Atlantica*, 1–4, 1679–1702) and the linguistic material collected by Johan Gabriel Sparfvenfeld (1655–1727) during his wide journeys in 1677–1707. From the latter derives one of the more spectacular ideas of the time, namely that the Swedes originated in Kashghar (in present Chinese Sinkiang!). According to Gunnar Jarring, the source of this strange idea was Sparfvenfeld, who during his visit to Paris in 1691 told the French Orientalist Petit de la Croix that according to Nordic annals there was a Central Asian tribe called the “Gets”, that was identical with our “Goths” and that their capital was called Kashghar, identical with the Nordic Asgard. From there our Nordic god Odin originally came, together with a crowd of Turks.²¹ This nice piece of lore was used by de la Croix in his well-known *Histoire du Grand Genghiscan* (Paris 1710).

Not much later we find the great Swedish explorer of Siberia, Philip Johann Tabbert von Strahlenberg (1677–1747), who collected rich comparative linguistic materials during his wide travels. According to my teacher, Stig Wikander, Roman Jakobson once in a conversation suggested that Strahlenberg, through his work *Das nord- und östliche Theil von Europa und Asien* (Stockholm 1730), should be regarded as the proper founder of historical-comparative linguistics. There was also the Swede Andreas Jäger who left Uppsala in 1685 and defended a *pro gradu* dissertation with the title *De lingua vetustissima Europae Scytho-Celtica et Gothica* in Wittenberg in 1686. According to Gunilla Gren-Eklund, Jäger has a genetic approach to linguistic change unusual for his time. He writes about “mother language”, “childhood”, “youth”, “maturity” and “death” of languages and describes languages as “branches of a tree”.²²

The most prominent pupil of Peringer was probably Olof Celsius the Elder, who held the chair of Oriental languages in 1715–27, before transferring to the theological faculty.²³ One of his pupils, Olof Odhelius, presented a dissertation with the telling title *Convenientia lingvae persicae cum gothica* (Uppsala 1723). It is, as was usual at that time, difficult to judge what came from the pen of the respondent and what from that of his professor, but it is clearly a work in the tradition already presented in Peringer’s oration. It is a learned work that quotes forerunners like Lipsius, Salmasius and Grotius on this “convenientia”, i.e. resemblance, of the Persian language to what is broadly called “Gothic”, here generally exemplified by plain Swedish. Odhelius also quotes Gravius and Olearius – who were still missing in the oration of Peringer. We find here again a comparative table of 33 Persian words with Gothic correspondences (most or possibly all of them taken over from earlier such tables). It reads as follows (excluding Persian written in Persian-Arabic writing):²⁴

²¹ Gunnar Jarring: “Svensk Centralasien-forskning i ett historiskt perspektiv”, S. Rosén & B. Utas (eds.), *Det okända Centralasien*, Uppsala 1994, pp. 18–19.

²² “Språkforskning och språkforskare vid europeiska 1600-talsuniversitet” (pp. 27 f.), in *op. cit.* (footnote 3, above) *En resenär*, Uppsala 2007, pp. 11–37.

²³ Rundgren, “Semitic languages”, pp. 105–106.

²⁴ Olof Odhelius: *Convenientia lingvae persicae cum gothica*, Uppsala 1723, pp. 21–23.

	<i>Persice</i>	<i>Gothice</i>		<i>Persice</i>	<i>Gothice</i>
1.	Choda	<i>Gud</i>	18.	Mur	<i>Myra</i>
2.	Thunder	<i>Dunder</i>	19.	Germ	<i>Gram</i>
3.	Bihter	<i>Bettre/Better</i>	20.	Kuften	<i>Kuffa</i>
4.	Burader	<i>Broder</i>	21.	Bār	<i>Börda</i>
5.	Dochter	<i>Dotter</i>	22.	Nau	<i>Ny</i>
6.	Der	<i>Dör</i>	23.	Menem	<i>Min</i>
7.	Leb	<i>Läpp</i>	24.	Kerā	<i>Kiärr</i>
8.	Band	<i>Band</i>	25.	Kæfe	<i>Qwäfwā</i>
9.	Made	<i>Meya/Möö</i>	26.	Pirājiden	<i>Pryda</i>
10.	Boster	<i>Bolster</i>	27.	Giriften	<i>Gripa</i>
11.	Peder	<i>Fader</i>	28.	Mah	<i>Māna</i>
12.	Mader	<i>Moder</i>	29.	Nestich	<i>Näst</i>
13.	Nam	<i>Namn</i>	30.	Div	<i>Diefwul</i>
14.	Dendān	<i>Tand</i>	31.	Sitare	<i>Stierna</i>
15.	Chord	<i>Kort</i>	32.	Ne	<i>Nej</i>
16.	Cift	<i>Gift</i>	33.	Schesch	<i>Sex</i>
17.	Vāl	<i>Hwalfisk</i>			

This is followed by an interesting comparison between the Persian and Latin paradigms of the present tense of the verb “to eat”:²⁵

Man mi churem	<i>Ego Edo</i>	(“I eat”)	Mā mi churim	<i>Nos Edimus</i>	(“we eat”)
Tu mi churi	<i>Tu Edis</i>	(“you eat”)	Schumā mi churid	<i>Vos Editis</i>	(“you eat”)
Ou mi chured	<i>Ille Edit</i>	(“he eats”)	Ischān mi churand	<i>Illi Edunt</i>	(“they eat”)

By this he endeavoured to show an affinity between Persian and Latin verbal endings. However, such similarities in verbal endings had already been noticed by the above-mentioned Johannes Elichmannus, who died young in 1639, and to whom Peringer had referred in his oration.

This seems close to a break-through for a true comparative philology, but the historical dimension remains nebulous. Like their colleagues on the continent, Peringer, Celsius and Odhelius were groping in the dark, when it came to finding an explanation for the similarities they were recording. The main idea was still that people and languages had moved around and taken up elements from each other on the way. Odhelius even adduces evidence from a runic inscription found at Fjuckby (just north of Uppsala), published by Peringer’s brother Johan Peringsköld, in which Vikings are mentioned as *Asiaefarare*, *Grikfarare* and *Moisiefarare*, i.e. travellers to “Asia”. “Greece” and “Moesia” (in the northern Balkans).²⁶

However, already at the beginning of the 18th century, some scholars, like the German historiographer Johann Georg von Eckhart (1664–1730, i.e. our often quoted Eccardus), writes that

Many maintain, not unfoundedly that the oldest Celts and with them the Germans have im-

²⁵ Odhelius, *Covenientia*, p. 27.

²⁶ Odhelius, *ibid.*, p. 43.

migrated into Europe from Asiatic Scythia. Therefore it is said that the Persian language exhibits a great number of words that coincide with ours.²⁷

Eckhart furthermore maintains regarding the Leidener professor of Rhetoric Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (1612–1653) that

when he took on the matter in a different way (i.e. than others did earlier), he established a common mother for Greek, Latin, German and Persian, which he called Scythic, from which these arise like dialects.²⁸

Still the linguistic thinking of the time is determined by the Biblical foundations: the Japhetic-Scythian hypothesis (based on Genesis 10.5 “Of these were the isles of the nations divided in their lands, every one after his tongue; after their families, in their nations”) and the Adamic-Hebrew hypothesis (based on Genesis 11 and “the Babylonian confusion of tongues”). More than 60 years remained, before William Jones would give his epoch-making lecture before The Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1786.

This is a revised and slightly expanded version of a Swedish article: “Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad och det persiska språket”, in Éva Á. Csátó, Gunilla Gren-Eklund & Folke Sandgren (eds.), *En resenär i svenska stormaktstidens språklandskap. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710)* (= *Acta Universitatis Upsalien-sis. C. Organisation och Historia*, 81), Uppsala 2007, pp. 109–125 (including an appendix containing an annotated translation by Gunilla Gren-Eklund of chapters 23 and 25 of Eccardus 1711). I am grateful to Hans Helander and Gunilla Gren-Eklund for assistance with the Latin sources.

²⁷ *Vetustissimos vero Celtas et cum iis Germanos e Scythia Asiatica in Europam commigrasse multi statuunt, nec sine fundamento. Hinc Persica lingua mangum vocum cum nostris congruentium numerum nobis exhibere dicitur.*

²⁸ *Quare alia via rem aggressus, communem quandam linguam, quam Scythicam vocabat, matrem Graecae, Latinae, Germanicae et Persicae statuit, ex qua illae, velut dialecti, proficiscantur.*

Book Reviews

1. *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective*. Ed. Gunilla Lindberg-Wada. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, New York, 2006.

Vol. 1: *Notions of Literature Across Times and Cultures*. Ed. Anders Pettersson. Pp. XII, 305.

Vol. 2: *Literary Genres: An Intercultural Approach*. Ed. Gunilla Lindberg-Wada. Pp. VIII, 314.

Vol. 3: *Literary Interactions in the Modern World 1*. Ed. Margareta Petersson. Pp. VIII, 205.

Vol. 4: *Literary Interactions in the Modern World 2*. Ed. Stefan Helgesson. Pp. VIII, 331.

Tables of contents:

<http://www.degruyter.com/files/pdf/9783110189322Contents%20Vol-1.pdf> (etc.)

2. *Studying Transcultural Literary History*. Ed. Gunilla Lindberg-Wada (Spectrum Literature: Comparative Studies, 10). Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, New York, 2006. Pp. VIII, 316.

Table of contents: <http://www.degruyter.com/files/pdf/9783110189551Contents.pdf>

1. This impressive work in four beautifully produced volumes is the result of a massive research project, "Literature and Literary History in Global Contexts", supported for a six-year period by the Swedish Research Council, and with the participation of scholars working at Swedish universities, mainly specialists in non-European languages and literatures or in general and comparative literature. No reviewer, and certainly not the present one, can aspire to do justice to its thirty-one specialized in-depth studies, both of a theoretical nature and (more often) investigations of texts and text-groups in many different languages. My review will offer some comments on the form and organization of this collective enterprise as it appears in print, and then call attention to some essays which are presumably of special interest to readers of this journal and which mostly appear in Vols. 1 and 2. But first I provide a brief general survey of the contents of the four volumes; for details, the reader is referred to the tables of contents available on the web (see addresses above).

The first volume focuses on "notions of literature", theoretically and in various cultures: Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Arabic, and African. The second directs attention specifically to the problematic area of literary genres, with the same cultures in focus, as well as Persian and Byzantine literature. In both these volumes, most of the essays (but not all) deal with earlier periods and apply a historical perspective. The third and fourth volumes, as their titles indicate, are devoted to "the modern world", that is, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the essays are more often informed by a comparative perspective. Again, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Arabic, and African literature dominates, but there are also essays on aspects of Amerindian and Turkish literature. In addition, each volume offers at least one separate essay of a more

theoretical nature, defining and discussing the concepts and phenomena that the contributors are supposed to engage with actively: “literature”, “genre”, “comparative perspective”, and “global”. This ambitious theoretical framework serves to give the work a kind of unity, in spite of the multifarious texts and topics actually treated.

As always in collective works of this type, the individual contributors differ in their sense of loyalty to the common goals. For instance, in the first volume Anders Pettersson’s lucid and meticulous introduction about “concepts of literature and transcultural literary history” has obviously proved more fruitful for some of the essay writers than others, inspiring them to search their own material for similar distinctions. Others seem instead sometimes to pay lip service to the terminology before turning to their own topics and methodological approaches. This is perhaps inevitable and does not mean, of course, that the second kind of essays are in themselves inferior to those of the “loyalists” with regard to substance and interest – it is just the unity of the work as a whole that suffers. Incidentally, that unity might have been strengthened by a firmer editorial hand: as it is – to take the first volume as an example again – there is in every essay at least one reference back to the theoretical introduction, but almost no cross-references between the articles (I have found only one, in Gunilla Gren-Eklund’s essay p. 138 n. 9 to that of Leif Lorenzon on orality). For instance, when the Chinese *Book of Odes* is mentioned on p. 39, it would have been helpful to have a reference to the essay devoted particularly to that work, pp. 70–110, and vice versa. Again, when the same work is referred to as *Shijing* on p. 114 in an article about Japanese literature, the non-specialist reader is left without the help that a simple cross-reference might have offered. The Arabic concept *adab* is discussed in Vol. 1, pp. 180–205, without any reference to the renewed discussion in Vol. 2, pp. 200–205, and so on. (It is no excuse that the indices often supply the relevant information: nobody reads a book while constantly consulting the index.)¹

The degree of accessibility also differs. Some, like Marja Kaikkonen on “views of popular fiction in twentieth-century China”, are anxious to guide the general reader into the topic, whereas others seem to write primarily for fellow-researchers in their particular field of study. No doubt, these books will mainly come to be used in a piecemeal fashion, when the separate essays have entered into the bibliographies of their respective disciplines. Then both the occasional lack of basic assistance to the general reader and the different degrees of loyalty to the ideas of the project will become less disturbing. The crucial thing then will be the quality of the individual contributions, and, as far as I can judge from my sample reading, the scholarly standard is on the average quite high. It is obvious that the organization of the project has given the participants both the inspiration that a collective enterprise can at best provide and, at the same time, ample room to pursue their own research interests within a generously defined common framework.

There are, however, some surprising lacunas in the project as well as some missed opportunities. The most obvious omission, in what is advertised as a “global perspective” on literary history, is European literature: Ancient Greek and Roman, medieval (with the exception of Byzantine), and modern. The general preface itself rightly calls the absence of both European literature and literature from the Americas “lamentable, not least since it is precisely the implicit nature of the Western perspective that deserves to be interrogated” (p. XI). No explanation is given. It can certainly not be the case that Sweden lacks specialists in these areas. I will refrain from speculating about what mechanisms of academic life and/or funding may have caused this strange shortcoming. The missed opportunity I find most deplorable concerns the actual implementation of the professed comparative perspective. There are a few essays, especially in the third and fourth volumes, that include concrete comparisons between different cultures. But one would have expected that scholars representing different languages and litera-

¹ In addition, the indices in the different volumes are compiled according to different principles. Whereas terms like *adab*, *emic* and *etic*, literature etc. are diligently listed in the index of Vol. 1, they are not so in that of Vol. 2, which means that the renewed discussions or use of the terms that occur there cannot be localized.

tures would have collaborated to bring out similarities and differences in strictly defined areas, instead of each embarking on an isolated study of a topic of his or her own choice. Such a scheme might have materialized in essays written together by two or more scholars, or in parallel essays each authored by the specialist but worked out in close interaction with the other(s). As it is, the interesting concept of “transcultural literary history” – a more feasible approach, certainly, than the utopian “world history of literature” – in fact never gets a practical demonstration (the general preface speaks more vaguely, and hopefully, about a “dialectical relationship” between essays, p. XII). Such an agenda would of course have demanded greater discipline and versatility than is usual within the humanities, and perhaps also another way of channelling the available research money. Might it not have been better to fund extended periods together at some “centre for advanced studies” than shorter meetings and seminars, with the participants immediately parting again and returning to the daily routines of different university departments and to lonely hours of individual research?

In the first volume, there are two essays that should be of special interest to readers of this journal, Gunilla Gren-Eklund’s “The Pleasure of Poetry – Sanskrit Poetics and *kāvya*” (pp. 135–179), and Bo Holmberg’s “*Adab* and Arabic Literature” (pp. 180–205). Gren-Eklund provides an accessible and richly nuanced picture of Indian literature and poetics and the role of Sanskrit, with generous bibliographical references, before turning to her main topic, the Sanskrit concept of poetry, *kāvya*, which, she states, “when theoretically discussed as a term, seems to come rather close to the concept of literature as (a kind of) ‘verbal art’” (p. 153). To substantiate this claim, she analyses in detail a number of passages from various poetological texts of different periods, all quoted in English translation. Her cautious and modest final remarks suggest that this is an understudied topic well worth to be pursued further, but that there is no such thing as a simple equivalence of terms between Indian and traditional Western poetics. The same general conclusion might also, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to the Arabic term *adab*, as analysed in Holmberg’s essay. He demonstrates how *adab*, which in Modern Written Arabic is used as a near equivalent to “literature” in its modern European sense, historically denoted concepts that were sometimes much wider than “literature”, sometimes narrower, but never actually coincided. From an initial sense of “custom”, it came to encompass both ethical and intellectual qualities, and was defined by a number of historically determined stylistic and social restrictions. In the long prolegomena leading up to the analysis proper, Holmberg discusses a number of issues relevant for a proper understanding of Arabic literature; in spite of his somewhat discursive manner, this is a readable and useful introduction to the pitfalls and problems awaiting the aspiring comparatist.

In the second volume, the essays of particular interest to readers of *OS* would be Kerstin Eksell’s “Genre in Early Arabic Poetry” (pp. 156–198), Bo Utas’ “‘Genres’ in Persian Literature 900–1900” (pp. 199–241), and presumably Lennart Rydén’s “Byzantine Saints’ Lives as a Literary Genre” (pp. 242–278). All three of these are well-written and truly substantial contributions to their respective topics. Eksell provides both an introduction to early Arabic “Jāhiliyya” poetry in general and a highly detailed systematization of its generic properties, first inventorying her material from a synchronic perspective, then also diachronically. The theoretical analysis is well supported by examples of the poetic texts in English translation, allowing some relief from the sometimes rather technical descriptions. While Eksell concentrates on one genre and a comparatively short period of time, ca. AD 500 to 680, Utas has the ambition to map a thousand years of Persian literature of all genres. He begins, however, with a discussion of the concept of “literature” and its possible equivalents in Persian, ending up with a working definition of his own based on two main characteristics: elaboration of language and narrativity. A critical account of various indigenous classifications of “genres” likewise results in an attempt at a pragmatic system based on the following components: form, subject-matter, style, author’s intention, and reception. With these criteria in mind, Utas surveys in turn the genres of narrative poetry, “lyrical” poetry, and “quatrain”, as well as various prose genres. In the classification of the poetical genres, much attention is paid to metre. The prose genres, which

lack a corresponding formal marker, are predictably more difficult to categorize, but here too the classificatory discussion itself, irrespective of any final result, serves to characterize the various literary artefacts in their respective historical and cultural contexts. An excellent feature is the sketching of a tentative “grid of forms and genres”, which is gradually filled in with more and more (sub)genres, helping the reader to find his or her way through the dense jungle of Persian literary forms. In contrast, Rydén’s posthumous essay on Byzantine saints’ lives is more descriptive than analytical, and concentrates on a handful of selected texts: the Lives of Mary of Egypt, Symeon the Holy Fool, Andrew the Holy Fool, Philaretos the Merciful, Theodore of Edessa, Basil the Younger, and a few others. In this summing up of his lifelong preoccupation with the *raison d’être* of Byzantine hagiography, Rydén manages to provide a vivid impression of the manifoldness of this prolific genre which may look dull and monolithic from the outside, and demonstrate what he regards as its literary originality, “[d]espite all the *topoi* and repetitiousness” (p. 246). Definitions and theoretical considerations are offered parenthetically or in footnotes (e.g. on “literary qualities” p. 244 n. 7). The philologist is clearly anxious to get directly to the real thing, the texts themselves and their irreducible individuality.

These essays on genres in various literatures are framed by an introduction and a conclusion with a professed theoretical focus: Gunilla Lindberg-Wada’s discussion of “*Genji monogatari* and the intercultural understanding of literary genres” (pp. 1–16) and Anders Pettersson’s presentation of “a pragmatic perspective on genres and theories of genre” (pp. 279–305), again a most useful contribution. They serve nicely as complementary considerations of the intricate problems of generic classification, particularly highlighted as the Western perspective is challenged by other literary universes and competing theoretical mindsets. On the whole, this volume strikes me as the most successful one when it comes to a uniform investigation of a particular aspect of literature. Here, the “dialectical relationship” between essays is more than a pious hope. The historians of literature and philologists obviously feel more at home discussing the concept of genre than that of “literature”.

Regarding the third and fourth volumes, it will have to suffice to call attention to the titles of five essays belonging to, or touching, *OS*’s special areas of interest: Bo Holmberg, “Transculturating the Epic: The Arab Awakening and the Translation of the *Iliad*” (Vol. 3, pp. 141–165), Margareta Petersson, “Hybridity in Indian English Literature” (Vol. 4, pp. 80–117), Christina Nygren, “Appropriations of European Theatre in Japan, China and India” (Vol. 4, pp. 199–240), Gail Ramsay, “Globalisation and Cross-Cultural Writing in the United Arab Emirates and the Sultanate of Oman” (Vol. 4, pp. 241–277), and Roberta Micallef, “Cultural Encounters in Contemporary Turkish Children’s Literature: Victims or Heroes?” (Vol. 4, pp. 278–302).

The afterword by Stefan Helgesson, “Going Global” (Vol. 4, pp. 303–321), completes both this volume and the work as a whole. After discussing the concept of “world literature” from different angles, he eventually comes to grips with the actual problems facing any project aiming at “a comparative reading of disparate literatures” (p. 314). David Damrosch, in *What is World Literature?* (2003), is quoted for his remark about “the comparatist’s lurking panic” in the face of “an immense body of material that must somehow, impossibly, be mastered” (p. 316), but Damrosch’s proposed solution is rejected for lacking stringency. Other recent attempts of a similar kind to overcome the gigantic obstacles are also scrutinized, while the present Swedish project is commended for two “chief virtues”: its internal heterogeneity (!) and its broad linguistic scope (p. 318). This might have been the place to state in plain words what seems evident to an outsider: the clash between two cultures or traditions or even spheres of interest, namely, on the one hand, the literary comparatists/theoreticians and, on the other, the philologists/specialists in different languages and literatures who are expected to provide the meat for comparison. As Helgesson himself admits, “[m]ost of the world system theorist’s information must, of necessity, come from the work of other researchers” (p. 318). The way I read several of the contributions by the philologists, the more they strive to find a common

ground or a legitimate basis for comparison, the more they despair in face of the inherent differences, in almost every essential respect, between the literatures of the various cultures (until the last centuries bring some rapprochement, through direct or indirect influence between them). It would have been interesting – and instructive for future similar experiments – to learn about both positive and negative experiences of this nature. A six-year well-funded project, involving both comparatists and eminent experts of single literatures, must have given unique insights into the practicalities of cooperation towards a “world history of literature”, in my view more interesting to hear about than further theoretical discussion of the phenomenon itself. But perhaps we may expect further concrete information elsewhere about the working process and what to learn from it?

In spite of some objections and some wishes for more, it is only proper to end by expressing sincere admiration for all the ingenuity and hard work that have been invested in both the project and its printed result. It is obvious that these volumes should be available in every research library that specializes in either comparative literature or Asian and African languages and literatures. Many of the contributions will no doubt enjoy a long life as standard references and as sources of inspiration for further research.

2. Along with the four volumes reviewed above, the same project and the same editor also produced the single-volume publication of an international three-day symposium held in Stockholm in November 2004 on the topic “Studying Transcultural Literary History”. In addition to the twenty-five Sweden-based scholars belonging to the project group, no less than twenty-seven scholars from around the world participated. The contributions of these guest scholars make up the bulk of the book, arranged in six sections under the following headings: “Possibilities for Transcultural Literary History”, “Delimiting the Objects of Literary History”, “Rethinking World Literature”, “The Practice of Writing Transnational and Translingual Literary History”, “Literature in Circulation”, and “Translating Cultures and Literatures”. For each section, one of the scholars participating in the Swedish project has written a short introduction, presenting the topic and summarizing the respective contributions. All this is carried out in an orderly and professional manner, which makes the work easy to survey and consult (though there is regrettably no index, nor any bibliographical list). As stated in the general introduction by the editor, Gunilla Lindberg-Wada, the space allotted to each contributor was strictly limited in advance, a procedure that “probably contributed to a concise and straightforward style of writing that may strike the reader as unusual in connection with this kind of complex subject matter” (p. 4). No doubt, most readers will be grateful for this.

There is no adequate way of reviewing this polyphonic medley of individual contributions to the six separate, but organically interconnected, debates. By and large, the same non-European literatures as in the mother project are represented here as well, whereas the proportion of theoretical contributions by specialists in comparative literature has grown to constitute perhaps half the total number. For readers of the four-volume work, this symposium volume will provide a valuable and inspiring supplement, especially for those primarily interested in the comparative transcultural perspective and the idea of an ultimate “world history of literature”.

Tomas Hägg, Bergen/Kristiansand

Turkologie für das 21. Jahrhundert: Herausforderungen zwischen Tradition und Moderne. Materialien der vierten Deutschen Turkologen-Konferenz. Hamburg, 15.–18. März 1999. Ed. by Hendrik Fenz and Petra Kappert (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 70) Wiesbaden 2006. Pp. 309.

Sieben Jahre nachdem in Hamburg die vierte Deutsche Turkologen-Konferenz stattgefunden hat, sind einige der Konferenzbeiträge in einem Sammelband erschienen. Wie der Herausgeber H. Fenz im Vorwort erwähnt, hatte die Veröffentlichung des Bandes mit mannigfaltigen Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen. Der unerwartete Tod der Veranstalterin der Konferenz und Herausgeberin des Konferenzbandes, Prof. Dr. Petra Kappert war wohl nur der letzte und schwerste Schlag unter vielen. So ist letztendlich nur rund die Hälfte der Konferenzbeiträge tatsächlich erschienen. Von den insgesamt 20 Aufsätzen beschäftigt sich die Hälfte mit Literatur, vier mit Sprache, vier mit Geschichte, ein Beitrag mit Übersetzungswissenschaften und einer schließlich mit der Nutzbarmachung der Internets bei der fachlichen Literaturrecherche. Die von H. Fenz im Vorwort ausgemachten Herausforderungen an die Turkologie im 21. Jahrhundert, „die mit den Begriffen Terrorismus und Toleranz, Eliteuniversität und Bologna-Prozess zwar nur unzulänglich beschrieben sind [...]“, finden dankenswerterweise keinerlei Niederschlag in den Beiträgen des vorliegenden Bandes.

Zwanzig Beiträge aus verschiedenen Themenbereichen können natürlich nicht detailliert besprochen werden. Im folgenden sollen daher die einzelnen Beiträge, thematisch geordnet, kurz angerissen werden.

Ingeborg Böer & Ruth Haerkötter berichten in „Türken in Berlin 1871 bis 1945: Wahrnehmungen und Begegnungen in Selbstzeugnissen“ (31–43) von ihrem Projekt der Publikation türkischer und osmanischer Texte zu den Erlebnissen und Beobachtungen türkischer Zeitzeugen in Berlin in deutscher Übersetzung. Die Publikation erfolgte tatsächlich vier Jahre bevor der Konferenzband erschienen ist (s. auch den Beitrag von P. Kappert).

Petra Kapperts Beitrag „Türken in Berlin 1871 bis 1945: Epilog“ (45–54) ist der wortwörtliche (mit Ausnahme von Druckfehlern, eines gestrichenen Satzes und eines fehlenden Literaturbelegs auf Seite 49 sowie der Transliteration und Anordnung der Literaturangaben) Abdruck des gleichnamigen Kapitels aus dem Buch „Türken in Berlin“ erschienen 2002 bei deGruyter. Es mutet etwas eigenwillig an, dass dieser Beitrag postum in den Konferenzband aufgenommen wurde und mit keinem Wort auf die Tatsache hingewiesen wird, dass der Beitrag einer anderen Publikation entnommen wurde, zumal sowohl aus der Darstellung des Themas deutlich wird, dass der Beitrag nicht an ein turkologisches Fachpublikum gerichtet ist, als auch innerhalb des Beitrags mehrfach auf im Originalwerk vorangehende Kapitel verwiesen wird. Im Vorwort wurde es für nötig gehalten darauf hinzuweisen, dass Beiträge redaktionell bearbeitet wurden, eine solche Bearbeitung sollte sich aber nicht auf das Umwandeln von End- in Fußnoten und auf das Setzen von Kapitälchen beschränken. Hier wäre ein deutlicher Hinweis auf den Zweitabdruck geboten gewesen.

Der Beitrag von Bahriye Çeri „Sexual differences in Orientalist discourse and the novel *Benim Adam Kırmızı*“ (69–79) ist der einzige englischsprachige Beitrag und hätte massive Eingriffe von Seiten der Redaktion nötig gehabt. Namen von Autoren sind teilweise falsch geschrieben, das unter Literaturwissenschaftlern mit einer Spezialisierung auf türkische Literatur sehr bekannte Buch von Yıldız Ecevit *Orhan Pamuk'u Okumak* ‚Orhan Pamuk Lesen‘ ist falsch zitiert als *Orhan Pamuk'u Tanımak* ‚Orhan Pamuk Kennen‘. Darüber hinaus hätte der Beitrag, um einigermaßen verständlich zu sein, dringend einer sprachlichen Überarbeitung bedurft. Es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass dem Herausgeber diese Mängel nicht aufgefallen sind und es ist ebenso schwer einsehbar, warum in sieben Jahren redaktioneller Bearbeitungszeit eine Überarbeitung nicht möglich gewesen sein soll. Insbesondere die sprachlichen Mängel erschweren die inhaltliche Beurteilung des Beitrags.

Priska Furrer bespricht in ihrem Beitrag „Literarischer Text und historische Sinnbildung am Beispiel von Gürsel Korats Roman *Zaman Yeli*“ (149–165) ein Beispiel für die in jüngster Zeit

in der Türkei sehr populären Gattung des historischen Romans. *Zaman Yeli* behandelt ein fiktives Kappadokien des 13. Jahrhunderts mit seiner multi-ethnischen und multi-religiösen Bevölkerung.

Erika Glassen beschreibt in ihrem Beitrag „Erinnerungen von Literaten als Quelle für die Literaturgeschichte der türkischen Moderne“ (167–186) drei ausgewählte Erinnerungsbücher, in denen unter anderem die Begegnungen der Verfasser (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Adile Ayda und Taha Toros) mit bekannten Autoren geschildert werden.

Lars Johanson schildert in dem Beitrag „Vom 27. Mai zum 12. September: Bemerkungen zu zwei Jahrzehnten türkei-türkischer Literaturgeschichte“ (207–215) seine, aus persönlichen Kontakten zu Autoren und Verlegern gewonnenen Impressionen zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Hintergründen, die für das literarische Schaffen der Jahre 1960–1980 eine Rolle gespielt haben.

Sabine Prätors Beitrag „Auf den Spuren der Begegnung zwischen Musik und Literatur in der neueren türkischen Kulturgeschichte“ (217–230) behandelt die Beziehung zwischen Literatur und Musik in der frühen Republikzeit; Musik sowohl als inspirierende Quelle für literarische Werke als auch als Medium zur Verbreitung von Poesie in Form von Liedern etc. Auffallend ist dabei, dass sich in der Musik die Rezeption klassischer Musik der *alaturka*-Richtung bis heute halten konnte und großer Beliebtheit erfreut, während in der Literaturrezeption traditionelle Formen nur eine marginale Rolle spielen.

Claus Schönigs Bemerkungen zu „Frauen im Bābur-nāme“ (231–242) entnehmen wir, dass Zahiraddin Muhammad Bābur Frauen vorzugsweise in ihrer Rolle „als Mütter, Frauen oder Töchter“ sah und damit nicht vereinbares Benehmen kritisierte. Damit ist er nach Schönigs Ansicht „in puncto Frauen ein typisches Kind der muslimischen Gesellschaft seiner Zeit“ (S. 232), mithin des 15./16. Jhdts. Bāburs Ansichten „in puncto Frauen“ unterscheiden sich jedoch wohl nicht wesentlich von denen eines typischen Sohnes der christlichen (oder irgendeiner) Gesellschaft seiner (oder irgendeiner) Zeit. Bābur hat Frauen offenbar durchaus politische Fähigkeiten zugestanden, auch wenn es sich zugegebenermaßen um Frauen seiner Familie handelte. Die Textstruktur der Personenbeschreibungen ist im Bābur-nāme wohl nicht abhängig vom Geschlecht der beschriebenen Person. Auf der lexikalischen Ebene allerdings manifestiert sich ein interessanter Unterschied im Tschagataischen dahingehend, dass Frauen nicht Erstaktanten bestimmter Verben, die semantisch mit Familiengründung zusammenhängen, sein können; Frauen können z.B. nicht heiraten, sondern nur geheiratet werden (so aber auch Alt-türkisch *al-* ‚heiraten (vom Mann gesagt)‘, s. Gabain, Annemarie von 1974: *Alt-türkische Grammatik*. Wiesbaden. S. 318).

Erika Taube bespricht in ihrem Beitrag „Das Gespräch der beiden hungrigen Raben“ (265–276) Parallelen zwischen altaituwinischen und tatarischen Märchen, sowohl in den Motiven als auch in kleineren Einheiten wie Formeln und bildhaften Ausdrücken. Taube exemplifiziert dies anhand eines Märchens, in dem sowohl in der altaituwinischen als auch der tatarischen Version die Kinder einer jungen Frau mit Welpen vertauscht werden, worauf die junge Frau von ihrem Mann verstoßen wird sowie anhand des in einer Nachdichtung von Puschkins *Fliegt zum Raben Rabe* des tatarischen Dichters Därmänd vorkommenden Motivs der sprechenden Tiere, die ein Geheimnis verraten.¹

A. Vefa Asekis Beitrag trägt den Titel „Entwicklungstendenzen des Türkischen in modernen Medien“ (9–20), beschäftigt sich aber nur mit Wörtern aus dem Bereich „Computer und Internet“ wie im ersten Absatz ausdrücklich betont wird. Tatsächlich handelt es sich um Beobachtungen („Auch wenn ich keine statistischen Erhebungen gemacht habe, konnte ich feststellen, daß ...“ S. 11) zum Wortschatz des genannten Themenbereiches im Zeitraum Sep-

¹ Dieses Motiv findet sich auch in Erzurum, s. Arslan, Muzaffer 1980. *Erzurum İli Aşkale kazası – Ocaklı, Sarıbaba, Gümüşsere köyleri ağız özellikleri*. Mezuniyet tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, S. 19 ff., und in den gagausischen Märchen aufgezeichnet von Moškov, s. Märchen Nr. 42 in Moškov, V.A. 1904. *Narečija bessarabskich gagauzov* (= Radloff, W.: Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme, X. Theil) St. Petersburg.

tember 1997 bis Februar 1999, hauptsächlich aus der *Bilim Teknik*-Beilage der Zeitung *Cumhuriyet*. „Sprachgebrauch im Internet“ ist ein Thema, das eine 7-jährige Wartezeit nicht gut unbeschadet übersteht, schon der letzte Abschnitt auf der ersten Seite verrät, dass der Beitrag seit der Hamburger Konferenz nicht mehr wesentlich überarbeitet wurde.

Manfred Götz versucht in seinem Beitrag „Türk öğrencisi: Türk öğrenci – Zwei- und mehrgliedrige Nominalkomposita mit und ohne Bezugssuffix -SI im Türkkeitürkischen“ (187–205) die bedeutungsspezifischen Unterschiede der Komposita des Typs *Türk öğrencisi* versus *Türk öğrenci* herauszuarbeiten. Der Unterschied besteht s.E. darin, dass bei einem Kompositum mit Possessivsuffix beide Komponenten gleichgewichtig sind, während bei der Entsprechung ohne Possessivsuffix der Schwerpunkt auf dem übergeordneten Nomen liegt. Dies entspricht in ungefähr dem, was Ersen-Rasch (*Türkische Grammatik für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene*. München: Hueber, 2001) zu den unterschiedlichen Bildungen sagt. Man muss allerdings bei den Beispielen zum Teil sehr vorsichtig sein, so kann natürlich in der Verbindung *Türk öğrencisi* das Possessivsuffix auch immer als solches verstanden werden, s. Bsp. 4 oder das Beispiel ohne Nummer auf Seite 195 *Alman müsterisine*. Auch ist die Verwendung von Beispielen aus Zeitungsüberschriften mit Vorsicht zu genießen, wie etwa Bsp. 6, da in dieser Textsorte eine generelle Neigung besteht, Suffixe wegzulassen. Auch Beispiele, die in keiner Opposition stehen, wie etwa Bsp. 14–16, können m.E. nicht zu einer Argumentation über mitteilungspektivische Unterschiede herangezogen werden. Andere Beispiele wieder, wie *şiş kebab* vs. *şiş kebapı* und *anadil* vs. *anadil* spiegeln wohl doch eher einen unterschiedlichen Sprachgebrauch und Veränderungen in der Norm wieder.

In mehrgliedrigen Komposita wie *para çekme yetki belgesi* ist *para çekme* Attribut zu dem Kompositum *yetki belgesi* „Ermächtigungsdokument“ also [[*para çekme*] [*yetki belgesi*]]; da zur Verkettung eines Kompositums mit einem weiteren Element kein zweites Possessiv verwendet werden kann, dient hier ein einziges Possessiv zur Kompositabildung von *yetki belgesi* und *para çekme yetki belgesi*. In der Bildung *Türk edebiyat okuru* ist *Türk* m.E. nicht Attribut zu *okur* sondern zu *edebiyat okuru*.

Heidi Stein stellt in ihrem Beitrag „Ein mittelosmanischer Elementarwortschatz (die Dictionarien von H. Megiser)“ (243–263) das lexikalische Material aus dem Wörterbucheil von Megisers Werk vor. Um die Bedeutung dieses Materials für die türkische Sprachgeschichte richtig beurteilen zu können, wären m.E. Angaben zu Megisers Sprachkenntnissen sowie seinen Quellen nötig gewesen. Der Hinweis etwa auf „die Kontamination von ... *başı* mit ... *başapaşa*“, „die oft in den zeitgenössischen europäischen Quellen auftritt“ und auch bei Megiser zu beobachten ist, wirft ein eher zweifelhaftes Licht auf die Sprachkenntnisse der Wörterbuchautoren. Angaben zu seinen Quellen finden sich nur bei Ortsnamen, Titel und Wörtern aus dem Bereich Flora und Fauna. Gerade bei den „interessanten“ Wörtern des täglichen Lebens, die wohl den Hauptteil des Vokabulars ausmachen hätte man gerne etwas über die Quellen erfahren.

Peter Ziemes Aufsatz über „Die seltsamen Wanderwege des sogdischen Titels **xuštañč* „Lehrerin““ (301–309) ist ein Beitrag zur Etymologie des hauptsächlich im Neu-Uigurischen und Özbekischen belegten Wortes *quşnaç*.

Korkut Buğday leistet mit „Überlegungen zu Strategie und Taktik bei den frühen Osmanen“ (55–67) einen Beitrag zur osmanischen Militärgeschichte.

Arienne Dwyer behandelt in ihrem Aufsatz „Historische Fragen zur Ethnogenese der Salaren“ (95–108), deren Beantwortung bei der Zuordnung dieses in China lebenden, zahlenmäßig kleinen (ca. 100.000 Angehörige) Türkvolkes innerhalb der türkischen Sprachfamilie hilfreich sein könnten. Dwyer geht allen Hinweisen (sprachlichen, historischen und ethnologischen) nach, die auf einen oghusischen Ursprung der Salaren hindeuten.

Der Beitrag von Hendrik Fenz „Zwischen ethnischer und nationaler Identität: Minorité agissante in Baku der Jahrhundertwende“ (109–128) beschäftigt sich mit den entscheidenden Faktoren bei der Entstehung und Entwicklung der aserbaidshanischen kulturellen und politischen Elite in den ersten 10 Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts.

Der Beitrag von Barbara Flemming „Goethe und Diez im Jahre 1790“ (129–147) ist aus dem Eröffnungsvortrag der Konferenz entstanden und enthält einen hochinteressanten und sehr anschaulichen Abriss eines Kapitels der Geschichte der Orientalistik/Turkologie. Der Beitrag ist sehr informativ, praktisch noch jede Fußnote enthält Wissenswertes.

Horst Unbehaun weist in seinem Beitrag „Anatolische Periodika als Quelle moderner türkischer Geschichte“ (277–300) anhand verschiedener Beispiele auf die Bedeutung dieser wichtigen Quellen für die Geschichtsforschung, aber auch auf die bisherige nur lückenhafte Erschließung und insbesondere auf die Notwendigkeit einer umfassenden Archivierung hin.

Mit übersetzungswissenschaftlichen Fragen beschäftigt sich M. Latif Durlanık in seinem Aufsatz „Die Umorganisierung sprachlicher Mittel beim Konsekutivdolmetschen mit Notaten Deutsch/Türkisch“ (81–94).

Bei dem Beitrag von Armin Bassarak „Neue Möglichkeiten der Recherche turkologischer Fachliteratur“ (21–29) handelt es sich offensichtlich um das unveränderte Vortragsmanuskript zur Internetrecherche in Fachbibliotheken, insbesondere des Sondersammelgebiets Vorderer Orient der Universitätsbibliothek Halle. Ein solches Thema verliert durch die schnellleibigen Entwicklungen insbesondere des Internets naturgemäß auch innerhalb kürzester Zeit an Bedeutung. So dürften im Jahre 2006, dem Erscheinungsjahr des Bandes niemandem mehr die Möglichkeiten für die Literaturrecherche im Internet verborgen geblieben sein. Desweiteren sind viele der angegebenen URLs veraltet und einige offensichtlich bei der Formatierung durch automatisches Suchen und Ersetzen entstellt worden. Hier hätte ein Eingreifen des Herausgebers noch das ein oder andere abwenden können. Das hätte allerdings auch nichts an der Tatsache geändert, dass der Vortrag insgesamt gesehen in den letzten 7 Jahren erheblich an Aktualität verloren hat.

Zusammenfassend muss man leider anmerken, dass die sehr lange Redaktionszeit dem Band wohl eher geschadet als gedient hat. Viele Druckfehler sind anscheinend durch automatisches „Suchen und Ersetzen“ entstanden und hätten durch eine sorgfältige Korrektur verhindert werden können (etwa Fontprobleme bei der Wiedergabe osmanischer Namen in Kapitälchen, die Umwandlung von Vokal + *i* in Langvokal *ü*, *ö* oder *â*, die Großschreibung aller mit *si-* beginnenden Wörter in dem Beiträgen von Heidi Stein und Horst Unbehaun), auch fehlende Literaturangaben und lückenhafte Bibliographien hätten durch eine sorgfältige Redaktion ergänzt werden können. Andere redaktionelle Mängel habe ich bereits oben unter den Einzelbeiträgen angesprochen.

Die Herausgabe von Konferenzbänden ist eine zeitraubende und sicherlich auch manchmal enervierende Aufgabe und besonders die Endredaktion erfordert noch einmal ganzen Einsatz, man sollte sie aber doch, wenn man sie einmal übernommen hat, ernst nehmen. Die Deutsche Turkologen-Konferenz ist von großer Bedeutung für die Turkologie, weil sich hier die Möglichkeit der fachlichen Begegnung von Vertretern des gesamten Spektrums bietet und so ein Austausch zustande kommen kann. Dies sollte sich auch in der Qualität der Publikation der Konferenzbeiträge widerspiegeln.

Astrid Menz, Istanbul

Almut Hintze. *A Zoroastrian Liturgy; The Worship in Seven Chapters (Yasna 35–41)*. (Iranica 12). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2007. Pp XII, 397.

In her preface to this the fourth edition of the *Yasna Haptaḡhāiti* or *The Worship in Seven Chapters* (henceforth YH) within a period of twenty years Almut Hintze sketches the history of research on the text. She starts with the edition by Baunack in 1888 followed by nearly a

century of silence until Johanna Narten's pioneering edition in 1986. This was followed rapidly by the edition of the entire Gathas by Kellens/Pirart (1988–1991) and by Humbach (1991) both of which included the YH. Hintze states that she had intended to make an English translation of Narten's edition with short notes but that in the course of her work she discovered that Narten's edition was not definitive as she had assumed because "in many instances the later editors . . . have not accepted Narten's conclusions" nor had Narten's insights into the text received the attention they deserved. Thus Hintze explains that what began as a translation has burgeoned into an edition accompanied by an extensive commentary with summaries of Narten's conclusions often set in contrast with those of other scholars. By doing this she more or less turns a spotlight on the specific question of which of Narten's interpretations have been accepted and which not. In itself this does not detract from the impressive quality and scope of the Hintze edition but it gives the book an argumentative tone which at times gets the upper hand.

The Introduction (pp. 1–28) reviews in rapid succession the position of the YH in the Yasna, the poetic form of the YH, the composition of the YH, the YH as an example of Indo-European liturgical poetry, and the MSS of the YH. The discussion of the position of the YH in the Yasna is short in the extreme, only one page, and could have been longer. For further discussion the present reviewer recommends Hintze's two recent articles (2002 and 2004) on the central position of the YH not only in the Yasna but as the focal point of the Gathas in which it is embedded. In the section on "poetic form" Hintze continues the discussion initiated by Narten showing that the language of the YH is identical with that of the Gathas and therefore equally as old. Originally scholars had assumed that the YH was a later insertion into the Old-Avestan Gathas which is why it was not included in Humbach's first edition of the Gathas in 1959 nor in Insler's edition in 1975. Hintze points out that the YH differs in form from the surrounding Gathas which are metrical with a fixed number of syllables and a caesura. Using Narten's formulation she identifies it as "liturgical recitation prose close to poetry". In this genre stylistic figures (i. e. antithesis, chiasmus, climax, alliteration and polyptoton) give the text a rhythmic parallelism.

In the third section of the Introduction Hintze provides a detailed analysis of the composition of the YH, demonstrating that each of the three sections of which it is composed (Y35–36, 37–39, 40–41) is structured according to the principle of the ring-composition. Cohesion between the three sections is created by repeated expressions at strategic positions throughout the text. Awareness of this is essential for an understanding and appreciation of the text. In fact one of the strong points of the edition is that the editor illustrates how the words, verses and stanzas echo and complement each other throughout the text. Further, she is able to exploit this trait to advantage in solving some problems of interpretation (see the Narten/Hintze use of syntactic analysis with semantic interpretation in giving a plausible explanation to the difficult verses in Y41.5–6). The fourth section is a very short demonstration of the similarity between the literary form of the YH and the ritual liturgies of other Indo-European languages of great antiquity. Finally, the fifth part of the Introduction in which the MSS are discussed is thorough and adequate.

Part II of the edition (pp. 29–46) consists of a stanza by stanza presentation of the Avestan text of the YH accompanied by an English translation. With few exceptions the text is basically a reproduction of that of the Narten edition while the English translation is more or less an adaptation of Narten's German version. Examples of some minor changes can be seen as regards lexemes in Y35.9, 37.5, and 38.2 and syntax in Y39.1 and 40.2.

Part III (pp. 47–326) entitled Edition and Commentary constitutes the bulk of this book. It involves a huge amount of work in which the editor manages to touch upon practically every aspect of Avestan studies thereby demonstrating that she is at home in Avestan philology, Vedic and Indo-European studies, as well as history of religion and more. All of this information is presented within the framework of the running commentary on lexical items and syntagms as they occur in the text.

As stated above, the editor is strongly committed to the Narten edition of the YH. This can be especially seen in relation to alternative interpretations of individual passages suggested by Kellens/Pirart (1988–1991) and Humbach (1991). Much of the commentary is made up of this discussion. Her method is to present a summary of Narten's argumentation regarding a passage and then that of the diverging analysis by one of the other editors, whereupon she frequently concludes by saying that Narten's solution is the correct one. With her numerous summaries of these contrasting opinions as well as reproduction of diverging translations side by side with those of Narten/Hintze the reader often has the opportunity to judge for him/herself as to the validity of the conclusion. It is at this point that perhaps not all readers will draw the same conclusion as Hintze.

In fact one is obliged to admit that there are passages in the YH which present practically insurmountable difficulties. Hintze's presentation makes it possible to identify exactly which lexemes or syntagms are problematic and why it has been impossible to interpret them in a satisfactory manner. There are two main sources of difficulty. One concerns hapax legomena which are often derived from a known root but whose exact meaning is unclear. (By Narten's (1986: 20) own count there are some forty of these in the YH which is only about nine pages long.) The other involves words whose function in a verse can be interpreted in more than one way.

Some typical examples can be seen here. Among the hapax legomena we find in Y35.9 the agent noun *paitiāstar-* in a context which states that it is Ahura Mazdā who is *paitiāstar-* of the words that the worshippers have just pronounced. Hintze first discusses suggested etymologies (pp. 99–101) and in the process discards *paiti + ā + stā* 'to step' and *paiti + ah* 'to throw' and finally settles on *paiti + ā + dā* ('give') meaning 'to accept, receive' as suggested by Baunack and Narten, followed by Humbach. She then proceeds to examine the semantics in all passages where the presumably related verbal noun *paitiāsti-* occurs in Avestan (pp. 102–105) and establishes that it is always found in the context of the ritual where it characterizes the stance of the accompanying priest who is not reciting the liturgy. She concludes that it must mean something like 'he stands by silently following the recitation' and this is as far as she can come on the basis of the extant texts. She takes Narten's translation of *paitiāstar-* 'receiver' (Empfänger) and, following Humbach (1991 II:120), transposes it metaphorically to 'listener'. This translation is not entirely satisfactory and it is probable that the last word has not yet been said about this passage.

Another example illustrating a different problem is from the same stanza Y35.9 where we find the verse *ima āt uxδā vacā , , , frauuacāmā* (pp. 97–98) which reads 'These words now . . . we proclaim as solemn utterances' in Hintze's interpretation while Narten (1986: 97–8) translates the same verse as 'Diese Worte nun wollen wir also feierliche Sprüche . . . verkünden'. Narten's thesis is that *uxδā* has predicative function and the verse would mean that when rightly spoken, the words (*vacah-*) become solemn utterances (*uxδā-*). Hintze follows her on this point but also compares Humbach's (1991 I: 144) rendering of the lexemes as coordinated nouns resulting in the translation 'we wish to proclaim . . . statements (and) words' and Kellens/Pirart's (1988 I: 134) 'Ces mots, ces paroles . . . nous les proclamons'. Here perhaps the translation of the two nouns as coordinated is closer to the original text while Narten's in this case adds a layer of interpretation in order to evoke particular liturgical nuances which emphasize the importance of the uttering of the words in the worship addressed to Ahura Mazdā.

However there is still more to comment upon as this verse contains yet another source of dissension. Here we find the verb *frauuacāmā* which is the 1st pl. act. of the aorist stem *fra-uaoca-* of the root *vac* 'speak'. Formally this could represent either injunctive or subjunctive. (pp. 95–97) This can only be decided on semantic grounds and the editor undertakes a thorough discussion of which is more plausible. She concludes, this time against Narten, that the injunctive with its general meaning with regard to the recurrence of the ritual or possibly resultative like 'we have proclaimed' is more in keeping with the context as was postulated by

Kellens/Pirart (1990: 70). It can be seen in the translations of the foregoing paragraph that in this question Narten and Humbach are in agreement that the form is a subjunctive with Narten's 'wollen wir . . . verkünden' and Humbach's 'we wish to proclaim' while Hintze with 'we proclaim' agrees with Kellens/Pirart's 'nous les proclamons'.

One further example of how these discussions can go is illustrated by the treatment of *būiri-* in the verse *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* in Y 40.1 (pp. 284–287) by the different editors. The question is whether this word functions as an adjective or adverb or if it can be construed as a noun. Narten (1986: 270f.) accepts an earlier suggestion by Baunack (1888: 389) that even though *būiri-* only functions as an adjective in all other attestations it could be analysed as a substantivized adjective in this particular verse. Thus she translates 'erweise deine Weisheit und Fülle' or 'exercise your wisdom and wealth' in Hintze's adaptation. Humbach on the other hand has analysed it as an adverb 'much, greatly' and translates 'gain knowledge and (do it) largely!' emphasizing that the two words preceding the verb are linked by the double *-cā*. Kellens/Pirart respect the adjectival form of *būiri-* but in their translation postulate a more extended clause than the three words above by suggesting that the imperative *kərəšuuā* 'do' governs two constructions *mazdāmcā kərəšuuā* and *būiricā kərəšuuā* . . . *mīždam* 'sois attentif et rends abondante . . . la récompense'.

These and many other word studies illustrate the difficulties of the text and the skill of the present editor in exploiting all possible sources. She also presents word studies in which she discusses several of the core concepts in the Old Avestan texts. With her thorough quoting of all the different types of contexts in which the word occurs she tries to give not only a basic definition but also suggests the resonance of nuances and connotations which the term has within the liturgy. Several of these terms have been the subject of lively debate during recent years and as usual she summarizes the argumentation of the different proponents. I will mention two of these accounts here.

With the verbal root *yaz* the discussion (pp. 156–162) concerns whether the primary meaning was 'to honor' or 'to sacrifice' (Y37.1). She begins by describing usage in the Rigveda where the principal meaning is 'to sacrifice' and then reviews the discussion by Benveniste, Gnoli, Panaino and finally compares the root *yaz* with Greek cognates. She returns again to Benveniste who maintains that 'to sacrifice' results from semantic specialization and concludes that 'to worship' is the primary meaning in Old Avestan. In keeping with her understanding that concepts not only consist of an etymology and a simple definition but also fit into a network of associations to related concepts and ideas, she reminds the reader that in the religion of the Avestan texts worship always occurs in a ritual context in which offerings are made. She concludes with Boyce's words that worship and offering are closely linked. (See Hintze for references to the above-mentioned authors.)

Another example of this procedure concerns the lexeme *frauuāši-* in Y37.3 which is at the same time the oldest occurrence of the word and the only attested in the Old Avestan texts (pp. 171–177). Hintze is at pains here to show that there is an underlying conceptual coherence or unity in all the apparently disparate ways in which the term is used in the Younger Avesta. By positing the root as *var* 'to choose' + the preverb *fra-* she maintains that the resulting meaning of *frauuāši-* 'choice' explains the three distinct usages in the Younger Avesta. It denotes the particular faculty said to be possessed by all spiritual and physical creatures which allows them to choose to support Ahura Mazdā. Secondly it is possessed by all human and divine beings who have lived, are alive and will be alive who are characterized as *ašauuan-* 'truthful' or in other words have chosen or will choose to support the side of the good. The third usage refers to supernatural beings described as strong, fast and victorious who are invoked to help crush the enemies of the righteous and who also helped Ahura Mazdā when he created the physical world. The choice of supporting Ahura Mazdā's plan to defeat evil underlines all three usages. Meanwhile following Narten she admits that there can have been influence from an early ancestor cult and also expresses some doubt as to whether all of these connotations are present in Y37.3. The interesting point is that she brings together all the various usages and reviews

much of the discussion around them to conclude with a core concept with a wide range of related ideas.

The longest word study in the commentary (pp. 196–209) treats the word *ganā* ‘noblewoman’ introduced in Y38.1 and expands on a theme begun by Narten (1986: 189ff.). There are four noblewomen as revealed in Y38.2 which identifies them as the four personified abstract notions of libation, vitalization, perfection and right-mindedness. After illustrating the various passages in the Avesta indicating that this metaphor is not infrequent and that the ‘noblewomen’ can also refer to other types of abstract ideas, she introduces a number of Vedic texts which clearly demonstrate the large area of overlap between the Avestan and Vedic conceptual worlds. Hintze summarizes this in two tables which clearly support her hypothesis. In yet another word study (p. 315) she expands on Narten’s (1986: 295–6) identification of the verb in Y41.4 *zāēmācā* ‘may we obtain’ from *zā* ‘to race ahead, win, obtain’ as belonging to the vocabulary of the chariot races. She relates it to the chariot race described in Book 23 in the Iliad showing exactly how these were carried out with the start and finish poles in the same place while the turning pole was at the other end of the field and the turn itself was the crucial point of the race. In this way she evokes the whole scene suggested by the metaphor. She comes back to the metaphor of the YH noting that the prize here is Ahura Mazdā’s ‘lifelong support’. Thus the present editor not only ties in the text of the YH with the Gathas and the Younger Avestan material but she also relates it to the wider field of the Rigveda suggesting the common Indo-Iranian background as well as situating it within Indo-European culture.

Part IV contains the dictionary (pp. 327–367) which is organized so that under each vocabulary entry the form of every occurrence is identified and the word is quoted with accompanying phraseology. An innovation from earlier glossaries is that it follows the order of the Latin alphabet rather than Sanskrit. The book concludes with an extensive bibliography and indices.

In conclusion Almut Hintze has accomplished a kind of *tour d’horizon* of Avestan studies in transferring Narten’s edition of the YH into English. She has made some corrections in accordance with recent research but has largely remained faithful to Narten. She has however gone beyond this and included a large amount of modern scholarship in the commentary which makes the YH, along with the history of how it has been studied over the past decades, more easily accessible to non-specialists and students. For the more experienced researcher her book provides fascinating reading and much matter for thought. For all of these reasons the Hintze edition is a valuable contribution to Avestan studies and is likely to be consulted for a long time to come.

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Judith Josephson, Gothenburg

Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*. Berkeley & London: University of California Press 2006. Pp. XV, 221.

Ein zentrales Problem in der westlichen Wahrnehmung des islamischen Orients – vielleicht das zentrale Problem – war im größten Teil des 20. Jahrhunderts eine verbreitete Einseitigkeit der Perspektive. Führende Orientalisten wie Annemarie Schimmel und William Montgomery Watt beantworteten die Frage *What is Islam?* ausgehend von ihrem jeweiligen Spezialgebiet. Aus Respekt vor der enormen Produktivität solcher Koryphäen und der Orientalistik als eigenständig etablierter Wissenschaft wurde die auf einer selektiven und harmonisierenden Lesart vor allem der islamischen Mystik (Schimmel) und einem übereilten Schließen vom unbestreitbaren kulturellen und technischen Hochstand der islamischen Kultur des frühen Mittelalters auf die Überlegenheit des Islams auch auf anderen Gebieten (Montgomery Watt) beruhende Vorherrschaft der Islamophilen bis zur gegenwärtigen, durch das Erscheinen des Ayatollah Khomeini und den 11. September 2001 eingeleiteten historischen Epoche kaum kritisch hinterfragt. Seither ist es zu viel Polemik in beiden Richtungen – islamkritisch und islamaffirmativ – gekommen. – Auch hinsichtlich des Themas „Liebe und Erotik in der islamischen Welt“, dem sich das Buch von Dror Ze'evi widmet, ist es zu einer Zweiteilung der wissenschaftlichen und semiwissenschaftlichen Community gekommen. Ein Teil der Autoren nähert sich diesem Gegenstand unter weitgehender Abstraktion von der politischen Dimension der Sexualität an. Zu erwähnen ist hier Malek Chebel mit Werken wie der zweibändigen *Encyclopédie de l'amour en Islam* (Chebel 2003) oder *Le Kama-Sutra arabe* (Chebel 2006). Ihnen gegenüber steht eine Generation vor allem weiblicher Autoren, die, inspiriert von den bahnbrechenden feministischen Arbeiten Fatima Mernissis, die Rolle der Sexualität bei der Erklärung von islamischer Gewalt, sei es auf familiärer oder gesellschaftlicher Ebene, in den Vordergrund ihres Interesses rücken und dem Islam insgesamt eher kritisch gegenüberstehen. Neben dem Klassiker von Erdmute Heller und Hassouna Mosbahi (Heller/ Mosbahi 1993) sind etwa die Bücher der französischen Publizistin Martine Gozlan zu erwähnen (z.B. Gozlan 2004). Offensichtlich verlangen die konträren Interpretationen der islamischen Erotik und Sexualität nach einer vereinigenden Erklärung, die den Anteil der Mythisierung (seitens der Islamophilen) und Verteufelung (seitens der Islamgegner) minimieren könnte.

Ze'evi's Buch leistet einen bedeutenden Schritt hin zur die Überwindung dieses auf selektiver Wahrnehmung beruhenden Dualismus. Seine Versuchsanordnung ist von vorneherein darauf angelegt, eine Zergliederung der Thematik in disziplinär oder ideologisch begründete Teilperspektiven zu konterkarieren. So beschreibt er zwar überaus ausführlich die juristischen Dimensionen des osmanischen *šer'īyat*- und *kānūn*-Rechts (S. 48–76). Es liegt ihm jedoch fern, die hermetischen Aussagen dieser Systeme unhinterfragt für sich selbst sprechen zu lassen. Vielmehr weist er zu Recht darauf hin, daß hinter deren offenkundiger Absicht, bestimmte sexuelle Handlungen zu unterdrücken, sich die mindestens ebenso starke Motivation verbirgt, „Verlangen“ erst zu *erzeugen* (S. 13). Mit dieser auf Foucault zurückgreifenden Theorie legt Ze'evi die seinem Buch den Titel gebende ‚Erzeugung von Verlangen‘ als das eigentliche Seinsprinzip von *šer'īyat*- und *kānūn* bloß, das von deren Repräsentanten wohlweislich verschwiegen wird. Nicht die legalistische Eindämmung des Verlangens, sondern der Horror vor dessen möglichem Fehlen ist des Pudels Kern der konservativen islamischen Weltanschauung.

Das Prinzip, verschiedene Bereiche von Literatur, Theorie und Historizität gegeneinander zu halten und so zu prüfen (theoretisch entfaltet u.a. auf S. 7f.), wendet Ze'evi auch auf Originaltexte aus weiteren für das Verständnis des Liebeslebens zentralen Bereichen an. Neben der bereits erwähnten islamischen Rechtsliteratur sind dies medizinische Traktate, Traumdeutungsbücher und das Schattenspiel *Karagöz*. Der Autor unterzieht sie einer fundierten philologischen Analyse, deren Ergebnisse dann anhand der relevanten historischen Daten interpretiert werden. So gelingt es ihm, ein Bild des Liebeslebens in der osmanischen Kultur zu skizzieren, das sowohl die theoretischen Konzeptionen als auch die soziale Realität berücksichtigt und sich zu einer überzeugenden und instruktiven Synthese zusammenfügt.

Durch diese aufwendige doppelte – philologische und historische – Arbeit ist Ze'evi imstande, eine weitere in der Orientalistik der letzten Jahrzehnte fest etablierte Fehlperzeption, nämlich die beliebte Gleichsetzung von islamisch und arabisch beziehungsweise die Essentialisierung der arabisch dominierten Phasen der islamischen Geschichte zu revidieren. Gerade die Aktualität des arabisch-israelischen Konfliktes und des Terrorismus der Qaida haben diese Tendenz noch verstärkt und zur Wiederbelebung atavistischer arabo-zentrischer Narrative in der Darstellung der gesamten islamischen Geschichte geführt. Das jüngst wiedererwachte Interesse an der Biographie des Propheten Mohammad (Nagel 2008) kann als symptomatisch für diese Arabisierung des Blicks auf die islamischen Geschichte gesehen werden, die in Analogie zur Dominanz der Araber in der Wahrnehmung der islamischen Welt auch außerhalb der Wissenschaft steht (vgl. auch Karsh 2007 und die Rezension Heß 2007). Ze'evi setzt dieser ex post erfolgten Rückbesinnung einen Blick auf die osmanische Gesellschaft entgegen, der nicht nur die türkisch- beziehungsweise osmanischsprachigen Teile der unter osmanischer Herrschaft stehenden Gebiete, sondern auch die Araber, Perser und anderen Nationalitäten unter dem Banner des Padischahs als gleichberechtigte Träger dieser Kultur würdigt.

Für das Verständnis der islamischen Vorstellungen von Sexualität unerlässlich ist Ze'evi's brillante Darstellung des „one-sex model“ beziehungsweise „woman as imperfect man model“ (S. 22ff.). Dieser aus den klassischen islamischen Quellen heraus entwickelten Theorie zufolge gebe es nur *ein* natürliches Geschlecht, wobei Männer dessen vollkommene Realisationsform darstellten, Frauen hingegen eine Art Fehlgriff oder Ausschußware („flawed version“, S. 22). Ze'evi veranschaulicht nicht nur die theoretischen Aspekte dieser Ansicht, sondern widmet sich auch deren Konsequenzen für das Verhältnis des islamischen Orients zum Westen. Dessen die naturgegebene Existenz von *zwei* Geschlechtern voraussetzende Vorstellung von Sexualität habe auf dem Höhepunkt des orientalistisch-okzidentalischen Kulturaustausches im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert einen derartig heftigen und unvereinbaren Gegensatz zum one-sex model dargestellt, daß die Muslime daraufhin in eine bis heute nachwirkende sexuelle Identitätskrise gestürzt seien (S. 24, 35). Ze'evi legt hier auf faszinierende Weise die Wurzeln moderner islamischer Aversion gegen den Westen frei, die in sexuellen Adaptionsschwierigkeiten liegen.

Im durchgehend einen flüssigen Schreibstil mit frappierender Text- und Datenkenntnis verbindenden Text Ze'evi's muß man geradezu mit der Lupe nach Stellen suchen, die eine kritischen Nachbemerkung verdienen könnten. So trifft die Feststellung, daß „other disciplines, such as dream interpretation lore, were believed to be inferior manifestations of the word of God as interpreted by the *ulema*“ (S. 17) nur insofern zu, als sie sich auf divinatorische oder andere Träume bezieht, die unterhalb der Ebene des angeblich von Allah inspirierten lagen. Der „Traum von Allah“ (*ru'yā mina 'llāh*) hingegen wurde auch von den Ulema sehr wohl als bedeutende Manifestation Gottes wahrgenommen. Angesichts der weitgehend verlässlichen Textwiedergaben und Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen und Osmanischen sollten ferner vereinzelte Fehlschreibungen wie *yani* ‚seine Seite‘ (S. 34, recte: *yani*) und *sinir* für „vein“ (S. 36, recte: *sinir*) bei einer Wiederauflage korrigiert werden, zumal die entsprechenden diakritischen Symbole nachweislich anderswo im Text verwendet werden.

Ze'evi's Buch kann als ein Meilenstein in der Erforschung der islamischen Sexualität bezeichnet werden. Die Tiefe und Detailschärfe der historischen Perspektivierung, die Infragestellung eingefahrener Sichtweisen und die Rehabilitation des Osmanischen Reiches als eigenständigen kulturellen Raumes bieten die günstigsten Voraussetzungen, um die Beschäftigung mit Liebe und Erotik im Islam auf allen von Ze'evi angeschnittenen Gebieten zu vertiefen.

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Michael Reinhard Heß, Göttingen

Heath. W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. New York: State University of New York Press 2003. Pp. IX, 197.

Die in zeitlicher wie räumlicher Hinsicht enorme Ausdehnung des osmanischen Weltreiches wird noch etlichen Generationen von Forschern mehr als genug Material für ihre Untersuchungen bieten. Daher ist es ebenso notwendig wie erfreulich, daß den vorhandenen Überblicksdarstellungen immer wieder Detailarbeiten an die Seite gestellt werden, um das Verständnis dieses bis heute für Eurasien und den Nahen Osten prägenden Staatsgebildes zu vertiefen. Heath W. Lowry setzt mit seiner Monographie dort an, wo vielleicht das größte Rätsel dieser langlebigen Dynastie begraben liegt: bei der Frage nach den Gründen für ihren Aufstieg.

In einer kurzen Überblicksdarstellung (S. 5-13) faßt der Autor einige Thesen zusammen, die die historische und osmanistische Forschung der letzten hundert Jahre zu dieser Grundfrage der osmanischen Geschichte aufgestellt hat. Im Mittelpunkt steht dabei die von Paul Wittek 1937 formulierte sogenannte „Gazi-These“ (*Gazi Thesis*). Ihrzufolge ist das Lebens- und Aufstiegselixier der frühen Osmanen der in erster Linie religiös motivierte Krieg gegen die sogenannten Ungläubigen gewesen. Während Lowry mit sicherer Hand repräsentative Anhänger und Gegner dieser These mit ihren Werken präsentiert, die er dann jeweils mit einigen rezensierenden Worten kritisch kommentiert, wird in diesem Kapitel aber nicht immer klar, worin denn sein eigener Standpunkt liegt und wie er mit den Widersprüchen umgeht.

In den folgenden beiden Kapiteln (S. 15-54) dekonstruiert Lowry in überzeugender Weise die Thesen Witteks. Einerseits weist er durch eine Gesamtinterpretation von Ahmedîs *İskendername* den polemischen und poetischen Charakter dieses Textes nach. Dadurch entzieht er Witteks Interpretation dieser Quelle als historisches Werk den Boden, womit zugleich eine der Säulen von Witteks Gazi-These weggenommen wird. Anschließend widerlegt Lowry auch Witteks Analyse der einzigen anderen Originalquelle, die dieser zur Unterstützung der Gazi-These herangezogen hatte. Hierbei handelt es sich um die auf 1337 datierte Inschrift an der Bursaer Şahadet-Moschee. Basierend auf Lowrys eigener, auch autoptischer Lesung der Steininschrift zweifelt er mit guten Gründen sowohl Witteks Lesart des osmanischen Textes als auch dessen Interpretation an (S. 37f.). Zusätzlich weist Lowry zu Recht darauf hin, daß auf der Basis derartiger Inschriften, und erst recht einer einzigen, das Selbstverständnis der Osmanen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert nicht rekonstruierbar sei (S. 39), womit er nicht nur Witteks Lesung und Interpretation, sondern auch seine Methodik angreift.

Lowry weist in diesem Zusammenhang auf die bisher anscheinend zu wenig beachtete Diskrepanz zwischen den oft bombastischen Titeln der osmanischen Herrscher und deren tatsächlicher Macht hin, wozu er die Grabinschrift für Bâyezîd I. zitiert (ebenfalls S. 39).

Ein starkes Argument Lowrys gegen die Gazi-These liefert auch sein mit zahlreichen Belegen geführter Beweis, daß der Titel *gāzī* keineswegs auf die Osmanen beschränkt war, sondern ebenso von den Herrschern der Rumseldschuken und anatolischen Kleinfürstentümer vor und zeitgleich mit den Osmanen häufig verwendet wurde (S. 41f., 44). Schon aus diesem Grund kann der vermeintliche *gāzī*-Charakter des osmanischen Fürstentums nicht die ausschlaggebende Erklärung für dessen einzigartigen Aufstieg liefern.

Lowrys Umgang mit dem zentralen Terminus *gāzā* ist dabei jedoch stellenweise nicht überzeugend. Lowry übersetzt das Wort mehrfach (Seite 1, 7, 20 etc.) mit „Holy War“, kritisiert dann jedoch Halil İnalcık dafür, daß „he is providing a clear religious connotation for a term [sc. *gāzā* – M. H.] which may well have had a far more secular meaning in the early fourteenth century“ (S. 9). Man wird hier den Eindruck nicht los, daß die von Lowry im Einleitungskapitel über den Stand der Forschung in den Mittelpunkt gerückte Alternative, ob eine religiöse bzw. sunnitisch-islamische Expansionsideologie das entscheidende Charakteristikum der frühen osmanischen Herrschaft gewesen sei oder nicht, weniger eine Folge eines tatsächlich existierenden historischen Gegensatzes, sondern Lowrys tendenziell überspitzter Interpretation des Terminus *gāzā* als „Holy War“ sei. Faktisch zeigt Lowry mit seiner schwankenden Interpretation des Begriffs ja selbst, daß dieser keinesfalls festgelegt gewesen zu sein scheint – so betont er im Zusammenhang mit seiner Analyse des Terminus *akın(gi)* (siehe unten) den angeblich säkular-profanen Charakter der *gāzā*. Insofern ist es in gewisser Weise absurd, „the concept of *gāzā* (Holy War)“ beziehungsweise die „*gazis* ... primarily moved by a desire to spread Islam“ als komplementäre Alternative zum Abzielen auf „booty, plunder, and slaves“ (S. 43; ähnlich S. 50 und anderswo) hinzustellen, zumal in sämtlichen Epochen der islamischen Geschichte bis in die Neuzeit hinein, angefangen beim Propheten selbst, beides einander niemals ausgeschlossen hat. Das sogenannte „*gazi ethos*“ (S. 50), programmatisch verstanden als eine rein religiöse Haltung, die zum Krieg anspornt, ist ein Phantom, weil im islamischen Kulturraum *gāzā* ursprungs- und wesensmäßig mit Raub, Plünderung und Mord verbunden ist. Diese Aktivitäten sowie die religiös-islamische Praxis als einander ausschließende Alternativen zu begreifen, ist eine anachronistische Sichtweise, die unausgesprochen die erst wesentlich später in der europäischen Moderne entwickelte Säkularisierung voraussetzt, die zudem niemals für die islamische Welt prägend geworden ist. Dieses Mißverständnis ist umso erstaunlicher, als er Lowry an anderer Stelle „the need to discard any approach to this period [sc. die osmanische Geschichte bis 1516 – M.H.] which reads a modern understanding of religion into the past“ betont (S. 129).

Angesichts der von Lowry anhand seiner ausführlichen Würdigung der Sekundärliteratur immer wieder nachgewiesenen Doppelbedeutung von *gāzā* (religiöser Akt und Raubzug) hätte man fragen können, wie sinnvoll es überhaupt sein mag, die frühe Geschichte der Osmanen so stark mit Hilfe dieses ambivalenten Terminus beziehungsweise der an diesen geknüpften Gazi-These zu betrachten. Lowrys überzeugende Analyse von Ahmedîs *İskendernâme* – die im Unterschied zu Witteks den ganzen Text berücksichtigt – zeigt ja gerade, daß die Bedeutung, welche religiöse Motivation, und damit die *gāzā*, in der frühen osmanischen Geschichte hatte, von Herrscher zu Herrscher unterschiedlich war (siehe S. 17) und daß es mithin nicht das eine, in der frühosmanischen Zeit konstante Verständnis der *gāzā* gegeben hat. Angesichts derartiger Inkonsistenzen scheint es von vorneherein methodologisch inkonsequent, die früh-osmanische Geschichte in ihrer Gesamtheit unter dem einen Aspekt einer mutmaßlichen *gāzā*-Ideologie beziehungsweise deren Verneinung zu betrachten.

Der oszillierenden Verwendung des Begriffs *gāzā* steht an anderen Stellen eine zu enge semantische Festlegung des dazugehörigen nomen agentis *gāzī* gegenüber. Wenn es beispielsweise über den osmanischen Staat zu Zeiten Orhans heißt, daß „it hardly supports the idea of a *gazi* state devoted to killing those Christians who refuse the invitation to convert to Islam“ (S. 83), so scheint hier als Wesen eines „Gazi-Staates“ durch, Christen vor die beiden Alternativen Tod oder Konversion zu stellen (ähnlich S. 132f.). Aus der gut dokumentierten Präsenz von Christen und Juden im osmanischen Reich zur Zeit Orhans zieht Lowry dann den syllogi-

stischen Schluß, daß es eben kein *Gazi*-Staat gewesen sei. Diese Logik läßt aber außer Acht, daß sich der Terminus *gāzī* ja per definitionem nur auf Kriegssituationen bezieht. Die Präsenz von Christen und Muslimen in osmanischen Städten zu Friedenszeiten – und nur darum geht es in den von Lowry als Belege zitierten Berichten Bertrandon de la Broquière und Schiltbergers (S. 80) – besagt also über das Wesen der *gāzā* beziehungsweise der *gāzīs* rein gar nichts, da jene an der Front und nicht in friedlichen Städten stattfand. An einer anderen Stelle (S. 21) ist Lowry immerhin so klar, die Alternative zwischen Ermordung oder Konversion korrekt nur auf die Kriegssituation zu beschränken, ohne sie auch zu einem Merkmal des osmanischen Staates in Friedenszeiten zu erheben. Man wird den Eindruck nicht los, daß dieser methodische Fehler, die Existenz friedlicher christlicher und jüdischer Untertanen als Beweise für die Abwesenheit einer die Alternative Tod oder Bekehrung einschließenden *gāzī*-Ideologie anzusehen, hier eine Folge von Lowrys Bemühen ist, den religiösen Charakter der frühosmanischen militärischen Aggression herunterzuspielen. Diese ottomano- und islamophile Grundeinstellung ist einerseits klar als Folge von Lowrys programmatischer Abneigung gegen die *gazi* thesis à la Wittek erkennbar, dürfte aber auch ein Ausdruck eines allgemeinen Trends in der westlichen Orientalistik sein, der nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg beherrschend wurde. Sie zeigt sich an vielen Stellen von Lowrys Buch. So folgert er aus der Beteiligung von zum Islam konvertierten (!) ehemaligen Christen am Aufbau des frühosmanischen Staates, „the impression one gets is that the early Ottoman state was one in which religious affiliation was clearly less important than the creation of a working infrastructure and the potential service one could perform“ (S. 90). Diese Schlußfolgerung wäre nur dann gerechtfertigt, wenn die Personen, auf die sich Lowry hier bezieht (Köse Mihal, Evrenos und andere) *nicht* zum Islam konvertiert wären und trotzdem dieselbe wichtige Funktion in der frühosmanischen Administration übernommen hätten. Obwohl klar ist, daß sie konvertieren *mußten*, um überhaupt in solchen hohen Positionen auftreten zu können, tut Lowry in seinem Harmonisierungsbestreben so, als seien Christen und Muslime gleichberechtigt gewesen und als habe es im 14. Jahrhundert bei den Osmanen einen „spirit of latitudinarism“ (S. 90) in religiöser Hinsicht gegeben. Angesichts des Umstandes, daß Lowry nicht in der Lage ist (und sein kann), auch nur einen einzigen Christen anzuführen, der tatsächlich als Angehöriger *seiner* Religion eine Führungsposition im osmanischen Reich innegehabt habe, wirkt seine (im Rückgriff auf seine gleichfalls unsicheren Hypothesen zum *akıncı*-Phänomen, siehe unten) gemachte folgende Feststellung völlig aus der Luft gegriffen, daß nämlich „well into the fifteenth century one could still be a Christian without losing eligibility as a member of the Ottoman ruling elite and or its military contingents“ (S. 92). Schon allein die bedenkenlose Schrägstrich-Gleichsetzung zwischen „Ottoman ruling elite and/or its military contingents“ zeigt deutlich Lowrys Neigung, Äpfel mit Birnen zu vergleichen. Ebenso kulant spricht Lowry in der Darstellung der osmanischen Gesellschaft, in der „Muslims and Christians commingled“, terminologisch auf derselben Seite von den Frauen osmanischer Sultane, die christlicher Herkunft waren, einmal als „non-Muslim women“ und dann (korrekt!) als „non-Muslim born women“ (Hervorhebung M.H.). Selbstverständlich sind das zwei grundverschiedene Dinge: eine zum Islam konvertierte ehemals christliche Frau ist eben keine Christin mehr und sollte daher auch nicht als Beleg für ein Nebeneinander von Christen und Muslimen zitiert werden können – sollte man zumindest meinen. Der von Lowry immer wieder gegen Wittek erhobene Vorwurf der selektiven und nicht ausreichend umfangreichen Quellenauswahl trifft ihn hier selber, denn eine solche Interpretation ist nur dann möglich, wenn man Fakten wie die rechtliche Benachteiligung der Christen unter islamischer Herrschaft einfach ausklammert.

Auch im weiteren Verlauf des Buchs läßt Lowrys Methodik an manchen Stellen Fragen offen. Dies zeigt sich etwa bei der Interpretation anatolischer Grabinschriften. Lowry bringt seine Verwunderung über den Titel „Master of the Kings of the Arabs and Persians“ auf der Grabinschrift Bāyezīds I. zum Ausdruck. Er begründet sein Erstaunen damit, daß von einer Herrschaft über Araber und Perser nach dem unehrentvollen Tod des Ex-Sultans in Timurs Gefangenschaft keine Rede mehr sein könne. Die Phrase sei daher nur als hyperbolischer Aus-

druck eine „grandiose vision“ von Bāyezīds Sohn Süleymān zu verstehen, der das Grab errichtet hat (S. 39). Soweit ist die Interpretation Lowrys stichhaltig. Doch nur wenige Seiten später (S. 42) kommt er dann darauf zu sprechen, daß genau derselbe Titel (*suḷṭān mulūk al-‘Arab wa l-‘Aḡam*, von Lowry im Original zitiert) bereits 28 Jahre zuvor auf einer Inschrift für einen Herrscher von Menteşe vorkomme. Offensichtlich sieht Lowry kein Problem darin, daß dem Duodezfürst von Menteşe genau derselbe bombastisch klingende Titel zugeteilt wird wie Bāyezīd. Die sich aus der Parallelität der Titel ergebende naheliegende Schlußfolgerung, daß es sich im einen wie im anderen Falle um ein primär rhetorisches Mittel und weniger eine exakte Festlegung tatsächlich existierender Herrschaftsbereiche gehandelt haben könnte, zieht Lowry nicht. Statt dessen interpretiert er den Ausdruck einmal (im Falle Bāyezīds) als an der Realität zu messenden Anspruch, im anderen Falle offenbar nicht. Hier zeigt sich ein Mangel an Reflexion im Hinblick auf die Interpretation frühosmanischer bzw. altanatolisch-türkischer Titulaturen, die ein generelles Problem von Lowrys interpretatorischer Methodik darstellt. Denn der Unterschied zwischen deskriptivem und perlokutivem Sprechakt beziehungsweise zwischen Perlokution und metaphorischem Gebrauch, der in den unterschiedlichen Interpretationen der identischen Titel zum Ausdruck kommt, ist genau diejenige Nuance, die über Wohl und Wehe der Gazi-These entscheidet. Obwohl er sich des Problems bewußt zu sein scheint, ist Lowry im Hinblick auf das Festlegen der allesentscheidenden „gap between reality and the flowery titles“ (S. 39) unklar. Denn es bleibt offen, warum „Master of the Kings of the Arabs and Persians“ im Falle von Bāyezīd Anlaß gibt, eine Lücke zwischen Realität und Anspruch zu diagnostizieren, im Falle des Fürsten von Menteşe hingegen nicht.

Eine zweite Merkwürdigkeit stellt es dar, daß Lowry nach seiner überaus überzeugenden Infragestellung des (Un-)wertes von Aḥmedīs *İskendernāme* als historischer Quelle in Kapitel 2 (siehe oben) sich ausgerechnet auf einen Doppelvers aus diesem epischen Gedicht stützt, um etwas über das historische Wesen der *ğazā* auszusagen (S. 45). Angesichts der ebenso zahlreichen wie stichhaltigen Vorbehalte, die Lowry zuvor gegen die Objektivität speziell dieses Autors äußert, und unbeschadet der Tatsache, daß es sich um ein hochgradig fiktionales Erzeugnis der laborierten ‘*arūz*-Dichtkunst handelt, bewertet Lowry den Quellenwert dieses aus nur zwei Zeilen bestehenden Textbeleges den Vorzug über die gesamte, von ihm auf der gleichen Seite benannte altanatolisch-türkische und osmanische Prosaliteratur zum Thema *ğazā*.

Der einzige plausible Grund für diese quantitativ unausgewogene und selbstwidersprüchliche (einmal betrachtet Lowry Aḥmedī nicht als wertvolle historische Quelle, dann wieder doch...) Quellenauswertung scheint der zu sein, daß der bewußte Doppelvers Aḥmedīs eine Interpretation der Begriffe *ğazā* und *aḳīn* zu legitimieren scheint, der sich Lowry für den Rest seines Büchleins verschreibt. Demzufolge sollen beide Termini weitgehend synonym sein und des religiösen Inhalts entbehren. Wie sogleich zu zeigen sein wird, gibt es jedoch eine Reihe von naheliegenden Einwänden gegen diese Theorie.

Lowry versucht seine Theorie über die inhaltliche Identität der beiden Termini *ğazā* und *aḳīn*, die einander in Aḥmedīs Doppelvers gegenübergestellt werden, zunächst mit einer zweifelhaften Interpretation der Titel von Köse Mihal und Gazi Evrenos, zweier berühmter frühosmanischer Feldherren, zu beweisen (S. 46). Aus der gut belegten Tatsache, daß beide einerseits den Titel *ğāzī* führten und andererseits als *aḳīngī* (Führer einer *aḳīn* genannten Attacke) bezeichnet wurden, glaubt Lowry ableiten zu dürfen, daß ein *ğāzī* und ein *aḳīngī* dasselbe seien. Dies ist natürlich ein Trugschluß. Denn die durch die Quellen verbürgte Anwendung von *ğāzī* und *akın* auf beide Heerführer bezeugt genausowenig die Vollsynchronität dieser Ausdrücke wie aus der Tatsache, daß George W. Bush Oberkommandierender der amerikanischen Streitkräfte und Präsident war, die Identität von militärischem Oberkommando und Präsidentschaft abgeleitet werden darf. Die von Lowry als weiterer vermeintlicher Beleg für „the synonymous nature of the terms *gazi* and *akıncı*“ (S. 46f.; die gleiche Behauptung findet sich auch auf S. 132) herbeizitierten byzantinischen Quellen haben ebenfalls keine Beweiskraft für diese Gleichsetzung, und zwar schon aus dem Grund, weil in allen von ihnen nur der Begriff *aḳīn(ğī)* (in zeitgenössischer mittelhellenischer Transliteration) vorkommt, von *ğāzī* und *ğazā* hingegen weder

wörtlich noch indirekt die Rede ist. Wie soll man dann aus ihnen die Identität der beiden Begriffe schließen? Statt die von ihm behauptete begriffliche Übereinstimmung aus den Quellen abzuleiten, *postuliert* Lowry sie einfach.

Im weiteren Verlauf seiner Darstellung argumentiert Lowry, daß die beiden osmanischen Termini *gazā* und *akın* nicht nur synonym gebraucht worden seien, sondern auch beide in einem nicht-religiösen Sinne aufgetreten seien. So fragt er auf Seite 50 rhetorisch: „Could it be that *gazā* here has the meaning of raid?“. Wie bereits gesehen, sind Lowrys Belege für die angebliche Synonymität überaus schwach. Doch auch wenn man sich seine Argumente für den angeblich nicht-islamischen Gebrauch jedes einzelnen dieser Termini ansieht, werden Inkongruenzen sichtbar.

Dafür, daß *gazā* tatsächlich nicht notwendig eine religiöse Dimension gehabt habe, zitiert Lowry einen Konstriptionsaufruf des osmanischen Sultans Mehmed II. aus dem Jahre 1473, in dem sowohl muslimische als auch „ungläubige“ (*kāfir*) *akıngi* für einen Feldzug nach Ost-anatolien eingezogen werden (S. 51). An der Richtigkeit von Lowrys Übersetzung des Quellenbeleges, der hierzu herbeizitiert wird, müssen jedoch starke Zweifel angemeldet werden. Da Lowry als Quellenangabe des Textbeleges eine bulgarische Edition von Boris Nedkov nennt, darf man wohl annehmen, daß die englische Übersetzung des Beleges nicht aus diesem Werk, sondern von Lowry selbst stammt. Übersetzung und Transkript lauten in der von Lowry gegebenen Form (S. 51):

„From every thirty households of unbelievers and Muslims you are to conscript one mounted *akıncı*.

Kafirden ve Müslümanlardan otuz eve bir atlı akıncı vaz' edesiz.“

Zum einen ist unklar, ob die Bedeutung des zentralen Verbums *vaz' et-* (in der von Lowry zitierten Transkription: *vaz'*) tatsächlich mit „to conscript“ wiederzugeben ist. Die Grundbedeutung von *vaz' et-* ist (nach Auskunft des Redhouse- und anderer Wörterbücher und nach Maßgabe der arabischen Etymologie des nominalen Elements) nämlich „zuteilen, hinlegen“. Ferner heißt es im osmanischen Text (auch ausweislich des auf S. 53 abgebildeten Faksimiles) *otuz eve*. Dies bedeutet nun aber „zu dreißig Häusern (bzw. Haushalten)“ und nicht „from every...“, da *eve* Dativ und nicht Ablativ ist. Dies spricht gegen die von Lowry angenommene militärtechnische Bedeutung „(Soldaten) ausheben, einziehen“. Denn in diesem Falle müßte der Text ja davon sprechen, daß *von* (je) dreißig Haushalten ausgehoben werden solle, was aber schlicht und ergreifend nicht dasteht. Selbst wenn man an der behaupteten Bedeutung „einziehen“ von *vaz' et-* festhält, könnte der gesamte Satz dann allenfalls besagen, daß „von den Ungläubigen und Muslimen“ ausgehoben würde, denn nur diese beiden Komplemente stehen im Original im Ablativ. Dabei bliebe dann aber der im Original stehende Dativ *eve* unerklärt. Mit anderen Worten: die zitierte Stelle läßt sich mit der von Lowry postulierten Bedeutung von *vaz' et-* überhaupt nicht schlüssig interpretieren. Keinerlei Probleme lexikalische und syntaktischer Art hat man jedoch, wenn man annimmt, *vaz' et-* habe hier einfach die übliche, lexikalisch gut belegte Bedeutung und Rektion. In diesem Fall bedeutet der Satz allerdings nicht, daß hier Soldaten ausgehoben werden sollten, sondern einfach, daß je dreißig Haushalten (von Ungläubigen oder Muslimen) je ein *akıngi* *zugeteilt* werden soll. Dabei ist anzunehmen, daß dies zu Zwecken der Unterbringung und Verpflegung geschehen soll. Daß dies wohl die richtige Interpretation des Satzes ist, zeigt auch der Kontext. Der volle Text der Anordnung Mehmeds II., den Lowry sowohl in Transkription als auch im Faksimile nach Boris Nedkov wiedergibt, macht nämlich eindeutig klar, daß es hier nicht um die Aushebung von Reitern, sondern um deren Provisionierung geht. Es heißt im Original (S. 53):

Kafirden ve Müslümanlardan otuz eve bir atlı akıncı vaz' edesiz otuz birinci akıncı ola her evden otuz üçer akçe harçlık alasiz otuz ev yamak versiz tokuz yüz toksan akçe alub akıncıya ta'yin edesiz

„Ihr möget (je) dreißig Haushalten der Ungläubigen und Muslime einen berittenen *akıngi* zu-

teilen (*vaz' et-*). Der einunddreißigste soll der *akıngi* sein. Von jedem Haushalt möget ihr jeweils dreiunddreißig *aķce* Proviantgeld nehmen, [...] ihr möget neunhundertneunzig *aķce* nehmen und dem *akıngi* zuweisen.“

Abgesehen von dem Ausdruck *otuz ev yamak versiz*, dessen Lesung und Interpretation (in Faksimile und Transkript) unklar ist (> „dreißig Haushalte sollen einen Mietsoldaten stellen“?), besagt diese Passage eindeutig, daß es um die Bezahlung von jeweils einem *akıngi* durch jeweils dreißig Haushalte geht, wobei diese entweder aus „Ungläubigen“ oder aus Muslimen bestehen. Der Text spricht klar von „Unterhaltsgeld“ (*harğlık*). Der Ausdruck *otuz eve bir atlı akıncı vaz' edesiz* bedeutet nicht „From every thirty households you are to conscript one mounted *akıncı*“, sondern die darin enthaltene Zahl dreißig bezeichnet die Anzahl der Haushalte, die jeweils für die Verpflegung eines *akıngi* aufzukommen haben. Die Höhe der von den dreißig Haushalten zu entrichtenden Abgabe wird genau benannt: jeweils dreiunddreißig *aķce*, was eine im Text ebenfalls expressis verbis benannte Gesamtsumme von 990 *aķce* ergibt.

Da die oben zitierte Stelle offensichtlich gar nicht vom Einziehen von Soldaten, sondern nur von deren Verpflegung handelt, kann sie logischerweise auch nicht als Beleg für die Existenz von christlichen *akıngi* gewertet werden. Damit fällt einer der von Lowry zur Abstützung seiner nicht-religiösen Interpretation der Termini *gāzi* und *akıngi* herangezogenen Belege in sich zusammen. Die Stelle sagt ganz einfach nicht das aus, was Lowry herausliest. Man kommt nicht um die Feststellung herum, daß Lowry hier genau denselben, auf einer falschen Lesart einzelner Belege beruhenden Fehler macht, wie der von ihm mit so viel Leidenschaft kritisierte Wittek. Dadurch daß Lowry evidente Schreibfehler aus dem Text Nedkovs wie *versiz* (> **veresiz*), *mezkür* und *atlı* (S. 53) nicht korrigiert, liegt ferner der Verdacht nahe, daß er den von ihm wiedergegebenen Text überhaupt nicht kritisch liest bzw. lesen kann.

Auch wenn die Übersetzung und Interpretation der oben zitierten Stelle durch Lowry fragwürdig ist, belegt nun eine weitere Stelle desselben Dokuments tatsächlich, daß sowohl muslimische als auch christliche *akıngi* eingezogen werden sollen und daß die Christen sogar bevorzugt zu verwenden seien (S. 52f). Die für Lowrys Argumentation bezüglich der Gazi-These entscheidende Frage ist jedoch, ob man diesen Befund aus einem einzigen Dokument aus dem Jahre 1472 auf die gesamte osmanische Frühzeit verallgemeinern darf. Um dies zu bewerkstelligen, listet Lowry auf, daß es in einer der Provinzen, aus der Mehmed II. die *akıncıs* einzog, 12.684 christliche, aber nur 1.578 muslimische Haushalte gegeben habe (S. 52). Diese Zahlen besagen für sich genommen aber nichts über die Zahl der tatsächlich eingezogenen *akıngi*, denn die Annahme, daß das Mengenverhältnis zwischen den christlichen und muslimischen Haushalten dasjenige zwischen den tatsächlich im Heer Mehmeds II. kämpfenden christlichen und muslimischen *akıngi* widerspiegele, wird durch keine Quelle ausgewiesen, sondern ist eine vom Autor in die Zahlen hineingelesene Spekulation. Diese wird in einem weiteren Schritt dahingehend erweitert, daß die osmanischen *akıngi* überhaupt majoritär christlich gewesen seien (S. 92).

Eine sehr wichtige Frage, die in Lowrys gesamter Darstellung der Konskription ‚ungläubiger‘, sprich christlicher, Personen in die *akıngi*-Truppe (S. 50–54) nicht gestellt wird, ist die, ob diese Ungläubigen vor ihrer Indienstnahme zum Islam konvertieren mußten. Lowry äußert sich nicht darüber, ob es Belege für oder gegen solche Konversionen gibt, aber selbst wenn es keine gäbe, müßte ex negativo nicht unbedingt gefolgert werden, daß alle ursprünglich christlichen *akıngi* auch Christen geblieben seien. Doch selbst für den Fall, daß man die Präsenz einer signifikanten Anzahl von Christen als Christen/ ‚Ungläubige‘ nicht nur im Feldzug von 1473, sondern in der gesamten Geschichte der *akıngi* (wofür Lowry auf Seite 52 plädiert) voraussetzt, muß keineswegs der Auffassung gefolgt werden, daß die von den osmanischen Sultanen ausgerufenen *gazās* (wie die von Lowry auf Seite 48f. besprochene von 1484) deswegen jeweils nur „raid“s, aber keine religiösen Kämpfe darstellten. Schließlich spielte die Religion der christlichen *akıngi*, so es sie denn gegeben hat, weder für die Außenwahrnehmung der militärischen Operation als *akın* noch als *gazā* irgendeine Rolle, da die rhetorisch-ideologische

Definition der Kampagne ausschließlich in der Befugnis des muslimischen Sultans lag (dessen unzweideutigen *gazā*- und Dschihad-Aufruf Lowry in extenso zitiert: S. 48f.). Wenn die früh-osmanischen Raubzüge dagegen tatsächlich im Rahmen einer „predatory Confederacy“ beziehungsweise „a commingling of frontier peoples, which served to bring together Muslim and Christian warriors in Bithynia“ (S. 57) stattgefunden hätten, was wäre dann ein möglicher Anlaß für solche ehemals christlichen osmanischen Kommandanten wie Köse Mihal und Evrenos Beg gewesen, zum Islam zu konvertieren (wie Lowry ausführlich beschreibt: S. 58f.)? – Ironischerweise begeht Lowry in seiner Behandlung des Verhältnisses von *gazā* und *akın* genau denselben methodologischen Fehler, den er wortreich und bisweilen sehr polemisch in der *Gazi*-These Witteks und anderer diagnostiziert, nämlich eine einmal festgelegte These oder Theorie einem Vorurteil gleich unbeirrt zu verallgemeinern, auch wenn es für eine solche Verallgemeinerung keine oder nur unzureichende Quellenbasis gibt. Daß die von Lowry prompt in Form von Schrägstrichschreibungen – „*gazi/ akıncı*“ bzw. „*gazā/ akın*“ (S. 52, 54, 92) – in eine selbstverständliche Form gegossene Gleichung so nicht stimmen kann, wird im übrigen schon allein dann deutlich, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, daß *akıngi* im Unterschied zu *gāzi* niemals ein offizieller Titel osmanischer Sultane gewesen ist.

Die Tendenz, aus der Analyse vereinzelter Belege allzuschnell zu Verallgemeinerungen zu kommen, erweist sich auch an anderen Stellen von Lowrys Buch als pervasive methodologische Schwäche. Wenn er beispielsweise anhand der Auswertung der *tahrir defterleri* von Limnos, Makedonien und Trapezunt zu dem Ergebnis kommt (S. 99–105), daß die dortige christliche Bevölkerung wirtschaftlich und militärtechnisch unter osmanischer Herrschaft mindestens so gut wegkam wie zuvor unter byzantinischer, bedeutet dies weder, daß das Leben dieser Menschen überhaupt frei von Unterdrückung und Ungerechtigkeit war noch daß man diesen Befund auf die anderen Provinzen des Reiches und dessen gesamte Frühzeit verallgemeinern kann. Insbesondere bleibt die Tatsache unberücksichtigt, daß diese drei Gebiete nicht nur relativ spät von den Osmanen erobert wurden (am Ende der von Lowry auf die Zeit von ca. 1299 bis 1517 datierten osmanischen Frühzeit), sondern auch einen im Vergleich zum Rest Anatoliens besonders hohen christlichen Bevölkerungsanteil hatten (Trapezunt war bis 1461 unabhängig).

Doch selbst wenn man die von Lowry angeführten statistischen Daten aus Limnos, Trapezunt und Makedonien als repräsentativ für die gesamte osmanische Frühzeit akzeptiert, reichen diese Momentaufnahmen aus dem Wirtschafts- und Sozialleben nicht aus, um die These zu untermauern, daß die Christen generell unter osmanischer Herrschaft gleich gut oder sogar noch besser behandelt worden seien als vorher. Wie Lowry in dem zitierten Abschnitt selber klar herausarbeitet (siehe besonders S. 105, 112), war die Behandlung der christlichen Bevölkerung in den frisch durch die Osmanen eroberten Gebieten im 15. Jahrhundert nämlich Teil eines bevölkerungspolitischen Kalküls, das im übrigen auch der bis heute vielfach als Beleg für die osmanische ‚Toleranz‘ abgerufenen Ansiedlung der aus Spanien 1492 vertriebenen Juden in Konstantinopel zugrundelag. Die explosionsartig rasche Expansion des osmanischen Herrschaftsgebietes hatte zu einem extremen Mangel nicht nur an Fachleuten, sondern überhaupt an Untertanen geführt. Daß man infolgedessen auch Angehöriger nicht staatstragender, sprich nichtmuslimischer, Konfessionen unbehelligt ließ, entstammt realpolitischer Logik, aber nicht einem mutmaßlichen Prinzip der „freundlichen Aufnahme“ bzw. des „Entgegenkommens“ („accomodation“, „*istimâlet*“, S. 101, 103). Für eine Globalbeurteilung der Stellung der nicht-muslimischen Minderheiten im Osmanischen Reich sind noch ganz andere Parameter relevant, etwa die Benachteiligung durch das Scharia-Recht und die Ermordung von Christen im Zuge der Expansionskriege. Signifikanterweise diskutiert Lowry zwar die relativ unblutige Kapitulation Bursas im Jahre 1326 ausführlich, die brutale osmanische Eroberungspolitik in Thrakien und auf dem Balkan und die Eroberung Konstantinopels wird aber kaum erwähnt. Wäre sie etwa *accomodation* zu nennen? Daß Lowry ferner mit keiner einzigen Silbe auf die unter osmanischer Herrschaft systematisch aufgrund ihres christlichen Glaubens verfolgten, gefolterten und ermordeten Christen eingeht (dokumentiert unter anderem durch Nomikos Michael

Vaporis' *Witnesses for Christ. Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period 1437-1860* aus dem Jahre 2000), überrascht angesichts seines programmatischen und selektiven Befolgens der *istimâlet*-These dann auch nicht mehr wirklich. Das grundlegende methodologische Problem von Lowrys Analyse der *tahrîr defterleri* besteht darin, diese wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtlichen Daten zur nahezu alleinigen Deutungsgrundlage zu erheben, unter Umgehung der genannten anderen, insbesondere rechts-, geistes- und religionsgeschichtlichen Daten. Lowrys am Ende seines Buches schlußfolgernd aufgestellte These, daß die frühosmanische Geschichte ein „melting pot“ (S. 132) und „amalgam“ (S. 133) von Christen und Muslimen gewesen sei, funktioniert nur dadurch, daß der Autor in systematischer Weise die politischen, juristische, administrative und kulturelle Benachteiligung von Nichtmuslimen unter islamischer Herrschaft aus seiner Darstellung wegläßt. Der von Lowry aus der Kulturtheorie der USA importierte Begriff des „melting pot“ ist insofern ebenso irreführend wie „amalgam“, als beide ein Verschmelzen verschiedener kultureller Stränge zu etwas Neuem bezeichnen, das mit keiner der Ausgangskulturen identisch ist oder von ihr allein kontrolliert wird. Wie jedoch das Beispiel der karrierebedingten Konversionen zum Islam jedoch zeigt (siehe weiter unten), kann man selbst in der von Lowry untersuchten frühen Phase nicht von einem Verschmelzen, sondern höchstens von einem Einschmelzen sprechen, wobei es niemals eine Gleichberechtigung zwischen Muslimen und Christen gegeben hat, sondern jene stets bevorzugt waren.

Lowrys als Alternative zur *Gazi*-These aufgestellte Theorie der *accomodation* besagt, daß die frühen Osmanen „were far more interested in accomodation with their Bithynian Christian neighbors that in converting them to Islam“ (S. 132). Warum diese *accomodation* aber notwendigerweise den systematischen Verfolg einer Politik der *gazâ* ausschließen sollte, ist nicht einsichtig. Denn es ist zwar unbestreitbar, daß die osmanischen Sultane sämtlicher (nicht nur der frühen, sondern insbesondere auch der von Lowry als zentralisiert-islamisch dargestellten post-1517-Phase, wie wir seit den Arbeiten von Yaşar Ocak wissen) Perioden bei aller religiösen Ideologie eine pragmatische Politik verfolgten, die die theoretischen Erfordernisse einer rigorosen islamischen Weltsicht relativierten. Doch dasselbe ist beispielsweise auch für den Propheten Muḥammad wahr, der bekanntermaßen Zugeständnisse an die von ihm verdamnten Polytheisten machte, wenn die politische und militärische Situation ihn dazu zwang. Und selbst die Muslime, die im 7. Jahrhundert Konstantinopel belagerten, gaben das vermeintliche Eroberungs-Gebot ihrer Religion kurzfristig auf, als sie am militärischen Widerstand der Römer scheiterten. Ob man aus diesem Sichbeugen vor der Realität, wie Lowry es tun möchte, in irgendeinem der zitierten Fälle oder für irgendeine Phase der islamischen Geschichte ein gesteigertes „interest“ an „accomodation“ ableiten kann, ist fraglich. Die von Lowry abgerufenen „*Realpolitik* concerns“ (S. 132) der frühen osmanischen Sultane müssen daher nicht zwangsläufig als Belege für eine akkomodierende Haltung verstanden werden, sondern sind ebenso gut – mit Wittek – mit einer nur den Umständen geschuldeten, unvollkommenen, weil physisch unmöglichen, Islamisierung erklärbar. Insofern geht der Grundimpetus von Lowrys Polemik gegen die *Gazi*-These ins Leere: Pragmatik und Gazitum waren immer miteinander vereinbar.

Hinzukommt, daß Lowry selbst die Befunde der von ihm – überaus selektiv, wie gezeigt wurde – zitierten Quellen vergewaltigen muß, um sein vermeintlich vom *gazi*-Ethos weitgehend freies Bild der frühosmanischen Geschichte zu konstruieren. Seine im Schlußkapitel „The Nature of the Early Ottoman State“ aufgestellten Behauptungen „the evidence supports the idea that sharing the religion of the rulers was neither a prerequisite for admission to, or service, in, the Ottoman ruling elite in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century“ (S. 132) und „one joined their [sc. der Osmanen – M.H.] banner as either a Christian or a Muslim“ (S. 134) stehen nämlich im Widerspruch zur Tatsache, daß *sämtliche* der im vorausgehenden Kapitel (S. 115-130) zitierten hohen osmanischen Würdenträger mit christlichen Wurzeln zum Islam konvertieren mußten, bevor sie ihr Amt im Dienste des Sultans ausüben konnten. Wenn das Leben dieser hohen und höchsten Würdenträger *etwas* zeigt, dann genau, daß das Bekenntnis zum Islam eine absolut unabdingbare Voraussetzung zum Aufstieg in der osmanischen Elite

war. Daß Lowry die Kooptation dieser ehemals christlichen Adligen in den osmanischen Staatsdienst (S. 133 spricht er davon, daß diese Klasse „was co-opted“) als Gegenbeleg gegen die seiner Meinung nach den Kern der *Gazi*-These ausmachenden Alternative „conversion or death“ hinstellt (gleichfalls S. 133), ist bemerkenswert unlogisch. Denn da diese Kooptation nach Auswertung der von Lowry selbst angeführten empirischen Belege nur durch Übertritt zum Islam möglich war, belegt sie klar die große Bedeutung der einen Alternativoption, nämlich „conversion“, und sollte daher eher als indirekter Beleg für die *Gazi*-These gewertet, kann aber keinesfalls zu deren Zurückweisung herangezogen werden.

Einer der Gründe, warum Lowry zu seiner oben zitierten Anti-*Gazi*-These kommt, ist sein bestenfalls unsauberer, aber eher wohl absichtlich ambivalenter Gebrauch der Kategorie ‚Christ‘. So heißt im Schlußkapitel, daß „Muslims (many of whom where converts) and Christians rose to positions of prominence on the basis of performance not belief“ (S. 134; Hervorhebungen M. H.). Wen meint Lowry nun aber hier mit den „Christians“ in diesem Zitat? Da sie offenbar zum Islam Konvertierten gegenübergestellt werden, müßte es sich um Christen handeln, die als Christen in „positions of prominence“ standen. Aus der Lektüre der vorausgehenden Kapitel weiß man aber, daß sämtliche der „Christians“, auf die sich Lowry hier bezieht, in Wahrheit zum Islam konvertierte und nur *ehemalige* Christen waren (wie etwa der Großwesir Mehmeds II. Mesîh Paşa). Lowrys vorgebliche Gleichberechtigung von Christen und Muslimen in prominenten Positionen ist nichts als eine Fiktion, die auf der irr tümlichen Gleichsetzung von tatsächlichen Christen und ehemaligen Christen, die inzwischen zum Islam konvertiert waren, beruht. Es ist dieselbe fatale Unsauberkeit in der Verwendung des Terminus „Christian“, die Lowry behaupten läßt, daß zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts „up to half of the state officials in some areas of the Balkans (*timariots*) were Christians“. Auch hier werden *ehemals* christliche und zum Islam konvertierte Verwaltungsmitglieder mit Christen gleichgesetzt. Kein Wunder, daß bei so etwas dann eine „Islamochristian synthesis“ (S. 137) als Fazit zur frühosmanischen Geschichte herauskommen kann. Daß die von Lowry terminologisch bisweilen unter Elite subsumierten christlichen Festungsturmbesatzungen auf Limnos und andere Christen in subalternen Provinzfunktionen im übrigen nicht als Repräsentanten der „Ottoman ruling elite“ angesehen werden können, von der im obigen Zitat die Rede ist, versteht sich dabei natürlich von selbst. Ihre tatsächliche oder scheinbare Gleich- oder Besserbehandlung im Vergleich zur byzantinischen Ära ist daher für die Elitenthematik kaum relevant.

Zum von Lowry wiederholt in der türkeitürkischen Form gebrauchten Begriff *istimâlet* ist im übrigen zu bemerken, daß dieser Terminus nach Lowrys eigenen Angaben (S. 91) erst in den 1990er Jahren von Halil İnalcık geprägt wurde. Es handelt sich also um keinen osmanischen Originalterminus, schon gar nicht um einen aus den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten, auch wenn verschiedene Formulierungen wie „the practice of *İstimâlet* (accomodation)“ (S. 106, bezogen auf das 15. und 16. Jahrhundert) dies suggerieren (ähnlich S. 109 unten). Hier fällt Lowrys Kritik am Anachronismus von „scholars who have projected their understanding of later Ottoman institutions back in time“ (S. 106) auf ihn selber zurück.

Zum Schluß scheint es nicht deplaziert, kurz noch auf das Selbstverständnis Lowrys als Wissenschaftler einzugehen. Natürlich bleibt es ihm unbenommen anzumerken, daß der frühe und einflußreiche Osmanist Herbert Gibbons „without benefit of a knowledge of Ottoman Turkish“ arbeiten mußte (S. 5). Liest man jedoch Lowrys eigene Übersetzungen und Transkriptionsversuche osmanischer Dokumente, werden auch hier die Grenzen sehr deutlich. Zur Illustration seien, abgesehen von den bereits besprochenen Fällen, noch einige weitere Beispiele herausgegriffen. So transkribiert der Autor trotz im beigefügten Faksimile eindeutig erkennbaren *ümerâ* einfach *ümer* und macht aus dem zweiten Wort der wohlbekannten und im Faksimile ebenso deutlich lesbaren Eulogie *dâme ‘ulûvühü* ein „*ülü*“, das zum ersten Bestandteil eines „*ülü-khidmetlerinün*“ (S. 62) gemacht wird (was auch immer das dann bedeuten soll). Die zugehörige „Übersetzung“ (*translation*) ist stellenweise eher eine den Sinngehalt des Originals mehr oder weniger treffend umschreibende Paraphrase (S. 63). Amateurhaft ist die philologische Analyse S. 63f. Um „the title ‚Malik‘ (Lord/King)“ zu analysieren, werden dort Be-

lege für dieses Wort aus *osmanischen* Inschriften ohne weiteres mit dem *arabischen* Text von Ibn Baṭṭūṭas Reisebericht erklärt. Vollkommen daneben geht es, wenn zwischen den beiden Lexemen arabisch *malik*/ osmanisch *melik* und *mālik* offensichtlich nicht klar unterschieden wird. Lowrys Verwirrung kommt hier dadurch zum Ausdruck, daß er *mālik* einerseits (korrekt) mit „possessor“ und dann zwei Zeilen später mit „Lord/ King“ (also vollsynonym zu *malik/melik*) übersetzt (S. 64). Sorgfältige Quellenauswertung sieht anders aus. Zweifel an der Osmanisch-Kompetenz des Autors erregen auch Fehler wie die Wiedergabe des englischen „cotton“ durch *pembe* (statt *pam(b)uk*) auf S. 108, Schreibweisen wie *tahrir defter* (S. 116, statt recte *tahrir defteri*) und zahlreiche Fehler in der Transkription im Anhang (S. 148f.).

Ein Mangel, den wohl eher dem Verlag zu verschulden hat, ist die vollkommen unzusammenhängend nach „Appendix 4“ abgedruckte Textpassage (S. 157), die wahrscheinlich irgendwo in den fortlaufenden Text gehört hätte.

Summa summarum bietet das Buch zwar eine interessante Auswahl von Belegen zur früh-osmanischen Geschichte sowie eine überzeugende Dekonstruktion der Wittekschen Gazi-These. Auf der anderen Seite wirkt die Fixierung Lowrys auf die Zurückweisung dieser überholten Theorie etwas obsessiv, zumal sie keineswegs in allen jüngeren Darstellungen der osmanischen Geschichte (zu denken sei an Robert Mantrans *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* oder die *Kleine Geschichte der Türkei* von Klaus Kreiser und Christoph K. Neumann) noch eine gewichtige Rolle spielt. Statt sie durch eine Monographie als Beitrag zum Verständnis der frühosmanischen Geschichte heranzuziehen, hätte alternativ der geistes- und ideengeschichtliche Kontext aufgearbeitet werden können, in dem Wittek seine These formulierte, nämlich der Betonung der Rolle des Islams in der europäischen Orientalistik nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Vielleicht ist eine solche Revision auch deshalb unterblieben, weil sie Lowry zu einer Aufarbeitung seiner eigenen proislamischen und -osmanischen Vorurteile gezwungen hätte. Lowry stürzt sich stattdessen mit übertriebener Verve auf eine Widerlegung des historischen Gehalts von Witteks Hypothese. Zum Ergebnis dieser Kritik zieht Lowry immerhin selbst ein kritisches Fazit: „Given the scarcity of such documentation [bezogen auf die von Lowry ausgewerteten Quellen – M. H.] such attempts [sc. der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung – M. H.] will always remain highly speculative. The present study suffers from this limitation“ (S. 143). Ärgerlich bleibt dennoch der historische und philologische Dilettantismus, mit dem Lowry seine Quellen auswertet. Seine Lesungen und Übersetzungen sind an etlichen Stellen so ungenau und willkürlich, daß weite Teile seiner daran geknüpften Interpretationen unbrauchbar werden. Hier ist kein Durchbruch in der Erforschung der Genese der langlebigsten aller islamischen Dynastien erzielt worden, sondern eine veraltete spekulative These wurde durch eine neue ersetzt.

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